Documenting Elkab

Progress reports

edited by
W. V. Davies

Access Archaeology

Archaeopress 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).

Documenting Elkab

Progress reports

edited by
W. V. Davies

Access Archaeology

Archaeopress Access Archaeology

Archaeopress Publishing Ltd
13-14 Market Square
Bicester
Oxfordshire OX26 6AD
United Kingdom
www.archaeopress.com

ISBN 978-1-80327-899-5
ISBN 978-1-80327-900-8 (e-Pdf)

© the individual authors and Archaeopress 2024

Front cover: Elkab main rock-necropolis, section of upper range (photo: W. V. Davies).

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

Table of Contents

Preface	W. Vivian Davies	iii
Documenting Elkab: the pharaonic tombs	W. Vivian Davies	1
The visitor-inscription of Reneny in the tomb of Sobeknakht II at Elkab	Robert J. Demarée	67
A corpus of decorated fragments from Elkab	Susanne Woodhouse	74
The late reuse of the tomb of Reneny through its demotic graffiti: a fieldwork report	Luigi Prada	111
Two Coptic ostraca from Hagr Edfu	Anke I. Blöbaum	131

Plans by Günter Heindl
Photographs by James Rossiter

Tomb of Bebi, offering scene (photo: J. Rossiter).

Elkab, main rock-necropolis, view from south-west (photo: J. Rossiter).

Preface

W. Vivian Davies

This volume presents a selective account of the Oxford Epigraphic Expedition to Upper Egypt's progress over recent seasons (largely seasons 2017-2020, 2022). It comprises five reports, the first four devoted to the results of the on-going documentation of the pharaonic monuments of Elkab, especially the tombs of the main rock-necropolis, and the fifth to Coptic ostraca (with unusual content) from the related site of Hagr Edfu, now stored in the Antiquities Magazine at Elkab. The numerous published reports on earlier seasons of work at both sites are listed in the bibliographies within.

The work has been carried out with the kind permission of the Permanent Committee of the Supreme Council of Antiquities, Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities of Egypt, under the auspices, since 2017, of the Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford (previously of the British Museum), and with the assistance in Cairo of the Administration of Foreign Missions Affairs, the Centre of Documentation of Egyptian Antiquities, and the American Research Center in Egypt.

The core team during the period has included: Vivian Davies (Director, Epigrapher), Liam McNamara (Assistant Director, Epigrapher), Luigi Prada (Assistant Field Director, Epigrapher), Lamia El-Hadidy (Senior Conservator), Mohamed Badawy (Conservator), Bianca Madden (Project Conservator), Robert Demarée (Hieratic Specialist), Claire Thorne (Artist), Susanne Woodhouse (Epigrapher), Anke Blöbaum (Epigrapher), Xavier Droux (Epigrapher), Ellen Jones (Epigrapher), Will Schenck (Epigrapher), Renée Friedman (Archaeologist), Günter Heindl (Architect/Surveyor), Joel Paulson (Surveyor), James Rossiter (Photographer), and Paul Wordsworth (Digital Recording Specialist). Also to be acknowledged in terms of the content of the present volume are the epigraphic contributions from previous seasons of Marcel Marée and Ilona Regulski, the provision of relevant archival material by the Griffith Institute, University of Oxford, by the Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan, The British Museum, and by our long-time colleague, Dietrich Wildung, as well as significant logistical support from the Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, Uppsala University.

For help and co-operation in the field, we are grateful to the following: Staff of the Aswan and Nubia Antiquities Zone; Director of the Edfu Inspectorate, Osama Ismail Ahmed; senior Inspectorate officers (past and present), Suzie Labib, Ramadan Hassan Ahmed, and Nagwa Abdel Megeed; Director of the Elkab Antiquities Magazine, Ibrahim Hussein Mohamed; successive Chief Inspectors of Elkab, Mohamed Saad, Ashraf Harb and Tharwat Musallam Saady; and the many site- and expedition-inspectors and local guards, who have assisted and facilitated our work.

In the preparation and composition of this volume, we have much benefited from the admirable technical skills and experience of Loretta Kilroe and from the invaluable editorial assistance of Patricia Spencer. We are grateful to Archaeopress, Oxford, for accepting the volume for publication, and for seeing it efficiently through to press.

Documenting Elkab: the pharaonic tombs

W. Vivian Davies*

Presented below are some of the recent results from the project of conserving and documenting the decorated tombs of the main rock-necropolis of Elkab (Frontispiece), a work still in progress, the data here selectively described. The report comprises two sections, the first devoted mainly to a number of tomb-chapels in the upper range (Figures 1 and 3), dating, in large part, from the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period (EK 46, 54, 39, 62, 64, 67 and 66), the second to a small selection in the lower range (Figures 2 and 4), dating from the New Kingdom (EK 20, 18 and 10).[1]

Upper Range

EK 46,[2] Senwosret (MK, early 12th dynasty)

Now stored within the tomb-chapel, several loose blocks, long detached from the tomb's façade (the latter partly rebuilt in modern times, Figure 5) and from the interior walls and ceiling (Figure 6),[3] have been under conservation and study. Paint is especially well preserved on the fallen ceiling and wall fragments. One, from the middle of the ceiling, shows the central band, simulating a wooden beam, coloured yellow with red graining, enclosed in a white frame with quatrefoils on either side (Figure 7).[4] Another, originally part of the upper east wall, shows the *kheker*-frieze, with quatrefoil decoration above it, and a line of polychrome hieroglyphs from the offering formula below (Figure 8). Two sections of the left (west) thickness of the doorway, now re-joined (Figure 9), bear remnants of a scene, orientated inwards, showing at least two rows of cattle, in incised work, partly obscured by figural graffiti and 'pilgrim grooves' (the marks of later, pious visitors, present also within the tomb, Figure 12)[5], surmounting a row of offering bearers, done in paint.[6] Just inside the entrance, incised into the lower left (west) wall, beneath the decoration, is a visitor-inscription, in hieroglyphs, of a 'wab-priest Mer' (*wꜤb Mr*) dating probably to the 18th dynasty (Figure 10).

Cleaning and recording of the internal painted walls, the inner sections obscured by deeply ingrained soot (Figure 11), have progressed cautiously. The dominant scene on the west wall, centre left (Figures 12-14), containing important prosopographical data, shows the tomb-owner, identified (in two lines of now discoloured hieroglyphs, Figures 12-13) as 'Revered one, governor, Djaty/Senwosret, justified,

* Oxford University, Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies.

[1] Note that previous reports on these tombs are generally cited below only if the content in question is yet to be superseded. For recent results from the expedition's work in other Elkab tombs, see Davies 2016; Davies, Prada and Woodhouse 2018, 5-6, 10-12; Prada and Wordsworth 2018; Jones 2019; Prada 2019a; 2019b, 236-238, fig. 10; Prada and Woodhouse 2019. For the revised numbering system of the tombs, see Warmenbol and Hendrickx 2009, 75, n. 1, 77, fig.1; Davies 2016, 71, n. 2.

[2] PM v, 184, unnumbered; Sayce and Clarke 1905, 243-244; cf. Siesse 2019, 325-326; https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/4/place/22; pnm.uni-mainz.de/4/ inscription/17783. The tomb is datable to the reign of Senwosret I on epigraphic and iconographic/stylistic grounds. So far, work has concentrated on the first chamber; others, undecorated but full of debris, lie beyond, accessed by a central doorway (until recently, blocked), to be examined in detail in due course.

[3] Almost certainly the result of an earthquake, or more than one, causing rock-fall (from the cliff above) as well as subsidence (the interior walls cracked and tending to slope unevenly downwards from inside to out). Similar damage can be observed in a number of the other tombs; see, for example, in the upper range, nos 62, 64 and 67 (Figures 46, 50, 56), and, in the lower range, no. 18 (Figure 82). On the evidence for earthquakes in ancient Egypt, see (selectively) Arnold 2010; Sourouzian 2014; Stadelmann 2014; Karakhanyan *et al.* 2014; Gnirs 2015, 111-112, 141-143; Harrell 2017, 243-247; and, briefly, Dirksen 2021, 95, with n. 19.

[4] Cf. Davies 2016, 73, n. 6; Trapani 2016, 815, pls 6-7; Desjardins 2023, 130-131, fig. 2; see also Figure 69 below and Prada, this volume, Figure 16 (ceiling of EK 20).

[5] See also the façade of EK 39, Figures 39-40. Such grooves are more commonly associated with temple walls and statues (Connor 2022, 101-109; Salvador 2023, 18-20; Troche 2023).

[6] The front lower section of the scene is still *in situ* (Davies and O'Connell 2014, 3, 19, fig. 14).

possessor of reverance' (*imɜḫ*(*y*) *ḥɜty-ˁ Ḏɜty/S-n-wsrt mɜˁ-ḫrw nb imɜḫ*),[7] astride a skiff, 'spearing fish',[8] assisted by his son and successor, identified (in two columns of smaller semi-cursive hieroglyphs in black, Figure 14 a-b) as 'Revered one, governor Hor-aa/Bah (*Ḥr-ˁɜ/Bˁḥ*),[9] born to Dedetnub (*ms.n Ddt-nbw*; presumably Senwosret's main wife), justified, possessor of reverence'; a second son, 'Revered one, Henenu/Iy-sheri (*Ḥnnw/Iy-šri*)', is figured above to the left (Figure 14a), leading a party of huntsmen.[10] All three are distinctively attired, wearing ample, round curled wigs or coiffures and sporting kilts with a prominent 'sporran' at the front (cf. Sobeknakht II's hunting kilt, in EK 66, Tylor 1896, pl. x). While, during the period, the direct hereditary transmission of a provincial governorship appears to have been relatively standard proceedure (Favry 2016; Wegner 2024, 476, n. 12), in the present case it remains to be determined whether father and senior son might also have shared the governorship for a while (on contemporary evidence for such arrangements at Elephantine, see Jiménez-Serrano and Sánchez-Léon 2021).

The top register contains the remains (front end only) of a funerary scene, the associated text also badly damaged (Figure 15a). It depicts oxen 'dragging ... to the necropolis' a sledge carrying a lion-headed bier, which supports a catafalque, the latter enclosing a rectangular coffin, on top of which is shown the deceased's wrapped body fitted with gilded mummy mask, the face and neck yellow, the beard blue with black tip (Figure 15b).[11] The procession is led by two *muu*-dancers (as in the scene, EK 66, Tylor 1896, pls ii-iii; Diamond 2023, 23, fig. 7, and 68; cf. Theis 2011, 208, no. 43, and 266, 11a, no. 13; Miniaci 2020, 12, with fig. 6). The head-end of the coffin is shown as decorated on the side with *udjat*-eyes, to the right of which is a framed column of hieroglyphs writing the name of the deity Imseti (*ʾImsti*), its location consistent with the 'characteristic disposition' of such text columns (Willems 1988, 138, fig. 11, FR). The section of the long offering formula above (Figures 13, 15a and 15c), in polychrome hieroglyphs, the text routine, is the best preserved and currently the clearest such inscription in the tomb.

The inner end of the west wall is mostly occupied by an offering scene featuring seated figures of tomb-owner and wife, facing left (Figure 16),[12] with a hairdresser in the rear attending to the latter[13] and, beneath the chair, a mirror, chest, and a baboon holding an unguent-vessel (Figure 17); what appears to be the figure of a second baboon, still to be fully revealed, and provisionally omitted from the current record (Figure 16) pending further work and clarity, is located to the upper right of the offerings, directly facing the tomb owner (as in EK 66, Tylor 1896, pl. v; below, Figure 63, bottom right). The label-texts, in two lines, above the major figures, in opposite, rightwards orientation, are fragmentary, the first partially preserving the name and epithet 'Senwosret, justified', the second, only the title 'his wife' (*ḥmt.f*). In the rearmost of the two similar offering-scenes on the opposite wall[14] (one featuring a dog under the chair, the other a baboon probably eating a fig),[15] two servants, each identified as a

[7] Reading a double name; for *Ḏɜty*, see *PN* i, 405, 17-18; pnm.uni-mainz.de/4/name/2103; for the epithets, Doxey 1998, 90-102. An inscription relating to the tomb-owner on a fragment of the façade-lintel, currently under study, includes the fuller titulary, 'governor, overseer of priests' (*ḥɜty-ˁ imy-r ḥmw-nṯr*). Where the principal figures are depicted elsewhere in the tomb, their names and titles are either damaged or yet to be uncovered.

[8] The scene is listed in Decker and Herb 1994, I, 429, K 2.125, the action mistakenly described as 'Vogeljagd mit dem Wurfholz', after Sayce and Clarke 1905, 244 (5). Thanks are due to Xavier Droux for assistance in preparing the new record for publication.

[9] Seemingly another double name. *Ḥr-ˁɜ* is well known; see *PN* i, 246, 9; pnm.uni-mainz.de/4/name/931; the second name, if such it is, appears to read *Bˁḥ*, written with signs G 32 (abbreviated) and N 36; not in *PN*, but known as the name of a deity, 'Der Überfluss' (Leitz 2002, II, 778-779), 'Abundance' (Van Der Molen 2000, 119). For the maternal filiation formula (*ms.n + M*) as a dating criterion, see Obsomer 1993, 198; Postel 2009, 332-333, 352; Ilin-Tomich 2017, 24-25 (C1); Olabarria 2020, 131-132; Vink 2024, 43.

[10] Cf. Davies and O'Connell 2010, 102-103, 110, figs 4-5. For the bird-netting scene below, see now Davies 2015-2020, 70, pl. vii, b.

[11] See the contemporary (much larger) scene, Davies and Gardiner 1920, pls 21-22; for the funerary components, cf. Yamamoto 2015, 667; Hudáková 2016, 51-52; Casini 2017, 59-61; García Gonzáles and Jiménez Serrano 2018, 15-17; Nyord 2024, 78-79.

[12] Cf. Davies and O'Connell 2014, 3, 18, fig. 13. To the right of the scene is a large (empty) stela-emplacement.

[13] To be added to the known non-royal 12th dynasty examples of such scenes; see Hudáková 2019, 289, n. 10, 296, 316, fig. 9.10.

[14] Cf. Davies and O'Connell 2014, 3, 18, fig. 12.

[15] For the baboon, Davies and O'Connell 2012, 52, 60, fig. 4 and (for other scenes on the east wall), 59, figs 2 and 3, the latter part of a ploughing scene, with a caption above, not yet published but now legible as the exhortation *mi sp* 2, 'come, come!' (misread as a title in Sayce and Clarke 1905, 244, bottom); see, also, Davies 2015-2020, 70, 72, fig. 2, pl. vii, a, for a detached section of the desert hunting scene, including the figure of a lion.

'butler/foodserver' (*wbꜣ*),[16] are shown facing left, ministering to the deceased and (probable second) wife (Figure 18a-b). The first extends offerings with accompanying address in two columns, again in small semi-cursive hieroglyphs, now incomplete but still intelligible: (1) 'for your (masc.) *ka*, for your (fem.) *ka*, b[y?] (2) butler Renefankh' ((1) *n kꜣ.k, n kꜣ.t, i*[*n*?] (2) *wbꜣ Rn.f-ᶜnḫ*); the second, pouring wine, is captioned in a single column as 'butler Senwosret' (*wbꜣ S-n-wsrt*). Both captions are in reversed orientation to that of the figures in question.

As the record progresses, the influence of governor Senwosret's iconographic schemes and component motifs on subsequent tomb-decoration at the site is becoming increasingly evident, especially so in the case of that of the later governor, Sobeknakht II (EK 66, Tylor 1896), his tomb located close-by.[17]

EK 54,[18] Bebi (SIP, 16th dynasty)

The entrance is elevated and accessed by a staircase (Figure 19),[19] the façade, deeply set, decorated with inscriptions in finely-done sunk relief. There were four horizontal lines of hieroglyphs on the door lintel (the centre of which is mostly lost) and two columns of hieroglyphs on the jambs, the inner columns also now lost or vestigial (Figure 20). The remaining column on the right consists of a stock 'ideal biography', the tomb-owner stating: 'I departed from my house to my tomb, I crossed in my boats, I ploughed with my team, I trod upon my fields'.[20] The equivalent on the left jamb bears a section of the protasis of the special formula of 'good behaviour' (*bỉt nfrt*)',[21] with the apodosis reading '(so) I shall be in the following of my god and in the favour of Wenenefer'.

The lintel inscription consists of an offering formula[22] for the tomb-owner, 'commander of the ruler's crew, Bebi' (*ꜣṯw/ꜣtw n ṯt ḥḳꜣ Bbi*),[23] listing also members of his family including importantly his (otherwise unidentified) father and mother, 'commander of the ruler's crew Neferhotep' (*Nfr-ḥtp*) and 'king's ornament Sat-Renenutet' (*ḫkrt-nswt Sꜣt-Rnnwtt*).[24] The names of two of his sons, Neferhotep and Sobekmose (*Sbk-ms*), also survive, as does a small section of the first sign of the name of his daughter Nefretwebenes (*Nfrt-wbn.s*) (all three figured with their parents and siblings in the internal decoration). Space was left at the end of the last line for the potential inclusion of additional names.[25]

---

[16] For the title, Stefanović 2009, 47; pnm.uni-mainz.de/4/title/30.

[17] Cf. Davies 2016, 73, n.6. Relevant here is the concept of 'iconicity' (Laboury 2017), the adaptive transmission of images from one monument to another; see, in particular, Laboury 2017, 241-249, figs 6-8, on the well-known Wensu (TT A4)/Pahery relationship, and Devillers 2018, for the 'artistic copying network' observable in the major New Kingdom tombs of the lower range; cf. Motte 2021, 214, n. 62. The artists/patrons of the tombs in the lower range also drew selectively on the decorative ideas and content of the earlier upper range (Davies 2009, 144, n. 18, 146, n. 28, and 154, n. 41; and below pp 11- 12, with n. 103). Broadly on such connections, see already Griffith (unaware of the tomb of Senwosret) in Tylor 1900, 1: 'The Tomb of Sebeknekht is obviously earlier than that of Renni, while the Tomb of Paheri is known to be later. It is evident that each of the successive designers of these tombs was influenced by the work of his predecessor, and it is therefore well to keep all three tombs in view when studying one of them'; cf. Diamond 2023, 68.

[18] PM v, 184, no. 8 bis; cf. Kubisch 2008, 274-279 (Katalog: El Kab 3); Quirke 2016a, 439-444 (5.1.4); pnm.uni-mainz.de/4/place/22; pnm.uni.de/4/inscription/2617.

[19] Davies and O'Connell 2010, 102, 108-109, figs 1-3; Davies 2016, 73, fig. 2, and 75.

[20] The writings are abbreviated and further compressed towards the end (as they are also on the left jamb) owing to the constraints of space. On such statements, see Kubisch 2008, 66-67; 2010, 320-321, fig. 3, pl. 106.

[21] 'Formule de bon comportement' (Vernus, 1988, 147-148, D); cf. the Hormin (EK 39) example (Figure 35) below (= Vernus 1988, 148, E); and further, Kubisch 2008, 192-193, lines 5-6, and 216-217, lines 8-9 (SIP stelae from Edfu); also Kruchten and Delvaux 2010, 225-235, with particular reference to the later versions in Pahery (EK 11) and Setau (EK 14).

[22] The king's formula is written in the sequence *nswt-dỉ-ḥtp*, with a characteristic spelling, common to the SIP tomb-inscriptions in the area (Davies 2016, 73-74, n. 7; cf. Vernus 1986, 590, 592, n. 31; Kubisch 2008, 124-126, Table 5; Marée 2010, 249; Quirke 2016a, 442; Ilin-Tomich 2017, 8, 35, Table 26, B1, and 37).

[23] For the title, see n. 94, below.

[24] For the title, see Stefanović 2009, 85-109; Marée 2010, 267, n. 169; Franke and Marée 2013, 175, 4, and 176-177, n. 3; Stefanović 2015; Ilin-Tomich 2016-2018; pnm.uni-mainz/de/4/title/8; to be added to the title-corpus are also those now recorded on the lintel of EK 39 (Figures 35-36, below); for Bebi's mother's name and its various spellings, see pnm.uni-mainz.de/4/name/353.

[25] Cf. the blank space(s) left for further figures/ inscriptions in the central, lower register of the rear wall (Figure 25), at the end of the lists of estate staff (Figures 26-27) and, elsewhere in the vicinity, on the interior doorway of EK 64 at the end of the list of family members (Davies 2010a, 227-228, fig. 3, right jamb, second column).

Done in paint and painted incised work, the interior decoration, confined, for structural reasons, to the back wall (Figure 21), is notable for its two antithetic scenes (Figures 22-23), on the upper left and right respectively, both surmounted by a single *udjat*-eye motif. These scenes, depicting, it is suggested, protective (re)birth rituals, have been much cited and discussed.[26] They depict 'commander of the ruler's crew Bebi' (displaying, on the left, an unusual curled wig/coiffure, possibly a reflection of the type worn by Senwosret [Figures 12-13, etc]), seated together with his main wife, 'king's ornament Sobeknakht' (*Sbk-nḫt*), [27] surrounded by groups of female figures. These comprise collectively their two daughters, 'king's ornament Nefretwebenes', and 'king's ornament Khekeres' (*Ḥkr.s*), six others labelled as 'wet-nurse' (*mnʿt)* [28] or 'nurse' (*ḫnmt/ḫnmtt*)[29] holding apotropaic wands ('birth tusks'),[30] originally coloured white, four of them also holding a snake-staff, coloured red. There are, in addition, two other female servants, 'hairdresser Ankhes' (*nšt ʿnḫ.s*) attending to Sobeknakht's hair on the right (Figure 23) and 'butler Intef' (*wbɜt ỉnt.f*),[31] with a distinctive coiffure, kneeling, holding a vessel and container, on the left (Figures 22 and 24).

Conspicuous among the attendants is the female figure on the upper left, her caption, as already noted, reading 'wet-nurse Nub-em-wa[kh?]'. She is shown holding a wand in the left hand and a snake-staff in the right, with the bottom of the wand overlapping the staff and the coils of the latter held very close to, if not actually touching, the rear of Sobeknakht's head/hair (Figure 24),[32] marking her as the primary focus of the rituals here depicted (for her favoured status, see also the central inscription described below). The special significance of the pair is further signalled by their distinctive blue hair (shown as the usual black in the case of the other female figures in these scenes),[33] the colour blue, in such contexts, being 'closely linked with the concept of solar rebirth...'.[34]

Prominently figured, among items beneath the seated couple on the left, is a baboon holding an unguent vessel,[35] as is the case also in the lower right scene, the motif probably drawing on that in Senwosret's tomb-chapel (Figures 16-17), located just a few metres away.

---

[26] Altenmüller 1987, 131-133, Abb. 1, 136, 138, 141, 143-144; more recently, Ritner 2006, 212-213, fig. 5; Hubai 2008, 179-180; Gnirs 2009, 151-153; Parkinson 2009, 144-145; Stefanović 2009, 64-65; Wegner 2009, 448, n. 6, 482, n. 102, 485; Forshaw 2014, 36; Quirke 2015a, 199-200, Cat. 130; 2016a, 438-444 (5.1.4), figs 5.5, 5.6. 5.7, and 565, 568-570, 573, 589, 605; Vink 2016, 267-268, 272-273, fig. 14; 2016/2017, 14, figs 5a and b; Altenmüller 2017, 76; Morris 2017, 320-321; Régen 2017, 504, 511, fig. 14; Rose 2020, 98, 308, 488-492, figs 260-262; Kohler *et al.* 2023, 153-154; for previous readings of most of the names and titles identifying figures in the upper scenes of the rear wall, see, in particular, Quirke 2016a, 439-441, elements 1,2, and 4; and pnm.uni-mainz.de/4/inscription/2617, passim.

[27] The chair in the right scene is lion-legged, that in the left, bull-legged, a variation repeated (with the right-left positions reversed) in the large scenes depicting Bebi and wife seated below (see left chair, Figure 28). On the predominance of the leonine type in representations of chairs from the Middle Kingdom onwards, see Fischer 1996, 145-147. These Bebi depictions are so far the only clear examples of the bovine type in our corpus of Elkab scenes.

[28] Four, all on the left, 'Nubemheb' (*Nbw-m-ḥb*), 'Sobeknakht/Wadjet' (*Sbk-nḫt/Wɜḏt*), 'Nebetit' (*Nbt-ỉt*), and one with name damaged, 'Nubemwa[kh?]' (*Nbw-m-wɜ*[*ḫ*?]); see further below, and for the name, pnm.uni-mainz.de/4/name/4765.

[29] One on the left, 'Baket' (*Bɜkt*), and one on the right, 'Aai' (*ʿɜỉ*), where *ḫnmtt* is written with a redundant *n*.

[30] See Quirke 2016a, 9; cf Miniaci 2018, 66-67; Vink 2024, 1-2.

[31] Traces in blue paint of the first two signs (*w* and *b*) of the title are preserved in the eroded area above the name. For the title, Stefanović 2009, 47-50; pnm.uni-mainz.de/4/title/31.

[32] For the association, cf. the copper-alloy snake-wand, 'entangled in a mass of hair', from the well-known Ramesseum assemblage of the Late Middle Kingdom (Quibell 1898, 3, pl. iii, no. 4; Bourriau 1988, 113, no. 100 [Fitzwilliam Museum, E. 63.1896]; Ritner 2006, 206-207, fig. 4; Gnirs 2009, 142-143; Parkinson 2009, 142-145, fig. 6.3; Wegner 2009, 482, n. 102; Forshaw 2014, 35-36, fig. 36; Quirke 2015b; Quirke 2016a, 100-103, fig. 2.6, no. 4, 375, fig. 4. 116; 2016b, 186; Vink 2016, 274, n. 121; Geisen 2018, 6, n. 60, and 10-11; Miniaci 2018, 67-68; Meyrat 2019, I, 189-190 (1.4.1), pl. I; Miniaci 2020, 15-16, fig 8, no. 4; 20, z; 69-70, fig. 32; 78-79, and 107, pl. xvi, z; Rose 2020, 95-96, fig. 75; Geisen 2021, 163-166, fig. 1, no. 4).

[33] The black pigment has proved to be largely fugitive, surviving (if at all) in random patches and much faded.

[34] Wegner 2009, 456, with reference to the birth scene depicted on the birth-brick of the late Middle Kingdom from South Abydos, where the mother and her two attendants are shown with blue hair (full publication: Wegner 2009, 447-496, with figs 1-7); cf. Gnirs 2009, 135; Vink 2016, 265, fig. 7, and 267; Miniaci 2018, 66; Rose 2020, 527-529, figs 278-279; see also now the figures of nurse and daughter in a scene in the tomb of Horemkhauef at Hierakonpolis (p. 6, n. 47, Figures 32-33, below).

[35] Cf. El-Kilany 2013, 31-32, 38, fig. 13; El-Kilany and Mahran 2015, 249, 262, Cat. 76; for the other items placed under the chairs, see Mahran and El-Kilany 2016, 15, 28, Cat. 22.

The bulk of the central space between the two scenes is occupied by an inscription,[36] originally in nine horizontal lines reading right to left and downwards, the top line lost and much of the rest now unclear (Figure 21). It begins with a long offering formula for Bebi and wife Sobeknakht, continues with a string of epithets, and ends with a statement by Bebi (beginning line 3 from bottom = x + 7, Figure 25), including a eulogy of his wife, damaged in parts, reading *provisionally*: 'I made this tomb of the necropolis, this place of the desert, beautiful of [...?] (*b*(*w*) *pn n smt nfr* …) in the favour of the lords of burial, (x + 8) achieving this through the power of love of king's ornament Sobek<nakht>,[37] she is a woman (*st pw*) without her equal, (I?) know she is beautiful in heart every day, (x + 9) she will be alive for ever, praised of the people and the gods, commander of the ruler's crew, Bebi, repeating life'.

The unusual writing of 'woman' (*st*) here (line x + 8) with sign Q1 is paralleled in line 1 of the wall's bottom right inscription, a list of female servants,[38] which begins with the entry *st nt mꜣᶜt ỉỉ-sꜣt,* 'woman of Maat Ii-sat' (Figure 26)[39] (a rare title, presumably the female equivalent of the well attested 'man of Maat',[40] as found in the bottom left inscription, a corresponding list of male staff [Figure 27],[41] which includes, in line 4, the entry *s n mꜣᶜt Sbk-nḫt*, 'man of Maat Sobeknakht').[42]

Directly beneath the upper central inscription are two registers including, among others, figures of the main couple's several offspring, each in turn accompanied by a wet-nurse holding a wand (Figure 25).[43] The theme is continued in the large offering-scene, below left (Figures 28-29b), where Bebi is shown seated with his second wife, 'king's ornament Khekeres'.[44] Before them, among the offerings,[45] leaning over and pouring wine, is 'butler Tjawyenmut' (Figure 29a) (*wbꜣyt Ṯꜣwy-n-mwt*),[46] adorned with a similar coiffure to 'butler Intef' depicted in the left scene above (Figure 24; cf. also the female butler in EK 66, Figure 63), while the figure behind Khekeres (Figure 29b) is that of 'her wet-nurse, Neni', shown holding in her front hand a wand, previously unnoted, held horizontally and downwards, the outline damaged.

Such wands are now known to be represented, in similar contexts, in EK 66 (Figure 65) and the

---

[36] Quirke 2016a, 440, element 3.

[37] For a similar error/omission in the writing of the name, cf. Sobeknakht II's first biography, line 17 (Tylor 1896, pl. vii; Davies 2010a, 231, n. 49, pl.45, detail, top line).

[38] Quirke 2016a, 442, element 10.

[39] Cf. *PN* ii, 312, no. 4, n. 2; Midant-Reynes 1976, 160-162; Ilin-Tomich 2017, 72; pnm.uni-mainz.de/4/title/1130; Eyre 2024, 45, no. 5.

[40] *Wb*. 3, 406, 2; Janssen 1946, 145, Ao 6 and 10; Hannig 2006, 700.

[41] Quirke 2016a, 442, element 9.

[42] pnm.uni-mainz.de/4/title/1131. More generally, a number of uncertainties in the reading of the names in these lists, as originally recorded in L*D Text* iv, 54, may now be resolved. So, for example, right list (Figure 26), line 2, last name, read ***Psd-r-nbw;*** left list (Figure 27), line 3, fourth name, read ***Nn-snḏ-ḳb***; line 5, first name, read ***ỉnt.f.*** Both lists contain spaces at the end for the addition of further names (see n. 25).

[43] Quirke 2016a, 441, element 4; cf. Wildung 1984, 95, 241, no. 85 (tomb mislabelled as that of Sobeknakht [EK 66]). The figures are captioned as follows, from right to left, upper register: 'his son, Sobeknakht', 'his wet-nurse Neni' (*Nni*); 'his son Sobeknakht', 'his wet-nurse Ipu' (*Ỉpw*); 'his son Iymer' (*Ỉy-mr*), 'his wet-nurse Nub/Nen-es-wia(?)' (*Nbw/Nn-s-wiꜣ(?)*), probably a double name, the second otherwise unattested; 'his son Sobekmose', 'his wet-nurse, his singer (a harpist) Sedjani (*ḥsyt.f Sḏꜣ-n.i*)'; and lower register: 'his son Neferhotep', 'his wet-nurse Nubhereshes' (*Nbw-ḥr-š.s*); '(man of the ?) house of nurses Dedi-ik(er)' (*Ddỉ-ỉḳ*(*r*). For the space left blank between the second and third figures in the lower register, see n. 25.

[44] Quirke 2016a, 442, element 6. Note that the wife is depicted with the characteristic T-shaped nipple, here well preserved, as is that of the female butler in the top left scene (Figure 24) (cf. Wegner 2017, 503-504, fig. 14; 2018, 294-296, fig. 7; Davies 2019, 20 [figs, bottom row] and 29; Wegner and Cahail 2021, 344-346).

[45] Worth noting among the pile of offerings at the top are the fish (*Tilapia*), a food-item not routinely included in such a scene (Brewer and Friedman 1989, 15-16; cf. Brandy 2015, 1594-1595), perhaps here to be understood as a *pars pro toto* (owing to limited wall-space) for a fishing-scene.

[46] A female servant (*ḥmt*) with the same unusual name, possibly the same person, is listed among the female staff in the bottom right inscription, line 3 (Figure 26); cf. *PN* ii, 330, 27; pnm.uni-mainz.de/4/name/1267.

contemporary tomb-chapel of Horemkhauef at Hierakonpolis (Figures 30-33),[47] both linked by the artist Sedjemnetjeru,[48] who surely played a major part also in the decoration of Bebi's chapel,[49] as he certainly did in that of EK 39 (see next below).

EK 39,*[50] *Hormin (SIP, 16th dynasty)

Original decoration is now present only on the façade, the sculpting of high quality but in a much-damaged state (Figure 34).[51] A long offering formula, in four lines, on the lintel, once identified the tomb-owner (in line 2) and family (lines 3-4). Unfortunately, the owner's title is lost and his name broken (only the determinative is intact),[52] though the remnants are consistent with the reading 'Hormin' (*Ḥr-mnw*), (Figure 35).[53] Other names recorded, in line 3, immediately below, include those of two of his daughters, '...Nub[hetep]ti', (*Nbw-*[*ḥtp*]*.tỉ*)[54] and 'king's ornament Sobeknefru' (*Sbk-nfrw/nfrw-Sbk*), and further to the right (Figure 36) that of his wife, 'king's ornament Ahnefru' (*ỉʿḥ-nfrw/nfrw-ỉʿḥ*); in line 4, only the beginning remains (part of the first sign, probably a *p* (Q3)) of the name of a third daughter, similarly titled (Figures 36 and 38); the inscription ends with a section of the protasis of the formula of good behaviour (Figure 35).[55] Note that the wife's name is uncommon (*PN* ii, 299, 20, citing only this case; Stefanović 2011, 17 (8), 31, fig. 1) and is also written with a distinctive variant of the *ỉʿḥ*-sign (the crescent surmounting a small detached circle), noted by Vandersleyen 1971, 215, doc. no. 47 (though unaware of the SIP date; for a further contemporary [late MK/SIP], provenanced example of the variant, cf. Bazin and El-Enany 2010, 2-3, figs 1 and 2 [lunette, left], 7, note a).

The top section only of the two columns of the left jamb inscription survives, the first column bearing an offering formula, which would have ended with the owner's title and name, and the second column beginning: *ḏd.f wn*(*n*).(*i*) *m* ..., 'he says, I shall be in/as ...' (Figure 37), which recalls that inscribed on the left column of Bebi's façade (Figure 20).

While the columns on the right are almost entirely lost, with only two hieroglyphs (the first and last) extant (Figures 38-39),[56] the important artist's 'signature', done in smaller hieroglyphs beneath the

---

[47] Figures 30-31: section of scene, on the east wall, showing female attendant, identified (caption faded) as 'sister [... ...] Henke[t]'(?) (*Ḥnk*[*t*]*?*), holding a wand behind the seated tomb-owner (his wife not depicted); the similar figure above, 'his sister, king's ornament Meruty' (*Mrwty*), holds a lotus to her nose (for the scene as a whole, Davies 2001, 118, no. 10, pl. 8, 2, col. pl. 43, 2). Figures 32-33: scene of nurse, 'his wet-nurse, Sat-Hathor' (*mnʿt.f Sꜣt-Ḥwt-ḥr*), squatting facing right, holding a white wand before her four sons, the first named 'Djehuty' (*Ḏḥwty*), and two daughters facing left, with another, younger, daughter, named 'Iry' (*sꜣt.s ỉry*) standing behind her, the nurse and daughter shown with blue hair (cf. the Bebi scene, Figure 24). Regrettably, this Horemkhauef scene has been badly damaged (by thieves) since the Wildung photograph was taken, though the figures of the nurse with wand, the daughter and the first son partially survive (Figure 33). For kinship terminology in contemporary (MK/SIP) sources relating to the children of nurses and other female servants, and the implications thereof, see Marée 2010, 256, Trait 16; Stefanović 2011; cf. note 80 below.

[48] Davies 2001, 119-121, col. pls 44, 1-2; 2019; cf. Kubisch 2008, 310; Siesse 2019, 108-109, and 325; pnm.uni-mainz/de/4/name/2286.

[49] Davies 2019, 20 and 29; in the Hierakonpolis context, the wands are shown with the narrower, pointed end held upwards, as opposed to those depicted at Elkab (pointed end downwards), a variation of uncertain, if any, significance, perhaps a matter of local preference/tradition (cf., on a similar issue, Quirke 2016a, 443).

[50] PM v, 184, no. 8.

[51] Cf. Davies 2016, 73, fig. 2, 75, 83, fig. 15.

[52] The 'sitting man' hieroglyph (A1), as found in this façade's inscriptions, is unusually varied in form, in particular with regard to the disposition of the arms (cf. Figures 37 and 39).

[53] The end of sign G5 is preserved followed by a remnant of R22 atop R12. For the name, *PN* i, 248, 19; pnm.uni-mainz.de/4/name/2458.

[54] The sign *ḥtp* (R4) suits the space; the name so written occurs in EK 54, in the list of female staff, line 1 (Figure 26); cf. pnm.uni-mainz.de/4/name/126 (no. 21).

[55] See Vernus 1988, 148, E, 151, H; cf. the EK 54 example (Figure 20), with n. 21 above. For the title 'king's ornament', see n. 24 above.

[56] The first is *h* (O4, in reversed orientation, a commonplace feature), possibly the initial sign of *hꜣỉ.n.ỉ*, 'I went down...', or similar, a standard component, like *pr.n.ỉ* (cf. EK 54, Figure 20), of the ideal tomb-biography (Janssen 1946, 83-84 (Bn); Kubisch 2008, 67), in which case the last sign (A1) probably writes the possessive suffix, 'my'.

columns, though eroded and obscured by later figural graffiti, is substantially intact (Figure 39), reading '[scrib]e of forms, great one of the ten(s) [of Upper Egypt] Sedjemnetjeru, repeating life' (**[***sš***]** *ḳdwt wr mdw* [*šmʿw*] *Sḏm-nṯrw wḥm ʿnḫ*).[57] The vestige of a similar inscription, now unintelligible (possibly once identifying another significant functionary), survives in the equivalent position on the left jamb (Figure 40), visible just above a group of later pilgrim grooves (cf. above, EK 46, p. 1, n. 5, Figures 9 and 12). Note that façade inscriptions of this kind are not confined to EK 39; remnants survive on the façade of EK 66, again on both the lower left and lower right jambs: on the left, there survives a single hieroglyph (A 21), still intact (Figure 41); on the right, a mere vestige, possibly of the same hieroglyph.

Individuals involved in the creation and functioning of EK 39 are also credited in sets of inscriptions, again in smaller hieroglyphs, arranged horizontally to right and left directly above the jambs, their beginnings lost. They consist of a single line on the right (Figure 38), reading left to right, ending with title and name, '... lector-priest Wenenef' (*ḫry-ḥbt Wnn.f*),[58] and a double line on the left (Figure 37), a statement, by the tomb-owner, reading right to left, '(1) [....] I made (my) tomb of the necropolis (2) [in?] a month[59] with my craftsman Tekhy' (1) [*ỉw?*] *ỉr.n.ỉ ỉs.*(*ỉ*) *n ḫrt-nṯr* … [*n?*] *ɜbd m ḥmw.ỉ Tḫy*.[60]

Tomb 39 evidently remained operative through succeeding generations. It has a huge substructure (Figure 3, right) and the chapel bears on its rear wall two related stelae (Figure 42),[61] still under study, the one on the right, its owners 'Ipu senior' (*ỉpw-ʿɜ*) and his two brothers, 'Ipu junior' (*ỉpw-šri*) and 'Ipu middle' (*ỉpw-ḫry-ỉb*), done entirely in paint, the other, on the left, its owner Ipu/Sa-demi (*ỉpw/Sɜ-dmi*), incised and painted (and surrounded by a raised frame). Both are dateable to the early 18th dynasty on stylistic and internal grounds. Among other personnel identified in the stelae are 'priest Dinem' (*ḥm-nṯr Dỉ-nm*), right stela, bottom left (Figure 43), and 'priest of Nekhbet Ipu/Bembu' (*ḥm-nṯr n Nḫbt ỉpw/Bmbw*), left stela, centre left (Figures 44a-b). These same two officials are attested in the tomb of Reneny (EK 20; date: Amenhotep I; see below), where 'priest Dinem' and 'priest Ipu/Bembu' are figured, one behind the other, among the seated guests in the west-wall banquet scene (Tylor 1900, pl. vii; Figure 45),[62] a further example of the 'interconnectedness' (contemporary and through time) of the Elkab tombs and their denizens.

EK 62[63] ***(SIP)***

The chapel, its façade gone (Figure 46), consists of a single rectangular room, which contains, to its right (east) side, the burial shaft. Carved into the back wall, to the left of the shaft, is a round-topped stela done in painted sunk relief (Figure 47). The upper middle section of the stela is lost owing to the

[57] Cf. Davies 2016, 75, with n. 20, pl. ix.

[58] Cf. Marée 2010, 272, n. 215: 'Lectors in contract for funerary services are also, of course, depicted in tomb chapels, or may be named on the door frame of such a chapel, as for example with Elkab tomb ... of *Ḥrw-mnw*.' For the name *Wnn.f*, see *PN* i, 79, 3; pnm.uni-mainz.de/4/name/4642.

[59] Cf. the statement in Sobeknakht II's first biography, line 15: 'I made for me this beautiful tomb of the necropolis, hewn from the mountain, in three (or 'four') months ...' (Tylor 1896, pl. vii; Kubisch 2008, 291; Davies 2019, 21 and 28).

[60] For the name *Tḫy*, see *PN* i, 382, no. 31, ii, 398; pnm-mainz.de/4/name/3140 and /2600. The rendering, as here, of the element y (Z4) with two straight or near-straight strokes is a standard variant of Z4; cf., for example, in EK 66, Tylor 1896, pl. viii, line 2, *sty*, and pl. x, line 2, *wʿty*). For similar direct acknowledgement by a tomb-owner of the role of his workmen, cf. the ceiling inscription in the tomb of Horemkhauef at Hierakonpolis (Davies 2001, 118, no. 12, col. pl. 43, 3; fuller publication forthcoming), in which the latter boasts of hewing his tomb 'with my very own (gang of) craftsmen' (*m ḥmwt.ỉ ḏs.ỉ*). Such an acknowledgement is further implicit in the depiction of named masons actually at work on the tomb, as in EK 66 (see already Tylor 1896, 2: 'sculptors and workmen, no doubt those who made the tomb, are given places of unusual importance'; see, further, Franke/Marée 2013, 20, with n. 13; Davies 2019, 20, 28-29).

[61] Below and between them is an emplacement for a third, round-topped stela, now missing, probably contemporary, though created after the left stela, as its upper left corner intrudes into the latter's frame. A fourth smaller stela might have been present in the destroyed area to the lower left.

[62] The name Dinem, not in *PN* (cf. Fischer 1980, 159, no. 56), is rare, currently attested only at Elkab, from the tomb of Reneny and now our EK 39 stela. For Bembu, see *PN* i, 96. no. 15; Fischer 1980, 158, no. 10.

[63] PM v, 184, unnumbered: 'Between Tomb of Bebi and Tomb of Sebknakht'; 'Rock-stela (name lost)'.

intrusion of a deep rectangular recess sunk into the wall to receive a later burial.[64] The decoration (Figures 48-49) consisted of the motif of *udjat*-eyes flanking a *shen*-sign at the top, surmounting a long offering formula organised originally into seven or eight horizontal lines, reading right to left, the first line surviving[65] together with remnants of the second and a fragmentary group at the very end. Below the inscription is a scene showing the tomb-owner and his wife seated, facing right, holding a lotus to the nose, before food and drink offerings. The text identifying the owner is gone, while the wife's inscription is damaged but reads 'his [wif]e Ren-en-dehu' (?), ([*ḥm*]*t.f* ***Rn-n-dḥw*** [?]),[66] an unusual name. Also named, though not figured, is 'his daughter Nubemiunt' (*Nbw-m-ỉwnt*).

EK 64,[67] Renseneb and others (SIP, 16th dynasty and earlier)

With the entrance and façade lost, work has been concentrated on cleaning areas of the internal walls and columns (Figure 50). The lintel surmounting the access to the southwest complex, representing probably the tomb's earliest phase (late Old Kingdom/6th dynasty),[68] can now be seen to bear on its upper section a roughly incised secondary inscription, in large, ill-formed hieroglyphs, reading right to left, surmounting a line of figural decoration, done in a similar style (Figure 51). The inscription, its beginning eroded, appears to include remnants of a king's formula, the hieroglyphs now unclear, followed by a reference to the god Osiris (?), and continues with a group reading '(and) lords of a perfect burial...' (*nbw n ḳrst nfrt...*), the following sign(s) obscure and the end broken and lost. Further study is required.

Adjacent to the lintel, a section of the ceiling of the tomb's entrance hall was carved in the form of round wooden beams (Figure 51),[69] a feature otherwise unattested (so far) in the Elkab rock-necropolis, though known from elsewhere.[70]

With regard to the later enlargement of the tomb, most of the inner, main wall surfaces were not worked to a smooth finish and, apart from the rear central doorway with the well-known inscriptions of the 'commander of the ruler's crew Renseneb' and the adjacent stela-emplacement with libation-basin below (Figure 52),[71] bear no decoration. Shallow round-topped stelae were carved, one each, into two of the central columns and another into the wall in the south-west corner (Davies 2010a, 224, fig. 1, all stelae-locations marked 'S') but their decoration, probably painted, no longer survives. Present are a number of incised 'mason's-marks', the clearest, in the west wall, in the form of a rectangle surmounted by a roughly triangular spout (Figure 53).[72]

A similar motif is attested from the top of the main cliff (Figure 54) together with other 'quarry-

[64] Such niches are commonplace throughout the necropolis, both within tomb-chapels and on exterior rock-faces (see, for example, Figures 5, top right, 56, top, and 82); it has been suggested that they served to hold crocodile mummies, dating possibly to the Graeco-Roman period (see Limme 2008, 20, with n. 34). They are present, causing severe loss of decoration, in tomb 179, datable by cartouche to the reign of Ptolemy III (Davies, Prada and Woodhouse 2018, 10-12), which suggests that they are more likely to be Roman than Ptolemaic (Prada and Woodhouse 2019).

[65] Noteworthy here is the writing of Osiris with the inverted sign Q2 (Ilin-Tomich 2017, 8-9, A2, 35, Table 26, and 37), found also in EK 54 (Bebi); see Kubisch 2008, 275, line 4f.

[66] See *LD Text,* iv, 54 (including *ḥmt.f* with no indication of damage); name not included in *PN*. For the possible name-form, cf. for example, ***Rn-n-rḥwt*** (pnm.uni-mainz.de/4/name/4099). For ***dḥw*** as a name-component, cf. ***Dḥw-snb***, Downes 1974, 68, fig. 32, stela from Esna, Liverpool 25.11.05.178, line 5 (late MK/SIP); pnm.uni-mainz.de/4/name/1797; also ***Dḥw-tɜwy***, stela Hildesheim 1261, last line (early 18th dynasty); PM viii (4), 94-5, 803-049-000.

[67] PM v, 184, no. 9; cf. Davies 2010a, 223-229, figs 1-3, pls 38-42; Siesse 2019, 141, 146-8, 182, 325-326; pnm.uni-mainz/de/4/place/22; pnm.uni-mainz/de/4/inscription/1372.

[68] See Davies 2010a, 224, fig. 1, and 225, n. 20; Davies 2010b, 131, 137, fig. 9, the complex dateable from the style of the false-door with central T-shaped panel.

[69] On the basis of this ceiling decoration, tomb 64 was referred to by Tylor 1896, 1, as 'the Palm Tree Tomb (so called from a carved roof).'

[70] On such decoration, see Arnold 2003, 47: 'Round ceiling beams are sometimes represented in stone, for example in the entrance hall of the precinct of Djoser, in mastabas of the Old Kingdom and in tombs of the reign of Senwosret III at Dahshur and Abydos'; cf., further, Arnold 2002, 44, 56-58, 121-122, no. 6; Angenot 2017, 416; Desjardins 2023, 129-130, fig. 1.

[71] Davies 2010a, 225-229, pls 40-42.

[72] Cf. Davies 2015-2020, 70, pl. vi, a.

marks' and inscriptions (not necessarily associated with the marks) left by two (presumably itinerant) artists, brothers or at least close colleagues, *Wnmy* and *ʾIi/ʾIiɜ* 'of Memphis' (Figure 55).[73]

EK 67*[74] *(SIP)

Situated immediately below, to the west of the tomb of Sobeknakht II (EK 66; Figure 56), the tomb-chapel of EK 67 appears to have consisted of a single room with a burial shaft located along the north wall towards the rear. The façade and most of its roof are lost. Large boulders remain in place where they fell, partly blocking access to the shaft and the east wall.

A round-topped stela, surely belonging to the tomb-owner, is carved into the wall in the room's south-east corner (Figure 58). In sunk relief of good workmanship, it has suffered damage, mostly to the left and central area of its upper half. The lunette was occupied by the motif of two falcon-eyes,[75] probably once flanking a *shen*-sign (cf. the central motif above the interior doorway in the neighbouring tomb-chapel, EK 66).[76] It surmounts four lines of hieroglyphs, consisting of an offering text (the king's formula of the standard SIP form), ending with the owner's title, 'commander of the [ruler's] crew', and his name of which only the final two signs (*p* and *t*) survive in full, together with a trace of the sign preceding.[77] The scene below shows the owner on the left seated on a chair, holding a lotus to the nose, before a table of offerings; to the right of the table is a standing female figure, also holding a lotus, identified as '[his wife?] servant of the ruler Ites-seneb' ([*ḥmt.f* ?] *bɜkt n ḥḳɜ ʾIt.s-snb*)'.[78] The lower register (Figures 58-59) depicts a row of standing figures, facing right, representing a son, four daughters and two other male figures, identified in sequence (the names mostly routine) in the line below as: 'his son Ika' (*ʾIkɜ*);[79] 'his daughter Nubemiunt' (*Nbw-m-ỉwnt*); 'his daughter Nen' (*Nn*); 'his daughter Nefrethotep' (*Nfrt-ḥtp*); 'daughter of his wife Djeba' (*sɜt n ḥmt.f Ḏbɜ*);[80] 'Horhotep' (*Ḥr-ḥtp*); and 'Senebneb' (*Snb-nb*).

On the wall, to the left of the stela, is a roughly incised, secondary scene (Figure 57), showing a man with a dog or gazelle (?), proceeding towards the stela, with offerings above consisting of cattle and fowl.

EK 66,*[81] *Sobeknakht II (SIP, 16th dynasty)

Among the most striking visual features of the chapel's interior first room (Figure 60) are the inscriptions, arranged along the west and east walls, above the figural decoration, in three lines of large hieroglyphs, in sunk work, painted blue (Figure 61; cf. Tylor 1896, pls ii-v and vii-x; Helck 1983, 16, no. 24; Kubisch 2008, 283, Abb. 27, 287, Abb. 28), now newly recorded. As is known, they include not only ritual and self-laudatory content but also, notably in the eastern inscription, information of genealogical and historical interest (Figure 62).[82] Thus, the uppermost line on the east wall, complementing the family's genealogy

[73] See Vandekerckhove and Müller-Wollermann 2001, i, 28-9, ii, pls 43, a-b, F5 and F6 (dated tentatively to the Middle Kingdom); cf. pnm.uni-mainz.de/4/name/1559, nos 15-16, and /name/3272, no. 20, respectively, and Brémont 2023, 22, note 48. A genitival *n* connecting the personal name and *Mn-nfr*, 'Memphis' is visibly present in F5, but obscured by damage in F6. The sign following the *i* (M17) in the name, at the beginning of F6, line 2, is G1 (not G43).

[74] Not in PM v; previously unrecorded.

[75] On the 'falcon-eyes' motif (in the round top of stelae) as a dating criterion (13th dynasty/SIP), see Ilin-Tomich 2017, 32, 36, Table 26, D1, and 37; so also the sign S3 (the red crown), used to write *n* (line 4), Ilin-Tomich 2017, 13, A5, and 37.

[76] Davies 2010a, 233, fig. 6.

[77] Possibly the uppermost part of sign V28, the group thus reading ... *ḥpt* (?).

[78] The reading of the name I owe to Marcel Marée; for parellels, cf. pnm.uni-mainz.de/4/name 680 (spelling nos 14-15). On the title *bɜkt nt ḥḳɜ*, 'servant of the ruler', see Stefanović 2009, 57-58; Ilin-Tomich 2016-2018, 19-22; pnm.uni-mainz.de/4/title/331.

[79] Cf. *PN* i, 47, no. 26, 48, nos 2-3, etc.; ii, 267, no. 26; pnm.uni-mainz/de/4/name/4212.

[80] Perhaps the wife's daughter from a previous marriage/liaison; for such kinship terminology, Marée 2010, 256, Trait 16; Stefanović 2011, 25-26; cf. note 47 above.

[81] PM v, 184-185, no. 10; Tylor 1896; cf. Kubisch 2008, 280-294 (Katalog: Elkab 4); Davies 2010a, 223-225, fig. 1, 229-235, figs 4-10, pls 43-48; Siesse 2019, 325-326; pnm.uni-mainz.de/4/place/22; pnm.uni-mainz.de/4/inscription/576.

[82] See Kubisch 2008, 286-293.

as recorded on the central doorway,[83] ends with the tomb-owner's lineage (Figure 62, top), naming his father, 'governor, overseer of priests, Sobeknakht (I), his grandfather, 'governor, overseer of priests, Iymeru', and his mother, 'hereditary princess (*ỉry-pˁt*) Nefru', her name only partially preserved but the remains, with clear traces of blue paint, now confirmed as comprising the lower sections of three *nfr*-signs. The line below (Figure 62, middle) records the name of his main wife, 'hereditary princess Reditenes (*Rdỉt-n.s*)', the mother of his son and successor, 'high priest of Nekhbet Sobeknakht' (*ḥm-nṯr tpy n Nḫbt Sbk-nḫt*), who is figured with his father in the scene beneath.[84] The end of the third line (Figure 62, lower), surely promulgating the content of an official document, lists the nature and extent of agricultural land in the town of Agny (*dmỉ n ˁgny*, located possibly downstream of Esna), a historical donation to the temple of Nekhbet (at Elkab) affirmed by boundary stones bearing the name of the 13th dynasty king, Sekhem-re-swadj-tawy (*Sḫm-rˁ-swɜḏ-tɜwy* (Sobekhotep III)) (Figure 61), the endowment evidently re-secured following effective petitioning by Sobeknakht to the current king.[85] Setting aside minor palaeographic points, these important inscriptions were, in general, well recorded by Tylor (1896, pl. vii) but note that the lines extend to the end of the wall (Figure 62), whereas in Tylor's publication (owing probably to a miscalculation in the relative scales) they are shown as stopping short and are thus misaligned in relation to the scenes below.

There has been considerable progress in clarifying smaller prosopographical detail. For example, in the major offering scene on the west wall (Tylor 1896, pl. v), Sobeknakht and wife (the latter's name here lost, probably his main wife, Reditenes) are shown seated before a pile of offerings. Above the offerings are the figures and inscriptions of two servants, a man and a woman, in characteristic offering pose, vessels in their hands (with a baboon, coloured green, shown feeding, to their lower right). The servants can now be identified respectively as 'favourite butler, Ip-sher(i)' (*wbɜ n ḫrt-ỉb ỉp-šr(ỉ)*),[86] and 'butler Khonsu/Resti' (*wbɜt Ḫnsw/Rsti*) (Figure 63), the latter's coiffure recalling that of the female equivalents depicted in EK 54 (Figures 24, 29a). At the rear of the scene, the wife is shown being attended to by a hairdresser (Tylor 1896 pl. v, right; Vandier 1964, 174-175, fig. 64, upper; Figure 64),[87] as in EK 46 and 54 (Figures 16, 23). Below the hairdresser, previously difficult to discern and new to the record is the figure (damaged) of a wet-nurse (*mnˁt*), named 'Isis' (*3st*), standing behind the couple's chair (Figure 65).[88] Moreover, she is depicted holding up an apotropaic wand of a kind familiar from EK 54 and known also, as noted above, from Horemkhauef's tomb at Hierakonpolis (Figures 30-33).

The close links between Elkab and Hierakonpolis (Nekhen), well evidenced by the case of the artist Sedjemnetjeru, are further indicated by depictions of two elite officials directly connected to Hierakonpolis. Shown leading Sobeknakht's funeral procession on the west wall (top register), the inscription now clearer, is 'his brother, beloved of him, excellent scribe, chief lector-priest of Horus of Nekhen Hormeni' (*sn.f n mr.f sš ỉḳr ḫry-ḥbt ḫry-tp n Ḥr Nḫn Ḥr-mnỉ*) (Tylor 1896, pl. iv; Figure 66),[89] with Hormeni revealed to be wearing an elaborate high-waisted bulbous skirt supported by a shoulder

[83] Davies 2010a, 230-234, figs 6, 8 and 10; cf. Davies 2016. Pending new direct evidence, the suggestion that governor Sobeknakht I rose to become vizier (*ṯɜty*) like his father and grandfather, Iymeru and Iy (Siesse 2019, 153, fig. 32, 165-7, Table 39, and 182), remains tempting but speculative.

[84] Davies 2010a, 231, pl. 47. The senior status of these two women, mother and main wife, in relation to the second wife Ta-inty (*Tɜ-ỉnty*; Davies 2010a, 231, 234, fig. 7, pl. 48; pnm.uni-mainz/de/4/name/3124), is reflected in the title 'hereditary princess' as opposed to 'king's ornament' (cf. Marée 2010, 267; Ilin-Tomich 2016-2018, 21).

[85] Smither 1939, 35; Von Beckerath 1965, 183; Vernus 1986, 590; Van den Boorn 1988, 166; Eder 2002, 54-55; Moreno-García 2005, 123-124; Kubisch 2008, 112-113, 281, 287-289; Moreno-García 2016, 445, with n. 79; Siesse 2019, 325, 383, no. 63; further, on the location of Agny, Gardiner 1947, vol. ii, 3* (map), 12*-14*, no. 324; Gomaà 1986, 67-69; Kitchen 1969-1979, 545, 12, no. 11; 1999, 375, §709; Hannig 2006, 1127.

[86] The *ḫ* and *r* of *ḫrt* are transposed.

[87] Cf. Hudáková 2019, 308-309.

[88] Cf. Davies 2019, 29.

[89] It is probably the same 'scribe, lector-priest, Hormeni', who is eulogised with others, including the artist Sedjemnetjeru, in the adjacent harpist's song (cf. Davies 2003, 5, fig., top left), and is named, it is suggested, on the stela of Horemkhauef from Hierakonpolis (MMA 35.7.55); on the latter connection, Vernus 1986, 590-591; cf. Siesse 2019, 108-109.

strap, an outfit befitting of his rank, and holding before him a roll of papyrus, no doubt to be understood as inscribed with appropriate ritual texts for recitation.[90] Figured on the east wall (top register) is a group of four personnel (Tylor 1896, pl. ix; Figure 67), come to pay their respects, led by 'high priest of Horus of Nekhen Sobeknakht' (*ḥm-nṯr tpy n Ḥr Nḫn Sbk-nḫt*),[91] also attired in distinctive formal dress. The first and third figures of his entourage, each bearing the military title 'commander of the ruler's crew' (see below), are named 'Iymer' and 'Sobeknakht' respectively. The second figure is named 'Hori', his title damaged (ending *... ty*), perhaps originally [*ʿḥɜ*(*w*)]*ty*, 'warrior',[92] which would suit the space and context. All three of the entourage are labelled *sn.f*, lit. 'his brother', with reference here possibly to the preceding 'high priest', though they are not, of course, necessarily to be understood as siblings. Numerous male personnel (up to 30), including our 'chief lector-priest of Horus of Nekhen Hormeni' (Figure 66), are designated as 'his brother' in the tomb's scenes, most with reference to the tomb-owner,[93] many of them (at least 21) bearing the title 'commander of the ruler's crew' (*ɜtw n ṯt ḥḳɜ*).[94] Confirming its significance and prevalence – reflecting, it is suggested, a 'militarisation of society'[95] during a period of growing external threats - the title is also borne, as already noted, by several of Elkab's contemporary tomb-owners: Bebi (and father, Neferhotep) (EK 54); Renseneb (EK 64); and the owner of EK 67.[96]

Lower range

EK 20,[97] ***Reneny (NK, 18th dynasty)***

Since the publication of the tomb by Tylor (1900), previously detached sections have been rebuilt into the walls and most of the surfaces cleaned, at least partially, making the original decoration, done in painted relief and paint in the first room, more easily intelligible (Figure 68).[98] During the course of our work, we have been able to identify a number of still-detached fragments as belonging to the original decoration.[99]

As is well established, the tomb is dated to the reign of Amenhotep I, with the king's cartouche with *prenomen* displayed above the doorway of the statue-niche, flanked by kneeling figures of Reneny (*Rnny*), arms raised offering *nu*-pots (Figure 69).[100] The dating is supported by a visitor-inscription inscribed by Reneny in Year 22 of King Nebpehtyre Ahmose (while his father Sobekhotep was still governor) in the tomb-chapel of their distinguished predecessor, Sobeknakht II (EK 66).[101] The king appointed Reneny as governor in succession to his father, as is stated at the beginning of the façade lintel inscription: 'A favour granted by the king: he placed me in the seat of my father...' (Tylor 1900, pl. i, upper, line 1),[102] echoing a similar statement on the lintel of the tomb of Sobeknakht II (Tylor

[90] Cf. Forshaw 2014, 7-9, fig. 6, and 104.

[91] Otherwise not certainly attested; to be added, with our 'chief lector-priest Hormeni' (see above), to the corpus of known senior functionaries of Nekhen of the late MK/SIP discussed by Siesse 2019, 266 and 324-325.

[92] For the title, Stefanović 2006, 178-181; pnm.uni-mainz.de/4/title/286.

[93] See Kubisch 2008, 280, n. 956; Davies 2010a, 234, with n. 57; cf. Marée 2010, 269, n. 194; Franke/Marée 2013, 35, 6a-b, etc.

[94] On the title, Stefanović 2006, 61-94 (including much EK 66 data, now understandably in need of revision); Marée 2009, 60-62; 2010, 267; Grajetzki 2010, 310, no. 1; Miniaci 2011, 129, fig. 134, and 153; Stefanović 2011, 15-16, n. 2; Kubisch and Franke† 2013, 148; Quirke 2016a, 442; Siesse 2019, 253, 255-258, 264-265, with fig. 40; De Gaetano 2022, 33-34; pnm.uni-mainz.de/4/title/179.

[95] Grajetzki 2010, 310; cf. Thill 2011-2012, 267; Shirley 2013, 566-570; Wegner and Cahail 2021, 370-372.

[96] Possibly also originally Hormin (EK 39), his titulary lost but whose wife was a 'king's ornament' (Figure 36), as in the case of Bebi and father (EK 54; Figure 20); cf. Stefanović 2009, 90-93; Franke/ Marée 2013, 176-177, with n. 31; Stefanović 2015, 867-871; Ilin-Tomich 2016-2018, 20-21; Wegner and Cahail 2021, 371.

[97] PM v, 183-184, no. 7.

[98] Cf. Prada and Wordsworth 2018, 86, figs 8.5 and 8.6; Prada, this volume, Figures 2-3 and 16; Bussmann and Baines 2022, 185, fig. 2.

[99] See Davies and O'Connell 2012, 53, 63, fig. 8 (section of façade lintel inscription); and especially Woodhouse, this volume, 76-77, nos 2-4, Figures 7-12 and 15.

[100] Note that in Tylor 1896, pl. i (cf. Spieser 2000, 207 and 305, no. 72), the *ḏsr*-sign (D 45) in the king's prenomen, *Ḏsr-kɜ-rʿ*, is misrepresented, as are other details in the scene.

[101] Davies 2010a, 237, pl. 50; see now Demarée, this volume, 67-73, Figures 1-6.

[102] Cf. Davies 2010a, 237; Shirley 2013, 558 and 580.

1896, pl. i, line 3).[103] The son and father are depicted, separately, in the chapel's two major scenes, located at the further end of the west and east walls respectively. The scene on the west wall shows Reneny and his main wife, 'mistress of the house Idy' (*ỉdy*),[104] seated together (Figure 70) before family and guests, including the priests Dinem and Ipu/Bembu (Figure 45) already mentioned above (see EK 39; Figures 43-44), while an equivalent scene, directly opposite, on the east wall (Figure 71), shows his father and mother, 'governor Sobekhotep' (*Sbk-ḥtp*) and 'his wife, mistress of the house Ahmose' (*ỉʿḥ-ms*), receiving a meat-offering from 'his son, scribe, butcher of the temple Djehutymose' (*sꜣ.f sš ꜥft n ḥwt-nṯr Ḏḥwtyꜥms*).[105]

Reneny appears to have had several other wives in addition to Idy,[106] most prominently 'his wife, his beloved, his favourite, Nehi' (*Nḥỉ*),[107] shown in the mourning scene on the east wall (Tylor 1900, pl. xi; Figure 72).[108] Nehi is known to have been the mother of at least one of Reneny's sons, namely Neferhotep,[109] who is depicted in the painted scenes in the niche (Tylor 1900, pls xvi; Figures 73-75), kneeling, rear arm raised, with two of his brothers, performing a funerary ritual,[110] before the seated figures of Reneny and the latter's mother, Ahmose.[111] On a technical point, new enhanced images of the niche-scenes, which were done entirely in paint, reveal the presence of artist's grids and preliminary drafts in red (Figure 76); these grids are now the earliest such attested in the Elkab necropolis.

With regard to prosopography, a number of corrections can be made to the useful list of names compiled by H. G. Fischer (1980, 158-160). These include:

1. West wall, top register, funerary banquet, left of offering-scene, second seated man (Tylor 1900, pl. vii; Fischer no. 44; Figure 77, left). The inscription reads: *ḥry Ḥwyỉmꜣ*, 'chief Huy/Ima' (a double name). Note that the first seated man (Figure 77, right), the principal guest at the banquet, is identified as 'commander of Elephantine' (*ṯsw n ꜣbw*), an official of significant status, Reneny's political and administrative equivalent at Elephantine during this period,[112] each in charge of a region of traditional strategic importance. The commander's name is damaged (and thus omitted from Fischer's list) but begins with *ỉb* (F 34 + Z1).

2. West wall, second register, south end, seated guest, with female attendant (Tylor 1900, pl. vi; Fischer nos 50 and 59; Figure 78). The inscription above the man reads: *wʿb Ḏꜣ-bꜣ-m-rʿ*, 'wab-priest Djabaemre' (behind him, 'wab-priest Ahmose'); that above the attendant reads*: wbꜣt*[113] *ỉpw-wrt*, 'butler Ipuweret'. The same wab-priest Djabaemre, his name written a little more fully, is figured among the mourners, again accompanied by wab-priest Ahmose, on the east wall (Tylor 1900, pl. x; Fischer

[103] Only the end of the statement, '... in the seat of my fathers', (*... m st ỉtw.(ỉ)*), survives but the context of succession to office is clear (Davies 2010a, 237).

[104] Davies 2010a, 236-237, fig. 11, pl. 49; on Reneny's distinctive facial physiognomy here, see Fischer 1996, 153, pl. 41b; for the name Idy, Fischer 1980, 157, no. 8; Galán and Menendez 2011, 156, n. 48.

[105] An unusual association of titles, repeated in the lower scene to the right (Tylor 1900, pl. xii, bottom left; cf. Eyre 2002, 106, n.156), with the butcher at work labelled in two columns, as 'his (Reneny's) brother, scribe, butcher of the temple, [...]mose', probably the same person. Note that the caption's columns/hieroglyphs are arranged in opposite orientation to the figure to which they relate (cf. above, pp 2-3, Figures 16 and 18).

[106] Davies 2010a, 235, n. 69.

[107] Fischer 1980, 158, no. 16.

[108] Werbrouk 1938, 69-70, fig. 43; Lūddekens 1943, 37-38, no. 16, fig. 13.38; Goldwasser 1999, 321-322; cf. Motte 2021, 199, n. 11.

[109] Attested in a later inscription from Deir El-Bahri (temp. Thutmose III/Hatshepsut) as 'scribe [reckoner of works] Neferhotep, engendered by governor of Nekheb Reneny, born to mistress of the house Nehi'; see Wente 1984, 49-50; Whale 1989, 17 and 276, n. 8; Davies 2010a, 235, n. 69; Ragazzoli 2017, 159-165, E.2.14, lines 14-16, 165, nn. 15-16.

[110] Cf. Forshaw 2014, 8-9, fig. 5.

[111] For a contemporary scene with a tomb-owner's mother shown seated with him as the pre-eminent female, see Galán and Menendez 2011, 150-151, 160-161, figs 8-9, lower right (tomb of Hery, TT 12, temp. Amenhotep I); Jiménes-Higueras 2022, 6.

[112] On the apparent absence of the title *ḥꜣtyʿ* from Elephantine's administrative hierarchy from the late Middle Kingdom through to the early New Kingdom, see Grajetzki 2009, 120; Siesse 2019, 334-335. The first attested 18th dynasty holder of the office of *ḥꜣtyʿ n ꜣbw* is the well-known Treasury official, Djehutyhotep, son of Sendjehuty (Auenmüller 2015, 691, 735, 771, and 922, VII.2.40, BMElephantine-01; Davies 2020, 200-201, KRP18, no.5, pl. 15.37, fig. 15.14, 203-204, with nn 75-77), his career probably straddling the co-regency/Thutmose III period.

[113] The central shaft of the *wbꜣ*-sign (U 26) was left uncarved, hence the confusion in the reading.

no. 58; Figure 79) and is named in Reneny's visitor-inscription in the tomb of Sobeknakht II as one of his companions on the occasion of the visit (see Demarée, this volume, 67-68, Figure 6, line 8), with others identified including 'his brother Sobekhotep' (Demarée, this volume, 67, Figure 6, line 12), one of Reneny's three brothers so-named (Tylor 1900, pl. vii, top register).

3. West Wall, third register, south end, boat-scene (Tylor 1900, pl. v, bottom left; Fischer no. 57; Figure 80). The inscription above the male figure reads: *ḥɜty-ʿ Rnny*, 'governor Reneny'. The female figure offering a vessel is captioned: *wbɜyt Snt*, 'butler Senet'.[114]

4. West wall, north end, lower register (Tylor 1900, pl. viii, bottom; Fischer no. 53; Figure 81). The puzzling hieroglyph following the name of Reneny's seventh daughter, Ta-Aamet, *Tɜ-ʿɜmt*, 'The Asiatic (woman)', is the determinative 'man with blood streaming from his head' (sign A 14), routinely appended to terms denoting an 'enemy', here surely with reference to the name rather than to the person so-named.[115]

In addition to the original hieroglyphic inscriptions in the tomb, later demotic graffiti have also been recorded and studied, revealing that by the Ptolemaic period the tomb-chapel had been transformed into a shrine for a local cult of 'The Great Man'.[116]

EK 18,[117] ***Inscription of Amenmose (NK)***

Incised into the west wall of a collapsed tomb-chapel (Figure 82), originally perhaps part of tomb no. 18 (which is yet to be investigated), is a framed column of hieroglyphs. Dating to the New Kingdom, probably 18th dynasty, it reads (Figure 83): 'chief wab-priest,[118] cake-baker[119] of Nekhbet Amenmose' (*ḥry wʿb ps šʿt n Nḫbt ʾImn-ms*). It is located next to a large round-topped niche (for a stela?) sunk into the wall, which looks, in its present form, to be later in date, as it bears tool-marks similar to those visible in the adjacent mummy-niches.

EK 10,[120] ***Ahmose/Pennekhbet and Amenhotep/Hapu (NK, 18th dynasty)***

Clearance of sand and debris from the area of the entrance and beyond has revealed the original worked stone floor-surface with masons' chisel marks and natural flaws containing remnants of white plaster, which presumably once covered the floor (Figures 84-85).[121] There is no indication that there were sockets for a door.

Among the debris, fragments detached from the tomb's decoration and from other sources continue to be identified.[122] Two fragments, previously noted, join an inscription on the outer west thickness (Figure 86).[123] Another, identifying '(1) his [daughter] beloved, chantress [of (2) Nekhbet] Usy' (*šmʿyt* **[***nt Nḫbt***]** *Wsy*) (Figure 87), comes from the lower left scene on the inner east thickness, as does a smaller uninscribed fragment belonging to its bottom left corner (Figure 88), both parts of a scene, now largely destroyed, which depicted Amenhotep/Hapu (*ʾImn-ḥtp/ḥpw*), the tomb's co-owner, and family (Figure

[114] I am grateful to Dr Ellen Jones for her observations.

[115] For the term and name, see Schneider 2003 (2), 5-6. For the example cited in *PN* ii, 324, 8, see Berman 1999, 416-417, no. 312, line 6.

[116] Prada and Wordsworth 2018, 77-79, 84-85, fig. 8.4, 87, fig. 8.7, and 93, n. 43; Prada 2019a, 35-36; 2019b, 229-236, figs 8-9, 240 and 243; and Prada, this volume, 117-119.

[117] PM v, 183, unnumbered: 'Unfinished tomb (?) of Amenmosi'.

[118] *ḥry wʿb,* interrupted by a crack, the signs a little malformed. For the title, Taylor 2001, 158, nos 1553-1554a.

[119] It is possible that *ḥry*, 'chief', here is to be understood as governing both titles. For the titles *psw šʿt/ ḥry psw šʿt*, see *Wb.* 1, 552,12; Verhoeven 1984, 92, with n. 2, 99 and 157-158; Eichler 2000, 110-111, 289, no. 322 (= Taylor 2001, 159, 1559a); Bickel 2002, 80, 88, fig. 11; cf. Eyre 2002, 114, n. 186.

[120] PM v, 176-177, no. 2; Davies 2014. A proportion of the material described below is also now covered in Davies 2015-2020, 69-75, pls i-iii.

[121] Substantial fragments of such plaster survive, and are clearly visible, on the floor of EK 66 (Figure 60). It is currently impossible to examine the original floors of the other major New Kingdom tombs in the lower range of the necropolis as they have been paved over to accommodate tourist traffic (see, for example, Figure 68).

[122] The work led by Susanne Woodhouse (see further, Woodhouse, this volume, 74-110).

[123] Davies and O'Connell 2014, 2, 15, fig. 9; cf. Davies 2014, 388, fig. 16.10, 389, n. 42.

89).[124] Very likely, other fragments remain to be recovered.

At the bottom of the tomb-chamber's rear wall, to the left of the niche, there is a subsidiary scene still *in situ* but largely hidden from view and rendered (currently) inaccessible by a pile of fallen blocks.[125] Its surface in poor condition, the scene consists of a row of offering-bearers (Figure 90), of whom the rearmost figure (Figure 91) is identified by inscription as Djehutymose, one of the sons of Amenhotep/ Hapu, encountered already in our doorway scene, lower register (Figure 89, the first of the two male figures).

In general, it is now clear that, in terms of planning and executing the tomb's (re)decoration by the second owner, the outer and inner ends of the chapel were the priorities, the outer more so than the inner. The decoration of the façade and entrance – significantly, the most accessible and easily viewable area – appears to have been completed in full, while that of the areas fronting, and adjacent to, the rear niche, the chapel's inner sanctum, was advanced but far from finished (though perhaps sufficiently finished for ritual/funerary purposes), when the project was abandoned.

Bibliography

Altenmüller, H. 1987. 'Totenglauben und Magie', in A. Roccati and A. Siliotti (eds), *La magia in Egitto ai tempi dei Faraoni. Atti convegno internazionale di Studi Milano, 29-31 Ottobre 1985*. Milan, 131-146.

Altenmüller, H. 2017. 'Zu den Feindbildern auf den Zauberstäben des Mittleren Reiches und der Zweiten Zwischenzeit', *Études et Travaux* 30, 73-94.

Angenot, V. 2017. 'Remnants of the past. Skeuomorphic traditions in Ancient Egypt', in T. Gillen (ed.), *(Re)productive traditions in Ancient Egypt. Proceedings of the conference held at the University of Liège, 6th-8th February 2013*. Collection Aegyptiaca Leodiensia 10. Liège, 411-424.

Arnold, D. 2002. *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III at Dahshur: Architectural Studies*. New York.

Arnold, D. 2003. *Encyclopaedia of Ancient Egyptian Architecture.* Translated by S. Gardiner. Edited by N. and H. Strudwick. London.

Arnold, D. 2010. 'Earthquakes in Egypt in the Pharaonic Period. The evidence at Dahshur in the late Middle Kingdom', in S. H. D'Auria (ed.), *Offerings to the Discerning Eye. An Egyptological Medley in Honor of Jack A. Josephson.* Leiden-Boston, 9-15.

Auenmüller, J. 2015. *Die Territorialität der Ägyptischen Elite(n) des Neuen Reiches: Eine Studie zum Raum und räumlichen Relationen im textlichen Diskurs, anhand prosopografischer Daten und im archäologischen Record* (PhD-dissertation, FU Berlin, 2015; https://refubium.fu-berlin.de/handle/fub 188/7266).

Bazin, L. and K. el-Enany 2010. 'La stèle d'un "chancelier du roi et prophète d'Amon" de la fin du Moyen Empire à Karnak (Caire JE 37507)', *Cahiers de Karnak* 13, 1-23.

Berman, L. M. 1999. *Catalogue of Egyptian Art. The Cleveland Museum of Art.* Cleveland.

Bickel, S. 2002. 'Aspects et fonctions de la déification d'Amenhotep III', *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 102, 63-90.

Bourriau, J. 1988. *Pharaohs and Mortals. Egyptian art in the Middle Kingdom.* Cambridge.

Brandy, K. E. 2015. 'Scenes of fish and fishing in Middle Egypt: An examination of artistic continuity and change', in P. Kousoulis and N. Lazaridis (eds), *Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Egyptologists, University of the Aegean, Rhodes, 22-29 May 2008 Vol. II.* OLA 241. Leuven, 1589-1602.

Brémont, A. 2023. 'La matérialité du texte au service d'une micro-histoire du Rocher aux Vatours (Elkab) (1). L'apport de la stratigraphie', *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 123, 1-36.

Brewer, D. J and R. F. Friedman 1989. *Fish and Fishing in Ancient Egypt*. Warminster.

Bussmann, R. and J. Baines 2022. 'Iconicity of Practice and Decorum in Ancient Egypt', in T. L. Kienlin and R. Bussmann (eds), *Sociality-Materiality-Practice.* Bonn, 179-201.

[124] Cf. Davies 2014, 381, with nn. 4 and 5, 389, 394, fig. 16.18.

[125] For the remains of other decoration in this rear area, see Davies 2014, 396-398, figs 16. 20-16. 22.

Capriotti Vittozi, G. (ed.) 2014. *Egyptian Curses 1. Proceedings of the Egyptological Day held at the National Research Council of Italy (CNR), Rome, 3rd December 2012 in the International Conference "Reading Catastrophes: methodological approaches and historical interpretation. Earthquakes, floods, famines, epidemics between Egypt and Palestine, 3rd – 1st millennium BC".* Ahmes 1. Rome.

Casini, E. 2017. 'Remarks on ancient Egyptian cartonnage mummy masks from the Late Old Kingdom to the end of the New Kingdom', in J. M. Chyla, J. Dêbowska-Ludwin, K. Rosińska-Balik, and Carl Walsh (eds), *Current Research in Egyptology 2016. Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Symposium. Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland, 4-7 May 2016.* Oxford, 56-73.

Connor, S. 2022. *Ancient Egyptian Statues: Their Many Lives and Deaths.* AUC. Cairo

Davies, N. de Garis and A. H. Gardiner 1920. *The tomb of Antefoker, Vizier of Sesostris I, and of his wife, Senet (No. 60).* TTS 2. London.

Davies, W. V. 2001. 'The Dynastic Tombs at Hierakonpolis: the lower group and the artist Sedjemnetjeru', in W. V. Davies (ed.), *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt.* London, 113-125.

Davies, W. V. 2003. 'Sobeknakht of Elkab and the coming of Kush', *Egyptian Archaeology* 23, 3-6.

Davies, W. V. 2009. 'The tomb of Ahmose Son-of-Ibana at Elkab. Documenting the family and other observations', in W. Claes, H. de Meulenaere and S. Hendrickx (eds), *Elkab and Beyond: Studies in Honour of Luc Limme.* OLA 191. Leuven-Paris-Walpole, MA, 139-175.

Davies, W. V. 2010a. 'Renseneb and Sobeknakht of Elkab: the genealogical data', in M. Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties): Current Research, Future Prospects.* Leuven-Paris-Walpole, MA, 223-240.

Davies, (W.) V. 2010b. 'British Museum Epigraphic Expedition Report on the 2007 season', *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 84, 129-141.

Davies, W. V. 2014. 'A view from Elkab: the tomb and statues of Ahmose-Pennekhbet', in J. M. Galán, B. M. Bryan, and P. F. Dorman (eds), *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut*. Chicago, 381-409.

Davies, (W.) V. 2015-2020. 'British Museum Expedition to Elkab and Hagr Edfu, season 2014', *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 88, 69-80.

Davies, W. V. 2016. 'The tomb of a Governor of Elkab of the Second Intermediate Period', in G. Miniaci and W. Grajetzki (eds), *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000-1550 BC), vol. II.* London, 71-83.

Davies, W. V. 2019. 'Elkab, Hierakonpolis and the Artist Sedjemnetjeru', *Nekhen News* 31, 20-21, 28-29.

Davies, W. V. 2020. 'Securing the Gold of Wawat: pharaonic inscriptions in the Sudanese-Nubian Eastern Desert', in W. V. Davies and D. A. Welsby (eds), *Travelling the Korosko Road. Archaeological Exploration in Sudan's Eastern Desert*. Sudan Archaeological Research Society Publication 24. London, 185-220.

Davies, W. V. and E. R. O'Connell 2010. 'British Museum Expedition to Elkab and Hagr Edfu, 2010', *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 16, 101-132.

Davies, W. V. and E. R. O'Connell 2012. 'British Museum Expedition to Elkab and Hagr Edfu 2012', *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 19, 51-85.

Davies, W. V. and E. R. O'Connell 2014. 'British Museum Expedition to Elkab and Hagr Edfu, 2013', *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 22, 1-34.

Davies, W. V., L. Prada and S. Woodhouse 2018. 'Monuments of Elkab: taking a closer look', *Egyptian Archaeology* 53, 4-12.

De Gaetano, F. 2022. 'The commander of the ruler's crew: some remarks about a high military title in the Second Intermediate Period and the Egyptian army in the 17th dynasty', in E. Apostola and C. Kerkes (eds), *Current research in Egyptology 2021. Proceedings of the Twenty-First Annual Symposium, University of the Aegean, 9-16 May, 2021*. Oxford, 27-39.

Decker, W. and M. Herb 1994. *Bildatlas zum Sport im Alten Ägypten. Corpus der Bildlichen Quellen zu Leibesübungen, Spiel, Jagd, Tanz und Verwandten Themen. I, Text.* Leiden-New York-Köln.

Desjardins, J. 2023. 'The imitation of wood: an open door on the cultural and social perception of wood in Ancient Egypt', in A. Bouhafs, L. Chapon, M. Claude, M. Danilova, L. Dautais, N. Fathy, A. I. Fernández Pichel, M. Guigner, M. Pinon, and M. Valerio (eds), *Current Research in Egyptology 2022. Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Annual Symposium, Université Paul Valéry Montpellier 3*, 26-30 September 2022. Montpellier, 128-139.

Devillers, A. 2018. 'The artistic copying network around the tomb of Pahery in Elkab (EK3): a New Kingdom case study', in G. Miniaci, J. C. Moreno García, S. Quirke and A. Stauder (eds), *The arts of making in Ancient Egypt: voices, images, and objects of material producers 2000-1550 BC*. Leiden, 31-48.

Diamond, K.-A. 2023. *A study of the Sacred District Scene in private tomb decoration.* GHP Egyptology 37. London.

Dirksen, S. C. 2021. '"Nicht wurde dergleichen seit der Zeit der Vorfahren": Naturkatastrophen im Alten Ägypten', in K. Gabler, A. Verbovsek, S. Bickel and E. Hemauer (eds), *Formen kultureller Dynamik: Impuls – Progression – Transformation.* Beiträge des zehnten Basler und Berliner Arbeitskreises Junge Aegyptologie (BAJA 10) 29.11 – 1.12.2019. GOF 68. Wiesbaden, 91-104.

Downes, D. 1974. *The Excavations at Esna* 1905-1906. Warminster.

Doxey, D. M. 1998. *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom: a Social and Historical Analysis.* Probleme der Ägyptologie 12. Leiden-Boston-Köln.

Eder, C. 2002. *Die Barkenkapelle des Königs Sobekhotep III in Elkab, Beiträge zur Bautätigkeit der 13. und 17. Dynastie an den Göttertempeln Ägyptens.* Elkab VII. Turnhout.

Eichler, S. S. 2000. *Die Verwaltung des "Hauses des Amun" in der 18. Dynastie.* BSAK 7. Hamburg.

El-Kilany, E. M. Y. 2013. 'Monkeys in the daily life scenes of Ancient Egypt', *Göttinger Miszellen* 238, 25-39.

El-Kilany, E. and H. Mahran 2015. 'What lies under the chair! A study in Ancient Egyptian private tomb scenes, Part I: Animals', *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 51, 243-264.

Eyre, C. 2002. *The Cannibal Hymn. A cultural and literary study.* Liverpool.

Eyre, C. J. 2024. 'Pharaonic Egypt', in J. Rowlandson, R. S. Bagnall and D. J. Thompson (eds), *Slavery and Dependence in Ancient Egypt. Sources in Translation*. Cambridge, 37-118.

Favry, N. 2016. 'The transmission of offices in the Middle Kingdom', in G. Miniaci and W. Grajetzki (eds), *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000-1550 BC), Vol. II.* Middle Kingdom Studies 2. London, 117-131.

Fischer, H. G. 1980. 'An important lacuna in Ranke's Personennamen: the Tomb of Rnni', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 66, 157-160.

Fischer, H. G. 1996. *Varia Nova.* Egyptian Studies III. New York.

Forshaw, R. 2014. *The Role of the Lector in Ancient Egyptian society*. Oxford.

Franke, D. edited M. Marée 2013. *Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum from the 13th to 17th Dynasties. Vol. I, Fasc. 1: Descriptions.* London.

Galán, J. M. and G. Menendez 2011. 'The funerary banquet of Hery (TT 12), robbed and restored', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 97, 143-166.

Galán, J. M, B. M. Bryan and P. F. Dorman (eds) 2014. *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut*. Chicago.

García Gonzáles, L. M. and A. Jiménez Serrano 2018. 'Burial customs of the elite of Elephantine in the second half of the Twelfth Dynasty', in L. Hudáková, P. Jánosi, C. Jurman, and U. Siffert (eds), *Art-facts and Artefacts. Visualising the material world in Middle Kingdom Egypt*. Middle Kingdom Studies 8. London, 15-23.

Gardiner, A. H. 1947. *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica: Text.* 3 Vols. Oxford.

Geisen, C. 2018. *A commemoration ritual for Senwosret I. P. BMEA 10610. 1-5/P. Ramesseum B (Ramesseum Dramatic Papyrus).* Yale Egyptological Studies 11. New Haven.

Geisen, C. 2021. 'A glimpse into the life of a Late Middle Kingdom business man: the possessions of the unknown owner of Ramesseum tomb no. 5', in C. Geisen, J. Li, S. Shubert, K. Yamamoto (eds), *His good name. Essays on identity and self-presentation in Ancient Egypt in honor of Ronald J. Leprohon.* Material and visual culture of Ancient Egypt 5. Atlanta, 163-174.

Gnirs, A. 2009. 'Nilpferdstosszähne und Schlangenstäbe: zu den magischen Geräten des so genannten Ramesseumsfundes', in D. Kessler, R. Schulz, M. Ullmann, A. Verbovsek, and S. Wimmer (eds), *Texte-Theben-Tonfragmente. Festschrift für Günter Burkard.* Ägypten und Altes Testament: Studien zur Geschichte, Kultur und Religion Ägyptens und des Alten Testaments 76. Wiesbaden, 128-156.

Gnirs, A. 2015. 'Royal power in times of disaster', in F. Coppens, J. Janák, and H. Vymazalová (eds), *Royal versus Divine Authority. Acquisition, Legitimization and Renewal of Power. 7. Symposion zur ägyptischen Konigsideologie, Prague, June 26-28, 2013.* Wiesbaden, 109-143.

Goldwasser, O. 1999. '"Low" and "High" Dialects in Ramesside Egyptian', in S. Grunert and I. Hafemann (eds), *Textcorpus und Wörterbuch. Aspekte zur ägyptischen-Lexicographie.* Leiden-Boston-Köln, 311-328.

Gomaà, F. 1986. *Die Besiedlung Ägypten während des Mittleren Reiches I: Oberägypten und das Fayyūm.* TAVO 66/1. Wiesbaden.

Grajetzki, W. 2009. *Court Officials of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom.* London.

Grajetzki, W. 2010. 'Notes on Administration in the Second Intermediate Period', in M. Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties): Current Research, Future Prospects.* OLA 192. Leuven-Paris-Walpole, MA, 305-312.

Hannig, R. 2006. *Grosses Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch (2800 – 950 v. Chr.).* Marburger Edition. Darmstadt.

Harrell, J. A. 2017. 'Violence in Earth, Water, and Sky. Geological Hazards', in P. P. Creasman and R. H. Wilkinson (eds), *Pharaoh's Land and Beyond. Ancient Egypt and its Neighbors.* Oxford, 241-255.

Helck, W. 1983. *Historisch-Biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und Neue Texte der 18. Dynastie.* 2., überarbeitete Auflage. Wiesbaden.

Hubai, P. 2008. 'Der zebrochene Zauberstab. Von Nutzen der Magie oder das Apotropaion zu Budapest', *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 37, 169-98.

Hudáková L. 2016. 'Dying and mourning between the Old and Middle Kingdoms – some peculiar scenes from Thebes, el-Moalla, and Gebelein', in L. Hudáková, P. Jánosi, and A. Kahlbacher (eds), *Change and Innovation in Middle Kingdom Art.* Middle Kingdom Studies 4. London, 47-63.

Hudáková, L. 2019. *The Representations of Women in the Middle Kingdom Tombs of Officials. Studies in Iconography.* Harvard Egyptological Studies 6. Leiden/Boston.

Ilin-Tomich, A. 2017. *From Workshop to Sanctuary: The Production of Late Middle Kingdom Memorial Stelae.* Middle Kingdom Studies 6. London.

Ilin-Tomich, A. 2016-2018. 'Female titles specific to Southern Upper Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period', *Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 26, 19-36.

Janssen, J. 1946. *Die Traditioneele Egyptische Autobiografie vóór het Nieuwe Rijk. I. Die Teksten.* Leiden.

Jiménez-Higueras, Á. 2022. *A Prosopographic Study of the New Kingdom Tomb Owners of Dra Abu el-Naga.* Oxford.

Jiménez-Serrano, A. and J. C. Sánchez-Léon 2021. '"Co-regencies" in the First Upper Egyptian Nome during the Twelfth Dynasty', in A. Jiménez and A. J. Morales (eds), *Middle Kingdom palace culture and its echoes in the provinces. Regional perspectives and realities.* Harvard Egyptological Studies 12. Leiden-Boston, 239-255.

Jones, E. 2019. 'Family Portraits: exploring the representation of female relatives in the Elkab necropolis', *Nekhen News* 31, 30-31.

Karakhanyan, A., A. Avagyan and R. Stadelmann 2014. 'Geological and archaeoseismological investigations at the Colossi of Memnon from 2009 to 2012', *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 87, 61-90.

Kitchen, K. A. 1969-1979. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical, II: Ramesses II, Royal Inscriptions.* Oxford.

Kitchen, K A. 1999. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated, Notes and Comments, II: Ramesses II, Royal Inscriptions.* Oxford.

Kohler, I., E.-M. Engel, T. Kunze, and A. I. Blöbaum 2023. 'Two or three things on four women depicted on one stela (MMA 36.3.270)', *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 59, 145-157.

Kruchten, J.-M. and L. Delvaux 2010. *La tombe de Sétaou.* Elkab VIII. Turnhout.

Kubisch, S. 2008. *Lebensbilder der 2. Zwischenzeit: Biographische Inschriften der 13.-17. Dynastie.* DAIAK Sonderschrift 34. Berlin-New York.

Kubisch, S. 2010. 'Biographies of the Thirteenth to Seventeenth Dynasties', in M. Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties): Current Research, Future Prospects.* OLA 192. Leuven-Paris-Walpole, MA, 313-327.

Kubisch, S. and D. Franke† 2013. 'Das Stelenfragment des *ḥtm.tj bj.tj jmj-rꜣ gs pr* Mentuhotep (Berlin ÄS 32/66)', in H-W. Fischer-Elfert and R. B. Parkinson (eds), *Studies on the Middle Kingdom. In Memory of Detlef Franke.* Philippika 41. Wiesbaden, 145-160.

Laboury, D. 2017. 'Tradition and creativity. Toward a study of Interconicity in Ancient Egyptian art', in T. Gillen (ed.), *(Re)productive traditions in Ancient Egypt. Proceedings of the conference held at the University of Liège, 6th-8th February 2013.* Liège, 229-258.

Leitz, C. (ed.) 2002. *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen, Band II*. Leuven-Paris-Dudley, MA.

Limme, L. 2008. 'Elkab, 1937-2007: seventy years of Belgian archaeological research', *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 9, 15-50.

Lüddekens, E. 1943. 'Untersuchungen uber Religiösen Gehalt, Sprache und Form des ägyptischen Totenklagen', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 11, 1-88.

Mahran, H. and E. El-Kilany 2016. 'What lies under the chair! A study in Ancient Egyptian private tomb scenes, Part II: Objects', *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 52, 11-32.

Marée, M. 2009. 'Edfu under the Twelfth to Seventeenth Dynasties: the monuments in the National Museum of Warsaw', *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 12, 31-92.

Marée, M. 2010. 'A sculpture workshop at Abydos from the late Sixteenth or early Seventeenth Dynasty', in M. Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties): Current Research, Future Prospects.* OLA 192. Leuven-Paris-Walpole, MA, 241-281.

Marée, M. (ed.) 2010. *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties): Current Research, Future Prospects.* OLA 192. Leuven-Paris-Walpole, MA.

Meyrat, P. 2019. *Les Papyrus Magiques du Ramesseum. Recherches sur une bibliothèque privée de la fin du Moyen Empire*. 2 vols (Text and Plates). IFAO, Bibliothèque d'Étude 172. Cairo.

Midant-Reynes, B. 1976. '*St-Ỉmn*. "femme"ou "fille" d'Amon', *Revue d'Égyptologie* 28, 160-162.

Miniaci, G. 2011. *Rishi coffins and the funerary culture of Second Intermediate Period Egypt.* London.

Miniaci, G. 2018. 'Populating Middle Kingdom fauna: inclusion and exclusion of zoological iconographic motifs in its material culture', in L. Hudáková, P. Jánosi, C. Jurman, and U. Siffert (eds), *Art-facts and Artefacts. Visualising the material world in Middle Kingdom Egypt.* Middle Kingdom Studies 8. London, 63-84.

Miniaci, G. 2020. *The Middle Kingdom Ramesseum Papyri tomb and its archaeological context.* London.

Miniaci, G. and W. Grajetzki (eds) 2016. *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000-1550 BC), vol. II.* London.

Moreno García, J. C. 2005. 'Les temples provinciaux et leur rôle dans l'agriculture institutionnelle de l'Ancien et du Moyen Empire', in J. C. Moreno García (ed.), *L'agriculture institutionnelle en Égypte ancienne: état de la question et perspectives interdisciplinaires, Cahier de recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille* 25, 93-124.

Moreno García, J. C. 2016. 'Entre lexicographie et histoire économique: les terres *nꜥꜥ* et la réorganisation des domaines des temples au IIe et Ier millénaires avant J.-C. [avec une note sur *sprt* "graine (de caroube)"]', in P. Collombert, D. Lefèvre, S. Polis and J. Winand (eds), *Aere perennius. Mélanges égyptologiques en l'honneur de Pascal Vernus*. OLA 242. Leuven-Paris-Bristol, CT, 429-447.

Morris, E. 2017. 'Middle Kingdom Clappers, Dancers, Birth Magic and the reinvention of Ritual', in G. Miniaci, M. Betrò and S. Quirke (eds), *Company of Images: Modelling the Imaginary World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000-1500 BC).* OLA 262. Leuven-Paris-Bristol CT, 285-335.

Motte, A. 2021. 'Une paratextualité émergente dans les tombes privées', *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 57, 197-223.

Nyord, R. 2024. 'Manifesting powers: masks and masking in the Middle Kingdom', in B. F. Van Oppen de Ruiter and R. S. Bianchi (eds), *Under the Spell of Bes.* Wallasey, 67-85.

Obsomer, C. 1993. *'dì.f prt-ḫrw* et la filation *ms*(*t*).*n*/*ìr*(*t*).*n* comme critères de datation dans les textes des Moyen Empire', in C. Cannuyer and J.-M. Kruchten (eds), *Individu, société et spiritualité dans l'Égypte pharaonique et copte. Mélanges égyptologique offerts au Professeur Aristide Théodoridès.* Ath, 163-200.

Olabarria, L. 2020. *Kinship and Family in Ancient Egypt. Archaeology and anthropology in dialogue.* Cambridge.

Parkinson, R. B. 2009. *Reading Ancient Egyptian Poetry. Among Other Histories.* Oxford.

Postel, L. 2009. 'Quand réapparaît la forme *ms*(*w*).*n*? Réflexions sur la formule de filiation maternelle à la fin du Moyen Empire', in I. Régen and F. Servajean (eds), *Verba manent. Receuil d'études dédiées à Dimitri Meeks par ses collègues et amis.* Cahiers de l'ENiM 2,2. Montpellier, Université Paul Valery, 331-354.

Prada, L. 2019a. 'Worshipping "The Great Man": From New Kingdom tomb to Graeco-Roman shrine', *Nekhen News* 31, 35-36.

Prada, L. 2019b. 'Voices from Late and Graeco-Roman Period Elkab. A new field project on monument reuse, graffiti, and other epigraphic material from the site', in F. Naether (ed.), *New approaches in Demotic Studies. Acts of the 13th International Conference of Demotic Studies.* Berlin/Boston, 211-247.

Prada, L. and P. Wordsworth 2018. 'Evolving epigraphic standards in the field: documenting Late Period and Graeco-Roman graffiti through photogrammetry at Elkab', in F. A. J. Hoogendijk and S. M. T. Van Gompel (eds), *The materiality of texts from Ancient Egypt. New approaches to the study of textual material from the Early Pharaonic to the Late Antique Period*. Leiden, 76-93.

Prada, L. and S. Woodhouse 2019. 'Boats and horses: a painted Ptolemaic tomb at Elkab', *Nekhen News* 31, 37-38.

Quibell, J. E. 1898. *The Ramesseum.* London.

Quirke, S. 2015a. 'Apotropaic Wand', in A. Oppenheim, Dorothea Arnold, Dieter Arnold and K. Yamamoto (eds), *Ancient Egypt Transformed: The Middle Kingdom.* New York, 199-200, Cat. 130.

Quirke, S. 2015b. 'Snake Staff', in A. Oppenheim, Dorothea Arnold, Dieter Arnold and K. Yamamoto (eds), *Ancient Egypt Transformed: The Middle Kingdom.* New York, 206-207, Cat. 141A.

Quirke, S. 2016a. *Birth Tusks: the armoury of health in context - Egypt 1800 BC*. Middle Kingdom Studies 3. London.

Quirke, S. 2016b. 'Writings for good health in social context: Middle and New Kingdom comparisons', in C. Price, R. Forshaw, A. Chamberlain and P. T. Nicholson (eds), *Mummies, Magic and Medicine in Ancient Egypt. Multidisciplinary Essays for Rosalie David.* Manchester, 183-196.

Ragazzoli, C. 2017. *La Grotte des Scribes à Deir el-Bahari. La Tombe MMA 504 et ses Graffiti.* IFAO, Cairo.

Régen, I. 2017. 'Note de cryptographie. Le nom du bâton-serpent dans la 1re heure de l'Amdouat (No. 62)', in S. Bickel and L. Díaz-Iglesias (eds), *Studies in Ancient Egyptian Funerary Literature*. OLA 257. Leuven-Paris-Bristol, CT, 497-512.

Ritner, R. K. 2006. '"And each staff transformed into a snake": the serpent wand in Ancient Egypt', in K. Szpakowska (ed.), *Through a glass darkly. Magic, dreams & prophecy in Ancient Egypt*. Swansea, 205-225.

Rose, C. 2020. *Change and Continuity: Birth Practices from the Middle Kingdom through the New Kingdom. Publicly Accessible Penn Dissertations 3961.* https://repository.upenn.edu/edissertations/3961

Salvador, C. 2023. 'Three enigmatic scenes of Merneptah in the court of the Seventh Pylon at Karnak', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 109 (1-2), 5-20.

Sayce, A. H. and S. Clarke 1905. 'Report on certain excavations made at El-Kab during the years 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904', *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 6, 239-272.

Schneider, T. 2003. *Ausländer in Ägypten während des Mittleren Reiches und der Hyksoszeit.* 2 vols. ÄAT 42. Wiesbaden.

Shirley, J. J. 2013. 'Crisis and Restructuring of the State: From the Second Intermediate Period to the Advent of the Ramesses', in J. C. Moreno García (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration.* Leiden-Boston, 521-606.

Siesse, J. 2019. *La XIIIe Dynastie. Histoire de la fin du Moyen Empire égyptien.* Paris.

Smither, P. C. 1939. 'The writing of *ḥtp-dỉ-nsw* in the Middle and New Kingdoms', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 25, 34-37.

Sourouzian, H. 2014. 'Colossal statues of Amenhotep III collapsed due to an earthquake in Antiquity at Thebes', in G. Capriotti Vittozi (ed.), *Egyptian Curses 1.* Ahmes 1. Rome, 23-41.

Spieser, C. 2000. *Les noms du Pharaon comme êtres autonomes au Nouvel Empire.* OBO 174. Göttingen.

Stadelmann, R. 2014. 'The colossi of Memnon and the earthquakes at Thebes', in G. Capriotti Vittozi (ed.), *Egyptian Curses 1.* Ahmes 1. Rome, 5-22.

Stefanović, D. 2006. *The holders of regular military titles in the period of the Middle Kingdom: Dossiers.* GHP Egyptology 4. London.

Stefanović, D. 2009. *The non-royal regular feminine titles of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period: Dossiers.* GHP Egyptology 11. London.

Stefanović, D. 2011, 'When are children called "her children"?', *Chronique d'Égypte* 86, 15-31.

Stefanović, D. 2015. 'The *ḫkrt-nswt* on the monuments of the *ꜣṯw n ṯt ḥkꜣ*', in P. Kousoulis and N. Lazaridis (eds), *Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Egyptologists, University of the Aegean, Rhodes, 22-29 May, 2008. Vol. 1.* OLA 241. Leuven, 861-872.

Taylor, J. A. 2001. *An Index of Male Non-Royal Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the 18th Dynasty.* London.

Theis, C. 2011. *Deine Seele zum Himmel, dein Leichnam zur Erde. Zur idealtypischen Rekonstruktion eines altägyptischen Bestattungsrituals.* BSAK 12. Hamburg.

Thill, F. 2011-2012. 'Statuaire privée de Saï', in F. Doyen and D. Devauchelle (eds), *Fouilles sur l'Île de Saï (Soudan) 2005-2010, Cahier de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille* 29, 253-295.

Trapani, M. 2016. 'Imitation et interprétation dans l'art égyptien: le cas de quelques fragments de peintures murals de Deir el-Médineh', in P. Collombert, D. Lefèvre, S. Polis and J. Winand (eds), *Aere Perennius. Mélanges égyptologiques en l'honneur de Pascal Vernus.* OLA 242. Leuven-Paris-Bristol, CT, 811-824.

Troche, J. 2023. 'Examining the Grooves at the Ptah Temple, Karnak in light of Comparanda', *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 59 (1), 207-218.

Tylor, J. J. 1896. *Wall drawings and Monuments of El Kab: The Tomb of Sebeknekht.* London.

Tylor, J. J. 1900. *Wall drawings and Monuments of El Kab: The Tomb of Renni.* London.

Van den Boorn, G.P. F. 1988. *The Duties of the Vizier: Civil Administration in the Early New Kingdom.* London and New York.

Van der Molen, R. 2000. *A Hieroglyphic Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts.* Leiden-Boston-Köln.

Vandekerckhove, H. and R. Müller-Wollermann 2001. *Die Felsinschriften des Wadi Hilâl, Vols 1 and 2 (Text and Plates).* Elkab VI. Turnhout.

Vandersleyen, C. 1971. *Les guerres d'Amosis, fondateur de la XVIIIe Dynastie.* Monographies Reine Élisabeth I. Brussels.

Vandier, J. 1964. *Manuel d'Archéologie Égyptienne, IV. Bas-reliefs et Peintures: scènes de la vie quotidienne.* Paris.

Verhoeven, U. 1984. *Grillen, Kochen, Backen im Alltag und im Ritual Altägyptens. Ein lexicographischer Beitrag.* Rites égyptiens 4. Brussels.

Vernus, P. 1986. 'La prètre-ritualiste *Ḥr-mni*, redacteur de la stèle de *Ḥr-m-ḫʿw.f*', in Institut d'Égyptologie, Université Paul Valéry (eds), *Hommages à François Daumas.* Montpellier, 587-592.

Vernus, P. 1988. 'La formule du bon comportement (*bỉt nfrt*)', *Revue d'Égyptologie* 39, 147-154.

Vink, F. 2016. 'Boundaries of Protection. Function and significance of the framing (lines) on Middle Kingdom apotropaia, in particular magic wands', in G. Miniaci and W. Grajetzki (eds), *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000-1550 BC), vol. II.* Middle Kingdom Studies 2. London, 257-284.

Vink, F. 2016/2017. 'The principles of apotropaic magic on Middle Kingdom wands', *Ancient Egypt* 17 (3), 12-17.

Vink, F. 2024. 'The image of Aha and his Anonymous Female Companion on Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period *Apotropaia*: Typology and Chronology', in B. F. van Oppen de Ruiter and R. S. Bianchi (eds), *Under the Spell of Bes.* Wallasey, 1-65.

Von Beckerath, J. 1965. *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten*. Glückstadt.

Warmenbol, E. and S. Hendrickx 2009. 'Une tombe intacte du début de la 18e Dynastie, Elkab, BE 18', in W. Claes, H. De Meulenaere and S. Hendrickx (eds.), *Elkab and beyond. Studies in honour of Luc Limme*. OLA 19. Leuven-Paris-Walpole, MA, 75-125.

Wegner, J. 2009. 'A decorated birth-brick from South Abydos: new evidence on childbirth and birth magic in the Middle Kingdom', in D.P. Silverman, W. K. Simpson and J. Wegner (eds), *Archaism and Innovation. Studies in the culture of Middle Kingdom Egypt.* New Haven and Philadelphia, 447-496.

Wegner, J. 2017. 'Raise yourself up: mortuary imagery in the tomb of Woseribre Senebkay', in G. Miniaci, M. Betrò and S. Quirke (eds), *Company of images: modelling the imaginary world of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000-1500 BC).* OLA 262. Leuven-Paris-Bristol, CT, 479-511.

Wegner, J. 2018. 'Woseribre Seneb-Kay. A newly identified Upper Egyptian King of the Second Intermediate Period', in I. Forstner-Müller and N. Moeller (eds), *The Hyksos Ruler Khyan and the Early Second Intermediate Period in Egypt: Problems and Priorities of Current Research. Proceedings of the Workshop of the Austrian Archaeological Institute and the Oriental institute of the University of Chicago, Vienna, July 4-5, 2014*. Wien, 287-305.

Wegner, J. 2024. 'New light on the mayors and ruling family of Wah-Sut', in F. D. Scalf and B. P. Muhs (eds), *A master of secrets in the chamber of darkness. Egyptological studies in honor of Robert K. Ritner presented on the occasion of his sixty-eighth birthday.* Chicago, 471-503.

Wegner, J. and K. Cahail, with contributions by J. Hill, M. Rosado, and M. Gleeson 2021. *King Seneb-Kay's Tomb and the Necropolis of a Lost Dynasty at Abydos.* University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. Philadelphia, PA.

Wente, E. F. 1984. 'Some graffiti from the reign of Hatshepsut', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 43, 47-54.

Werbrouck, M. 1938. *Les pleureses dans l'Égypte ancienne.* Brussels.

Whale, S. A. 1989. *The Family in the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt: a study of the representation of the family in private tombs.* Sydney.

Wildung, D. 1984. *Sesostris und Amenemhet: Ägypten im Mittleren Reich.* München.

Willems, H. 1988. *Chests of Life. A Study of the Typology and Conceptual Development of Middle Kingdom Standard Class Coffins.* Leiden.

Yamamoto, K. 2015. 'Iconography of the sledge in Ancient Egyptian funerary art', in A. Oppenheim and O. Goelet (eds), T*he art and culture of Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honor of Dorothea Arnold. Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 19. New York, 665-673.

Abbreviations

https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/4: (online database) *Persons and Names of the Middle Kingdom*, *Version 4* (1. 8. 2023), by A. Ilin-Tomich.

L*D Text*: Lepsius, C. R. 1897-1913. *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien, Text*. 4 parts. Edited by E. Naville *et al*. Leipzig.

PM v: Porter, B. and R. L B. Moss (eds), assisted by E. W. Burney, 1937. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings, V. Upper Egypt: Sites*. Oxford.

PM viii: Malek, J. (ed), assisted by E. Fleming, A. Hobby and D. Magee, 2012. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Statues, Reliefs and Paintings. VIII. Objects of provenance not known. Part 4. Stelae (Dynasty XVIII to the Roman Period). 803-044-050 to 803-099-990.* Oxford.

PN i and *PN* ii: H. Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*, vols. I and II. Glückstadt, 1935 and 1952.

WB: Erman, A. and H. Grapow (eds) 1925-1950. *Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache*. 7 Vols. Leipzig.

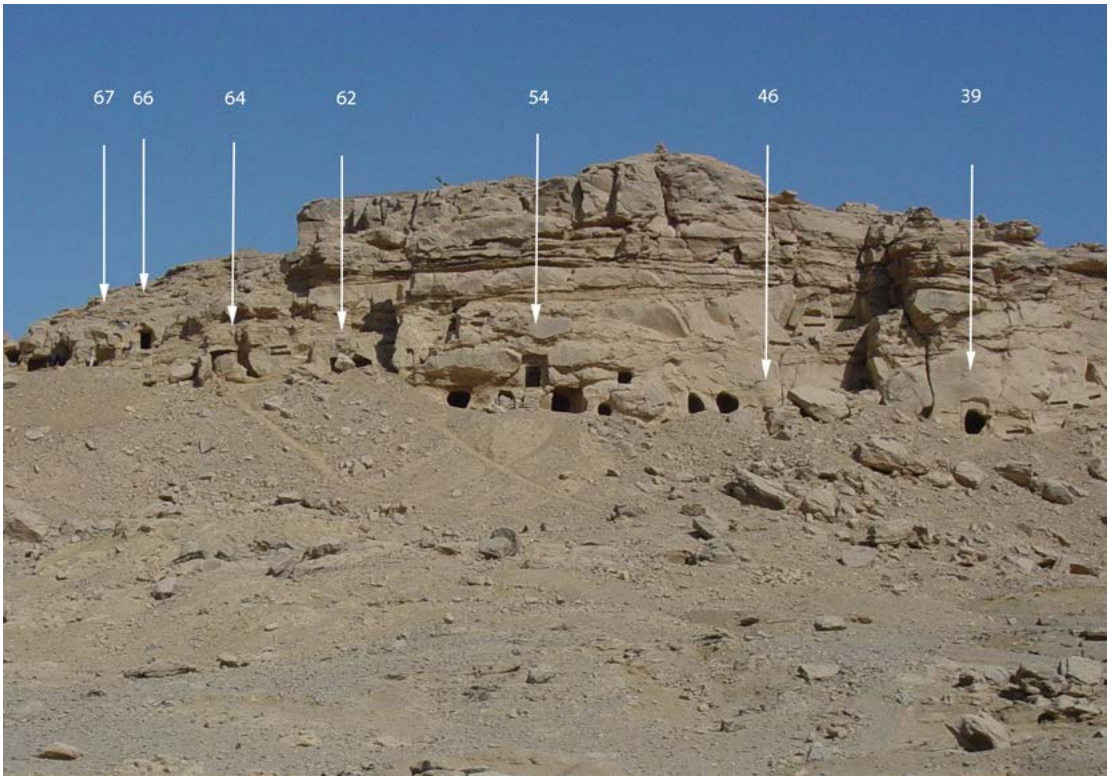


Figure 1. Elkab, rock-necropolis, section of upper range of tombs, cut into the sandstone cliff (photo: W. V. Davies).

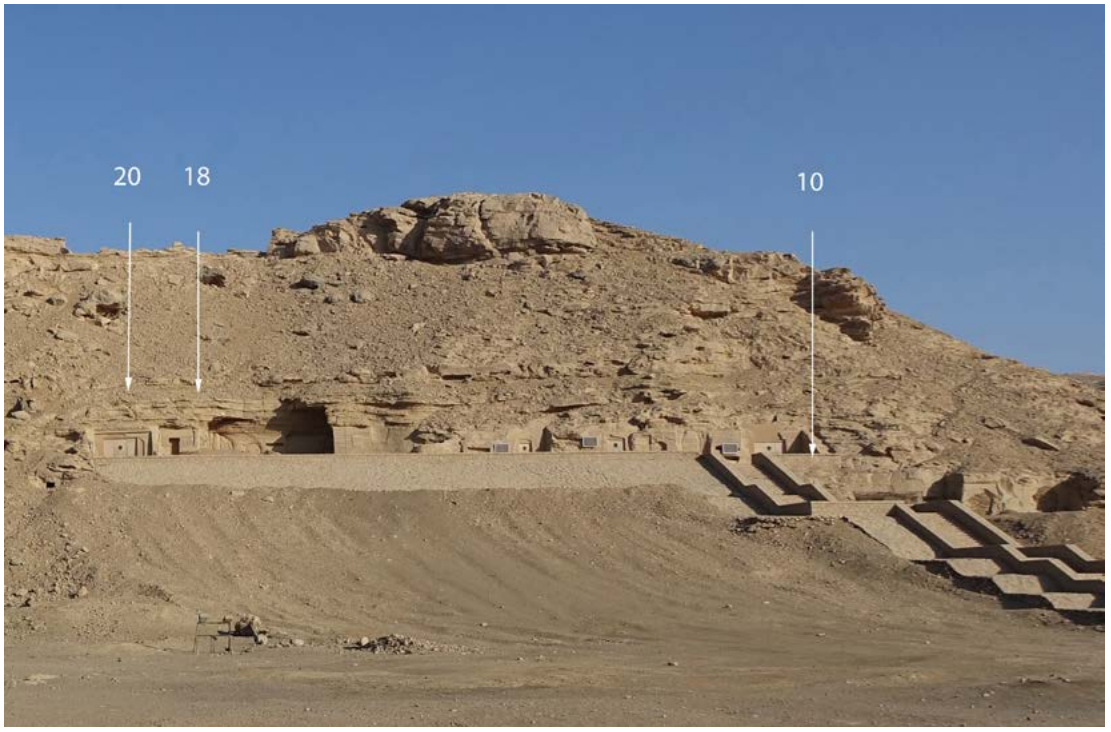


Figure 2. Elkab, rock-necropolis, section of lower range of tombs, main terrace (photo: W. V. Davies).

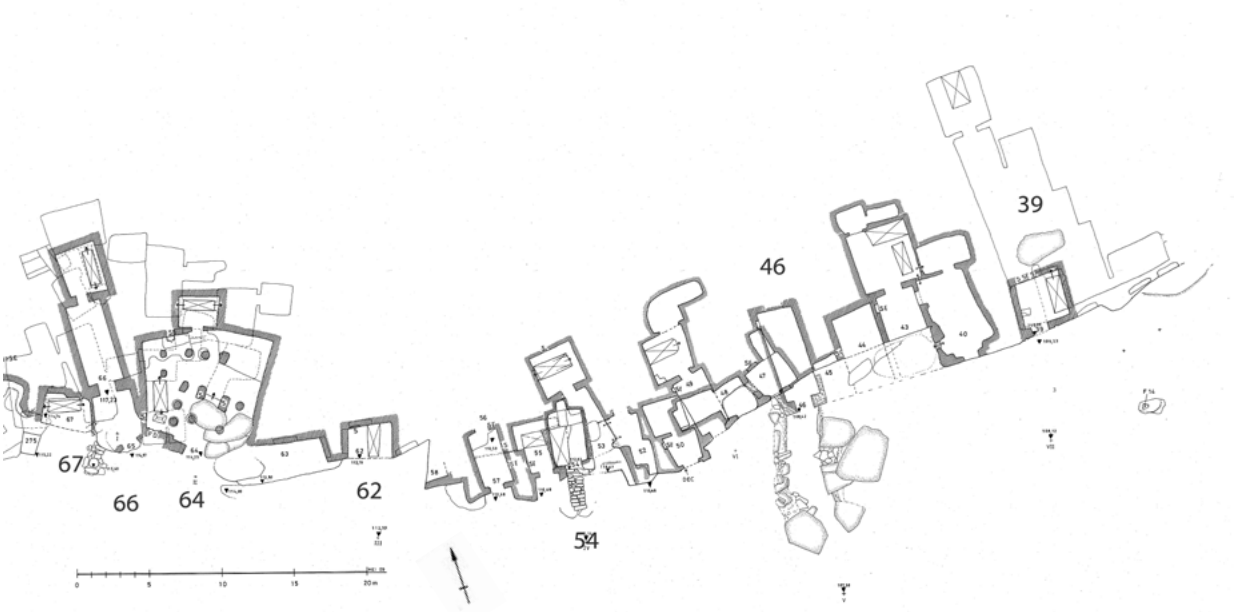


Figure 3. Elkab, rock-necropolis, section of upper range, current plan (drawing: G. Heindl).

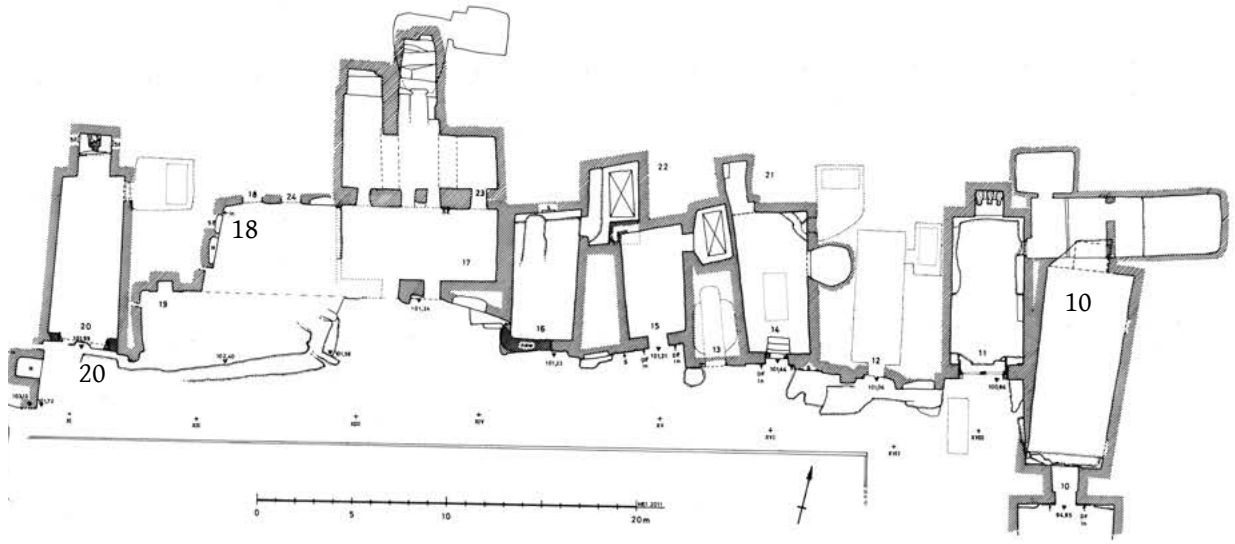


Figure 4. Elkab, rock-necropolis, lower range, main terrace, current plan (drawing: G. Heindl).

Figure 5. EK 46, entrance (photo: W. V. Davies).

Figure 6. EK 46, interior, detached sections of ceiling and walls (photo: W. V. Davies).

Figure 7. EK 46, section of ceiling (photo: W. V. Davies).

Figure 8. EK 46, section of east wall (photo: W. V. Davies).

Figure 9. EK 46, sections of west thickness of doorway (photo: W. V. Davies).

Figure 10. EK 46, west wall, visitor-inscription (photo: W. V. Davies).

Figure 11. EK 46, west wall, cleaning (by Lamia El-Hadidy) (photo: W. V. Davies).

Figure 12. EK 46, west wall, central scene, tomb-owner fishing (photo: W. V. Davies).

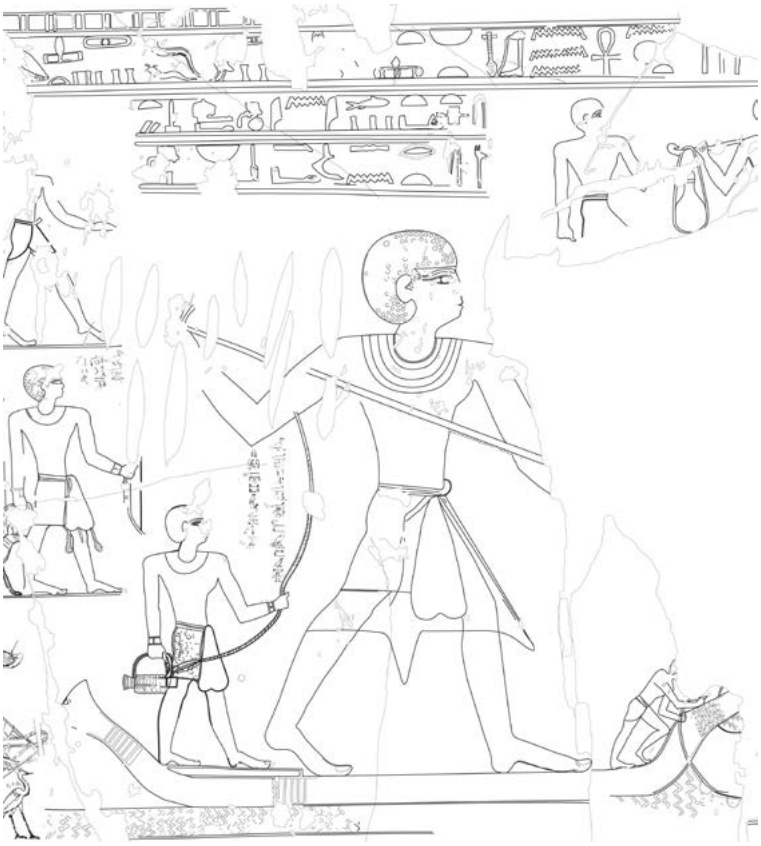


Figure 13. EK 46, west wall, central scene (drawing: C. Thorne and W. V. Davies).

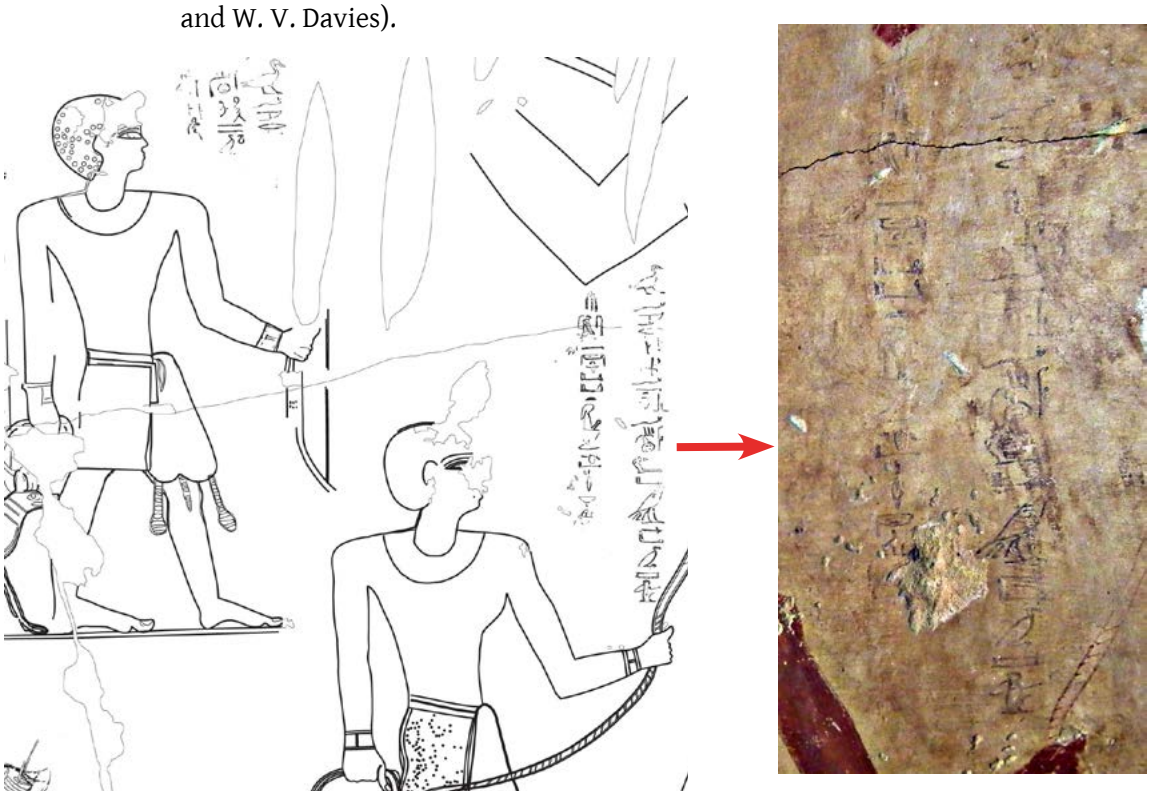


Figure 14. EK 46, west wall, central scene (a, left), with detail (b, right) (photo: W. V. Davies).

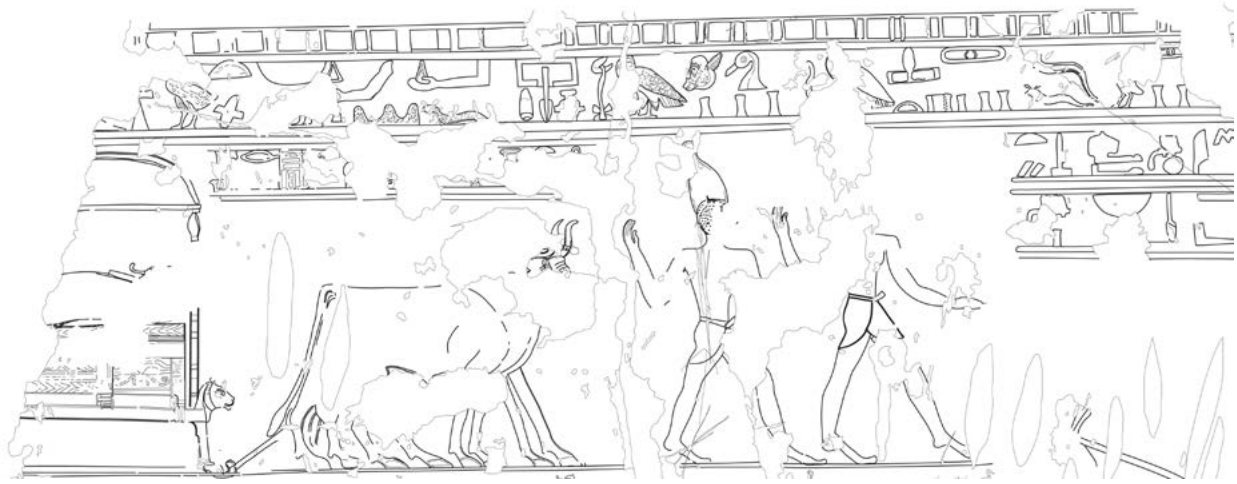


Figure 15a. EK 46, west wall, top register, left, funeral scene (drawing: C. Thorne and W. V. Davies).

Figure 15b. EK 46, west wall, funeral scene, detail, tomb-owner's mummy-mask (photo: W. V. Davies).

Figure 15c. EK 46, west wall, offering text, detail (photo: W. V. Davies).

Figure 16. EK 46, west wall, offering scene, tomb-owner and wife (drawing: C. Thorne).

Figure 17. EK 46, west wall, offering scene, detail, baboon holding vessel (photo: W. V. Davies).

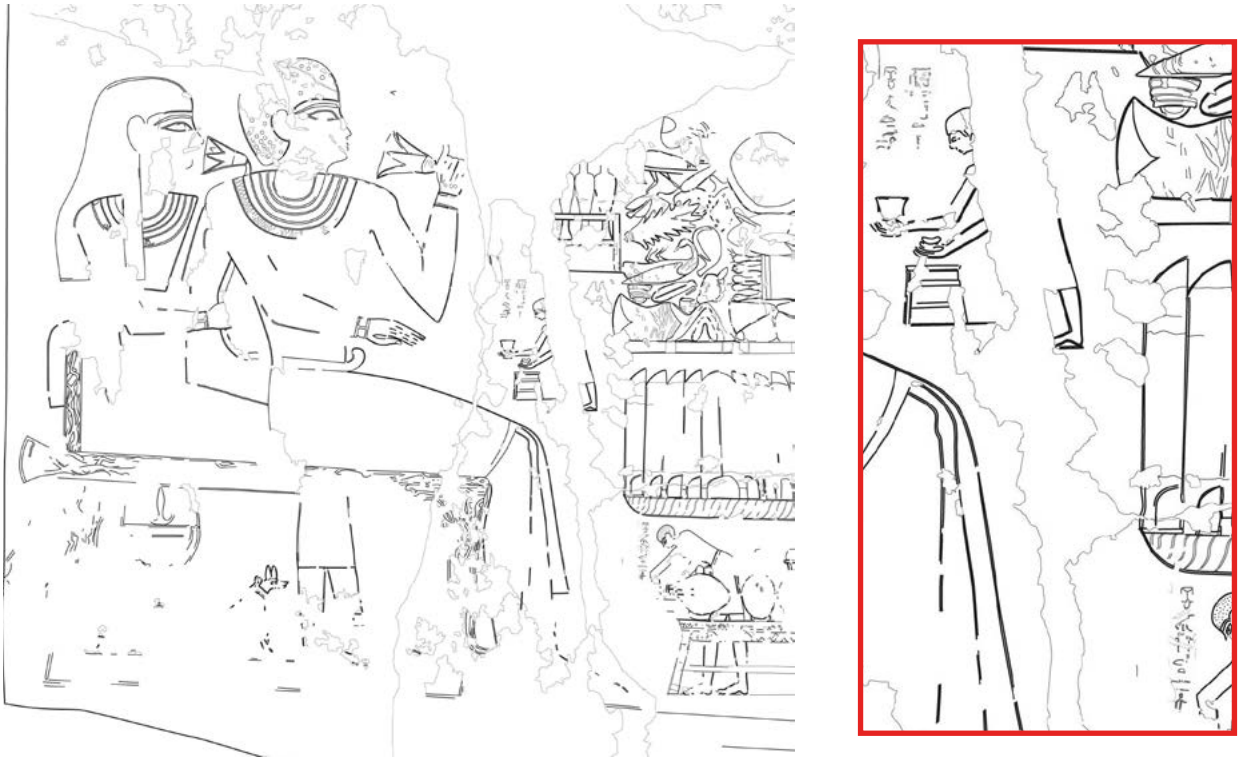


Figure 18. EK 46, east wall, north end, offering scene (a, left) with detail (b, right) (drawing: C. Thorne and W. V. Davies).

Figure 19. EK 54, façade and doorway (with Mohamed Badawy) (photo: W. V. Davies).

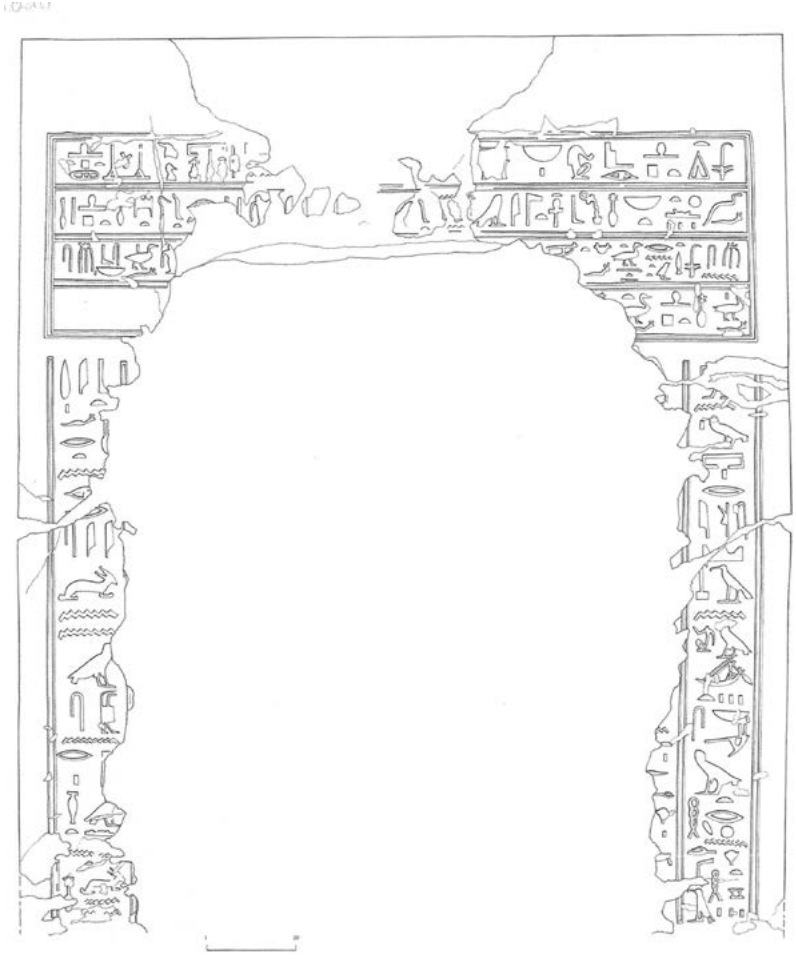


Figure 20. EK 54, façade inscriptions (drawing: W. V. Davies; inking: W. Schenck).

Figure 21. EK 54, interior, rear wall (photo: W. V. Davies).

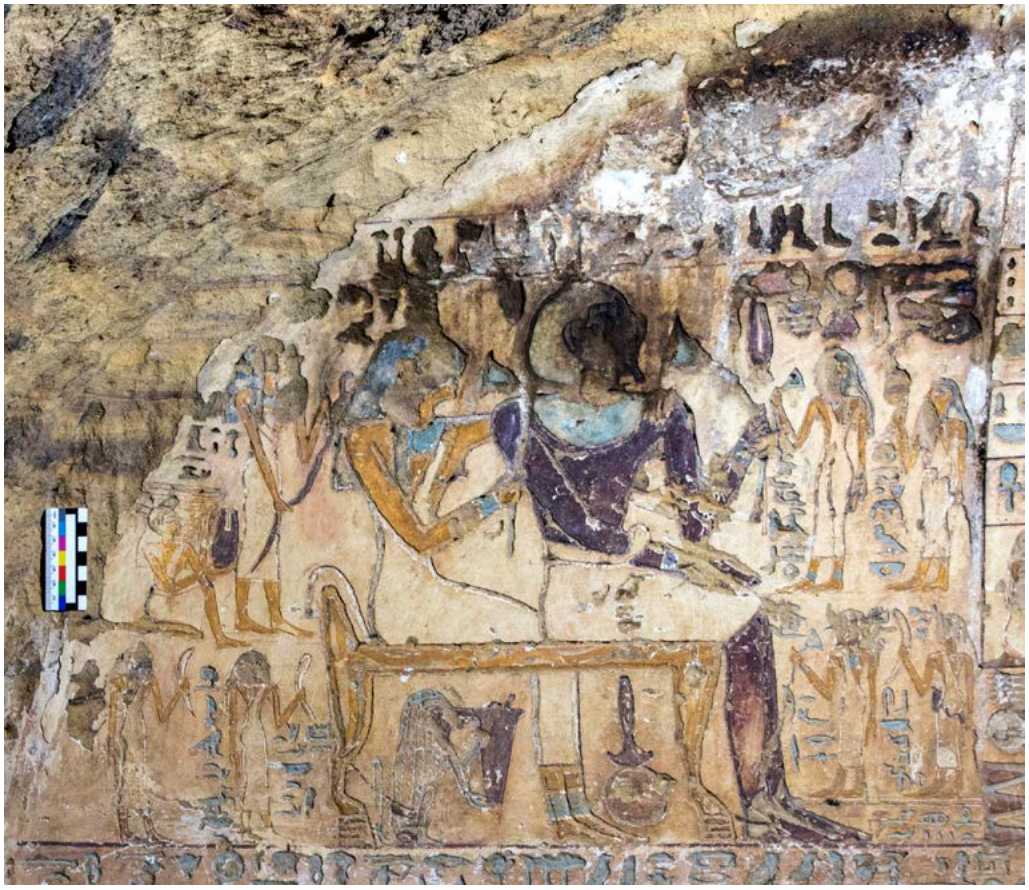


Figure 22. EK 54, rear wall, top left scene (photo: J. Rossiter).

Figure 23. EK 54, rear wall, top right scene (photo: J. Rossiter).

Figure 24. EK 54, rear wall, top left, detail (photo: J. Rossiter).

Figure 25. EK 54, rear wall, top centre, inscription and scene (photo: J. Rossiter).

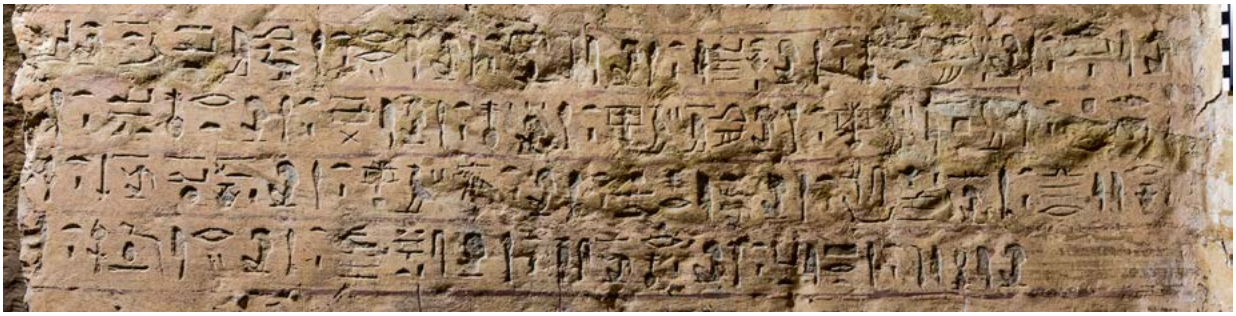


Figure 26. EK 54, rear wall, bottom right, list of female servants (photo: J. Rossiter).

Figure 27. EK 54, rear wall, bottom left, list of male servants (photo: J. Rossiter).

Figure 28. EK 54, rear wall, centre left, offering scene (photo: J. Rossiter).

Figure 29a. EK 54, rear wall, centre left, offering scene, detail, butler (photo: J. Rossiter).

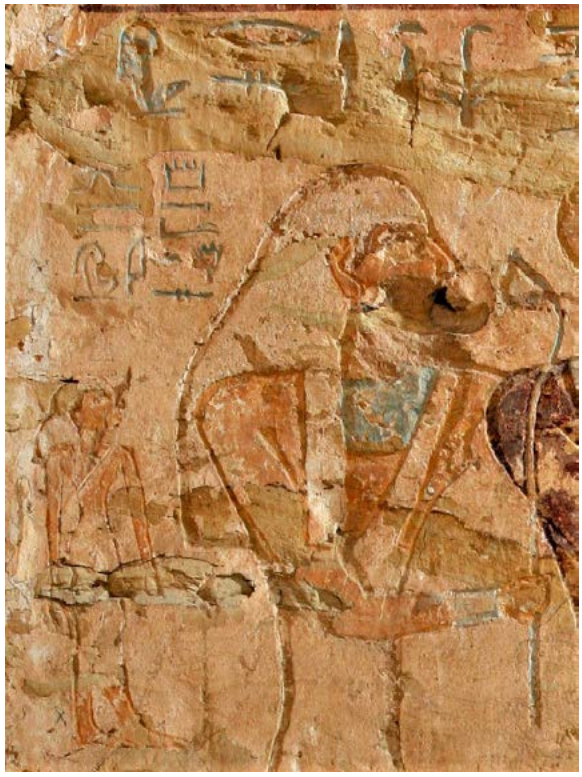


Figure 29b. EK 54, rear wall, centre left, offering scene, detail, wife and nurse (photo: J. Rossiter).

Figure 30. Hierakonpolis, tomb-chapel of Horemkhauef, east wall, attendant holding wand behind tomb-owner (photo: W. V. Davies).

Figure 31. Detail of Horemkhauef east-wall scene (DStretch enhanced) (photo: W. V. Davies and R. F. Friedman).

Figure 32. Hierakonpolis, tomb of Horemkhauef, west wall; nurse with her sons and daughters (photo: Dietrich Wildung, 1973).

Figure 33. Hierakonpolis, detail of Horemkhauef's west-wall scene; nurse holding wand, current state (photo: W. V. Davies).

Figure 34. EK 39, façade (photo: W. V. Davies).

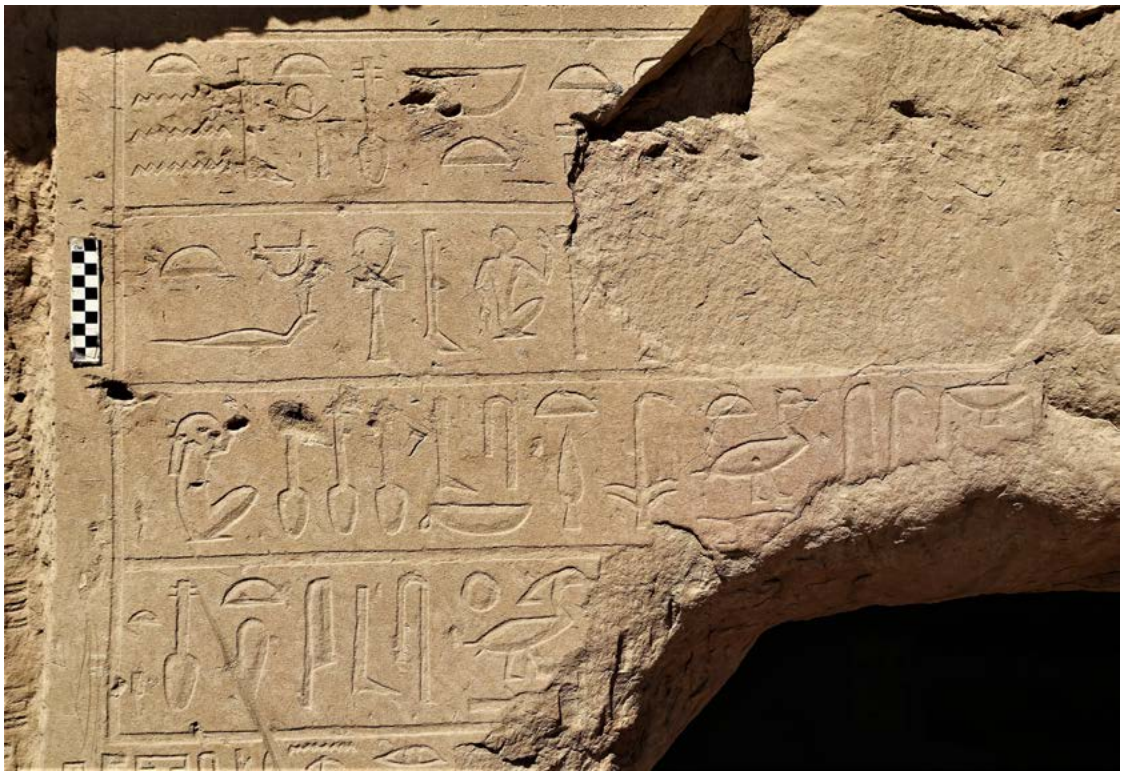


Figure 35. EK 39, façade, lintel, left (photo: W. V. Davies).

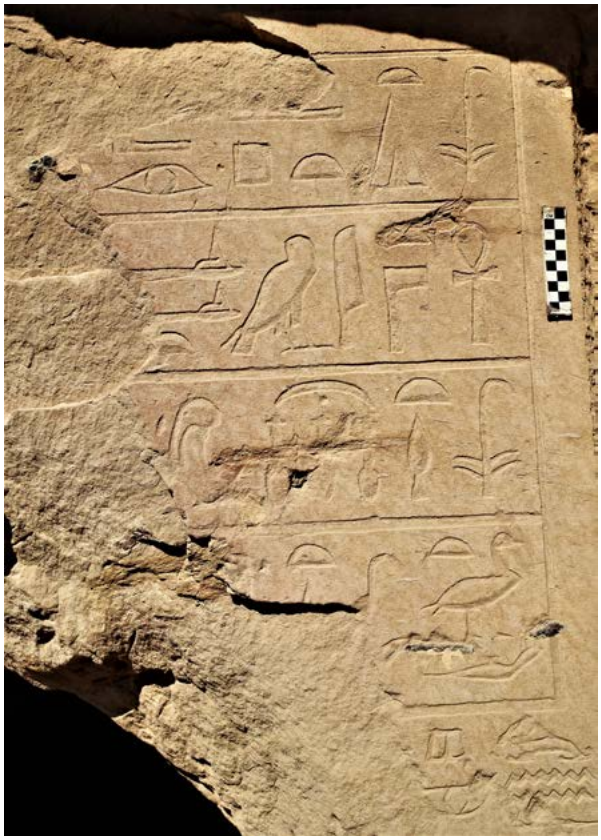


Figure 36. EK 39, façade, lintel, right (photo: W. V. Davies).

Figure 37. EK 39, façade, left, centre (photo: W. V. Davies).

Figure 38. EK 39, façade, right, centre (photo: W. V. Davies).

Figure 39. EK 39, façade, lower right (photo: W. V. Davies).

Figure 40. EK 39, façade, lower left (photo: W. V. Davies).

Figure 41. EK 66, façade, lower left (photo: W. V. Davies).

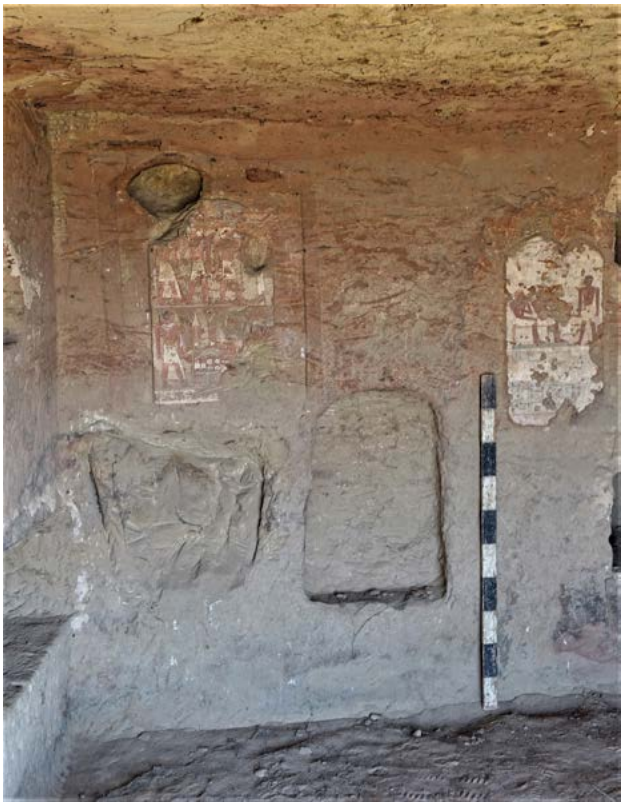


Figure 42. EK 39, interior, rear wall, stelae (photo: W. V. Davies).

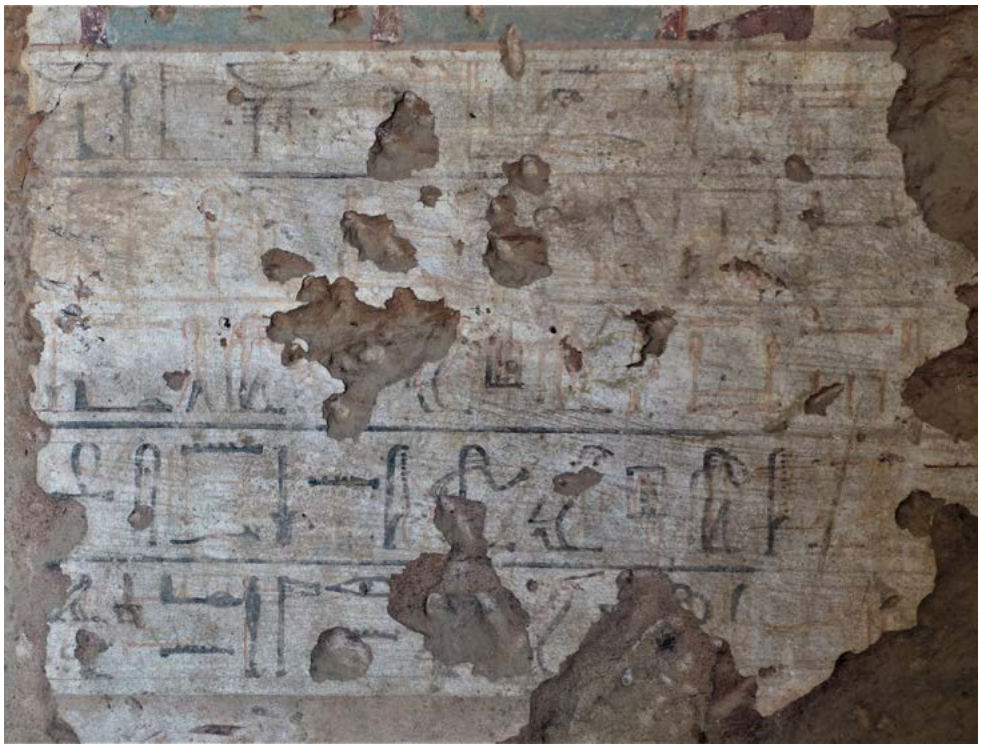



Figure 43. EK 39, rear wall, right stela, detail (photo: W. V. Davies).

Left: Figure 44a. EK 39, rear wall, left stela, detail. Right: Figure 44b. Detail of inscription (photos: W. V. Davies).

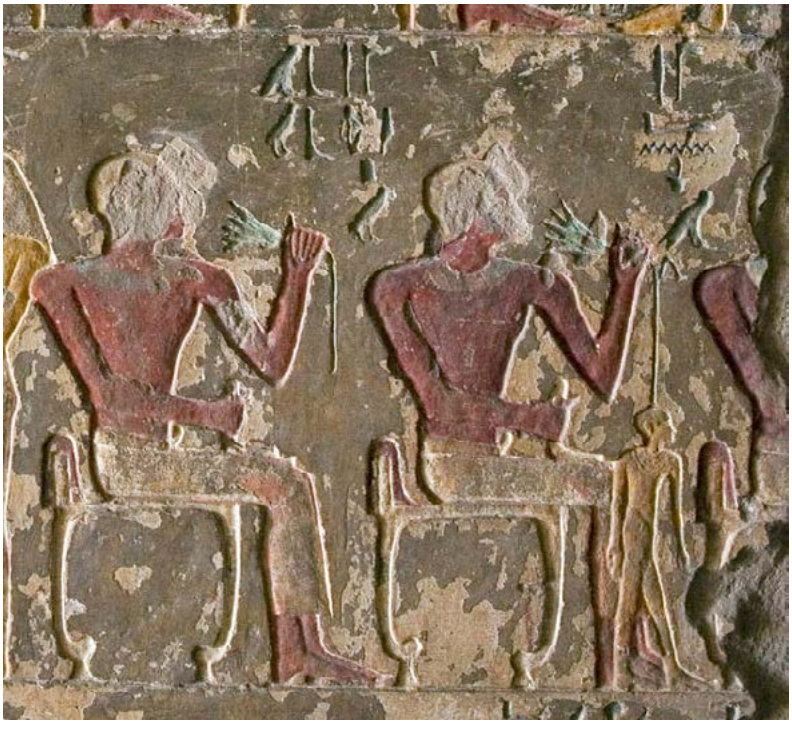


Figure 45. EK 20, west wall, funerary banquet, detail (photo: W. V. Davies).

Figure 46. EK 62, façade destroyed (photo: W. V. Davies).

Figure 47. EK 62, interior, rear wall, stela (photo: W. V. Davies).

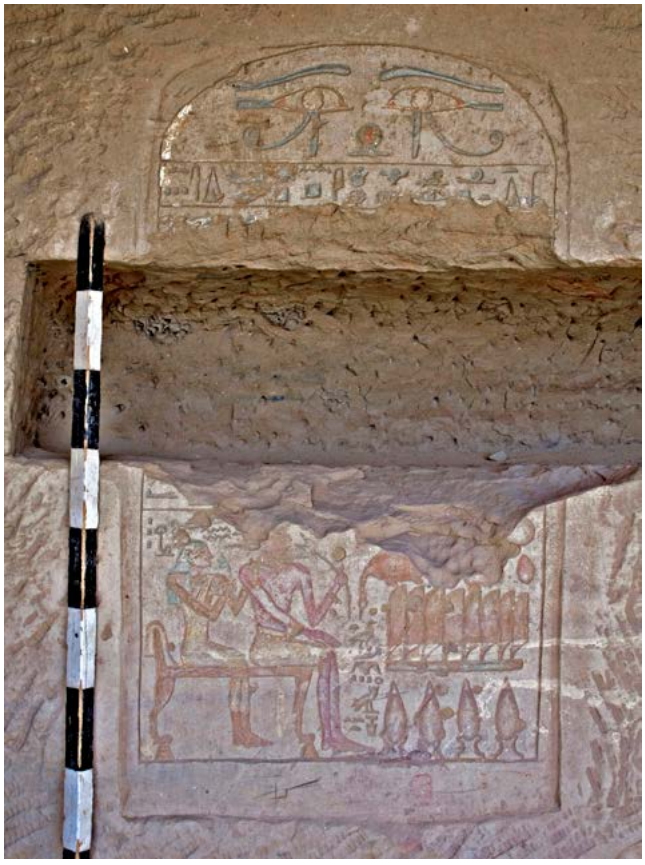


Figure 48. EK 62, stela (photo: W. V. Davies).

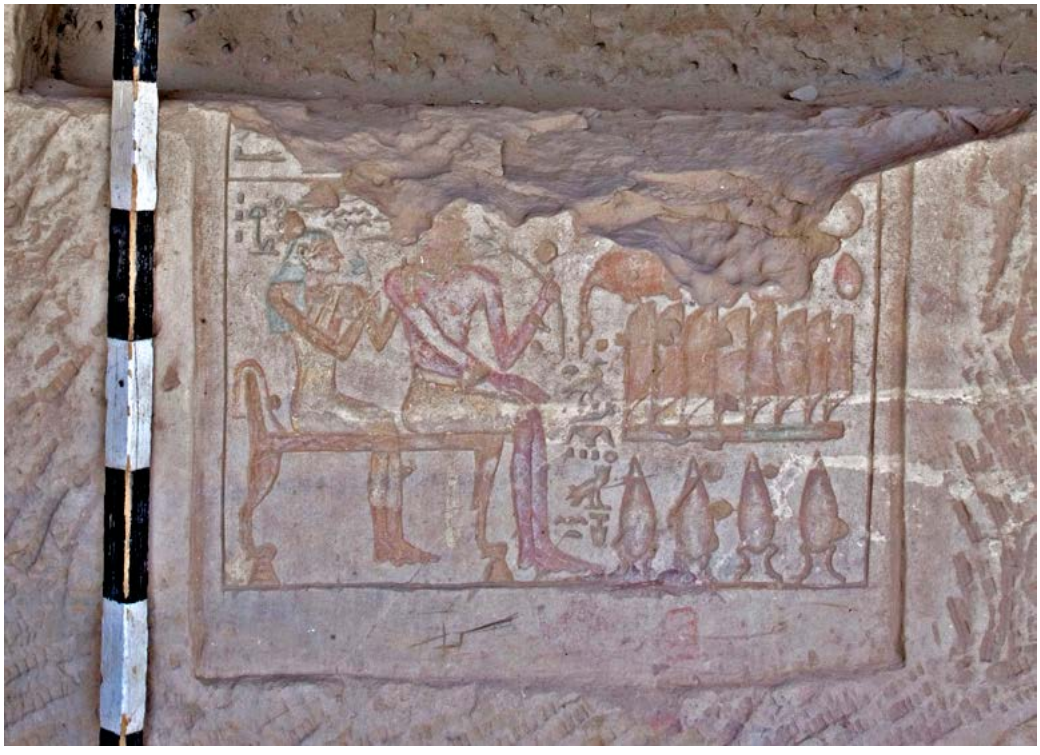


Figure 49. EK 62, stela, detail (photo: W. V. Davies).

Figure 50. EK 64, entrance collapsed (photo: W. V. Davies).

Figure 51. EK 64, decorated lintel; ceiling in form of rounded beams (photo: J. Rossiter).

Figure 52. EK 64, rear wall, right, inscribed doorway; left, stela emplacement with libation basin (photo: W. V. Davies).

Figure 53. EK 64, west wall, unfinished surface with ‘mason’s mark’ (photo: W. V. Davies).

Figure 54. EK, cliff-top, inscriptions and quarry-marks (photo: W. V. Davies).

Figure 55. EK, cliff-top, inscriptions (F5 on left; F6 on right) (photo: W. V. Davies).

Figure 56. EK 67, tomb-chapel, destroyed by rock-fall; EK 66 located above, to right (photo: W. V. Davies).

Figure 57. EK 67, east wall, secondary scene (photo: W. V. Davies).

Figure 58. EK 67, east wall, stela (photo: J. Rossiter).

Figure 59. EK 67, stela, detail, bottom section (photo: J. Rossiter).

Figure 60. EK 66, interior (photo: W. V. Davies).

Figure 61. EK 66, east frieze inscriptions, middle section (photo: J. Rossiter).

Figure 62. EK 66, east frieze inscriptions, north end (photo: W. V. Davies).

Figure 63. EK 66, west wall, offering scene, detail (photo: W. V. Davies).

Figure 64. EK 66, west wall, offering scene, right end (drawing: M. Marée and I. Regulski).

Figure 65. EK 66, west wall, offering scene, detail, nurse with wand (drawing: M. Marée and I. Regulski).

Figure 66. EK 66, west wall, figure, left, chief lector-priest of Horus of Nekhen Hormeni (photo: W. V. Davies).

Figure 67. EK 66, east wall, figures, high priest of Horus of Nekhen Sobeknakht and entourage (photo: W. V. Davies).

Figure 68. EK 20, interior (photo: W. V. Davies).

Figure 69. EK 20, niche façade, lintel (photo: J. Rossiter).

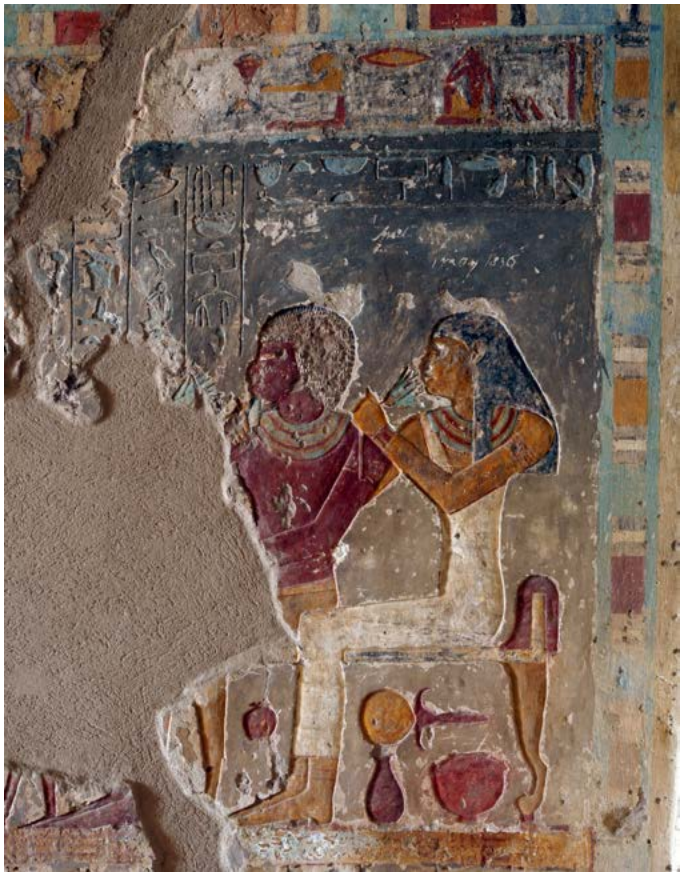


Figure 70. EK 20, west wall, offering/banquet scene (photo: W. V. Davies).

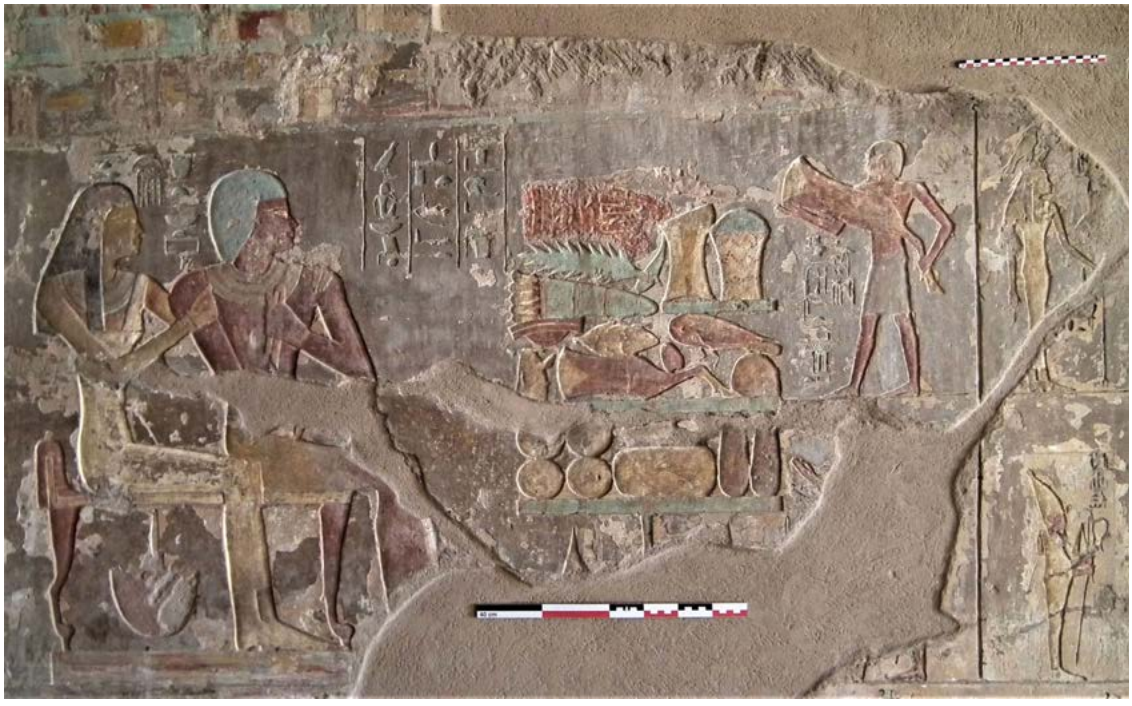


Figure 71. EK 20, east wall, offering scene (photo: W. V. Davies).

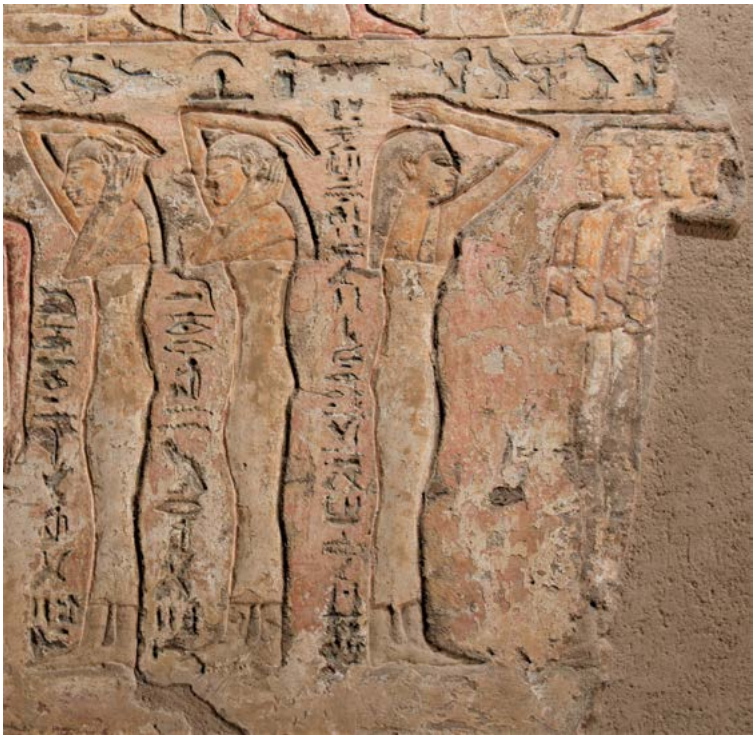


Figure 72. EK 20, east wall, mourning scene, wife Nehi facing right (photo: W. V. Davies).

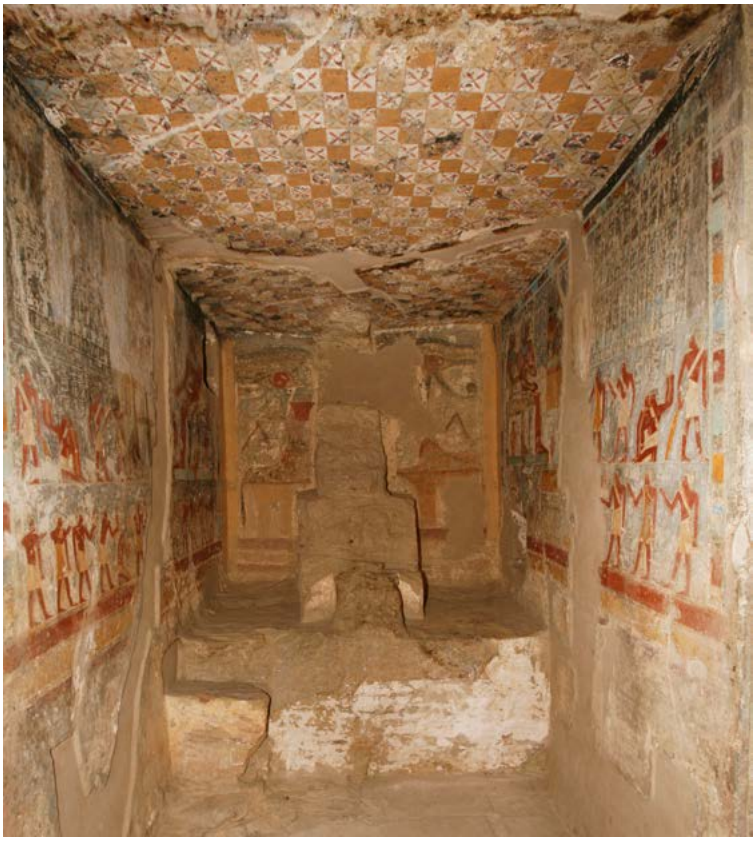


Figure 73. EK 20, statue-niche (photo: J. Rossiter).

Figure 74. EK 20, niche, east wall, offering scene (photo: J. Rossiter).

Figure 75. EK 20, niche, east wall, detail, Neferhotep and brothers (photo: J. Rossiter).

Figure 76. EK 20, niche, west wall, detail (DStretch enhanced) (photo: W. V. Davies and R. F. Friedman).

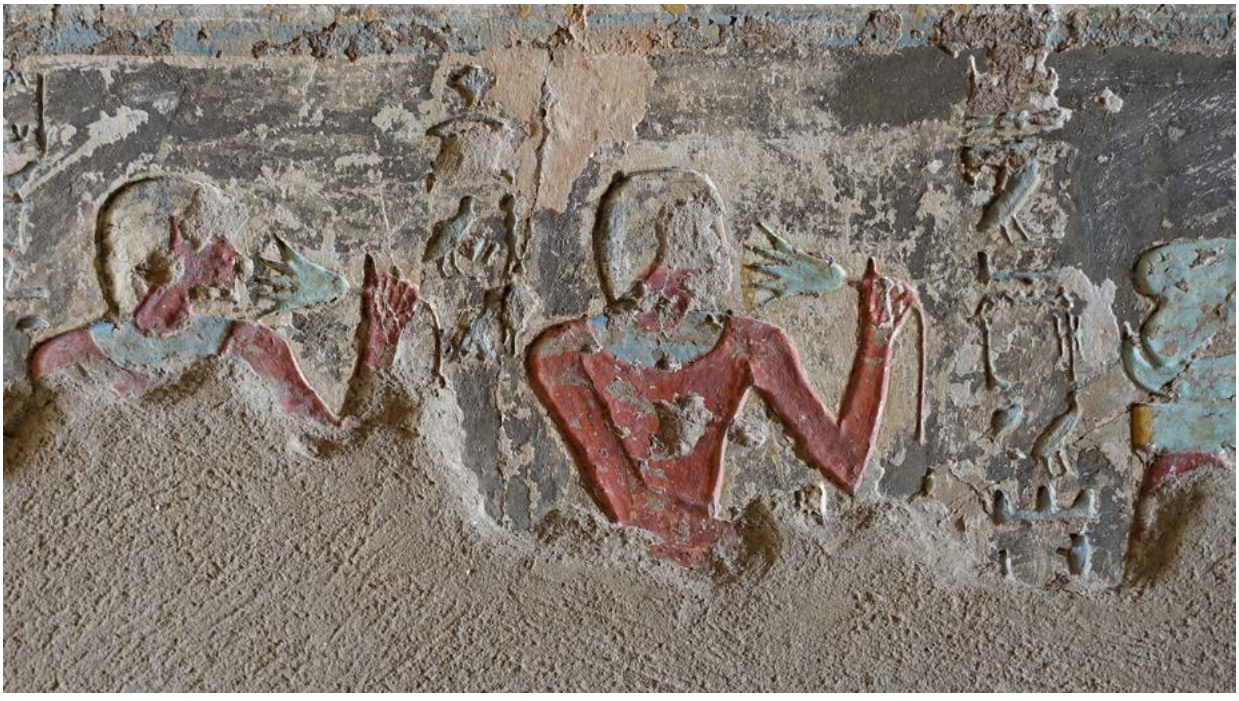


Figure 77. EK 20, west wall, funerary banquet, leading guests (photo: W. V. Davies).

Figure 78. EK 20, west wall, funerary banquet, guests with attendant (photo: W. V. Davies).

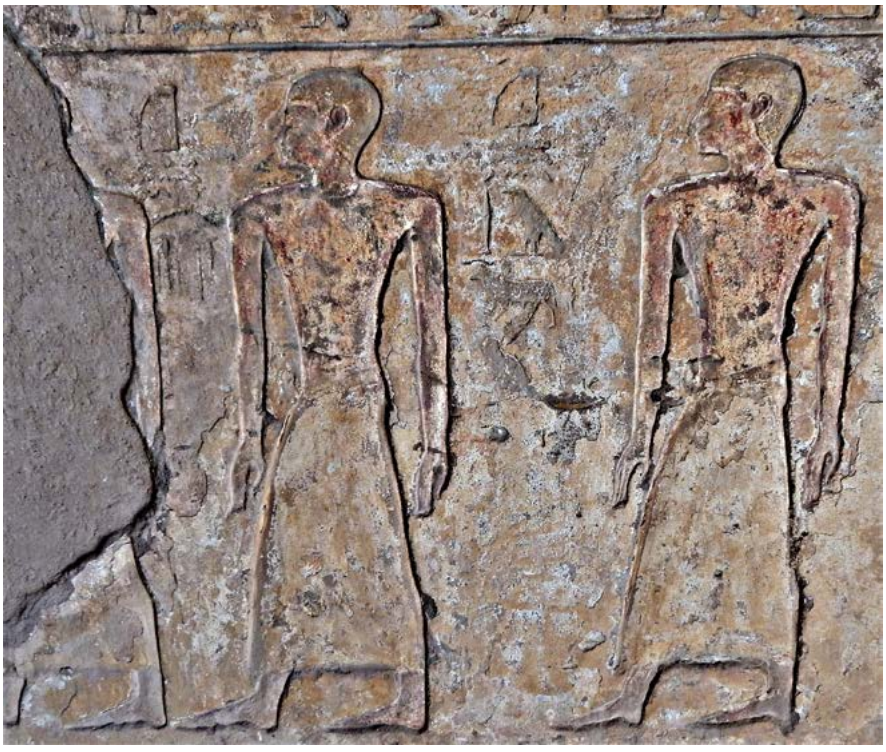


Figure 79. EK 20, east wall, funerary procession (photo: W. V. Davies).

Figure 80. EK 20, west wall, boating scene, detail, Reneny and attendant (photo: W. V. Davies).

Figure 81. EK 20, west wall, detail, daughter Ta-Aamet (photo: W. V. Davies).

Figure 82. EK 18, collapsed tomb-chapel (photo: W. V. Davies).

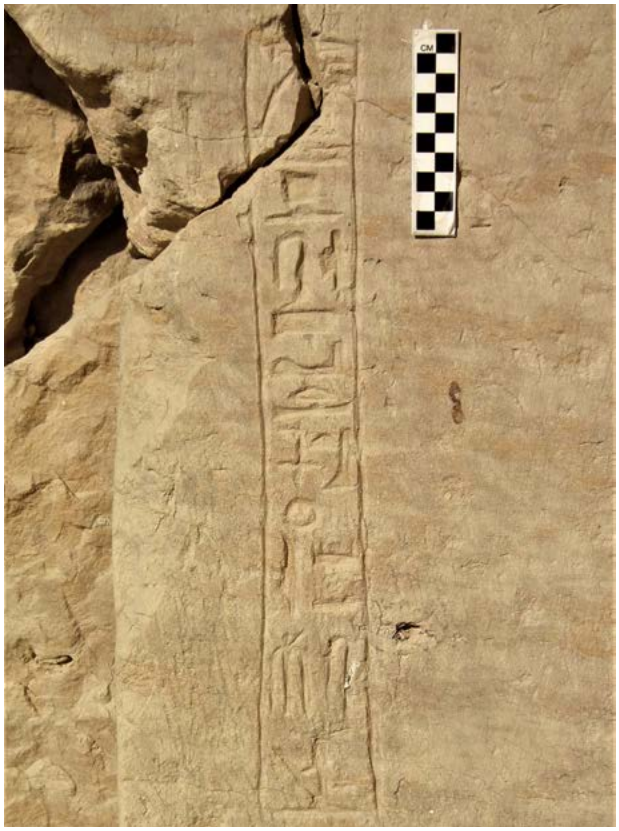


Figure 83. EK 18, inscription of Amenmose
(photo: W. V. Davies).

Figure 84. EK 10, entrance doorway, floor, cleared of sand and debris (photo: W. V. Davies).

Figure 85. EK 10, entrance, floor, chisel marks and remains of plaster (photo: W. V. Davies).

Figure 86. EK 10, left (west) door thickness, fragments reunited (photo: W. V. Davies).

Figure 87. EK 10, fragment from right (east) door thickness (photo: W. V. Davies).

Figure 88. EK 10, right (east) door thickness, corner fragment reunited (photo: W. V. Davies).

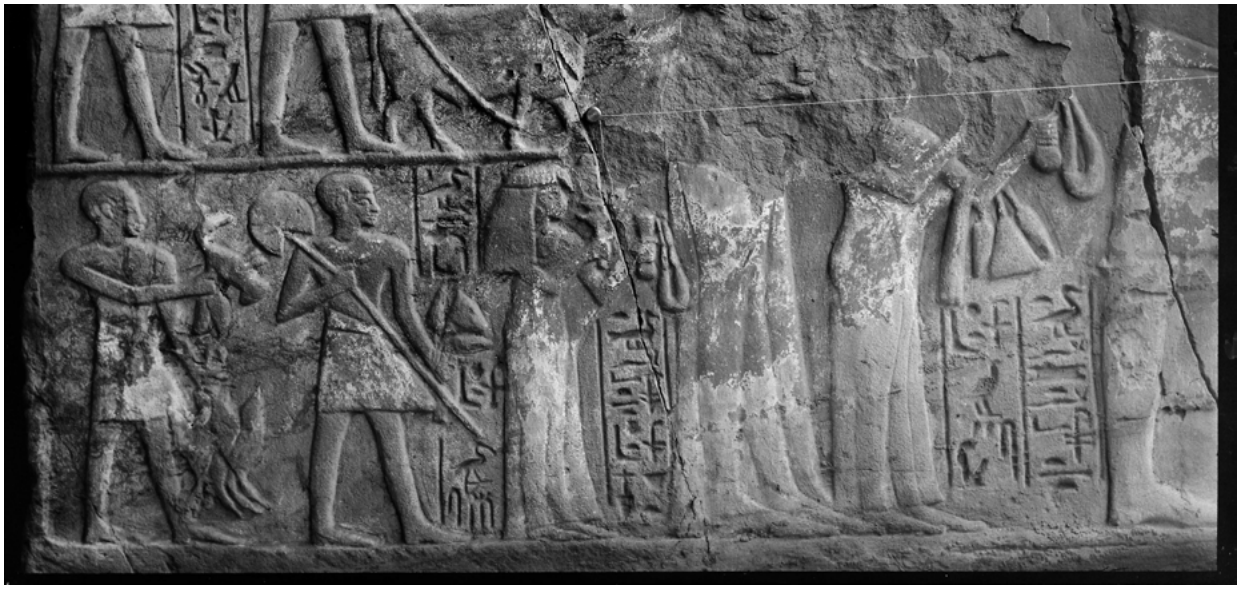


Figure 89. EK 10, right (east) door thickness, family scene, lower register (photo: J. J. Tylor expedition, 1890s, courtesy Trustees, British Museum).

Figure 90. EK 10, interior, niche-façade, lower section, row of offering-bearers (photo: W. V. Davies).

Figure 91. EK 10, niche-façade, row of offering-bearers, detail, left end (photo: W. V. Davies).

The visitor-inscription of Reneny in the tomb of Sobeknakht II at Elkab

Robert J. Demarée*

Introduction

Reneny's visitor-inscription, comprising at least thirteen lines of hieratic, faded and much damaged in parts, is located on the south wall of Sobeknakht's main tomb-chamber, to the east, upper left, of the entrance doorway, adjacent to a scene showing the accounting of grain, into parts of which it intrudes (Figures 1-4).[1]

The year-date at the beginning of line 1 has been the subject of comment since its citation by Gardiner (1949, 170, n. 23). For the latter's transcription of the text, previously unpublished, see Figure 5.[2] Careful examination of the original text has confirmed the date to be not Year 2 (as Gardiner) but Year 22.

The transcription of the thirteen lines presented here (Figure 6) is based partly on personal inspection and partly, especially for the text beneath line 10, on Gardiner's version (Figure 5).

Translation

1. Year 22, I *pr.t*, day 22 [under the Majesty of the King of Upper- and Lower-Egypt] *Nb-pḥty-rˁ*, son of Re *ʾIˁḥ-ms*, may he live forever.
2. Came the able scribe ***Rnny*** to wander for pleasure in the desert [...Then] he said: O all scribes ...
3. ... O all lector-priests, O all wise men, may your god praise you, may [...] flourish [your] offspring, your cattle [...],
4. your servants, your household inmates, as you say: a boon which the King gives to Osiris, [Lord of] Djedu, the Great God, Lord of Abydos, and Hathor, [Mistress of]
5. the desert, may they give (an invocation offering in) bread, beer, ox, fowl, linen, oil, [everything] good [and pure] on which they [live] for the *ka* of the scribe ***Rnny***,
6. son of the governor of Nekheb *Sbk-ḥtp*, born of the [governor's companion?] *ʾIˁḥ-ms* [...He said?] I am calm [of speech], I am not ...?...[...]
7. I made these writings. The friends of my heart, the overseer of cattle *ʾIˁḥ-ms*, another(?) [...] *ʾIˁḥ-ḥtp* [...] retainer [...] father [...] born [of ...]
8. friend *Ḏ3-b[3]w-m-rˁ*, born of ***Wrỉ***, his retainer, his assistant *T3-[...]dt*, his retainer *Ḏḥwty*-[?...]
9. As for any scribe who will come to see them, let him read (them) in good order. Then Osiris will praise [him] in the necropolis [...]
10. Then our name will be remembered for ever, then [...] we will remember our name, then we will be [...],
11. then we will be living [...] [*rest of this line illegible/incomprehensible*]
12. [...] son of the governor ***Sbk-ḥtp***, born of [...] by [...] brother ***Sbk-ḥtp*** [...] by [...] sister ***Sbk-ḥtp***, by [...]
13. [...] wab-priest with right of access of Nekhb[et ...] friend [...] *K3-ms* [...]

Commentary

1. The year-number '22' is certain. The sign after *rnpt* is not *sp* (sign list O 50), as Gardiner thought, but the number '20' (for similar forms from Papyrus Ebers, see Möller 1927, no. 624). Cf. Vandersleyen 1971, 209, Doc. 6; Peden 2001, 75, with n. 83; Davies 2010, 237, n. 79, pl. 50; and Biston-Moulin, 2015, 41-42, for this and other texts (stelae from the Maâsara quarries) dated to Year 22 of Ahmose, and also for the inverted writing of the 'moon-sign' in the royal name.

* Leiden University, Institute for Area Studies, Department of Egyptology.

[1] When complete, the inscription appears to have had a maximum width of around 40cm.

[2] With thanks to the Griffith Institute, University of Oxford, for supplying the copy of Gardiner's transcription (Gardiner MSS AHG/23.70) and for permission to publish.

2.-3. For the epithet *iḳr* see Rickal 2005, 69; Ragazzoli 2010b, 165. The following *r swtwt r sḏ3-ḥr* is certainly the earliest attestation of this expression. In many New Kingdom visitor-inscriptions there then follow words of admiration for the monument visited.[3] Here the scribe starts immediately with the 'appeal to the living'.
4.-5. Restoring [*ḥry-tp*] *smyt*, ['Mistress] of the desert', a standard epithet of Hathor at Elkab (for example, in the tomb of Sobeknakht; Tylor 1896, pl. vi, right, second scene from top).
5. Introducing the *pr.t ḫrw*-formula, the scribe made a mistake by first writing only the plural of *pr* followed by an incomplete (*r*)*dỉ=sn*. The determinative of the name Reneny at the end of this line is not fully clear.
6. Gardiner tried to read the title of the wife of the governor *Sbk-ḥtp* as *ỉry-pʿt*, but that is impossible. More probable seems *ỉrt hȝty-ʿ*, 'companion of the governor'.
For the expression *ḳb-rȝ*, 'calm of speech' (devoid of passion), see *Wb*. v, 23, 11-12. The following expression is not clear: *nn ỉnk sȝ-ʿȝ* (?), 'I am not ...', probably in the sense of 'I am not hot-headed'.
7-8. Reneny clearly states that he has written this graffito, in the company of his friends (and their retainers); note that the friend with the unusual name Djab[a]emre is probably to be identified with the priest of the same name figured among the guests and mourners in the tomb of Reneny (Tylor 1900, pls vi and x; Davies, this volume, 12-13, no. 2, and 60, Figures 78-79). With regard to the female name following, remaining traces might allow for a *yod* in front of the *wr*-bird, resulting in a name like *ʾIwrỉ* (cf. perhaps *PN* ii, 262, 7, representing a slightly different writing): .

Bibliography

Biston-Moulin, S. 2015. 'A propos de deux documents d'Ahmosis a Karnak: *Karnak Varia* (§1-2)', *Cahiers de Karnak* 15, 39-49.

Davies, W. V. 2010. 'Renseneb and Sobeknakht of Elkab: the genealogical data', in M. Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties): current research, future prospects*. OLA 192. Leuven-Paris-Walpole, MA., 223-249.

Gardiner, A. H. 1949. 'The Reading of the Word for Regnal Year', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 8, 165-171.

Hassan, K. 2016. 'The visitor's graffiti in two tombs at Beni Hassan (Ameny and Khnumhotep II)', *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 52, 33-52.

Möller, G. 1927. *Hieratische Paläographie* I. Leipzig.

Navratilova, H. 2016. *Visitors' Graffiti of Dynasties 18 and 19 in Abusir and Northern Saqqara: with a survey of the graffiti at Giza, Southern Saqqara, Dahshur and Maidum.* Wallasey.

Navratilova, H. 2017. 'New Kingdom graffiti in Dahshur, Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III: Preliminary report. Graffiti uncovered in seasons 1992-2010', *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 49, 113-141.

Navratilova, H. 2020. 'Audiences', in Vanessa Davies and Dimitry Laboury (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography*. Oxford, 102-114.

Peden, A. J. 2001. *The Graffiti of Pharaonic Egypt. Scope and roles of informal writings (c. 3100-332 BC)*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 17. Leiden-Boston-Köln.

Ragazzoli, C. 2010a. 'Lire, écrire, survivre, les graffiti de scribes au Nouvel Empire', in C. Jacob (ed.), *Les Lieux de Savoir*, Vol. 2. Paris, 299-321.

Ragazzoli, C. 2010b. 'Weak Hands and Soft Mouths: elements of a scribal identity in the New Kingdom', *Zeitschrift fūr ägyptishe Sprache und Altertumskunde* 137 (2010), 157-170.

Ragazzoli, C. 2013. 'The social creation of a scribal space: the visitor inscriptions in the tomb attributed to Antefiqer (TT 60) (with newly recorded graffiti)', *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 42, 269-323.

[3] On visitor-inscriptions/graffiti in general, see (selectively) Peden 2001; Verhoeven 2012; Hassan 2016; Navratilova 2016; 2017; 2020; Ragazzoli 2010a; 2010b, 165-167; 2013; 2017, 93-96, 107-108; 2019, 523-546; Verhoeven 2020 (Reneny inscription cited pp. 18, 28, and 257).

Ragazzoli, C. 2017. *La grotte des scribes à Deir El-Bahari: la tombe MMA 504 et ses graffiti*. MIFAO 35. Cairo.
Ragazzoli, C. 2019. *Scribes. Les artisans du texte de l'Égypte ancienne (1550-1000)*. Paris.
Rickal, E. 2005. *Les Epithètes dans les autobiographies de particuliers du Nouvel Empire*. Doctoral Dissertation, Université Paris IV-Sorbonne. Paris.
Tylor, J. J. 1896. *Wall drawings and monuments of El Kab. The tomb of Sebeknekht*. London.
Tylor, J. J. 1900. *Wall drawings and monuments of El Kab. The tomb of Renni*. London.
Vandersleyen, C. 1971. *Les guerres d'Amosis, fondateur de la XVIIIe Dynastie*. Monographie Reine Élisabeth I. Brussels.
Verhoeven, U. 2012. 'The New Kingdom graffiti in tomb N13.1: an overview', in J. Kahl, M. El Khadragy, U. Verhoeven and A. Kilian (eds), *Seven Seasons at Asyut. First results of the Egyptian-German cooperation in archaeological fieldwork. Proceedings of an international conference at the University of Sohag, 10-11th of October 2009*. Wiesbaden, 47-58.
Verhoeven, U. (ed.) 2020. *Dipinti von Besuchern des Grabes N13.1 in Assiut. Band 1: Text.* The Asyut Project 15. Wiesbaden.
Wb: Erman, A. and H. Grapow (eds). 1925-1950. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. 7 volumes. Leipzig.

Figure 1. EK 66, tomb of Sobeknakht II, south wall, location of Reneny's hieratic visitor-inscription (photo: J. Rossiter).

Figure 2. EK 66, visitor-inscription, main body of text (photo: W. V. Davies).

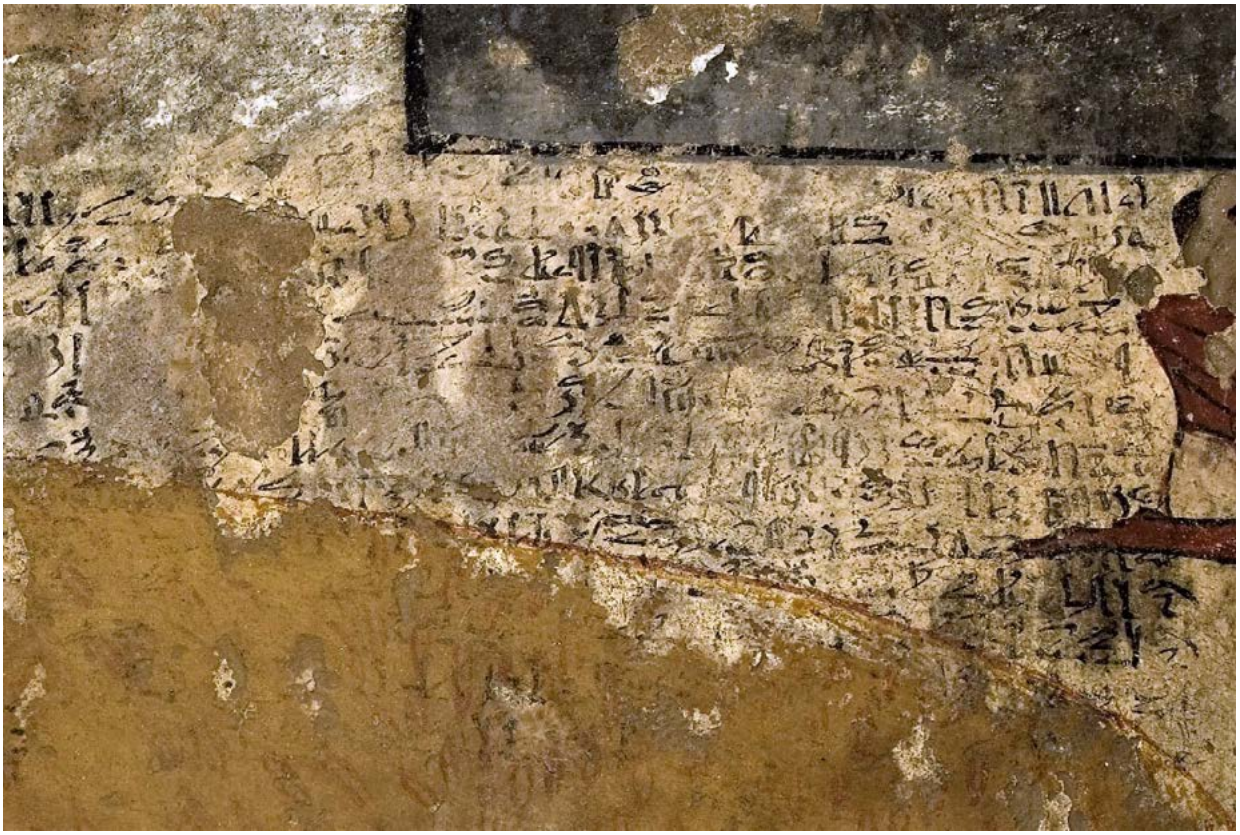


Figure 3. EK 66, visitor-inscription, detail, right section (photo: W. V. Davies).

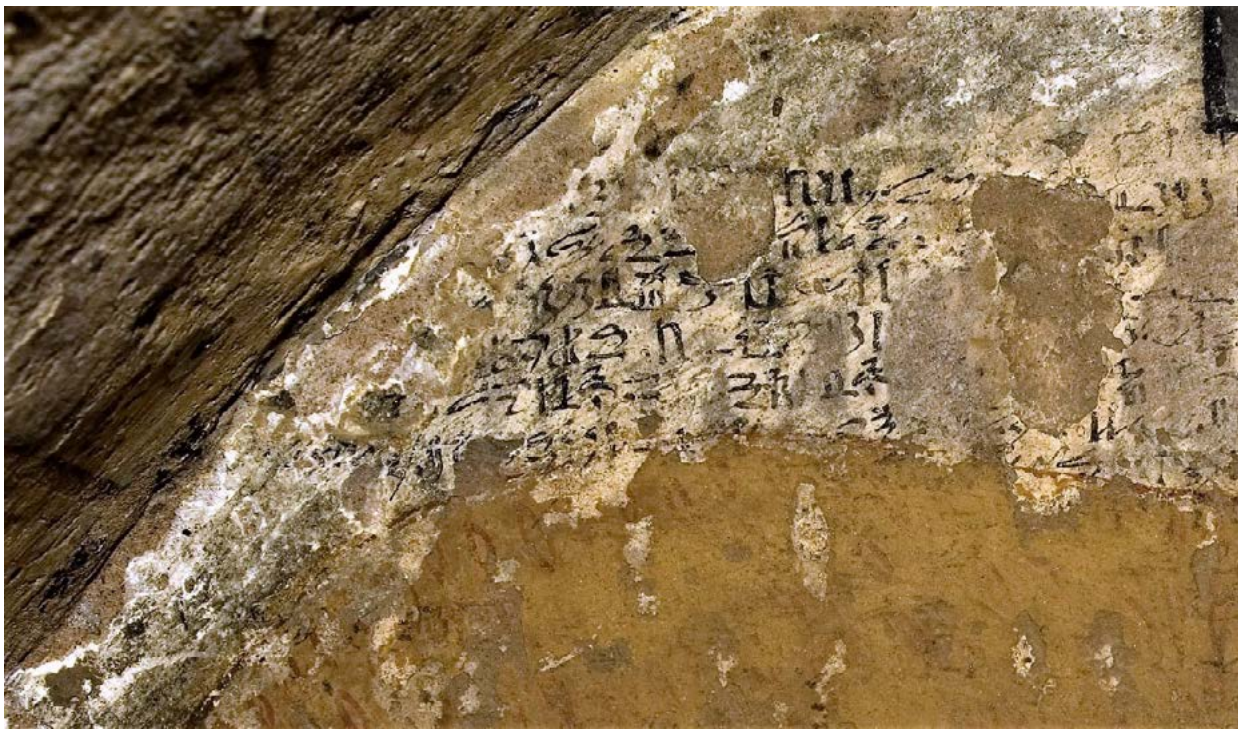


Figure 4. EK 66, visitor-inscription, detail, left section (photo: W. V. Davies).

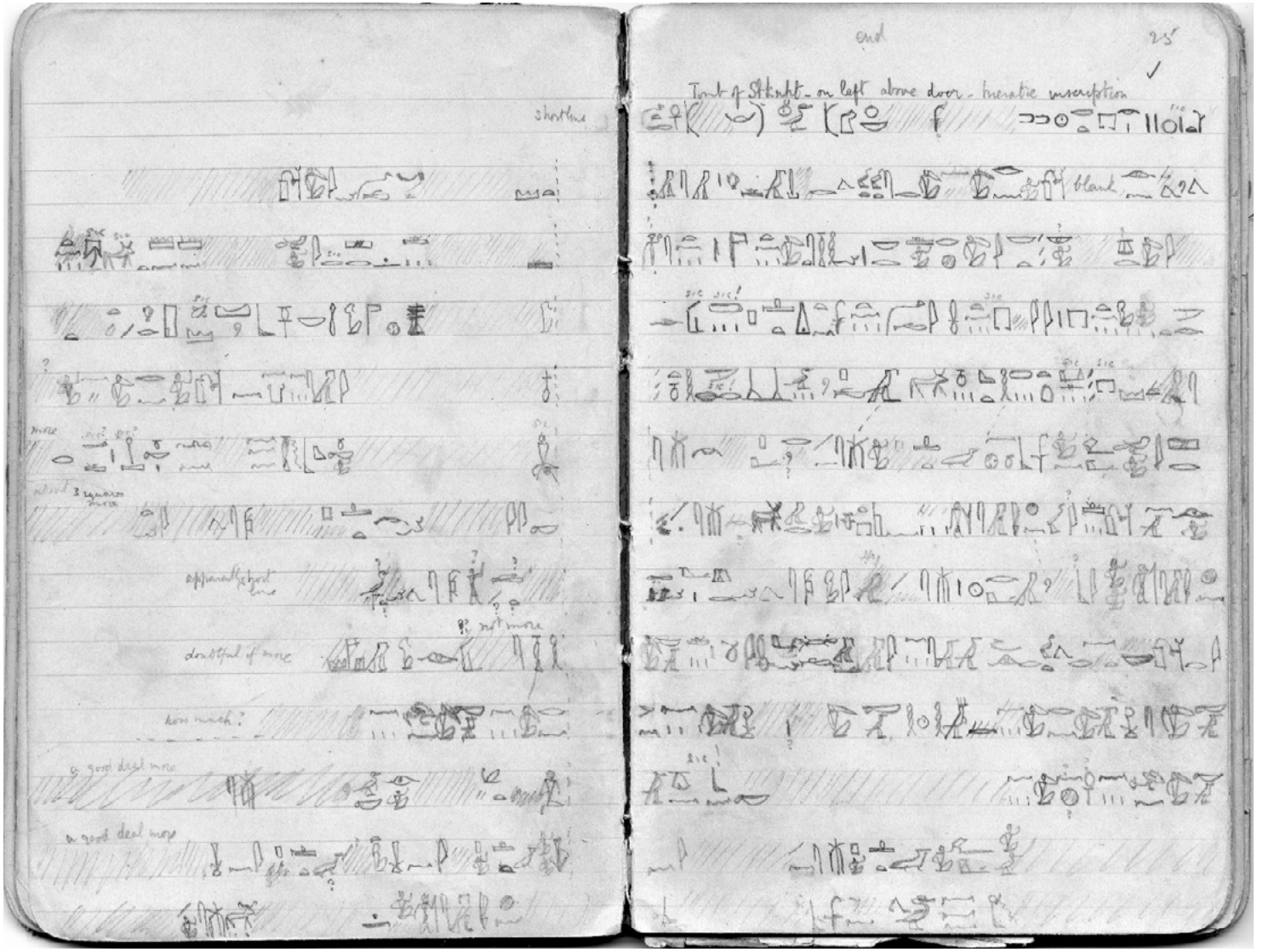


Figure 5. Reneny's visitor-inscription, as transcribed by A. H. Gardiner (Gardiner MSS AHG/23.70, courtesy Griffith Institute, University of Oxford).

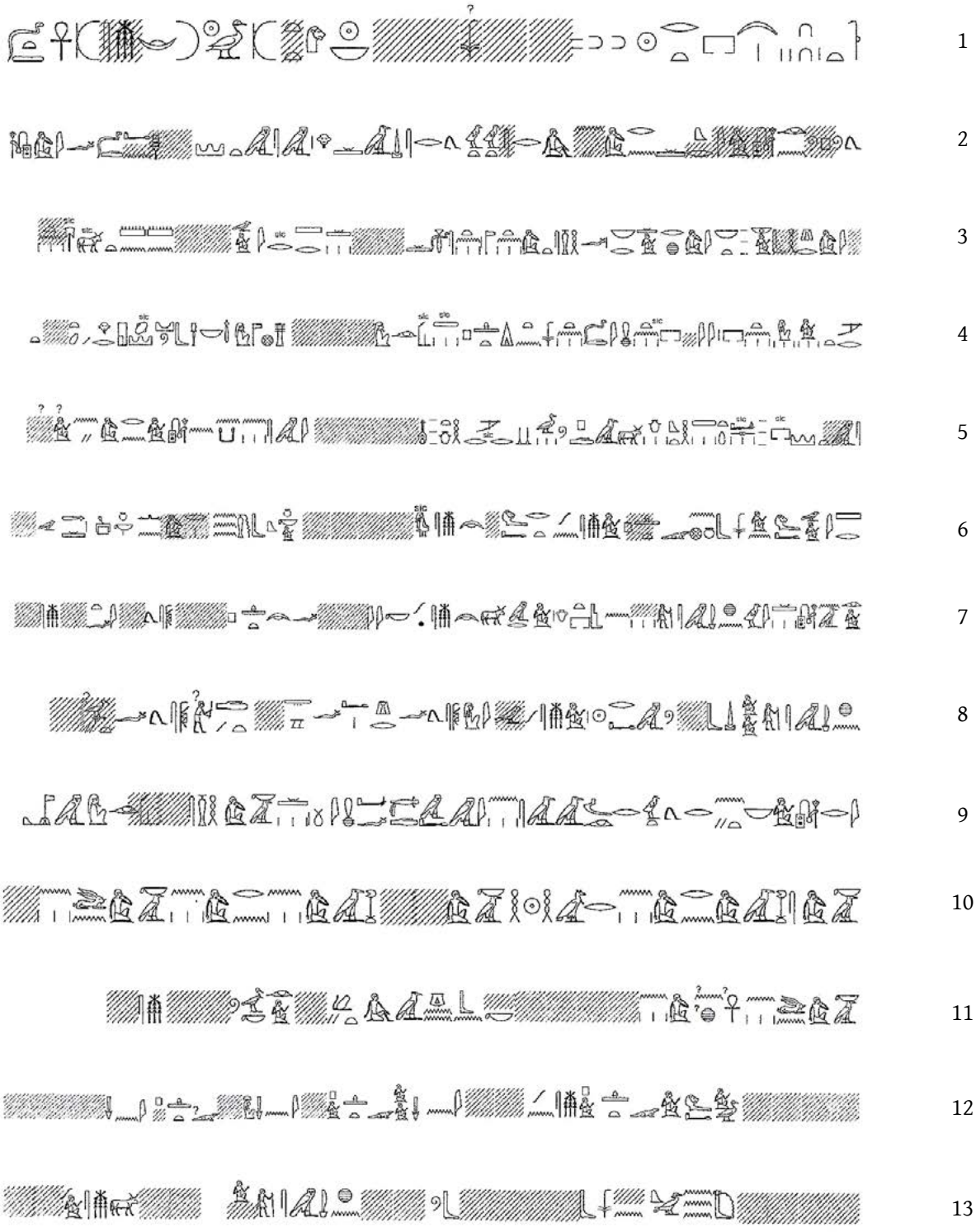


Figure 6. Reneny's visitor-inscription, new transcription by Robert J. Demarée.

A corpus of decorated fragments from Elkab

Susanne Woodhouse*

During the official restoration of the site of Elkab during the 1980s, a number of loose decorated fragments, largely of stone,[1] were collected and deposited for safekeeping within the gated tomb of Ahmose/Pennekhbet (EK no. 10 [old no. 2]).[2] These, and related, pieces have recently been the subject of renewed study, some of the main results of which are presented here.

Ranging between 5 cm and 70 cm in size and dating from the New Kingdom to the Roman Period, the corpus of fragments comprises sections of tomb and temple decoration, of stelae, statues and statuettes, architectural elements and offering tables. Following the detailed consideration of an object (no. 1, below) associated with the 25th-26th dynasty tomb of Tanetis and its cult place, this report publishes a selection of 21 other pieces of interest (nos 2-16) listed in roughly chronological order.

1. Large fragment of a once substantial offering slab

Cleaned and conserved in 2012, this sandstone fragment measures 41 x 33 x 10.5 cm. Its three surviving sides bear an offering formula in sunk relief which addresses Osiris, identifying its original owner as the sistrum player (*iḫyt*)[3] Tanet[is][4] (Figure 1). The top surface of the slab, now worn, is decorated in raised relief with an offering mat on which three libation vessels are placed. Breads are depicted above the vessels and a 2-3 cm deep basin is carved across the entire length of the slab. This shallow depression would have received the libation liquid, which was then poured onto the ground from a now missing spout.

In 2013, four sandstone fragments bearing the beginning of the offering formula were identified in the rubble to the east of Tomb no. 10. These extremely fragile pieces were joined and consolidated, forming, as reconstituted, a section of the offering slab measuring 29 x 22 x 10.5 cm, roughly a quarter of the entire slab. It is inscribed on two sides, addressing Re-Harakhty, but the name of its owner is not preserved. However, the type of inscription, the style of its hieroglyphs, the decoration of the surface and the thickness of the reconstituted piece yield sufficient evidence to identify it as the front corner of the same offering slab of which the large fragment was found in Tomb no. 10, though a direct join with the latter cannot be made. The computerised drawing (Figure 2) shows the reconstruction of the entire offering slab based on the two main sections. The original slab would have been of a very considerable size, measuring approximately 65 x 53 x 10.5 cm.

Its left-hand offering formula reads: ←'An offering that the king gives and Osiris, the foremost of the wester|ners, the great god, Lord of Abydos: may he give all offerings | for the *ka* of the Osiris, sistrum player Tanet[is ... ...]'.

Its right-hand offering formula reads: →'An offering that the king gives and Re-Harakhty, the great god, | the leader of the gods: may he give [all] offerings [for the *ka* of the Osiris, sistrum player Tanetis ... ...]'.

It is hoped that pieces of the missing last quarter as well as of the spout might be found in the future.

About 25m east of Tomb no. 10, along the escarpment with its reused New Kingdom tombs, the wall space of the façade between Tombs 3 and 5 is decorated with two stelae, the smaller of which, under

* Formerly, Oxford University Bodleian Libraries, Griffith Librarian.

[1] A few pieces are made from terracotta and faience.

[2] In 2011 the old gate was replaced with a more effective installation (Davies and O'Connell 2011, 2). For previous, preliminary reports on the material, see Davies and O'Connell 2012, 53, figs 10-13; and 2014, 2-3, figs. 10-11; cf. Hutchinson 2021, 206. In the past, other missions stored finds from the site in this tomb; see Gautier and Hendrickx 1999, 161. For the new numbering system of the Elkab tombs, see Davies, this volume, 1, n. 1.

[3] For this title of a musician priestess during the Late and Graeco-Roman Periods, see Onstine 2005, 8-9; Koch 2012, 196-198; Onstine 2016, 221, 226; Li 2017, 36, 131-132.

[4] For this unique name see Ranke 1952, 325, 10.

the new numbering system, is identified as no. 4 (Figures 3a-b and 4). Lepsius starts the description of the rock tombs of Elkab with this inscribed wall stela and consequently assigns it the number 'one' (Naville 1901, 46 a), his numbering for the rock tombs later adopted by Porter and Moss (1937, 176), now superseded.

Despite its modest size of 109 x 69 cm, the stela is of very high quality, and its finely carved hieroglyphs were coloured in blue, standing out from the once white surface. Below the cornice[5] and the moulding, two offering formulae frame an empty, undecorated recess which contained a now lost stela.[6] Whilst most of the eastern inscription is now lost and only the name of Re-Harakhty survives, the western half is nearly complete, addressing Osiris and identifying the owner of the monument as the 'sistrum player of ⌜Nekhbet⌝, Tanetis, daughter of the hourly priest (= astronomer)[7] of ⌜Nekhbet⌝ [... ... ...]' (Figure 5). Unfortunately the father's name is already missing in the oldest known record of the inscription made in October 1844[8] by H. Wild for the German expedition led by R. Lepsius (Naville 1901, 46 a). Whilst Lepsius's recording of the western offering formula breaks off after *imy wnwt n*, all later records include the name (or parts thereof) of the goddess Nekhbet after the genitive *n*, e.g. De Rougé (Rougé 1879, pl. CCLXX,2), Somers Clarke MSS 1.91,[9] F. W. Green's copy in his 1896 diary,[10] as well as a photo taken in 1929/1939 held in the Bildindex der Kunst & Architektur.[11] Tanetis is the first attested sistrum player of Nekhbet and her father is the only known astronomer of this goddess.

The uniqueness of the name Tanetis,[12] the title 'sistrum player', as well as the proximity of the find-spot of the offering slab fragments described above, leave no doubt that both monuments belong to the same person and were part of her tomb.[13] In the original funerary context the offering slab would have been placed in front of the wall stela, and in February 2015 both monuments were reunited physically for the first time (since antiquity) for a photograph (Figure 6). With an approximate length of 65 cm, the offering slab fits perfectly in front of the wall stela, which is 69 cm wide. The unity of stela and offering slab is further underlined by the names of Osiris and Re-Harakhty, both of whom are addressed on the objects.

As to the date of this cult ensemble, the inscription provides a firm criterion with the spelling of the name of Osiris. The writing with the pennant (Gardiner R8) as determinative recurred in the early 25th dynasty to become the predominant spelling during the 26th dynasty (Leahy 1979). On both funerary monuments Osiris is spelled once with the pennant and once with the divine determinative, which suggests a date of the 25th-26th dynasty, allowing for some delay of new trends to arrive in locations outside the capital.

A recent detailed architectural study of the necropolis by G. Heindl reveals that the spacious, well-made Tomb no. 3 (Figure 3b) and the directly adjacent wall stela, no. 4, were conceived as an ensemble (Davies, Prada and Woodhouse 2018, 12), added to the easternmost part of the escarpment long after the neighbouring tombs were created on this level.[14] This finding implies that Tanetis had a new tomb with a cult place created for herself in a prime position within Elkab's necropolis, at a time when it was general

[5] The modern traveller L. Vandesteene carved his name together with the date of his visit (21 September 1841) into the cornice (Figure 5). Probably during the same trip he also incised his name and the year 1841 into a column at the mortuary temple of Ramesses III in Medinet Habu (a slightly inaccurate copy is published by Keersmaecker 2005, 57; Keersmaecker 2006, 39).

[6] In some parts of the emplacement a thin layer of plaster, which once held the stela in place, still adheres to the stone.

[7] For the title *imy-wnwt* and the duties of a temple astronomer see Fissolo 2001; Altmann-Wendling 2018, 782-788; Altmann-Wendling and Stockhusen 2020, 110-112; Winkler 2021,107-130.

[8] For this date, see Lepsius 1849, 12.

[9] Held in the Archive of the Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.

[10] Held in the Archive of the Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan, British Museum.

[11] In the photo the lower end of this inscription is slightly obscured by rubble: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg Permalink https://www.bildindex.de/document/obj20801210 (last viewed 17/01/2024).

[12] Ranke (1952, 325, 10; 390) quotes this wall stela as the only example for this name and suggests a Persian origin.

[13] Previously suggested by Davies (Davies and O'Connell 2012, 53).

[14] In his account of the Tombs of the Nobles in Elkab, Weigall (1910, 320) has no doubt that the wall stela and Tomb no. 3 (as numbered in the new system) belong together.

practice to reuse older tombs. This attests to her good fortune, high status and standing with the local society and priests. So far, her tomb is the only one in the main rock necropolis which can be dated to the end of the Third Intermediate Period or the beginning of the Late Period (730-600 B.C.).

2. Two joining fragments from the east wall decoration of the tomb of Reneny (EK 20)
One fragment (max. height, width, and depth: 11 x 21 x 6 cm) has a horizontal register line in the middle. It can be placed in the lower part of a large gap on the east wall of Reneny (Figure 7), fitting into a scene of female mourners in the upper part and a funeral procession carrying a wooden[15] chest below (DE I, pl. 70.5; Tylor 1900, pls XI-XII). A finely carved foot pointing to the left is placed on the register line in the right half of this fragment indicating the presence of an additional mourner between the forward bent female mourner to the left of the gap and the squatting first mourner to the right of the gap.

The second fragment (max. height, width, and depth: 14 x 18.5 x 4 cm), broken in two, is worked in raised relief and has suffered damage since its publication by Tylor (1900, pl. XV, top right). Its straight top edge is broken off along the horizontal line of the coffin lid, forming a direct join with the first piece. It is adorned with a pair of *udjat*-eyes typical for coffin decoration. Below the eyes a male head is tilted backwards, directing his view towards his raised hand. To the right of the large gap in which both fragments can be placed his other arm is overlapping the raised arm of the woman[16] behind him (Figure 8). Both persons are mourners walking next to Reneny's coffin which is carried in the funeral cortege.

3. Fragment from the west wall decoration of the tomb of Reneny
Showing a dog's head and the end of two columns of hieroglyphs in painted sunk relief (Figure 9) this fragment (max. height, width, and depth: 18 x 19.5 x 9 cm) forms part of the decoration on the west wall of Reneny's tomb. It can be joined to a scene showing men winnowing (Figure 10), a fragment still unplaced in Tylor's publication (1900, pl. XIV, lower, right; cf. Guglielmi 1974, 72-73, no. 1). The complete scene would have shown Reneny,[17] with his dog standing in front, inspecting his estate and (as the new fragment confirms) also directly engaged in addressing his workforce, (1) 'Governor Renen[y], he says to fa[rmhand] ('*ḥ*[*wty*]) (2) Sedjemu, "be ye (all) hardworking, be ye (all) hardworking"', while the latter, shown leaning to the left and listening, responds, "I will act, (3) behold, I am (on it)", the man's name and the discourse recorded in two columns (2-3) and one horizontal line (4), all in reversed orientation to that of the locutor (Reneny) and the first column.[18]

The bright blue colour surviving in the relief of the hieroglyphs recalls Tylor's comment on the state of preservation of the sections located in 1891 mentioning the "glaring and aggressive colouring of the original drawing, evidently but little weakened by time" (Tylor 1900, description of plate XIV), as the remaining text on this fragment shows.

4. A fragment possibly from the west wall decoration of the tomb of Reneny
The sandstone fragment (max. height, width, and depth: 13.5 x 24.5 x 7.5 cm) depicts the lower body of a male figure striding to the left, and to his right a female figure which is indicated by her long skirt (Figure 11). The relief work is early 18th dynasty in style, and traces of red paint survive on the body. The male figure would have stood to *c.* 30 cm.

Whilst the largest surviving parts of the two figures appear to be worked in raised relief, the remaining part of the lower arm and of the stomach along the top edge of the fragment is executed in sunk relief. Parallels for this feature which Somers Clarke already described (Tylor 1900, (22), notes

[15] The yellow paint indicating the wood is well preserved on the fragment.
[16] For the technique in which the figure of this female mourner was worked, see no. 4.
[17] Cf. Griffith's comments on the loss of decoration in this part of the west wall (Tylor 1900, (2)).
[18] For *ḏd.f* introducing direct speech, see also the harvesting scene, with three text-columns, in the top register (Tylor 1900, pl. iii; cf. Motte 2021, 207, fig. 8, and 214, where the text is misconstrued). The foreman, facing left, addresses the farmhand/ reaper, facing right: (1-2, middle and right columns), (1) *imy-r ḥwtyw Ḏḥwty-rˁ* (2) *ḏd.f nḏr,* (1) 'Overseer of farmhands Djehuty-Re (2) he says, "hold fast"', with the addressee identified (left column) as '*ḥwty ỉpw*, 'Farmhand Ipu' (cf. Prada, this volume, 113-114).

on plate IV) can be found in the harvesting scenes in the top register of the much destroyed west wall of the tomb of Reneny (Figure 12; Tylor 1900, (2), pls. III and IV).

Here, the painted sunk relief shows male and female workers standing amidst the fields (Figure 13). The latter were created by chiselling away a few millimetres of the wall's surface surrounding the lower parts of the bodies. This horizontal band of sunk surface was then painted yellow with vertical, equally spaced red lines, indicating the ripe crop.

The middle register of the east wall of Reneny's tomb features another example of this type of relief. Carrying out the purification of the tomb owner's mummy, the figure of a priest stands next to the bier, holding up a vessel (Tylor 1900, pl. XII). Whilst the mummy and the bier are worked entirely in sunk relief, the body of the priest is sculpted on two planes (Figure 14). His legs and upper body are carved in sunk relief, but the middle section of the priest's body as well as his right elbow, both overlapping with the mummy, are carried out in raised relief, giving the composition a certain 3D effect.

Owing to the gaps in the decoration, the fragment cannot be placed with certainty (Figure 12), though its distinctive style and workmanship render an original placement in Reneny's tomb-decoration highly probable. Potentially significant for the context is the long and slightly outward curved skirt at the right edge almost certainly indicating a woman, and in the digital reconstruction proposed in Figure 15 this long skirt is the lower part of a female field worker whose upper body is bent forward, in the opposite direction to the man, gathering flax. In fact, the change of the direction of movement is typical for harvesting scenes, adding to their liveliness, and our fragment could be another example, with the man looking to the left whilst the woman next to him is orientated to the right.

5. Two sections of a limestone statue-base of the viceroy Setau

It is clear on grounds of material, dimensions (max height, width and depth, 9.5 x 22 x 20 cm and 9 x 11 x 12 cm respectively), style and palaeography that the two pieces belong to the same statue-base, the statue itself broken off and now missing (Figure 16). The inscription on the larger section, though fragmentary, once read (from right to left): '[King's Son of] ⌜Kush, overseer of the southern foreign-lands⌝', the main titles of a viceroy. The smaller piece, inscribed on both sides, represents one of the corners of the base. The text to the left of the corner reads: '⌜for the *ka* of the one who is praised⌝'. The text to the right of the corner (Figure 17) contains a title which is almost certainly to be restored as 'Festival-leader of ⌜all the gods⌝ [in Thebes]'.

The only viceroy attested with this title is Setau,[19] one of the viceroys of Ramesses II. Setau is already known from a number of monuments at Elkab (Raedler 2003, 140-141, nos 9-12), including a newly identified stela deposited in Tomb no. 10 (Davies and O'Connell 2012, 53, 64, Fig. 11).

6. Two sandstone fragments with names of Ramesses II

The two pieces (max. height, width, and depth: 12.5 x 9 x 3 cm and 10.3 x 13 x 4 cm, left and right respectively), each bear a recognisable fragment of the *prenomen* and *nomen* respectively of Ramesses II, done in deep sunk relief (Figure 18). Their original provenance is almost certainly the Elkab 'chapel of Thoth' (known locally as the 'Hammam') erected by the viceroy Setau, the decoration of which contains offering-scenes and accompanying inscriptions with cartouches of exactly the same style and size (25 cm in height when complete). They are the largest cartouches of the chapel's wall decoration and belong to the text column behind the king, though to exactly which scene it is not possible to say due to the fragmentary state of the reliefs. However, three offering scenes are missing these texts (Derchain 1971, pl. 31-32) and one of these is the most likely source for both pieces.

7. Two joining fragments of a large sandstone stela

The upper part of a New Kingdom, possibly Ramesside, stela (max. height, width, and depth: 28 x 46 x 14 cm)

[19] The title 'Festival-leader of all the gods in Thebes' is so far only attested for him on monuments in/from Elkab (Raedler 2003, 133; 140-141 [10, 12], 166).

bears the remains of a scene, done in sunk relief, showing the owner on the right, identified by inscription as 'Scribe of the god's offering [... ... ...]', facing the procession of the sacred bark of Nekhbet and holding up bunches of lotus flowers in both hands (Figures 19a and b). The right edge of the stela is lost and with it the columns which contained the name of the owner, who was evidently a temple official and priest of high rank as indicated by the much larger scale of his figure in comparison with the priests.

Above the veiled shrine, which is placed in the bark, the name and epithets of the goddess indicate that her cult image is accommodated inside the tabernacle. The most important procession during which the statue of Nekhbet left the main temple took place on the occasion of the return of the wandering eye of the sun. Resting at bark stations along the way, the cortege moved from the town to the temple of Amenhotep III, situated 3.5 km to the east of the city of Elkab (Derchain 1971, 12-13, 71-73; Darnell 1995, 92; Richter 2010). Here at the destination of the procession, the inner north and south walls of the sanctuary are decorated with reliefs depicting the sacred bark of Nekhbet[20] with its veiled shrine (Figure 20). Over time, countless graffiti of the deity's vessel with its tabernacle were carved into the façade of the building by participants of this festivity (Figure 21). It is very likely that the stela was dedicated by its unknown owner on the occasion of this important religious festival during which he led the procession.

8. Section of a blue faience votive stela

This piece (max. height, width, and depth: 4.6 x 7.2 x 2.3 cm) comprises the lower half of a small votive stela dating to the Ramesside period (Figure 22). It is incised on one face with a scene showing a bare-footed man clad in a wide skirt, striding towards a female deity who stands on the left side, wearing a long sheath dress. The deity holds an *ankh*-sign in the rear hand and a sceptre in the other hand in front of her. Though this section bears no text, it is possible that the man and goddess were named in very brief inscriptions in the now missing upper half (cf. Friedman 1998, 156 and 248 [162]). This modest stela belongs to a corpus of faience stelae of a type recently studied by Lorand (2013).

9. Sections of a granodiorite statue

Comparative research suggests that many of the fragments deposited in tomb no. 10 probably originate from the area of the Hemispeos which is situated 2.5km to the east of the tomb of Ahmose/Pennekhbet. Among them is a section (max. height, width, and depth: 9 x 12 x 10 cm) of a granodiorite statue of a 'Chantress of Nekhbet' (Figure 23), the hieroglyphs worked in sunk relief and bearing traces of yellow paint. Material, dimensions, workmanship, date and certain features link this fragment directly or indirectly with three pieces found recently next to the Hemispeos and which are studied here.

Below a horizontal register line one granodiorite fragment (max. height, width, and depth: 15.5 x 13 x 10 cm) preserves the beginning of the *ḥtp-dỉ-nswt* formula (Figure 24, left) carved in sunk relief. With a max. height of 4.8 cm and a max. width of 5.5 cm the dimensions of the hieroglyphs are identical with those on the fragment found in the tomb of Ahmose/Pennekhbet (Figure 23). To the right of the vertical register line traces of hieroglyphs, which could very well be another *ḥtp-dỉ-nswt* formula, remain in the much eroded surface, pointing to an inscription of at least two adjacent columns. On the "reverse", part of the surface is polished and slightly curved (Figure 24, right), a feature with enables a connection with the next segment.

The head of a woman with a rounded back slab (max. height, width, and depth: 21.5 x 24.5 x 17 cm) forms a substantial piece of a granodiorite statue (Figures 25-26). The decoration/inscription on the back slab is entirely erased and the face was deliberately removed. The few intact features of the head are of fine workmanship. Clearly visible are the thick strands of the wig that framed the now lost face (Figure 25). The individually curled tresses are nestled up against the neck, highlighting a finely carved neck and neckline below the now vanished chin (Figure 25, left). The wig is adorned with a lotus diadem

[20] The prow of Nekhbet's sacred bark is decorated with a falcon head which might have led Tylor (1898, pl. VI + VII, XI + XII) to ascribe the vessel to Re. Richter (2010, 164, 167) followed him in this, despite the accompanying inscriptions which name Nekhbet as the recipient of the offerings and as the occupant of the shrine.

(Figure 25, right) that once incorporated at the front a lotus blossom framed by two lotus buds of which only the three stems remain on the crown of the head (Figure 26). Based on the wig and its diadem the sculpture can be dated to the late 18th or early 19th dynasty.

The two surviving sections of the original edge of the back slab don't allow for a symmetric curvature to the right of the lady's head (Figure 25 left). Instead they give the impression that the slab originally extended further to the right (from the perspective of the viewer) indicating the presence of a second person. This would tie in with the previous fragment, which consists of at least two vertical columns (Figure 24, left), probably both starting with the *ḥtp-dỉ-nswt* formula. Examples of double statues with an inscribed back slab featuring at least two adjacent columns beginning with the *ḥtp-dỉ-nswt* formula and separated by a vertical register line are Vienna ÄS 51 (Hema 2005, pl. 100 b), Louvre A. 128 (Hema 2005, pl. 115 b), RMS A. 1956.143 (Hema 2005, pl. 121 b) and Louvre A. 68 (Hema 2005, pl. 130 d), all dating to the end of the 18th dynasty and the Ramesside Period.

Having once formed part of such a double statue, the worked surface on the 'reverse' of the previous fragment (Figure 24, right) would have been part of the back slab's surface surrounding the statues, with the slight curve turning upwards indicating the transition from the flat surface of the slab to a three-dimensional part of the statue, such as a body part or a piece of furniture.

Executed in finely worked sunk relief with remnants of yellow paint, the third granodiorite segment (max. height, width, and depth: 23 x 13.5 x 12 cm) found at the Hemispeos shows an elongated female figure, most of her legs now missing, clad in a tight sheath dress (Figure 27). The woman wears a long wig typical for the early 19th dynasty behind which the stem of a lotus is preserved, indicating the lotus flower which once adorned the lady's now missing head. It seems that she is holding a wide-open lotus flower with her right hand towards her face. To the left of this standing figure are a smooth surface and a rounded edge, very similar if not identical to those of the back slab behind the female head (Figures 25 and 26). Both pieces are additionally linked by material and date. Based on the original left edge as well as the orientation to the right of the female standing figure, this fragment would have been placed to the left (as seen from the viewer) of the anonymous woman whose head survives.

Besides material, New Kingdom date, elite status and gender, the yellow paint surviving in the carved figure provides a further link with the fragment from the tomb of Ahmose/Pennekhbet, the hieroglyphs of which still preserve some yellow paint (Figure 23).

Although no direct join can be made between any of these four granodiorite pieces, they are interconnected by findspot, material, date, dimensions, degree of workmanship, features such as the back slab, gender, and elite status, suggesting a strong possibility that they belong to the same late 18th to early 19th dynasty slightly under life-size double statue. Granodiorite as material for larger statues was favoured by royalty and the elite (Putter and Karlshausen 2022, 137), and a Chantress of Nekhbet belonged to the latter. With hardstone being the preferred material for temple statues of private individuals (Russmann 2001, 187 no. 94), a temple context for our double statue seems very likely and as the three new pieces were found near the Hemispeos, the latter would be the most obvious setting for it.[21]

[21] Although the identity of those once represented in this double statue can currently not be certainly determined, the viceroy Setau (see number 5 in this article) and his wife Mutnofret are strong candidates. Apart from Mutnofret also carrying the title 'Chantress of Nekhbet' (Raedler 2003, 141 no. 13, 166), she was the most prominent wife of a viceroy in Ancient Egyptian history, depicted together with her husband as well as in her own right (Raedler 2003, 164-170). Their slightly under life-size double statue would have been set up in the vicinity of the so-called Thoth-chapel and the large rock-stela (east of the hemispeos), monuments which were erected by Setau for his King Ramesses II (Derchain 1971, 5, 65-67; Raedler 2003, 140 no. 10, 141 no. 12, et passim). The further presence of the couple in this area is indicated by much damaged scenes on the south wall of the sanctuary of the hemispeos (Derchain 1971, 64-65; Raedler 2003, 141, no. 11), and their double statue would make perfect sense in this cult-ensemble which has/had both their names and titles written all over them. It is hoped that fragments that can shed light on the identity of the owners will be found in the future. Marking the northernmost part of the Viceroy's sphere of control, the omnipresence of Setau's and Mutnofret's imagery and building activities in Elkab could additionally have been motivated by Mutnofret originating from Elkab (or Kom el-Ahmar), as suggested by Drenkhahn (1975, 47) and Müller (2013, 134).

10. Two joining sections of a Ramesside stela

Amongst the deposits are parts of about eight stelae, mainly of Ramesside date; see already nos 7 and 8 above, and the new stela of Setau (Davies and O'Connell 2012, 53, 64, fig. 11). No. 10 is formed of two directly joining sandstone segments, measuring 43.5 cm in height (Figure 28). The top piece preserves the original left edge of the stela. Two goddesses are standing on the register line, each grasping an *ankh*-sign in the right hand and holding a staff in their outstretched left hand in front of their bodies. The surface above their shoulders is missing. They are orientated to the right. In the register below, a man facing to the left raises his hands in adoration in front of an anthropomorphic[22] god. An inscription in front of the man's face would have indicated his identity but one can only make out faint traces of the *sꜣ*-hieroglyph, '[...] Son [...]'. In the narrow space between the god and the man is an offering stand with a water-pot over which a papyrus flower is draped.

The figure of the deity is mainly lost. In front of him is a *was*-sceptre. The remaining toe rests on a dais indicating that the god would have been seated on a throne. His headgear was a disc, of which the upper half survives. Like the deity, the hieroglyphic inscription to the right of the disc faces to the right, indicating their togetherness. The much worn inscription reads 'Thoth, the Lord of [...]', the toponym being illegible.[23] With the attribution to Thoth one would expect the disc to be sitting in a crescent, as depicted in the so-called chapel of Thoth (Derchain 1971, 71, pl. 31) at Elkab. All that survives of the register below is a head adorned with a scented cone and a lotus flower. Raising both hands, the person faces left, and behind is possibly another raised hand, which would indicate a second individual. Above the hand one can just make out two hieroglyphs which read 'His son [...]'. Assuming that this register and the middle register were of the same height, the stela would have stood to the substantial height of at least 60cm.

Apart from his role as the god of wisdom and writing, as moon god and as the vizier of the gods, Thoth was venerated in Elkab specifically as the bringer of the solar-eye. This myth of the return of the sun-god's daughter to Egypt (Stadler 2012, 9, 11) was celebrated annually with a processional festival in Elkab[24] attracting a large crowd which came to watch and to participate. Stelae relating to this festival were set up in Elkab to ensure their owners' participation in this important festival in perpetuity, and the example in question could well be such a memento.

11. Fragment of a sandstone rock-cut tomb stela

The fragment (max. height, width, and depth: 19.2 x 22 x 11 cm), dating to the New Kingdom, represents part of the right side of the pictorial field located at the top of a stela (Figure 29). The type of stela is well exemplified in the tombs of Setau (Figure 30; Kruchten, Delvaux 2010, pls 34- 35, 76) and Pahery (Tylor 1894, pl. XI; Tylor 1895, pl. XVI). The centre of such decoration is typically occupied by a *shen*-ring with two water vessels below and on either side an *udjat*-eye, as in this case, surmounting three water lines and a horizontal inscription dedicated to Anubis: '[Anubis, the first] of the divine booth, who breathes [the sweet north wind]'. The inscription is incised and bears traces of blue paint. The remaining decoration is done in raised relief, which bears remnants of white plaster. The tomb from which this fragment originates has yet to be identified. None of the accessible tombs in the main necropolis contains the remains of a suitably large stela. The search continues.

12. Sandstone statuette of a squatting baboon

The sandstone statuette (max. height, width, and depth: 17.5 x 13 x 11 cm) is slightly worn and its lower end is damaged (Figure 31). The lunar disc in the crescent on the head of the animal identifies it as

[22] The human toe of one foot is preserved.

[23] Potential candidates for the toponym can be found in the so-called chapel of Thoth where Ramesses II is offering to 'Thoth who resides at the entrance of the wadi, the Lord of the gods, the great god'. On the reveals of this chapel Thoth's cult image of a baboon is named 'Thoth who resides at the entrance of the wadi, the great god' and 'Thoth, the Lord of the gods, who resides at the entrance of the wadi' (Derchain 1971, 69-71, pls 28 and 31).

[24] See above the Ramesside stela (no. 7) depicting the bark procession of Nekhbet.

Thoth and bears a close resemblance to his cult image depicted in the local so-called chapel of Thoth (Derchain 1971, pl. 28). Details such as the fur and the hand clasping a stalk are very well worked and give an idea of the original overall quality of the piece. The inscription on the back pillar is eroded and only individual signs are legible. The object dates to the New Kingdom. Like in every other temple, *ex votos* would have been sold to pilgrims and visitors in Elkab and this baboon-statuette of the bringer of the solar-eye (cf. no. 10 above) is probably such an object.

13. Ptolemaic royal ancestor-cult-scene

The scene, in sunk relief in sandstone (max. height, width, and depth: 23 x 22 x 9 cm), the upper part and both ends now lost, shows the figure of a standing king, facing right with arms raised before a seated male figure, who holds an *ankh*-sign and a sceptre (Figure 32). A *nemset*-vessel with three plants draped over it is placed on a stand between the enthroned male figure and the king. The accompanying central inscription reads: 'Presenting wine to his father and his mother'. As much of the scene is lost, it is not possible to identify the king or the 'father' or the absent 'mother'. The mother must have been depicted to the right, behind the seated male, her figure now gone.

To the left of the king and the accompanying LPH formula, remnants of the back of a throne, raised on a pedestal, and the rear of a seated deity indicate an adjacent offering scene.

The scene may be dated on thematic and stylistic grounds to the Ptolemaic period and may originally have formed part of the Ptolemaic decoration of the speos complex located in the desert cliffs just to the north of the Elkab necropolis. The section's decoration in sunk relief points to its former location where it was exposed to sunlight.

Ptolemaic temple-scenes in which the cult recipients are identified in the *titre* as the king's father and mother are relatively rare. They are attested, for example, in Edfu (Winter 1978, documents 3-6) and Qasr el-Aguz (Winter 1978, documents 18, 19), and usually depict the living Ptolemaic ruler offering before his deceased parents.[25] Appropriate for their divine status both parents are holding an *ankh*-sign and the father additionally a *was*-sceptre. Wine is one of the rarer commodities offered on these occasions, only attested in Kom Ombo for Ptolemy VI (Quaegebeur 1989, 100) and in Qasr el-Aguz for Ptolemy VIII (Winter 1978, document 19). Such ancestor-cult-scenes are part of the newly created Egyptian dynastic cult for the Hellenistic rulers (Quaegebeur 1989, 99-101; Minas 2000, 62-64, 68-73; Pfeiffer 2008, 96-103), and in return for the offering, the ancestor gives the living ruler the kingship over Egypt (Pfeiffer 2008, 101-102, 106; Winter 1978, 153-154).

The thirty-one known (Pfeiffer 2008, 99-100) ancestor-cult-scenes are attested from Ptolemy III until Ptolemy IX (Minas 2000, 62-64, 68- 73).[26] With traces of building activities taking place at the Hemispeos under Ptolemy V, and the rock chapel being redecorated under Ptolemy VIII – X (Derchain 1971, 8-9, 75), the date for our ancestor-cult-scene might potentially be narrowed down to Ptolemy V, VIII and IX.

Apart from adding a further scene to the existing corpus of Ptolemaic royal ancestor-cult-scenes, this newly found fragment adds Elkab to the list of sites with such cult scenes (cf. Pfeiffer 2008, 100).[27]

[25] The living king would also be shown offering before his deceased and deified parents and their predecessors which are referred to in the *titre* as "his fathers and his mothers". One such scene survives in a fragmentary state from the Ptolemaic chapel in the Mut precinct at Karnak dating to Ptolemy VI (Quaegebeur 1989, 100, n. 37; Fazzini and Bryan 2021, 60 with the first photo of the scene confirming the *titre*), whilst a complete scene is depicted in the temple of Tôd where Ptolemy VIII and Cleopatra II are venerating six generations of ancestors (Grenier 1983; Minas 2000, 24-25, Dok. 51 Tafel 17; Thiers 2003, no 318).

[26] The 'names of two royal couples, Ptolemy II and III with their wives', as seen by Werbrouck in an 'anonymous tomb' in Elkab and referred to by Quaegebeur (1989, 106 n. 84), do not exist in this form. Having recently relocated this tomb, the Oxford Expedition to Elkab found that its decoration only features the cartouches of Ptolemy III and Berenike II (Davies, Prada, and Woodhouse 2018, 11-12; Prada and Woodhouse 2019, 38).

[27] Evidence for an Egyptian *royal* cult for Ptolemy IV and his wife Arsinoe III in the temple of Elkab was found by Capart in 1945/46, who excavated the much-damaged statue of the 'Prophet of <the gods> Philopatores, Harmakhis' (Capart 1954, 75, 78; Lanciers 1991, 121, 142).

14. Two sandstone fragments (rejoined) of an offering-bringer, decorated in painted raised relief
The fragments (max. height, width and depth: 30 x 28 x 4 cm) preserve part of the figure of an offering bringer (originally, when complete, about 90-100cm in height) in raised relief, with his two arms extended forward horizontally (Figure 33). Draped over them are alternating green and red strands of vegetation. Upon the hands rests a tray on which are two green loaves of bread and two yellow[28] libation vessels arranged on either side of a yellow *was*-sceptre (the top is missing), over which a red cloth is draped. A vertical line divides this offering-bringer from the figure of the one in front of him, of which only the rear elbow survives. The relief is Ptolemaic in style.

Remnants of blue paint on the surface of the arm and both hands identify the offering bringer as a Nile god, and the now lost inscriptions and headgear would have held further information about the nome it represented. Processions of the 42 Nile gods (sometimes accompanied by field goddesses) laden with foodstuffs and led by the king are depicted in the *soubassements* (= bottom registers) of Ptolemaic and Roman temples (Leitz 2014). Their direction of movement is into the temple and towards the sanctuary to provide the divine occupant(s) with food. As the decoration is in raised relief, this fragment stems either from the interior of a temple or from a half shaded wall. The fragment most likely originates from the nearby Hemispeos which underwent at least two building phases during the Ptolemaic period.[29] Today, the lower half of the decoration of the sanctuary and of its once shaded façade[30] are almost entirely lost, which makes an absolute placement of the section impossible. However, with the deity facing to the right, the segment would have been placed in the *soubassement* of the west or north-west walls, allowing a direction of movement into the rock shrine. This piece is further evidence for the decoration of the lower part of the walls of the Ptolemaic Hemispeos (cf. Derchain 1971, 47 no. 1, pl. 23d).

15. Element of temple architecture
A well preserved sandstone scroll (max. height and width: 12.5 x 16 cm) with remnants of blue, yellow and red paint adhering to the plaster (Figure 34) is closely paralleled by two pieces found at the Hemispeos (Figure 35). Nearly identical pieces in varying dimensions were found by Petrie, possibly in Tell el-Retaba (Pithom) in the Wadi Tumilat, and are now in the Petrie Museum (Figure 36). One of these scrolls still forms part of an unfinished capital that supports an abacus, thus providing us with the architectural context for the scrolls originating from the Hemispeos in Elkab. Based on finds in Tell el-Yehudiyah, the Petrie Museum scrolls are dated to the Roman Period (Petrie 1906, pl. XXV.4), which one could tentatively accept for the Elkab pieces.

16. Lunar disc with crescent headgear of a Thoth statue
This part (max. height, width, and depth: 16 x 16.5 x 13 cm) of a large sandstone sculpture in the round depicts a lunar disc with crescent (Figures 37 and 39) that is supported by a back-pillar (Figure 38). On the latter the introduction of a text is preserved: 'Words to be spoken by [... ... ...]', which would have been followed by the name of the deity, in this case Thoth. The segment measures 16 cm in height and a conservative estimate of the sculpture's total height would be about 55 cm. In the absence of the body, the main part of the inscription and the original find-spot, one can only speculate about the former context and exact date of this once substantial statue.

[28] Yellow paint symbolises the golden material the objects are made from.
[29] See no. 13.
[30] The façade is decorated in raised relief and was once shaded by a portico (Derchain 1971, 44-46, pl. 8a, 27, plans A and B).

Bibliography

Altmann-Wendling, V. 2018. *MondSymbolik - MondWissen: lunare Konzepte in den ägyptischen Tempeln griechisch-römischer Zeit*. Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion 22. Wiesbaden.

Altmann-Wendling, V. and M. Stockhusen 2020. 'Die Statue eines ägyptische Priesters und Astronomen (JE 38545)', in R. Färber and R. Gautschy (eds), *Zeit in den Kulturen des Altertums: antike Chronologie im Spiegel der Quellen*. Wien; Köln; Weimar, 103-115.

Capart, J. 1954. *Fouilles de El Kab III: documents*. Brussels.

Darnell, J. C. 1995. 'Hathor returns to Medamûd', *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 22, 47- 94.

Davies, W. V. and E. R. O'Connell. 2011. 'British Museum Expedition to Elkab and Hagr Edfu, 2011', *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 17, 1-29.

Davies, W. V. and E. R. O'Connell. 2012. 'British Museum Expedition to Elkab and Hagr Edfu, 2012', *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 19, 51-85.

Davies, W. V. and E. R. O'Connell. 2014. 'British Museum Expedition to Elkab and Hagr Edfu, 2013', *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 22, 1-34.

Davies, W. V., L. Prada and S. Woodhouse. 2018. 'Monuments of Elkab: taking a closer look', *Egyptian Archaeology* 53, 4-12.

DE I. *Description de l'Égypte, ou, Recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l'expédition de l'armée française, vol. 1: Antiquités.* Paris, 1809-1818.

Derchain, P. 1971. *Elkab I: Les monuments religieux* à *l'entrée de l'Ouady Hellal*. Bruxelles.

Drenkhahn, R. 1975. 'Eine Privatstiftung des Vizekönigs Setau in Elkab', *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 3, 43-48.

Fazzini, R. A. and B. M. Bryan 2021. *The Precinct of Mut at South Karnak: an archaeological guide.* Cairo, New York.

Fissolo, J.-L. 2001. 'Les astronomes égyptiens', *Égypte Afrique & Orient* 21, 15-24.

Friedman, F. D. (ed.) 1998. *Gifts of the Nile: Ancient Egyptian faience*. New York.

Gautier, A. and S. Hendrickx 1999. 'Vultures and other animal remains from a tomb in the Elkab necropolis, Upper Egypt: an exercise in salvage archaeozoology', in C. Becker, H. Manhart, J. Peters and J. Schibler (eds), *Historia animalium ex ossibus: Beiträge zur Paläoanatomie, Archäologie, Ägyptologie, Ethnologie und Geschichte der Tiermedizin. Festschrift für Angela von den Driesch zum 65.* Geburtstag. Rahden, 161-179.

Grenier, J.-C.1983. 'Ptolémée Evergète II et Cléopâtre II d'après les textes du temple de Tôd', in N. Bonacasa and A. Di Vita (eds), *Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano: Studi in onore di Achille Adriani I*, 32-37. Rome.

Guglielmi, W. 1973. *Reden, Rufe und Lieder auf altägyptischen Darstellungen der Landwirtschaft, Viehzucht, des Fisch- und Vogelfangs vom Mittleren Reich bis zur Spätzeit.* Tübinger ägyptologische Beiträge 1. Bonn.

Hema, R. A. 2005. *Group statues of private individuals in the New Kingdom.* BAR International Series 1413. Oxford.

Hutchinson, A. 2021. 'Nonroyal participation and self-presentation in New Kingdom provincial cults', in C. Geisen, J. Li, S. Shubert, and K. Yamamoto (eds), *His Good Name. Essays on identity and self-presentation in Ancient Egypt in honor of Ronald J. Leprohon*. Atlanta, 199-212.

Keersmaecker, R. O. de 2005. *Travellers' graffiti from Egypt and the Sudan IV: Elkab: the rock tombs*. Antwerp.

Keersmaecker, R. O. de 2006. *Travellers' graffiti from Egypt and the Sudan V: Thebes: the temples of Medinet Habu*. Antwerp.

Koch, C. 2012. *Die den Amun mit ihrer Stimme zufriedenstellen: Gottesgemahlinnen und Musikerinnen im thebanischen Amunstaat von der 22. bis zur 26. Dynastie*. Studien zu den Ritualszenen altägyptischer Tempel 27. Dettelbach.

Kruchten, J.-M. and L. Delvaux. 2010. *La tombe de Sétaou.* Turnhout.

Leahy, A. 1979. 'The name of Osiris written 𓊹 ', *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 7, 141-153.

Lanciers, E. 1991. 'Die ägyptischen Priester des ptolemäischen Königskultes', *Revue d'Égyptologie* 42, 117-145.

Leitz, C. 2014. 'Geographische Soubassementtexte aus griechisch-römischer Zeit: eine Hauptquelle altägyptischer Kulttopographie', in A. Rickert and B. Ventker (eds), *Altägyptische Enzyklopädien: Die Soubassements in den Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Zeit, Soubassementstudien I,* 69-126. Wiesbaden.

Lepsius, R. 1849. *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien: Nach den Zeichnungen der von Seiner Majestät dem Könige von Preussen, Friedrich Wilhelm IV., nach diesen Ländern gesendeten und in den Jahren 1842-1845 ausgeführten wissenschaftlichen Expedition [vorläufige Nachricht über die Expedition, ihre Ergebnisse und deren Publikation].* Berlin.

Li, J. 2017. *Women, gender and identity in Third Intermediate Period Egypt: the Theban case study*. Routledge Studies in Egyptology 4. London; New York.

Lorand, D. 2013. 'Une stèle en "faïence" de la fin de la 17ème ou début de la 18ème dynastie aux Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire', *Chronique d'Égypte* 88, 230-243.

Minas, M. 2000. *Die hieroglyphischen Ahnenreihen der ptolemäischen Könige: ein Vergleich mit den Titeln der eponymen Priester in den demotischen und griechischen Papyri*. Aegyptiaca Treverensia. Mainz.

Motte, A. 2021. 'Une paratextualité émergente dans les tombes privées', *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 57, 197-223.

Müller, I. 2013. *Die Verwaltung Nubiens im Neuen Reich.* Meroitica 18. Wiesbaden.

Naville, E. 1901. *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien: Text, herausgegeben von Eduard Naville, bearbeitet von K. Sethe, Bd. 4: Oberaegypten*. Leipzig.

Onstine, S. 2005. *The role of the chantress (šmʿyt) in ancient Egypt.* BAR International Series 1401. Oxford.

Onstine, S. 2016. 'Women's participation in the religious hierarchy of ancient Egypt', in S. L. Budin and J. MacIntosh Turfa (eds), *Women in antiquity: real women across the ancient world.* London, 218-228.

Petrie, W. M. F. 1906. *Hyksos and Israelite cities*. British School of Archaeology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account [12] (12th year). London.

Pfeiffer, S. 2008. *Herrscher- und Dynastiekulte im Ptolemäerreich: Systematik und Einordnung der Kultformen.* Münchner Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und Antiken Rechtsgeschichte 98. München.

Porter, B. and R. Moss. 1937. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings V: Upper Egypt: Sites.* Oxford.

Prada, L. and S. Woodhouse. 2019. 'Boats and horses: a painted Ptolemaic tomb in Elkab', *Nekhen News* 32, 37-38.

Putter, T. de and C. Karlshausen. 2022. *Pierres de l'Égypte ancienne: Guide des matériaux de l'architecture, de la sculpture et de la joaillerie.* Connaissance de l'Égypte Ancienne 20. Brussels.

Quaegebeur, J. 1989. 'The Egyptian clergy and the cult of the Ptolemaic Dynasty', *Ancient Society* 20, 93-116.

Raedler, C. 2003. 'Zur Repräsentation und Verwirklichung pharaonischer Macht in Nubien: der Vizekönig Setau', in R. Gundlach and U. Rößler-Köhler (eds), *Das Königtum der Ramessidenzeit: Voraussetzungen – Verwirklichung – Verhältnis, Akten des 3. Symposiums zur ägyptischen Königsideologie in Bonn 7.-9.6.2001.* Wiesbaden, 129-173.

Ranke, H. 1952. *Die ägyptischen Personennamen, Bd. 2.* Glückstadt.

Richter, B. A. 2010. 'On the heels of the Wandering Goddess: the myth and the festival at the temples of the Wadi el-Hallel and Dendera', in M. Dolińska and H. Beinlich (eds), *8. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung: Interconnections between temples, Warschau, 22.-25. September 2008.* Wiesbaden, 155-186.

Rougé, J. de 1879. *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques copiées en Égypte pendant la mission scientifique de M. Le Vicomte Emmanuel de Rougé publiées par Jacques de Rougé,* vol 4. Paris.

Russmann, E. (ed.) 2001. *Eternal Egypt: masterworks of Ancient Egypt from the British Museum*. London.

Stadler, M. A. 2012. 'Thoth', *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology, 1 (1).* https://escholarship.org/uc/item/2xj8c3qg (accessed 11.01.2022).

Thiers, C. 2003. *Tôd: les inscriptions du temple ptolémaïque et romain. II: Textes et scènes nos 173-329*. Fouilles de l'IFAO 18/2. Cairo.

Tylor, J. J. 1894. *The tomb of Paheri at El Kab.* 11th Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund. London.

Tylor, J. J. 1895. *The tomb of Paheri.* Wall drawings and monuments of El Kab. London.
Tylor, J. J. 1898. *The temple of Amenhetep III.* Wall drawings and monuments of El Kab. London.
Tylor, J. J. 1900. *The tomb of Renni.* Wall drawings and monuments of El Kab. London.
Weigall, A. E. P. 1910. *A guide to the antiquities of Upper Egypt from Abydos to the Sudan frontier.* London.
Winkler, A. 2021. 'Stellar scientists: the Egyptian temple astrologers', *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern History* 8 (1-2), 91-145. DOI: 10.1515/janeh-2020-0017.
Winter, E. 1978. 'Der Herrscherkult in den ägyptischen Ptolemäertempeln', in H. Maehler and V. M. Strocka (eds), *Das Ptolemäische Ägypten: Akten des internationalen Symposions, 27.-29. September 1976 in Berlin*. Mainz, 147-160.

Figure 1. Fragment of an offering slab, naming the sistrum player Tanet[is] (photo: J. Rossiter).

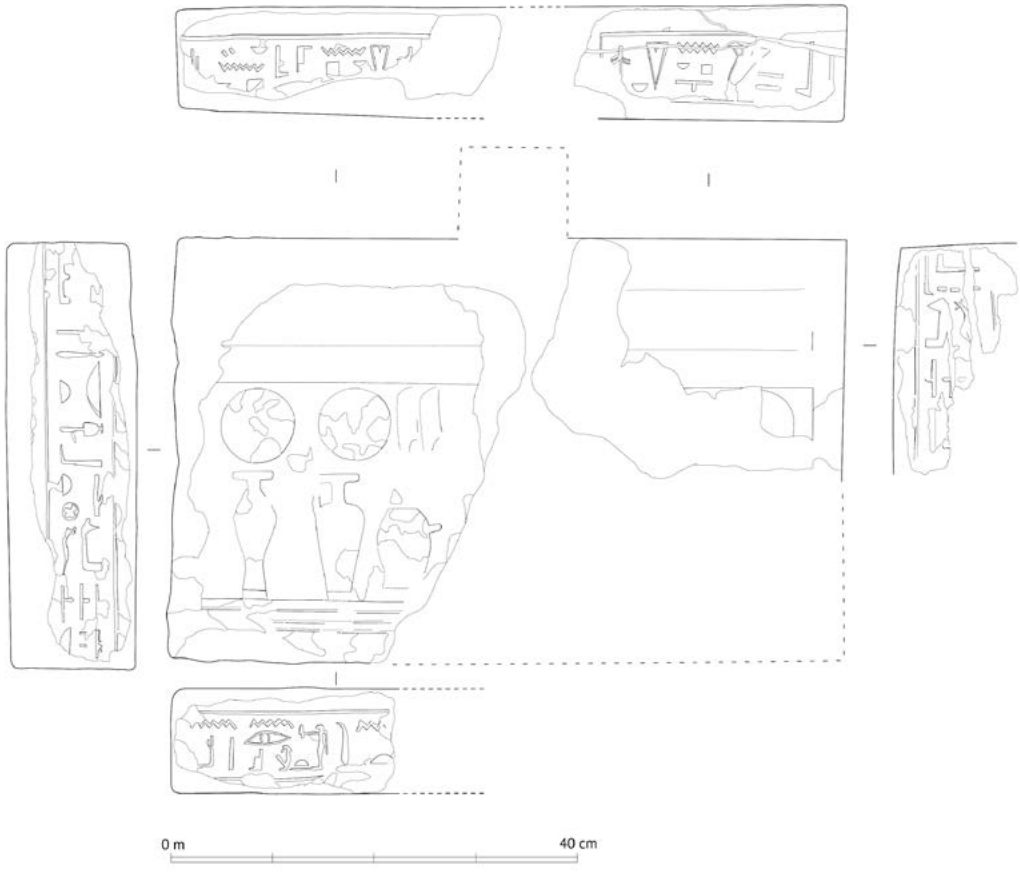


Figure 2. Offering slab of Tanetis reconstructed (computerised drawing: C. Thorne and X. Droux; drawing: S. Woodhouse).

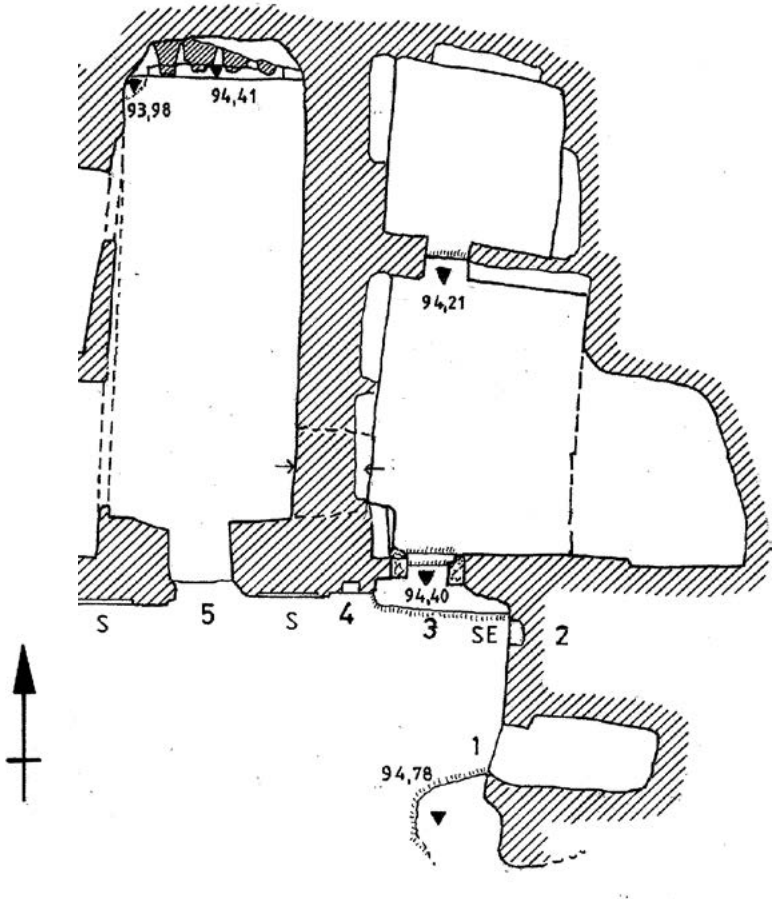


Figure 3a (above).
Elkab, rock-necropolis, lower range, location of stela of Tanetis, no. 4
(photo: J. Rossiter).

Figure 3b (left). Lower range, plan of easternmost tombs, nos 5 and 3 with wall stela no. 4
(drawing: G. Heindl).

Figure 4. Tomb no. 3 (right) and tomb no. 5 (left), with the stela of Tanetis (no. 4) visible to the right of the undecorated wall stela (photo: S. Woodhouse).

Figure 6. Reunited sections of Tanetis's offering slab placed in front of her wall stela, no. 4 (photo: S. Woodhouse).

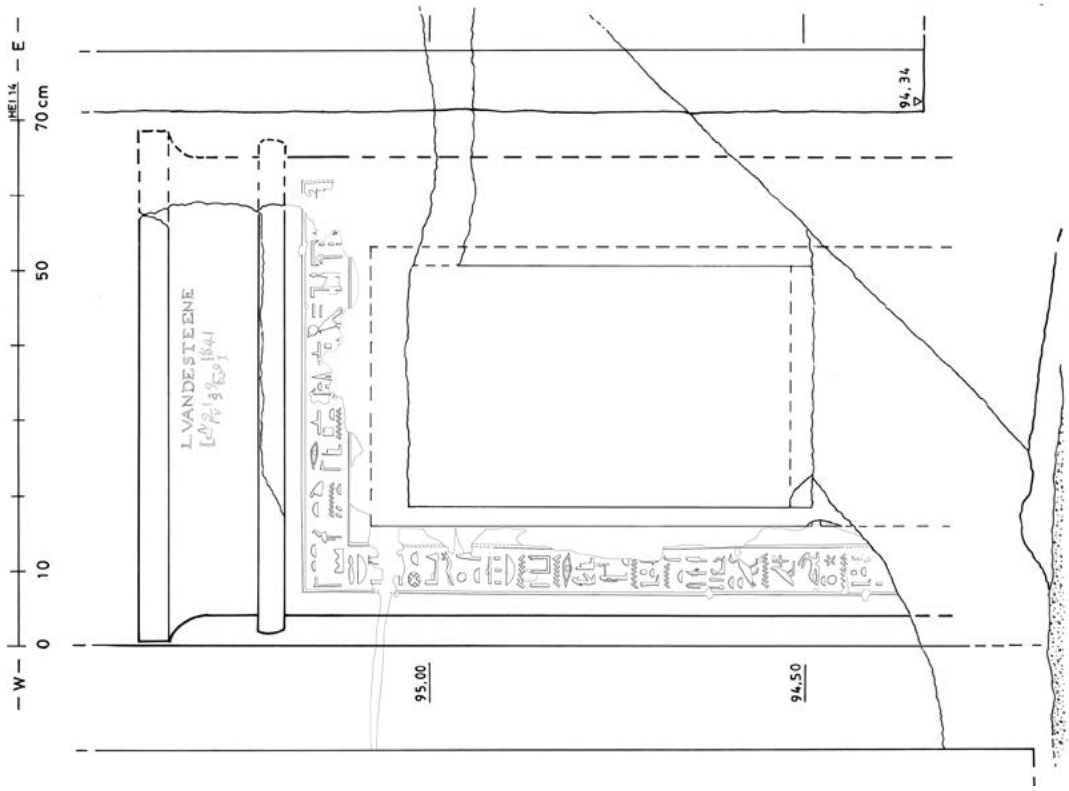


Figure 5. Wall stela of Tanetis (computerised drawing: C. Thorne and X. Droux; plan: G. Heindl; drawing: S. Woodhouse).

Figure 7. Tomb of Reneny, east wall, two fragments joined and digitally placed in the gap of the funerary cortege (photoshop: J. Rossiter; photo: S. Woodhouse).

Figure 8. Tomb of Reneny, east wall, close-up of the placed fragments (photo: S. Woodhouse).

Figure 9. Tomb of Reneny, displaced west wall fragment (photo: S. Woodhouse).

Figure 10. Tomb of Reneny, west wall fragment (Figure 9), digitally replaced in original location (photo: S. Woodhouse).
S. Woodhouse).

Figure 11. Fragment, possibly from a harvesting scene in the tomb of Reneny (photo: J. Rossiter).

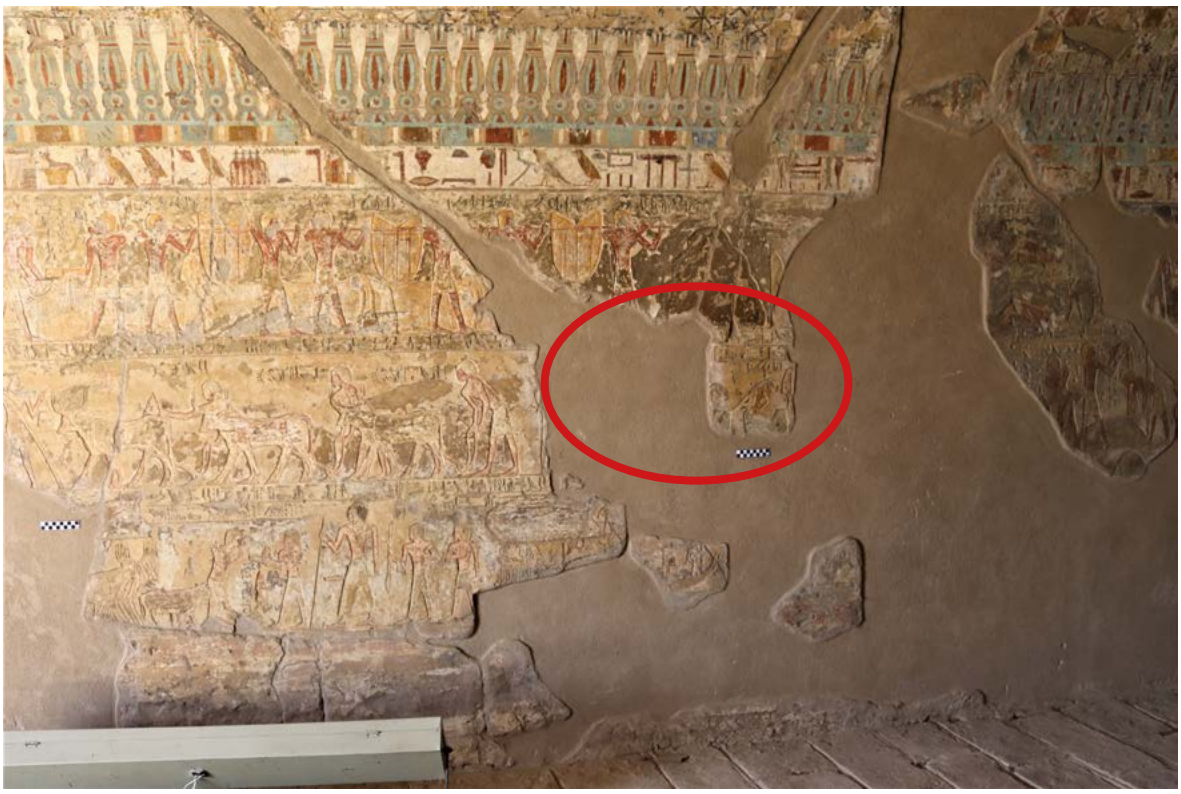


Figure 12. Tomb of Reneny, west wall where large parts of the harvesting scenes are lost and with the area encircled in red, from which the fragment (Figure 11) might have originated (photo: S. Woodhouse).

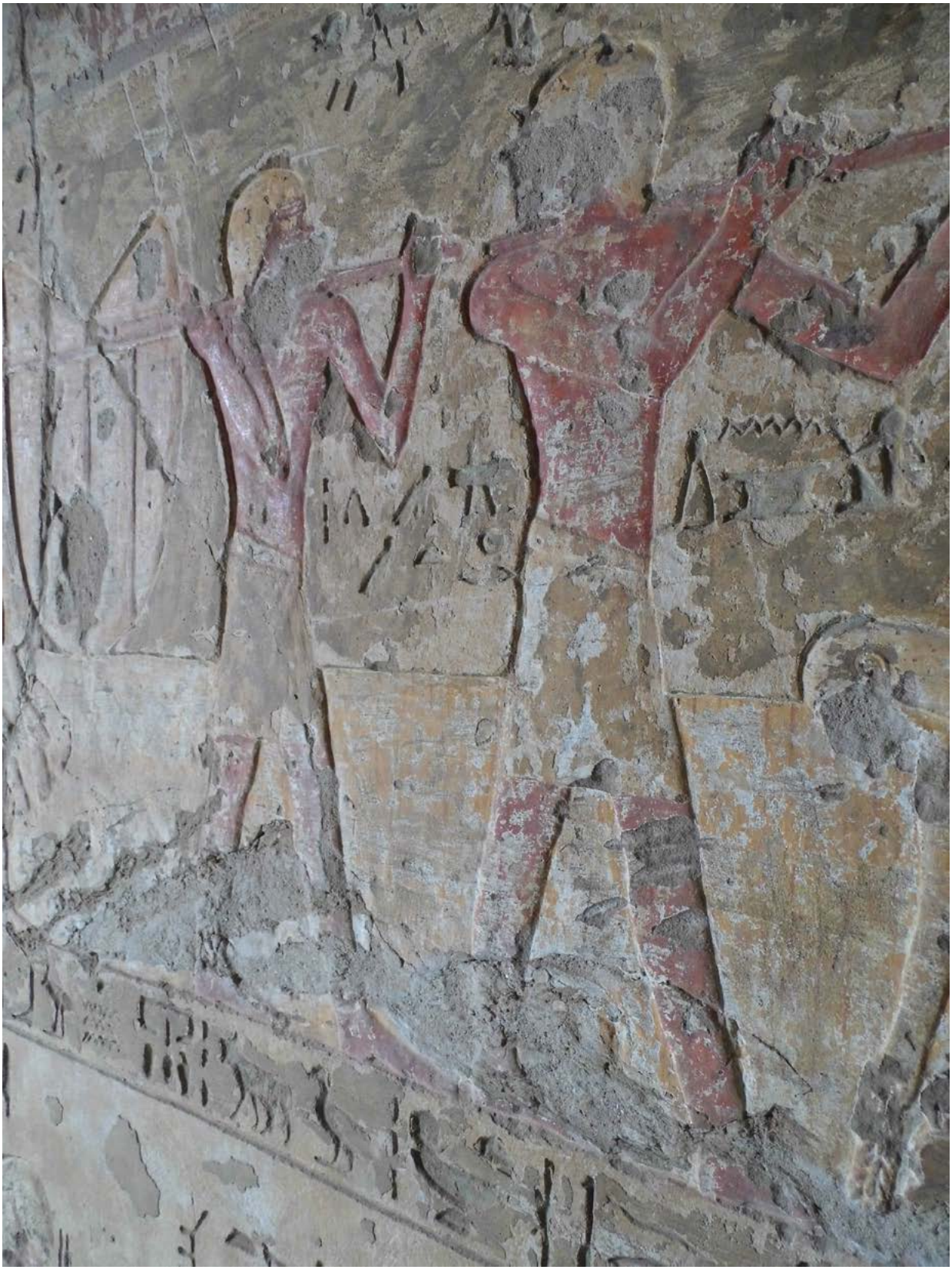


Figure 13. Tomb of Reneny, west wall, human figures in a harvesting scene worked on two planes (photo: S. Woodhouse).

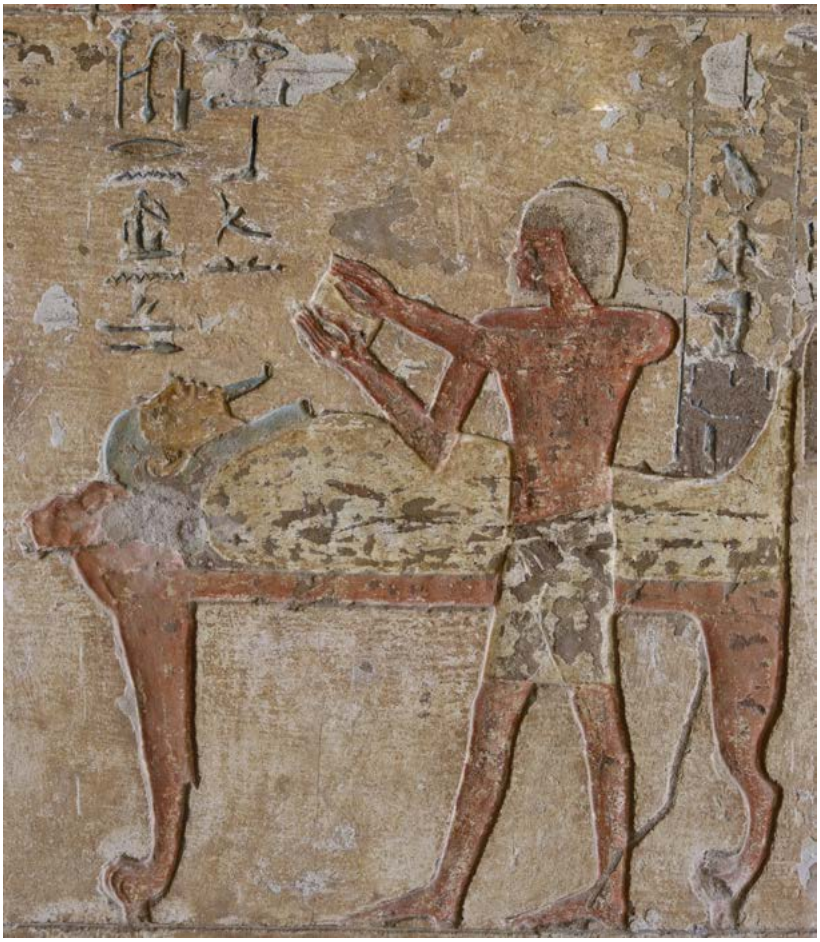


Figure 14. Tomb of Reneny, east wall, the priest's figure worked on two planes (photo: S. Woodhouse).

Figure 15. Tomb of Reneny, likely placement of the fragment (Figure 11) within the harvesting scenes on the west wall (digital reconstruction: J. Rossiter).

Figure 16. Two sections of a statue-base of Viceroy Setau (photo: J. Rossiter).

Figure 17. Section of a statue-base of Viceroy Setau (photo: J. Rossiter).

Figure 18. Temple wall-fragments with cartouches of Ramesses II (photo: J. Rossiter).

Figure 19a. A fragmentary stela with a scene showing the procession of the Nekhbet-bark (photo: J. Rossiter).

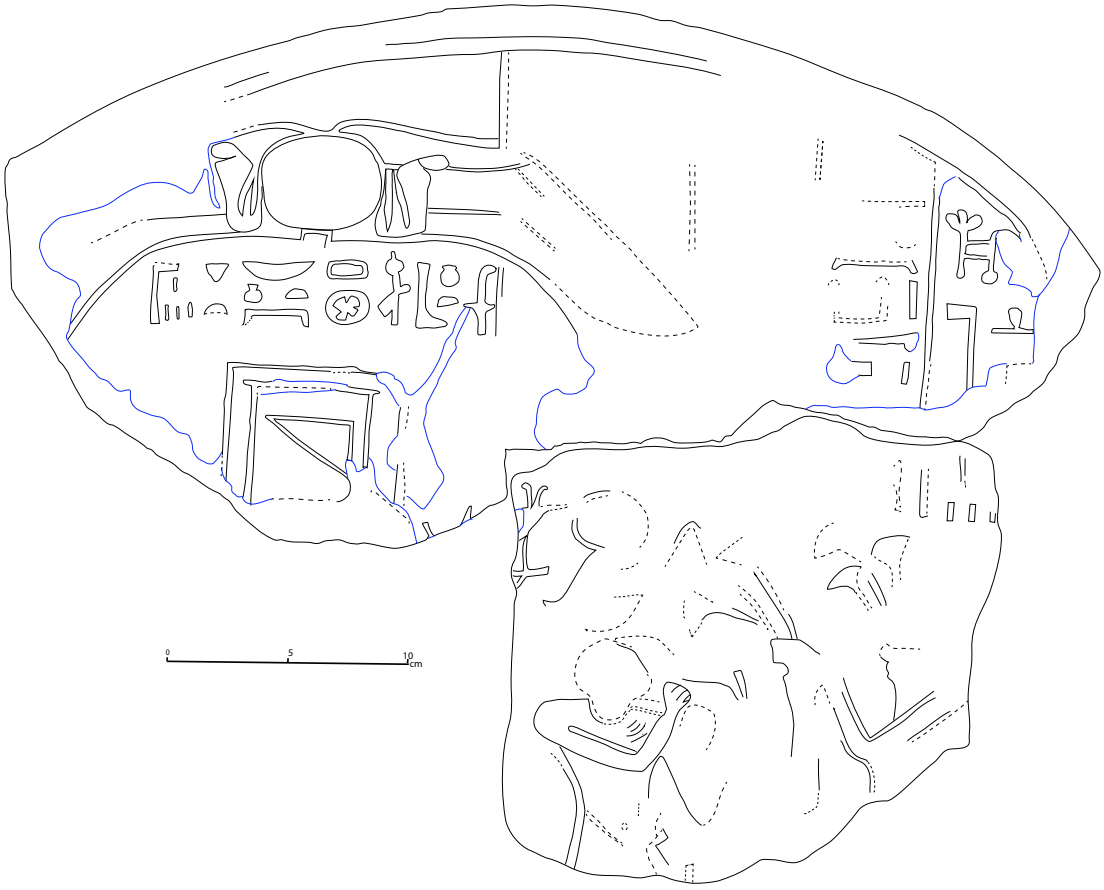


Figure 19b. Copy of the fragmentary stela (Figure 19a) depicting the procession of the Nekhbet-bark (drawing: S. Woodhouse).

Figure 20. The bark of Nekhbet as depicted in the bark-station of Amenhotep III (photo: S. Woodhouse).

Figure 21. Bark-graffito on façade of Amenhotep III temple in the Wadi Hilal (photo: S. Woodhouse).

Figure 22. Votive-stela made of faience, lower half, front face and thickness (photos: J. Rossiter).

Figure 23. Fragment of a statue of a Chantress of Nekhbet (photo: J. Rossiter).

Figure 24. Granodiorite fragment from a back slab found near the Hemispeos with the beginning of the inscription on one side (left) and, highlighted in the red square, a smooth and slightly curved surface on the "reverse" (right) (photos: J. Rossiter).

Figure 25. The mutilated head of a woman from a granodiorite statue with back slab found near the Hemispeos, front and side views (photos: J. Rossiter).

Figure 27. Decorated granodiorite fragment found near the Hemispeos (photo: J. Rossiter).

Figure 26. The mutilated head of a woman from a granodiorite statue with back slab found near the Hemispeos, seen from the top (photo: J. Rossiter).

Figure 28. Two joining sections of a stela (photo: J. Rossiter).

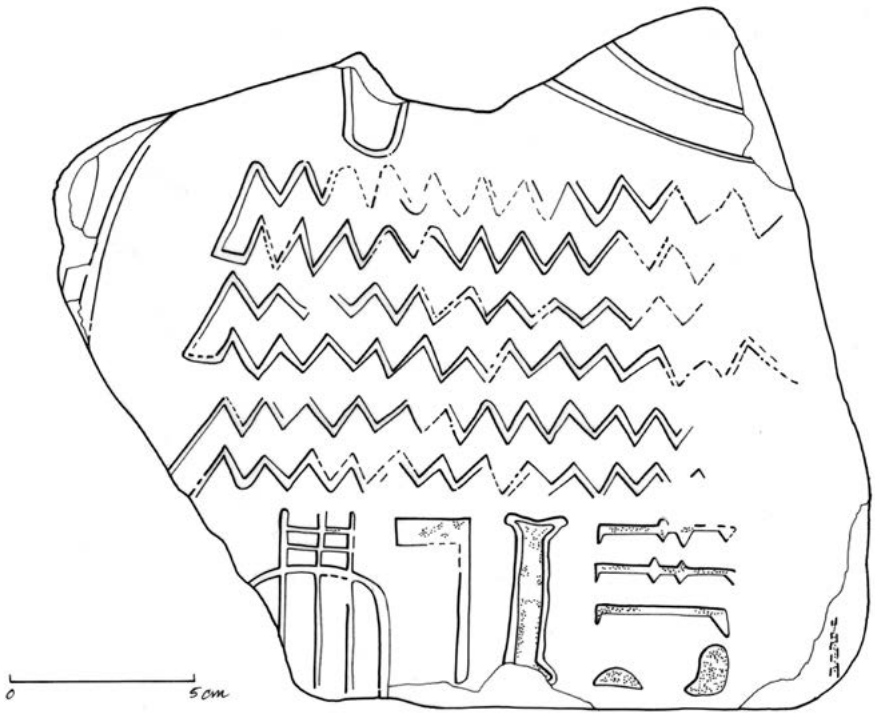


Figure 29. Fragment of upper section of rock-cut tomb-stela (drawing: S. Woodhouse; inking: W. Schenck).

Figure 30. Tomb of the High Priest Setau (no. 14), painted wall stela (photo: S. Woodhouse).

Figure 31. Figure of a baboon (photo: J. Rossiter).

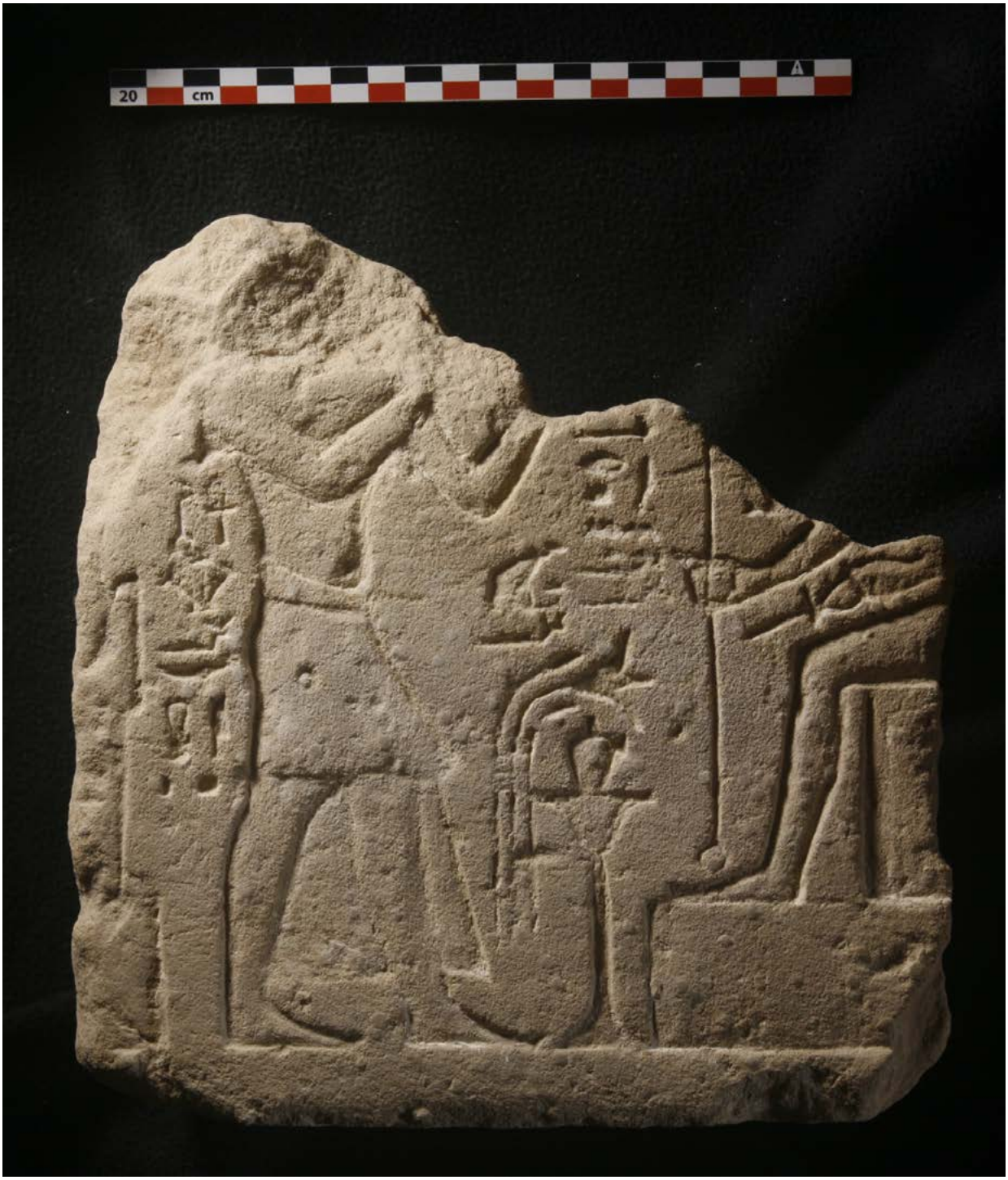


Figure 32. Ptolemaic temple relief with ancestor-cult-scene (photo: J. Rossiter).

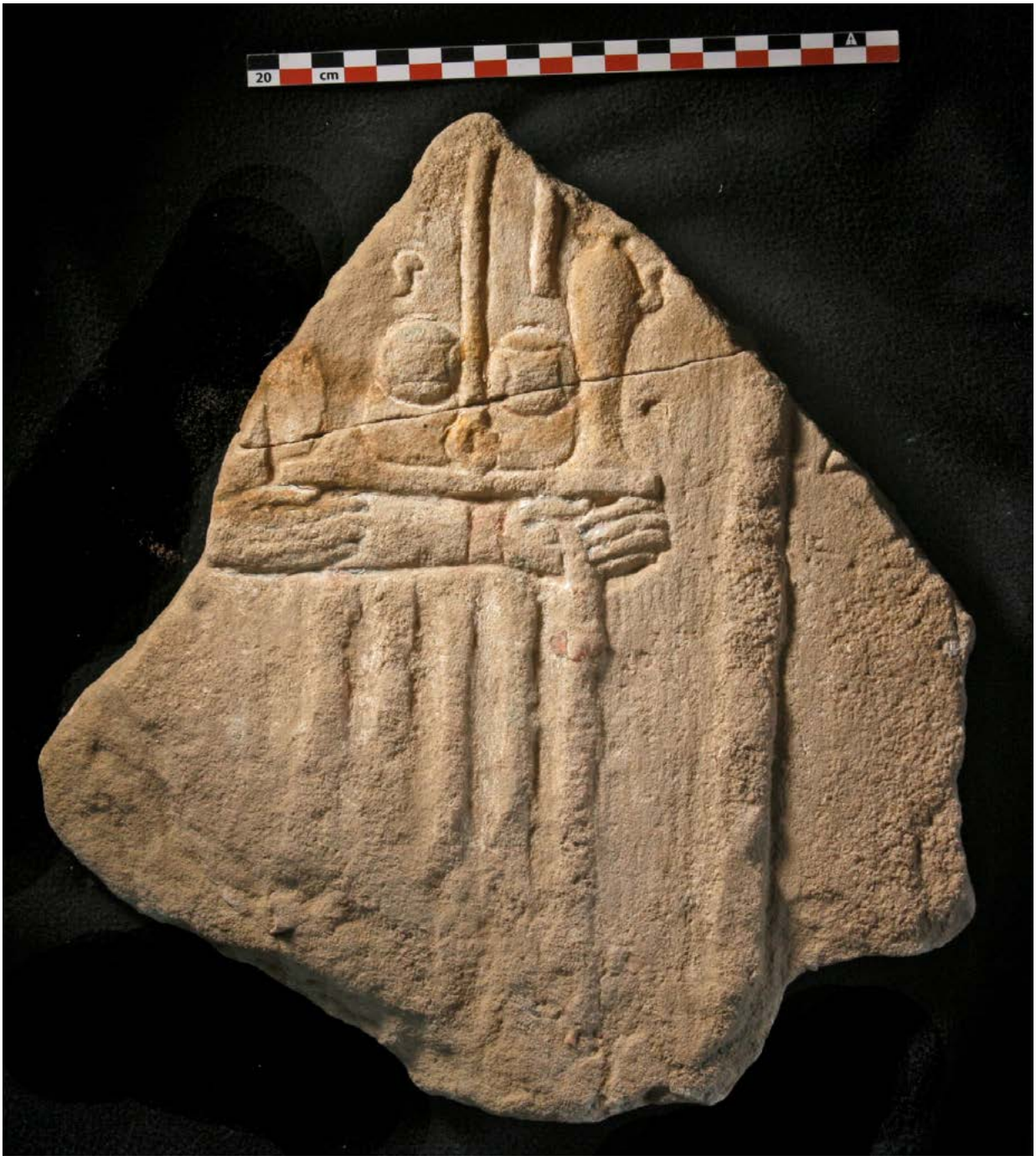


Figure 33. Fragment of temple-relief (photo: J. Rossiter).

Figure 34. Architectural feature with scroll decoration (photo: J. Rossiter).

Figure 35. One of the scrolls found at the Hemispeos (photo: L. Prada).

Figure 36. Scrolls probably found at Tell el-Retaba (Pithom) in the Wadi Tumilat (photo: S. Woodhouse; courtesy Petrie Museum).

Figure 37. Fragment of Thoth statue, sun-disc and crescent, frontal view (photo: J. Rossiter).

Figure 38. Fragment of Thoth statue, top end of inscribed back-pillar (photo: J. Rossiter).

Figure 39. Fragment of Thoth statue, sun-disc and crescent with back-pillar, side view (photo: J. Rossiter).

The late reuse of the tomb of Reneny through its demotic graffiti: a fieldwork report

Luigi Prada*

The present report gathers the results of epigraphic work carried out in the tomb of Reneny (EK 20; reign of Amenhotep I) largely during the fieldwork seasons 2016-2020.[1] It focuses on the ancient secondary epigraphy of the tomb, and specifically on a number of demotic graffiti located on its west and east walls.[2] To this day, no demotic graffiti have been identified in any other tomb of the Elkab necropolis.[3]

General overview

Five ancient Egyptian graffiti have been identified in the tomb of Reneny, all inside its cult chapel, with none on the façade.[4] Four are on the west wall, one on the east wall (Figure 1). A large part of the tomb's decorated surfaces has suffered heavy damage or has been destroyed, hence this count need not be reflective of the original situation in antiquity. The graffiti are all textual in nature, and all in demotic. No textual graffiti in any other ancient scripts or languages have been observed, but the tomb sports a variety of modern textual graffiti, primarily in Arabic and Latin scripts / European languages.[5]

The five graffiti can be ascribed to three hands and, in all likelihood, to as many dedicators. On the west wall, Graffiti 1 and 4 are by a Wereshwer son of Hebnefer, the only dedicator whose name can be read fully and unambiguously. On the same wall, Graffiti 2 and 3 appear to be executed by one and the same hand, though the lamentable state of both makes it difficult to recognise the name of their dedicator (perhaps, a certain Pay-...). Finally, on the east wall, Graffito 5 was possibly dedicated by a Padiamun (*vel sim.*; only the element Amun can be read with certainty).

The material execution of the graffiti reflects their different authorship. Thus, Graffiti 2 and 3 are simply scratched, whilst Graffiti 1 and 4 are both scratched and inked (in red pigment). Graffito 5 is the sole one to be only painted, in black ink.

The graffiti on the west wall are all located along the wall's southern half (i.e., the left-hand side, when facing the wall) (Figures 2-3), whilst the graffito on the east wall is on its northern section, just south (i.e., to the right) of the now-sealed doorway leading to the funerary shaft (Figure 4). The height at which the graffiti are placed on the tomb's walls is quite consistent. On the west wall, all four graffiti lie in the higher part of the decoration's top register, their first lines being, on average, 170 cm from the floor level. On the east wall, the first line of Graffito 5 is at 134 cm from the ground. This suggests that, when the graffiti were written, the tomb chapel was fully accessible and devoid of any significant amount of debris, with its ground level at approximately the same level as in the New Kingdom and today. All graffiti were inserted in spaces originally left vacant by the wall decoration, carefully avoiding any interference with both the hieroglyphic captions and the figures depicted. Should the

* Uppsala University, Department of Archaeology and Ancient History.

[1] On the tomb of Reneny, see Davies, this volume, 11-13, Figures 68-81; Woodhouse, this volume, 76-77, Figures 7-15. All images in this report are the author's own, unless otherwise specified; some were digitally processed with the kind assistance of Paul D. Wordsworth (London) and Muhammad Ragab (Uppsala). Thanks are further due to Mark Smith (Oxford), for feedback on my draft editions of Graffiti 3 and 5, to W. Vivian Davies (Oxford), for information about the original epigraphy of Reneny's tomb, and to Andreas Dorn (Uppsala), for discussion about Graffito A.

[2] Previous treatments of these demotic graffiti are in Prada and Wordsworth 2018, 76-79, 84-87; Prada 2019a, 229-236, 240; Prada 2019b. These studies are referred to in the present report only when necessary, particularly if information provided therein is superseded or needs emending.

[3] Short Demotic painted inscriptions in a Ptolemaic tomb (EK 179) appear to be captions pertaining to the original decoration; see Prada 2019a, 237.

[4] As per the count in Prada and Wordsworth 2018, 77, following the original identification of Graffito 5 at the end of the 2017 season. Correct accordingly Prada 2019a, 229-230, who speaks, instead, of a total of six, having understood the two lines of Graffito 5 as two separate graffiti in the same hand.

[5] See, e.g., Prada 2019a, 229, n. 64. The present report focuses exclusively on the ancient epigraphy.

composition of a graffito have accidentally threatened the original decoration, any defacing of the latter was still avoided, even when this meant sacrificing elements of the graffito itself. This is the case in Graffito 1, where the tracing of the bottom framing line was interrupted in order not to cut through the charioteer's head.

Originally, all graffiti would probably have looked rather conspicuous. The most conspicuous, however, was and remains Graffito 1. This is due to its oversized writing (permitted by the large blank space left above the chariot in the original decoration scheme) and to its unique layout within a frame. But, this graffito further enjoys pride of place in the tomb, being located on one of the first sections of the wall to be sighted when entering the chapel, one that also always receives light from the outside (with direct sunlight impacting it during the morning).

Graffito 1 is the only one to have a dating formula at its end (eleventh day of Mesoré of a second regnal year), but the lack of the pharaoh's name, combined with the low number in the regnal count, make this date of little help in offering an exact chronology. Dating of the graffiti must therefore solely rely on a palaeographical examination. Graffiti 1 and 4 appear to be Ptolemaic.[6] It is harder to pronounce on Graffiti 2 and 3, given their poor preservation, but nothing in them speaks against a Ptolemaic dating, too. Finally, the palaeography of Graffito 5 can also be assigned to the Ptolemaic Period.[7]

In the following editions, the graffiti are numbered in the order in which they would be encountered by a visitor to the tomb chapel, that is, from the outside towards the inside; the material on the west wall, which is the main bulk, is presented first, followed by that on the east wall.

Editions of the graffiti[8]

Graffito Reneny 1 (Figures 5-6)

Position and material features: west wall, top register, left end (by the entrance), above the chariot and charioteer.[9] Scratched and painted red. Distance from the modern floor level to the base of *rn*: 172 cm.

This is the only graffito in the tomb to have a special layout, set within a frame. The top line of the frame belongs to the original Eighteenth Dynasty decoration, a red-painted line separating the top register from a band of hieroglyphic text spanning the entire wall's length. In the first place, the author of the graffito traced three more horizontal lines below, to guide and contain each line of the demotic text, as well as a vertical line for the right margin (full length) and a vertical line for the left margin (initially, only for l. 1): all these lines are scratched. However, when the author started to insert the text, the original frame turned out to be too short, with the demotic of l. 1 overspilling. The frame was thus extended further to the left; this time, however, the extensions to the horizonal lines were not scratched, but merely drawn by means of red paint. On the left, a new vertical margin line, this time running the whole height of the frame, was also added in paint only. It is in this second stage that red paint was also applied to the previously scratched framing lines (and to the demotic text), as demonstrated by the fact that the now-redundant original vertical line for the left margin of l. 1 was left unpainted. The maximal measures of the frame are 14 cm (height) by 37 cm (width; original scratched frame only) or 40 cm (width; extended frame inclusive of painted-only additions).

Proposed date: Ptolemaic.

---

[6] As per Prada 2019a, 231.

[7] Emend accordingly Prada 2019a, 231, whose preliminary assessment cautiously suggested a Late Dynastic attribution for it. As Graffito 5 is the only painted one in the tomb, its palaeography is more standard than that of the other graffiti, for it is devoid of the idiosyncrasies often observed in scratched graffiti (idiosyncrasies dictated by the mechanically different—more angular and fragmented—execution of what should be, by its own nature, a cursive script). A closer palaeographical discussion is given below, in the introduction to its edition.

[8] The history of studies on these graffiti is given in Prada 2019a, 229-236, and will not be repeated here. That contribution also includes the most recent editions of Graffiti 1 and 4, which are reproduced here virtually unmodified. Graffiti 2 and 3 were edited in Vleeming 2015, 93-94, nos 1425-1426; my present editions do not always agree with his readings. Graffito 5 is receiving here its *editio princeps*.

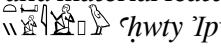
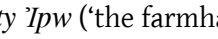
[9] PM V, 183 no. 7 (3).

1	*pɜ rn nfr Wrše-wr sɜ Heb-nfr*
	The perfect name of Wereshwer, son of Hebnefer,
2	*pɜ ḥry sšṯ mn ty m-bɜḥ pɜ rmṯ ʿɜ*
	the overseer of secrets, endures here in the presence of the Great Man,
3	*pɜ nṯr ʿɜ ḥnʿ ⌜nɜy⌝=f sn.w sḥ <ḥɜ.t-sp> 2.t ỉbt-4 šmw sw-11*
	the great god, together with (the name of) his brothers. It is written. <Regnal year> 2, month 4 of the Shemu-season, day 11.

Notes

(a). The edition reproduces the one in Prada 2019a, 232-234, to whose commentary the reader is referred for any clarifications concerning palaeographical issues. The only change—purely in terms of transliteration—concerns *sšṯ* (l. 2), which in in my original edition I had given as *sšt* (l. 2). A new autoptic inspection confirms that it is written with a strong *ṯ*, the top end of whose vertical element touches the left extremity of the horizontal stroke of *s*: .

***Graffito Reneny 2* (Figure 7)**

Position and material features: west wall, top register, left half (harvest scene), between the captions of  *ʿḥwty ʾIpw* ('the farmhand Ipu') and  [*ʿḥw*]*ty* [. . .] ('the [farm]hand [. . .]').[10] Scratched. The wall plaster has fallen off in almost all the points where the graffito was applied (this may have happened already when the graffito was scratched, or at a later time), so that the only points where the graffito can still be seen in an intact state are in the writing of *pɜ*, the top of *rn*, and a small part of the horizontal element of *nfr*. Distance from the modern floor level to the base of *pɜ*: 172 cm.

Proposed date: Ptolemaic.

1	*pɜ r*[*n*] ⌜*nfr*⌝ [. . .](*?*)
	The perfect na[me] [. . .](?)
2	[*pɜ*] ⌜*rmṯ ʿɜ*⌝ [. . .](*?*)
	[the] Great Man [. . .](?)

Notes

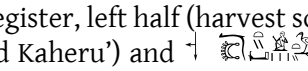
(a). *pɜ r*[*n*] ( ) must originally have been written in the same way as in Graffito 3 (the hand is the same), that is, with *pɜ* sitting above the right end of the horizontal base of *rn*.

(b). After the scantly preserved horizontal element of *nfr* ( ), in the remainder of l. 1 it becomes impossible for me to tell what to read in the 'silhouettes' left by the detached plaster. Given the set phraseology, one would be tempted to supply typically recurrent words, such as *mn ty m-bɜḥ* (*vel sim.*), but I regard this as pushing too far and in too speculative a fashion the very limited epigraphic remains that survive.

(c). Amongst all the missing plaster 'silhouettes' visible below l. 1, I limit my transcription for l. 2 to the only case in which I believe one can supply a reading with a sufficient degree of confidence, which is in the area against the right farmhand's head: . Indeed, the detached plaster does appear to

[10] PM V, 183 no. 7 (3)-(4).

maintain the distinctive contour of the signs for *rmṯ* and for *ꜥ*; on this basis, a small square area of fallen plaster just to the right of *rmṯ* can further be interpreted as having originally borne the article *pꜣ*. Note that Vleeming reads here *nṯr* rather than *rmṯ*, surely influenced by the wording of Wereshwer's graffiti (Graffiti 1 and 4).[11] However, there is not enough width in the missing plaster to fit two vertical elements (that is, the *nṯr* sign proper and its determinative). Only one vertical sign can fit, and this is one that also noticeably extends underneath the line, rather than sitting on it—that is, *rmṯ*. For another example of a graffito in which *pꜣ rmṯ ꜥ* is not followed by the apposition *pꜣ nṯr ꜥ*, see Graffito 5, l. 2.
(d). Below *rmṯ ꜥ*, there are more scratches and detached plaster, but I am quite hesitant to believe that these still belong to the graffito (or, that they are writing altogether). Admittedly, some of them may even look like demotic (e.g., one has the shape of the sign *ḥḏ* 'silver':), but they may just as well be meaningless scratches. I therefore offer no reading for them. In fact, the graffito could be considered complete with *rmṯ ꜥ* as an ending. Further, note that in l. 2 there is actually no evidence of writing directly past *rmṯ ꜥ*, with the plaster appearing largely intact and blank for at least 3 cm to the left of this phrase. Nonetheless, in the edition I still mark with a query the possibility that the text may have somehow continued.

***Graffito Reneny 3* (Figure 8)**
Position and material features: west wall, top register, left half (harvest scene), between the captions of → *ḥwty K3-ḥr.w* ('the farmhand Kaheru') and  *imy-r(ꜣ) ḥwty.w Ḏḥwty-Rꜥ* ('the overseer of farmhands Djehutyre').[12] Scratched. Distance from the modern floor level to the base of *rn*: 170 cm.

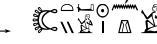
Proposed date: Ptolemaic.

1	*pꜣ rn nfr n Pꜣy=y(?)-* . . .
	The perfect name of Pay(?)- . . .

Notes
(a). I am unable to offer a compelling reading for the final group: . The first sign is *pꜣ* (the oblique tick to the left of the cup is visible, albeit very slightly scratched), seemingly followed by two vertical strokes for *y* (the first one also having an oblique tick, marking the reed's panicle). A resulting reading would be *pꜣy=y* (as in the writing of the possessive article 'my'). Now, in names beginning with *Pꜣ-*, this element can sometimes be written as *Pꜣy=y-*: compare *DN* I, 188 (*Pꜣy=y-mr-ỉḥ*, s.v. *Pꜣ-mr-ỉḥ*) and *DN* I, 165 (*Pꜣy=y-ꜥḫme*, s.v. *Pꜣ-ꜥḫm*). Even if we were to accept such a solution, however, the final sign (looking like an inverted T) remains difficult to account for. Its shape can be reminiscent of the foreign determinative. Alternatively, one wonders if it could be the upper element in the writing of *ꜥ* (standing for the biliteral), thus giving as a possible reading the name *Pꜣy=y-ꜥ* (for *Pꜣ-ꜥ*, *DN* I, 188). But, if so, one would expect to see at least remains of the lower element of *ꜥ* (the two curved ticks, for), and ideally the following determinative(s), too; but, these are instead nowhere to be seen. This being said, it is quite possible that the graffito was left incomplete, and that a second and full attempt at it was then made with Graffito 2, which is written in the same hand. If so, proposing a reading for the final element may simply not be possible. Alternative reading proposals for the first signs, such as *Pꜣ-tỉ-* for the article and the first vertical stroke following it, are even more inconclusive.

[11] Vleeming 2015, 93-94, no. 1425.
[12] PM V, 183 no. 7 (3)-(4).

***Graffito Reneny 4* (Figure 9)**

Position and material features: west wall, top register, approximately mid-point (end of harvest scene), to the right of the caption of  *ʿḥwty Ny-Rʿ-ḫry.w=f* ('the farmhand Nirakheryuf') and probably to the left of (i.e., facing) the now-lost figure of Reneny.[13] Scratched and painted red. Distance from the modern floor level to the base of *rn*: 167 cm.

Proposed date: Ptolemaic.

1	[*pȝ*] *r⌜n nfr⌝*
	[The] perfect name
2	[*Wršе-wr*] ⌜*sȝ*⌝ [*H*]⌜*eb*⌝*-nfr*
	[of Wereshwer], son of [H]ebnefer,
3	*mn ty m-bȝḥ pȝ rmṯ ʿȝ*
	endures here in the presence of the Great Man,
4	[*pȝ*] ⌜*nṯr*⌝ *ʿȝ*
	[the] great god.

Notes

(a). The edition reproduces the one in Prada 2019a, 235-236, to whose commentary the reader is referred for any clarifications concerning palaeographical issues.

***Graffito Reneny 5* (Figures 10-12)**

Position and material features: east wall, top register, left half (next to the—now sealed—doorway leading to the burial shaft), to the right of the left arm of Sobekhotep.[14] Painted black. The ink is so badly faded and hard to distinguish against the grey background, hardly anything of l. 1 is visible to the naked eye, and very little of l. 2 (except for its ending); the reading is based on digital images processed through the DStretch plugin. Distance from the modern floor level to the base of *m-bȝḥ* (l. 1): 134 cm.

Proposed date: Ptolemaic.

The palaeography of this graffito shows similarities with that of several (also painted) graffiti from Western Thebes (Dra Abu el-Naga'), which can be firmly dated to the Ptolemaic Period (primarily, to the second century BCE).[15] On account of such shared features, a Ptolemaic date seems plausible for this graffito, too.[16]

1	[*pȝ*] ⌜*rn nfr Pȝ-tỉ*(*?*)*-ʾImn- . . .*(*?*)⌝ [*sȝ*](*?*) ⌜*. . . mn ty*⌝ *m-bȝḥ pȝ rmṯ ʿȝ*
	[The] perfect name of Padi(?)amun- . . .(?) [son of](?) . . . endures here in the presence of the Great Man
2	[*. . .*] ⌜*. . .*⌝ *sḫ rn*⌜*=f*⌝ *ḫn*(*?*) *ty m-bȝḥ pȝ rmṯ ʿȝ šʿ ḏ.t*
	[. . .] . . . It is written. His name is inside(?), here in the presence of the Great Man, forever.

[13] PM V, 183 no. 7 (3)-(4).

[14] PM V, 183 no. 7 (9); cf. Davies, this volume, 56, Figure 71.

[15] Published in Di Cerbo and Jasnow 2021; see ibid., 42-45, on matters of dating.

[16] Compare the writings of *m-bȝḥ* (Di Cerbo and Jasnow 2021, 184, exx. from graffiti 15, 33a, 37a, 49, 81; with contact or near-contact of the *m* and *bȝḥ* elements), *pȝ* (ibid., 185, exx. from graffiti 2, 41, 52, 64a-b, 83, 84; showing a loop at the top left end), *rmṯ* (ibid., 188, exx. from graffiti 4 [*rmṯ*] and 34 [*rmṯ.w*], and 207, ex. from graffito 34 [*rmṯ.w tȝ mr.t*]; with the right end of the cup curving left to join the vertical element), *ʿȝ* (ibid., 188, ex. from graffito 92; with the *ʿȝ* sign resting, unligatured, above the 'alphabetic' *ʿ*).

Notes

(a). The first two thirds of l. 1 are badly damaged and the ink extremely faded. Nonetheless, one can still recognise at its beginning the bottom horizontal element of *rn* (possibly preceded by traces of the cup of *pꜣ*?), the lower end of its man-with-hand-to-mouth determinative (both lie on the lower edge of a lacuna caused by the detachment of the wall plaster), and most of the main element of ***nfr***: .

(b). Following *pꜣ rn nfr* must come the name of the dedicator. To the left of some minimal ink remnants, I believe can be read with relative confidence the element *ʾImn*, with its divine determinative ( ). In the small space preceding it (where the aforementioned ink traces are), one could plausibly suggest *Pꜣ-tỉ-* as the beginning of this anthroponym. As for what comes between *ʾImn* and *mn* (when better legibility resumes), the poor ink traces do not offer much help: . Surely, given the space available, I expect we should have here the name of the dedicator's father, introduced by *sꜣ*. I am, however, unable to say if *sꜣ* occurred right after *ʾImn* or later, that is, whether the name of the dedicator is complete as *Pꜣ-tỉ-ʾImn*, or if it contained extra elements (e.g., in a name such as *Pꜣ-tỉ-ʾImn-nsw-tꜣ.wy*, which is otherwise attested in the ancient secondary epigraphy of Elkab).[17]

(c). Albeit still quite faint, especially in its first element, the verb *mn* can safely be read: .

(d). Both here and in l. 2, note the divine determinative after *ʿꜣ*, seemingly marking the entirety of *pꜣ rmṯ ʿꜣ* as a compound / divine name ('Premmaos'): . Such an orthography is characteristic of the writer of Graffito 5, and is not encountered in any of the other three graffiti mentioning the Great Man.

(e). The beginning of l. 2 bears very damaged traces of ink, for which I am unable to offer any plausible reading proposal. Based on parallels, I would expect a date or the specification of the identity of additional dedicators (compare Graffito 1, with the inclusion of Wereshwer's brothers). The first sign I can confidently recognise is *sḫ* ( ), which, I presume, would have concluded the previous syntactic unit (compare Graffito 1) and, overall, this section of the graffito. The author then added more text following it, seemingly as a condensed reiteration of the previous text, with minor additions (see the closing adverbial *šʿ ḏ.t*, which is absent from l. 1, nor seems compatible with the traces at the start of l. 2).

(f). To the left of *rn* one can just about still make out a curved stroke descending below the line, for the suffix pronoun *=f*: .

(g). The writing between *rn=f* and *ty* is elusive: . Of course, one would expect here the verb *mn*, but there is no obvious way the epigraphy can accommodate such a reading. Sometimes, graffiti can be found that omit this verb altogether ('the name (is) here / in the presence of X').[18] If this is the case here, and given that no personal name can occur after *rn=f*, the signs in question could possibly be explained as pertaining to an adjective ('his <adjective> name (is) here'). When looking closely at the palaeography, however, even this option seems unlikely. The sequence appears to end with an *n*, or possibly even a strong *ṯ*, if looking at a phonetic sign. Alternatively, the same sign may be interpreted as a house determinative.[19] If the latter, then the whole group could be understood as the preposition

[17] In a demotic graffito on the façade of the temple of Amenhotep III in the Wadi Hilal, see Vleeming 2015, 493, no. 2327, with correction about its location in Prada 2019a, 221.

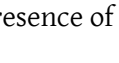
[18] Compare, for example, the graffiti in Vleeming 2015, 191-192, no. 1611, and 221, no. 1693.

[19] Compare writings in *DG* 381-382 (notably the one at p. 382, fifth line, to the left). I owe this suggestion to Mark Smith.

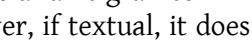
/ adverb *ḫn*, with its first element having an unusual-looking hook opened to the right.[20] This is the reading I offer in my edition, albeit *dubitanter*. My lingering hesitation is also due to the peculiar—albeit not impossible—syntax, with the piling up of the adverbials *ḫn, ty,* and *m-bɜḥ* (if anything, one would expect *ty* to come first, followed by two further specifications of location, e.g., 'here, inside <this room>, in the presence of ...').[21]

Addendum: a note on two other graffiti (Graffiti A-B)

Amongst the remaining secondary epigraphy in the tomb of Reneny, which primarily consists of modern (nineteenth century and later) textual graffiti in Arabic and European languages, two cases ought to be briefly mentioned.

(**A**) Position: west wall, second register, right half (seated male figures before Reneny), between the captions of  *wʿb ỉʿḥ-ms* ('the pure priest Iahmes') and *wʿb Ḏḥwtỵ* ('the pure priest Djehuty') (Figures 13-14).[22]

In the area there is a faint graffito in red ink. From the point of view of its materiality, it appears to be ancient. However, if textual, it does not seem to be in either demotic or hieratic writing. Close inspection of photographs processed through DStretch in fact suggests that this graffito may not be an example of secondary epigraphy at all. In fact, it may predate the insertion of the original epigraphy (note how the right end of its main horizontal stroke is partly obliterated by the *s* in the name of *ỉʿḥ-ms*), and maybe ought to be ascribed to the original Eighteenth Dynasty draughtsmen. Either way, it does not appear to be related to the later reuse of the tomb chapel in Ptolemaic times.

(**B**) Position: east wall, bottom register, left half (seated figures before Sobekhotep), between the captions of  *sɜ=f wr ḥɜ(ty)-ʿ Rnny* ('his eldest son, the governor Reneny') and *sɜ.t=f Ḫrw-pw(?)* ('his daughter Kherupu(?)') (Figure 15).[23]

A scratched graffito of two lines, which was later scraped over and obliterated, appears to possibly include Greek / Coptic letters (e.g., **ϵ** and **ⲗ**). A close material inspection suggests, however, a modern execution (the graffito could then just as well be inscribed in the Latin, rather than Greek, alphabet, since no single letter uniquely pertaining to Greek or Coptic can be identified). Further, Tylor's published image for this area of the wall does not seem to show the presence of this graffito.[24] This may not be telling per se, since Tylor's images are retouched photographs from which, occasionally, he deliberately obliterated graffiti.[25] However, in this same area Tylor's plate does show a nineteenth century graffito ('J. Zagiell | 1864'), which makes it unlikely that he should have deleted only one of two, adjacent graffiti. Overall, it therefore seems as though this textual graffito is not ancient, but in fact postdates Tylor's work, which is based on documentation taken at the end of the nineteenth century and published in 1900.

Some observations on the ancient reuse of the tomb of Reneny and on the Great Man

The five demotic graffiti in the tomb of Reneny are an important witness to the reuse of this monument in the late first millennium BCE, and specifically to a spike in cultic activity within it sometime during the Ptolemaic Period. The necropolis was still in function at the time, and tombs continued to be built, as exemplified by a decorated tomb from the reign of Ptolemy III.[26] The wider site of Elkab enjoyed royal attention, too, even in the case of relatively peripheral monuments, such as the shrines in the Wadi

[20] Anomalous executions of this word's first element, with a fully closed loop or, as here, with a hook open to the right rather than the left (as customary), are attested; compare, e.g., the specimen in *DG* 382, sixth line and seventh line, to the left.

[21] As an alternative, Mark Smith wondered whether the entirety of the text in l. 2 may belong together in one sentence, to the effect of a line such as: [...] *pɜ nt-ỉw=f sḫ rn=f (r-)ḫn ty m-bɜḥ pɜ rmṯ ʿɜ šʿ ḏ.t* '[...] the one who will inscribe his name here in the presence of the Great Man, forever' (for *sḫ r-ḫn* as 'to inscribe', compare Coptic ϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ, *CD* 383a).

[22] PM V, 183 no. 7 (5).

[23] PM V, 183 no. 7 (9).

[24] Tylor 1900, pl. xiii.

[25] See Prada 2019a, 223, 230.

[26] See Davies, Prada, and Woodhouse 2018, 10-11; Prada 2019a, 236-238; Prada and Woodhouse 2019.

Hilal (Ramessid hemispeos and temple of Amenhotep III), with interventions by Ptolemy VIII through to Ptolemy X.[27] The graffiti in Reneny's tomb thus add to our picture of Ptolemaic Elkab, and show that engagement with earlier—namely, New Kingdom—monuments was not limited to royal interventions.

As seen from the editions, all the graffiti have a dedicatory nature and pertain to the *rn nfr*-type, having been left by visitors to the tomb chapel. Not much can be said about their authors. Even in the case of Wereshwer son of Hebnefer, who writes on his and his associates' ('his brothers') behalf, all that can be gathered is that he was a priest, bearing the office of overseer of secrets, but it is uncertain whether he was a local or a visitor to Elkab. It seems plausible that he left the two graffiti (using, *nota bene*, the same scratch-and-ink technique) on the occasion of two distinct visits to the tomb, though at what interval—days or years—it is impossible to say. The tomb possibly has another case of quasi-duplicate graffiti in Graffiti 2 and 3: as mentioned above, they appear to be in the same hand, and Graffito 3 was possibly a first, aborted attempt, with Graffito 2 being a second, this time successful, execution. Curiously, even Graffito 5 presents a sort of a duplicate, with its l. 2 seemingly repeating the earlier text in an abridged fashion.

The main information about the reuse of the tomb of Reneny in the Ptolemaic Period, and how its ancient visitors understood it, comes from Graffiti 1-2 and 4-5 (with Graffito 3 probably missing it only because it was never completed), all of which record the cult of 'the Great Man' as their *raison d'être*. The name of 'the Great Man' is further qualified with the epithet 'the great god' in Wereshwer's dedications, Graffiti 1 and 4, confirming that the Great Man here worshipped was understood as a divine entity of sorts.[28] Past scholarship disagrees about how this figure should be understood: the deified tomb owner of EK 20, or a fully-fledged god also attested in other parts of Egypt (possibly, a manifestation of Osiris).[29]

Notwithstanding the potentially different connotations of this phrase in other demotic inscriptions of a cultic nature, in the case of these graffiti there can hardly be any doubt, in this writer's opinion, that the Great Man is one and the same with the deified tomb owner, Reneny, whose likeness covered the walls of this tomb, on which the graffiti were applied. The graffiti are all concentrated in this tomb, and found in no other: should they simply be honouring Osiris or another deity worshipped across the necropolis, one would reasonably expect them to be attested in other tomb chapels too, at least nearby, along the necropolis' lower range. Further, other demotic textual sources confirm that the phrase '(the) Great Man' could be used to indicate the person of a powerful deceased individual, as attested in both funerary texts and, most remarkably, fictional narratives.[30] The fact that the graffiti simply mention 'the Great Man' and not, more specifically, 'the Great Man, Reneny', may simply be down to the fact that even visitors to the tomb who were literate in demotic would have, by and large, been illiterate in hieroglyphs. This being said, the addition of the epithet 'the great god' in Graffiti 1 and 4 suggests that the deceased originally honoured in this tomb could hold a fully divine status in the eye of those paying homage to him, perhaps even through a merger with an otherwise independent divine figure worshipped under the name (or rather, epithet) of *rmṯ ʿ3*. All in all, it is my opinion that the two historic interpretations (the deified deceased vs the god) need not be mutually exclusive: a merging of the two

[27] Prada 2019a, 215, 221.

[28] As does the use of the divine determinative after *p3 rmṯ ʿ3* in Graffito 5; see n. (d) to its edition.

[29] See Vittmann 1995, 8-10, and other references in Prada 2019a, 231, n. 75, 240, discussing demotic examples of the phrase (*p3*) *rmṯ ʿ3* (attested both with and without the definite article).

[30] For funerary texts, see, for instance, stela Cairo CG 31095, l. 2, where the phrase is used as a title before the dead beneficiary's name: *rmṯ ʿ3 P3-tỉ-Ỉn-ḥr.t* '(the) Great Man Patinheret' (Spiegelberg 1904, 26, pl. v). For literary narratives, see, e.g., the text in P. Carlsberg 207, where the protagonist, Setne, is engaged by a character identified as *p3 rmṯ ʿ3*, the spirit of a deceased individual, typically rendered in modern English translations as 'the ghost' (Tait 1991, 30, 35; Quack and Ryholt 2000, 160-163). It is here particularly clear that the expression pertains to a figure of a supernatural nature (whose abilities include that of 'disappearing as a shadow'; see col. x+2/5), but not quite to a god proper.

understandings by the ancient worshippers is plausible.[31]

The connection between the graffiti to the Great Man and the figure of Reneny as the ancient deified tomb owner may be further argued by the placement of Graffiti 4 and 5, which were written exactly opposite (in demotic, *m-bɜḥ*) two large human figures in the tomb decoration, those of Reneny (an image now lost through damage to the wall) and his father Sobekhotep, respectively. Given the similarity of all elite male figures as represented in the tomb reliefs, and the lack of proficiency in hieroglyphs on the part of Ptolemaic visitors to the tomb, it is no surprise that both could be thought of as being one and the same person, the tomb owner / the Great Man.

As a final remark, it may be worth asking why it was specifically the tomb chapel of Reneny that developed into a space devoted to the cult of the Great Man in Ptolemaic Elkab. Why was not another of the adjacent tombs in the lower range chosen for this purpose, when they all present an overall similar plan, size, and decoration? A possible answer is that Reneny's tomb was the only one accessible in the Ptolemaic Period, whilst those nearby (Ahmose son of Ibana, Setau, Pahery) were hidden by, or encumbered with, debris. Alternatively, it is possible that one of the architectural features in the tomb of Reneny may have contributed to its appeal as a space perceived as particularly appropriate for such a cultic activity—namely, the statue of Reneny that occupies the niche in the chapel's north wall. Of all the large, decorated tombs in this section of the necropolis' lower range, only Reneny's and Pahery's have a niche with statues in their back walls. But whilst Pahery's niche is relatively shallow and crammed, hosting not only his image, but also those of his wife and mother, Reneny's is particularly imposing: it is both significantly higher and deeper in size, and sports a large seated statue of the deceased alone (now badly damaged) towering at its centre, surely befitting a *rmṯ ʿɜ* (Figure 16). In this respect, the original New Kingdom design of the tomb chapel may have played a key role in its Ptolemaic conversion into a shrine to the Great Man.

Bibliography

Bingen, J. and W. Clarysse 1989. *Elkab III: Les ostraca grecs (O. Elkab gr.)*. Publications du Comité des Fouilles Belges en Égypte *s. n.* Bruxelles.

Davies, W. V., L. Prada and S. Woodhouse 2018. 'Monuments of Elkab: taking a closer look', *Egyptian Archaeology* 53, 4-12.

Di Cerbo, C. and R. Jasnow 2021. *On the Path of the Place of Rest: Demotic Graffiti Relating to the Ibis and Falcon Cult from the Spanish Mission at Dra Abu el-Naga' (TT 11, TT 12, Tomb –399–, and Environs)*. Atlanta GA.

Menu, B. 1979. 'Reçus démotiques gréco-romains provenant d'Edfou', in J. Vercoutter (ed.), *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron 1927-1976 I: Égypte pharaonique*. Bibliothèque d'Étude 81. Le Caire, 261-280.

Prada, L. 2019a. 'Voices from Late and Graeco-Roman Period Elkab. A new field project on monument reuse, graffiti, and other epigraphic material from the site', in F. Naether (ed.), *New Approaches in Demotic Studies. Acts of the 13th International Conference of Demotic Studies*. Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde Beihefte 10. Berlin/Boston, 211-247.

Prada, L. 2019b. 'Worshipping "The Great Man": from New Kingdom tomb to Graeco-Roman shrine', *Nekhen News* 31, 35-36.

Prada, L. and S. Woodhouse 2019. 'Boats and horses: a painted Ptolemaic tomb at Elkab', *Nekhen News* 31, 37-38.

Prada, L. and P. D. Wordsworth 2018. 'Evolving epigraphic standards in the field: documenting Late Period and Graeco-Roman Egyptian graffiti through photogrammetry at Elkab', in F. A. J. Hoogendijk and S. M. T. van Gompel (eds), *The Materiality of Texts from Ancient Egypt. New Approaches to the Study of Textual Material from the Early Pharaonic to the Late Antique Period*. Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 35.

[31] The Great Man and his cult are reflected also in the local onomastics, as shown by a number of Greek ostraca of Roman date excavated from the Graeco-Roman settlement of Elkab and recording the personal name Πρεμ(μ)αῶς (O. Elkab gr. 16, 104, 147, 191; Bingen and Clarysse 1989, 39). The same anthroponym is attested also in the original demotic (*Pɜ-rmṯ-ʿɜ*) in two ostraca from Edfu (not far from Elkab) dating to the beginning of the first century CE (Menu 1979, 267, no. 12, 269, no. 18).

Leiden/Boston, 76-93.
Quack, J. F. and K. Ryholt 2000. 'Notes on the Setne Story P. Carlsberg 207', in P. J. Frandsen and K. Ryholt (eds), *The Carlsberg Papyri 3: A Miscellany of Demotic Texts and Studies*. Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications 22. Copenhagen, 141-163.
Spiegelberg, W. 1904. *Die Demotischen Denkmäler I: Die demotischen Inschriften*. Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire 30601-31166. Leipzig.
Tait, W. J. 1991. 'P. Carlsberg 207: two columns of a Setna-text', in P. J. Frandsen (ed.), *The Carlsberg Papyri 1: Demotic Texts from the Collection*. Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications 15. Copenhagen, 19-46.
Tylor, J. J. 1900. *Wall Drawings and Monuments of El Kab: The Tomb of Renni*. London.
Vittmann, G. 1995. *„Riesen" und riesenhafte Wesen in der Vorstellung der Ägypter*. Beiträge zur Ägyptologie 13. Wien.
Vleeming, S. P. 2015. *Demotic Graffiti and Other Short Texts Gathered from Many Publications (Short Texts III 1201–2350)*. Studia Demotica 12. Leuven/Paris/Bristol CT.

Abbreviations

CD: Crum, W. E. 1939. *A Coptic Dictionary*. Oxford.
DG: Erichsen, W. 1954. *Demotisches Glossar*. Kopenhagen.
DN I: Lüddeckens, E. and H.-J. Thissen (eds) 1980-2000. *Demotisches Namenbuch, Band I*. Wiesbaden.
PM V: Porter, B. and R. L. B. Moss 1937. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings: V. Upper Egypt: Sites (Deir Rîfa to Aswân, Excluding Thebes and the Temples of Abydos, Dendera, Esna, Edfu, Kôm Ombo and Philae)*. Oxford.

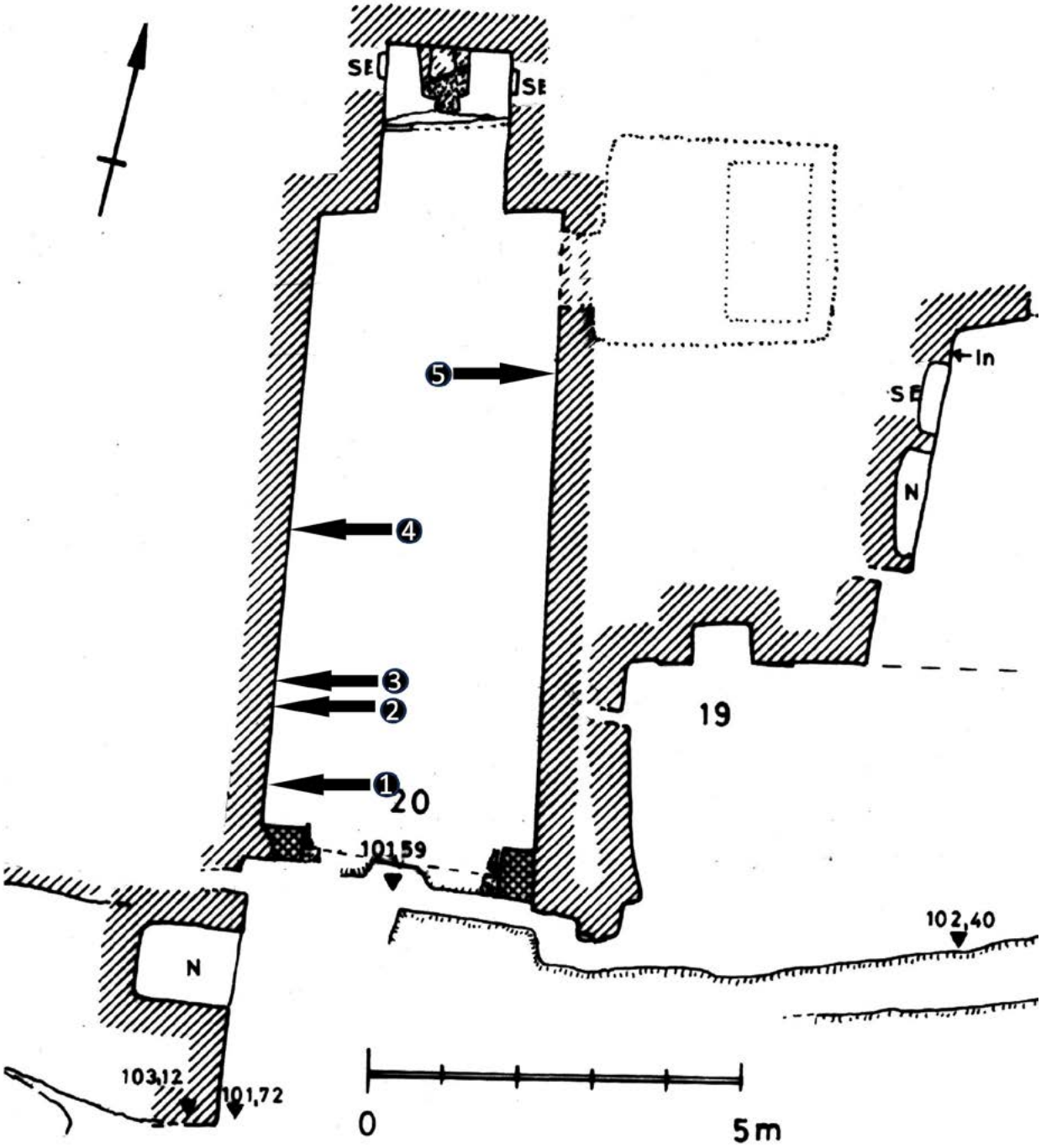


Figure 1. Elkab, rock-necropolis, lower range, main terrace: plan of the tomb of Reneny/EK 20 (original drawing: G. Heindl). The arrows mark the location of the five demotic graffiti.

Figure 2. Tomb of Reneny/EK 20: orthophotograph of the west wall (excluding the back niche), with marked location of Graffiti 1-4.

Figure 3. Tomb of Reneny/EK 20: orthophotograph of the west wall (southern section), with marked location of Graffiti 1-4 (detail of Fig. 2).

Figure 4. Tomb of Reneny/EK 20: east wall (northern section), offering scene with the tomb owner's parents, with marked location of Graffito 5.

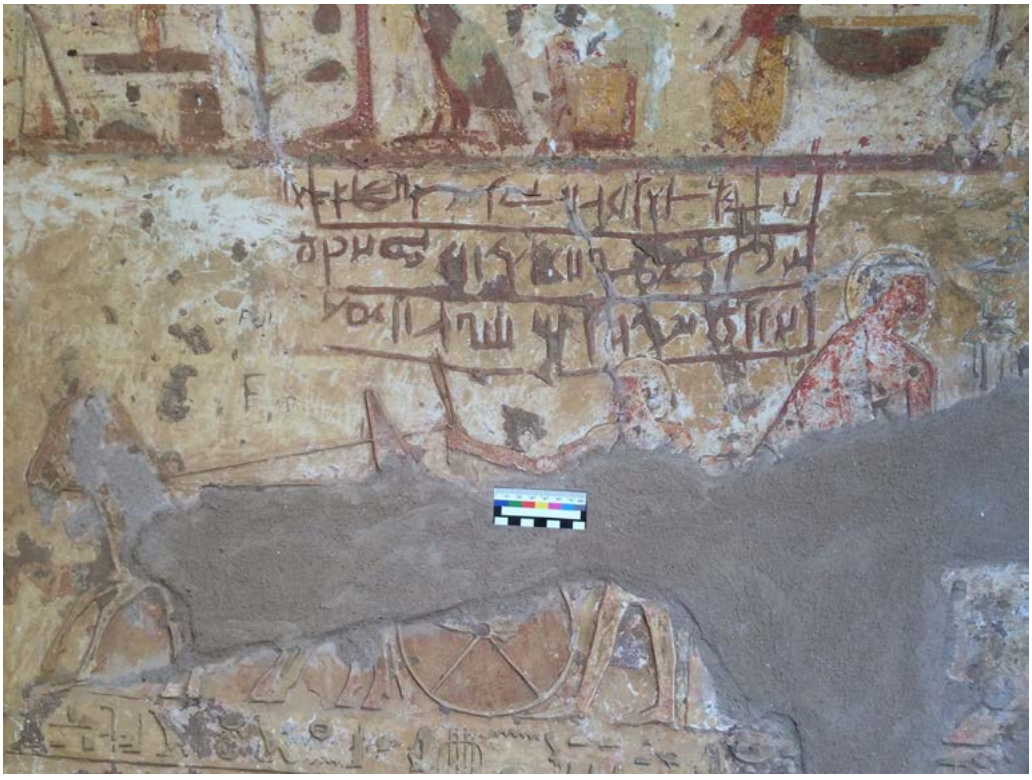


Figure 5. Tomb of Reneny/EK 20: scene with chariot and Graffito 1.

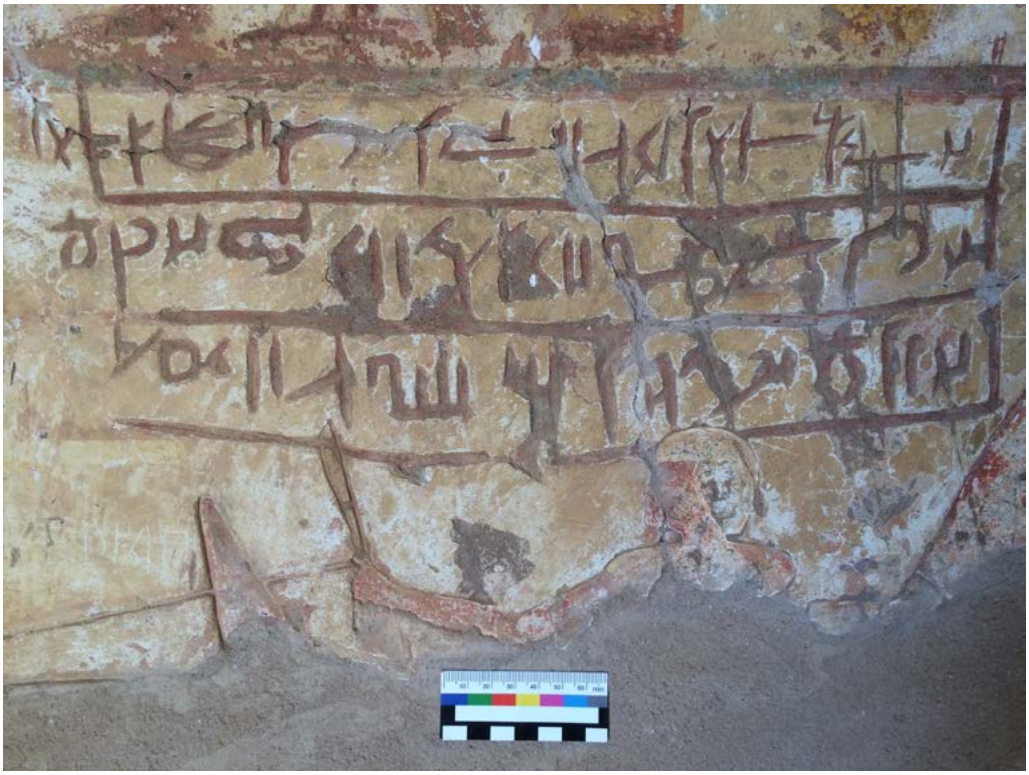


Figure 6. Tomb of Reneny/EK 20: Graffito 1.

Figure 7. Tomb of Reneny/EK 20: Graffito 2.

Figure 8. Tomb of Reneny/EK 20: Graffito 3.

Figure 9. Tomb of Reneny/EK 20: Graffito 4.

Figure 10. Tomb of Reneny/EK 20: Graffito 5 (view in natural light).

Figure 11. Tomb of Reneny/EK 20: Graffito 5 (view with improved visibility).

Figure 12. Tomb of Reneny/EK 20: Graffito 5 (view enhanced with DStretch).

Figure 13. Tomb of Reneny/EK 20: Graffito A (view in natural light).

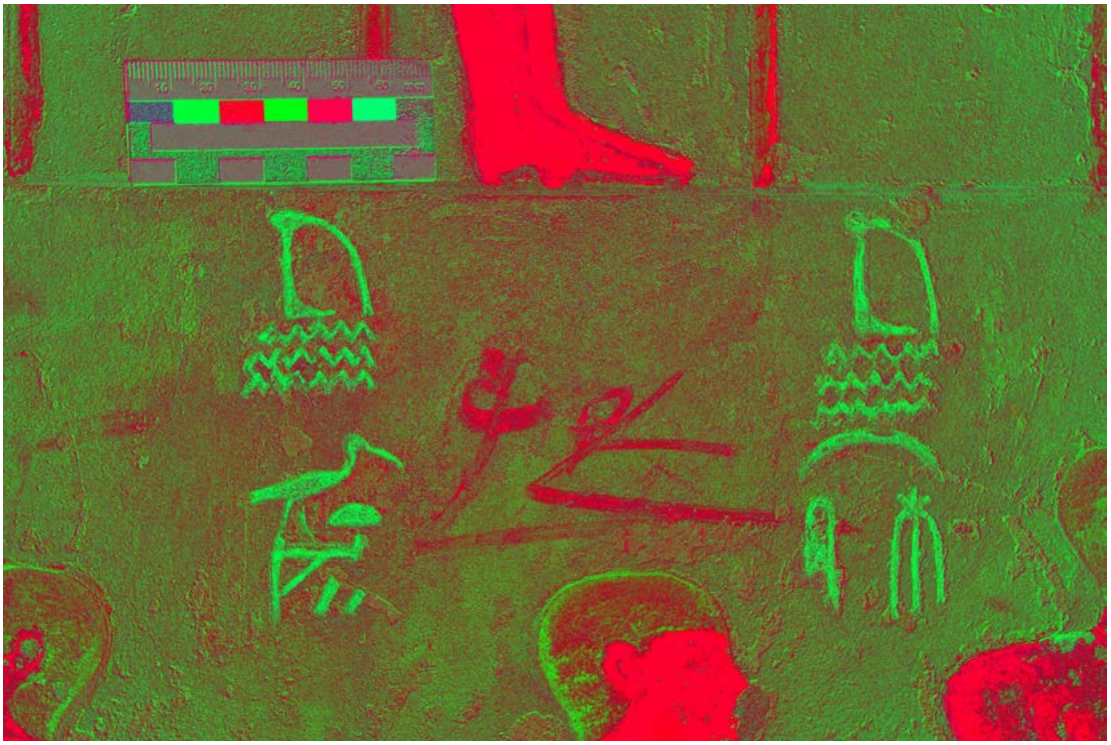


Figure 14. Tomb of Reneny/EK 20: Graffito A (view enhanced with DStretch).

Figure 15. Tomb of Reneny/EK 20: Graffito B.

Figure 16. Tomb of Reneny/EK 20: view northwards, with niche and damaged statue of the tomb owner.

Two Coptic ostraca from Hagr Edfu

Anke Ilona Blöbaum*

This paper arises from the study of a group of Coptic ostraca discovered at Hagr Edfu by an SCA mission in 1981 and now stored in the Elkab magazine (Figure 1).[1] The main focus has been on photographic documentation and collation, as well as on facsimile drawings of those ostraca that are difficult to photograph. The main recording of the corpus, amounting to about 480 ostraca in total, can now be considered as complete. Future work will ideally concentrate on further collation and detailed photographic and graphic documentation.

Among the ostraca studied, two are especially noteworthy (CO HE 81.244 and CO HE 81.312: Blöbaum 2022) in that they are letters that may be unmistakably attributed to female senders either because of the nature of the address formula or of the introductory formula. A provisional account of the two is given here:

CO HE 81.244 **(Figures 2-3)**
19.0x16.0 cm; th. 0.6-1.1 cm
Sherd from a brown ribbed amphora. Outer surface inscribed.
Preservation: The ostracon is broken into three pieces, preserving parts of the last three lines of a letter. The beginning of the text with the content of the letter is lost with the exception of the last two signs of the final line. The preserved two lines belong to the address at the end of the letter. Although the right margin is damaged, the address seems to be complete.
Palaeography: an experienced upright majuscule hand with well-spaced out letters and some ligatures.

x+1]ⲉⲓ
x+2 ⲧⲁⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃ ⲡⲁⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲛ
x+3 ϩⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲗⲓⲁ ⲧⲉⲕⲥⲱⲛⲉ ₽

(x+1) [...] ? (x+2) Give it to Jakob my beloved brother (3) from Lia your sister ₽

Only the address formula recording the names of sender and addressee at the end of the letter is preserved. It uses the common pattern of the address formula in its complete form (Biedenkopf-Ziehner 1983, 18-25). There is no further evidence of the name Lia in the corpus of Hagr Edfu, whereas the name is known in other sources from Edfu and elsewhere (Bacot 2009, 148-150; cf. Hasitzka 2007, 56). Jakob is a very common name (Hasitzka 2007, 39-40). Not surprisingly, then, some persons with the name are known from Tell Edfu (Bacot 2009, 190-191; Remondon 1953, 226) and from Hagr Edfu (as yet unpublished).

CO HE 81.312 **(Figure 4)**
8.9 x 7.5; th. 0.8–1.0 cm
Red slipped sherd of a Nile-ware amphora. Outer surface inscribed.
Preservation: Parts of seven lines are preserved giving the beginning of a letter. The right margin and the bottom are incomplete. Parts of the text are barely legible as the ink has faded.
Palaeography: A slightly right-sloping majuscule; although irregularly spaced and sized, it gives a light experienced impression.

* Saxon Academy of Sciences and Humanities in Leipzig.

[1] Grateful thanks are due to Ibrahim Hussein Mohammed, Director of the Elkab Antiquities Magazine, and his staff, for their co-operation and assistance during the work.

1 ⲯ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲧⲥⲓⲁ
2 ⲧⲥⲱⲛⲉ ⲛ̅ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ
3 [name?] ⲧⲁⲥⲡⲁⲍⲉ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲕ-
4 [ⲙⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲓⲱ]ⲧ̣ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲡⲣⲱ
5 [ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲱⲛ?] ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉ̣ⲓ ⲛ̣̅
6 [ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲛ̅ⲧⲟ]ⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲭ̣ⲉ̣
7 [ ] . [

3 [?]: it is not clear, whether there is text lost at the beginning of the line; ⲁⲥⲡⲁⲍⲉ: άσπάζεθαι.
4 ⲡⲣⲱ [ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲱⲛ?]: possibly for πρὸ πάντων or πρὸ μὲν πάντων.
5 ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉ̣ⲓ: παρακαλεῖν; traces of ⲉ̣ⲓ ⲛ̣̅ visible.
6 The reconstruction of the line's beginning determines the space available for the lines above.
7 Unidentifiable traces of one sign.

(1) ⲯ I, Tsia, (2) the sister of my father [name?], (3) am greeting with a kiss your (4) holy [fatherhood]. First (5) [of all ? I] beg [your] (6) holy[ness], to [...

The first six lines are partly preserved comprising an introductory greeting formula, which includes the names of sender and addressee. There is no further evidence for a woman named Tsia in the corpus of Hagr Edfu, but the name is known in documentary texts from Thebes, Tell Edfu and further south (Bacot 2009, 106-107, 126; Boud'hors and Heurtel 2013, 220-221 [320]; Hasitzka 2007, 103). The addressee's name is not preserved.

As mentioned above, the content of the two letters is entirely lost. However, both texts provide the information that a woman is sending a letter to a man. This seems to be the more frequent case with women's letters in Ancient Egypt (Sweeney 1995, 523; 1998, 1111 [n. 20]; Bagnall and Criboire 2006, 85) since the earliest evidence in the Old Kingdom (Lesko 1999, 249; Fischer-Elfert 2018). While the first letter appears to be correspondence between two persons on an equal level, the second, according to the specific usage of titles, seems to be addressed to someone in a superior position. The employed terms of kinship might or might not (certainly not in the second case) refer to actual family relationships.[2]

Whereas Lia and Jakob might well be siblings, the titles of the addressee in the second text rather point to a monastic context. This finds parallels in the corpus, as there are further attestations of letters (to be published in due course) with a slightly elaborate usage of epistolary formulae that seem to be associated with a clerical addressee. However, the extended use of the terms 'brother' and 'sister', especially in the case of letters, is well attested since pharaonic times (Robins 1993, 61-62; Fischer-Elfert 2018, 238). In Late Antique Egypt it is more likely related to religious life and, therefore, the terms can reflect non-biological religious relationships on different levels not necessarily connected with monastic life (Wilfong 2002, 70). Applied to the situation in Late Antique Hagr Edfu, where we have no evidence for a convent but rather for a monastery, which is somehow connected to a nearby settlement, the first letter should be best associated with correspondence within the settlement, whereas the second letter most probably refers to correspondence between settlement and monastery.

Last but not least it needs to be considered whether these women had written the letters by their own hands. This is difficult to assess as neither of the two women has left further attestations.

There is evidence for female writing practice in Late Antique Egypt (Bagnall and Criboire 2006, 54; Delattre 2001, 119-121), but most of the known women's letters seem to have been dictated to an experienced or even professional writer (Bagnall and Criboire 2006, 61-63; Zdiarsky 2010, 56-58). As both

[2] Bagnall and Criboire 2002, 85: 'In letters, kinship words are extremely common, particularly in the initial address and the final salutations. It is necessary to evaluate their meaning afresh in every instance, and it is often impossible to reach definite conclusions'; cf. Wilfong 2002, 69-73.

hands display experience and familiarity with writing, this might be a reasonable assumption in these cases too. But the question is not exclusively connected to female senders. To know more about the relation of sender and writer within the entire corpus could help us to understand the organisation and social structure of the population of Late Antique Hagr Edfu. Accordingly, it is important to distinguish and identify the individual writer, and to that end one focus of future work on the ostraca will be the comparison of hands by means of forensic analysis of handwriting and a comprehensive analysis of the language focusing on orthography, a probable specific use of set phrases and other compositional features (cf. Halla-aho 2018).

Bibliography

Bacot, S. 2009. *Ostraca grecs et coptes des fouilles franco-polonaises sur le site de Tell Edfou. O.EdfouCopte 1–145*. Cairo.

Bagnall, R. S. and R. Cribiore. 2006. *Women's Letters from Ancient Egypt, 300 BC–AD 800*. Ann Arbor.

Biedenkopf-Ziehner, A. 1983. *Untersuchungen zum koptischen Briefformular unter Berücksichtigung ägyptischer und griechischer Parallelen*. Würzburg.

Blöbaum, A. I. 2022. 'Von Lia, deiner Schwester' – Briefe von Frauen in einem Korpus koptischer Ostraka aus Hagr Edfu' in F. Feder, A. Lohwasser and G. Schenke (eds), *Sortieren-Edieren-Kreieren: Zwischen Handschriftenfunden und Universitätsalltag: Stephen L. Emmel zum 70 Geburtstag gewidmet.* Düren, 147-160.

Boud'hor, A. and C. Heurtel. 2013. *Les ostraca coptes de la TT 29. Autour du moine Frangé*. Étude d'Archéologie Thébaine. Brussels.

Delattre, A. 2001. 'Une femme scribe de village à l'époque copte?' in C. Cannuyer (ed.). *La femme dans les civilisations orientales et Miscellanea Aegyptologica. Christiane Desroches Noblecourt in honorem*. Acta Orientalia Belgica 15. Brussels, 119-121.

Fischer-Elfert, H.-W. 2018. 'Brief einer Tochter an ihren Vater, Pap. Ele P130; Zeit Pepi I' in P. Kopp (ed.), *Elephantine XXXIV: Funde und Befunde aus der Umgebung des Satettempels*. AVDAIK 104. Wiesbaden, 237-239.

Halla-aho, H. 2018. 'Scribes in Private Letter Writing: Linguistic Perspectives' in J. Cromwell and E. Grossman (eds), *Scribal Repertoires in Egypt from the New Kingdom to the Early Islamic Period*. Oxford Studies in Ancient Documents 1. Oxford, 227-239.

Hasitzka, M. 2007. *Namen in koptischen dokumentarischen Texten (Stand: 22.01.2007)*. http://www.onb.ac.at/files/kopt_namen.pdf [27.10.2021].

Lesko, B. S. 1999. '"Listening" to the Ancient Egyptian Woman: Letters, Testimonials, and other Expressions of Self', in E. Teeter and J. A. Larson (eds). SAOC 58. *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente*. Chicago/Illinois, 247-254.

Remondon, R. 1953. *Papyprus grecs d'Appollônos Anô*. Documents de Fouilles de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire. Cairo.

Robins, G. 1993. *Women in Ancient Egypt*. London.

Sweeney, D. 1995. 'Women's correspondence from Deir el-Medineh' in G. M. Zaccone and T. R. di Netro (eds), *Sesto Congresso Internationale di Egittologia.* Turin, 523-529.

Sweeney, D. 1998. 'Women and Language in the Ramesside Period, or, Why Women Don't Say Please', in C. J. Eyre (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egptologists, Cambridge, 3-9 September 1995*. OLA 82. Leuven, 1109-1117.

Wilfong, T. G. 2002. *Women of Djeme. Lives in a Coptic Town in Late Antique Egypt*. Ann Arbor.

Zdiarsky, A. 2010. 'Mit zarter Hand? Briefe von Frauen aus Ägypten' in C. Krezsaler, B. Palme and A. Zdiarsky (eds), *Stimmen aus dem Wüstensand. Briefkultur im griechisch-römischen Ägypten*. Nilus 17. Wien, 53-59.

Figure 1. Elkab magazine: overview of Hagr Edfu ostraca (photo: A. Blöbaum).

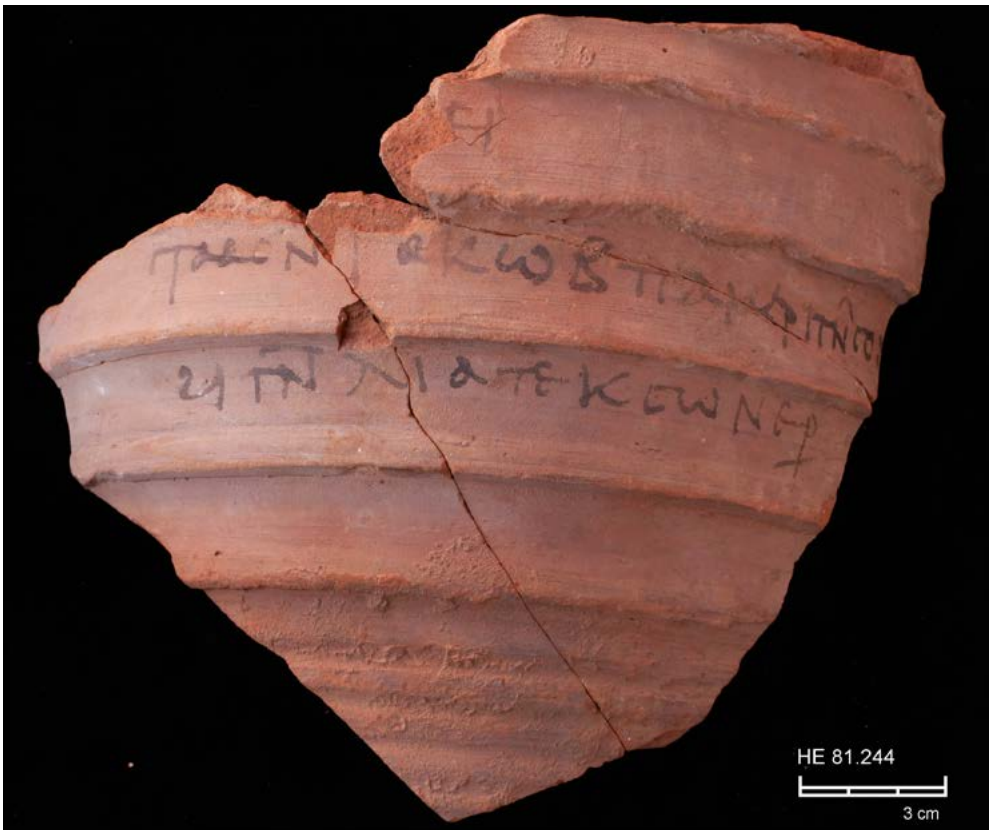


Figure 2. Hagr Edfu, CO HE 81.244 (photo: J. Rossiter).

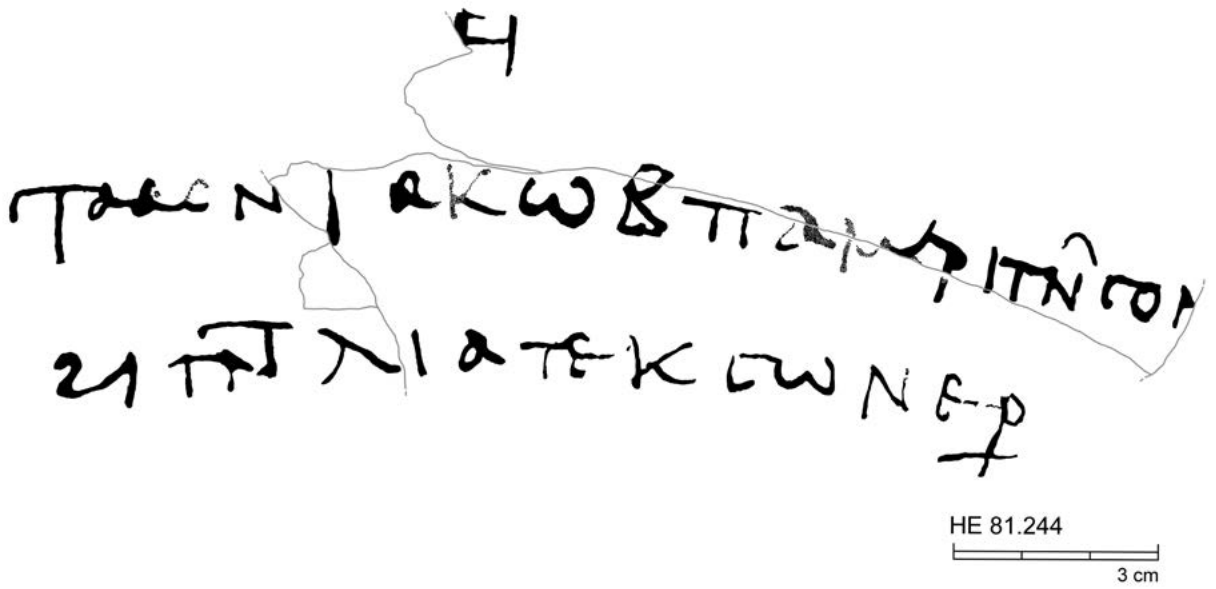


Figure 3. Hagr Edfu: CO HE 81.244 (copy of inscription) (drawing: A. Blöbaum).

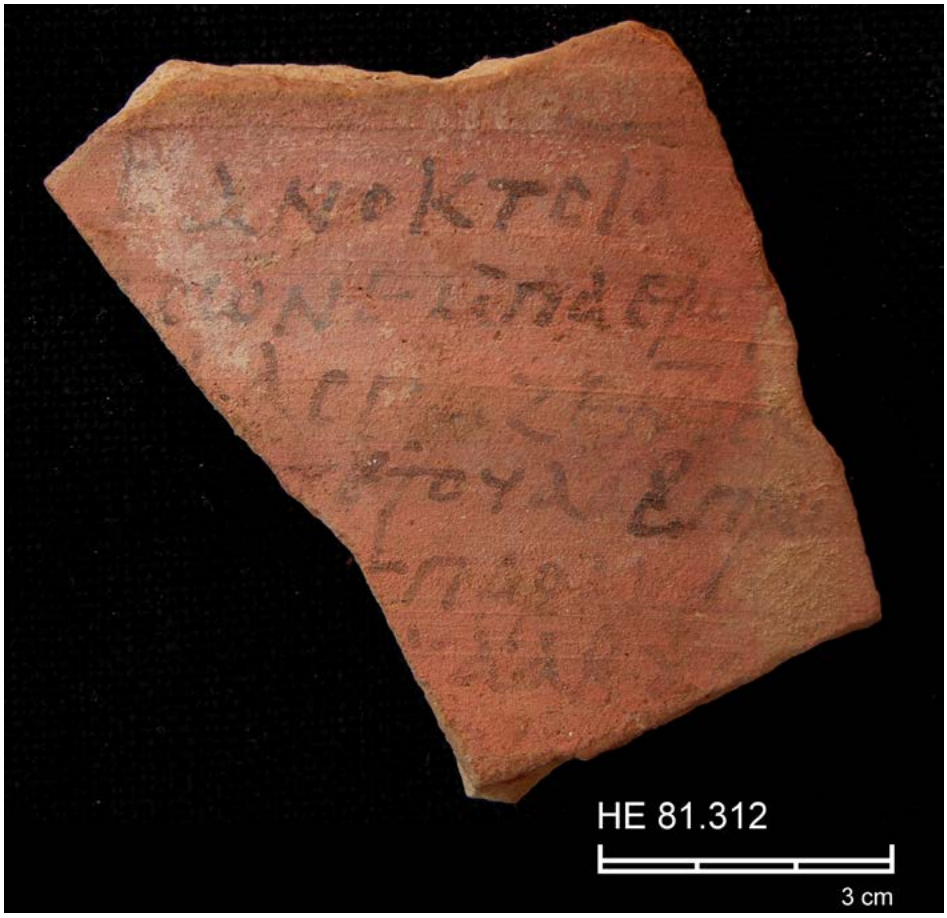


Figure 4. Hagr Edfu: CO HE 81.312 (photo: A. Blöbaum).

Funerary scene from the tomb of Reneny at Elkab (photo: S. Woodhouse).

Oxford Epigraphic Expedition to Upper Egypt

Archaeopress Access Archaeology
www.archaeopress.com