



**Constructing Word Similarities in Meroitic as an Aid to  
Decipherment**

*Reginald Smith*

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This paper addresses a technique using a combination of known words, and methods from information theory, to attempt decipherment of additional words in the extinct and as yet undeciphered phonetic script, Meroitic. A short history of the script, and the problems translating it, will be followed by a description of the statistical techniques, their results and implications.

## A Short History of Meroitic

Meroitic was the written phonetic script of the ancient civilization of Kush, located for centuries in what is now Northern Sudan.<sup>1</sup> The word 'Meroitic' derives from the name of the city Meroë, which was located on the east bank of the Nile, south of where the Atbara River flows off to the east. It is the oldest written script in Africa other than Egyptian hieroglyphs and the related hieratic and demotic scripts. It has a hieroglyphic form using some adopted Egyptian signs and a cursive form similar to demotic. The script had one innovation uncommon in ancient written scripts, such as Egyptian hieroglyphics or Greek, in that there was a word separator, similar in function to spaces in modern scripts, that looks similar to a colon (fig.1). Meroitic is first attested in the 2nd century BC and was continuously used until the fall of Meroë in the mid-4th century AD.

The script was rediscovered in the 19th and 20th centuries as Western archaeologists began investigating the ancient ruins of northern Sudan. The first substantial progress in deciphering Meroitic came around 1909 when British archaeologist Francis Llewellyn Griffith was able to use a barque stand bearing the names of Meroitic rulers in both Meroitic and Egyptian hieroglyphs. The Meroitic hieroglyphs were then corresponded to the Meroitic cursive script, allowing the transliteration of Meroitic (fig.1). Some vocabulary was later deciphered by scholars including loan words from Egyptian, gods, names, honorific phrases, and other common words. However, the script remains largely undeciphered. The greatest hope for decipherment, an inscription similar to the Rosetta Stone, containing writing in Meroitic and a known language such as Egyptian, Greek, Latin, or Axumite, has yet to be found. Further confounding research is the debate regarding which language family Meroitic belongs to. Cognate analysis has proceeded extremely slowly due to the dispute as to which language family Meroitic properly belongs.

There is the possibility of a recent breakthrough in the categorization of Meroitic. Rilly has used evidence from some Meroitic script remnants, as well as linguistic comparisons, to show that the language likely belongs within the northern branch of the Eastern Sudanic language family (fig.3).<sup>2</sup> In particular, though no existing Nubian language is a direct descendent of

<sup>1</sup> Török, *The Kingdom of Kush*; Lobban, *Historical Dictionary*.

<sup>2</sup> Rilly, *ARKAMANI*; Rilly, *Journal des Africanistes* 76, 63; Rilly, *La langue du royaume de Meroë*.

Meroitic, by constructing a proto-Eastern Sudanic (Northern) vocabulary, we may be able to then correlate and decipher some unknown words. For example, in the text REM 1165,<sup>3</sup> the image of a dog and his work has shown that *wle* is likely the Meroitic term for dog, similar to the Dongola word *wel* for dog.

### Past Statistical and Mathematical Work on Meroitic

Meroitic was one of the earliest ancient scripts to be investigated using computers.<sup>4</sup> Much of this work was dedicated to creating an alphabetical index of Meroitic and also comparing Meroitic words to possible cognates in Nubian or other known ancient and modern languages from the region. Smith<sup>5</sup> analyzed many of the longest texts by ranking words according to frequencies, to verify whether the current texts we have follow the mathematical relation known as Zipf's Law, where the word frequencies ( $f$ ) vary with the rank ( $z$ ) according to the relation:

$$f_z = \frac{C}{z^\alpha}, z = 1, 2, 3 \dots n$$

where  $\alpha \approx 1$ . In analyzing the Meroitic texts, though many did not fit the strict criterion of  $\alpha \approx 1$ , the frequency-rank distribution followed the behaviour of a truncated power law distribution whose exact parameters varied by text. Some texts, such as the long stela REM 1003, more closely fit Zipf's Law. From these results, without knowing the meaning of the text it is clear that the statistical variations and occurrences of words in the Meroitic texts in our possession are not surprising and mirror those of other human languages. Though this may seem a trivial property at first glance, it gives us the hope of using more advanced statistical techniques to help tease meaning from the unknown portions of the script.

### Introduction to Statistical Techniques

It is evident that no language has ever been fully deciphered using purely statistical or mathematical techniques, and Meroitic will of course never be completely understood using these tools alone. In particular, many of the subtleties of human semantics and syntax are irregular or do not follow consistent patterns, which statistics would be excellent at analyzing. This paper will attempt to find words which are used very similarly in the text, rather than seek to derive the meaning of those words (a loaded concept in the study of linguistics). When two words are used very similarly with one of the words being known, we can hope to possibly infer what the other word means. In linguistics, the hypothesis that words that appear in similar contexts have similar semantics is known as the Distributional Hypothesis.<sup>6</sup>

Similarity, which will be explained in more technical detail below, will be defined by looking at whether two different words share similar word neighbors within a distance of one or two

<sup>3</sup> REM refers to the *Répertoire d'épigraphie méroïtique*, the most comprehensive catalogue of Meroitic texts.

<sup>4</sup> Leclant in Leclant, *The peopling of ancient Egypt*, 107; Heyler, *Meroitic Newsletter* 5, 4; Heyler in Abdalla, *Studies in Ancient Languages of the Sudan*, 31; Ouellette, *Investigation*.

<sup>5</sup> Smith, *Glottometrics* 15, 53.

<sup>6</sup> Harris, *Mathematical Structures of Language*; Harris in Katz, *The Philosophy of Linguistics*, 25.

words away. The steps in analyzing the similarity are five-fold. First, I combined several long Meroitic texts into one giant corpus. I separated out some common bound morphemes to help better identify particular words. Second, I used a computer program in Python to create three matrices: one showing the relative frequency of each word, one showing the frequency of a given word pair (WORD1:WORD2 for any combination of the distinct words in the text for a word distance of one), and a final array with word pair frequencies for a word distance of two. Third, for all possible pairs of different words in the texts, I used the frequency arrays to find the mutual information between every distinct word pair. I created separate arrays of the mutual information metric for the mutual information based on word distance one and mutual information based on word distance two. A blended mutual information was then calculated, based on weightings of the one and two word distance mutual information. Fourth, using the blended mutual information array, I used a similarity metric to find similarity between words on the basis that they had similar mutual information for the other words in the texts. Finally, I compared the results for high similarity word pairs to what is known about Meroitic words. A minimum spanning tree graphically showing the relationship between words was also aided to clarify the similarity relationships.

### Step 1

The long stela texts REM 1001, REM 1003, and REM 1044A-D were combined into one corpus separated by a character XXXX between the beginning and end of each text. The XXXX made sure that the last word of one text and the first word of another are not accidentally matched for either a distance one or two word pair. In addition, several common and recognized bound morphemes were separated from the words by the word separator character so they would be treated as separate words.<sup>7</sup> Many Meroitic verbs, as well as some nouns, have suffixes which contain grammatical meaning. For example, it is known that the suffix *telowi* or *te li* is appended to the name of a place, such as a city, to indicate that the subject of the sentence was affiliated with this place. There is also an extremely common suffix *lowi* (“he/she/it is”) or *li* (“the”) that is appended to nouns that may denote the noun as an indirect object in the sentence. Though their definitions are still tenuous, however, these bound morphemes are very common and were separated into independent words for the second Zipf plot. The six bound morphemes separated out were *qo*, *lo*, *li*, *te*, *lebkwi*, *mbe*. They were separated in the manner:

*qo* → separated out to ‘*qo*’  
*atombe* → *ato* and *mbe*  
*telowi* → *te* and *lo* and *wi*  
*li* → separated out to “*li*”  
*qowi* → *qo* and *wi*  
*lebkwi* → *lebk* and *wi*

*lw* → separated out to ‘*lw*’  
*lo* → separated out to ‘*lo*’  
*atmbe* → *at* and *mbe*  
*te li* → *te* and *li*  
*lowi* → *lo* and *wi*

<sup>7</sup> As in Smith, *Glottometrics* 15, 53.

## Step 2

The word frequency arrays were created as follows. First, a normalized frequency of each different word in the text was calculated ranging between 0 and 1, where the total frequency of a word divided by the total number of words in a text defines the word frequency. To understand word pair frequency, imagine a string of words separated by the colon-like word separator character, A:B:C. B/C and A/B are distance one neighbors and A/C are distance two neighbors. This is repeated for all words throughout the text. The frequency of a word pair is the number of occurrences of that pair divided by the total number of word pairs in the text.

## Step 3

Here the procedure becomes more complicated and theoretical so the appropriate background is necessary. Many statistical natural language methods for analyzing corpora, such as hidden Markov models (HMM) or neural networks, require ‘training’ with a tagged corpus that emphasizes parts of speech and grammar. Since these are mostly unknown for Meroitic, we are forced to rely on techniques that make no *a priori* assumptions about the language syntax or word relationships.

Two relatively similar approaches relying on the Distributional Hypothesis were employed in several other works, using genetic algorithms<sup>8</sup> and similarity measures<sup>9</sup> to find relationships between words based on their distributions within a text. In Lankhorst, a fixed number of categories is created and each word is randomly assigned a category. The mutual information among words in each category is measured and the categories are altered using a genetic algorithm with mutual information as the fitness. A maximum mutual information is asymptotically approached after a certain number of generations, and the word/categories at this point typically reflect known grammatical categories. Word synonyms are discovered in a text by taking the similarity among words based on the mutual information between the two words and other words in the text.<sup>10</sup> Those words who have the highest similarity are often semantically similar.

The approach in this paper most closely follows that of Lin *et al.* in finding the mutual information amongst words in the corpus and then computing a similarity between the words based off of this. The mutual information between two words in the text,  $x$  and  $y$ , is termed  $I(x,y)$  and is defined as

$$I(x,y) = \sum_x \sum_y p_{xy} \log \frac{p_{xy}}{p_x p_y}$$

where  $p_{xy}(x,y)$  is the frequency of word pair  $(x,y)$  and  $p_x$  and  $p_y$  are the frequencies of words  $x$  and  $y$  in the texts. Two different arrays of mutual information were calculated for the word distance one and two pair frequencies. Finally, a blended mutual information is calculated

<sup>8</sup> Lankhorst, *Automatic Word Categorization with Genetic Algorithms*.

<sup>9</sup> Lin *et al.*, in Kambhampati and Knoblock *Proceedings of the IJCAI-03*, 1492.

<sup>10</sup> Lin *et al.*, in Kambhampati and Knoblock, *Proceedings of the IJCAI-03*, 1492; Pantel and Lin in Zaki *et al.*, *Proceedings of ACM SIGKDD 2002*, 613.

using different weightings of the one and two distance mutual information.

The blended mutual information,  $I_B$ , is

$$I_B = \sqrt{I_1^2 + (WI_2)^2}$$

where  $I_1$  and  $I_2$  are the mutual information for distance one and two word pairs, respectively and the weight ( $W$ ) takes a value between 0 and 1. It is difficult to find an objective value for  $W$ . The method used in the paper, which will be explained more in the next section is that different values of  $W$  were tested until many known words with similar meanings had high measures of similarity. Though this could be accused of affirming the consequent, it can be considered a method of calibration based on our small current knowledge.

#### Step 4

For the blended mutual information the cosine similarity measure,  $S$ , was calculated where  $S$  is defined as

$$S_{xy} = \sum_{z} \frac{2I_B(x, z)I_B(y, z)}{I_B(x, z)^2 + I_B(y, z)^2}$$

where  $z$  is all words in the corpus where  $z \neq x, y$ .

#### Step 5

The word pairs are ranked by descending similarity and the results analyzed. Since relatively infrequent words will likely give spurious or insignificant results, only word pairs where both words appeared at least three times were used in the final analysis for comparison. In table 1, the top word pairs by descending similarity are shown. A similarity cutoff of 0.95 was used given the clustering of words above 0.95 and the poor matching of known words and wider spread of similarity scores for word pairs with a score under 0.95. The value of  $W$  used is 0.75. This value was chosen because of the excellent and high similarity match of the first two word pairs, which consist entirely of known words with similar meanings. The following words in the ranking also show promise. The word *kek* is still undeciphered but may likely have a religious meaning, given its tight similarity with *mk* and its appearance before *wosqol* (*wos* being Isis) in REM 0075. However, it is difficult to tell whether it is a noun or adjective, since it never occurs with article or adjective suffixes. This could reinforce the opinion of some, such as Hoffman, that it is a conjunction of some sort, but since it appears only in three documents (REM 0075, REM 1044A, REM 1044B) we may not have a large enough sample. If a noun, it could be a word such as ‘soul’ (Egyptian *ka*) or the name of a Meroitic deity. The word *seb* is well-known among Meroitic scholars to have a religious meaning, possibly the name of a deity, but the exact meaning is still unknown. The word *abrsef* means ‘every man’. Though *mwikeni* isn’t specifically understood, it is known from comparison and inference

from uses in other texts<sup>11</sup> that *wwi-* is a stem, which together with the particles *-ke-wi* may indicate directional movement or reference. One appearance of *wwikewi* in REM 1003 states *tenekelxe:wwikewi* where *teneke* means ‘west’.

In order to more clearly see how the words relate to each other, I graphically visualized the similarity relationships using the distance metric derived by Gower.<sup>12</sup> This distance metric is used to convert comparison metrics such as correlation or similarity among variables to metric distances:

$$d_{ij} = \sqrt{2(1-s_{ij})}$$

where  $d_{ij}$  is the similarity between words  $i$  and  $j$ . These distances can then be plotted onto a minimum spanning tree (fig. 2).

### Problems and Issues

As stated before, I cannot claim to solve the issues related to Meroitic solely through statistical analysis. In particular, though the information such an analysis can provide is directional, it is sensitive to interpretation. The choice of the weight,  $W$ , though not completely arbitrary, uses *a priori* knowledge to set its value. While the results it returns are consistent with closely related known words, this may introduce bias. The cutoff for the similarity measurement, at a value of 0.95, is also arbitrary and based on a subjective analysis of the data. Therefore, despite the equations, much of this technique requires knowledge of the script and subjective interpretation to extract useful knowledge. In the end, however, I believe this technique will help shed a light on many previously intractable problems in Meroitic and could become a valuable tool in the eventual decipherment of the script.

### Acknowledgements

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*Cover image:* Sandstone offering table with inscription in cursive Meroitic. From Faras. British Museum EA 1576.

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<sup>11</sup> Hoffman, *Material für eine meroitische Grammatik*, 310.

<sup>12</sup> Gower, *Biometrika* 53, 325.

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ⲉⲗ	a	ⲕ	ⲓ	q	ⲱ	w
ⲃ	b	ⲓ	ⲱ	r	ⲓⲓ	y
ⲛ	d	ⲓ	ⲓ	s	:	word separator
ⲉ	e	ⲛ	ⲓⲓ	se		
ⲃ	x	ⲛ	ⲓ	t		
ⲓ	h	ⲓ	ⲓ	te		
ⲓ	i	ⲓ	ⲓ	to		

ⲉⲗ	a	ⲕ	ⲓ	q	ⲱ	w
ⲃ	b	ⲓ	ⲱ	r	ⲓⲓ	y
ⲛ	d	ⲓ	ⲓ	s	:	word separator
ⲉ	e	ⲛ	ⲓⲓ	se		
ⲃ	x	ⲛ	ⲓ	t		
ⲓ	h	ⲓ	ⲓ	te		
ⲓ	i	ⲓ	ⲓ	to		

Fig 1: Meroitic Cursive and Hieroglyphic words and their transliterations. Taken from the latest font set for Meroitic Hieroglyphic and Cursive characters developed by the Meroitic scholars Claude Carrier, Claude Rilly, Aminata Sackho-Autissier, and Olivier Cabon.  
[www.egypt.edu/etaussi/informatique/meroitique/meroitique01.htm](http://www.egypt.edu/etaussi/informatique/meroitique/meroitique01.htm)

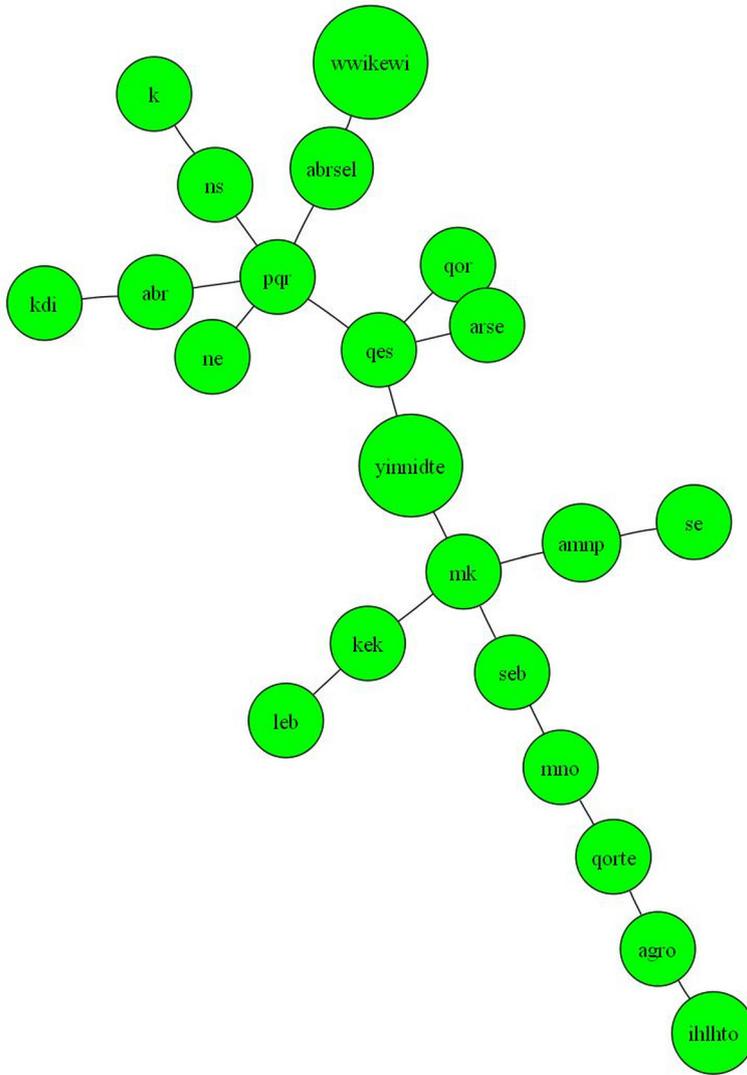


Fig 2: Graphic representation of the minimum spanning tree of the data represented in table 2 as well as some lower similarity word pairs found in the study. Size of nodes is only for displaying text and has no other significance.

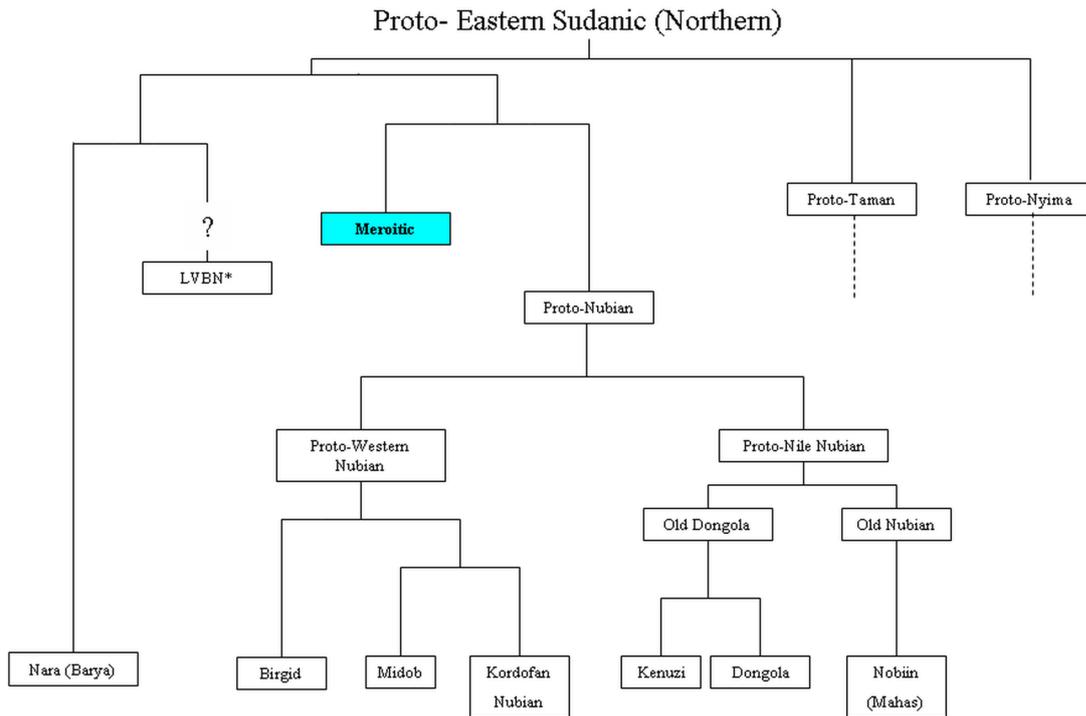


Fig. 3: Eastern Sudanic (Northern) language family with Meroitic inserted according to the research of Rilly. (LVBN\* = a possible vestigial language of Lower Nubia).

Rank	Word 1	Word 2	Word 1 Meaning	Word 2 Meaning	Similarity	Word 1 Count	Word 2 Count
1	kdi	abr	women	man	1.000	3	3
2	mk	amnp	god	Amun of Napata	0.999	7	17
3	mk	kek	god	?	0.998	7	5
4	abrsel	wwikewi	every man	?	0.996	3	3
5	qorte	agro	in the king?	?	0.986	3	3
6	amnp	seb	Amun of Napata	?	0.979	17	15
7	qes	qor	Kush	king	0.978	12	6
8	ne	pqr	?	prince	0.976	3	3
9	mk	seb	god	?	0.970	7	15

Table 1: Top word pair similarities with meanings where known.



## Early Kushite Tombs of South Asasif

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# Early Kushite Tombs of South Asasif

*Elena Pischikova*

The necropolis located in the South Asasif area, south of Qurna on the Theban West Bank, is not well-known, having been practically lost by the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and only recently re-discovered and re-explored (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> The importance of the necropolis for the history of private tomb decoration is difficult to overestimate, as it contains the tombs of the Mayor of Thebes and Fourth Priest of Amun Karabasken (TT 391), and that of the First *ḫ*-priest of Amun, Karakhamun (TT 223). These are the earliest known Kushite decorated tombs in the Theban necropolis, built during the reign of Shabaqo-Shebitqo.

The site was initially located and visited in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century by explorers such as John Gardner Wilkinson, Robert Hay and James Burton. Their notes and drawings are the principal records of the state of preservation of the tombs at that time, documenting their ruinous condition, the weakness of the bedrock in the area, and ongoing decay.<sup>2</sup> Karl Richard Lepsius, who must have seen the tombs in the early 1840s, left more comprehensive records, although it is difficult to say how much of the decoration was still intact at that time. The name and some of the titles of Karakhamun were first recorded by Lepsius, as well as a few fragments of his tomb's decoration, including the standing figure of Karakhamun's brother, a scene of Karakhamun in front of Ra-Horakhty and a goddess of one of the Hours of the Night.<sup>3</sup> The latter scene is a well-preserved block that was sent by Lepsius to Berlin.<sup>4</sup>

The most recent observations on the remains of the tomb of Karakhamun were made by Diethelm Eigner in the mid-1970s. Eigner photographed a few fragments of relief decoration in the Second Pillared Hall, still visible at that time,<sup>5</sup> and noted that the tomb was being used as a quarry, and was thus likely to soon disappear.<sup>6</sup> Different parts of the tomb were used as living quarters, stables, workshops, and quarries. Numerous floods further undermined the

<sup>1</sup> The work described is being conducted by the South Asasif Conservation Project directed by the author under the auspices of the Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA), Egypt. The author wants to express gratitude to SCA and Zahi Hawass for his personal involvement and help with the project, Salima Ikram (American University in Cairo) and Richard Wilkinson (University of Arizona), Günter Dreyer (German Archaeological Institute), Eugene Cruz-Urbe, the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities (USA), Jack Josephson, Magda Saleh, Anthony T. Browder, and the Friends of the South Asasif.

<sup>2</sup> Drawings by Hay show remains of some of the tomb's architectural features, see British Library Mss. Add. 29 848, 77, Abb. 16. Wilkinson's observations made around the same time do not leave much hope that anything would remain intact for a length of time. Describing his visit to the tomb he mentions bringing down 'half of a doorway by merely placing [his] hand against it previous of entering it', see Wilkinson, MSS, v. 176; Eigner, *Die Monumentalen Grabbauten der Spätzeit*, 41–2; PM I/1, 324.

<sup>3</sup> LD III, *Text*, 288, pl. 282d.

<sup>4</sup> Ägyptisches Museum 2110, see Schäfer and Andrae, *Die Kunst des alten Orients*, fig. 450 (lower); Hamann, *Ägyptische Kunst*, fig. 314; PM I/1, 318 (plan), 324.

<sup>5</sup> Eigner, *Monumentalen Grabbauten*, 17, 41–2, figs. 15, 16, pls. 14B, 20A, plans 9, 28.

<sup>6</sup> Eigner, *Monumentalen Grabbauten*, 41.

tomb's condition, which subsequently collapsed in the mid-1990s. A modern village built in the middle of the necropolis then concealed the remains of the tomb.

The tomb of Karabasken was visited by Hay who sketched its plan despite being unimpressed by the remains; Wilkinson noted that it contained 'nothing remarkable'.<sup>7</sup> Lepsius recorded the name and titles of Karabasken from the entrance to the first pillared hall, but it is impossible to know whether Lepsius could see further areas of decoration.<sup>8</sup> By 2006, numerous floods had covered the tomb courtyard with a 4m thick layer of debris, while the vestibule and pillared hall were buried beneath 2.5m of deposits. A sondage in the courtyard identified at least six consecutive flood layers. The accessible part of the tomb of Karabasken was occupied by villagers and used as a stable. As a result of such misuse the decoration of the upper part of the walls and doorframes was badly damaged, and in some areas the décor had been chiseled off and replaced with large scale Arabic graffiti.

The owners of the South Asasif tombs are not very well known. Little is known of Karabasken and his family. Kitchen suggests that he held the office of Mayor of Thebes and Fourth Prophet of Amun from about 725 to 705BC, which makes him an appointee of Piye, and later, Shabaqo.<sup>9</sup> His appointment reflects the Nubian policy of installing their own representatives in Thebes, despite the apparent loyalty of the Theban officials. Karabasken's titles suggest that he was a forerunner of Mentuemhat's family. Most scholars consider Karabasken an immediate predecessor to Mentuemhat,<sup>10</sup> though Bierbrier proposed Karabasken preceded Montuemhat's grandfather.<sup>11</sup>

We know even less of Karakhamun and his family.<sup>12</sup> He did not appear to have any important administrative positions and his priestly title, First *ḥ*-priest of Amun, does not imply a particularly elevated rank. His name, evidently Nubian in origin, has led to the tomb being dated to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty,<sup>13</sup> a dating supported by its architecture.<sup>14</sup> Karakhamun's serpentine shawabti is of typical 'Nubian' type, with facial features suggesting a date prior

<sup>7</sup> Eigner, *Monumentalen Grabbauten*, 16, 40–1, figs. 14, 15, pl. 14A, plans 8, 28.

<sup>8</sup> LD III, no. 96, 37.

<sup>9</sup> These dates make Karabasken the successor of the last Djed-Khons-ef-anekh (D) of the Nakhtefmut family, see Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*, 382, Table 14.

<sup>10</sup> Karabasken was seen as the immediate predecessor to Mentuemhat by Leclant (*Recherches*, 389), Vittmann (*Priester und Beamte*, 99, 100, 171) and Eigner (*Monumentalen Grabbauten*, 40).

<sup>11</sup> Bierbrier proved that Karabasken preceded his father or most probably grandfather, see Bierbrier, *Late New Kingdom in Egypt*, 95 and Bierbrier, *BiOr* 36, 306–9. The date 725BC given to Karabasken by Vittmann (*Priester und Beamte*, 171) leads to the conclusion that Karabasken preceded Mentuemhat's grandfather.

<sup>12</sup> Karakhamun and his family are omitted from Kitchen (*Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*) and Vittmann (*Priester und Beamte*), the most comprehensive studies on the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period chronology.

<sup>13</sup> Leclant, *Recherches*, 179.

<sup>14</sup> Eigner, *Monumentalen Grabbauten*, 41–2. Records from the 19<sup>th</sup> century allow us to reconstruct the plan of the tomb as a variant of the Kushite type similar to the tomb of Karabasken (IT 391): one east-west axis, entrance on the east side of the court, no porticoes in the court, one or two pillared halls. The tomb of Harwa (IT 37), from the time of Taharqo, is the first Twenty-fifth dynasty tomb that offers elaboration of this plan, providing a transition to Twenty-sixth dynasty type, with bent axis and introduction of the colonnaded porticoes in the court.

to the reign of Taharqo, perhaps during the time of Shabaqo.<sup>15</sup> The stylistic details in the representations of Karakhamun's face, recently found in the tomb, point to the reign of Shebitqo. His tomb is the largest in the southern part of the Asasif, incorporating two pillared halls and multiple burial chambers. Karakhamun may have had close connections to the royal court or the royal family itself, given the lack of particularly elite titles. Further exploration of the tomb should clarify both the date, and aspects of the tomb owner's identity.

The tombs of Karabasken and Karakhamun attest to the appearance of a new tomb type in Theban funerary architecture, with entrance pylons, large courts, and shrines – a clear departure from the New Kingdom tomb with transverse hall.<sup>16</sup> These new 'temple-tombs' in the South and North Asasif first appear during Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties, and represent a return to monumental funerary architecture after a hiatus during the Third Intermediate Period.<sup>17</sup>

Archaeological work in the tombs of Karabasken and Karakhamun started in 2006. Although the outlines of the main architectural elements in the tomb of Karabasken were visible, the total lack of decoration on any visible surfaces left us with little hope that the tomb could be reconstructed (fig. 2).<sup>18</sup> Other negative factors were the poor quality of the grainy and friable bedrock, and its weakened condition. It is evident that during the initial cutting of the first pillared hall, the builders had to replace the stone in the weakest areas with denser limestone from elsewhere on the plateau. In addition, the surface of the stone is extensively water damaged, further increasing the instability of the tomb.

Work to date has revealed that the tomb of Karabasken is a single axis east-west oriented structure, with entrance from the east. It consists of an open (solar) court, pillared hall and a cult chamber provided with six niches. The rear wall of the solar court was never decorated and the frame of the door recess appears to be completely destroyed. The walls and the ceilings were blackened by soot from later cooking fires (fig. 3). Trenches and trial cleaning of the surface of the walls and pillars in different areas indicate that the tomb was left largely unfinished and undecorated. Some sections of the tomb bear traces of preliminary drawings for column lines. The shallow and uneven form of the niches in the cult chamber indicates that they were also never completed; unfortunately, the decoration of the false door or cult niche on the west wall is totally destroyed, if it was ever finished. Only traces of a cavetto cornice are still visible in the middle of the west wall. Remains of another unfinished cornice, with preliminary red lines painted atop the doorframe, are visible on the west wall of the pillared hall.

A major discovery in the tomb of Karabasken emerged with the removal of the 2m-thick layer of debris, and modern mud brick structures, around the door-recess in the west wall of the court (fig. 4).<sup>19</sup> This excavation exposed the lower part of the doorframe with two

<sup>15</sup> Aubert, 199, pl. 54, fig. 129.

<sup>16</sup> Aston in Strudwick and Taylor, *Theban Necropolis*, 146.

<sup>17</sup> Arnold, *Encyclopedia of Ancient Egyptian Architecture*, 120.

<sup>18</sup> Two previously published photographs of the tomb of Karabasken provide clear evidence of its decaying state, see Eigner, *Monumentalen Grabbauten*, pl. 14A, and Naunton, in Tiradritti, *L'Enigma di Harwa*, 87.

<sup>19</sup> Also known as a 'Tornische': Eigner, *Monumentalen Grabbauten*, 120–3; Arnold, *Encyclopedia of Ancient Egyptian architecture*, 76–7. Arnold describes this element in Late Period tombs as often decorated with reed matting and having 'the appearance of the primeval sanctuary'.

relatively well-preserved images of Karabasken, with name and titles inscribed above. The 2m high door is inscribed with the Offering and Appeal to the Living formulae, though the carved surface is deteriorated and flaking from salt damage, caused by the moist environment. Dust and impact damage further added to its poor condition. Numerous fragments of inscriptions found in the debris could be reattached to their positions upon the walls, following cleaning and consolidation by the South Asasif Conservation Project.

Karabasken is depicted in the style and iconography of the Old Kingdom (fig. 5). He is seated on a lion-legged chair, its short back decorated with a papyrus umbel, and wears a short pleated kilt and priestly pelt vest. The latter is held by a sash tied over his shoulder with a large elaborate knot. A double amulet, consisting of two overlapping drop-shaped elements on a long cord, is the only contemporary element of his attire. This amulet returned to popularity in the Kushite and Saite Periods, though most scholars see it as an archaizing reference to an Old Kingdom version.<sup>20</sup> Although occasionally attested in the Middle and New Kingdom, the double amulet becomes an essential part of the tomb owner's attire only in Kushite and Saite tombs.<sup>21</sup> In fact, Karabasken is likely to be the earliest known example. The amulet's symbolic meaning, and reasons for its popularity in the Late Period, remain unclear.

Karabasken's stylistic and iconographic preferences could have been influenced by his activities in Thebes. He probably had to supervise the building projects of Shabaqo in the temples of Karnak, Luxor and Medinet Habu.<sup>22</sup> Images of Shabaqo in Luxor temple, carved in distinct Old Kingdom style, could have reinforced Karabasken's stylistic choices.<sup>23</sup>

Based on 19<sup>th</sup> Century records, Eigner reconstructed the plan of the tomb of Karakhamun as a large structure with two pillared halls, side rooms and a large shaft on the western side of the second pillared hall, with multiple burial chambers.<sup>24</sup> By 2001, the tomb of Karakhamun could only be identified by a large crack in the bedrock to the east of the tomb of Karabasken (fig. 6). Local inhabitants informed us that the Abd el-Rasul family had once lived in the deteriorating tomb, part of which was still standing until its total collapse in the 1990s. Later, the site of the tomb was used as a rubbish dump.

The project commenced fieldwork in the summer of 2006, when preliminary assessment showed that the crack must have been a section of collapsed bedrock above the remains of the tomb's first pillared hall (fig. 7). The entrance structures and open court had become covered by modern houses. A primary goal of the first season was to determine if any traces of the tomb architecture or its decorative features had survived. Reaching the original ceiling level about 3m below present ground level, it was clear that the caving in of the ceiling had caused the collapse of the walls and tops of pillars. A trench in the eastern section of the hall, dug in an effort to explore the condition of the walls and pillars, yielded no relief decoration on the walls, nor vestiges of standing pillars.

The first small fragments of *in situ* relief decoration were found on the north wall almost 2m below ceiling level, but the east wall proved more important. Divided by a doorframe, it

<sup>20</sup> Assman, *Das Grab des Basa*, 101–3; Kuhlmann, and Schenkel, *Das Grab des Ibi*, 89.

<sup>21</sup> Variations of the double amulet in the Late Period are discussed by Russmann, *Relief Decoration in Theban Private Tombs*, 324–35.

<sup>22</sup> Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, 46–50.

<sup>23</sup> Mysliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, pls. 28–9, 30a.

<sup>24</sup> Eigner, *Monumentalen Grabbauten*, 41, plan 9.

had the remains of two symmetrically opposed offering scenes of Karakhamun, seated at an offering table, with an offering list above. The two-register composition to the right displays a procession of offering bearers in the second register, and performance of offering rituals in the register below. Almost completely destroyed on the south part of the wall, this scene is unexpectedly well preserved on the north section (fig. 8). The importance of this find was two-fold: it proved that some parts of the tomb still remain *in situ*, and it expanded the corpus of known high-quality reliefs from the Kushite era.

As with Karabasken, Karakhamun is depicted with features of Old Kingdom iconography. He has a broad shouldered torso, narrow waist, legs with heavy musculature, closely cropped hair, and bare feet. He sits on a bovine-legged chair with its legs resting on a double pedestal. The chair's short back, and papyrus umbel behind the seat, are typical of Old Kingdom iconography.<sup>25</sup> He is depicted in a pleated kilt and a broad collar without a pelt vest. His round head has full cheeks, and a nose with distinctive Kushite folds at its sides (fig. 9). Protruding lips with small ridges of flesh at the corners, and a short chin, are features shared by many Kushite reliefs.<sup>26</sup> Yet the style of carving of Karakhamun's face allows a more precise date when compared with royal relief images. The iconography of the eyes is an important indicator of date. Karakhamun's eyes are large, slightly slanted, with an elegantly carved thin upper rim extending as a short pointed cosmetic line (figs. 9, 10). In contrast, faces of Shabaqo in Luxor temple have plastically rendered brows and long cosmetic lines widening at the corners.<sup>27</sup> His nose and lips are also different from those of Shabaqo, which feature a large straight nose and lips protruding forward almost as far as the nose.<sup>28</sup> Karakhamun's nose is shorter than that of Shabaqo with a tip slightly bent up; furthermore, the lips are fuller, rounder and less protruding. The face of Karakhamun lacks the energy and exaggeration of Shabaqo's features: it is more harmoniously composed and serene. The shape of Karakhamun's eyes and elongation of the neck endow his face with elegance and sophistication and bring it closer to depictions of Shebitqo. The best preserved relief image of this king is in the chapel of Osiris-Hekadjet at Karnak, and displays the features which may have inspired Karakhamun's reliefs.<sup>29</sup>

The decoration of the tomb of Karakhamun re-introduces and re-interprets a few ancient motifs derived from the iconography of the Old and Middle Kingdoms. One of these is placing the tomb owner's dog under his chair in the offering scene (fig. 11). The dog on the north section of the east wall is one of the most beautiful images found in the tomb. It is carved in sunk relief with sharpness, precision, and sophisticated modeling, particularly noticeable on the muzzle, chest, and hind leg area. The animal's powerful musculature resembles the treatment of Karakhamun's legs. The elongated eye is rimmed with a long cosmetic line almost reaching the collar; the dog's long slender nose is slightly exaggerated. Upright pointed ears, and a long tail twisted into four coils, complement the image of the dog

<sup>25</sup> For example, an image of Iasen in his Giza mastaba (G2196), see Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery*, pl. 33.

<sup>26</sup> Russmann, *Representation of the King*.

<sup>27</sup> Mysliwicz, *Royal Portraiture*, pls. 28–9. This traditional eye iconography is termed 'hieroglyphic', see Bothmer in Cody, *Egyptian art. Selected Writings of Bernard V. Bothmer*, 449.

<sup>28</sup> Shabaqo's features are thoroughly analysed in Russman, *Representation of the King*, p. 13

<sup>29</sup> Mysliwicz, *Royal Portraiture*, pl. 34.

of Karakhamun. Another dog image from the south section of the east wall survives only in small fragments.

Another influential archaizing feature re-introduced by Karakhamun is a sacred oil jar placed under the chair of the tomb owner. The north section of the east wall shows a jar for *hknw*-oil covered with a lotus flower. Though the south section of the wall is almost completely destroyed, numerous fragments of the damaged relief decoration found amongst the debris allow the reconstruction of a substantial part of it. The second offering scene had an image of a *hknw*-oil jar under Karakhamun's chair as well. Both scenes also include a group of jars containing oil labelled as *h3tt nt thnw*, under the offering table. It appears that the tomb of Karakhamun displays the earliest Kushite example of a sacred oil jar placed under the chair of a tomb owner. This convention became a key feature of Late Period private tomb decoration.<sup>30</sup> Before the latest discoveries in the tomb of Karakhamun, the earliest known examples of this iconography were found in the tombs of Mentuemhat (TT 34) and Petamenophis (TT 33). The placement of the sacred oil jars under the tomb owner's chair emphasizes the concept of receiving power for resurrection and rebirth in the afterlife through being anointed with seven sacred oils.<sup>31</sup>

Representations of offering bearers in the tomb of Karakhamun display an original interpretation of Old Kingdom iconography. One of the examples is a female offering bearer in a dress supported with a shoulder strap with an elaborate knot (fig. 12). A strap knot is a popular feature of Old Kingdom garments, which traditionally appeared on divine or royal garments, fecundity figures, and personifications of estates in royal temples.<sup>32</sup> Offering bearers in Old Kingdom private tombs wore smooth-strap dresses.<sup>33</sup> After a long interval, a knot of this type reappears in the Third Intermediate Period on royal and divine garments.<sup>34</sup> Prior to the discoveries in Karakhamun, the earliest Late Period representation of an offering bearer dress with a strap knot in a private tomb was attested in the tomb of Mentuemhat. Now Karakhamun provides an earlier example of the re-use of this royal feature in a private tomb.<sup>35</sup> Whether the Old Kingdom meaning for this knot was still understood in the Late Period is unknown.

The types of offerings, and manner in which they are held by the bearers, in the tomb of Karakhamun also reflect Old Kingdom iconography. For example, a fragment of a figure of a female offering bearer found in the tomb displays a traditional manner of holding a duck by grabbing its legs and pressing it against the chest with another arm (fig. 13).

Another scene of an offering bearer leading a large bird is also a reference to Old Kingdom iconography and its revival in contemporary royal Kushite tombs. The scene originally located on the north-east pilaster of the first pillared hall was found in several fragments. The remains allow the scene to be reconstructed as an offering bearer leading a bird by a leash attached

<sup>30</sup> For the discussion of images of sacred oil jars in the Late Period tombs, see Pischikova, *JARCE* 31, 65–9.

<sup>31</sup> Pischikova, *JARCE* 31, 67–8.

<sup>32</sup> W.S. Smith, *History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, pls. 29, 53a.

<sup>33</sup> For example, Steindorff, *Das Grab des Ti*, pl. 113; Davies, *Mastaba of Ptahbetep and Akhetbetep*, pls. 15–16.

<sup>34</sup> For the garments of Iuput II and a Kushite image of Amun-Re, see Fazzini *et al.*, *Ancient Egyptian Art in the Brooklyn Museum*, no. 69; Gruse, *Karnak*, 67.

<sup>35</sup> Russmann, *JARCE* 34, 23, fig. 1.

to its leg (fig. 14); it is difficult to identify the bird due to the missing areas. The treatment of the feathers of the wings as rounded scales is characteristic of the images of ostriches, though the beak is rather reminiscent of that of a stork or crane.<sup>36</sup> The iconography and style of carving show the influence of Old Kingdom private tomb decoration, such as the scenes of offering or hunting an ostrich, or a tribute-bearer carrying such a bird. Ostrich images were first introduced in Old Kingdom tomb decoration and later appeared in Middle and New Kingdom tombs.<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, Karakhamun's offering scene is reminiscent of that upon an ivory plaque from the el-Kurru burial of Shabaqo, in which an offering bearer leads an ostrich.<sup>38</sup> The two scenes are very close stylistically, which may reflect a common Old Kingdom inspiration, or the influence of contemporary Kushite funerary art, on Kushite monuments in Egypt.

In addition to re-interpretations of ancient motifs, the tomb of Karakhamun introduces a few innovations. One of these can be observed because the tomb was never completed. Part of the decoration in the first pillared hall remained at a preliminary stage and some sections, although carved and painted, still retain traces of grid lines on the background (fig. 15). Lepsius recorded an unfinished standing figure of Karakhamun's brother covered in grid lines.<sup>39</sup> What attracted his attention was the fact that the figure was drawn with a 21-square grid instead of the traditional eighteen. As Lepsius dated the tomb of Karakhamun to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, he did not recognize this fact as an early example of the new grid.<sup>40</sup> Recent excavation in the tomb of Karakhamun brought to light numerous carved and painted fragments with traces of grid lines. The only complete scene with grid lines found to date shows three overlapping figures of deities from the top of pillar four, in the north aisle of the first pillared hall. Reconstructed from numerous fragments, this scene confirms Lepsius's observation that the decoration of the tomb was based on the new 21-square grid system. In the discussion of the later grid system, Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer named Mentuemhat as the earliest private tomb utilizing the new grid.<sup>41</sup> It now appears that Karakhamun should be considered the earliest private tomb known to use the reformed grid system.

The whole program of the decoration of the first pillared hall can be seen as an influential innovation. The tomb of Karakhamun is the earliest known Kushite private tomb to adopt traditional subjects of New Kingdom royal tomb decoration such as the Books of Day and Night. Texts of the twelve Hours of the Day and twelve Hours of the Night were placed on eight pillars, with three Hours on each pillar. At present, that which can be most fully reconstructed is the Eleventh Hour of the Day, from the fourth pillar in the north aisle. The reconstruction made on the ground includes more than a hundred fragments. Karakhamun's example was often followed in later Kushite and Saite tombs, including the tombs of Harwa

<sup>36</sup> Klebs, *Die Reliefs des alten Reiches*, 65–73.

<sup>37</sup> For the Old Kingdom see Klebs, *Die Reliefs des alten Reiches*, 68, 72; for the Middle and New Kingdom see Darby *et al.*, *Food: The Gift of Osiris* (London, New York, 1977), 315–20.

<sup>38</sup> Dunham, *El Kurru*, fig. 20g.

<sup>39</sup> LD III, pl. 282d.

<sup>40</sup> Robins follows Lepsius in dating Karakhamun to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, see Robins, *Proportion and Style*, 160–61, fig. 7.2. Lepsius also noticed a new grid system used in the tomb of Harwa, LD III, Text, 245–6.

The grid system in the tomb of Harwa is discussed in Russman, *Relief Decoration in Theban Private Tombs*, 125

<sup>41</sup> Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer, *Das Grab des Ankh-Hor*, 230–1.

and Pabasa.<sup>42</sup>

Unfortunately the beautiful tomb of Karakhamun did not have a chance to remain in its original condition for very long. Even in the early Twenty-sixth Dynasty, an attempt was made to re-use the tomb for the vizier of Upper Egypt under Psamtik I, Nespakashuty (Nespakashuty D).<sup>43</sup> The name and titles of Karakhamun were covered in plaster or cut out of the walls and pillars. The gaps were filled with limestone plaques that were to be inscribed with the name of the new owner. Most of the new 'name plaques' found *in situ* and in debris are uninscribed, showing that the usurpation was never completed. They measure 20–22cm in length, 9–11cm in width, and 4–5cm in depth. Two of them have the name of the new owner written in red paint. They bear the name and titles of Nespakashuty D. It is not surprising to learn that he attempted to usurp the tomb of Karakhamun because the tomb of his mother, Irtieru (TT 390), was adjacent to it. Nespakashuty undoubtedly wanted to be buried next to his mother.<sup>44</sup>

Nespakashuty also commenced re-carving the lintel of the entrance to the second pillared hall. This work remained unfinished, perhaps because the tomb started showing signs of instability when disturbed. The tomb had not been carved deeply enough into the limestone plateau to ensure its structural integrity,<sup>45</sup> and the tomb builders had to use numerous blocks as patches, to compensate for the weak bedrock. Repair work on the ceiling, probably contemporary to the building of the tomb, is attested in several places. The destruction of the tomb of Karakhamun was progressing gradually. In the Graeco-Roman Period the tomb was used as a faience workshop; constant burning on the floor made the limestone of the walls extremely brittle. Coptic ostraca and papyri are evidences of the use of the tomb by Coptic monks. The most recent re-use was by the inhabitants of Qurna.

The tombs of South Asasif still require much excavation and conservation work to demonstrate their original beauty, but it is already clear how important this area is: the tombs presented here add to our understanding of the earliest stage of the Kushite revival of large-scale private funerary monuments. Kushite archaism was based primarily on references to Old Kingdom style and iconography, but ancient patterns are not simply copied, but edited and adjusted to suit contemporary tastes and ideas.<sup>46</sup> It created a new style that influenced Egyptian art of the Late Period. Numerous new features and stylistic trends, attested in the tombs of Karabasken and Karakhamun, were adopted in the Kushite and Saite tombs of the

<sup>42</sup> The tombs of Harwa and Pabasa are unpublished. For the royal tomb decoration, see the works of Piankoff, for example Piankoff, *ASAE* 40, 283–9; Roulin, *Le Livre de la Nuit*.

<sup>43</sup> For Nespakashuty D and his tomb, see PM I/1, 387–8; Pischikova, *MMJ* 33, 57–101.

<sup>44</sup> For the tomb of Irtieru, see PM I/1, 440–1. The tomb of Irtieru is part of the South Asasif Conservation Project. It was found under the modern houses in 2001 and since then has been partially excavated and restored. Results of the work in this tomb will be featured in a forthcoming issue of *Ancient Egypt* magazine.

<sup>45</sup> The condition of the tomb of Karakhamun probably forced Nespakashuty to change his plans and concentrate on the tomb at Deir el Bahri (TT 312) where he was probably buried, see Pischikova, *MMJ* 33, 57–101.

<sup>46</sup> It is important to consider that the past was never entirely forgotten and the 'Kushite Renaissance' cannot be separated from the traditions of the Ramesside and Third Intermediate Periods. Despite the preference given to the Old Kingdom, Kushite art reflects the Middle and New Kingdom traditions as well, see Fazzini, *Egypt: Dynasty XXII-XXV*; Taylor in Shaw, *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 330–69.

North Asasif and Deir el Bahri.

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Fig. 1: South Asasif necropolis, aerial view. Photo: Matjaz Kacicnik.



Fig. 2: Tomb of Karabasken (TT 391) in 2006, before excavation. Photo: Matjaz Kacicnik.

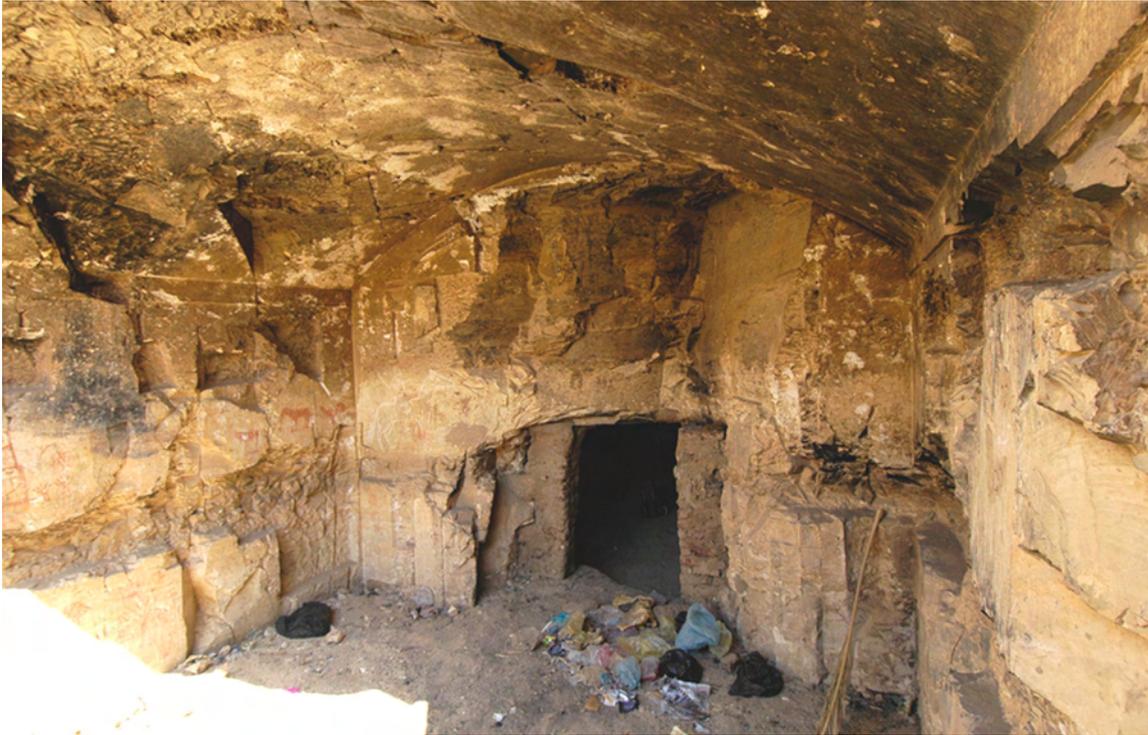


Fig. 3: Tomb of Karabasken. Entrance to the pillared hall in 2006 before excavation. Photo: Katherine Blakeney.

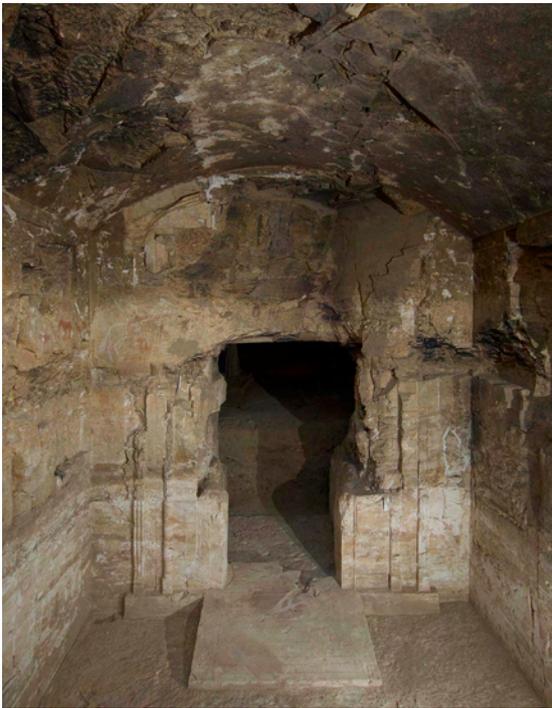


Fig. 4: Tomb of Karabasken. Entrance to the pillared hall, after excavation. Photo: Matjaz Kacicnik.



Fig. 5: Karabasken, depicted in the entrance to the pillared hall. Photo: Matjaz Kacicnik.



Fig. 6: Tomb of Karakhamun (TT 223) in 2006, before excavation. Photo: Katherine Blakeney.



Fig. 7: Tomb of Karakhamun. First pillared hall, during excavation in 2008. Photo: Matjaz Kacicnik.



Fig. 8: Tomb of Karakhamun. Offering scene, east wall of the first pillared hall. Photo: Matjaz Kacicnik.



Fig. 9: Head of Karakhamun, part of an offering scene on the east wall of the first pillared hall. Photo: Matjaz Kacicnik.



Fig. 10: Figure of Karakhamun, upon a fragment of pillar from the first pillared hall. Photo: Matjaz Kacicnik.



Fig. 11: Dog of Karakhamun, depicted in an offering scene, on the east wall of the first pillared hall. Photo: Matjaz Kacicnik.



Fig. 12: Offering bearer with a shoulder knot, from a pilaster in the first pillared hall. Tomb of Karakhamun. Photo: Matjaz Kacicnik.



Fig. 13: Offering bearer with a duck, upon a pilaster from the first pillared hall. Tomb of Karakhamun. Photo: Matjaz Kacicnik.



Fig. 14: Tomb of Karakhamun. Offering bearer with a bird, upon a pilaster from the first pillared hall. Photo: Matjaz Kacicnik



Fig. 15: Tomb of Karakhamun. Procession of deities with grid squares, upon a pillar from the first pillared hall. Photo: Katherine Blakeney.



**Edfu under the Twelfth to Seventeenth Dynasties:  
The monuments in the National Museum of Warsaw**

*Marcel Marée*

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# Edfu under the Twelfth to Seventeenth Dynasties: The monuments in the National Museum of Warsaw

*Marcel Marée*

From the late Old Kingdom to the beginning of the New Kingdom, a major necropolis developed on the western edges of Edfu before the distant desert hills became the town's new chosen burial ground. The old cemetery first received systematic archaeological attention in 1933, after parts of it, along with much of the *tell*, had been exposed and destroyed during decades of unbridled digging by *sebakhin* in search of fertile soil. Most importantly, Maurice Alliot revealed in the same year the early Sixth Dynasty mastaba of the nomarch Isi, which added greatly to our knowledge of his cult as a local deity throughout the Middle Kingdom. Franco-Polish excavations in 1937–1939 brought to light a large number of further tombs, predominantly from the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period. Of the many objects yielded by these various missions, a major share went to the National Museum in Warsaw, also including finds of Alliot's that were donated by the Institut français d'archéologie orientale. Purchases from local dealers enriched this collection further. The following pages present afresh the epigraphic material from the Twelfth to Seventeenth Dynasties, aided by excellent new photography.<sup>1</sup> Most of the objects were first illustrated in Alliot's excavation report,<sup>2</sup> but his photographs are not reproduced at sufficient size to enable proper study, and they are all, of course, in black and white. His discussions are only concerned with the inscriptions; the report confines itself to transcripts, a later article adds translations.<sup>3</sup> Most subsequent publications on this and the other Warsaw pieces are in Polish and difficult to access. The present article need not, however, repeat in full what can be found in the earlier literature. While a degree of repetition is unavoidable, the emphasis lies on novel observations and points of underappreciated interest. As much as is now possible, the objects are presented in their chronological order.

<sup>1</sup> The photographs, in part here published for the first time, are by Zbigniew Doliński; I am most grateful to him and to Monika Dolińska for permission to publish them here, and to the latter also for patiently answering my collection enquiries. As for related material elsewhere, I thank Guillemette Andreu and Catherine Bridonneau of the Louvre for providing the photographs in figs. 8 and 16, and Wafaa el-Sadiq for permission to reproduce fig. 17. My discussion of Warsaw 141281 and associated pieces has separately appeared in Marée, *Égypte, Afrique & Orient* 53, 11–24 (in French), but the present version supplies further details, a few improvements, and rectifies one editorial slip (for which see n. 113 below). Omitted from the present article are a number of Edfu objects that have elsewhere been dated to the Twelfth–Seventeenth Dynasties but which are, to my mind, of a later date. One of these is block statue Warsaw 139326, dated by A. Majewska in Dobrowolski (ed.), *Galeria sztuki starożytnej*, 48 [136], to the Twelfth Dynasty, but in fact from the earliest Eighteenth Dynasty, probably temp. Ahmose (a New Kingdom date was already suggested by Michałowski *et al.*, *Tell Edfou 1938*, 36 [34]). Lipińska, *Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie* 42, 56, has proposed a Middle Kingdom date for statues Warsaw 141275 and 142185, but these also are certainly from the early Eighteenth Dynasty, most probably temp. Amenhotep I.

<sup>2</sup> Alliot, *Tell Edfou (1933)*.

<sup>3</sup> Alliot, *BIFAO* 37, 93–160.

**Warsaw 141282** (fig. 1)

This stela fragment<sup>4</sup> was acquired through purchase. Kazimierz Michałowski bought it from an Edfu dealer in 1939, and there can be little doubt that local inhabitants had found it in the *tell*. What survives is the upper left corner of a rectangular stela of horizontal format – wider than tall when intact. A standing couple, facing right, is represented in raised relief, originally with an assortment of offerings, and/or additional human figures, before them. An offering prayer naming the owners was, in all likelihood, inscribed above their figures but executed in paint alone, which has not survived. Alternatively, the inscription might have been confined to the missing right half of the stela, but such a layout would be highly unusual.

While the lady, presumably the wife, rests a hand on the man's shoulder, he is shown clasping attributes of authority: a conventional long staff which would have stood on the ground and, by his side, a rather unusual type of stick of which the forward end is curved. On stelae the curved stick is only attested with certainty for the late Eleventh Dynasty and the reign of Amenemhat I, with a few examples dating possibly from the earliest years of Senwosret I.<sup>5</sup> The style of our stela points to the same date range, judging especially from the solid proportions of the figures, their broad and rounded heads, and the prominent cosmetic lines around the eyes. The thickness of the raised relief might favour a late Eleventh Dynasty date over an early Twelfth Dynasty one, but this is difficult to ascertain. Parallels for the curved stick are almost invariably of Theban artistic origin;<sup>6</sup> this suggests that our piece may likewise have been designed by an artist from Thebes, rather than one who was based at Edfu. In fact, Edfu appears to have seen no regular production of stelae and other monuments by local workshops until the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty. As discussed below, at least one other stela found in Edfu was commissioned and brought there from elsewhere.<sup>7</sup> It cannot,

<sup>4</sup> Limestone. Height 29 cm, width 30 cm, thickness 8.5 cm. First mentioned in the old museum guide of Michałowski, *Sztuka starożytna*, 176, and first illustrated with discussion by J. Lipińska in Dobrowski (ed.) *Galeria sztuki starożytnej*, 88–9 [I.98] (with incorrect width of 20 cm).

<sup>5</sup> See Fischer, *MMJ* 13, 9–10. To his examples of the curved stick from Thebes and Dendera, add a stela illustrated in catalogues and brochures of various art dealers: À la Reine Margot [dealer], *Offrandes*, no. 25 (in 1992); Galerie Günter Puhze [dealer], *Kunst der Antike: Katalog* 12, no. 290 (in 1997); Drouot [auctioneers], *Archéologie*, 134 [764] (auctioned on 1 October 1999). The stela in question bears marks of the same artistic hand as two more stelae depicting this type of stick: New York MMA 16.10.333 (Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, I, 331, fig. 219) and Cairo JE 45625 (Saleh and Sourouzian, *The Egyptian Museum*, no. 85), both from the Asasif at Thebes. Further examples: New York MMA 16.10.327 (same tomb as the Cairo stela; see Freed in Der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, 301, fig. 1 [d]), Marseille 221 (Capart, *Recueil de monuments égyptiens*, II, pl. 56; stolen from the museum in 1957), Vienna ÄS 202 (Hein and Satzinger, *Stelen des Mittleren Reiches*, II, 144), a stela in the Dufferin collection (Clandeboyne estate, Bangor; see Edwards, *JEA* 51, pl. 10 [2]), Moscow I.1.a.5601 (Hodjash and Berlev, *Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae*, fig. on 73 [27]), Berkeley 5-351 (Lutz, *Egyptian Tomb Steles and Offering Stones*, pl. 47 [93]) and Frankfurt 1641 (Franke in *Liebieghaus – Museum Alter Plastik: Ägyptische Bildwerke*, III, fig. on 97 [24]). Add also Moscow I.1.a.5605 (Hodjash and Berlev, op. cit., fig. on 75 [28]), Berlin 19582 (unpublished) and stela ex coll. Brundage (unpublished, Bothmer negative L-68-53 in the Brooklyn Museum), all three bearing the marks of the same draughtsman and sculptor. Unless stated otherwise, the stelae here listed have no recorded provenance, but most, if not all, were certainly made in Thebes.

<sup>6</sup> See the previous note.

<sup>7</sup> Stela Warsaw 141265 is a clear example. Another likely instance is provided by an entire group of

however, be excluded that our piece comes from a provincial artisan who somehow could borrow from Theban examples. In their outlines, the figures are good work adhering closely to the official style of the day, but in curious contrast with this practised draughtsmanship is the crudeness of the carving work. This contrast may be evidence that at least the *completion* of the stela took place in provincial Edfu, not in Thebes.

### Warsaw 141264 (fig. 2)

This tall round-topped stela<sup>8</sup> is one of several from the mastaba of Isi, where it was placed in the north wall of chapel room B. It dates from early in the reign of Senwosret I, as shall be argued below. The offering formula invokes only the funeral god Osiris, not any of the local deities. Below this inscription are the standing figures of a man *Sbk-hnw*, born of *Jdw*, and his wife *Snbt*. He holds a long staff and ‘*b3*’-sceptre. She smells a lotus and holds, unusually for women, a folded cloth. The offerings before them occupy the full height of the register. From top to bottom, these are a lettuce, an unplucked bird, a bunch of spring onions, a bovine foreleg with the animal’s heart on top, a bone with meat, two triangular cuts, a circular loaf, a rack with vessels, and on the ground a cow’s head. Facing the couple on a smaller scale stands their daughter, whose name is *Hwy(t)-Sbk*.<sup>9</sup> Like her mother, she clasps both a lotus and folded cloth.

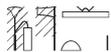
*Sbk-hnw* was a lector-priest (*hrj-hbt*) and hence, as so often attested elsewhere, a *sš md3t-ntr*, ‘scribe of divine scripture’.<sup>10</sup> Claiming also the titles *jmj-r nwt mj-qd.f*, ‘overseer of the whole town’, and *sš sp3wt*, ‘scribe of districts’, he was clearly a man of authority in worldly as well as religious affairs. We are left in no doubt that the town where he held office was Edfu itself, as *Sbk-hnw* notes that he was *sm3c htpw-ntr r pr Hr Bhdjt jmj-r h3wt m pr s’h.f*, ‘one who directs god’s offerings to the house (i.e. the temple) of Horus of Behdet, overseer of offering tables in the house of his noble’. Three other monuments from Edfu attest *s’h*,

monuments made for a man *Hr-3*, including stela Warsaw 141262. Possible other candidates include Warsaw 141263 and 141295. See for each of these cases the discussions further below.

<sup>8</sup> Limestone. Height 67 cm, width 41 cm, thickness 11 cm. Alliot, *Tell Edfou (1933)*, 16 [e], 29 [2], pl. 16 [1]; id., *BIFAO* 37, 102 [9]; Halicki, *Archiv Orientalní* 20, 407–9, pls. 38–9; Szafranski, *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie* 24, 41–3, fig. 10; Vernus, *Edfou*, 5–9 [2], pl. 1; M. Dolińska in Dobrowolski (ed.), *Galeria sztuki starożytnej*, 89–90 [I.99]. All the edges of the stela are damaged, but no doubt the top was also curved originally; a rectangular empty top would go unparalleled, while empty lunettes are also otherwise attested.

<sup>9</sup> It should be noted that the last sign in her name is the same crocodile sign as employed in line 6 of the main inscription, where it forms part of the father’s name. The much smaller scale of the caption to her figure led to a simpler, more stylised rendition of the sign. The sign has not been recognised by Szafranski, *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie* 24, 43; Halicki, *Archiv Orientalní* 20, 409; Vernus, *Edfou*, 6.

<sup>10</sup> For the close connection between these titles, cf. Fischer, *Egyptian Titles of the Middle Kingdom*<sup>2</sup>, 75 [1388]; Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux*, 38–9. On our stela, the first title in line 4 is damaged but certainly



l. Originally read incorrectly as mere *sš md3t* by Alliot, *Tell Edfou (1933)*, 29 [D, 2], he later corrected his reading (id., *BIFAO* 37, 102, n. 4), but the wrong one was retained by Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom*, under no. 1387 (‘FIFAO 10/2, p. 29’), beside the correct one under his no. 1388 (‘ArOr 20, 408’). The wrong reading was also taken over by Fischer, *Egyptian Titles of the Middle Kingdom*<sup>2</sup>, 75 [1387].

‘noble, dignitary’, as an epithet of the deified Isi,<sup>11</sup> and as the present stela was placed in Isi’s mastaba chapel, we can be certain that the inscription refers to him and this chapel. In an inscription from the same reign on Elephantine Island, the deified official Heqaib is similarly linked to the priest charged with his cult, again with use of a suffix pronoun: *s<sup>c</sup>h.f*, ‘his noble’.<sup>12</sup> Alliot proposed, with query, that *s<sup>c</sup>h.f* on Warsaw 141264 describes Isi as *Sbk-hnw*’s ‘saint’, but while Isi and Heqaib rose in effect to saintly status, such a translation of *s<sup>c</sup>h* seems over-specific.<sup>13</sup> The same possessive use of the term is found in connection with priests of a *plurality* of nobles, evidently with no implication that the latter were all worshipped as ‘saints’. Stela Cairo CG 20026, for instance, again from the reign of Senwosret I, addresses all priests of the temple of Osiris in Abydos ‘performing rituals in there for their nobles’ (*jr<sup>r</sup>w ht jm.f n s<sup>c</sup>h.sn*).<sup>14</sup> Also, the attestations of *s<sup>c</sup>h* as epithet of Isi<sup>15</sup> juxtapose it with *Btj*, ‘vizier’, used likewise as an epithet. This reinforces the suggestion that *s<sup>c</sup>h* must here, and indeed for Heqaib, carry its usual meaning, simply denoting a man, dead or alive, of elevated status.

Epigraphic features provide the clearest indication for the date of the present monument, as the closest comparisons are offered by stelae from the early years of Senwosret I. These features include the spelling of the toponym *Ddw* with double *d* after the *dd* sign; the expansion of Osiris’ epithet *nb 3bdw* with *m swt.f nbt nfrwt*, ‘in all his beautiful places’ (here unusually adding *nt pt*, ‘of the sky’); the extension of a kinship term (here *hmt.f*, ‘his wife’) with *mryt.f nt st jb.f*, ‘his heartfelt beloved’; and also the shapes of such signs as the bird head in line 2 (curved beak tip, broad neck base), the *w<sup>c</sup>b* sign in line 3 (with two wide water curves), and the ‘muscular’ *k3* sign in the same line. More typical of Eleventh Dynasty palaeography is the *mnht* sign in line 2, exhibiting three vertical fringe strands instead of two, but some examples can still be quoted from the reign of Senwosret I.<sup>16</sup> Maternal filiation is expressed with *jr.n*,

<sup>11</sup> This includes stela Warsaw 141262 (fig. 7) and naos Louvre E.20909 (fig. 8), jointly discussed further below as two works of one artist and of the same owner (temp. Sobekhotep IV). On both pieces, the principal offering formulae invoke *Jsj s<sup>c</sup>h Btj Js(j) ntr n<sup>r</sup> n<sup>h</sup>*, ‘Isi the dignitary and vizier, Isi the god, alive’. The fourth monument is offering table Louvre E.14410, where the owner is called ‘beloved of Isi the dignitary



and vizier’ (late Thirteenth Dynasty; see below, with n. 120). Note that, on the present stela, the *s<sup>c</sup>h*-goat was probably placed before the *pr* sign in order to use the available space to better effect; compare a similar arrangement in line 7, where the mother’s name *Jdw* has been written as *\*J-w-d*.

<sup>12</sup> Stela Aswan 1371 (*in situ*) of Sarenput I: *jrj-p<sup>t</sup> Hq3-jb s<sup>c</sup>h pn*, ‘the prince Heqaib, this noble’; see Habachi, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, 38, pl. 25, line x + ‘10’. In the same text, line x + ‘7’ states: *mr w<sup>c</sup>b smnh s<sup>c</sup>h.f r jt.f km3 styt.f*, which one might translate, more or less with Habachi, as ‘May a priest wish to benefit his (Heqaib’s) *dignity* more than (that of) his father who begot him (lit. who created his seed)’. However, based on comparison with line x + ‘10’ and with Warsaw 141264, it is preferable to interpret *s<sup>c</sup>h* again as ‘noble’ and to translate ‘May a priest wish to benefit his *noble* (= Heqaib) more than (benefiting) his father who begot him’. The latter interpretation approaches that favoured by Vernus, *Edfou*, 5 and 7 [c] (but see the next note).

<sup>13</sup> *Contra* Alliot, *BIFAO* 37, 102 [9], who has been followed by Vernus, *Edfou*, 5 and 7 [c] (‘*son saint patron*’).

<sup>14</sup> Compare the comments by Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib*, 132, n. 396, and 184.

<sup>15</sup> See n. 11 above.

<sup>16</sup> So, e.g., Cairo CG 20274, 20407, 20410, and offering table Leiden L.XI.15 (Boeser, *Beschreibung der aegyptischen Sammlung*, V, 5 [8], pl. 3 [8], wrongly catalogued as New Kingdom). CG 20012, with the same triple sign, is either from the very end of the Eleventh Dynasty or from the reign of Amenemhat I.

‘whom made’, whose use is first securely attested in the first half of the same king’s reign.<sup>17</sup>

### Warsaw 141261 (fig. 3)

This stela,<sup>18</sup> recovered from a deposit in room J of Isi’s mastaba, exhibits such striking similarities to the stela of *Sbk-hnw* that both were certainly designed by the same draughtsman, and possibly carved by the same sculptor (whether or not one man performed both tasks). The poses, attire and attributes of the human figures are closely repeated. Among the many distinct artistic hallmarks shared by these stelae are the men’s robust <sup>ꜥ</sup>*b3*-sceptres, the papyrus umbel crowning their staffs, the figures’ short arms (especially their lower arms), the dip at the back of the women’s wigs, the thinness of their hair tresses and shoulder straps, the high bottom edge of their dresses,<sup>19</sup> and the fact that the women clasp folded cloths.<sup>20</sup> But correspondences are not confined to the pictorial motifs. The inscription at the top repeats the unusual extension in the Osiris epithet *nb 3bdw m swt.f nbt nfrwt nt pt*, a predilection for filling strokes,<sup>21</sup> the oblique – not vertical – upper arms of the *dj* and <sup>ꜥ</sup> signs,<sup>22</sup> the *mnht* sign with three fringe strands,<sup>23</sup> the long backward extensions to the feet of the *w* and *s3* birds, the writing of *m3ꜥ-hrw* with horizontal *m3ꜥ* and vertical *hrw*, and very distinct renditions of the *mr* hoe, the *hm* sign (N 42 in *hmt*, ‘wife’) and a widely spaced vertical *s*. Like Warsaw 141264, the present stela must thus have been produced during the earlier part of the reign of Senwosret I.

Its shape, however, was not round-topped but originally like that of stela 141282: rectangular, low and broad. But again, while the stela preserves its full height, its right half has not survived. No doubt the woman in front once flanked a figure of her husband, the principal owner of the stela. The two would have formed a couple like that on the left, and like that on stela 141264. The first woman’s front arm is almost completely lost, but enough remains to determine that it did not hang down as with the woman on the left. Perhaps she

<sup>17</sup> It has been tentatively suggested that the term first appeared near that king’s year 32 (Obsomer in Cannuyer and Kruchten (eds.), *Individu, société et spiritualité*, notably pp. 180–1). However, there are certainly attestations of earlier date, based on style and/or prosopography, such as stelae London UC 14415 (Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings*, II, 13 [52], pl. 10 [2]), BM EA 187 (*HTBM* II, pl. 13 [right]), Cairo CG 20024 and 20172.

<sup>18</sup> Limestone. Height 35 cm, width 31 cm, thickness 12 cm. Alliot, *Tell Edfou (1933)*, 20 [3], 35 [18], pl. 19 [1]; id., *BIEAO* 37, 110 [25]; Vernus, *Edfou*, 10–11 [3], pl. 2 [a]; *Sztuka Egiptu: Polskie badania archeologiczne nad Nilem*, 24 [2] (by M. Dolińska), 45 [1], fig. 1 on 46.

<sup>19</sup> On 141261, the lower part of the fully preserved woman was never finished in carving, but note that the front line of her rear leg ends exactly where the bottom edge of the dress cross-sects it on 141264.

<sup>20</sup> As noted above, such cloths are normally held by men, rarely by women.

<sup>21</sup> The much larger stela 141264 more often offered space for such strokes, but the stelae share the unusual presence of a stroke in the *dj.f* group.

<sup>22</sup> On 141264, see *dj.f* in line 2 and *sm3ꜥ* in line 4. On 141261, see *dj.f* in line 1 (less pronounced) and *Rdj.s* in line 3.

<sup>23</sup> Already cited with reference to Warsaw 141264. Only two strands of this sign are preserved on Warsaw 141261, but from the leftward position of the *šs* sign above it (and itself largely destroyed), we need not doubt that a third strand was lost with the edge of the stela.

held up a lotus like the woman on 141264, but no traces of a flower appear in the extant area directly in front of her nose; more probably her hand rested on her husband's shoulder. Space before this couple would have accommodated a depiction of offerings, since originally the stela was certainly twice as wide as it is today.<sup>24</sup> This can be inferred from the surviving part of line 1 in the inscription above the figures. Its lost beginning must have matched line 1 of stela 141264, for the remainder agrees word for word with the latter's line 2. Thus, line 1 on 141261 may be restored to [*h̄tp dj nswt Wsjr nb Ddw ntr ʕ3 nb 3bdw*] *m swt.f nbt nfrwt nt pt dj.f prt-hrw t h̄nqt j̄hw 3pdw šs mnht*, '[An offering that the king gives and that Osiris gives, lord of Busiris, the great god, lord of Abydos] in all his beautiful places of the sky – may he give an invocation offering of bread, beer, beef, fowl, (ointment) alabasters, linen'.

The man whose figure has not survived no doubt represented the principal owner, identified in the offering formula as *Mr.n.f*, born of *Snt*. The extant part of the last line mentions a woman *Rdj.s* or [...]-*rdj.s*, who was almost certainly his wife and the woman depicted on the right.<sup>25</sup> The second couple represents their son, likewise called *Mr.n.f*, and his wife *Jpw*. None of the men are given titles. Perhaps they were close relations or colleagues of *Sbk-hnw*, given the identical artistic and archaeological origin of their stelae. It is even possible that both works were designed by *Sbk-hnw* himself, for, as a lector priest, he would have possessed the knowledge and documentation needed to get the hieroglyphic work and iconography correct, and it is a well-known fact that indeed many such priests were also active as draughtsmen.<sup>26</sup>

#### Warsaw 141265 (fig. 4)

This stela<sup>27</sup> is from another deposit in the mastaba of Isi, located in room A. As it seems, the owner of this piece was also himself called *Jsj*, as were some other men from Edfu of the Twelfth to Sixteenth Dynasties, all named in honour of the local Old Kingdom saint.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Vernus, *Edfon*, 10 [3], declares incorrectly that at the top one line of inscription was lost completely, along with a margin above it. In truth, while the artist left very little space between the decoration frame and the edges of the stela, most of this fragment's top, left and bottom edges are actually preserved. Vernus also states that the losses on the right must amount to no more than one and a half hieroglyphic squares and the first woman's front arm, but this implausibly presupposes a stela on which the principal owner himself was never depicted (see the next paragraph).

<sup>25</sup> It is possible that the wife's name has been lost and that *Rdj.s*/[...]-*rdj.s* formed part of a filiation naming her *mother*, but I think this unlikely. On stela 141264 by the same artist, the owner's wife lacks a filiation; the last line offered sufficient space for this, but the artist chose to fill it by expansively writing *h̄mt.f mryt.f nt st jb.f* (as opposed to *h̄mt.f mrt.f* on 141261). It seems likely that he typically used filiation phrases only for the principal owners of his works. Vernus, *Edfon*, 11 [d], suggests that *Rdj.s*/[...]-*rdj.s* is a *daughter* of the principal owner, as he assumes that her figure was never accompanied by a male's, but see the previous note.

<sup>26</sup> Vernus in *Hommages à François Daumas*, 590; id., *BSFÉ* 119, 39; Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux*, 38–9, 125–6.

<sup>27</sup> Limestone. Height 54 cm, width 31 cm, thickness 7 cm. Alliot, *Tell Edfou (1933)*, 19 [1], 31 [9], pl. 15 [4] (caption confused with that of pl. 18 [1]); id., *BIFAO* 37, 105 [16]; Szafranski, *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie* 24, 55–7, fig. 17; Vernus, *Edfon*, 49–52 [17], pl. 1 [a]; Majewska, A. *Religia i sztuka starożytnego Egiptu*, 32 [93], fig. on 28 (wrongly as 141279); M. Dolińska in Dobrowolski (ed.), *Galeria sztuki starożytnej*, 90 [I.100].

<sup>28</sup> Other local men called *Jsj* are known from a Wadi Hammamat inscription of the time of Senwosret I (Cuyat and Montet, *Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques*, 64–6 [87], pl. 20; Vernus, *Edfon*, 379 [I]), a

However, had the stela not been found in a documented excavation, no internal evidence could have suggested that it actually stood in Edfu. The offering formula invokes only ‘Osiris, lord of Busiris, the great god, lord of Abydos’, and the stela is not, in fact, a local product. Style and epigraphic features are unparalleled in Edfu, instead linking the stela to a well-attested workshop that was active in Abydos. It flourished around the time of King Khendjer of the early Thirteenth Dynasty. Much if not all of the workshop’s output derives from one draughtsman and one sculptor, who may or may not have been a single individual, and there can be no doubt that Warsaw 141265 belongs to the same artistic dossier.<sup>29</sup> Of the many hall-marks and other uncommon features of this workshop, a good number recur on our stela. They include the exceptional relative width of horizontal signs and of the sign squares; the spelling of *Ddw* with linked *dd* columns; the spelling of *3bdw* as *\*3b-dw-b* without a *w*-chick;<sup>30</sup> the use of a plural determinative not only after *jh̄w 3pdw* but also, unusually, after *t h̄nqt*; the choice of pellets instead of strokes to mark the plural;<sup>31</sup> the highly distinctive *k3* sign with large triangular shoulders; the antithetic bisectioning of text in the offering formula (here with the last line). The offerings on the tables have been depicted quite differently, but the

presently unlocated stela from the time of Sobekhotep IV (Alliot, *Tell Edfou (1933)*, 19, 33 [13], pl. 17 [2]; id., *BIFAO* 37, 108 [20]; Vernus, op. cit., 80–3 [26], pl. 15); statue Louvre E.14330 of somewhat later date (Delange, *Catalogue des statues égyptiennes du Moyen Empire*, 72–5; Vernus, op. cit., 35–8 [11], pls. 9–10) and from a privately owned stela from the late Thirteenth/Sixteenth Dynasty (Engelbach, *ASAE* 22, 122–3; Vernus, op. cit., 150–2 [47], pl. 2 [b]). Another, more commonly attested name to the same effect is *Ntr-Jsj / Jsj-ntr* (references with Ranke, *PN* I, 46 [8], II, 344 [ad 46, 8], and Vernus, op. cit., 1099–1100).

<sup>29</sup> The workshop’s oeuvre includes also stelae Bologna KS.1911 (Bresciani, *Le stele egiziane*, 28–9 [5], pl. 8); Boston 72.768 (Leprohon, *Stelae*, I, 6–8; Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, ÆIN 964 (Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God*, ANOC 59.2; Jørgensen, *Catalogue: Egypt*, I, 190–1 [79]); Cairo CG 20059, 20120, 20192, 20257, 20402, 20436, 20596, 20612, 20730, 20735; Durham N.1938 (Birch, *Catalogue of the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities at Almwick Castle*, 272–3, without ill.), N.1947 (ibid., 280–2, pl. 13 facing p. 281); Leiden AP.43 (Boeser, *Beschreibung der ägyptischen Sammlung*, II, 8 [25], pl. 21 [25]); Liverpool, Garstang Museum E.78 (unpublished); Liverpool, World Museum 55.82.116 and M.13927 (both unpublished); London, Soane’s Museum M.447 (Davoli in Pernigotti (ed.), *Aegyptiaca Bononiensia*, I, 85, 90–3, pl. 4); Oxford QC 1113 (Smither and Dakin, *JEA* 25, 163–5 [4], pl. 21 [4]); Louvre E.20150 (Moret, *Catalogue du Musée Guimet*, 13–5 [C 7], pl. 6); Trento 5220 (von Bissing, *Z.ÄS* 40, 118–20); Tübingen 457 (Brunner-Traut and Brunner, *Die ägyptische Sammlung*, 83–4, pl. 53); Vienna ÄS 104, 132, 191, 197, 198 (all published in Hein and Satzinger, *Stelen des Mittleren Reiches*, I); Zagreb no. 5 (Koller 591; Monnet Saleh, *Les antiquités égyptiennes de Zagreb*, 16–7 [5]) and a currently unlocated stela fragment (Peet, *Cemeteries of Abydos*, II, 116 [15], fig. 75). Different types of objects decorated by the same hand are an altar in the Aswan Museum (Habachi, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, 81–4 [55], pls. 137–8), receptacle Florence 2270 (Guidotti, *Vasi dall’epoca protodinastica al Nuovo Regno*, 163 [210]; same owner as Louvre E.20150!), statue Leiden F 1938/7.25 (unpublished), and statue Richmond 65-10 (Mayo, *Ancient Art: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts*, 12–3). It is highly likely that the draughtsman (*sš-qdwt*) behind all these pieces is the *Ddw-Sbk* named with that title on three of the objects in this artistic dossier: he is the owner of Cairo CG 20596 and dedicator of stelae CG 20059 and Durham N.1938 (add the latter to Franke, *Personendaten*, Dossier 749, and delete Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, ÆIN 967); no other artist (*sš-qdwt* or *gnwtj/qstj*) appears on any of these monuments. A full discussion of the workshop’s oeuvre and social context is in preparation by the present author.

<sup>30</sup> And if the city determinative is present, it follows that group instead of joining the *dw* between the *3b* and *b* (as found with certain other artists and workshops).

<sup>31</sup> Uncommon but noted on three more stelae from this workshop, viz. Cairo CG 20730; Liverpool, Garstang Museum E.78; and Vienna ÄS 197. For bibliography, see n. 29 above. As it happens, pellets also follow *jh̄w 3pdw* on stela Warsaw 141263, discussed hereafter, but that piece is otherwise unrelated.

human figures exhibit the same jagged contours, high shoulders, and elongated proportions, as well as a tendency for their torsos to lean in one direction.

Unsurprisingly, as the workshop was located at Abydos, most of its products have been found in the great necropolis of that town. However, we must conclude that *Jsj* picked up his stela on a journey past Abydos, not for erection there but in the cemetery of his home town. Rather than eternally attending Osiris' annual festivals, he preferred the proximity of his local saint. *Jsj*'s visit to Abydos may well have been brief and occasioned by a business trip, much more than a pilgrimage. That he obtained his stela there may be another indication that, at the time, there was no permanent sculptors' workshop in Edfu itself. As it happens, the same Abydos craftsman is recognisable in a monument discovered even further south, on Elephantine Island. A decorated altar found there bears all the marks of his distinctive hand.<sup>32</sup> Thriving sculptors' workshops did exist on Elephantine, but the altar is made of limestone, a material not available in the region. Like *Jsj*'s stela, the altar was found at the shrine of a local Sixth Dynasty nomarch who had been deified after his death – in this case Heqaib. The parallel does not end there. On the Warsaw stela we read that *Jsj* was a *wr mdw Šmꜥw*, 'chief of tens of Upper Egypt'. The man who commissioned the altar, a certain *Sbk-ḥtp*, held the same office, and so did his father and father's father. *Sbk-ḥtp*'s father was called *Snꜥ-jb*; he does not only figure prominently on the altar of his son but is also attested, as it happens, in Edfu, where he left a sandstone chapel and naos with statue.<sup>33</sup> The offering formula on the chapel solely invokes the Elephantine goddesses Satis and Anukis, the latter of whom is also honoured in the name of *Snꜥ-jb*'s mother: *Ddt-ꜥnqt*. This leaves no doubt that Elephantine was the family's place of residence. Thus, *Jsj* and *Sbk-ḥtp*, occupying the same office but linked to different, contiguous nomes, both visited Abydos, engaged the services of the same artist, and then took their monuments for set-up in their respective home towns: Edfu and Elephantine. It is unclear where *Snꜥ-jb* obtained his own set of monuments, discovered in Edfu. As noted, the chapel is made of sandstone, which points to southern Egypt, yet its style of decoration – the naos has none – is unparalleled in Edfu or Elephantine. It hints rather at an artist from one of the great production centres further north, perhaps again Abydos. It is likely that *Jsj* knew *Sbk-ḥtp* and *Snꜥ-jb*. That all three 'chiefs of tens of Upper Egypt' travelled up and down the Nile may well relate to duties that these officials would have had towards the bureau of the vizier.<sup>34</sup>

*Jsj* may not have had much time to await completion of his stela, for this was certainly done in haste. Much of the draughtsman's outline sketch was never carved by the sculptor who finished the piece. Sporadic traces of the drawing work remain, chiefly near the top and

<sup>32</sup> Now in the Aswan Museum; see Habachi, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, 81–4 [55], pls. 137–8.

<sup>33</sup> Chapel Cairo TR 27/2/21/19 (JE 38998) and naos TR 27/2/21/20; see Legrain, *ASAE* 3, who does not mention the naos, and Vernus, *Edfou*, 401–6 [XIII], pls. 76–7. The statue itself has apparently not been found. On *Snꜥ-jb*, see Franke, *Personendaten*, Dossier 605 (the chapel's door jambs are their misnamed as architraves). A statue of the same man, Boston 14.721, has been found at Kerma, no doubt brought there by Kushite soldiers who raided Egypt during the late Sixteenth or early Seventeenth Dynasty (cf. below, with n. 158). The Boston statue is too large to fit inside the Edfu naos, but it may originally have stood near the altar on Elephantine Island.

<sup>34</sup> On the connections between the bureau of the vizier and the officials called *wr mdw Šmꜥw*, see the remarks by Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux*, 87.

bottom, but where the paint has completely faded, the former existence of certain details can be suspected from the strangeness of their absence. The sculptor did not bother to carve the register baselines, the lines which divided up the inscription at the top and those which framed the entire decoration. In the lunette, he neither carved the pupils of the *udjat*-eyes nor the base of the *shen*-ring. Some hieroglyphs he carved only in part, such as the  $\text{C3}$  sign in line 1 or the final *j* in *Jsj*'s name (line 3). Certain other hieroglyphs he did not touch at all, such as the trivial filling stroke that must have stood below the city determinative of *Ddw*, as with *3bdw*. The sculptor even abandoned carving the name of *Jsj*'s wife, only completing the initial *j* – what followed was left to stand in paint alone and has now faded, and so the rest of her name remains unknown. There is also at present no caption to the man at the bottom right. With the human figures, only random bits of interior detail were touched with the chisel, never including the facial features, while in places parts of their exterior outlines are also missing. Cloths draped over the backs of two chairs are too short in front, while the third chair has even lost the back support itself. Ovoid drink vessels with pointed stoppers once flanked the lowest table stand as in the adjacent register, but today there only remain washes of red paint, bordered by faint outlines in black. This dearth of sculptural finish is unparalleled in the carver's extensive oeuvre, which suggests he was not so much incompetent as greatly pressed for time. These facts are reconcilable with the suggestion that the stela was not intended for set-up in Abydos, for then more time would anyway have been required to prepare an offering chapel and tomb.

*Jsj* and his mysterious wife are depicted directly below the offering formula, he sitting on a chair, she on the ground and facing him. Two similar pairs of figures appear in the lower two registers, but with the males and females reversed, so that the former effectively face *Jsj*. The second pair is also a married couple. The man on the right, called *Sbk-ḥtp*, was *3tw C3 n nwt*, 'commander-in-chief of the town (regiment)'. His wife is called *Jnt-jt.s*. Two more people are named in the same register but not depicted: a 'guard' (*šmsw*) *Dd.tw*, and a married woman *K3stj*. The latter name, not otherwise attested, sounds un-Egyptian, perhaps suggesting Nubian descent. The bottom register names two other married women: *Snb-r.s* and *Rdjt.n.s-n<.j>*,<sup>35</sup> the latter not depicted. As noted above, the man on the right has no surviving caption. None of the people named on this monument can be traced in other sources, and the relationships between them are mostly unclear. It has been suggested, with reservation, that the *3tw C3 n nwt Sbk-ḥtp* might be the same as one attested on stela Cairo CG 20086,<sup>36</sup> but this is unlikely. As shall be demonstrated elsewhere, the latter stela is from a workshop active shortly after the reign of Sobekhotep IV, some forty years after the present piece was made.

<sup>35</sup> The hieroglyphic transcription by Alliot, *Tell Edfou (1933)*, 32 [9, g], and id., *BIFAO* 37, 105 [16], shows only damage after the *s*, and Vernus, *Edfou*, 50, chose simply to read the name as *Rd.t.n.s*, which is indeed also attested. However, a terminal *n* is clearly visible in our plate. It cannot be seen in Alliot, *Tell Edfou (1933)*, pl. 15 [4], which is too small, nor in Szafranski, *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie* 24, 56, fig. 17, due to bad lighting (straight from the left, which obscures most horizontal lines).

<sup>36</sup> Franke, *Personendaten*, Dossier 574.

**Warsaw 141263** (fig.5)

This stela<sup>37</sup> is another from the deposit in room J of Isi's mastaba. Curiously, it bears not one but two offering formulae for the same man, both invoking Ptah-Sokar-Osiris. The formula on the right, however, adds the epithet 'lord of Ankhtawy', whereas that on the left adds 'Horus of Behdet'. The commemorated man sits on a chair, facing a table with elongated bread loaves. An oil vessel stands below it, while above it are depicted two mats covered with numerous further offerings. On the upper one, the centre is occupied by a vertical loaf of bread, which combines with the mat to resemble the *hṭp* sign. The lower mat is covered with an alternation of lettuces and drink vessels, a popular design during the first half of the Thirteenth Dynasty (compare the previous stela).

The owner is identified as an *jrj ʿ3 n ʿt ḥnk(w)t*, 'doorkeeper of the chamber of incoming goods'. As such he would have been a palace official, involved with one of its provisioning 'chambers'. He has the rare name *Kmḥw* and is well known from other monuments, of which he is always the principal owner.<sup>38</sup> Their style and a web of prosopographical connections date his career around the time of Kings Sobekhotep III and Neferhotep I. *Kmḥw* is attested at Abydos by stela Cairo CG 20725, statue CG 482, and by a shabti that has long been without trace but briefly resurfaced in an auction at Drouot, Paris, in 1997.<sup>39</sup> He is also known from a black granite stela in the British Museum (EA 506), which is unusually decorated on all sides as well as on top; it, too, is almost certainly from Abydos, where *Kmḥw* – in view of the shabti – was evidently buried. The Abydene monuments all assign to him the title *jrj-ʿt sbʿy (n ʿt ḥnkwt)*, 'chamber keeper and instructor (of the chamber of incoming goods)'. The element *sbʿy* is attested for no one else as part of the present title. Some Egyptologists have translated it as 'apprentice', but more likely it means 'instructor' in view of *Kmḥw*'s apparent wealth. The Warsaw stela is the only object which calls him, not a 'chamber keeper', but 'door-keeper' of the *ʿt ḥnkwt*. The somewhat lower title implies that Warsaw 141263 is his earliest surviving monument. That it should have been found in Edfu, dedicated by *Kmḥw* in the 'shrine' of a local saint *before* he completed a tomb in Abydos, suggests that *Kmḥw* came from Edfu originally – which clearly did not prevent his career in the central government. In fact, despite its discovery in Edfu, even the Warsaw stela may have a northern artistic origin, for its style is much less paralleled by other finds from Edfu.

It is noteworthy that a 'brother' (*sn*), like *Kmḥw* employed in the palace provisioning sector, had the theophorous name *Hr-Rʿ*,<sup>40</sup> assimilating the god of Edfu with the Heliopolitan Ra. On the present stela, *Hr-Rʿ* is named without title under *Kmḥw*'s chair, but he recurs on BM EA 506, where we learn that he was an *jrj-ʿt n ʿh*, 'chamber-keeper of the palace'. It is somewhat surprising that *Hr-Rʿ* should be the only person named on Warsaw 141263 apart from *Kmḥw* himself, but the latter apparently never married; no wife or children of his are

<sup>37</sup> Limestone. Height 33 cm, width 22 cm, thickness 5 cm. Alliot, *Tell Edfou (1933)*, 20 [1], 35 [20], pl. 18 [2]; id., *BIFAO* 37, 111 [27]; Szafranski, *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie* 24, 43–5, fig. 11; Vernus, *Edfou*, 18–9 [6], pl. 4; Majewska and Dolińska, *Wierzenia grobowe starożytnych Egipcjan*, no. 53, fig. on [15]; M. Dolińska in Dobrowolski (ed.), *Galeria sztuki starożytnej*, 91–2 [1.103].

<sup>38</sup> Conveniently brought together in Franke, *Personendaten*, Dossier 717.

<sup>39</sup> See catalogue Drouot [auctioneers], *Archéologie*, 102 [714] (auctioned on 30 September 1997).

<sup>40</sup> Franke, *Personendaten*, Dossier 784.

named on any of his objects.

### Warsaw 141487 (fig. 6)

This fragment preserves part of the right side of an offering table<sup>41</sup> and is another purchase of Michałowski's from a dealer in Edfu; the year of acquisition is uncertain but 'possibly 1938'.<sup>42</sup> Originally two offering formulae ran antithetically along the outer edges, departing from the middle at the back edge and ending either side of the spout that would have been present at the centre front. Only part of the right-hand formula survives, reading [...] *qbḥw sntr mrḥt n k3 [n ...]*, '[...] cool water, incense and ointment for the *ka* [of ...]'.<sup>43</sup> Two symmetrically arranged rectangular basins were present near the front edge; a trace of one is visible at the bottom of the fragment, where the surface slopes inward. The inner area adjacent to these basins was covered with depictions of offerings against a slightly sunk background. Of these there remain a bovine foreleg, a round loaf and, at the upper left, a curved element that must be the spout of a tall water vessel. The offerings are placed on a reed-mat. No doubt its centre was occupied by a tapering loaf of bread which combined with the mat to form the *htp* sign, thus evoking the notion of 'offerings'. Horizontal lines of inscription frame this representation. The traces at the top I am at a loss to interpret. Those at the bottom read [...] *j m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw*, the *j* being the end of a name (*Hrj?*), not necessarily that of the principal owner himself.<sup>44</sup>

With so little of the monument preserved, it is difficult to suggest a precise date. I know of no striking parallels for its overall design, but the palaeography of the hieroglyphs seems to favour a Thirteenth rather than Twelfth Dynasty date. Features of note include the hollow *ḥ* with just its upper loop clearly defined, the lack of details at the top of the *mrḥt* jar (where one expects some indication of the seal with tied ends), and also the 'cross-hatched' *n* signs; all of these became common during the first half of the Thirteenth Dynasty.<sup>45</sup> The accidental reversal of some sign groups (*m3<sup>c</sup>* in *m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw*, and the whole of *mrḥt*<sup>46</sup>) seems to point in the same direction.

<sup>41</sup> Limestone. Length 11.5 cm, width 17 cm, thickness 5 cm. Rekucki, *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie* 21, 60–1 [4], fig. 43.

<sup>42</sup> Personal communication from Monika Dolińska.

<sup>43</sup> All that remains of the *k3* sign is a trace of one hand.

<sup>44</sup> Rekucki, *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie* 21, 61, reads here falsely the word *jm3*. The hieroglyph below *m3* is not the *jm* but *m3<sup>c</sup>* sign. The spelling of *m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw* with book-roll determinative is unexpected, but this was solely employed to fill the terminal space; had this space been slightly wider, an *w* would have been preferred.

<sup>45</sup> For the treatment of the *n*, compare, e.g., stela Warsaw 141262, discussed hereafter.

<sup>46</sup> Reversal of the *mr* sign alone is not uncommon, but here this affected the rest of the word below it.

**Warsaw 141262** (fig. 7)

This stela<sup>47</sup> stood in a niche in the south wall of room J. Two men, the principal owners, are represented at the top. Their figures mirror one another exactly, both being seated on high-backed chairs and sharing their hairstyle, attire and pose. The strong insistence on symmetry also applies to the offerings laid on a reed-mat between the men; round loaves alternate with conical ones, flanked by two stylised bundles of spring onions. Most of the space above the mat is occupied by an inscription panel. This encloses two antithetic offering formulae, each for the benefit of one man. Both formulae depart from one central group of signs that spell the opening words *ḥtp dj nswt*. Interestingly, the artist arranged these signs in the preferred writing direction from right to left, but he placed them in the first column of the formula that reads from left to right, alerting the reader that the group does duty in both directions. He also realised that, while the *t*, *dj* and *ḥtp* signs are all conveniently symmetrical and so admit of both reading directions, the same is not true of a normal *sw* sign (𓂛). It prompted him to adjust the latter's shape by simply doubling its curving tip: 𓂛. This curious variant is twice repeated in the stela's lower registers.<sup>48</sup> We shall shortly have occasion to discuss it in greater detail, because the artist saw fit to use it elsewhere as well. As for the present register, let it be noted that both its formulae invoke the deified nomarch Isi, and no other god beside him.<sup>49</sup> This neatly reflects the stela's findspot, even though many other finds from Isi's mastaba do not actually invoke him. The formula on the left calls him 'the vizier Isi, the god, alive', that on the right 'Isi, the noble'.

The man on the left is identified as *Hr-ꜥ3*, a palace official who held the post of *smsw ḥ3yt*, 'elder of the portal', and born of a woman *Rn-snb*. A horizontal line directly above the offering mat makes clear that it is he who commissioned the stela; in this manner, *Hr-ꜥ3* 'keeps alive the name' of the man depicted on the right, of whom he was a son. The father was called *Hr-ḥtp* and a military figure who served as *šḥd šmsww*, 'inspector of guards'; like his son, he had probably close connections to the palace. *Hr-ḥtp*'s filiation mentions his mother *Fndt*, but the hieroglyphs forming her name have been chaotically arranged. Below her title *nbt pr*, 'lady of the house', the artist could only fit in the *f*. Eager to keep the following signs within the inscription panel, he crammed them into a tiny space still extant at the bottom of the

<sup>47</sup> Limestone. Height 52 cm, width 33 cm, thickness 7 cm. Alliot, *Tell Edfou (1933)*, 15 [c], 30–1 [6], pls. 7 [3, right], 18 [1] (caption confused with that of pl. 15 [4]); id., *BIFAO* 37, 103–4 [13]; Michałowski, *Sztuka starożytna*, 177; Szafranski, *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie* 24, 58–60, fig. 18; id. in Eggebrecht (ed.), *Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum*, 136–42; Vernus, *Edfou*, 63–8 [23], pl. 13; *Sztuka Egiptu: Polskie badania archeologiczne nad Nilem*, 24 [4] (by M. Dolińska), 45 [2], 47, fig. 2; M. Dolińska in Dobrowolski (ed.), *Galeria sztuki starożytnej*, 90–1 [I.101].

<sup>48</sup> Fig. 7 shows this form of the sign less clearly in the register immediately below, but see other photographs where the angle of lighting is different, notably Szafranski in Eggebrecht (ed.), *Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum*, fig. on 142, and *Sztuka Egiptu: Polskie badania archeologiczne nad Nilem*, 47, fig. 2.

<sup>49</sup> For reasons of economy, further offering formulae in the lower registers have been reduced to the *ḥtp dj nswt* phrase, followed immediately by *n k3 n*. They may probably be regarded as abbreviated recaps, where the invocation of Isi remains intended but has been left implicit.

*preceding* column, below the plural dots that conclude *Hr-ḥtp*'s title;<sup>50</sup> he made these final signs face right to show the inverted direction of reading. It would have been better to omit the *nbt pr* title or to put the final signs outside the inscription panel, in a short extra column on the right, but the artist employed that space to write <3> *m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw*. This is a misplaced – and quite needless – continuation of the aforementioned dedication phrase above the offering mat, ending as it does with the mention of *Hr-ḥ*.

The next register down is likewise antithetically organised. The dominant position on the left, hence matching that of *Hr-ḥ*, is occupied by a married woman (*nbt pr*) called *Nbw-m-s3*. From the inscriptions it can be deduced that not only was she *Hr-ḥ*'s wife but also his paternal half-sister. This is an irrefutable example of brother-sister marriage outside the royal sphere. That the couple were half-siblings is shown by a double filiation phrase in which the mother of *Nbw-m-s3* is identified as one *Rddt* (not *Rn-snb*, the mother of *Hr-ḥ*), and her father as the 'inspector of guards' *Hr-ḥtp* (the father of *Hr-ḥ*). The marital link between *Hr-ḥ* and *Nbw-m-s3* is clear from the inscriptions adjoining two figures of younger women sitting in front of *Nbw-m-s3*. For one of them a filiation names the mother, *Nbw-m-s3*, and both are called daughters of the 'elder of the portal' *Hr-ḥ*. As a matter of fact, *Hr-ḥ* left two more stelae and a naos (fig. 8) with statue in the mastaba of Isi, and they corroborate his wedlock with *Nbw-m-s3*.<sup>51</sup>

*Rddt*, the mother of *Nbw-m-s3*, is nowhere depicted on *Hr-ḥ*'s monuments. She is only mentioned on Warsaw 141262, in the filiation of *Nbw-m-s3*, the latter being her sole recorded offspring. *Rn-snb*, in contrast, is fully present on our stela, sitting opposite *Nbw-m-s3*; like *Nbw-m-s3*'s position, that of *Rn-snb* matches her husband's (*Hr-ḥtp*) in the register above. As opposed to *Rddt*'s only child, *Rn-snb*'s offspring totalled no less than four sons (*Hr-ḥ* included) and two daughters.<sup>52</sup> These observations suggest that *Rddt* was *Hr-ḥtp*'s first wife but that she died prematurely, perhaps as she gave birth to *Nbw-m-s3*. Only of his second wife *Rn-snb* do we know the mother, whom a filiation phrase calls *Jt*.

We spoke already of two daughters of *Hr-ḥ* and *Nbw-m-s3* who are depicted in front of

<sup>50</sup> The dots are not so clear in our fig. 7, but see Szafrński in Eggebrecht (ed.), *Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum*, fig. on 142.

<sup>51</sup> Franke, *Personendaten*, Dossier 428, lists all known monuments of *Hr-ḥ*. For one of these stelae, with statue niche and lost since its transfer from Edfu to the Cairo museum in 1975, see Alliot, *Tell Edfou (1933)*, 19 [2, b], 33 [13], pl. 17 [2]; id., *BIFAO* 37, 108 [20]; Vernus, *Edfou*, 80–3 [26], pl. 15). *Nbw-m-s3* is there explicitly called *Hr-ḥ*'s 'wife', and once again she appears at far left, immediately below her husband (*Hr-ḥ* himself was represented by an inserted statuette). For the third stela, also lost since its 1975 transfer to Cairo, see Alliot, *Tell Edfou (1933)*, 19 [1, b], 32–3 [10], pl. 16 [2]; id., *BIFAO* 37, 106–7 [17]; Vernus, *Edfou*, 84–9 [27], pl. 16; id., *BSE* 119, 40, pl. 2). *Nbw-m-s3* stands there by *Hr-ḥ*'s side in receipt of offerings. On naos Louvre E.20909 (Alliot, *Tell Edfou (1933)*, 19 [1, c], 36–7 [1–2], pl. 17 [1]; id., *BIFAO* 37, 112–3 [30]; Vernus, *Edfou*, 69–77 [24]), she is named in the filiation of *Hr-ḥ*'s son *Nfr-ḥtp*; see fig. 8 [c] (*Nfr-ḥtp* figures also on the stela with niche cited at the beginning of this footnote). The statue that once must have stood inside the naos, but whose inscriptions name only *Hr-ḥ* and his parents, is Richmond 63-29 (de Meulenaere, *BIFAO* 69, 61–4, pls. 10–2; *Ancient Art in the Virginia Museum*, 28–9 [22]; Vernus, *Edfou*, 78–9 [25]).

<sup>52</sup> All *Hr-ḥ*'s brothers are represented on the Warsaw stela, in the bottom register, and two of them recur on the stela with niche first cited in the previous note. His two sisters are depicted on naos Louvre E.20909 (fig. 8 [c], bottom register). There is nothing to suggest that *Rn-snb* married also more than once, so probably all these children were engendered by *Hr-ḥtp*.

their mother. Their names are *Jw-n.s-jt<.s>* and *Nbt-sb3w*. In further demonstration of the artist's creativity with text orientation, he wrote the inscriptions concerning these daughters in retrograde columns – a most unusual device on sculptured monuments. He did this to make the hieroglyphs agree in orientation with that of the parents, even while the text had to run from left to right (from a *hṭp dj nswt* group shared with the caption to the mother), and despite one daughter facing left for layout symmetry. It is further noteworthy that both daughters are depicted as girls with their hair in plaits, even though the text identifies the two as married women (*nbt pr*). It might be thought that they married young, but the plaits may only betoken *comparative* youth. Three of the other monuments left by *Hr-ḥ3* depict his children – one son and three daughters in all. On two or perhaps all three of them, again they wear their hair in plaits, yet with no further suggestion that any of them had married then: neither are they given the *nbt pr* title, nor assigned any spouses or offspring (the same is true of Warsaw 141262).<sup>53</sup> However, on one of the inner faces of *Hr-ḥ3*'s naos (fig. 8 [c]), his two sisters also wear braids, and they too are identified as married women (*nbt pr*). On the same slab, his son *Nfr-hṭp* wears plaits and even holds a finger in his mouth – that archetypal pose of children – but is given a function title, inherited from his father: *smsw h3yt*. It is difficult to believe that function titles and the title for married women could be given in anticipation of future events, even on the same monument; neither practice has yet been attested otherwise. It thus here seems likelier that the iconography of children has only been loosely employed to mark a lower, not necessarily pre-marital, age than that of the principal owner.<sup>54</sup>

Of the four large figures in the bottom register, all except the one in front represent the brothers of *Hr-ḥ3*, born of *Rn-snb*. Two of them, *Hr-hṭp* (named after their father) and *Snb-mj-jw*, were 'town soldiers' (*ḥnh n nwt*). The third, *Rs-snb*, was a 'guard' (*šmsw*), which reminds us that his father had been an 'inspector of guards' (*shd šmsww*).

The man in front was a 'libationer' (*qbḥw*); no other source attests this title for the Middle Kingdom or Second Intermediate Period. There is no evidence to suggest that he was a relative of *Hr-ḥ3*, and he does not recur on the family's other monuments. Nor was he a colleague, as neither *Hr-ḥ3* nor his kin held jobs in the religious sphere. More likely this man was a local priest under contract with *Hr-ḥ3*, tasked with performing libation rites before the latter's stelae and statues. Probably, the priest's inclusion on the stela was in part a reward for his services, and in part proof of a binding business agreement. He was called *Jt(.j)*, born of a woman \**Ddt-Tnn(?)*.<sup>55</sup> The signs after the introductory *n k3 n* group were partly rubbed

<sup>53</sup> One of *Hr-ḥ3*'s other stelae (Alliot, *Tell Edfou* (1933), 19 [2, b], 33 [13], pl. 17 [2]; id., *BIFAO* 37, 108 [20]; Vernus, *Edfou*, 80–3 [26], pl. 15) shows all four of his children, all wearing plaits. Naos Louvre E.20909 (Alliot, *Tell Edfou* (1933), 19 [1, c], 36–7 [1–2], pl. 17 [1]; id., *BIFAO* 37, 112–3 [30]; Vernus, *Edfou*, 69–77 [24]; our fig. 8) depicts only his son, again with plaits, and with a finger in his mouth. The son and two of the daughters reappear on the third stela (Alliot, *Tell Edfou* (1933), 19 [1, b], 32–3 [10], pl. 16 [2]; id., *BIFAO* 37, 106–7 [17]; Vernus, *Edfou*, 84–9 [27], pl. 16; id., *BSFÉ* 119, 40, pl. 2), but there their iconography cannot unfortunately be verified, as the stela is currently unlocated and the relevant fragment has never been adequately illustrated.

<sup>54</sup> For another male depicted rather like a child (holding hands with his sister) but with a function title (*sš*, 'scribe'), see the discussion below of stela Warsaw 141281 (fig. 15).

<sup>55</sup> Ranke, *PN* II, 333 [19], with n. 3, considered the possibility that here we might have a variant writing of the name *Ddt-Tnj*, in which case this woman would have been from Elephantine; for *Tnj*, 'the elevated one', as designation for the deified Heqaib, see Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib*, 140, 209. However, the reading

out, and the last ones are so crude as to be illegible. Rather puzzling are also two signs carved above *Jt(j)*'s foot, right under the filiation of the man behind him – the younger *Hr-ḥtp*.

Vernus has taken these signs for an *f* and erroneous  instead of ; he views them as part of the libationer's name, reading this as *Jt.j-rs*.<sup>56</sup> What argues against his proposal is that the signs would be placed out of sequence, and *rs* cannot be written without the *rs*

sign itself ().<sup>57</sup> Instead, the two signs seem to be ; the flattened *d* mimics the hieratic form, encountered occasionally in hieroglyphic texts. In fact, there can be no doubt that the signs belong to the caption concerning *Hr-ḥtp*; this follows not only from their position but

from the presence of signs before his head that must be the text's continuation: . Taken together, the signs suggest the reading *dd <n> .f*, 'also known as' (lit. '<to> whom is said'), followed by an elusive name whose spelling looks corrupted. Interestingly, one of the other *Hr-ḥ* stelae bears a crude secondary inscription that likewise supplies a person's second name, again introduced by *dd n.f*.<sup>58</sup>

But who is represented in the minuscule figure on the far left, squeezed so discreetly into one of the little boxes that are normally meant for text concerning the figures underneath? Here, too, we encounter a man without stated kinship ties to the family of *Hr-ḥ*, and just like *Jt(j)*, he does not return on the other monuments of *Hr-ḥ*. Called *Tnn* and born of a woman *Ddj*, he is identified as a *sš ntr*, 'god's scribe' – another job in the religious sphere. It thus seems likely that *Tnn*'s presence, like that of *Jt(j)*, was in acknowledgement of services he rendered to *Hr-ḥ*. *Tnn*'s title classifies him as a scribe of religious writings. Rarely attested, it is undoubtedly a short form of the title *sš md3t-ntr*, 'scribe of divine scripture'.<sup>59</sup> The latter was held by lector priests, and it is important to recall that, as guardians of sacral hieroglyphic culture, these often worked also as draughtsmen.<sup>60</sup> Indeed, I would suggest that *Tnn* was

on our stela is far from certain and the name may continue further down; the terminal signs, rather than representing the epithet *m3t-ḥrw*, would seem to include an *f*. As it happens, this stela names also a man called *Tnn*; see the next paragraph.

<sup>56</sup> Vernus, *Edfou*, 66, 68 [I].

<sup>57</sup> Compare the spelling of the same word on the far left in this register, as part of the name *Rs-snb*.

<sup>58</sup> See the stela with niche, concerning a 'cupbearer' (*wdpw*) who carries offerings to a table: Alliot, *Tell Edfou (1933)*, 33 [13], pl. 17 [2]; id., *BIFAO* 37, 108 [20]; Vernus, *Edfou*, 80–3 [26], pl. 15. The man's formal name is to be read as *M3t-ḥrw-Hr*, but his second name remains a puzzle due to the poor style of carving, apart from an initial *h*.

<sup>59</sup> On *sš md3t-ntr*, see Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom*, no. 1388; Fischer, *Egyptian Titles of the Middle Kingdom*, 75 [1388]; Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux*, 38–9. On *sš ntr*, see Ward, op. cit., no. 1396, adding stela Leiden AP.70 (Boeser, *Beschreibung der ägyptischen Sammlung*, II, pl. 30 [40]; Simpson, *Terrace of the Great God*, ANOC 37.2), while deleting 'RT 12, 13' (Vienna ÄS 142; *ntr* belongs to the name *Ntr-j-pw*), BMMA 28/II, 15, fig. 16' and 'Guimet C4' (cast of stela Rennes 871.8.1; this and the previous item are both really examples of Ward's no. 1388). Another short variant of *sš md3t-ntr* is the title *sš md3wt*, 'scribe of books', for which see Ward, op. cit., no. 1387; Fischer, op. cit., 75 [1387] (but delete Fischer's reference to 'FIFAO 10/2, p. 29' = Warsaw 141264; see n. 10 above).

<sup>60</sup> Cf. n. 26 above.

the artist who designed the present stela. His unobtrusive figure, with tiny separate offering formula, is in effect his signature.

This stela is not the only work that can be attributed to *Tnn*. From a wealth of recurrent diagnostic features, his hand is apparent in other monuments. Before discussing these features, it is convenient to list the monuments concerned. To begin with, our artist not only decorated Warsaw 141262 but all the known monuments of *Hr-ʿ3*, as cited already, with one apparent exception: his stela with statue niche. The pieces that do compare favourably with Warsaw 141262 are a third stela, a statue naos (figs. 8 [a–d]) and the statue itself.<sup>61</sup> All were set up in the mastaba of Isi, who is invoked on most of his pieces.<sup>62</sup> The second and third stelae of *Hr-ʿ3* are both dated to year 8 of Sobekhotep IV.<sup>63</sup> These year dates, highly unusual for a Thirteenth Dynasty monument, establish the time of manufacture for the entire group of objects, which *Hr-ʿ3* may well have commissioned on a single occasion. It holds no surprise that an artist should have worked on various pieces for the same customer. More remarkably, no other finds from Edfu bear his mark. This may well indicate that the artist was based – or normally based – at some other location. Perhaps he had briefly come to Edfu to work only, or chiefly, for *Hr-ʿ3*, but it is more probable that the monuments themselves were brought from elsewhere, all finished and ready for set-up; the practice is amply demonstrable for other monuments, especially at Abydos, and is also textually documented.<sup>64</sup> Based on other finds from Edfu, we have already noted more than once an apparent lack of regular sculpture workshops in Edfu itself *before* the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty. True, the family of *Hr-ʿ3* was certainly native to this town, as shown by their names in honour of Horus and by his wish to leave a major stamp on the shrine of a local saint. Still, it must be recalled that *Hr-ʿ3*, if not his father, held posts connected to the palace. *Hr-ʿ3* could thus have obtained his monuments from a workshop in the Memphis–Fayum region, or in Abydos on a southward journey to his home town.

Tantalising support for this idea comes from yet another stela, which does not belong to *Hr-ʿ3* but which, as shown in the next paragraph, was clearly made by our artist as well: Tübingen 463 (fig. 9).<sup>65</sup> It has no documented provenance, but none of its content points to Edfu; instead it was most probably discovered in Abydos. Although the stela bears no less than six offering formulae, they all invoke either Osiris or his syncretistic alter ego Ptah-Sokar. Commemorated on the stela are fifteen people, whose names and titles point also to northern, not southern, Egypt. Of five theophorous names, three are in honour of Ptah and a fourth of Bastet, both deities from the north. Only the fifth name honours Horus, reading

<sup>61</sup> For bibliography and locations of these items, see n. 51 above.

<sup>62</sup> His name is only missing from the stela with niche (which has no offering formula). On the third stela (see notably Vernus, *BSE* 119, pl. 2), he was mentioned at the lost end of the first line of the main offering formula and at the beginning of the next line: [*Jsj ntr*] *ʿnh*.

<sup>63</sup> The king's identity is only preserved on the stela with niche, but can with confidence be restored on the other one.

<sup>64</sup> Most famously on an Abydos stela from the reign of Amenemhat III, London BM EA 101 (Blackman, *JEA* 21, 4–5, pl. 1; Strudwick, *Masterpieces*, 94–5).

<sup>65</sup> Limestone. Height 63 cm, width 42.5 cm. See Brunner-Traut and Brunner, *Die ägyptische Sammlung*, 92–3, pl. 60.

apparently  $\overline{Hr}<-m>-hb$ ;<sup>66</sup> this name was, however, in widespread use. While none of the individuals on Tübingen 463 are connected by kinship terms, they were clearly connected through work at least. Five of them were ‘store overseers’ ( $jmj-r st$ ; twice linked explicitly to the  $\textit{t hnqt}$ , ‘chamber of beer’). A sixth was ‘confectioner’ ( $jr w bnrwt$ ), hence likewise employed in the provisioning sector of the palace. It is unlikely that these people worked on some provincial estate, as then this stela would surely have named at least one superior provincially based official. Quite the opposite is true: a further man on this stela held the title of ‘interior-overseer’ ( $jmj-r \textit{hnwtj}$ ), which was only held by certain central government officials. Yet another man on the stela was ‘bodyguard of the high steward’ ( $jmj-s3 n jmj-r pr wr$ ), so he served one of the highest ministers of state. Only the aforementioned  $\overline{Hr}<-m>-hb$  had no title with topographical implications; as a ‘soldier of the ruler’s crew’ ( $\textit{nh n tt-hq3}$ ), he was a member of elite troops that could be found throughout the country. In sum, the Tübingen stela and most of those commemorated have strong links with northern Egypt, and none with Edfu. The artist who made the stela was thus most probably based either at the capital or else at Abydos, the latter being in any case the likeliest site of discovery.

So what are the diagnostic traits that bring these monuments together in a single artistic dossier? How can we tell that four of  $\overline{Hr}<3>$ ’s monuments plus the Tübingen stela all formed part of  $\overline{Tnn}$ ’s creative oeuvre? We may start with a closer look at the Tübingen stela (fig. 9), as this shows the largest number of recurrent idiosyncrasies. With Warsaw 141262 it shares a pair of sizeable, droopy *udjat*-eyes in the lunette, with outer canthi pointing down. Eyes and *shen*-ring do not float but stand on the bottom line of the lunette. In the uppermost principal register, also the Tübingen stela depicts two men. Their poses and attire now differ, but they, too, sit face to face on high-backed chairs, which at the time were still depicted much less frequently than low-backed ones. As for the figure on the right, had it not been for the accompanying inscription naming a man, one would have thought that it represents a woman in close-fitting dress. The figure displays, in fact, a rather female-looking breast, unlike the figure on the left – curiously the same contrast exists between  $\overline{Hr}<3>$  and  $\overline{Hr}<htp>$  at the top of Warsaw 141262! It should further be noted that the Tübingen stela repeats the use of antithetic offering formulae. In two instances, again the opening words do double duty in both directions,<sup>67</sup> while in a third (second register from the bottom) we note even

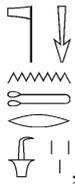
the return of the adapted *sw*-sign . Again the sign must be read both ways – but just as on Warsaw 141262, it does not occupy a perfectly central position between the paired texts. Use of the adapted sign is rare in the extreme. For the whole of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, the twin-tipped *sw* is attested just four more times (in perfectly central position), and this on products of different artists; one at least dates also from the time of Sobekhotep IV, and all were found in Abydos<sup>68</sup> – a possible hint that  $\overline{Tnn}$ , too, had

<sup>66</sup> Rather than the non-existent name  $\ast\overline{Hb}-wr$  proposed by Brunner-Traut and Brunner, *Die ägyptische Sammlung*, 93. As noted by Ranke, *PN I*, 248 [7], the preposition in the name is sometimes left out in writing.

<sup>67</sup> The highest register with figures has the entire central column act this way, but in the lowest register, the final word in the central column ( $3bdw$ ) does not spill equally into both adjacent columns. The same dissymmetry occurs on stela Warsaw 141262, in the first and second principal registers.

<sup>68</sup> Stelae CG 20036 and 20491 (both first half of the Thirteenth Dynasty); niche frame Philadelphia E.9189 (*Garstang*, *El Arâbah*, 8, 34, 46, pl. 8 [left]; first half of the Thirteenth Dynasty); offering table Pittsburgh

his workshop there. What we also see on the Tübingen stela is again the use of retrograde columns, now applied more generally to most of the texts on the right half of the stela, no doubt for better coordination between paired offering formulae that share one central, right-facing column (still, in the second principal register, no such sharing occurs). The Tübingen stela includes moreover an instance of the words *ḥtp dj nswt* followed immediately by *n k3 n*, as noted on the Warsaw stela,<sup>69</sup> the dated stela without niche, and on the roof slab of the naos (fig. 8 [a]). Twice the Tübingen stela invokes Osiris with the epithets *nb ʿnh ḥq3 dt*, ‘lord of life, ruler of eternity’, noted rarely before the New Kingdom; with these epithets the god appears again on *Hr-ʿ3*’s statue. In the offering formulae on the Tübingen stela, several times *dj.f*, ‘he gives’, is not followed as usual by *pṛt-ḥrw t ḥnqt jḥw 3pdw* etc., but by *3ḥ wsr m3ʿ-ḥrw* and/or *ḫw ndm n ʿnh*, or by *ḥtp<w> df3w*, in each case then followed immediately by *n (k3 n) NN*. All three phrases are lent the same prominence on the insides of the statue naos (figs. 8 [c–d]), again with the defective spelling *ḥtp<w>*,<sup>70</sup> while on the front of the statue itself this happens with *ḫw ndm n ʿnh*. In filiation phrases, the vertical *s* in *ms(t).n* is inversed with remarkable frequency: so on the Warsaw stela, the statue naos and the statue itself. (The word does not appear on Tübingen 463 and cannot be verified from photos for the lower part of *Hr-ʿ3*’s dated stela without niche.) Another feature worth noting concerns the word *sntr*, ‘incense’, which both on Tübingen 463 and the *Hr-ʿ3* statue is spelled as



*sntr*, with all possible phonograms, an inversed determinative (the smoke plume points the wrong way), and with two plural strokes over one instead of vice versa. (The word does not appear on the other objects.) Many other connections exist between the inscriptions on the objects concerning us here, but the same is true of the pictorial motifs. For instance, on the Tübingen stela as well as on two of the *Hr-ʿ3* stelae (Warsaw 141262 and the dated stela without niche), seated figures have the hems of their garments interrupting the back of their legs, which would normally continue till the edge of the seat, without the garment touching the chair before; the normal situation is only noted with the right-hand figure on Tübingen 463. Furthermore, with some of the figures sitting on the ground, the line separating the flat upper and lower leg rarely runs all the way to the back of the knee, its path again terminating at the point of the garment’s hem – so on Tübingen 463,<sup>71</sup> the Warsaw stela and on the naos (the only ones where such figures occur). The same legs are often much too long at the foot end, especially on the Tübingen and Warsaw stelae. And both on Warsaw 141262 and the naos, one of the women wears anklets. Due to inadequate publication and different inscriptional content, *Hr-ʿ3*’s dated stela without a niche can only partly be compared with

4558-1 (Peet, *Cemeteries of Abydos*, II, 113–4 [9], pl. 23 [4]; Patch, *Reflections of Greatness*, 31 [20]); temp. Sobekhotep IV, on the basis of combined stylistic and prosopographical data which space here forbids presenting).

<sup>69</sup> See n. 49 above.

<sup>70</sup> The naos has *dj.f ḥtp<w> df3w ḫw ndm n ʿnh n k3 n NN* and *dj.f 3ḥ wsr m3ʿ-ḥrw n k3 n NN*.

<sup>71</sup> Most of the figures on the Tübingen stela have no interior detail at all, but note the situation with the woman on the right in the second register from the bottom!

the other pieces, but on the upper part (the only part that has been properly illustrated), the inscriptions exhibit convincingly the palaeography of *Tnn*'s hand.

### Warsaw 141295 (fig. 10)

This stela<sup>72</sup> was found in a third deposit in the mastaba of Isi, located in room B. Below two human eyes (occasional alternative to the *udjat*-eyes) is inscribed an offering formula, which only invokes 'Osiris, lord of Busiris, the great god, lord of Abydos'. It was made in honour of an *ḥnḥ n nwt*, 'soldier of the town (regiment)', with the unusual name *Jqj*. His figure stands at the bottom left, before a table with elongated bread loaves. A dual filiation names *Jqj*'s father of the same name, and his mother *Nfr-wrt*. The latter is depicted at the bottom right, identified by the adjoining caption. The caption to the woman in the middle calls her a 'sister' (*snt*) of the owner; her name is *ḥtp-Stt*, in honour of the goddess Satet of Elephantine. The dedicator of the stela was, however, a 'brother' (*sn*), the *ḥm-ntr Mrrj*, 'god's servant *Mrrj*'. These people cannot at present be traced in other sources, but the indubitable provenance of the stela suggests that they were locals of Edfu. The senior priest who commissioned the piece may have held office at the local Horus temple.

The overall quality of this piece is good. Style and epigraphy suggest a date in the second half of the Thirteenth Dynasty, but are not reminiscent of other pieces found in Edfu. Perhaps this stela was rather produced in Thebes. The human figures are carved in raised relief, as is noted occasionally on products from Edfu workshops,<sup>73</sup> but it is unusual that their hieroglyphic captions have been treated the same way. This is seen nowhere else at Edfu, nor anywhere else after the early Twelfth Dynasty, except on some late Thirteenth or Sixteenth Dynasty monuments from Thebes.<sup>74</sup> Might our priest have brought the stela from there on a business trip?

<sup>72</sup> Limestone. Height 29 cm, width 17 cm, thickness 5 cm. Alliot, *Tell Edfou (1933)*, 19 [2], 33 [11], pl. 17 [3, left]; id., *BIFAO* 37, 107 [18]; Michałowski, *Sztuka starożytna*, 174; Szafranski, *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie* 24, 45–7, fig. 12; Vernus, *Edfou*, 105–7 [31]; M. Dolińska in Dobrowolski (ed.), *Galeria sztuki starożytnej*, 91 [I.102].

<sup>73</sup> The other examples are Cairo CG 20537 of the end of the Sixteenth or early Seventeenth Dynasty (Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, II, 144–5, IV, pl. 39; Vernus, *Edfou*, 180–5 [55], pl. 28 [b]), Cairo TR 16/2/22/23 from the early 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Engelbach, *ASAE* 22, 116, pl. facing p. 138, no. 6; Vernus, op. cit., 230–3 [69], pl. 42.), and an unlocated further stela fragment from the Seventeenth Dynasty (Engelbach, op. cit., 116–7, pl. facing p. 138, no. 7; Vernus, op. cit., 251–2 [76], pl. 47 [a]), leaving aside here examples from the New Kingdom. A final example is stela Louvre E.20908 (Alliot, *Tell Edfou (1933)*, pl. 19 [3]; id., *BIFAO* 37, 110 [26]; Vernus, op. cit., 132–4 [39], pl. 22 [a]; id., *L'Information Historique* 50 [1], fig. on 18). Vernus dates this piece to the late Thirteenth Dynasty, but its clean and meticulous carving style and the artist's clumsy but clear attempt to imitate early Middle Kingdom art may rather point to the very beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty. This is also suggested by the absence of a *t* between the *nswt* and following *dj* sign (see my discussion of Warsaw 141281 further below, with nn. 124–5). Its repetition of *dj* in *\*nswt dj ḥtp dj* recalls further examples of which the majority, if not all, date from the late Second Intermediate Period; see Marée in id. (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*.

<sup>74</sup> Stelae Cairo JE 37507 (Legrain, *RecTrav* 24, 213), Cairo JE 37515 (Legrain, *RecTrav* 23, 61–2) and London UC 14418 (Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings*, II, 27 [113], pl. 28 [3]); the latter can be attributed to one and the same artisan.

**Warsaw 141266** (fig. 11)

This stela<sup>75</sup> was found in the same niche in the south wall of Isi's mastaba room J as 141262 (fig. 7), but placed on the left. It is certainly the later of both pieces; its poor style points to the late Thirteenth/Sixteenth Dynasty. The offering formula invokes 'Osiris, the great god, lord of Abydos', no Horus, and is dedicated to a  $w^c b \{t\} \text{ } \text{ } q$ , 'pure-priest with (right of) entry', whose name was *Pth-htp*.<sup>76</sup> Holding up a lotus flower, he is seated in company of his wife *Dd(t)-nbw*. Facing them, on the other side of a table of offerings, stands a man who is presumably identified by the hieroglyphs that stand forlornly below his figure in the bottom register. These call him *P3-3m*; his relation to them is not expressed. The remaining three figures are children of the couple: a son *Hr-i<sup>c</sup>.f-jb(.j)*, a daughter *Rs-snb*, and another daughter *Hnwt.sn*. No other sources appear to document these people.

The decoration of the stela exhibits numerous curious features. In the main inscription the *f* viper is always reversed, but not in the captions to the figures in the bottom register. The *h* sign displays an inner dot, which must have been influenced by its hieratic equivalent. The phrase *ht nb(t) nfr(t) w<sup>c</sup>bt*, 'all things good and pure' is followed by *n<sup>h</sup>(t) ntr 3*, instead of *n<sup>h</sup>(t) ntr jm*, 'which a god lives on'. The mistaken terminal group *ntr 3*, 'great god', was undoubtedly induced by the presence of the same group in the top line, where it correctly represents one of Osiris' epithets. The principal owner's title displays a redundant *t* joined to the  $w^c b$  sign, which was induced by the same group in the preceding line, where it forms part of *ht nb(t) nfr(t) w<sup>c</sup>bt*. The pictorial motifs are also very clumsily drawn, as is the pleating of the clothes of *Pth-htp* and *P3-3m*. Most remarkable of all, however, is the representation of the offerings, where a pottery stand is curiously placed atop the mat where one would rather expect the reverse. The offerings themselves, including a bovine foreleg, further pieces of meat, loaves of bread and a beer vessel, 'float' around.

**Warsaw 139936** (fig. 12)

This offering table<sup>77</sup> was found outside the mastaba of Isi, to the west of its false door stela. Two offering formulae surround a central panel with depiction of offerings upon a mat. That on the left invoked 'Osiris, who resides in Behdet' (still fully preserved at the time of discovery), that on the right the deified Isi.

<sup>75</sup> Limestone. Height 42 cm, width 29 cm, thickness 10 cm. Alliot, *Tell Edfou (1933)*, 15 [c], 30 [5], pls. 7 [3, left], 15 [3]; id., *BIFAO* 37, 103 [12]; Michałowski, *Sztuka starożytna*, 171; Szafranski, *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie* 24, 51–3, fig. 15; Vernus, *Edfou*, 108–11 [32], pl. 18 [a].

<sup>76</sup> Rather than reading a strange and unparalleled name *\*Wr-Pth-htp*, as proposed by Vernus, *Edfou*, 109–10 [d], or an equally unparalleled title *\*w<sup>c</sup>b wr*, I suggest that the bird sign is a poorly executed  $\text{ } q$ .

<sup>77</sup> Limestone. Depth 26 cm, width 16.5 cm, thickness 10 cm. Ibrahim, *ASAE* 33, 131, pl. facing p. 134, no. 1; Alliot, *Tell Edfou (1933)*, 18 [c, 1], 38 [3], pl. 13 [1]; id., *BIFAO* 37, 114 [34]; Rekućki, *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie* 21, 61–3 [5], fig. 44; Vernus, *Edfou*, 95–7 [29]; Majewska and Dolińska, *Wierzenia grobowe starożytnych Egipcjan*, no. 109, fig. on [14].

The table belongs to a mayor (*ḥ3tj-ꜥ, jmj-r ḥmw-ntr*) called *Jb-jꜥw*, whose filiations name as father another mayor called *Ḥrj*, and as mother a woman whose name may have begun with *Nb*-[...] (again, a trace of this was still visible at the time of discovery).<sup>78</sup> *Jb-jꜥw* may also be attested by a false door fragment recently published by Farout (Tell Edfu B 118),<sup>79</sup> especially as this may well bear the mark of the same artistic hand. That fragment names as principal owner a mayor *Jb-jꜥw*, and preserves on the right a maternal filiation *ms.n jrjt-pꜥt Nbt-Jwnt*, ‘born of the noblewoman *Nbt-Jwnt*’. It is unclear if this woman was *Jb-jꜥw*’s mother; this is only possible if the governor *Ḥrj* married both her and a certain *Nfrw* (see the discussion of the next offering table, Warsaw 138796), or if Edfu saw two different governors *Ḥrj* around the same time – neither option is very attractive. Alternatively, *Nbt-Jwnt* may have been the *Jb-jꜥw*’s wife. In fact, another stela from Edfu, now in a private collection, belonged to a ‘commander of the ruler’s crew’ (*3tw n tt-ḥq3*) named *Jb-jꜥw*, who was married in fact to a *Nbt-Jwnt*<sup>80</sup> – maybe the future mayor. Alas, stela Cairo JE 46199 attests a mayor *Jb-jꜥw* of more or less identical date who was married to an *jrjt-pꜥt* (‘noblewoman’) called *3st*, not *Nbt-Jwnt*.<sup>81</sup> For lack of new data, deciding between the various possible connections remains a conundrum.<sup>82</sup> This makes it also difficult to date the offering table with some precision; from style, it is either from the late Thirteenth/Sixteenth Dynasty or the early Seventeenth Dynasty.

### Warsaw 138796 (fig. 13)

This fragment of an offering table<sup>83</sup> was found in 1937 in the ‘central *kom*’ due west of the Ptolemaic temple pylon. It preserves part of its right-hand rectangular basin, of the central conduit to which it is linked, and of the spout. Above and below the basin are the remains of horizontal lines of inscription. Very little remains of the upper one, but it may well have to be read *ḥ3tj-ꜥ [jmj-r ḥmw-ntr*<sup>84</sup> ...], ‘the mayor [and overseer of god’s servants ...]’, based on comparison with the same words in the lower line. The latter must be a direct continuation of the upper line and presents a dual filiation: *jr.n ḥ3tj-ꜥ jmj-r ḥmw-ntr Ḥri ms[.n ...]*, ‘produced by the mayor and overseer of god’s servants *Ḥrj* and born [to ...]’. Several authors have

<sup>78</sup> This trace cannot be taken for part of the title *nbt pr*, as then there would be no room for reconstruction of the actual name.

<sup>79</sup> Farout, *RdÉ* 58, 48–50, pl. 12.

<sup>80</sup> Engelbach, *ASAE* 22, 121–2; Vernus, *Edfou*, 217–9 [65], pl. 38.

<sup>81</sup> Daressy, *ASAE* 17, 240–1 [III]; Vernus, *Edfou*, 195–8 [59], pl. 31.

<sup>82</sup> See also Farout, *RdÉ* 58, 44–50, for a similar overview of the data available. He also deems stela Cairo CG 20404, owned by a governor *Jb-jꜥw*, of possible relevance, but from artistic evidence it is certainly from a workshop of the early Thirteenth Dynasty, so can be omitted from the discussion. See also the following discussion of offering table Warsaw 138796.

<sup>83</sup> Limestone. Length 21 cm, width 15 cm, thickness 5.5 cm. Bruyère et al., *Tell Edfou 1937*, 104 [19], pl. 26 [13]; Rekućki, *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie* 21, 63–4 [6], fig. 45; Vernus, *Edfou*, 186–7 [56].

<sup>84</sup> No traces of the second title remain, but the lower ends of the *ntr* and *ḥm* signs would neatly fit within the outlines of damage.

wrongly dated this monument to the New Kingdom.<sup>85</sup> The palaeography of its uneven and ill-proportioned hieroglyphs points clearly to the late Thirteenth or Sixteenth Dynasty. This argues against reading a name *Hrj-ms*,<sup>86</sup> rather than two separate words *Hrj* and *ms[.n]*.<sup>87</sup> Before the New Kingdom, the name form *Hr-ms* is attested for three men (all but one from material found in Edfu) and two women,<sup>88</sup> but the variant *Hrj-ms* (with reed after falcon sign) just for one woman (from Edfu),<sup>89</sup> a great many more examples being all from the New Kingdom.<sup>90</sup> On our fragment, the small, narrow proportions of the *ms* sign and its distance from the *j* confirm that it must have stood above a broad sign at the bottom of the square, which can only have been an *n*.<sup>91</sup>

From this reading of the inscriptional remains, perhaps the identity of the owner, and certainly his father's, can be proposed. Our mayor, son of another mayor called *Hrj*, may have been a certain *Hr-hr-hwt.f* known from various stelae found in Edfu. He appears as *jrj-p<sup>c</sup>t, h3tj-<sup>c</sup>, htmtj-bjtj, jmj-r gs-pr* on a currently unlocated stela, discovered *in situ* in the mastaba of Isi, in the north wall of room B.<sup>92</sup> A dual filiation names as his father the *h3tj-<sup>c</sup>, jmj-r hmw-ntr Hrj*, and as his mother the *jrjt-p<sup>c</sup>t* ('noblewoman') *Nfrw*. He has himself become a *h3tj-<sup>c</sup>, jmj-r hmw-ntr* on stela Cairo CG 20537,<sup>93</sup> which again names both his parents, and on stela Chicago, Field Museum 31664.<sup>94</sup> The parents are named a third time on stela Cairo

<sup>85</sup> Bruyère *et al.*, *Tell Edfou 1937*, 104 [19]; Rekucki, *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie* 21, 64 [6].

<sup>86</sup> As has been proposed by *ibid.*, 64 [6].

<sup>87</sup> Vernus, *Edfou*, 186 [56], rightly favours the latter reading.

<sup>88</sup> The men appear on stela Cairo CG 20179 (Twelfth Dynasty), a Thirteenth Dynasty offering table from Edfu of unknown present location (Alliot, *Tell Edfou (1933)*, 37 [1], pl. 12 [2]; *id.*, *BIFAO* 37, 113 [32]; Vernus, *Edfou*, 53–7 [18], pl. 12 [a]), and perhaps on a further fragmentary stela from Edfu (not apparent from Alliot, *Tell Edfou (1933)*, 36 [22] and *id.*, *BIFAO* 37, 111–2 [29], but see Vernus, *op. cit.*, 213–6 [64]; present location unknown). For the Middle Kingdom, Ranke, *PN I*, 249 [1] cites two Edfu women who are likewise called *Hr-ms* (stela Cairo JE 46200 and another seen with the dealer Tadross, Luxor, in 1972; see Vernus, *op. cit.*, nos. 86 and 100), but both are already from the early Eighteenth Dynasty. For his two female references, however, substitute stela World Museum Liverpool 1977.109.37 (unpublished) of the late Thirteenth/Sixteenth Dynasty and stela London UC 14469 (Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings*, II, 29 [122], pl. 31 [1]), the latter naming a woman who would have been born at the end of the Seventeenth Dynasty.

<sup>89</sup> On a statuette in Linköping, Smith Collection no. 156 (Björkman, *Selection of the Objects*, 25–6 [156], pl. 1 [2]), following the reading proposed by Vernus, *Edfou*, 136–7 [h]. It dates from the late Thirteenth to Seventeenth Dynasties.

<sup>90</sup> Ranke, *PN I*, 249 [1], 251 [14], II, 376 [*ad* 251, 14].

<sup>91</sup> Hardly a horizontal *s*. As phonetic complement, a vertical *s* would certainly have been preferred for reasons of space economy.

<sup>92</sup> Alliot, *Tell Edfou (1933)*, 16 [c], 30 [4], pl. 16 [3, right]; *id.*, *BIFAO* 37, 103 [11]; Vernus, *Edfou*, 176–9 [54], pl. 28 [a].

<sup>93</sup> Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, II, 144–5, IV, pl. 39; Vernus, *Edfou*, 180–5 [55], pl. 28 [b].

<sup>94</sup> The stelae are conveniently brought together in Franke, *Personendaten*, Dossier 433 (*Hr-hr-hwt.f*); there is no separate Dossier on *Hrj*. Franke's query with the unlocated stela, on account of the different title, may be removed, as the career path from *jmj-r gs-pr* to mayor is well-attested in the Second Intermediate Period; see also n. 143 below.

CG 20329,<sup>95</sup> which belongs to a brother of *Hr-hr-hwt.f*, the ‘king’s son’ (*s3-nswt*) *Hrj*. This *Hrj* was evidently no true king’s son but a titular prince, in which capacity he must have held prime authority over military forces based at Edfu.<sup>96</sup>

However, another mayor, whose name was *Jb-j<sup>c</sup>w*, was likewise born to a mayor called *Hrj* and to a woman who may or may not have been the aforementioned *Nfrw*; he may have been a brother of *Hr-hr-hwt.f* – unless we are to assume that there were two different mayors called *Hrj*, of which there is currently no good evidence. This *Jb-j<sup>c</sup>w* was already discussed above, as owner of the offering table Warsaw 139936; it is therefore not so likely that he also owned the present table, with no table known for *Hr-hr-hwt.f*.

Another reason why the mayor *Jb-j<sup>c</sup>w* is less likely to have been the owner of Warsaw 138796, and why *Hr-hr-hwt.f* is a more likely candidate, is that this piece is stylistically different from Warsaw 139936 and the false door fragment. By contrast, Warsaw 138796 is certainly from the same workshop, and partly from the same hand, as stelae Cairo CG 20537 (of *Hr-hr-hwt.f*), Cairo CG 20329 (of a brother of *Hr-hr-hwt.f*), and stela Chicago Field Museum 31664 and offering table Tell Edfu B 18. The last two monuments both belong to a son of *Hr-hr-hwt.f*, the ‘king’s son’ *Jb-j<sup>c</sup>w*, who is also named on stela Cairo CG 20537 (for the offering table, see the next paragraph). Note also that Warsaw 139936 has still the old writing of the *h<sup>t</sup>p dj nswt* phrase (*\*nswt h<sup>t</sup>p dj*), while the pieces from the workshop of Warsaw 138796 have the new spelling (*\*nswt dj h<sup>t</sup>p*). Thus, it seems best to date Warsaw 139936 *before* Warsaw 138796, and so to assume that between *Hrj* and *Hr-hr-hwt.f*, Edfu had a mayor *Jb-j<sup>c</sup>w*, the brother of *Hr-hr-hwt.f*.

As just noted, not only a brother of *Hr-hr-hwt.f*, called *Hrj*, is attested as ‘king’s son’, but also a son of *Hr-hr-hwt.f*, named *Jb-j<sup>c</sup>w* – perhaps *Hrj*’s direct successor. It was mentioned that *Jb-j<sup>c</sup>w* is the owner of stela Chicago, Field Museum 31664 and offering table Tell Edfu B 18,<sup>97</sup> but he is also known from his father’s stela Cairo CG 20537.<sup>98</sup> Offering table Tell Edfu B 18 may originally have complemented the Chicago stela in the same funerary chapel. That they belonged to the same ‘prince’ *Jb-j<sup>c</sup>w* need not be doubted; traces of *Jb-j<sup>c</sup>w*’s name at the bottom of the vertical right side are apparently to be followed horizontally by traces

of  *jr:n* [*h3tj-<sup>c</sup>*] *Hr-hr-hwt.f ms.n* [... (3½ sq.) ...], ‘produced by the governor *Hr-hr-hwt.f*, born to [...]’.<sup>99</sup> Inspection of the original has suggested to me that the *jr:n* group is partly preserved above the middle of the square that precedes the name of *Hr-hr-hwt.f*.<sup>100</sup> If this is correct, the lower half of the square can only have contained the

<sup>95</sup> Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, I, 342, IV, pl. 24; Vernus, *Edfou*, 191–5 [58], pl. 30.

<sup>96</sup> See the discussion of this title further below, in connection with stela Warsaw 141281.

<sup>97</sup> For the offering table, see Farout, *RdÉ* 58, 41–5, pl. 9 [b]; id., *Égypte, Afrique & Orient* 53, 5, fig. 2, and 7. It must be added to Franke, *Personendaten*, Dossier 59.

<sup>98</sup> It is possible, but cannot be proved, that *Jb-j<sup>c</sup>w* also recurs as king’s son and garrison commander (*ṯsw*) on a roughly contemporary doorway found on Elephantine Island (Junge, *Elephantine* XI, 13–4, pl. 2 [e–f]).

<sup>99</sup> Farout, *RdÉ* 58, 45, first suggested the reading of this name with reservation, but later accepted it (id., *Égypte, Afrique & Orient* 53, 5, fig. 2). I came independently to this reading from study of an image and the original.

<sup>100</sup> When lit at none too excessive a raking angle from above or below, one can clearly see a horizontal remnant

title *h3tj-ꜥ*, with no room for *jmj-r hmw-ntr*, but this omission is well paralleled – so, for example, in the paternal filiation on *Hr-hr-hwt.f*'s own stela Cairo CG 20537, and in that on offering table Warsaw 139936, discussed above. Further traces are visible after *ms.n* but are difficult to interpret. If, as I believe, the right-hand text provided a dual filiation naming both parents of *Jb-jꜥw*, a possible bird among the signs that followed *ms.n* remains a puzzle, for one would expect here the name of *Hr-hr-hwt.f*'s wife *Sbk-nht*, which contains no bird sign.<sup>101</sup> Some might want to suggest that, between prince *Jb-jꜥw*'s name and *Hr-hr-hwt.f*'s lost title, we must not reconstruct the filiation term *jr.n* but the kinship term *jt.f*, 'his father', in which case the filiation after the father's name would not have named the mother of *Jb-jꜥw* but that of *Hr-hr-hwt.f*. The latter woman's name, however, was *Nfrw*, which as a rule is spelled with three *nfr* signs or, on occasion, with plural strokes, whereas a spelling with *w* chick would certainly be abnormal.<sup>102</sup> I would hold that we have truly here a dual filiation (*jr.n ... ms.n ...*), especially as it would be extraordinary for the offering table to mention *Jb-jꜥw*'s father but not his mother. On the left side, I believe *Jb-jꜥw*'s name is followed by the group

 *hmt.f*, which would thus have introduced *Jb-jꜥw*'s wife. Based on the Chicago stela, we are to reconstruct the name *Sbk-m-s3.f* in the following lacuna.

*Hr-hr-hwt.f*'s wife was called *Sbk-nht*. She appears with the titles *jrjt-pꜥt* and *s3t-nswt* ('noblewoman and king's daughter') on her husband's stela Cairo CG 20537. She may or may not have been a true princess. There is at least one clear attestation of a purely titular 'king's daughter' from the Thirteenth Dynasty.<sup>103</sup>

A clue on the date of *Hr-hr-hwt.f*'s *floruit* is provided by stela fragment Cairo TR 16/2/22/23, which names a combination of people matched closely on the monuments discussed in the foregoing paragraphs.<sup>104</sup> The stela was dedicated by a mayor (*h3tj-ꜥ, jmj-r hmw-ntr*) whose identity is lost, but it also mentions, possibly as his mother, a *s3t-nswt, jrjt-pꜥt [...]-nht* – conceivably *Sbk-nht*, the wife of our *Hr-hr-hwt.f*. Therefore, *Hr-hr-hwt.f* himself may well have been the stela's principal owner.<sup>105</sup> Other people named include two of

of what I believe to be the *n*, and above it what seem to be the outlines of an eye. These traces cannot be distinguished on the photograph shown in Farout, *RdÉ* 58, pl. 9 [b], and id., *Égypte, Afrique & Orient* 53, 5, fig. 2, for there the table is lit straight from the right, exactly parallel to these traces.

<sup>101</sup> Of course one might suggest that she possibly had a second name, but, remarkably enough, not a single other monument from Edfu from the Twelfth to Seventeenth Dynasties attests the use of double names, except in two cases where the second name was added to the first through the phrase *dd n.f* (see discussion above, with Warsaw 141262).

<sup>102</sup> I know of more than a hundred Twelfth to Seventeenth Dynasty attestations of the name, all written as

indicated, with only a single exception that does involve an *w*, of man whose name is spelled  on the early Thirteenth Dynasty stela Cairo CG 20050.

<sup>103</sup> A certain *S3t-Hntj-hjt*, who was the daughter of a 'king's ornament' (*hkr-nswt*): stela World Museum Liverpool M.13635, late first half of the Thirteenth Dynasty, see Grajetzki, *Two Treasurers*, 28, pl. 2.

<sup>104</sup> Engelbach, *ASAE* 22, 116, pl. facing p. 138, no. 6; Vernus, *Edfou*, 230–3 [69], pl. 42. Most of the data summed up in the present paragraph can be found in the latter work.

<sup>105</sup> Cairo TR 16/2/22/23 may thus be added to Franke, *Personendaten*, Dossier 433. The query with Franke's source c, the only one where the title is *jmj-r gs-pr*, may be removed, for the parents are identical and the career path from *jmj-r gs-pr* to mayor is well attested in the Thirteenth–Seventeenth Dynasties.

the owner's daughters, the first called *Sbk-m-s3.f*, the second *Nfrw*; two like-named daughters of *Hr-hr-hwt.f* do appear on Cairo CG 20537, in the same order. On Cairo TR 16/2/22/23, *Sbk-m-s3.f*'s name is placed in a cartouche, which marks her as a queen; it has generally been assumed that she is identical with the wife of King Nubkheperre Antef of the Seventeenth Dynasty. Preceding her on the same stela is a king's son *Hr-shr*, whose title and most of the *Hr* sign are lost, but who is almost certainly identical with the *s3-nswt Hr-shr* named in a crude inscription scratched secondarily on Cairo CG 20537, upon the legs of *Sbk-nht*; this makes him likely to have been the direct successor of the titular prince *Jb-jw*. The name *Hr-shr* is otherwise attested only for an unrelated man (no title is given) on a roughly contemporary stela from Buhen<sup>106</sup> and, more significantly, for a 'king's son' who owned stela Cairo JE 46988, discovered in Edfu.<sup>107</sup> The latter monument may very well concern the same man as named on Cairo TR 16/2/22/23 and CG 20537. He is now called *s3-nswt n hq3 nht s3 R Ddw-ms*, 'king's son of the strong ruler, son of Ra, Dedumose'. This means, of course, that the intended King Dedumose, whose exact chronological position remains obscure, ruled close to Nubkheperre Antef. Accordingly, our offering table fragment, Warsaw 138796, may be dated between the very end of the Sixteenth and the early Seventeenth Dynasty.

#### Warsaw, without number (fig. 14)

This lower fragment of a stela was lost in World War II; all that survives is a black and white photograph. The piece was probably bought by Michałowski, but no information is available on its provenance, except that the word 'Edfu' is written on the old negative, apparently since before the war.<sup>108</sup> It seems *a priori* likely that this is a local find, but the style of the stela recalls no other material from Edfu. What is more, none of the names of the people depicted was locally popular, and none is in honour of Horus, Isi or even Hathor.<sup>109</sup> In the upper surviving register, the man in front is called *Sn(j)-rs*, the next one presumably [*Mnt*]w-*htp*. The lower row of figures is led by a man *K3-ms* and his wife *J(t)-jb*. They are followed by a man *Mntw<-m>h3t*; then a *r Nhn*, 'mouth of Nekhen', whose name I fail to recognise; and finally another [*r*] *Nhn*, whose name was *Snfrw* but whose figure has been lost. No prosopographical connections with other sources suggest themselves at present. On the base of its crude workmanship and the monotonous rows of figures, the stela is probably from the late Sixteenth or early Seventeenth Dynasty.

<sup>106</sup> Philadelphia E.10983; see Smith, *The Fortress of Buhen: The Inscriptions*, 54–5, 74–8, pl. 71 [4].

<sup>107</sup> Engelbach, *ASAE* 21, 189–90 [2], pl. 1; el-Sayed, *BIFAO* 79, 186–98, pl. 48; Vernus, *Edfou*, 172–5 [53], pl. 42.

<sup>108</sup> Negative no. 244. Personal communication from Monika Dolińska.

<sup>109</sup> It is presumably for these reasons that the stela was not included in Vernus, *Edfou*.

**Warsaw 141281** (fig.15)<sup>110</sup>

This crudely executed stela was bought in Edfu by Michałowski in 1938, but it is unknown where it was found. It came undoubtedly from Tell Edfu, not from some more distant site. Its offering formula first invokes the local god ‘Horus of Behdet’, and only then the inconclusive, widely worshipped ‘Osiris, lord of Busiris’. Style and epigraphy date the stela to the late Seventeenth Dynasty, and we shall see that prosopographical links point in the same direction.

The principal owner is a man with the curious name *Nb-jtj*, which literally means ‘possessor (lit. lord) of a father’.<sup>111</sup> His name was in use throughout the Middle Kingdom, but sources from the late Thirteenth to Seventeenth Dynasties attest it only for people from Edfu – and with a certain regularity. This constitutes additional evidence, if we still need it, for the stela’s local origin. A hint of the close association of the name with Edfu is first detected in the late Twelfth Dynasty, as a text from year 10 of Amenemhat III mentions a <*s n*> *Db3*, ‘<man of> Edfu’, with a father called *Nb-jtj*.<sup>112</sup> The name is not to be translated as ‘(my) lord is (my) father’, as would in theory be possible. This is excluded by the equivalent female name *Nbt-jtj*, whose only possible translation is ‘(female) possessor of a father’.<sup>113</sup> Conversely, the related female name *Nbt-mwt* does not mean ‘(my) lady is (the goddess) Mut’<sup>114</sup> but ‘possessor of a mother’, this being the only option with its male equivalent *Nb-mwt*.<sup>115</sup> Names of the pattern *Nb(t) + god’s name* are not, in fact, attested at all, apart from the New Kingdom name *Nb-Jmn*.<sup>116</sup>

As the present *Nb-jtj* is the stela’s principal owner, the bottom register depicts him seated on a chair, holding a lotus flower while his other hand is extended to imaginary offerings – for none are here depicted. As expected, his figure faces to the right in agreement with the preferred orientation of the hieroglyphs in the offering formula. It is curious, however, that he should be positioned at the far right, with the figures of a son and daughter standing behind him instead of opposite, as was the usual arrangement. This has been deemed a compositional

<sup>110</sup> Limestone. Height 40 cm, width 27 cm, thickness 7 cm. Szafranski, *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie* 24, 47–9, fig. 13; Vernus, op. cit., 272–4 [81].

<sup>111</sup> Ranke, *PN I*, 183 [19–20] (without translation).

<sup>112</sup> Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446, *recto*, 18; see Hayes, *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom*, p. 20, pl. 1 [18].

<sup>113</sup> Ranke, *PN I*, 188 [7–8] (without translation). In Marée, *Égypte, Afrique & Orient* 53 (March–May 2009), 12, this comment has been obscured through accidental editorial deletion of the first *t* in *Nbt-jtj* – the sole distinction between the male and female forms.

<sup>114</sup> *Contra* *ibid.*, 188 [16].

<sup>115</sup> Not cited by Ranke, *PN I–II*, but found on the spout of offering table Louvre D.27 = N.369 from the reign of Amenemhat III (formerly on loan to the Musée d’Aquitaine in Bordeaux, where the inventory number was D.85.1.22); see Orgogozo et al., *Égypte et Méditerranée*, fig. on 30 [bottom].

<sup>116</sup> Ranke, *PN I*, 183 [10]. The names *Nbt-m3t* and *Nbt-nbw* are no exceptions, *contra* *ibid.*, 188 [17–8]. *Nbt-m3t* is to be translated ‘possessor of truth’, as borne out by its male equivalent *Nb-m3t* (*ibid.*, 184 [25]). *Nbt-nbw*, which Ranke cites from Cairo CG 20763, is an abbreviation of *Nbt.j-m-nbw*, as shown by stela Louvre C 13, which refers to the same woman (Spalinger, *RdÉ* 32, pl. 8, second register from bottom, line 13); its meaning is therefore ‘my lady is (made of) gold’, not ‘my lady is the Golden One (= Hathor)’.

error on the part of an ill-trained artisan,<sup>117</sup> but we shall see that the distribution of the figures is quite deliberate and sensible. The son is identified as a ‘scribe’ (*sš*) called *Dḥwtj*, a name that gained popularity during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Dynasties – as did the cult of the god it refers to: Thoth. The daughter’s name is *Jb*. Brother and sister are depicted smaller than their father and stand, unusually, hand in hand. *Dḥwtj* clasps also what can only represent a folded cloth.<sup>118</sup> The offering formula is also for the benefit of *Nb-jtj*’s wife, a certain *Jwbw*, but unlike the others she is not depicted.

It is remarkable that a title should be recorded for the son but not for the principal owner. This strongly suggests that the monument was not commissioned by *Nb-jtj* himself. One might think that it was *Dḥwtj* who had it made, observing the moral obligation to commemorate his father. However, no dedication formula describes him as the son who keeps his father’s name alive (*jn s3.f sʿnh rn.f*), nor is he shown in the role of cult performer. In taking *Nb-jtj*’s orientation and standing behind him, *Dḥwtj* and *Jb* assume as much as their father the role of cult recipients, albeit of lower status. Another candidate will shortly present himself as, I believe, the actual dedicator. That *Nb-jtj* did hold an important office is certain, for luckily we meet him again on another monument from Edfu, and there his title is duly included.

It has been suggested that our *Nb-jtj* be identical with a like-named ‘disputes overseer and lector-priest’ (*hrj-ḥbt, jmj-r šnt*), who was the owner of a statue<sup>119</sup> and offering table<sup>120</sup> found at Tell Edfu in the mastaba of Isi. However, there can be no doubt that these two monuments concern a different man. The only correspondence rests in his name, which, as noted above, was rather common in Edfu; the name of his wife was *Jb*, which is *not* a variant of *Jwbw*. On stylistic and epigraphic grounds, the statue and table must be dated to the later Thirteenth Dynasty (post-Sobekhotep IV), well before the *Nb-jtj* of Warsaw 141281 from the late Seventeenth Dynasty.<sup>121</sup> We are, however, on better ground with an important further stela (fig. 16), which has been missed in previous studies but can with confidence be attributed to the *Nb-jtj* who occupies us at the moment. That stela was seen and recorded by the Egyptologist J.J. Clère on a visit to the dealer Mohareb Todrous in 1935; what became of it since is unknown.<sup>122</sup> That Warsaw 141281 and the ‘Clère stela’ are of closely similar date is quite clear. Both show the much increased impact of documentary scribal culture on

<sup>117</sup> Vernus, *Edfou*, 272, 274.

<sup>118</sup> Not a bird, as proposed (with query) by Vernus, *Edfou*, 272. The hand is not fistled, so the thumb and other fingers can easily be mistaken for the legs of a bird – the rest of which would then, however, be missing. Vernus’ impression that the man is holding an offering ties in with his assumption that the placement of brother and sister behind the father is a mistake.

<sup>119</sup> Louvre E.14330: Alliot, *Tell Edfou (1933)*, p. 15, 28 [B], pl. 11; id., *BIFAO* 37, 98 [6], 137; Vernus, *Edfou*, 35–8 [11], pls. 9–10; Delange, *Catalogue des statues égyptiennes du Moyen Empire*, 72–5; Seipel, *Gott, Mensch, Pharaob*, 203–4 [66].

<sup>120</sup> Louvre E.14410: Alliot, *Tell Edfou (1933)*, 15–6, 29 [C], pl. 12 [1]; id., *BIFAO* 37, 99 [7], 137; Vernus, *Edfou*, 39–41 [12], pls. 11 [b]; Seipel, *Gott, Mensch, Pharaob*, 204–5 [67].

<sup>121</sup> Stela Warsaw 141281 must thus be removed from Franke, *Personendaten*, Dossier 290.

<sup>122</sup> Limestone. Height 42 cm, width 24 cm, thickness unknown. Clère’s notes on the stela are among his papers in the Louvre and at the Griffith Institute in Oxford, and bear the incomplete serial number ANT-35-[vacant], shared with further objects he saw on the market in 1935. Clère also took photographs: negatives A 12/29, A 18/43, /44. Our fig. 16 is from negative A 18/44.

monumental inscriptions at the end of the Second Intermediate Period.<sup>123</sup> Typical features include the expansive writings of *t ḥnqt*, ‘bread and beer’, on the Warsaw stela (detached from the *pṛt-ḥrw* group) and of *jḥw ʒpdw*, ‘beef and fowl’, on the Clère stela (both words have their own plural strokes, instead of sharing them in a single square). Also symptomatic is the writing on both stelae of *ḥt*, ‘things’. One notes the vertical arrangement of *ḥ* and *t* as in the hieratic ligature, and the word is concluded by both the book-roll and plural strokes, rather than one or none of these determinatives. The same scribal tradition is manifest in the opening phrase of the offering formula: ‘an offering that the king gives’. On our two stelae this is no longer written *\*nswt ḥtp dj* but *\*nswt dj ḥtp*, as now had for some time become the norm. Most diagnostic as dating criterion, however, is that both times the late form is accompanied by absence of the *t* as phonetic complement in *nswt* (where this *t* was no longer pronounced). This graphic omission was normal in the New Kingdom, but apart from the present pair of stelae, the only pre-New Kingdom attestation in Edfu appears on stela Cairo JE 49566<sup>124</sup> from the reign of Kamose, last king of the Seventeenth ‘Dynasty’.<sup>125</sup> The style of *Nb-jtj*’s stelae permits neither a much later nor a much earlier date. They must have been made under, or very close to, Kamose’s reign.

Although the Clère stela was seen with a Luxor dealer, we can be certain of its discovery at Tell Edfu. This is again immediately evident from the gods named in the offering formula. This invokes ‘Horus of Behdet, the great god, lord of the sky’, ‘Osiris, lord of Busiris, the great god, lord of Abydos’ and ‘the god Isi, alive’. The last-named deity is, of course, the Old Kingdom nomarch of Edfu. This is, in fact, his latest mention in the surviving historical record; there is no more trace of Isi in inscriptions from the New Kingdom, nor have monuments of that period been discovered at his mastaba tomb.

Also the second stela belongs primarily to *Nb-jtj*, but only now are we informed of his profession. Witness his title *ḥm-nṯr n Ḥr Bḥdtj*, ‘god’s servant of Horus of Behdet’, *Nb-jtj* was once the senior priest in the temple of Edfu. The bottom register depicts him seated, this time in company of his wife, whose name is here written as *Jwb*. It is no coincidence that

<sup>123</sup> On this phenomenon, see notably Vernus, *BSFÉ* 119; id., in Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies*, 141–52.

<sup>124</sup> Černý, *MDAIK* 24, 87–92; see now also Morenz, *Ägypten & Levante* 15, 169–80. A further Edfu stela that shows this omission is Louvre E.20908, but there the opening words of the offering formula are written *\*nswt dj ḥtp dj Wsjr*, with repetition of *dj* (Alliot, *Tell Edfou (1933)*, 20 [3], 35 [19], pl. 19 [3]; Vernus, *Edfou*, 132–4 [39], pl. 22 [a]; id., *L’Information Historique* 50 [1], fig. on 18). Vernus regards this curious stela as an archaising piece from the late Thirteenth Dynasty, but see n.73 above.

<sup>125</sup> *M-ḥb*, the owner of Cairo JE 49566, states that military campaigns in a year 3 brought him to ‘Miu’ in the south and ‘Avaris’ in the north, and it is generally thought that the year date refers to the reign of Kamose. Yet Ryholt, *Political Situation*, 172–3, has argued that Kamose, in his war against the Hyksos, never actually reached Avaris. Basing his view on geographic data contained in the Second Kamose Stela, he does not mention the *M-ḥb* stela, which would appear to contradict it. We must bear in mind that the *First Kamose Stela* is dated precisely to Kamose’s year 3, as is a stela found in Buhen (Smith, *The Fortress of Buhen: The Inscriptions*, 8–9, pls. 2 [1], 58 [1]). *M-ḥb*’s adventures cannot be situated in year 3 of Kamose’s successor Ahmose, who was then still a child, unfit to lead military campaigns. Thus, if we are yet to accept Ryholt’s arguments on the extent of Kamose’s advances in the north, *M-ḥb*’s claim to have reached ‘Avaris’ can only be understood as referring, not to the Hyksos capital, but *pars pro toto* to the Hyksos kingdom as a whole. A similar meaning might well obtain for *M-ḥb*’s use of the toponym ‘Miu’, for while its exact location remains a matter of debate, the consensus on current evidence is that it was situated much further south than Kamose could ever have reached (see primarily O’Connor, *JEA* 73, 122–4).

the Clère and Warsaw stelae appeared on the market around the same time – the former seen in Luxor in 1935, the latter bought in Edfu in 1938. They must have adorned the same tomb chapel and were likely found closely together. The Clère stela, while only marginally taller and somewhat narrower than the Warsaw one,<sup>126</sup> was likely the chapel's centrepiece. This may be judged from its slightly better workmanship by a different artisan, its more elaborate content, the inclusion of *Nb-jtj*'s title, the depiction of his wife and, last but not least, that of a cult performer, whom a dedication formula identifies at length. The dedicator, a certain *Hrj*, is shown standing before the couple while burning incense and proffering a bird. As *Dḥwtj* and *Jb* are absent here, the Warsaw stela can be regarded as a logical extension to the Clère stela, and was most likely once placed to the latter's left. The arrangement of *Dḥwtj* and *Jb* on the Warsaw stela presents them as additional beneficiaries of the offering cult that *Hrj* established for their parents. Indeed there can be little doubt that *Hrj* commissioned *both* stelae, and that *Dḥwtj* and *Jb* were already dead or as yet too young to make the necessary arrangements. A possible hint at their relative youth, either in life or at premature death, may be that the Warsaw stela depicts them holding hands, as children might. That it assigns to *Dḥwtj* the title *sš*, 'scribe', need not speak against the idea. The title is plain and unspecific, and while as such it is remarkably common in the late Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Dynasties, it cannot be ruled out that *Dḥwtj* was still an apprentice scribe of limited means. It should be noted that *Hrj* was not, in any case, a true son of *Nb-jtj* and *Jwbw*, and so he must have fulfilled his cultic role for lack of better candidates. The dedication formula does relate him to *Nb-jtj* with the kinship term *s3*, 'son', but this must here have been employed in some broader or purely figurative sense,<sup>127</sup> for *Hrj*'s filiation names as his father a 'king's son' (*s3-nswt*) *R<sup>c</sup>-msw*, and as his mother a 'lady of the house' *Nfirt-wbn{n}.s*.

While *Nb-jtj* and *Jwbw* wear long garments, *Hrj* is clad in a simple *šndyt*-kilt. Unlike the principal owner, he was a man of the army. His title is *3tw n tt-ḥq3*, 'commander of the ruler's crew', denoting an officer who commanded a naval squad that served the Crown and who was quartered at some major town, in his case no doubt at Edfu. While not a real 'son' of *Nb-jtj* and *Jwbw*, he might have been a son-in-law (married to *Jb*?) or perhaps a grandson, for *s3* is attested with these meanings.<sup>128</sup> As for the second option, *Hrj* could only have descended from the couple via his mother *Nfirt-wbn.s*, whose parentage remains unknown. Indeed she might have been a daughter of *Nb-jtj*'s, but then it would be odd that neither of his stelae depicts her. In any case, *Nb-jtj* and *Jwbw* were certainly not the parents of *Hrj*'s father, the 'king's son' *R<sup>c</sup>-msw*, for another document from Edfu rules this out: stela Cairo JE 48229 (fig. 17).<sup>129</sup> Its principal owner has the same rare name *R<sup>c</sup>-msw*, and I propose that he is none other than *Hrj*'s father. On his own stela, *R<sup>c</sup>-msw* is identified with dual filiation, naming a *Hr-ḥr-ḥwt.f* and *3st* as his father and mother respectively.

The Cairo stela makes clear that *R<sup>c</sup>-msw* was not a real 'king's son' but a titular one. Title

<sup>126</sup> The Clère stela is 42 x 24 cm, while the Warsaw stela is 40 x 27 cm.

<sup>127</sup> For *s3* used with reference to fictitious sons, see Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen*, 43–5, 49, 52–3. See also the following note.

<sup>128</sup> For its use with reference to sons-in-law, see *ibid.*, p. 151, with n. 3. For its application to grandsons and descendants in general, see Robins, *CdÉ* 54201–2; Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen*, 43, 46–7, 49, 54–6.

<sup>129</sup> Engelbach, *ASAE* 23, 183–4 [1], fig. 1; Vernus, *Edfon*, 244–6 [74], pl. 46 [a].

combinations and the contexts of attestations suggest such officials formed the highest tier of military command at the regional level, appointed at important towns where large numbers of soldiers were stationed.<sup>130</sup> The ‘king’s son’ had clearly a different remit from the mayor, although some people are known to have held both posts.<sup>131</sup> The literal translation of *s3-nswt* suggests that ‘king’s sons’ were nominated by the king and directly answerable to him. They were selected from local elites, as a means for the central government to ensure good relations with the provinces, as well as a measure of direct control. Titular princes are already attested from the early Thirteenth Dynasty, but it seems that their influence increased in the late Thirteenth to Seventeenth Dynasties, when towns appear to have gained greater autonomy. Naval commanders and other local forces all would fall under their authority.<sup>132</sup> Significantly, on his own stela, *R<sup>c</sup>-msw* is as yet only a ‘commander of the ruler’s crew’, just like his son *Hrj* on the Clère stela, made after *R<sup>c</sup>-msw* had been promoted to ‘king’s son’. That the Cairo stela truly concerns the same *R<sup>c</sup>-msw*, despite the different titles, is confirmed by the fact that it, too, names as his wife one *Nfrrt-wbn.s*. This time she appears with the title *hkr-nswt*, ‘king’s ornament’, providing eloquent further evidence of close ties between this family and the royal court at Thebes. The absence of that title on the Clère stela, where she is simply called *nbt pr*, ‘lady of the house’, is not in conflict with the suggested chronology of both stelae. It has often been suggested that *nbt pr* is a ‘lower’ female title than ones such as *hkr-nswt*, but this is incorrect, for they denote different things that do not permit of direct comparison. *Nbt pr* indicates that a woman is married,<sup>133</sup> and *hkr-nswt* defines a woman’s place among members of the elite; the two are not mutually exclusive, and usage of either is optional. In support of the prosopographical link, it is further important to note that on the Cairo stela, with *R<sup>c</sup>-msw* still as naval commander, it is in turn his father *Hr-hr-hwt.f* who is identified as ‘king’s son’. We are thus presented with a veritable dynasty of military officers with similar careers. *Hr-hr-hwt.f*, *R<sup>c</sup>-msw* and *Hrj* might all have started off as *3tw n tt-hq3*, commanding the local fleet (though perhaps along with more such officers), and with each consecutively promoted to the town’s next *s3-nswt*. At present the full trajectory is only ascertained for *R<sup>c</sup>-msw*, but it is also attested outside this Edfu family for at least one close contemporary. On a late Sixteenth or early Seventeenth Dynasty niche frame from Abydos, a prominent resident of that city twice describes himself as *<s3->nswt*, but only once, where space permitted it, this is followed by the title *3tw n tt-hq3* – the latter post was clearly less important, and he probably attained it at an earlier stage of his career.<sup>134</sup> A filiation indicates that also the man’s father had been, or

<sup>130</sup> For the military importance of titular princes, cf. the comments of Schmitz, *Untersuchungen zum Titel s3-njswt „Königsohn“*, 228–34, 255–7; Hafemann, *AoF* 19, 217–8; Farout, *RdÉ* 58, 52; Marée in id. (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*.

<sup>131</sup> See n. 146 below.

<sup>132</sup> Rather than under the ‘overseer of the army’ (*jmj-r ms<sup>c</sup>*), as suggested for earlier centuries by Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux of Egypt*, 97 (but he nowhere discusses the ‘king’s sons’). ‘Overseers of the army’ appear remarkably seldom in sources from the late Thirteenth–Seventeenth Dynasties, which may or may not reflect a shift in military organisation.

<sup>133</sup> The designation *nbt pr*, ‘lady of the house’, evidently relates to the expression for ‘marriage’ itself: *grg pr*, ‘establishing a house’.

<sup>134</sup> Lintel Brussels E.5263 (Speleers, *Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes*, 32 [101]) + jambs Liverpool GM E.40–42 (unpublished); the complete monument is published later this year in Marée in id. (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, with pls. 77–80.

perhaps still was, an *3tw n tt-ḥq3*. A stela found purportedly in Moalla, and from the same general period, names a ‘king’s son’ as father of yet another *3tw n tt-ḥq3*.<sup>135</sup> A true king’s son who served as *3tw n tt-ḥq3* is known, incidentally, from the reign of King *Shm-R<sup>c</sup>-w3d-ḥ<sup>c</sup>w* Sobekemsaf (end of the Sixteenth or early Seventeenth Dynasty).<sup>136</sup>

As for our family from Edfu, the relative chronology of *Hr-ḥr-ḥwt.f* → *R<sup>c</sup>-msw* → *Hrj* is neatly reflected by a change in one significant epigraphic detail on the monuments involved: on *R<sup>c</sup>-msw*’s stela Cairo JE 48229, the opening phrase of the offering formula is still written archaically as *\*nswt ḥtp dj*, while on the Clère and Warsaw stelae, probably both dedicated by *Hrj*, this takes the new form *\*nswt dj ḥtp*. The old orthography of *ḥtp dj nswt* is sporadically attested in the late Second Intermediate Period and after, but was largely replaced towards the end of the Sixteenth Dynasty.<sup>137</sup> *Hr-ḥr-ḥwt.f* may well have been born during the late Sixteenth Dynasty (near the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty?<sup>138</sup>), while the lives of *R<sup>c</sup>-msw* and *Hrj* must together have coincided with most of the Seventeenth Dynasty. *Hrj* was certainly a contemporary of Kamose and likely served as officer during the latter’s reign, given our earlier observations on the date of *Nb-jtj*’s two stelae.

As for *R<sup>c</sup>-msw*, in the whole of Egypt his name is only twice more attested before the New Kingdom, and in one of these cases<sup>139</sup> the same man is probably intended again. On stela Cairo JE 46785 (fig. 18), again from Edfu and of late Seventeenth Dynasty date,<sup>140</sup> it appears in the paternal filiation of a *w<sup>c</sup>b ḥq*, ‘pure-priest with (right of) entry’. *R<sup>c</sup>-msw* is cited without title, but the priest’s name is *Hr-ḥr-ḥwt.f*. To all appearances, therefore, our *R<sup>c</sup>-msw* chose to name a son after his own father, thus following a well-established practice. The younger *Hr-ḥr-ḥwt.f* would have been a brother of our *Hrj*, and he was married to a woman called *Jw.f* – which in Edfu, both with men and women, became an increasingly popular name, notably at the end of the Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>141</sup>

<sup>135</sup> Formerly in the Ball collection (Ball, *Light from the East*, 76 and fig. on 77). Newberry (*PSBA* 25, 135–6 [44]) falsely dated this stela to the early Thirteenth Dynasty on the assumption that it names a true prince, the future king of Turin King-list, line 7.9. Its style dates it certainly to the late Sixteenth or Seventeenth Dynasty.

<sup>136</sup> Stela London UC 14326 + Moscow I.1.b.32: Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings*, II, 18 [79], pl. 15 [2] (drawing); Hodjash and Berlev, *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae*, 86–93 [41].

<sup>137</sup> On this development and questions of date, first addressed in detail by Vernus in Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies*, 141–52, see now Marée in id. (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, first section.

<sup>138</sup> On a possible overlap between the late Thirteenth and Sixteenth Dynasties, see the remarks at the end of Marée in id. (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, and those by J.P. Allen in the same volume.

<sup>139</sup> The other concerns a ‘mouth of Nekhen’ (*r3 Nḥn*) on stela London UC 14455 from the 16<sup>th</sup> or early 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, and by its style from the region between Thebes and Gebelein; Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings*, II, 26 [110], pl. 27 [2].

<sup>140</sup> Engelbach, *ASAE* 21, 66–7 [5]; id., *ASAE* 22, pl. facing p. 138, no. 3; Vernus, *Edfou*, 267–9 [79], pl. 47 [b].

<sup>141</sup> See, for example, stelae Cairo CG 20329 (man; Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, I, 342, IV, pl. 24; Vernus, *Edfou*, 191–5 [58], pl. 30), JE 63949 = TR 16/2/22/24 (man; Engelbach, *ASAE* 22, 114–5, pl. facing p. 138, no. 4; Vernus, op. cit., 227–9 [68], pl. 41), both end 16<sup>th</sup> / early 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Examples from the early Eighteenth Dynasty include stela Princeton y1993-151 (man and woman, temp. c. Ahmose; Engelbach, *ASAE* 22, 118–9; *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* 53 [1], fig. on 80 [left], 81; Vernus, op. cit., 287–91 [86], pl. 57), stela Cairo JE 46200 (man and woman; Daressy, *ASAE* 17 237–9 [I]; Vernus, op. cit., 287–91 [86], pl. 54), offering table JE 46203 (same man as previous and a woman; Daressy,

According to the Cairo stela, *R<sup>c</sup>-msw*'s mother *3st* was a 'mayor's daughter' (*s3t ḥ3tj-ḥ*). Her father would have headed the town's civilian administration and overseen temple-related affairs. It is unclear if he is one of the currently known mayors of Edfu. Several other women from Edfu, all from the Second Intermediate Period, are known to have borne *3st*'s name,<sup>142</sup> but she cannot be positively identified in any other sources. Nor can, alas, *R<sup>c</sup>-msw*'s father *Ḥr-ḥr-ḥwt.f*, paternal grandfather of *Ḥrj*. Outside Cairo JE 48229, his name is not encountered in combination with the title of 'king's son', and never with that of *3tw n tt-ḥq3*.

There is, however, a remote possibility that he is to be equated with the well-known *Ḥr-ḥr-ḥwt.f* who served in Edfu, first as administrator of state-owned estates in the area (*jmj-r gs-pr*, 'overseer of the half-domain'<sup>143</sup>), and then as mayor (*ḥ3tj-ḥ, jmj-r ḥmw-ntr*) at the very end of the Sixteenth and/or early Seventeenth Dynasty.<sup>144</sup> Two other titular princes are known to have been *jmj-r gs-pr* at some point in their careers,<sup>145</sup> and we know also of individuals who have been titular prince as well as mayor.<sup>146</sup> In fact, the mayor *Ḥr-ḥr-ḥwt.f* had a son *Jb-j<sup>c</sup>w* who did become 'king's son',<sup>147</sup> but if this *Ḥr-ḥr-ḥwt.f* was really the same as the grandfather of our *Ḥrj*, then *Ḥr-ḥr-ḥwt.f* would have had two wives, for the wife of the mayor *Ḥr-ḥr-ḥwt.f* is always identified as a 'noblewoman and king's daughter' (*jrjt-p<sup>c</sup>t, s3t-nswt*) called *Sbk-nḥt*, while the wife of the 'king's son' *Ḥr-ḥr-ḥwt.f* is identified as a 'mayor's daughter' (*s3t ḥ3tj-ḥ*) called *3st*.<sup>148</sup>

We may finish discussion of this prosopographical dossier by returning to *Ḥrj* himself, the dedicator of the Warsaw and Clère stelae, and descendant of two 'king's sons' in a row. His name and title were common, but only a few more sources attest them combined. As it is, an *3tw n tt-ḥq3* called *Ḥrj* is known from a further stela, at present also untraced, but unearthed at Tell Edfu and again from the Seventeenth Dynasty. It names *Ḥrj* as father of

op. cit., 239 [II]; Vernus, op. cit., 292–4 [87], pl. 55), statuette Baltimore WAM 22.313 (three men; wrongly said to be from Asiut, as offering formula invokes Horus of Edfu; Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture*, 31, pls. 9, 112, no. 58).

<sup>142</sup> So two women on stela Cairo TR 11/11/31/1 (Vernus, *Edfou*, 238–41, pl. 45 [72]), and also a 'noblewoman' (*jrjt-p<sup>c</sup>t*) and her granddaughter on stela Cairo JE 46199 (Daressy, *ASAE* 17, 240–1 [III]; Vernus, op. cit., 195–8 [59], pl. 31). Both monuments are of late Thirteenth/Sixteenth Dynasty date.

<sup>143</sup> On this title, see the remarks of Grajetzki, W. *Die höchsten Beamten*<sup>2</sup>, 201–2 and Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux*, 115. There is, however, no clear evidence that the titles of *jmj-r gs-pr* and 'mayor' were ever held concurrently, as suggested by *ibid.*, while there are definite cases of people who held them consecutively.

<sup>144</sup> For *Ḥr-ḥr-ḥwt.f*, see the discussion above with Warsaw 138796, which may itself also have named him.

<sup>145</sup> See a stela formerly in the collection of Baron Weisz in Hungary (Wiedemann, *PSBA* 9, 191), and stela Cairo JE 52453 (Lacau, *Une stèle juridique*).

<sup>146</sup> Stelae Pittsburgh 9007-57 (unpublished) and Louvre C 287 (Franke, *JEA* 71, pl. 19 [left]), both from the Sixteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties, and Louvre C 41 from the early Eighteenth Dynasty (unpublished apart from a brief description in Pierret, *Recueil d'inscriptions* II, 24).

<sup>147</sup> Compare the discussion above with Warsaw 138796.

<sup>148</sup> We have already had occasion to note that *Ḥr-ḥr-ḥwt.f* had a brother *Ḥrj* who is likewise known to have been a *s3-nswt* (see with n. 95 above), but these *Ḥr-ḥr-ḥwt.f* and *Ḥrj* are not to be confused with the priest *Ḥr-ḥr-ḥwt.f* (Cairo JE 46785; fig. 18) and his brother, our *3tw n tt-ḥq3 Ḥrj*, for their parents are different people!

the stela owner, a ‘garrison commander’ (*ṯsw*) called *Jr*.<sup>149</sup> It is tempting to think that *Hrj*, son of *R<sup>c</sup>-msw*, was the same man as *Hrj*, father of *Jr*. A possible obstacle might be that the stela of *R<sup>c</sup>-msw* – Cairo JE 48229 – and that of *Jr* can, in fact, be attributed to one and the same draughtsman, which does not favour a lapse of two generations between their dates of manufacture. It cannot, however, be excluded that *Hrj* inherited *R<sup>c</sup>-msw*’s post of fleet commander soon after JE 48229 was made, and that a son of his was already old enough to become Edfu’s garrison commander within another few years. No more than a decade need lie between both stelae.<sup>150</sup> That they bear the mark of the same artist is not, in any case, in doubt. The handwritings on both stelae are closely akin, despite a somewhat better treatment of seated men signs on the stela of *Jr*. Common traits of special note include two dashes inside the *h* sign, a *q* without straight side, and the hooked fingers of arm signs except the *ayin*. These and other salient features recur in a third piece from the same artisan.<sup>151</sup> An *ṯwtw n ṯt-hq3* called *Hrj*, again potentially identical with the son of *R<sup>c</sup>-msw*, became the owner of statuette Barcelona E-280;<sup>152</sup> it was originally made for an official of the late Thirteenth Dynasty, but at a later stage of the Second Intermediate Period it was usurped and dedicated to *Hrj* by a daughter of his.<sup>153</sup> Unfortunately there is no record of its provenance, while the offering formula on the back-pillar invokes only, inconclusively, ‘Osiris, the great god, lord of Abydos’.

Bearing in mind that *Hrj* might possibly have succeeded *R<sup>c</sup>-msw* as ‘king’s son’, it should be noted that several ‘king’s sons’ called *Hrj* are known from the Second Intermediate Period. One is documented in Esna<sup>154</sup> and another in Edfu itself,<sup>155</sup> but both have different parents

<sup>149</sup> Engelbach, *ASAE* 22, 116–7, pl. facing p. 138, no. 7; Vernus, *Edfon*, 251–2 [76], pl. 47 [a]. The

commander’s name, written , is probably to be read as *Jr* rather than \**Jrr*, for unambiguous spellings elsewhere only support existence of the former name, never the latter. *Contra* Engelbach, and following Vernus, *op. cit.*, 251 and 252 [a], it is this man, not *Hrj*, who owned the stela in question, as shown by the caption to the figure in the main panel; the mention of *Hrj* in the damaged offering formula at the top must be part of a filiation, originally preceded by the mention of *Jr* himself.

<sup>150</sup> It is also worth noting that various officials are known to have combined the titles ‘king’s son’ (*s3-nswt*) and ‘garrison commander’ (*ṯsw*); see Marée in *id.* (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, with nn. 170–4. Perhaps both titles were effectively synonymous designations for the same position. This raises, of course, the possibility that, after *R<sup>c</sup>-msw*’s tenure as ‘king’s son’, it is not *Hrj* but *Jr* who next headed Edfu’s military forces.

<sup>151</sup> An offering table from Tell Edfu whose present location is, again, unknown (Engelbach, *ASAE* 22, 17, pl. 1 [9]; Vernus, *Edfon*, 247–50 [75], pl. 46 [b]). The shared artistic origin of all three monuments was first recognised by *ibid.*, 246, 250, 252, 469–70.

<sup>152</sup> Ex Toledo 25.642: Sotheby’s [auctioneers], *Egyptian, Greek, Roman, Byzantine, and Western Asiatic Antiquities and Islamic Works of Art* (sold in New York on 25 June 1992), lot 28 (with illustration). Examined from the original.

<sup>153</sup> The original owner was identified on top of the base, in front of the feet. This inscription was erased when the figure was usurped, but extant traces bear out that his name was *Jn-jtj.f*. Following the name are traces of a personal determinative (seated man A 1), not of a possible extension to the name (correcting Marée, *Égypte, Afrique & Orient* 53, 24, n. 40).

<sup>154</sup> On a stela of unknown present whereabouts: Downes, *Excavations at Esna 1905–1906*, 76–7 [224E], fig. 40.

<sup>155</sup> Stela Cairo CG 20329 (Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, I, 342, IV, pl. 24; Vernus, *Edfon*, 191–5 [58], pl. 30).

and are indeed of earlier date (Sixteenth to early Seventeenth Dynasty). There is, however, one possible candidate for equation with our *Hrj*, if this naval commander truly did rise to the post of ‘king’s son’ in his father’s and grandfather’s footsteps. Coincidentally or not, the candidate in question is again the second owner of an old, usurped statuette Brussels E. 6947, made under the late Thirteenth or Sixteenth Dynasty.<sup>156</sup> Is this the same man as the second owner of the Barcelona figure and/or perhaps the dedicator of the Clère and Warsaw stelae? The Brussels piece was discovered in Kawa, Sudan, far from territory controlled by the Egyptians in the days of its respective Egyptian owners. It came to light with further pieces of similar date, including a statuette of queen *Nbw-m-h3t*, wife of the late Sixteenth or early Seventeenth Dynasty king *Shm-R<sup>c</sup>-w3d-h<sup>c</sup>w* Sobekemsaf.<sup>157</sup> Like the many Egyptian sculptures found in the royal tombs at Kerma, those found at nearby Kawa must have been looted by Kushite troops during the late Second Intermediate Period, either as they seized hold of Egyptian fortresses in Nubia or during raids into Egypt proper. That the Nubians invaded Egypt on at least one dramatic occasion has now been confirmed by an inscription in the late Sixteenth Dynasty tomb of Sobeknakht II in Elkab, which describes an attack by an alliance of southern people during the reign of an unnamed pharaoh.<sup>158</sup> Sobeknakht’s lifetime almost certainly overlapped with the reign of the above-named Sobekemsaf,<sup>159</sup> who indeed has left us with the only monument showing a Sixteenth–Seventeenth Dynasty king defeating Nubian enemies: *Jwntjw* people of the (south-)eastern desert and ‘wretched Kush’ itself.<sup>160</sup> The historicity of the scene is suggested by the fact that the monument did not bear a parallel scene showing the king defeating Asians, as might be expected of purely symbolic scenes. However, if the Brussels statuette came into Nubian possession at the time of Sobekemsaf and not at some subsequent time of conflict, it can hardly represent the *Hrj* of the Warsaw and Clère stelae, as these are certainly of later date. Indeed it cannot be known when and whence the statuette was looted, though certainly it was in southernmost Egypt or already in one of Egypt’s Nubian fortresses before its usurpation by the second Egyptian owner, a *s3-nswt Hrj*. This is suggested by the fact that the first owner was an overseer of Nubian auxiliaries (*jmj-r 3ww*), hence involved with military activity beyond the First Cataract. If the Kushites took the statuette from one of the fortresses, the second Egyptian owner might still have been our *Hrj* of Edfu after his possible promotion from naval commander to ‘king’s son’. In discussing the stelae that he commissioned for *Nb-jtj*, we have noted that *Hrj* served very probably under Kamose, in which case he must have been involved in that king’s war effort against Kush. This saw the Egyptians regain control of the Nubian fortresses

<sup>156</sup> Macadam, *Temples of Kawa*, I, 82, pls. 35–6, no. XVI [A].

<sup>157</sup> Brussels E 6985; see *ibid.*, 82, no. XVI [B]. For the date of King *Shm-R<sup>c</sup>-w3d-h<sup>c</sup>w* Sobekemsaf, see now Marée in *id.* (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*.

<sup>158</sup> See Davies, *BSFÉ* 157, 38–44; *id.*, *EA* 23, 5–6; *id.* in Welsby and Anderson (eds.), *Sudan: Ancient Treasures*, 101 [75]; *id.* in Roehrig et al. (eds.), *Hatshepsut*, 49–50.

<sup>159</sup> For the date of *Shm-R<sup>c</sup>-w3d-h<sup>c</sup>w* Sobekemsaf, most probably in the late Sixteenth Dynasty or else the earliest Seventeenth Dynasty, see Marée in *id.* (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*. For the date of Sobeknakht II in the late Sixteenth Dynasty, see now Davies in Marée (ed.), *op. cit.*

<sup>160</sup> In relief representations at Medamud, which the king caused to be added on the inside of a gateway from the reign of Senwosret III, now reconstructed in the Open Air Museum in Karnak; see Bisson de la Roque, *Médamoud* (1929), 96–7, figs. 86–7, pl. 10.

as far south as Buhen. If the same *Hrj* owned, and then lost, the Brussels statuette while being quartered at one of the fortresses, this would obviously imply that the Kushites could temporarily re-enter and plunder it. All this is possible in theory, but without new evidence it remains beyond our ken how *Hrj* concluded his career.

### Warsaw 139935 (fig. 19)<sup>161</sup>

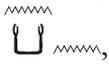
This stela fragment derives from the necropolis area to the immediate south of the mastaba of Isi. It only preserves the top half of the stela, with the offering formula. The gods invoked are ‘Horus of Behdet’ and ‘Osiris, lord of Busiris’. The owner of the stela is a woman called *Hrj*; her name was most widely used by men, but is also surprisingly often attested for women, including several more from Edfu.<sup>162</sup> The inscription ends with a dedication phrase indicating that the stela was commissioned by ‘her brother’ (*sn*) called *Msw*, for whom no title is given. The lower half of the stela, now completely lost, would have been occupied by a figurative scene, which likely depicted these people.

The name *Msw* (var. *Ms*) became popular, both with men and women, in the course of the Seventeenth Dynasty and is widely attested in the New Kingdom.<sup>163</sup> Epigraphic features corroborate that this stela is from the very end of the Seventeenth Dynasty – or perhaps even from the early years of the reign of Ahmose, which followed it. An advanced Second Intermediate Period date is apparent from the spelling of the opening phrase of the offering formula as *\*nswt dj htp*, the defective writing of ‘they give’ as *dj.s<n>*, and the vertical arrangement of the signs in *ht*, ‘things’. Vernus has rightly noted that the stela’s epigraphy is, in fact, closely akin to that of Warsaw 141281, which, we have just seen, is itself from the late Seventeenth Dynasty. He draws attention to the curious fact that both spell the place name *Ddw*, ‘Busiris’, with a *dw* sign, evidently borrowed from the orthography of *3bdw*, ‘Abydos’, for the original difference in pronunciation between the endings of these place names had

<sup>161</sup> Limestone. Height 20 cm, width 18 cm, thickness 6 cm. Michałowski et al., *Tell Edfou 1939*, 166 [27], pl. 9 [2]; Szafranski, *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie* 24, 50–1, fig. 14; Vernus, *Edfou*, 275–6 [82], pl. 50 [b].

<sup>162</sup> See Ranke, *PN I*, 251 [8]; Vernus, *Edfou*, 240 [h]. The other pre-New Kingdom examples from Edfu appear on a Thirteenth Dynasty offering table of unknown present location (Alliot, *Tell Edfou (1933)*, 37 [1], pl. 12 [2]; id., *BIEAO* 37, 113 [32]; Vernus, op. cit., 53–7 [18], pl. 12 [a]), and on stelae Cairo TR 11/11/31/1 (ibid., 238–41 [72]) and CG 20537 (Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, II, 144–5, IV, pl. 39; Vernus, op. cit., 180–5 [55], pl. 28 [b]), both of late Sixteenth or early Seventeenth Dynasty date.

<sup>163</sup> An apparent Twelfth Dynasty example of the form *Ms* occurs on a crude hieratic stela, Cairo JE 91283 (number shared with other pieces): Simpson, *Inscribed Material*, 41 [C 11], 42, fig. 68. A *Msw* occurs on stela Cairo JE 46786 from Edfu of late Thirteenth/Sixteenth Dynasty or early Seventeenth Dynasty date (Engelbach, *ASAE* 21, 65–6 [4]; id., *ASAE* 22, pl. facing p. 138, no. 2; Vernus, *Edfou*, 225–6 [67], pl. 40), and more examples of *Ms* in Elkab tomb no. 8 bis of *Bbj* from the late Sixteenth/early Seventeenth Dynasty (unpublished), and on stelae Philadelphia E.10983 (Smith, *The Fortress of Buhen: The Inscriptions*, 54–5, 74–8, pl. 71 [4]) and E.10989 (ibid., 56–8, 76, pl. 72 [2]), both from Seventeenth Dynasty Buhen when the fort’s commanders served the ruler of Kush. Numerous other examples date from the New Kingdom; cf. Ranke, *PN I*, 164 [18], 165 [11] (the latter entry citing also one *Msw* from the Old Kingdom).

long since disappeared.<sup>164</sup> No other monuments from Edfu exhibit the same confusion. It is also noteworthy that both stelae have ‘bread’ and ‘beer’ written after, not under, the *prt-hrw* group. And immediately after *jhw 3pdw*, ‘beef and fowl’, their lists of desired offerings already conclude with *ht nbt*, ‘everything’, omitting the habitual adjectives *nfrt w<sup>c</sup>bt*, ‘good and pure’. The two stelae show also a lack of concern with the rule to leave no unsightly gaps in arranging the squares, several of which contain low yet solitary hieroglyphs. It is interesting to note, however, that whereas Warsaw 141281 displays the unsatisfactory group , Warsaw 139935 converted this to  rather than writing . Thus, while the two stelae may or may not be attributable to the same draughtsman (irrespective of who the sculptors were), there can be little doubt that they were made in the same workshop, and around the same time.

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<sup>164</sup> Vernus, *Edfou*, 272 [a], 275 [c]. I would not, however, concur with his suggestion that the first *dd* sign on the present stela was effaced in an attempt to completely change the name to *3bdw*. There are only some patches of general abrasion that continue into the next two lines.

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Fig. 1: Stela fragment Warsaw 141282. Courtesy of the National Museum; photograph by Z. Doliński.



Fig. 2: Stela Warsaw 141264. Courtesy of the National Museum; photograph by Z. Doliński.



Fig. 3: Stela Warsaw 141261. Courtesy of the National Museum; photograph by Z. Doliński.



Fig. 4: Stela Warsaw 141265. Courtesy of the National Museum; photograph by Z. Doliński.



Fig. 5: Stela Warsaw 141263. Courtesy of the National Museum; photograph by Z. Doliński.



Fig. 6: Offering table fragment Warsaw 141487. Courtesy of the National Museum; photograph by Z. Doliński.



Fig. 7: Stela Warsaw 141262. Courtesy of the National Museum; photograph by Z. Doliński.



Fig. 8 [a]: Statue naos, front of roof slab. Louvre E.20909 c. Courtesy of the Musée du Louvre.



Fig. 8 [b]: Statue naos, front of side slabs. Louvre E.20909 b and a. Courtesy of the Musée du Louvre.

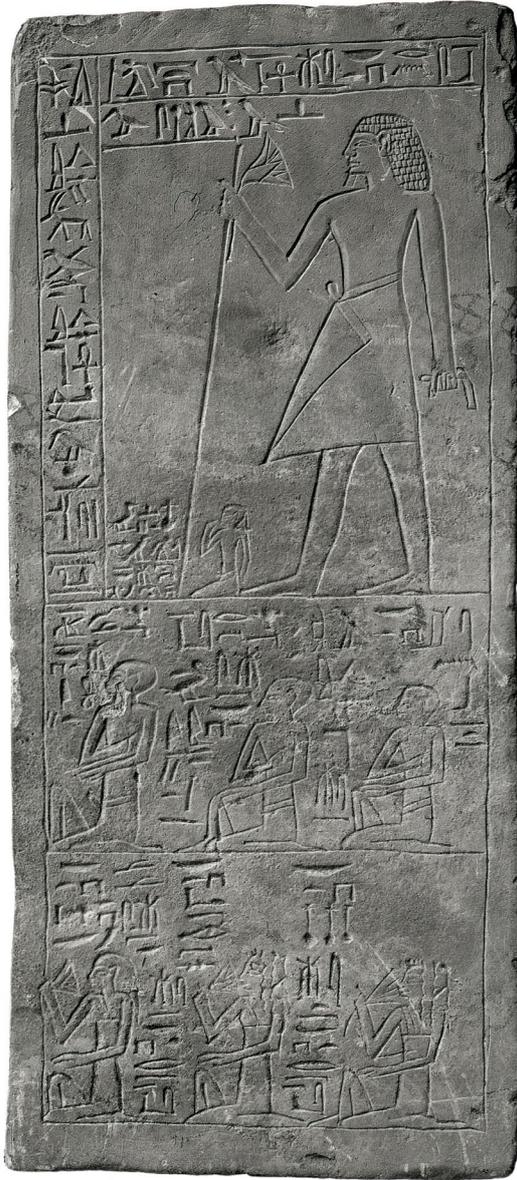


Fig. 8 [c]: Statue naos, inside of left slab. Louvre E.20909 b. Courtesy of the Musée du Louvre.



Fig. 8 [d]: Statue naos, inside of right slab. Louvre E.20909 a. Courtesy of the Musée du Louvre.



Fig. 9: Stela Tübingen 463. After Brunner-Traut and Brunner, *Die ägyptische Sammlung der Universität Tübingen*, pl. 60.

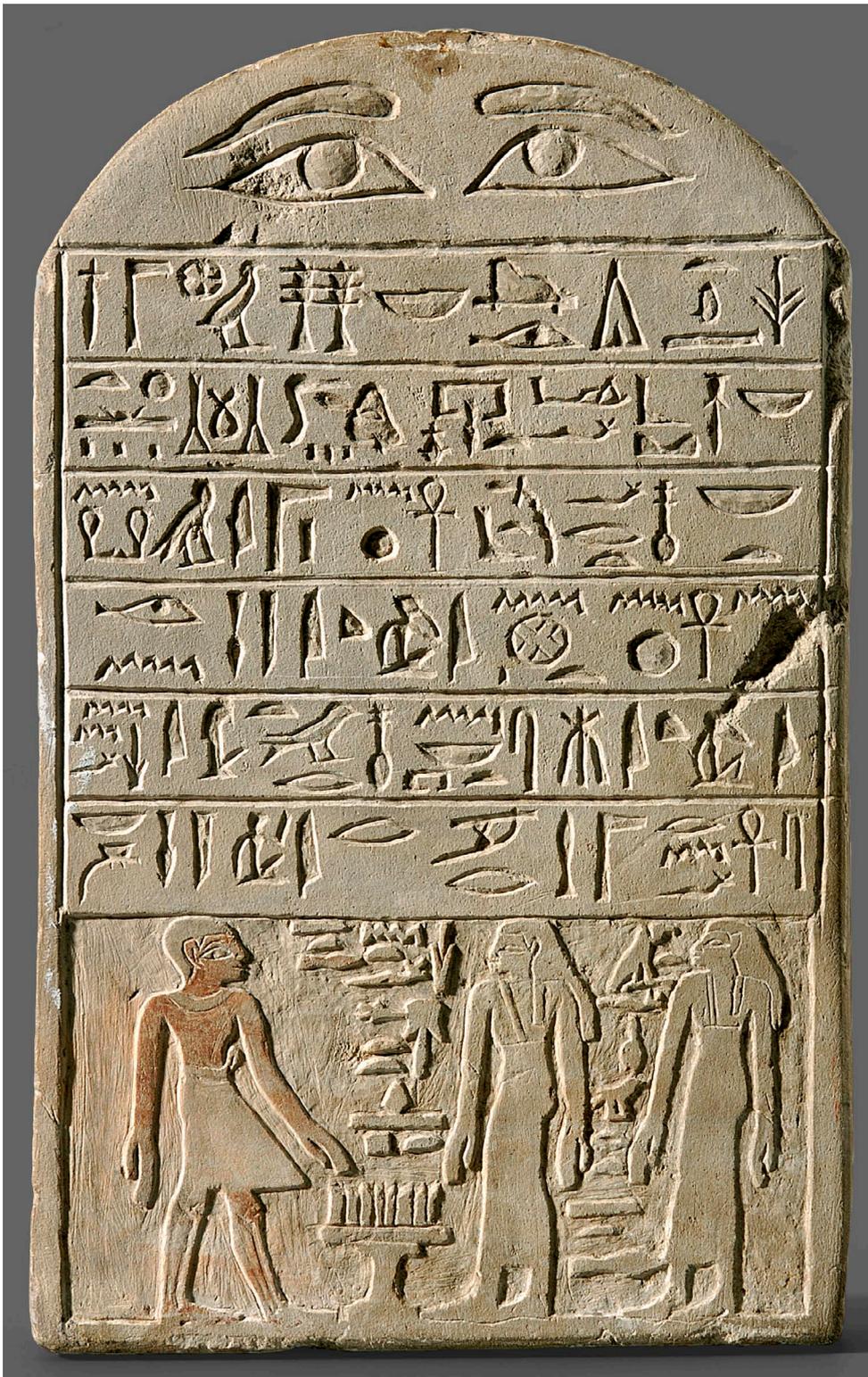


Fig. 10: Stela Warsaw 141295. Courtesy of the National Museum; photograph by Z. Doliński.



Fig. 11: Stela Warsaw 141266. Courtesy of the National Museum; photograph by Z. Doliński.



Fig. 12: Offering table Warsaw 139936. Courtesy of the National Museum; photograph by Z. Doliński.



Fig. 13: Offering table fragment Warsaw 138796. Courtesy of the National Museum; photograph by Z. Doliński.



Fig. 14: Stela fragment Warsaw, without number (now lost). Courtesy of the National Museum.



Fig. 15: Stela Warsaw 141281. Courtesy of the National Museum; photograph by Z. Doliński.

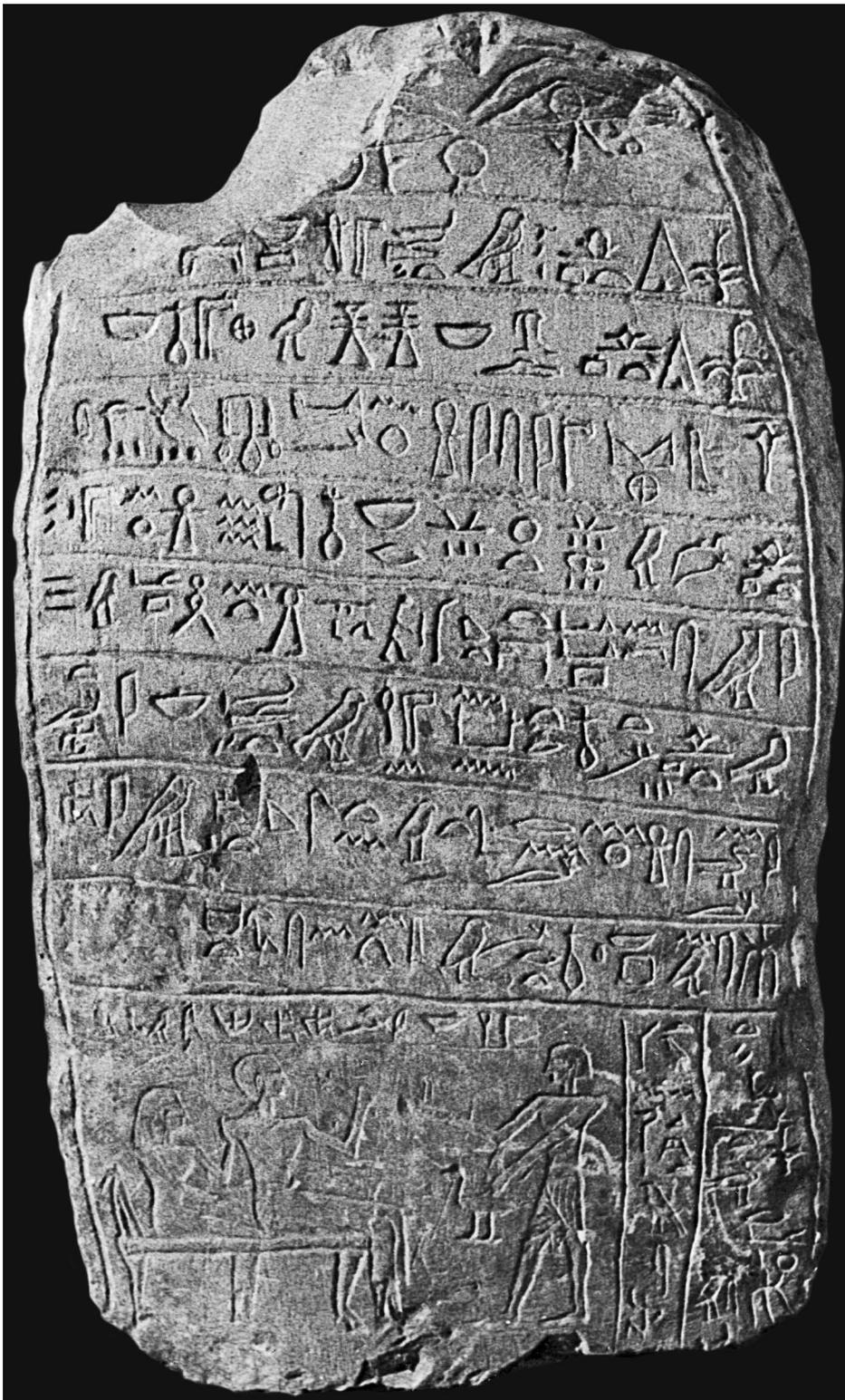


Fig. 16: Stela seen by J.J. Clère with the dealer Mohareb Todrous in Luxor, 1935.  
 Photograph from the Clère papers in the Louvre.



Fig. 17: Stela Cairo JE 48229. Courtesy of the Egyptian Museum; photograph by the author.

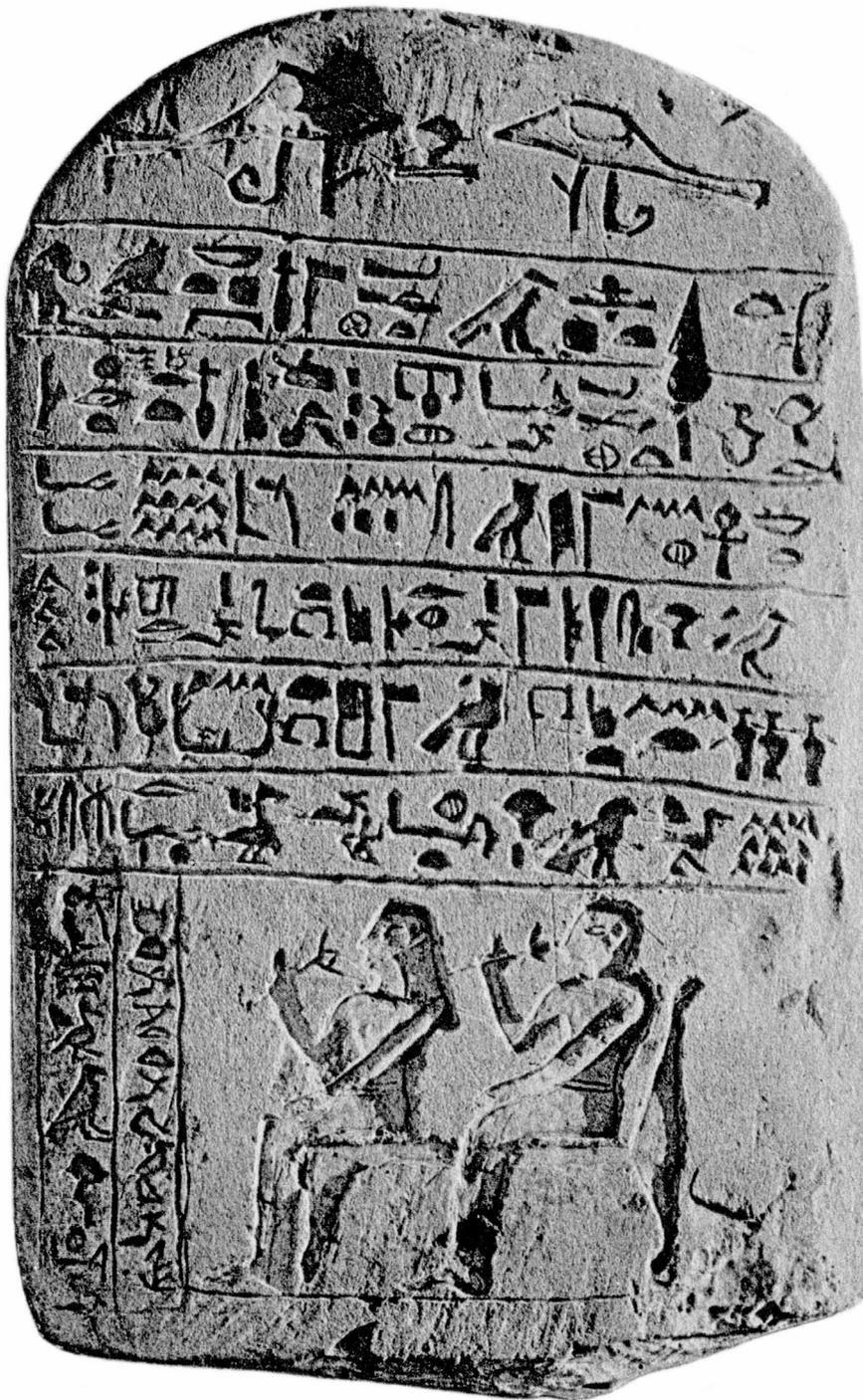


Fig. 18: Stela Cairo JE 46785. After Engelbach, *ASAE* 22, plate facing p. 138, no. 3.

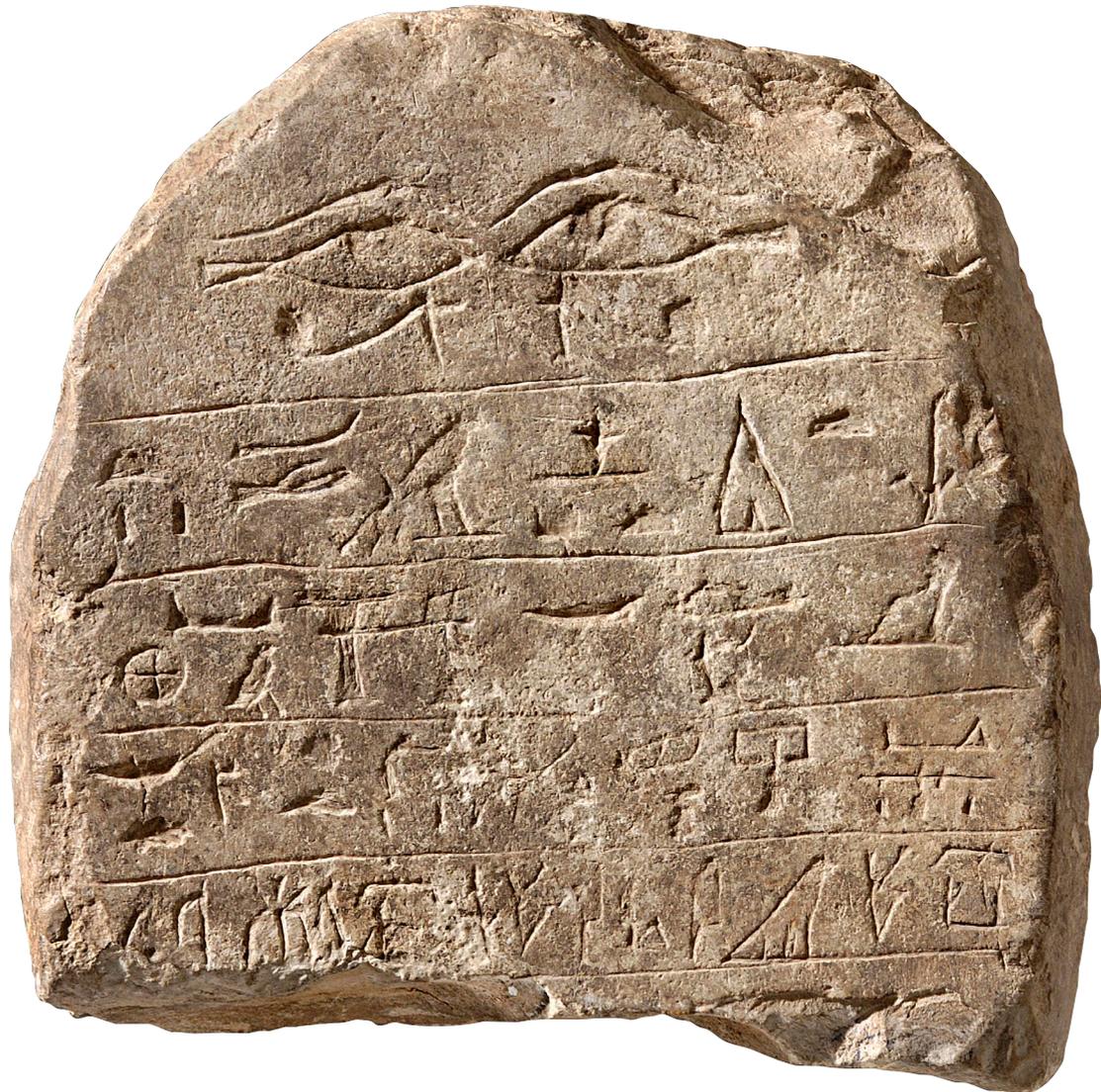


Fig. 19: Stela Warsaw 139935. Courtesy of the National Museum; photograph by Z. Doliński.



## On Publication

*A. J. Spencer*

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# On Publication

*A. J. Spencer*

This discussion of publication is primarily concerned with Egyptological research, although many of the questions raised are relevant across a broad spectrum of subjects, especially in the Humanities.

The publication of academic research has long been regarded as an essential step in conferring value on the research itself. So often the unpublished state of an excavation, a monument or a museum collection has been cited as a failure in the sharing of knowledge. Without such sharing no further research can be advanced on the material, nor can the opinions expressed about it be subjected to critical analysis. Excavation without publication is regarded as destructive and worthless; this view was already current in the early days of Egyptology, at least amongst those who did publish. Another benefit of publication, noted equally early, was the concept of the published work as a permanent record of monuments which might be destroyed for one or another reason. This view has been validated many times by the number of vanished monuments whose only record is now on paper.

The above sentiments indicate that the purposes of scholarly publishing in archaeology may be defined as follows:

To document all classes of ancient remains as a lasting record, to research this material and advance theories about it, and to share this information widely so that others may take the research further.

This activity then leads to more publication, with additional information to be shared, and so the bibliography of the subject develops.

## **Who needs the publications?**

Having defined the purpose of academic publication, it is then worth asking who needs it. Specialist publications are produced primarily for other experts working in the same field; more abbreviated syntheses are produced for the general interest reader and as such, have a much larger audience. The latter do not concern us here since their popular appeal allows them to be produced commercially and return a profit to their publishers. The academic reports, on the other hand, do not sell widely and are expensive to produce. In the early development of a discipline such as Egyptology, when the bibliography was still quite limited, it was possible for individuals to amass personal libraries of just about everything they needed. Those days are long gone and there is now insufficient time for scholars even to read what is produced let alone acquire their own copies. Individuals now only consult publications which they see as directly relevant to their own current research interests. As these interests change over time, they may move on to consult works which they did not use previously, but they

may also stop reading books they used before. This 'browsing' behaviour discourages the purchase of personal copies of publications, especially if they happen to be expensive, except for books which are so crucial to an individual's own research that their acquisition is deemed worthwhile. For the rest, they will be consulted in specialist libraries, in which any serious research has to be done in any case. Note the word 'consult', rather than 'read'. Academic publications are, for the most part, only skimmed for any data relevant to an individual's own research. This may be no more than a single illustration or line of text. Pursuing any research topic properly requires such brief access to a large range of published works, precisely the kind of activity suited to a library.

The consequence of this state of affairs is that everyone working in the subject wishes to have all the published information available for whenever they require it, but at any particular moment very few individuals actually do want it. Moreover, they are disinclined to pay for it.

This demand for free access to information on an occasional basis has been admirably met by academic libraries, which will continue to be essential tools of the future. But maintaining these resources for such intermittent use is again expensive, even for institutions. It is also extremely demanding of space, since books are bulky objects which require ever more shelf-space. Some prestigious volumes are anything but user-friendly, such as the huge tomes of Lepsius' *Denkmäler*, shown in the cover picture to this article.

### **What constitutes publication?**

The definition of academic publication given above concerns only the documentation and interpretation of material and the sharing the results. It does not say anything about how this material should be shared. Since the printed book superseded the manuscript scroll, publication has come to be regarded as synonymous with the production of printed books as the vehicle for information sharing. So the activity (information sharing) has become confused with the medium (book publishing), and unfortunately books have come to be regarded as monuments to individual careers or desirable objects in their own right, rather than sources of information. A book may be described as 'a handsome volume', or 'a fine publication', where the product is not being assessed by its content but by its appearance: the glossy cover, the gilt-lettered spine, the leather binding.... The concept of the book as an object is seen at its most extreme with bibliomaniacs collecting books they never read, but keep only as trophies, to boast about: 'I have a first-edition copy of such-and-such a rare volume'. Before books, knowledge was shared by oral tradition, and then through handwritten papyri and parchments. The printed book was a major advance since it industrialised the production of data sources and brought information to a much wider section of the population. Books have served academic studies excellently for 500 years, and will continue to do so for many more, in view of their many excellent attributes. They are not, however, free from limitations, which are becoming more apparent as the sheer quantity of data being recorded increases.

## **The Reach of the Data**

The content of an academic work is supposed to be available to anyone who may want it, but actual use is usually restricted to workers in the specific field. Editions of specialist books have never been very large, and have decreased over time as costs have risen. The fact that most of the books do not sell much beyond the demands of institutional libraries shows the limit of their circulation. Individuals, as mentioned above, will only buy a book if they feel it is central to their own work and they will need to use it regularly. But even then they may not buy it if the price is high, especially since use of a library is going to be necessary for serious research in any case. So we are left with the following situation:

Institution publishes book, an expensive operation to create around 300 copies. The sale price has to be high.

Initial sales (mostly to institutions) take up about 100 copies.

Remaining 200 copies have to be stored (costing money) for years, selling maybe one or two per year.

The publisher does not recoup the costs.

The whole operation puts only about 100 copies into the hands of users, via libraries, where the book may (or may not) be consulted, and individuals without access to specialist libraries will not see it. So the availability of the information is actually quite limited. Interestingly, it used to be better in the late nineteenth century, when a larger range of libraries subscribed to such volumes as the Egypt Exploration Society Excavation Memoirs, but now not only do these libraries not collect but many have ceased to exist.<sup>1</sup>

The situation has changed to some extent recently through the increasing use of print-on-demand publishing. This frees the publishing institution from the initial outlay of producing a large number of copies at one time, in the hope of selling them in due course. Instead, copies are printed individually or in very small numbers as purchase orders are received. In this way, the revenue from sales comes in as the books are produced. This process has come about as a side-effect of electronic publishing, because the copies can be printed quickly from the finished digital file (usually a PDF document). Printing in this way is usually done on digital printers producing finished whole pages, instead of on the older technology of wet presses running off signatures of multiple pages in spreads.

## **Alternatives for information-sharing**

Alternatives to publication in books have always been used, particularly exhibitions and

<sup>1</sup> For example, copies of EES Excavation Memoirs were once kept by the Bury Co-operative Society Library, in the north of England. Their presence in such institutions had much to do with the Victorian passion for education.

public lectures. In recent decades publication has moved to electronic media, the use of which is already widespread, although many of these outputs are still 'book-format' publications, usually electronic journals or downloadable PDF monographs.<sup>2</sup> At present the initial stage of a publication normally involves the preparation of a PDF file, which is essentially the same whether it goes to a printer to be produced as a book, or is placed online or shared on a CD. So, even if the latter route is chosen, it actually still is a book, but distribution is electronic and the job of printing it has been transferred to the user, if they wish to have a paper copy.<sup>3</sup> Information shared electronically may, however, be formatted in completely different ways, without mimicking the book layout. This is much more suitable for certain types of data. Electronic distribution via the Web makes the information available to anyone on the planet with a computer and internet access, a far greater number than those with access to specialist libraries. The cost of providing the information is reduced because no stock of books has to be produced and stored.<sup>4</sup> There could be a collective effort to set up websites for the publication of particular subjects, all the data on one topic going to one place, instead of being scattered through various monographs and journals. Such online resources have the advantage of permitting additions to be integrated in their appropriate places. The facility for electronic resources to concentrate data on particular subjects, and also to index the material for retrieval, is one of the major advances they offer over the printed book. Even with the use of certain published bibliographic indices, tracking down all information on a single subject in a library remains a massive task, and may involve looking through every issue of every journal, as anyone who has conducted serious research will know.

In the case of highly specialised fields of study, where the number of experts might be no more than a dozen or two in the world, the simplest option for sharing data would be for them to set up a system to exchange the results of their research freely amongst the group. It would make for more rapid transmission of ideas and probably serve as a stimulus to research, with no need to wait up to two years for an article to appear in a paper journal.

### **New means of data collection**

If the results of research, especially of fieldwork, are to be shared effectively through electronic media then it makes sense to collect more in digital form in the first place. This change has already made some headway in the case of images, since almost everyone has moved to the use of digital cameras.<sup>5</sup> The captured images can easily be shared, sometimes

<sup>2</sup> The electronic journal in which this paper appears is a case in point. The standard format is based on a paper journal layout, with all the illustrations at the end, when they should be integrated into the text in the appropriate places.

<sup>3</sup> The file may be full colour and the user may decide to print in colour or greyscale. Using electronic distribution, perhaps more colleagues could choose to share their work free of charge, which will certainly gain a wider audience.

<sup>4</sup> One form of book which is already in the process of being replaced is the academic museum collection catalogue, as museums put information about their collections online. Catalogues of special exhibitions, on the other hand, are generally commercial ventures and are thriving.

<sup>5</sup> With the result that far more images are recorded than ever before. These need to be rigorously edited for publication, as many are almost exact duplicates and others often contain no information of value.

much more quickly than by publication of them in a book or even book-style PDF document online. Images may be uploaded to photo-sharing sites such as Flickr very quickly, just as video may be placed on YouTube. Although digital still photography has become standard very quickly, there is still little use of video on excavations. The actual detail of excavating a complex deposit or stratified sequence, if video-recorded, would create a record which would be far less equivocal than subjective site notes. One way to illustrate the value of video is to imagine its value had it existed in the past – if for example, Petrie's work at Naukratis was available on film, or Montet's excavation of the Tanis royal tombs. So many of the problems of interpretation which have been discussed at length in the literature would be resolved, because we would actually be able to see the details of the excavation as it happened. Now that we have digital video we should use it to record complex stages of excavation. The amount of time spent recording video would not be that great as it would only need to be applied to selected parts of the work; much of fieldwork is spent moving dumps, clearing topsoil and on other non-crucial activities. A commentary on the video would, of course be recorded as the excavation proceeded. The portions of the video which might be published could well be quite limited, or even none at all, but it would be an invaluable record in the excavation archive, available for consultation.

### **A final word on formats**

Those reluctant to accept electronic data publishing frequently cite the problem of changing data-storage formats, which might render today's information unreadable by future technology. The disappearance of the old large-size floppy disk drive (and imminently, of the 3.5 inch drive), is cited as a warning. I have not heard, however, of anyone whose research work has been devastated by the loss of these formats, so presumably any valuable data was transferred to more modern media and preserved. This might mean that other data, regarded as of no value, was not so copied. But if it had no value, does it really matter? The management of data has always involved choices; the printed excavation reports of earlier years are (sometimes very) selective in what they contain owing to choices made in the editorial process. But so long as there is a demand for any particular information, it will be preserved to fulfil that demand, even if, in the extreme case, those creating the demand adopt the responsibility for the preservation of the data. If it matters to someone, it will last and will be migrated from format to format as needed. On the other hand, information for which there is no demand and in which no-one has any interest is likely to disappear, but if no-one reads it anyway, who would notice or care? Material of zero interest was never appropriate to record.