

IMAGING AND IMAGINING THE MEMPHITE NECROPOLIS

LIBER AMICORUM RENÉ VAN WALSEM

edited by

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THE MEMPHITE HARÎM OFFICIAL TJAIRY

Jacobus van Dijk

Although René van Walsem and I have both worked for many years with the EES-Leiden mission in the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara, we somehow only rarely coincided. In fact, of the twenty odd seasons I was excavating there, it was only in 1986 and briefly in 2003, when the mission had become the RMO-Leiden University expedition, that we were there at the same time. We do, however, share a love of this inexhaustible and ever surprising source of exciting new material from all periods of Egyptian history, and I therefore feel confident that he will enjoy the following brief remarks on the owner of an as yet unpublished Memphite tomb from the early Twentieth Dynasty.

In 1991, Said Gohary¹ published a stray block found just north of the Unas causeway, where, he suggests, it may have been reused in a later building. The block shows a standing man in raised relief steadying a large object, the edge of which he appears to be clasping with his left hand, while his raised right hand is also supporting it. Although the bottom of the scene is missing, it is clear that the object must once have stood on the same baseline as the man holding it; it flares out towards the bottom and would seem to represent a large djed pillar, even though in all examples known to me of a standing figure supporting the djed pillar, the man is either carrying it on his shoulders or lifting it up above his head with both hands.² In front of the scene is a single column of text in sunk relief, giving the man's name and title, which Gohary reads as follows: [*sš nsw*] (?) *m^{3c} mr.f r(š) n nswt hnty inb-ḥd imy-r(š) nfrw n nb tšwy Tšry ḏd n.f R^c-ms-sw[-nḥt]*, 'The true [scribe of the king], his beloved, the mouth of the king, chief in Memphis, superintendent of recruits of the Lord of the Two Lands, Tjuroy, who is called Ramesses [nakht]'. He then briefly discusses the career of this official insofar as this is possible from only such a short inscription, suggesting that he may have been 'amongst the leading ranks in the army' and have 'had control over the new recruits, as well as the administrative staff, *sš nfrw*'. As Gohary subsequently points out, however, 'the determinative of *nfrw* does not appear to be either the seated man or the child, which are the determinatives normally used with *nfrw* meaning "recruits"'. He proposes to identify the hieroglyph in question as 'a seated female figure holding a *nḥh* sign, which is used for queens' names, in which case the word *nfrw* would mean "the beautiful ones" (i.e. the harim) and the official's title would be "superintendent of the harim of the Lord of the Two Lands".³










¹ S. Gohary, 'A Monument of the Royal Scribe Tjuroy', *BIFAO* 91 (1991), 191-4.

² Cf. J. Berlandini, 'Contribution à l'étude du pilier-djed memphite', in A.P. Zivie (ed.), *Memphis et ses nécropoles au Nouvel Empire: Nouvelles données, nouvelles questions. Actes du colloque international CNRS, Paris, 9 au 11 octobre 1986* (Paris, 1988), 23-33, where the various types are listed on pp. 25-6. See also J. van Dijk, 'The Symbolism of the Memphite Djed-Pillar', *OMRO* 66 (1986), 7-20; *id.*, *The New Kingdom Necropolis of Memphis: Historical and Iconographical Studies* (Groningen, 1993), 151-72. Gohary incorrectly describes the scene as 'an official standing with a staff in his left hand, while the other is upraised in worship or greeting'; the palm of the man's right hand is facing him, not facing away towards the god or person he is supposed to be worshipping or greeting.

³ Gohary, *BIFAO* 91, 194.



Fig. 1. Block from the tomb of Tjairy, Saqqara, after Gohary, *BIFAO* 91, 193 (adjusted).

The published photograph is not very clear and is taken at an awkward angle,⁴ but the determinative of *nfrw* is definitely neither  nor  and does indeed closely resemble . The photo also shows that the name of the official is to be read    *Tjiry*, not    *Tjry* ('Tjuroy'), although both are in fact variant spellings of the same name.⁵

At the end of his article Gohary expressed the hope that future excavations in the New Kingdom necropolis south of the Unas causeway might result in the discovery of the tomb of this man, and this did indeed happen soon afterwards, when it was discovered by a team of the Faculty of Archaeology of Cairo University. The expedition, which was initially directed by Soad Maher, started with a brief season in the spring of 1977⁶ and had hoped to find the cemetery belonging to the nearby monastery of Apa Jeremias. Instead of Coptic monks, however, several Ramesside tombs were uncovered in the north-eastern part of the New Kingdom cemetery, and the work was discontinued shortly afterwards. In 1982-3, the EES-Leiden mission discovered the tomb of Tia, brother-in-law of Ramesses

II, which displayed a number of architectural features that were new to us at the time, and the proximity of the Cairo University tombs therefore provided a welcome opportunity to look for parallels. During those years, I frequently walked over to the then abandoned site to study the architecture and layout of the tombs and to jot down the occasional name and title of a tomb owner. In 1984, work in this part of

⁴ Reproduced here as Fig. 1, but with the angles digitally manipulated.

⁵ For the form *Tjiry*, see Ranke, *PN I*, 386: 24 (with correction in II, 398); many other variants are listed in *PN I*, 392: 15, 19, 21-2; 393: 6.

⁶ See J. Leclant, 'Fouilles et travaux en Egypte et au Soudan, 1976-1977', *Orientalia* 47 (1978), 278.

DISCOVERIES IN FRONT OF KHAFRE'S LOWER TEMPLE: THE *Ibw* AND *R-š*

Zahi Hawass*

It gives me great pleasure to dedicate this article to René van Walsem for his achievements and his participation in the work of the Leiden expedition to the New Kingdom cemetery in Saqqara. However, perhaps René's most important contribution to Egyptology is the establishment of *MastaBase* as a research tool for the so-called daily life scenes in Old Kingdom Mastabas.

I. Previous Work in the Vicinity of the Lower Temple¹

In 1925, Baraize started his work in the area of the lower temple of Khafre (Fig. 1). Several photographs in the Lacau archives show that this work extended to the east of the temple and uncovered a limestone ramp to the north. Selim Hassan continued excavating this area in 1937; one of his photographs shows

* I am very happy to say that the work described here is completely done by an Egyptian team at Giza and I am always proud that we established a good archaeology program there. Here I would like to thank my colleagues and assistants who participated in this project: Mansour Buraik, who is really an excellent archaeologist, Ashraf Mahmoud, assistant archaeologist, and Abdel Hamid Kotb, architect. In addition, Nevien El-Maghraby, who prepared the architectural plans and the reconstruction of the site. Thanks also to Adel Amien, who drew the plans of the area south of the temple. Noha Abdel Hafiz drew the pottery and inked some of the plans. Amani Abdel Hamied copied the inscription on the north and south doors of the temple. Special thanks has to be given to my friend Bob Kachinsky, who lived in Cairo for more than two years as a head of AMBRIC, the American British consortium that installed the sewage system for the area around the pyramid and who helped us in the survey. Bob planned the ramps and the tunnel.

¹ The lower (valley) temple of Khafre is the most complete temple of the Old Kingdom. It stands 12.5 to 13.0 m. high and was built of local limestone cased with granite (Fig. 1). It is one of only six excavated lower temples from the Old Kingdom: those of Sneferu, Khafre and Menkaure of the Fourth Dynasty, of Sahure and Niuserre of the Fifth Dynasty and of Pepi II of the Sixth Dynasty. However, no archival information remains from any of these temples to explain their function. See, D. Arnold, 'Rituale und Pyramidentempel', *MDAIK* 33 (1977), 1-14. See also R. Stadelmann, 'Taltempel', *LÄ*, VI, 183-9; *id.* *Die Ägyptischen Pyramiden: Von Ziegelbau zum Weltwunder* (Mainz am Rhein, 1985), 98-9. The lower temple of Khufu was recently located on the west side of the Mansouria Canal, during the construction of the sewage system for the village of Nazlet el-Samman (Z. Hawass and M. Jones, 'The Discovery of the Valley Temple and the Causeway of Khufu', forthcoming). The complex of Neferirkare does not have a lower temple, which is a divergence from the Old Kingdom plan (P. Posener-Krieger, *Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kakai (Les papyrus d'Abousir)*, II: *Traduction et commentaire* (BdE 65; Cairo, 1976), 496). A unique structure associated with Neferirkare's complex, described as having four columns in front of the entrance and called the *rwt h3t*, is mentioned in the Abousir Papyri. Posener-Krieger suggests that this could be the designation of the lower temple of Neferirkare, which has yet to be found. It is therefore possible that *rwt h3t* is in fact the ancient name of the lower temples of the Old Kingdom. For a description of Khafre's Lower temple, see U. Hölscher, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren* (Leipzig, 1912), 15 and 40, and V. Maragioglio and C. Rinaldi, *L'Architettura della piramidi menfite*, V (Turin and Rapello, 1996), 128, obs. 36.

sented the living king on earth. The location of these pits near the lower temple suggests that they were connected with the living king, whose activities are recorded in the temple reliefs, and which perhaps in some degree corresponded to his place as the living, or 'Horus' ruler.⁴⁵ The Abusir Papyri refer specifically to two boats connected with the temple of Neferirkare: the *wj3 mht* or northern boat, and the *wj3 rsj* or southern boat.⁴⁶ It is not clear whether these terms refer to the northern and southern boats of the temple or to the northern and southern boat of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt.

The existence of Bastet as the goddess of the north at the northern entrance and the name of Hathor on the southern entrance show that these two boats are located under the north and south tunnels for the king, meaning that the king controls the two lands of Upper and Lower Egypt. In 1980, our excavation in front of the Sphinx temple proved the existence of a harbour at the Giza necropolis.⁴⁷ This harbour is located just a little further east of the ends of the ramps. It is important to reconstruct a harbour, which was connected to the Nile by a canal and the two ramps (Fig. 20). The slope at the end of the two ramps suggests that they extended to the front of a harbour or a quay. They entered inside the first door in the dark into the temple through the northern door. The southern door was used only during the festival of Hathor.



Fig. 20. General view of the excavation site, showing the area of the proposed harbour east of the valley temple of Khafre.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 80.

⁴⁶ Posener-Krieger, *Les archives*, II, 430-7, 509.

⁴⁷ Z. Hawass, 'The Discovery of the Harbors of Khufu and Khafre at Gîza', in C. Berger and B. Mathieu (eds), *Études sur l'Ancien Empire et la nécropole de Saqqâra dédiées à Jean-Philippe Lauer* (OM 9; Montpellier, 1997), 245-56.

A TORSO OF SHEPSI FROM THE REIGN OF AMENHOTEP III

Willem Hovestreydt

Over the many years I have known René van Walsem, I have always enjoyed our conversations, which more often than not tend to reflect the wide range of his interests. Among his Egyptological interests, Saqqara plays an important role and much of his work deals in some fashion with its monuments. I hope this contribution will please him. It is partly art-historical and, though not dealing with Saqqara directly, it bears some relationship to a discovery made at that site.

In 1971, Labib Habachi published a number of blocks found at Saqqara, south of the Unas causeway. Apparently, they came from the tomb of a contemporary of Ramesses II and had been reused in the building of parts of the monastery of Apa Jeremias.¹ The blocks show a series of dyads, representing various deities seated next to Ramesses II, who in all cases is shown with a sun disk on his head. Habachi argued that the dyads were made for the king's first Sed festival, which may have been modelled on that of Amenhotep III. Most of the represented deities are well known, but the god 'Shepsi, who is in Ashmunein' is a conspicuous exception. This Shepsi is a little-known and only sparsely attested deity, who first appears in the Eighteenth Dynasty.²

In this contribution, I would like to present an Eighteenth Dynasty parallel to this Ramesside dyad from Saqqara. It concerns a torso from the reign of Amenhotep III that formed part of a three-dimensional dyad, representing Shepsi seated next to the king.

The Statue

The torso (Fig. 1) was put up for sale at an auction at Christie's, London, in 1994.³ Its provenance is given as 'Ashmunein (Hermopolis)' and it had been acquired in Zürich by a Swiss private collector in 1952.⁴ The object failed to find a buyer, however, and its present whereabouts are unknown.

The material is a highly polished black granodiorite. Though the head is lacking, there are traces of an archaic beard of the type customarily worn by male deities. The head was covered by a tripartite wig, of which the lower parts have been preserved at the front and back. The dimensions are given as 40 cm in height and 38.1 cm in width, which makes it slightly less than life-sized.

The torso wears a broad collar and a kilt, of which only the belt has been preserved. The belt is decorated with a pattern consisting of three vertical bands, repeated at close intervals. Under Amenhotep III,

¹ L. Habachi, 'The Jubilees of Ramesses II and Amenophis III with Reference to Certain Aspects of their Celebration', *ZÄS* 97 (1971), 64-72.

² LÄ V, 584 s.v. Scheps; LGG VII, 67 s.v. Šps. I thank Lorenzo Medini for the chapter on Shepsi from his doctoral thesis *La géographie religieuse de la XV^e province de Haute Égypte aux époques ptolémaïque et romaine* (Paris, 2015).

³ Christie's, London, *Fine Antiquities*, Sale catalogue, 7 December 1994, No. 45 (pp. 24-5). I am grateful to Christie's for permission to use their photographs in the present publication. Property and copyright of the images remain with Christie's.

⁴ Described in the sale catalogue as an artist (1911-80) who began collecting art mainly in the 1940s and 1950s.



Fig. 2. Back of the torso. © Christie's Images Limited [1994].

Hmnw 'Beloved of Shepsi, who is in Hermopolis Magna'. The same text is visible in the damaged column to the right, with only the element *mry* missing.

The inscriptions, along with the torso's iconographical details, thus indicate unambiguously that the torso represents the god Shepsi. The deity's right arm is stretched sideward, indicating the figure formed part of a dyad. On the basis of parallels to be discussed below, we may assume that the person being embraced was the king.⁶

It is not entirely clear if the figures were seated or standing. The photo suggests however, they were seated, which would conform to the posture of the other dyads from the period. Moreover, most standing deities carry a *was* sceptre.

⁶ The sale catalogue, on the contrary, suggested the torso is that of the king, the missing half being 'almost certainly the nome deity of Hermopolis, Shepsi'.

THE HUNTER AND THE HUNTED: THE BRIEF STORY OF AN ANIMAL MUMMY*

Salima Ikram

Animal cults are known in Egypt from the Predynastic Period onward, enjoying varying levels of popularity at different times, flourishing particularly during the Late Period until the start of the Roman era.¹ Animals played two different roles in these cults: that of Sacred Animal and that of Votive Offering. In the case of the former, the animal avatar of a specific deity hosted the divine spirit throughout its lifetime. It was cared for, worshipped, participated in processions, and provided judgements as well as oracular pronouncements. Upon its death, it was carefully mummified and buried in a catacomb with pomp befitting its divine status, with the god's spirit moving to the body of a new animal, similar to the cycle of the Dalai Lama.² By contrast, votive offerings served as gifts to the gods. An animal that was of the same type as a specific god's totem was mummified and given as a sacrificial offering to that god.³ Perhaps this was initially done in the belief that such offerings were more potent than wooden or stone two- and three-dimensional images, because they once had been living and breathing creatures that had given up their lives for the god. These animals would have been prepared by embalmer priests and purchased by pilgrims, who dedicated them to their god of choice. They would then have been consecrated and collected in the temple and, eventually, buried in a catacomb or large tomb dedicated to the cult.⁴

Huge numbers of animal cult places are found throughout Egypt from Alexandria to Aswan, as well as in the oases of the Western Desert. All sorts of animals were given as offerings: cats of different types to Bastet and Sekhmet; canines to Anubis and Wepwawet; bulls, raptors, shrews, snakes, scarab beetles to Re (and Horus); crocodiles and their eggs to Sobek and Sobek-Re; ibis and baboons to Thoth; rams to Khnum and Bannerdjeb; gazelles to Anuket; fish to Neith; and so forth.⁵ Although the numbers of sacred animals were limited, as only one creature ruled supreme in each temple, the quantities of votive

* It is with great pleasure that I dedicate this small votive offering to René, whose wide ranging interest in ancient Egypt have made for many an interesting and enjoyable discussion.

¹ D.V. Flores, *Funerary Sacrifice of Animals in the Egyptian Predynastic Period* (Oxford, 1990); S. Ikram, *Divine Creatures: Animal Mummies in Ancient Egypt*, 2nd ed. (Cairo, 2015).

² J.D. Ray, 'Animal Cults', in D.B. Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2001), 345–48; Ikram, *Divine Creatures*, 1–43.

³ Ikram, *Divine Creatures*, 1–15.

⁴ Ray, *The Oxford Encyclopedia*; Ikram, *Divine Creatures*; D. Kessler, 'Tierkult', *LÄ* 6 (1986), 571–87; H.S. Smith, *A Visit to Ancient Egypt: Life at Memphis and Saqqara c. 500–30BC* (Warminster, 1974).

⁵ Kessler, 'Tierkult'; Ikram, *Divine Creatures*, 1–15.



Fig. 1 Bird votive mummy, Plymouth City Museum and Art Gallery, inv. no. AR.1983.728.

animals required by the cults were enormous, entering into the millions.⁶ Thus, it is hardly surprising that many examples of such creatures have found their way into museum collections throughout the world.

One interesting example is a bird votive mummy now in the Plymouth City Museum and Art Gallery (Fig. 1).⁷ The artefact, number AR.1983.728, measures 40 cm in length, its width is 11.5 cm, and its diameter, at the widest point, is 28.6 cm. It is rather ungainly in shape. Although of unknown provenance, it may have come from Thebes or Akhmim as similarly prepared examples have been found at both these sites, which had cult places associated with Re.⁸ The creature is spirally bound in at least three layers of tightly woven linen bandages, though there are probably more layers covering the head. Underneath the tight linen, which is fairly uniform on the outermost layer, one area shows some looser and thicker weaves. On one side the bandages seem to form an 'X', and originally there were more bandages covering the bird, as is attested

⁶ Ikram, *Divine Creatures*, all chapters and 1-15, 229-33 in particular; S. Ikram, P. Nicholson, L. Bertini, and D. Hurley, 'Killing Man's Best Friend?', *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 28.2 (2013), 48-66; P.T. Nicholson, S. Ikram, and S. Mills, 'The Catacombs of Anubis at North Saqqara', *Antiquity* 89 (345), 645-661; S. Ikram, 'Speculations on the Role of Animal Cults in the Economy of Ancient Egypt', *Apprivoiser le sauvage/Taming the Wild* (CENiM 11), M. Massiera, B. Mathieu, and Fr. Rouffet (eds). (Montpellier, 2015), 211-28.

⁷ I am indebted to Plymouth curators Rachel Smith and Fiona Pitt for their assistance, to Neil Pierce for radiography, and the Plymouth City Museum & Art Gallery for permission to work on the eighteen mummies in their collection (S. Ikram, 'A Mini-Menagerie at Plymouth City Museum and Art Gallery', *Kmt: A Modern Journal of Egyptology* 27.1 (2016).

⁸ L.C. Lortet and C. Gaillard, *La faune momifiée de l'ancienne Egypte* (Lyon, 1903-1909); personal observation of deposits at these sites; S. Ikram and N. Iskander, *Catalogue Général of the Egyptian Museum: Non-Human Remains* (Cairo, 2002). Most of the raptor mummies from Saqqara are prepared differently.

THE BESTOWER AND THE RECIPIENT: ON A CONTROVERSIAL SCENE IN THE MEMPHITE TOMB OF HOREMHEB

Geoffrey T. Martin

If my memory serves me correctly, Dr René van Walsem was on site when the relief slab discussed in the present paper emerged from the ‘fill’ of the outer courtyard of the Saqqara tomb of Horemheb in 1975, the year in which the Egypt Exploration Society – Leiden Museum expedition began work in the vast necropolis stretching as far as the eye could see, south of the causeway of the pyramid of Unas. Fortunately, the relief – broken slantwise in two large pieces when it fell (or was heaved) in antiquity from one of the walls of the tomb for re-use as building material – was otherwise in excellent condition. Its precise position within the scheme of decoration of the outer court is unknown, but it is likely to have been against its north face.¹ The relief (Fig. 1), with some justification, has been characterized by



Fig. 1. The tomb-owner greets a recently decorated colleague.
A relief block from the Outer Court of Horemheb's Memphite Tomb.

¹ G.T. Martin, *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, Commander-in-Chief of Tutankhamun*, I (London, 1989), pls. 32[21], 34[21]. A revised edition of this monograph, entitled *Tutankhamun's Regent*, has recently been published under the imprint of the Egypt Exploration Society. The same scene numbers are retained in both volumes. The outer court is to be distinguished from the forecourt, which has been excavated fully in the recent past, see M. J. Raven, V. Verschoor, M. Vugs and R. van Walsem, *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, Commander in Chief of Tutankhamun, V: The Forecourt and the Area South of the Tomb with Some Notes on the Tomb of Tia* (Turnhout, 2011), 32-3. It is clearly an eastwards extension to the original plan, and may have been added in connection with a posthumous cult of the deified Horemheb.

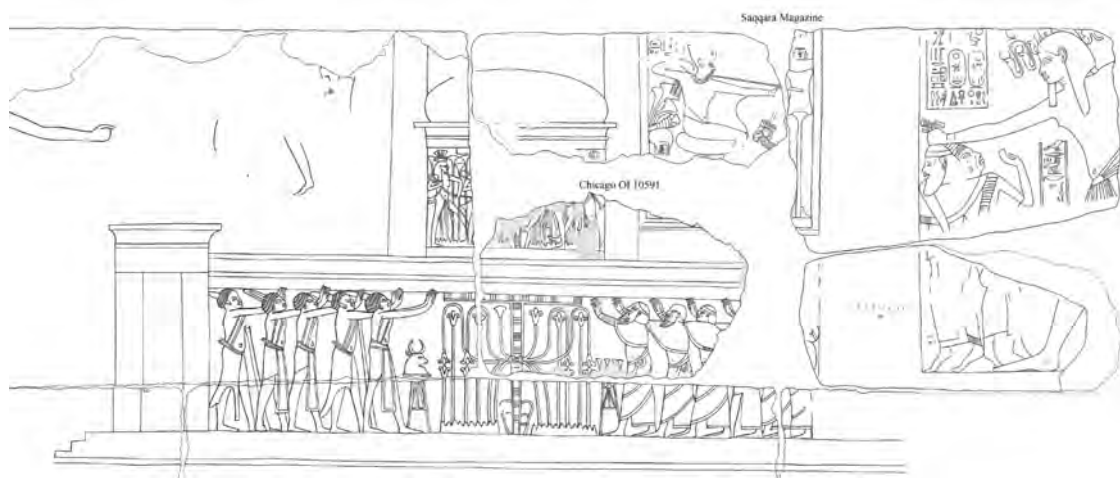


Fig. 4. The Window of Appearances in a royal palace: Tutankhamun smites symbolic enemies of Egypt. A relief scene on the south wall of the Outer Court of Horemheb's Memphite tomb.

he subsequently allow it to survive in an undamaged condition? We are left wondering if anything can be proved about the true relationship between Ay and Horemheb. Even the alleged mutilation of the former's monuments by Horemheb is open to question: the dates of such *martelages* are never recorded by the persons who carried out the excisions or alterations (two separate concepts), or indeed those who officially authorized them. In some cases it is possible and even likely that in the post-Amarna period the excisions and destructions took place under the early Ramesside pharaohs, in the context of their vilification of the 'tainted' Amarna pharaohs and their families. There is always the possibility that the removal of names and figures was in some cases the work of later tomb robbers. It is noteworthy that the figure of Ay as pharaoh in the tomb of Tutankhamun survived unscathed.

The new discovery mentioned above relates to relief fragments found a few years ago re-used in the foundations of a house in a village north of Mitrahina (Memphis). These fragments, only recently brought to the attention of scholars, physically join Scene [2], part of the east end of the south wall of the outer court of Horemheb's tomb, on which is depicted a Window of Appearances, foreign captives or (delegates?), the latter in outline, and sundry tentative carvings. The new fragments crucially show Tutankhamun, identified by name, exhibiting his prowess as an archer, his wife at his feet. To the right of this scene he grasps the hair and smites the heads of two symbolic enemies of Egypt (Fig. 4). This important material, which obviates the necessity of assigning the decoration in the outer court to the reign of Ay, is the subject of an important article, illustrated with excellent drawings and photographs, by Dr Zahi Hawass,²² to be published in a Festschrift in honour of Dr Dorothea Arnold. On viewing the article Dr W. Raymond Johnson recognized that the fragments were an integral part of Scene [2] in the original publication of the monument. Both scholars will publish a definitive paper on the material in the near future.

The reconsideration of the building project of Horemheb's Memphite monument, especially the outer courtyard, suggested above, together with the emergence of the new decorated fragments inscribed for Tutankhamun unequivocally from that area, means that the earlier interpretations of our two admired scholars, purporting to reconstruct historical and political as well as personal events in the reign of that ruler and his successor Ay, have to be modified, if not abandoned. For the moment I

²² To be published in the journal *BES*, vol. 19. Dr Hawass generously allowed me to read a copy of his article in advance of publication.

THE TOMB OF TATIA, *WAB*-PRIEST OF THE FRONT OF PTAH AND CHIEF OF THE GOLDSMITHS*

Vincent Oeters

Introduction

During the excavation season of 2009, the joint expedition of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities and Leiden University carried out excavations in two areas in vicinity of the tomb of Meryneith.¹ South of the tomb of Meryneith, a rectangular area measuring approximately 10 by 9 meters was excavated in order to locate the aboveground aperture of a shaft discovered and mapped during the 2002 season in the subterranean complex beneath the tomb of Meryneith.² In the process of this search, the modest tomb of Tatia was discovered. He was a ‘Chief of the Goldsmiths’ (*ḥr.y nb.y.w*) and a ‘*wab*-priest of the front of Ptaḥ’ (*wꜥb n ḥꜣ.t n Ptḥ*), one of the priests responsible for bearing the front part of the shouldered bark of Ptaḥ during festival processions.³ Additionally, Tatia specifies that he is ‘one who has access in the Gold-house of Ptaḥ’ (*ꜥꜣ m ḥw.t-nbw n Ptḥ*).⁴ A tomb-chapel belonging to a colleague of Tatia was found in the second area, a pocket of about 140 m² between the tomb of Horemheb in the North, the tomb of Pay and Raia in the South, the tomb of Iniua in the West and the tomb of Meryneith in the East (Fig. 1). The decorated limestone revetments *in situ* identify the tomb owner as a male named Khay.⁵ He was a ‘chief gardener of the garden of Pharaoh (life, prosperity, health)’ and, like Tatia, a ‘*wab*-priest of the front of Ptaḥ’.

* This paper presents some results of research conducted for my MA thesis *The Tomb of Tatia at Saqqara: A Study of the Ramesside Tomb of a Memphite Priest of the Front of Ptaḥ and Chief of the Goldsmiths* (MA thesis, Leiden University; Leiden, 2012), expanded with additional new insights. I wish to express my gratitude to my supervisor and teacher Dr René van Walsem for his assistance during my research and for his encouragement throughout my studies. I am very thankful for his support and especially for his realistic and forthrightly teaching of Egyptology. Dr R.J. Demarée, my second supervisor, also helped, guided and supported me during my studies and research, and continues to do so. I would further like to thank Prof. Dr M.J. Raven, field director of the mission, for allowing me to work on the material. I am grateful to Prof. Dr P. Piacentini and Dr C. Orsenigo for allowing me to republish the photograph from the archive of Victor Loret. Prof. Dr G.T. Martin kindly provided me with another copy of the photograph. A more extensive presentation of the tomb of Tatia will be published in the forthcoming final report of the expedition.

¹ See M.J. Raven, H.M. Hays, C. Lacher, K. Duistermaat, I. Regulski, B.G. Aston, L. Horácková and N. Warner, ‘Preliminary Report on the Leiden Excavations at Saqqara, Season 2009: The Tombs of Khay II and Tatia’, *JEOL* 42 (2010), 5-24.

² See M.J. Raven, R. van Walsem, B.G. Aston and E. Strouhal, ‘Preliminary Report on the Leiden Excavations at Saqqara, Season 2002: The Tomb of Meryneith’, *JEOL* 37 (2001-2002), 95-7.

³ For an article on this title, see H. Kees, ‘Wēbpriester der 18. Dynastie im Trägerdienst bei Prozessionen’, *ZÄS* 85 (1960), 45-56.

⁴ See *Wb*, 1, 230.7.

⁵ *Ibid.* 6-9. The designation ‘Khay II’ is used in order to distinguish the present individual from the similarly named person who has a tomb-chapel to the north of Horemheb’s tomb; see G.T. Martin, *The Tombs of Three Memphite Officials: Ramose, Khay and Pabes* (London, 2001), 10-17.

orchestra in this tomb are fifteen columns of text giving the words of the song they perform. The lyrics in the tombs of Tatia and Mahu do not correspond, but both express the wish that the tomb-owner may reach the West and both have a religious character. In the tomb of Mahu, the *sem*-priest is depicted behind an offering-table, followed by the orchestra on the same wall. However, in the tomb of Tatia the orchestra takes up the whole south wall, while the *sem*-priest is depicted behind an offering-table on the adjacent south part of the west wall. Despite the difference in the sequence of the musicians, the scenes are strikingly similar and one might have functioned as inspiration for the other.

In 2015, the Leiden/Turin Expedition found five fragments of a slab belonging to the south wall of the tomb of Tatia in a shaft (2015/2) to the west of his tomb-chapel.²³ The slab joins the lower course still *in situ* and together they measure approximately 1.4 m in height (Fig. 7). The relief shows Tatia and his wife in front of an offering table. Under the chair of Tatia's wife Werery is a standing naked boy, smelling a lotus flower. The lyrics of the orchestra song are now nearly complete.



Fig. 7. Digital reconstruction of the south wall of the tomb-chapel with the slab found in 2015 (prepared by the author).

²³ Raven *et al.*, *JEOL* 45, 9 and Fig. 9.

COPYING OF MOTIFS IN THE NEW KINGDOM TOMBS AT SAQQARA

Maarten J. Raven

Introduction

In 2013, René van Walsem published an article on the motivation for the astounding variation of motifs in Old Kingdom tombs of the Memphite area.¹ Here he contrasted the aspects of individual pluriformity versus collective uniformity as presented by the wall-decoration of the various tombs of the period in question, concluding that Egyptian culture as a whole was characterized by an agonistic ambition to surpass what had been made before. Van Walsem rightly warns that this statement should not be interpreted as an absolute rejection of the formerly accepted interpretation of Egyptian culture as being static or conventional, but rather as a modification implying that the ‘typical’ (or ‘collective’) and the ‘individual’ are polarities in a continuum, and that this ancient civilization was perhaps more dynamic than formerly believed.² The circumstance that tomb-owners or their artists aimed to express their individuality and originality would explain that downright copies or reduplications of artistic motifs or even architectural forms hardly occur.

Van Walsem has always been my closest Egyptological friend. We have known each other since 1971, when we both started our studies of Egyptian language and literature, history of art, and archaeology at Leiden University. In fact, this was a ‘double’ programme, and we only managed to cope with the immense workload because we could share our experiences, discuss the problems that inevitably occurred, and plan the solutions. Though this cooperation may occasionally have presented an aspect of rivalry, our fellow-students were generally impressed by the manner in which we operated as an efficient team. This earned us sobriquets like Castor and Pollux, Walraven, and similar, though Egyptologically speaking it would perhaps be more appropriate to state that we acted as each other’s double (or *ka*). Clearly, there was an aspect of copying or replication involved, though without the negative connotations these words occasionally have.

In 1975, we were both invited to join the new archaeological project of the Leiden Museum and the Egypt Exploration Society at Saqqara. As field assistants we could finally realize our dream of working in Egypt, and for both of us Saqqara has inevitably become a focus in our archaeological research. From 1999 to 2007 we jointly directed the Leiden Expedition in the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara, which was the successor to the Anglo-Dutch project. Therefore, it is a particular pleasure to dedicate the present study to René van Walsem, whom I have always admired for his meticulous approach and critical valuation of Egypt’s artistic and archaeological heritage. Below, I would like to present a number of instances of the replication or ‘doubling’ of representations occurring in the New Kingdom tombs at Saqqara which were discovered so far.

¹ R. van Walsem, ‘Diversification and Variation in Old Kingdom Funerary Iconography as the Expression of a Need for ‘Individuality’’, *JEOL* 44 (2013), 117-39.

² *Ibid.*, 138.

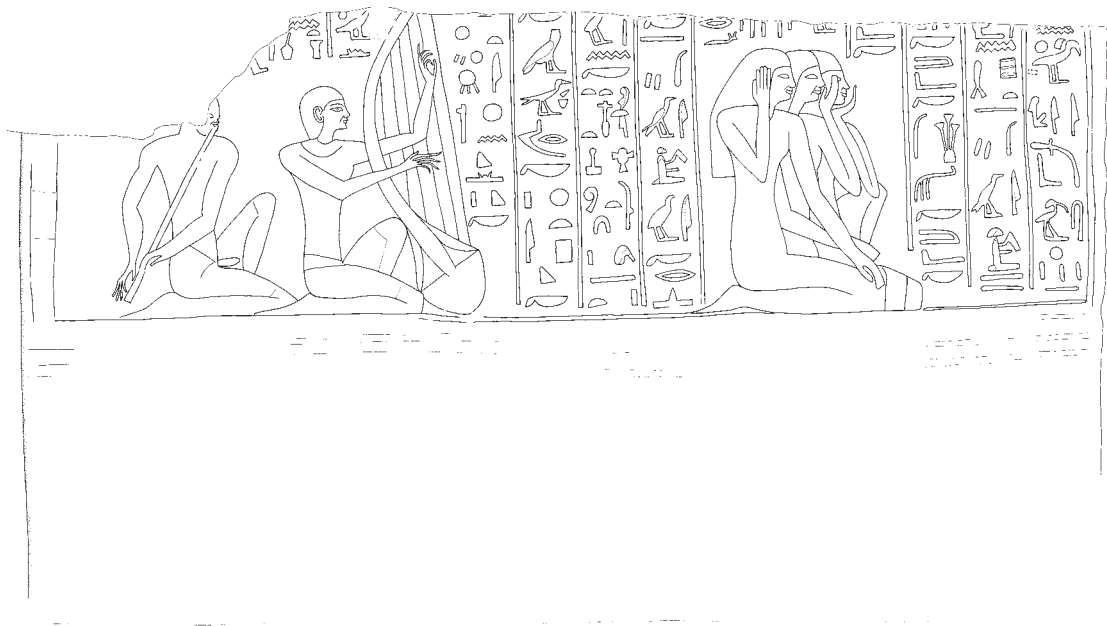


Fig. 9. Saqqara, tomb of Tatia: orchestra and singers.

are arranged in two sub-groups of two instead of three women kneeling side by side, as in Tatia's scene. Two of them have raised their right hand with the palm forwards, whereas on Tatia's wall all three raised hands are different. In Nebnefer's tomb, their wigs are striated, whereas they are plain in the other case. Again, the representation in Nebnefer's tomb is surmounted by a hieroglyphic text, in this case written in fifteen framed columns and giving the text of yet another song for the deceased.

In spite of all these variations, it cannot be denied that the two scenes must be related somehow, whether they shared a common example, one was copied from the other, or perhaps the same artist worked at both places simultaneously. The tomb of Nebnefer is not precisely datable, but was certainly constructed during the long reign of Ramesses II. Mahu served as chief steward in the temple of Ramesses II in the estate of Ptah. He was also 'royal messenger to the land of the Hittites' but was not among those who negotiated a peace treaty in the King's year 21. As Gohary already suggests,³⁵ this probably places him somewhere during the second half of the reign, which would make him a contemporary of Tatia.



Fig. 10. Saqqara, tomb of Nebnefer and Mahu: orchestra and singers (photo by kind permission of Ola el-Aguizy).

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 37.

THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY EXPLORATION OF THE SAQQARA NEW KINGDOM NECROPOLIS*

Nico Staring

Introduction

François Auguste Ferdinand Mariette (1821-81) visited Egypt for the first time in 1850 on behalf of the Musée du Louvre, and it is at the site of Saqqara where he made probably one of his most spectacular discoveries: the Serapeum.¹ That Mariette also worked in the area now known as the New Kingdom necropolis south of the Unas causeway is less well known. During the years 1858-9, he visited that area accompanied by Théodule Devéria (1831-71). Recently, a number of photographs made by Devéria at Saqqara in 1859 were identified. These capture various New Kingdom tombs that have since been lost, including that of Ptahmose, the early Nineteenth Dynasty Mayor of Memphis; Ptahemwia, the Overseer of Cattle and Overseer of the Treasury of the Ramesseum;² and Khay, another Treasury Overseer of Ramesses II's Theban memorial temple.³ Those photographs provided the incentive for a closer examination of Mariette's exploration of the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara south of the Unas causeway. This article aims to demarcate the area of the necropolis where he worked, and to determine what his motives were to work there.

* It is with great pleasure that I dedicate this article to René van Walsem in gratitude for all that he has taught me about Egyptian archaeology and material culture, and for his continued support during my studies 'down under' at Macquarie University (Sydney, Australia). René first introduced me to the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara – which forms the subject of this paper – during a lecture held at an 'open day' for prospective Archaeology students to Leiden University, somewhere around 1999. I hope that this contribution to his *Festschrift* sheds some new light on one phase of the non-systemic use-life of the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara: the (early) scientific use-life. I thank Boyo Ockinga, Daniela Picchi, Maarten Raven, and René van Walsem for valuable feedback at an early stage of preparing this paper; Jason Livingstone-Thomas for polishing my English; and the editors of this *Festschrift* for inviting me to contribute to it.

¹ Since 1849, Mariette had a minor post at the Louvre. The museum sent him to Egypt to obtain Coptic, Ethiopic, and Syriac manuscripts. He arrived in Alexandria on 2 October 1850. After failing to acquire the manuscripts, he soon shifted attention to finding the Serapeum and started his work at Saqqara on 27 October 1850 (W.R. Dawson, E.P. Uphill, and M.L. Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology* (4th rev. edn; London, 2012), 356; J.-P. Lauer, 'Mariette à Saqqarah: Du Sérapéum à la direction des antiquités', in J. Sainte Fare Garnot (ed.), *Mélanges Mariette* (BdE 32; Cairo, 1961), 4-5).

² See N. Staring, 'The Tomb of Ptahmose, Mayor of Memphis: Analysis of an Early 19th Dynasty Funerary Monument at Saqqara', *BIFAO* 114 (2014), 455-518; N. Staring, 'The Tomb of Ptahemwia, "Great Overseer of Cattle" and "Overseer of the Treasury of the Ramesseum" at Saqqara', *JEA* 102 (2016), 145-70. These articles also include a short biography of Théodule Devéria and notes on early photography in Egyptian archaeology. For Devéria's contribution to photography in Egyptology, see also É. David, 'Théodule Devéria (1^{er} Juillet 1831 - 25 Janvier 1871): L'Égyptologue faiseur d'images', in F. Morfoisse and G. Andreu-Lanoë (eds), *Sésostris III: Pharaon de légende* (Gand, 2014), 246-51, which was published just before submitting the manuscript of the present article.

³ S. Pasquali, 'La tombe perdue de Bourri, employé du domaine d'Aton à Memphis', *BIFAO* 113 (2013), 315-16, figs 10-11. A more detailed publication of the tomb of Khay by the same author (in collaboration with Jocelyne Berlandini-Keller) is currently in preparation (Stéphane Pasquali, personal communication).

The location of four of these tombs – Iniuiia, Ptahmose, Mery-Neith and Horemheb – has been ascertained by excavations in the late 20th/early 21st centuries. The location of a fifth tomb (Hormin) has been mapped by Lepsius. These are all located in the same general area (Fig. 2). A number of the tombs were visited before: Iniuiia, Ptahmose, Mery-Neith, Hormin, and Horemheb. Elements taken from these tombs entered private and public collections before 1850.

The tombs visited by Mariette are mostly of a late Eighteenth to early Nineteenth Dynasty date, which might provide an indication for the area explored by Mariette. In view of that observation, and considering the architectural similarities between the tombs of Ptahmose and Ptahemwia (II), the latter tomb should probably be situated in the same area as well. This fits with Ptahemwia (II)'s chronological position and the general development of the New Kingdom cemetery from south (late Eighteenth Dynasty) to north (Ramesseum). This hypothesis can be supported by the fact that this area was 'inhabited' by more officials bearing similar titles. They include Overseers of Cattle (Pay, Iniuiia) and the higher administrative personnel of the Ramesseum (Tia, Amenemone).¹⁰⁰

Not all (inscribed) material excavated by Mariette was published in *Monuments divers*. A survey of additional funerary equipment published in the *Catalogue Général* of the Cairo Museum (canopics and funerary statuettes), has resulted in the list of tombs explored by Mariette, Devéria, and Vassalli presented in Table 1. Three tomb owners are briefly discussed below.

Nedjem, the Chief Steward of the Ramesseum, served during the late reign of Ramesses II and early Merenptah. His canopic jars (Cairo CG 4161-4) were found at Saqqara in December 1859.¹⁰¹ His shabtis (Cairo CG 47188, 47209-10) were also found at Saqqara, but no find date is known.¹⁰² The JE numbers of the latter two shabtis (JE 5497; 6498) suggest that they were found in 1859-60,¹⁰³ probably together with the canopic jars. More recently, an abacus was found reused in a secondary wall around shaft 2003/17 near the tomb of Mery-Neith at Saqqara,¹⁰⁴ and a shabti fragment was found in the fill of the courtyard of the neighbouring tomb of Ptahemwia (I).¹⁰⁵ These finds suggest that the tomb of Nedjem was located nearby. A statue of the same man was found by Mariette in the temple of Ptah at Memphis (in 1871, 1872 or 1875).¹⁰⁶ The provenance of his stela (Cairo CG 34508) is unknown, although it might derive from Nedjem's tomb at Saqqara.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁰ See N. Staring, 'The Personnel of the Theban Ramesseum in the Memphite Necropolis', *JEOL* (2014-15), 51-92.

¹⁰¹ G. Reisner, 'The Dated Canopic Jars of the Gizeh Museum', *ZÄS* 37 (1899), 64, No. 24, fig. 5; G.A. Reisner, *Canopics* (CGC Nos 4001-4740 and 4977-5033; Cairo, 1967), 116-20, pl. XXIV. For Nedjem, see PM III/2, 771, 838. Objects with his name were found at Saqqara, Memphis and Abydos. For the most recent list of objects pertaining to Nedjem, see Raven *et al.*, *Ptahemwia and Sethnakht*, Cat. 67.

¹⁰² P.E. Newberry, *Funerary Statuettes and Model Sarcophagi* (CGC Nos 46530-48575; Cairo, 1937-57), 88-9, 97, pls XIX-XXI, XXXV.

¹⁰³ Cf. Bothmer, *Bib.Et.* 64/3, 114.

¹⁰⁴ Excav. No. Sak. 2003-72: Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 172, Cat. 163.

¹⁰⁵ Excav. No. Sak. 2007-16: Raven *et al.*, *Ptahemwia and Sethnakht*, Cat. 67.

¹⁰⁶ PM III/2, 838; Mariette, *Mon. div.*, 7, pl. 27f. The cubic statue is now in Memphis (Tennessee): Memphis State University Collection 1981.1.20 (formerly: Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 29.730): D. Dunham, 'Four New Kingdom Monuments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston', *JEA* 21 (1935), 150-1, pl. 19 (bought in 1929 from a private owner).

¹⁰⁷ The stela is unpublished. A transcription of the text was provided by Kitchen: *KRI* III, 201. It names Nedjem's father: the Royal Scribe Amenemope. Interestingly, a shabti of an untitled man named Amenemope was found at Saqqara in 1858: Newberry, *Funerary Statuettes*, 112 (Cairo CG 47240).

A FAMILY OF HIGH PRIESTS OF PTAH IN MEMPHIS DURING THE TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY

Gerard P.F. Broekman*

Introduction

It is an honour and a pleasure to contribute to this *liber amicorum* for René van Walsem, a most inspiring mentor and a true friend. As he is aware of my special interest in the Third Intermediate Period, he probably will not be surprised at the subject of my contribution.

Amongst the archaeological sites from which we have our sources for the Third Intermediate Period in Egypt, the Memphite necropolis seems – at first sight – to occupy a rather modest position. Nevertheless, some Memphite monuments have produced essential evidence regarding the history and chronology of this period, notably the Twenty-Second, Twenty-Fourth and Twenty-Fifth Dynasties. One of these monuments is the burial place of the Apis bulls, the Serapeum at Saqqara, discovered by Auguste Mariette in 1851.

The first Twenty-Second Dynasty king attested here is Takeloth I. On a block (Louvre SN 82), found by Mariette in or close by the Serapeum, both cartouche-names of a king Takeloth are shown: Hedjkheperre Setepenre Takeloth Meriamun, under which is a horizontal inscription mentioning the High Priest of Ptah Merenptah.

Initially this king was identified with Takeloth II, from which it was assumed that the High Priest of Ptah Merenptah interrupted the line of High Priests of Ptah established by Osorkon II's son, Shoshenq D.¹

In 1987, Karl Jansen-Winkeln showed that the king buried in room 3 of Osorkon II's tomb NRT I in Tanis was not Takeloth II, as was assumed by Pierre Montet who had discovered the tomb, but Osorkon's father Takeloth I, bearing the same prenomen as Takeloth II: Hedjkheperre Setepenre.²

* I am indebted to Claus Jurman for kindly commenting on a draft of this paper, his comments mainly arising from the fact that his view on the Memphite priesthood of the Third Intermediate Period has changed significantly since the publication of his paper in the proceedings of the 2007 Leiden 'Libyan' conference (referred to in note 1). The issues raised will all be treated more or less in Jurman's forthcoming book on the Third Intermediate Period in Memphis.

¹ K.A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100–650 B.C.)* (3rd edn; Warminster, 1995), 193, hereinafter *ThIP*³. See also C. Jurman, 'From the Libyan Dynasties to the Kushites in Memphis: Historical Problems and Cultural Issues', in G.P.F. Broekman, R.J. Demarée and O.E. Kaper (eds), *The Libyan Period in Egypt: Historical and Cultural Studies into the 21st-24th Dynasties – Proceedings of a Conference at Leiden University, 25-27 October 2007* (Leiden and Leuven, 2009), 119.

² K. Jansen-Winkeln, 'Thronname und Begräbnis Takeloths I.', *VA* 3 (1987), 253-8.

However, for reasons of phraseology and palaeography, Jurman is of opinion that CG 1212 should be dated to the late Twenty-First Dynasty, making Ankhefensekhmet identical to the father of Shedsunefertem and consequently eliminating him from the list of descendants of Shoshenq D. CG 1212 would also provide a convenient link for the High-priestly genealogies of the Twenty-First and Twenty-Second Dynasties.⁴⁴ If Jurman is right, Harsiese H – as far as we know – only had two sons, Takeloth H and Ankhpediese, the former succeeding his father in his Memphite High-Priestly capacity.

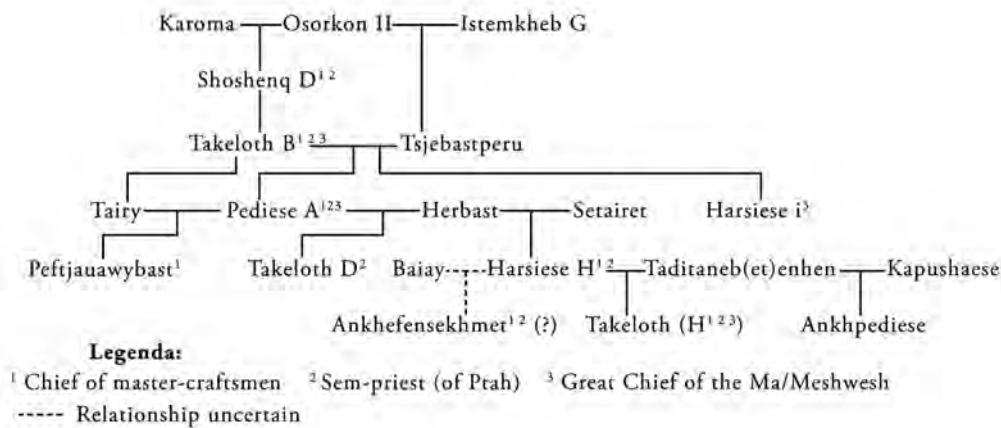


Fig. 1: Genealogy of the Shoshenq D family.

The Shoshenq D Family in Chronological Connection.

The genealogy of the Shoshenq D family as gleaned from the above is represented in Figure 1. As Shoshenq D himself in all probability participated in the Apis burial in regnal year 23 of Osorkon II in his capacity of High Priest of Ptah (*wr hrp Hmw.wt n Pth*), and was buried shortly after the accession of Shoshenq III, it may be assumed that he occupied this High-priestly office in the second half of his father's reign. Shoshenq D was succeeded by his son Takeloth B, the length of whose term of office we have no indication about.

The earliest mention of Takeloth B's son and successor, Pediese A, is found on stela IM 3749, dated to regnal year 28 of king Shoshenq III.⁴⁵ He also appears, after 26 years, on stelae IM 3697 and 3736, both dated to regnal year 2 of Pamiu. On all these stelae, Pediese is named 'Great Chief of the Ma/Meshwesh'.

Although the real protagonist on all three Serapeum stelae is Pediese A, adoring the deceased Apis followed by his son(s), his son Peftjauawybast is designated as High Priest of Ptah on stela IM 3749,

⁴⁴ Jurman wrote me that although Shedsunefertem's father Ankhefensekhmet A is called a son of Ashakhet B on Louvre stela IM 3429 and other monuments, he is inclined to value contemporary sources such as CG 1212 higher than genealogical information compiled with a specific agenda centuries later (Jurman, 2014 *Communication*).

⁴⁵ It should be noted that no Apis burial is attested in the period from regnal year 23 of Osorkon II until regnal year 28 of Shoshenq III, though the length of the period – at least 33 years, as Osorkon II's regnal year 29 is attested – is suggestive of an intermediate Apis burial.

‘THE OLD MAN IN THE FIELD’¹ (P. LEIDEN I 351)²

Rob J. Demarée

‘No better thing than friendship has been given to man by the immortal gods’.

Cicero, *De Amicitia* VI 20

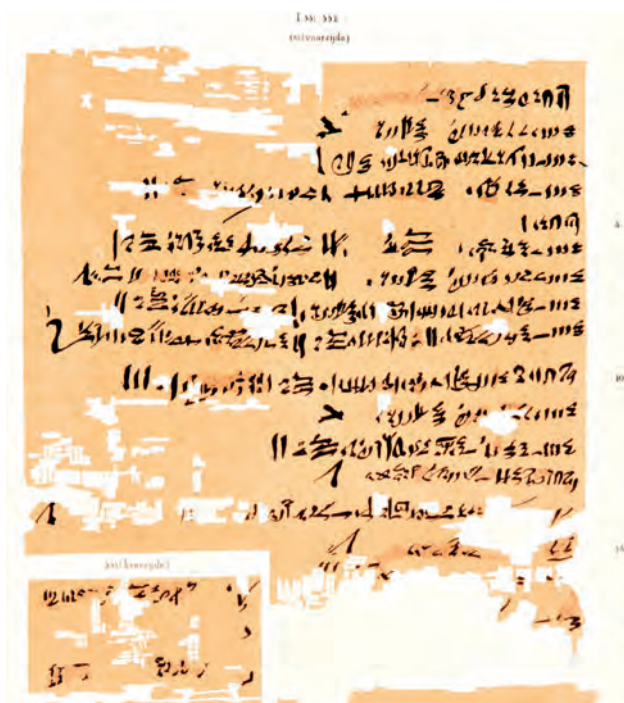


Fig. 1. P. Leiden I 351 in C. Leemans, *Monumens Égyptiens du Musée d'Antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide* (Leiden, 1843), II^e partie, Pl. CLXVIII.

It is a pleasure and an honour to contribute to this Festschrift for a long-time dear friend and distinguished colleague, who for many years has been my roommate in our institute, taught me so much on many aspects of Egyptian art, and provided me with a sheer endless supply of coffee. As a small token of this friendship and esteem, I offer him the following notes and thoughts on a papyrus text housed in a nearby institution and yet so far almost unnoticed.

Although by now most of the hieratic papyri from the collection of the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden (RMO) have been published, one administrative document has so far never received proper attention. As part of the collection of Giovanni d'Anastasi, the papyrus entered the museum collections in 1828 under the number AMS 25a. The papyrus was mounted on *papier vegetal*, and was given the inventory number I 351 by Caspar Reuvens, the first director of the museum.³ In March 1834, François Salvolini made a hand copy (not a real

¹ Any resemblance to living persons is entirely accidental.

² I thank the museum curators Dr. Maarten J. Raven and Dr. Lara Weiss for information on the collection data, and the museum photographer Peter Jan Bomhof for the photos.

³ C. Leemans, *Description raisonnée des monumens égyptiens du Musée d'antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide* (Leiden, 1840), 115.

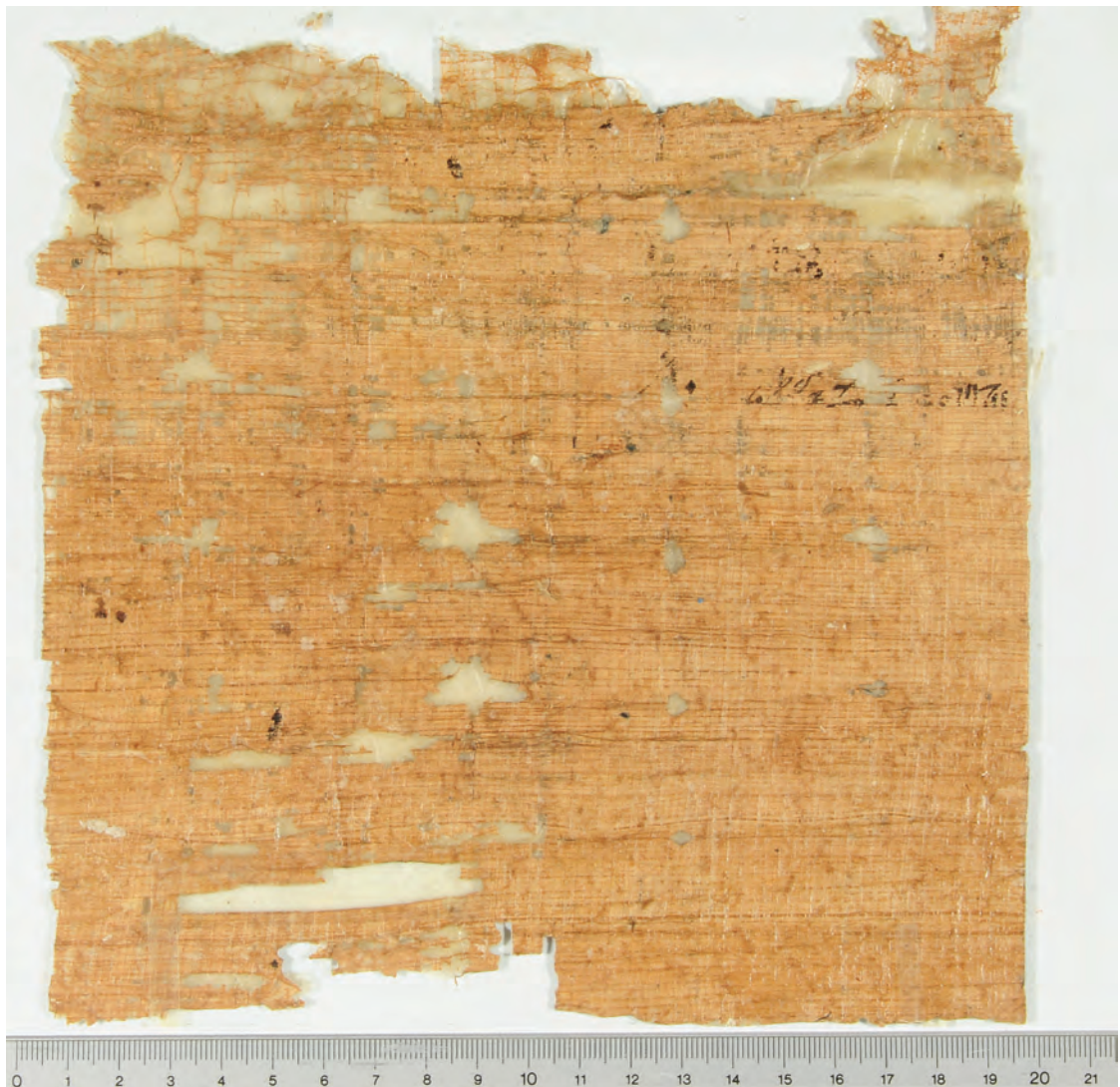


Fig. 3a. P. Leiden I 351 verso (photo Peter Jan Bomhof).

Comments

Recto

(2) In view of the preposition *r*, the bread rations mentioned here and in lines (7) and (11) must be intended for a group or an institution. Unfortunately in all three instances of the word the first sign is distorted or damaged, but most probably we are dealing here with the expression *p3 h3y.w*, translated as ‘the service’ by Janssen in *Two Ancient Egyptian Ship’s Logs*, 28-30.

For the *‘qw n wnmw* loaves, see Janssen, *Two Ancient Egyptian Ship’s Logs*, 26, and *id.*, ‘The Daily Bread: A Contribution to the Study of the Ancient Egyptian Diet’, *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 13 (1997), 37. While admitting that the precise meaning of this expression escaped him, Janssen suggested as translation ‘normal loaves’, which in fact seems just as vague as the literal translation ‘loaves for eating’. To avoid confusion with the *‘kk*-loaves, I have chosen to translate the expression *‘qw n wnmw* as ‘loaves of bread’.

SHAFT 99/I IN THE MEMPHITE TOMB OF HOREMHEB: DEMOTIC TO THE RESCUE?

Koenraad Donker van Heel

René van Walsem's always inspiring courses on the material culture, art and archaeology of ancient Egypt have sadly never been enough to detract me from my real passion – demotic (and some abnormal hieratic, by the way) – partly also because I quickly understood that archaeology would actually involve very steep climbs and deep descents. I would definitely not have been very comfortable creeping around in narrow shafts and tiny burial rooms in the Saqqara bedrock, deep underground. René has very little trouble doing so, and I sincerely hope he will be able to do this for many years to come, only this time knowing the exact demotic name for these tiny underground burial rooms in the many Late Period and Ptolemaic additions to existing tombs that are so familiar to him. That is, of course, if my *assumption* is correct.¹

The distance between archaeology and demotic studies is – especially if we confine ourselves to the Memphite area – not easily bridged. If demotic studies within Egyptology are only a small domain, the field of Memphite demotic studies is smaller still, and actual demotists having dug in the Saqqara necropolis area and then published the texts they excavated are even harder to find, the most notable exceptions being the wonderful work done by Sue Davies, John Ray, Harry Smith and John Tait for the Egypt Exploration Society on the excavations in Saqqara,² and the recent catalogue of Saqqara papyri from Leiden, London and St. Petersburg by Cary Martin,³ who is also responsible for the publication of the very long Memphite papyri kept in the Louvre that are mostly only known from the obsolete translations by Eugène Revillout.⁴ This is a shame, because Memphite demotic is exciting. It shows clear deviations from 'mainstream' Theban demotic – if that ever existed – in that it sometimes seems to have an almost uncial quality to it. In some cases it also uses a different vocabulary from other regions in Egypt, which is of course not very surprising in such a vast country.

¹ Maarten Raven is much thanked for his kind permission to use several plates of Shaft 99/I from M.J. Raven, V. Verschoor, M. Vugts and R. van Walsem, *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, Commander in Chief of Tutankhamun, V: The Forecourt and the Area South of the Tomb, With Some Notices on the Tomb of Tia* (Turnhout, 2011). Cary Martin checked my English, for which I am very grateful.

² E.g. H.S. Smith and W.J. Tait, *Saqqâra Demotic Papyri*, I (London, 1983); J.D. Ray, *Demotic Ostraca and Other Inscriptions from the Sacred Animal Necropolis, North Saqqara* (London, 2013). The latter contains a complete list of EES publications from these excavations on page 5 (n. 1).

³ C.J. Martin, *Demotic Papyri from the Memphite Necropolis (P. Dem. Memphis) in the Collections of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, the British Museum and the Hermitage Museum*, I-II (Turnhout, 2009). Cary Martin and Harry Smith have also published many very difficult demotic letters from Saqqara, e.g. C.J. Martin and H.S. Smith, 'Demotic Letters from the Sacred Animal Necropolis', in H. Knuff, C. Leitz and D. von Recklinghausen (eds), *Honi soit qui mal y pense: Studien zum pharaonischen, griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen* (Leuven, Paris and Walpole, 2010), 85-97 and pl. 29-33.

⁴ For the Louvre papyri, see the list in Martin, *Demotic Papyri from the Memphite Necropolis*, 186.

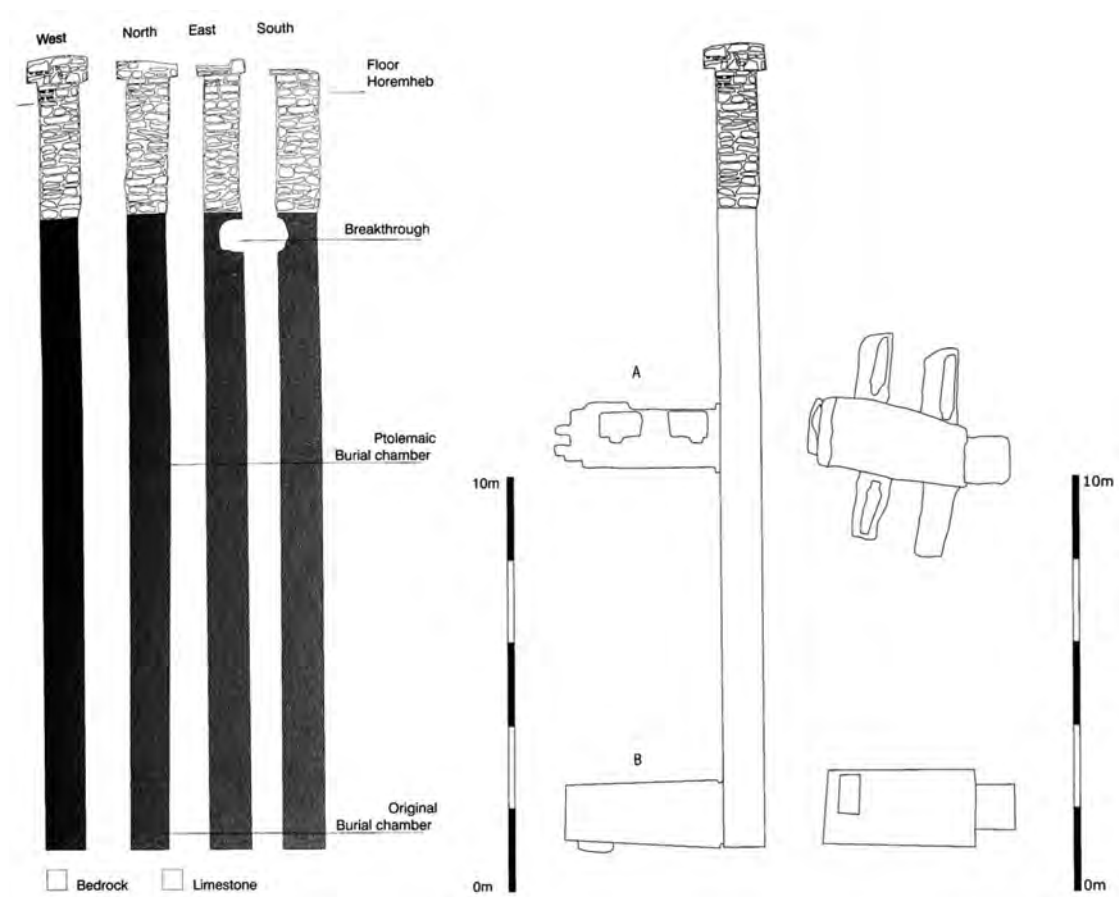


Fig. 2. Section of Shaft 99/I in Raven, *Horemheb*, V, 37.

So at this point we are dealing with national treasuries, regional treasuries and highly local treasuries. National treasuries would obviously have consisted of an administration managing storerooms or – more specific – just one room inside the temple for the really precious commodities and large storage facilities outside the temple itself to receive taxes, tribute and donations, etc.³⁶ Regional treasuries may have had a similar layout but a somewhat smaller size, whereas in the case of the highly local treasury in the course of time the meaning of *pr-ḥd* evolved from '(temple) treasury (to store precious and bulk commodities)'

³⁶ For the *pr-ḥd* as an institution in the Old Kingdom, see now H. Papazian, 'The Central Administration of the Resources in the Old Kingdom: Departments, Treasuries, Granaries and Work Centers', in J.C. Moreno Garcia (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration* (Leiden and Boston, 2013), 70ff. See W. Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches* (PA 3; Leiden and Köln, 1958), 180-182 for the Middle Kingdom and 182-191 for the New Kingdom. A quick and really useful survey is Müller-Wollerman, in Fitzenreiter *et al.*, *Das Heilige und die Ware*. Since we are not really concerned with the *pr-ḥd* as an official state or temple institution here, this issue will not be further pursued. For the (typical?) content of such a treasury in a royal tomb (KV 11), see W. Hovestreydt, 'Sideshow or Not? On the Side-Rooms of the First Two Corridors in the Tomb of Ramesses III', in B.J.J. Haring, O.E. Kaper and R. van Walsem (eds), *The Workman's Progress: Studies in the Village of Deir el-Medina and Other Documents from Western Thebes in Honour of Rob Demarée* (EP 28; Leiden and Leuven, 2014), 117-118 and n. 101.

SAQQARA – A PLACE OF TRUTH?¹

Ben J.J. Haring

The philological discussion on the following pages may seem an inappropriate contribution to a book with the title *Imaging and Imagining*, and an even more inappropriate tribute to a renowned specialist of Ancient Egyptian visual and material culture. Lewis Carroll's heroin Alice would have been extremely annoyed with this text without pictures, for “‘what is the use of a book’, thought Alice, ‘without pictures or conversations?’”² To make up for the absent conversations, I may recall the many pleasant and useful talks I have had with René as a colleague, not to mention his stimulating lectures and seminars I attended as a student. The absence of pictures, however, is something he will have to recognize as a disadvantage, and I shall do my best to make up for that by a brief but thorough discussion of an Ancient Egyptian concept and its current interpretations in scholarly literature. If I have learned one thing from René, it is to question modern interpretations as much as ancient sources, and never to take either of these at face value.

The expression ‘place of truth’ is well-known to Egyptologists as a reference to the Theban royal necropolis from the late Eighteenth Dynasty onwards.³ Its most frequent use in New Kingdom inscriptions is in the titles of the royal necropolis workmen and their administrators, such as ‘servant in the place of truth’ (*šdm-š m s.t-mꜣ.t*), or ‘king’s scribe in the place of truth’ (*šš-n.y-sw.t m s.t-mꜣ.t*). ‘Place of truth’ is therefore thought to be the name of the royal necropolis of Thebes as an institution. It is mainly found as such in hieroglyphic inscriptions on monuments. Administrative texts on papyri and ostraca prefer the apparently equivalent expression ‘the tomb’ (*pꜣ hr*).

‘Place of truth’ (*s.t-mꜣ.t*) is, in fact, also a more general reference to sacred places, such as temples and burial grounds.⁴ Its literal implication is that such places could only be reached by the righteous; by those who lived or had lived their lives the way they were expected to, according to Ancient Egyptian ethics and rules. *Mꜣ.t* was ‘truth’, ‘justice’, ‘order’; it was the way things ought to be. A ‘place of truth’ was an ideal place, where no evil or impurity disturbed the order of things. This ideal situation was found in temples. Thus, Amenhotep III is referred to in the Luxor temple as ‘he who makes a monument

¹ The present article is an offshoot of the research project ‘Symbolizing Identity: Identity Marks and their Relation to Writing in New Kingdom Egypt’, carried out at Leiden University from 2011 to 2015, and supported by the Netherlands Foundation for Scientific Research (NWO). I wish to thank Rob Demarée and Dimitri Laboury for reading a draft of this paper and suggesting improvements, and Mervyn Richardson for correcting my English.

² L. Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (London, 1865).

³ *Wb* IV, 7, 1-2; J. Černý, *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period*, 2nd ed. (BE 50; Cairo, 2001), 29-67; D. Valbelle, *Les ouvriers de la Tombe: Deir el-Médineh à l'époque ramesside* (BE 96; Cairo, 1985), 25, 100.

⁴ *Wb* IV, 6, 22; Černý, *Community*, 35-40. The references in these works to Book of the Dead spell 125 are not useful, since the pertinent section there (*n ir=i iwy.t/hꜣb.t/lrg m s.t mꜣ.t*) may be read ‘I have not done evil instead of righteousness’ (T.G. Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day* (SAOC 37; Chicago, 1974), 97), rather than ‘I have not done evil in the place of truth’.

The evidence presented by El-Sayed for a place of truth in the Wadi Hammamat is to be dismissed.³⁰ A possible indication for a place of truth at Elephantine as discussed by Černý is very weak, as the author himself admitted. Such a place in Nubia may have existed, as it occurs in some of the designations of the viceroy Setau: ‘royal envoy to the place of truth’ and ‘who informs (lit. fills the ears of) Horus in the place of truth’. The same viceroy was ‘keeper of secrets in the Mansion of Gold, high steward of Amun’, and so the expression ‘place of truth’ may refer here to a temple, or different temples in Nubia.³¹

Closer consideration shows that much of the evidence adduced by Černý and El-Sayed is inconclusive, but some indications remain for places of truth in Memphis (shabti Cairo CG 47166 of Amenemope; statue BM 1377 of Panehsy; stela Cairo 2492 of Pasenhor) and Abydos (stelae of Hatiay, May, and Ramesses II). In addition, we have possible indications for places of truth in Sais (stela Louvre C 218 of Minmose) and Nubia (statue Cairo CG 1134 of Setau). In several cases the expression is clearly associated with a temple. El-Sayed suggested that in Saqqara, the place of truth might be the Serapeum, and in Abydos, the tomb of Osiris. He might be close to the truth at least for Saqqara: the shabti of Amenemope was perhaps found in the Serapeum, and the stela of Pasenhor uses ‘the place of truth’ and ‘the House of Osiris Apis’ as parallel expressions. El-Sayed’s suggestion would, in fact, perfectly explain why ‘place of truth’ denoted temples as well as necropoleis.

The sources discussed so far are mainly from the Ramesside Period. It is now time to return to an earlier stage in the history of the expression ‘place of truth’. Its earliest attestation as a part of craftsmen’s titles has been claimed to be in Saqqara, or more precisely, in Bubasteion tomb I.19, discovered in 1996 by Alain Zivie. The wall paintings of this exceptional tomb show the members of two families of draftsmen and chief draftsmen. The most prominent person represented is the chief draftsman Thutmose, who was considered to be the owner of the tomb by its excavator.³² He, as well as his father Amenemwia and his son Itju, were ‘chief draftsmen’ (*hr.y ss-qd*). Two sons of Itju were ordinary draftsmen. A similar situation is found in the family of Qenamun (also called Qenna), who was ‘chief draftsman in the place of truth’, while his father Kasa had been ‘overseer of draftsmen’. Two of Qenamun’s sons (Kasa and Pay) were ‘draftsmen in the place of truth’, others had become army scribes. A draftsman called Akhpet may also have been a son of Qenamun. The two families were obviously connected. Besides being colleagues as chief draftsmen, Thutmose and Qenamun were perhaps brothers-in-law.³³

The decoration of the tomb must have started just before the Amarna Period and continued during and after it, since the names of Qenamun and Amenemwia were later changed to Qenaten and Raemwia respectively, and possibly changed back to their original forms even later.³⁴ This means that the texts containing these names were painted in the early reign of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten at the latest. However the decoration of the tomb was done in different phases, the last of which probably postdates

³⁰ El-Sayed, *Documents relatifs*, 11, refers to inscriptions of Ramesses IV in the Wadi Hammamat and a stela of the same king from Coptos, but these mention ‘materials for the place of truth’ (*wꜥ.w.t n s.t mꜣꜥ.t*), i.e. stone for Theban monuments, and the ‘right thing’ (*bw mꜣꜥ*), i.e. the just order of things as disclosed to his majesty. For the texts, see now K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical*, IV (Oxford, 1983), 11 (line 1), 13 (line 15), 16 (line 15); *id.*, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annotated: Translations*, IV (Oxford etc., 2012), 11, 14, 18.

³¹ Statue Cairo CG 1134: L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten*, IV (CGC 1-1294; Cairo, 1934), 73; Černý, *Community*, 64-65.

³² See A. Zivie, *La tombe de Thoutmes, directeur des peintres dans la place de maât* (Les tombes du Bubasteion à Saqqara II; Toulouse, 2013).

³³ *Ibid.*, 102-103.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 30 (note 3), 36, 53, 100, 102.

THE SHABAKA STONE AND THE MONUMENTALIZATION OF THE MEMPHITE TRADITION

Rogério Sousa

*For René van Walsem,
In acknowledgement of his enduring legacy*

Introduction

The Shabaka Stone is a monumental basalt slab (92 cm x 132 cm) found in Alexandria, probably at the site of the Great Serapeum (Fig. 1). The block was sent to England and exhibited in the British Museum as early as 1805. A century elapsed before the meaning of the inscription began to be deciphered, revealing that the block was in fact originally set up in the precinct of the temple of Ptah in Memphis, under the command of the Kushite Pharaoh Shabaka (716-702 BC), from the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty (747-656 BC).¹

Despite the massive destruction that has affected the central section of the text, the surviving inscription reveals the only known version of a very exceptional composition. Although it might be difficult, if not impossible, to date the literary work with accuracy, the composite character of this text is clear. In fact we are dealing with at least two distinct literary works that were combined to form a single composition. The longest (cols. 3-47; 62-64), consists of a dramatic text re-enacting the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt under the aegis of Horus and his reconciliation with Seth. The other, much shorter in size (cols. 48-61), takes the form of a hymn to Ptah-Tatenen and provides a narrative account of the creation through his heart and tongue.

In spite of its heterogeneous character, the text reveals a strong consistency in terms of its global purpose, which is nothing less than the sacralization of Memphis and its necropolis, involving myths that strengthen the sanctity of the temple of Ptah in Memphis and the temple of Sokar in Saqqara. However, the text reveals an extensive use of concepts borrowed from the Heliopolitan and the Hermopolitan theologies. Nevertheless, I have avoided the usual designation given to the text, ‘the Memphite Theology’, which seems too inadequate to express the content of the composition. Since the inscription

¹ We present here an English version of the text after J. Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt: History and meaning in the time of the pharaohs* (Cambridge, MA and London, 2002); J. Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt* (Ithaca and London, 2001); M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, I (Berkeley, CA and London, 1973). We take into account the hieroglyphic versions in J. Breasted, ‘The Philosophy of a Memphite Priest’, *ZÄS* 39 (1901), 39-54; A. Erman, *Ein Denkmal memphitischer Theologie* (SPAW; Berlin, 1911); H. Junker, *Die Götterlehre von Memphis* (APAW 23; Berlin, 1939); K. Sethe, *Dramatische Texte zu Altaegyptischen Mysterienspielen* (Leipzig, 1928) and R. Sousa, *O Livro das Origens: A inscrição teológica da Pedra de Chabaka* (Lisbon, 2011).

Through his seed and through his fingers.
 But the Ennead is in truth teeth and lips
 In this mouth of him who thought up the names of all things
 From whom Shu and Tefnut came forth, ⁽⁵⁶⁾ and which gave birth to the Ennead.

This passage deepens the association with the various layers provided in the Heliopolitan myth, bringing together the bodily and the mental versions of creation, but firmly establishing the primacy of the mental reading of the myth.

The passage ends with a remarkable and truly philosophical theory on the origins of knowledge, clearly establishing the relation between the senses, mind and thought:

⁽⁵⁶⁾ That the eyes see, the ears hear,
 And the nose breathes air is in order to make report to the heart.
 This it is that makes all knowledge originate.
 The tongue it is that repeats what is thought by the heart.

It is noteworthy to point out the total absence of mythic archetypes in this passage and the focus placed on the abstract concepts involved in the creation of knowledge, which is fully explained in cognitive terms: knowledge is conceived in the heart because the perceptions recollected by the senses are reported to it. The knowledge formed in the heart is then communicated to the tongue, thus uttering the word.

Outstanding philosophical implications are taken to understand the intertwined nature of all living creatures that come forth from Ptah:

⁽⁵⁶⁾ And thus were all gods born,
 And his Ennead was completed.
 But all divine words (hieroglyphs) originated
 From that which was thought up by the heart and commanded by the tongue.
 And thus were all *k3w* created and the *hmswt* determined,
⁽⁵⁷⁾ Which bring forth all food and all offering meats by this word,
 (the word invented by the heart and commanded by the tongue).
 (And thus is *m3ʿt* given to him) who does what is loved,
 (and *isft* to him) who does what is hated.
 And thus is life given to the peaceable
 And death given to the criminal.
 And thus were all trades created and all arts,
 The action of the arms and walking of the legs,
⁽⁵⁸⁾ The movement of all limbs in accordance with the instruction
 Of these words that were thought up by the heart and uttered by the tongue and provide for all things.

Again, the destiny of each living creature is not explained through mythological images, but in terms of the moral value of the actions performed by each individual. Performing what is loved by god is rewarded with *maʿat* (plenitude and happiness), while performing which is hated by the god empties man's life (*isfet*). Such a universal formulation of an ethic principle is not far from the versions of the Golden Rule provided by the Axial traditions that flourished during the First Millennium BC.

Despite the overwhelming role of the Heliopolitan tradition in this text, it is by far the most elaborate Egyptian account of creation. It also differs strongly from traditional cosmogonic views, revealing a truly philosophical discourse that makes use of a mythological lexicon, much as a theological 'jargon'. Moreover, it is worthy to note the role of the script (the hieroglyphs), which is the literal embodiment of the divine word. Hieroglyphic script is a rendering of the forms and relates to the concepts by way of

TWO COPTIC CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE TOPONYMY OF THE MEMPHITE REGION

Jacques van der Vliet

Despite the massive scholarly interest in the Saqqara desert fringe as home to some of the most prestigious funerary monuments of Pharaonic Egypt and, for a later period, the famous Monastery of Apa Jeremiah, comparatively little study has been made of the ancient topography of the immediately adjacent country-side.¹ Yet much of the activity in the area of the necropolis must have been dependent for its personnel and its sustenance on the neighboring districts of the Nile Valley. The following discussion of two Coptic toponyms from the region is a modest contribution to a future study of such interdependencies and is here offered as a tribute to a scholar and dear colleague whose research and teaching have been focused for many years on the funerary monuments of the ancient Egyptian elites that secure the fame of Saqqara.

I. Σκρού = ⲥⲉⲣⲱ = Saqqara?

The famous Zenon archive from the mid-third century BC as well as some other Greek papyri of Ptolemaic and early-Roman date mention a village Σκρού, also written Σκρύ.² The toponym in question has been discussed extensively, together with its supposed alternative name Τασκρύ, first in 1963 by Jean Yoyotte in a series of studies on the topography of the Memphite region, then in 1980 by Willy Clarysse in a paper specifically devoted to the Memphite place names in the Zenon archive.³ Yoyotte connects Σκρού / Τασκρύ with a number of ancient toponyms deriving from the Egyptian root *skr* and situates the village towards the southern end of the Memphite nome, on the west bank of the Nile. Clarysse follows suite and is even able to locate it on a map of the region.

Since the appearance of these erudite studies, new facts have come to light that invite a revision of some of their assumptions. First of all, a new attestation of both place names was published, which shows that Σκρού and Τασκρύ, in spite of a certain assonance, must be two different villages, given the fact that they are listed in a single document one after each other. The reference in question is *P. Oxy.* LX, 4060, ll. 26 (Τασκρύ) and 27 (Σκρού).⁴ The papyrus dates to AD 161 and the editor, Revel Coles, notes

¹ Some notable but none too recent exceptions are quoted below. Abbreviations of papyrological editions and tools loosely follow the *Checklist* of the American Society of Papyrologists (available online at <http://papyri.info/docs/checklist>).

² *Trismegistos* Geo.ID 2272 (see <http://www.trismegistos.org>). See Calderini, *Dizionario*, vol. 4, 366, under Τασκρύ (p. 292, under Σκρύ, has a mere reference to Τασκρύ), and *Supplemento* 2, 194.

³ J. Yoyotte, 'Études géographiques, II. Les localités méridionales de la région memphite et le « pehou » d'Héracléopolis', *Revue d'égyptologie* 15 (1963) 87-119, at 89-93; W. Clarysse, 'Philadelphie and the Memphites in the Zenon Archive', in D.J. Crawford, J. Quaegebeur, W. Clarysse, *Studies on Ptolemaic Memphis* (Leuven, 1980), 91-122, in part. 99 and 110, with a map facing 112.

⁴ Cited in Calderini, *Dizionario*, *Supplemento* 2, 194 and 207.

quantities of Coptic artifacts. Hardly ever these are of a nature to stir general excitement, but sometimes the harvest of slightly depressing fragments hides small surprises. Such a small surprise is offered by the – at first sight – rather forbidding ostrakon transcribed below.

The ostrakon, a potsherd, was found in 2008 by the Leiden archaeological mission on the surface east of the tomb of Ptahemwia. It measures 5.25 x 9.5 x 0.9 cm, and bears the remains of four lines of Sahidic text, rather carelessly traced in black ink. It is due to be published, with a photo, in M.J. Raven, *The Tombs of Ptahemwia and Sethnakht at Saqqara* (Turnhout, in preparation), cat. no. 214, excavation no. 2008-7.³³

Ostrakon Saqqara, Monastery of Jeremiah

Jeremiah ca. 7th-9th cent.

(1) . . [- - -]

(2) ρεν τεκλῃσια

(3) ἡπανοῦμρες

(4) χιαρκ σογ κε*

* χιαρκ final κ as if an abbreviation.

[---] from (or, in) the church (ἐκκλησία) of Panoumres. Choiak, the 25th.

The ostrakon preserves the final lines only of what was once a longer document. The surviving part of the text is straightforward enough, however. We appear to be dealing with a deed of delivery (or way bill), documenting the delivery of a certain amount of goods at or, more likely, from ‘the church of Panoumres’ at a certain day of the month Choiak in an unspecified year.

The name Panoumres looks like a toponym, but is not on record in the *Trismegistos* data-base of ancient geographical names.³⁴ Luckily, Stefan Timm’s reference work on the topography of Christian Egypt provides an Arabic place name, Bunumrus (modern Abu’n-Numrus), which preserves the outlines of the Coptic name Panoumres in a way that strongly suggests their identity.³⁵ Yet the same entry records as its Coptic form παννονρος, on the authority of the Bohairic *Martyrdom of John of Phanijoit*. The spelling παννονρος, which is confirmed by Jason Zaborowski’s recent re-edition of the latter text,³⁶ may cast doubt upon the correctness of its identification with the πανοῦμρες of our ostrakon.

Before we turn to the question of its real Coptic name, it is worthwhile to discuss briefly the medieval reports on the village and its church, cited by Timm. In Abu’l-Makarim’s above mentioned Christian *Khitat*, composed in Arabic probably around the year 1200, its name is quoted as Bunumrus and it appears in a chapter devoted to the churches of the Giza district. According to this source, the village

³³ I thank Maarten Raven for allowing me to give a preview of the ostrakon here.

³⁴ Available online at <http://www.trismegistos.org>.

³⁵ Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten*, Vol. 1, 436-437; see also Ramzi, *Al-qamus al-jugrafi*, Vol. II/3, 3; Halm, *Ägypten*, Vol. I, 207; E. Amélineau, *La géographie de l’Égypte à l’époque copte* (Paris, 1893), 361-362.

³⁶ J.R. Zaborowski, *The Coptic Martyrdom of John of Phanijoit: Assimilation and Conversion to Islam in Thirteenth Century Egypt* (Leiden & Boston, 2005), 74, 419.

SENSE AND SERENDIPITY: ZUR AMBIGUITÄT PHARAONISCHER BILDSCHRIFTLICHKEIT*

Martin Fitzenreiter

*Ich lese ein Buch und stelle mir während des Lesens,
also während des aufmerksamen Schauens,
alles mögliche vor.*

Ludwig Wittgenstein¹

1. Hetepheracht i in Bild und Schrift

Die Fassade der funerären Anlage des Hetepheracht i in Leiden (Abb. 1) zeigt rechts und links vom Zugang den Grabherrn, jeweils von einem sehr viel kleiner dargestellten Sohn begleitet.² Wir wissen dies, weil den Bildern ausführliche Inschriften beigegeben sind, die Titel und Namen des Hetepheracht i festhalten und die beiden kleineren Darstellungen als „seinen ältester Sohn, Würdenträger und Schreiber, Nianchptah“ benennen. Auch, dass es sich bei der funerären Anlage tatsächlich um eine solche handelt, wird durch eine Inschrift über dem Durchgang bestätigt, in der eine „Opferformel“ die Funktion des Gebäudes beschreibt: Bestattungs- und Kultort des Hetepheracht i zu sein. Zudem ist auf der Fassade jeweils vor dem Bild des Grabherrn eine längere Beischrift angebracht, die durch die Formel *dd=f* „er sagt“ als Rede desselben charakterisiert ist. Deren Inhalt zählt zum Genre des *appel aux vivants*.³

(links:) Der Würdenträger, „Mund-von-Nechen“, Hetepheracht i, er sagt: Ich machte dieses Grabmal als meinen rechtmäßigen Besitz, wobei niemals irgendeinem Menschen etwas weggenommen wurde. Was jeden Mann und jede Frau angeht, die etwas daran für mich getan haben: sie haben (es) getan indem sie Gott⁴ sehr dafür lobten. Sie haben es für Brot und Bier getan, für Kleidung und Öl, für Gerste und Weizen, sehr viel, wobei niemals etwas Gewaltsames gegen irgendeinen Menschen getan wurde, denn Gott liebt die Gerechtigkeit. Ich bin ein Klient des (regierenden) Königs und ein Klient des großen Gottes (= König im Totenbereich). [Es folgen Titel und Name des Grabherrn.]

* Wenige Ägyptologen seiner Generation haben das Studium der pharaonischen Monumente mit methodischen Fragestellungen so intensiv verknüpft, wie René van Walsem. In Dankbarkeit dafür und in Erinnerung an die Kartenhäuser in Tagen des Austausches hat sich dieser Aufsatz geschrieben, der unter Renés Augen – beim aufmerksamen *m33* – hoffentlich als interessanter Text entsteht. Der Beitrag verdankt viel meiner Zeit in Bonn, namentlich dem Austausch mit Ludwig D. Morenz, Amr El Hawary und Mohammed Sherif Ali; ersterem, weil er medienarchäologische Fragen seit Jahren verfolgt, letzteren, weil sie als Vertreter einer „Kultur der Ambiguität“ für so vieles die Augen dem öffnen, der aufmerksam schauen will.

¹ Wittgenstein 1989, 231 (Nr. 65).

² Holwerda *et al.* 1908, Taf. 5; Mohr 1943, 34f.

³ Mohr 1943, 33-6.

⁴ „Gott“ (*ntr*) ist durch die Komplettierung mit der Falkenstandarte in dieser Periode als „Gott-König/Sakral-könig“ zu verstehen (Shalomi-Hen 2006, 57f).

Sinne von Karl-Heinz Kohl „Fetische“ sind: magische Objekte, in denen, semiotisch gesprochen, Zeichen und Bezeichnetes zusammenfallen; praxistheoretisch formuliert: deren Wirkungspotenz ganz aus ihnen selbst entsteht.⁸³ Sagen wir hier: *ntr* zu sein heißt, *agency* zu entfalten. Ganz am Anfang, in der Phase der Erfindung der Dekoration von funerären Anlagen mit schriftbildlichen Zeichen, wird dies in einer Inschrift in der Anlage des Nefermaat in Medum mit Bezug auf die besondere Machart der Dekoration so ausgedrückt (Abb. 3).⁸⁴

swt jrr ntr.w=f⁸⁵ m zš n zjn=f/ „Er ist es, der seine [mit Agency begabten Dinge] (= die Bild- und Schriftzeichen) gemacht hat in Schrift/Malei, die nicht abwischbar ist.“

Damit stehen wir am Ende der cartesischen Weltsicht und vor der Einsicht: dass die Dinge uns etwas zu sagen haben. Und so verbindet und verbündet sich die Postmoderne mit der Magie: sie haben es, hatten es, immer.

7. Hetepheracht i spricht

Die schön gestaltete Fassade der funerären Anlage des Hetepheracht hatte denen etwas zu sagen, die vor ihr standen. Auf den ersten Blick ist die Botschaft plump: das hier ist mein Grab, und aus gutem Grund (verpissst Euch, wenn ihr etwas Böses vorhabt)! Jedoch: das Medium, als das die Fassade gestaltet ist, hat eine weitaus vielschichtigere *message*. Es präsentiert einen ganzen Knäuel von Ambiguitäten und lädt den Rezipienten ein, sich zu verwirren: in Schrift und Bild, in Tod und Leben, in Präsenz und Absenz (Perfekt und Imperfekt). Das Bild des Grabherrn umreißt nicht weniger als die Ambiguität des Todes, die sich in der manifesten Abwesenheit dieses durch Namen und Titel so eindeutig und durch das generative, „aspektivische“ Bild so uneindeutig charakterisierten Menschen beweist. Im Mann und Kind stehen Alter und Erneuerung, Ausgang und Ende der Existenz wie auch die Kette der Kontinuität in Besitz und Herrschaft (über den Besitzverband) nebeneinander. Das alles kann man mit Worten gar nicht ausdrücken, man muss Bild und Schrift nutzen, die Potenzen des Ambigen.

Auch die Inschrift spielt als symmetrisch durchkomponiertes Werk der Literatur mit Bezügen auf andere Genres ebenso, wie als Werk der bildenden Kunst mit visuellen Codes. Eine ausführliche Analyse würde zu weit führen, hier nur eine Beobachtung, die mit der räumlichen Konstitution des Gebäudes

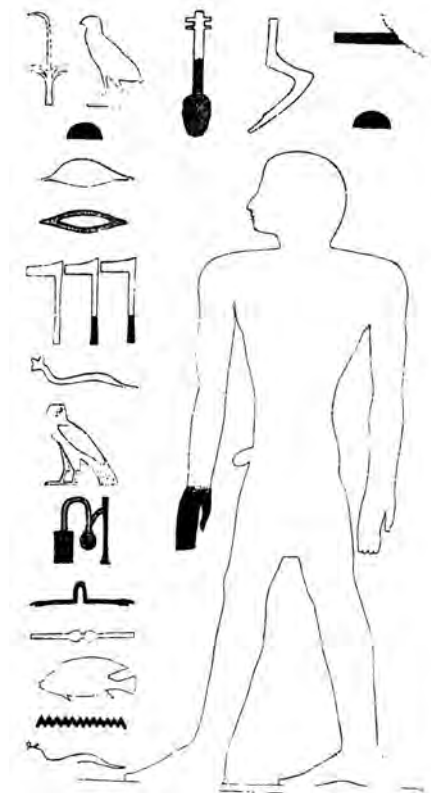


Abb. 3. Detail der Dekoration der funerären Anlage des Nefermaat in Medum (nach: Petrie 1892, pl. XXIV).

⁸³ Kohl 2003, 28. Zur Diskussion der mit *ntr* ausgedrückten Eigenschaft: Fitzenreiter 2013.a.

⁸⁴ Petrie 1892, pl. XXIV; Übersetzung und Diskussion bereits bei Spiegelberg 1930. Zu dieser Passage als Affirmation der individuellen Leistung: van Walssem 2013, 135. Sehr wahrscheinlich sind auch der Name und das Bild des Grabherrn als Teil der Inschrift mitzulesen.

⁸⁵ Nach Morenz 2014, 7 steht der Begriff *ntr.w* als frühe Fassung des später als Bezeichnung für „Hieroglyphen“ gebräuchlichen *mdw-ntr*. Aber wie übersetzen wir Hieroglyphen?

Observations on Cultural Transmission

Sasha Verma

This contribution to René van Walsem's *Festschrift* is a thank you for the example that he set in the Department of Egyptology at Leiden, where I was privileged to undertake my doctoral research under him. Nothing was untimely or too difficult that could not be discussed or sorted out. As a researcher one expects to be able to think, but he instilled in me the salient but oft forgotten fact that it is most important to think for oneself, irrespective of what was considered previous wisdom.

In our many deliberations the concept of culture during the Old Kingdom was a predominant issue. While the limitations of my topic created artificial boundaries, nevertheless the concept of cultural transmission was something, which we almost always touched upon. In this vein I would like to elaborate more on this issue, in the hope that it will give René some pleasure in thinking back on this theme.

With this in mind I would like to start by defining certain boundaries that I have set in this paper:

- what is meant by cultural transmission;
- the way culture is transmitted;
- any structure through which this process can be identified; and
- the identification of its dissemination.

I am aware that one can never determine the exact proportion of the actual experiences of life (be it through learning, reading, writing, emulation, etc.) that are necessary for the realization of culture and ultimately the creative spark, which will be carried on and accepted. In a way this seems to be an irrelevancy, for as long as participation in ongoing life continues, the outcomes of our experiences will lead us on, and the more copies there are of similar experiences of the journey of human life, the more there is the feeling of cultural permanence and stability. Human experience provides a particular map, it tells us where we are at a given point in time, but does not tell us anything more. What we have to do is to try to understand how this point fits into a larger story. The big history view is what I would like to advocate, like the view from a mountaintop – you don't see the details but you can see how it all fits. The Egyptians left a map too.

Since Neolithic times – when man first started to colonize land, that is to plant and to harvest – certain values and belief systems have sustained and defined mankind, and it is not by coincidence that we use the same words when we speak both of cultivating our gardens and of cultivating our minds. Inherent in this approach is not only a symbolic appeal to the betterment of life, but it is a demonstration of our capacity as humans to nurture and progress, to control the unexpected and to solve problems through what one may call threshold moments, which is what the practical aspects of cultural transmission is all about. These moments can appear anytime and anywhere and indicate a new way of doing things, or a new way of thinking about things.

In the ancient Egyptian context I think that perhaps one of the biggest and most important threshold moments that occurred in its history ensued sometime during the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties, in that something new appears in the universe. The shift concerns the central role of the state, coupled with the

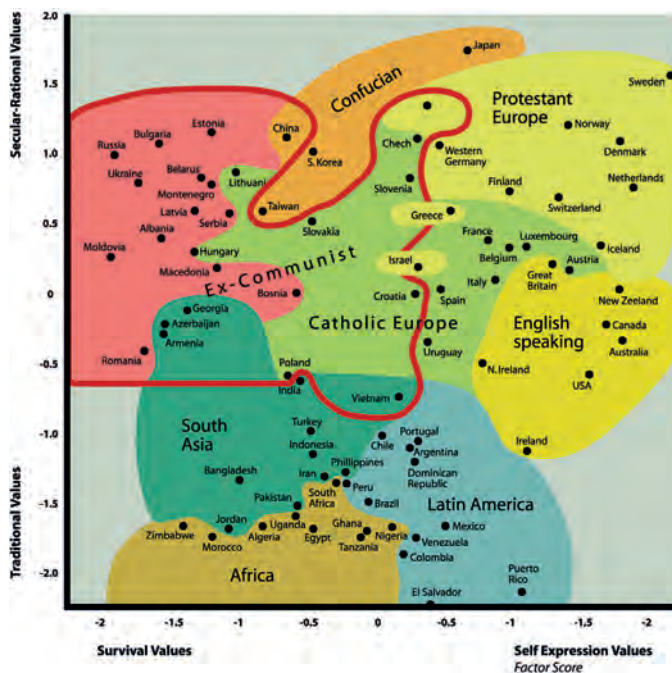


Fig. 1. Inglehart Values Map
(from <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSContents.jsp?CMSID=Findings>).

numerous things that influenced transmission and the phenomenon was referred to as ‘diffusion’.⁴¹ However, this was an incomplete elucidation, because diffusion was a descriptive attempt only and did not go on to really explain how cultural traits diffused. What was required was a clarification of “how or why that (trait) came to be such”.⁴² This story however is an intricate one, beyond the limited scope of this article, because in examining how cultural traits diffuse we have to study certain human behavioural patterns, across a wide ranging area, which – being social – themselves would cover numerous books. However, diverse examples covering a choice of values and beliefs are available. Consider, for example, religion: is it necessary to believe in God to be moral? 84 per cent of Turks agree that it is necessary, more Ukrainians than Americans believe this is so, 33 per cent of Germans also believe this, while only 13 per cent French agree on this.⁴³

What I am referring to here is the phenomenon of acceptance of, resistance to, or rejection of a trait. These have to be studied in a specific human context that imposes restrictions not amenable to general statements for all situations. Consider in this regard the problems associated with the various social pathways of transmission, i.e. the social prestige of the donor group and/or the attitude of the host society to that of another society where the trait originated, etc., and one can see the vast range of problems involved to which a short article cannot do adequate justice.⁴⁴ Suffice it to say that as far as ancient Egypt is concerned, one method to tease out these modes of transmission would be to study the effect of kinship associations, which probably did act as channels for the proliferation of cultural traits.

By now it is obvious that cultural transmission is an aspect of universal human behaviour. Traits are rejected, resisted, accepted and integrated, all according to the prevalent values of a particular society at a particular point in time. As this behaviour is such an obvious fact, why is so much effort put

⁴¹ H.E. Driver, ‘Cultural Diffusion’, in R. Naroll and F. Naroll (eds), *Main Currents in Cultural Anthropology* (New York, NY, 1973), 157-158.

⁴² H.G. Barnett, *Innovation: The Basis of Cultural Change* (New York, NY, 1953), 10-11.

⁴³ Pew Global Attitudes Project, *Views of a Changing World* (Washington, DC, 2003), 115. See also R. Inglehart et al. (eds), *Human Values and Beliefs: A Cross-Cultural Sourcebook* (Mexico City, 2004). The cultural map on page 14 is the response from 120,000 people from 81 countries, taken from 1999-2001 surveys, and identifies different underlying religious and communist values and beliefs – the intricacies are apparent.

⁴⁴ A host of literature is available on these subjects and the interested reader could as a starting point, consult Barnett, *Innovation* as well as R. Boyd and P.J. Richerson, *Culture and the Evolutionary Process* (Chicago, 1985), and their latest study *The Origin and Evolution of Cultures* (Oxford, 2005).

I AM RE AND OSIRIS*

Lara Weiss

Das Schachspiel hat den Vorzug, dass geistige Macht so unwiderleglich bezeugt wird wie auf keinem anderen Feld, und zwar durch eine Reihe von Vorweisungen, die nur durch andere Vorweisungen bestritten werden können – so hält es die Mitte zwischen dem Disput und der strategischen Aktion. Vom Disput unterscheidet es sich dadurch, dass jedem Zug eine unbezweifelbare Realität innewohnt. Es gibt, auch wenn sie nicht gefunden wird, die beste Erwiderung, die, wie ein Richtspruch, nicht der Zustimmung des Gegners bedarf. Diese Realität ist andererseits den materiellen Schwierigkeiten und Zufällen entzogen, mit denen der Stratege zu rechnen hat. Man möchte meinen, dass die Erinnerung eines solchen Spieles das menschliche Vermögen überschreite und dass es Zeiten entstamme, in denen Götter mit uns Umgang hielten und bei uns einkehrten. Irgendwo im Universum könnte um Reiche und Länder oder um Sterne gespielt werden, die Figuren könnten Heere bedeuten – doch bliebe nur das Bedeutende, der Schicksalszug in seinem schwerelosen, unerschütterlichen Wandel, gleichviel ob es um Nüsse oder Königreiche geht. Das Spiel gibt eine Ahnung von dem, was an ganz anderen Orten, was unter Geistern, ja was in fremden Welten möglich ist.

(From Ernst Jünger's Rehburger Reminiszenzen)

* * *

Whispers travelled around the premises of the library of the Netherlands Institute of the Near East in Leiden, telling of a formidable teacher whose examination papers tested his students' knowledge of information that was hidden away in footnotes. Admired and feared in equal measure, René van Walsem's insistence on scientific standards and accuracy inspired all those he taught. With the constant reminders to look beyond the rim of my teacup and think things through, I greatly benefited from being challenged by René, both on the chessboard and in numerous debates, and I hope that my first attempt to dig deeper into the solar-Osirian unity will appeal to him and generate fresh ideas for discussions of Egyptian thinking. I have argued elsewhere that deceased individuals were worshipped at home as followers of either Re or Osiris, and most probably of both.¹ This previous study was confined to the evidence for religious practices from the houses at Deir el-Medina. The present paper sets out to test this hypothesis in a broader frame. The stela of Horu (AP 50, Fig. 1) in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden will serve as a fitting point of departure for a more detailed look at the ways in which the living family as well as the deceased entered the natural cycle of day and night, thereby participating in the eternal cycle of the cosmos.²

* I am indebted to Rob Demarée for his critical reading of an early version of this text.

¹ L. Weiss, *Religious Practice at Deir el-Medina* (EU 29; Leiden, 2015), 121-4.

² The present article was submitted in April 2015. When the proofs appeared in June 2017, I tried to update my text as much as possible with reference to M. Smith, *Following Osiris: Perspectives on the Osiran Afterlife from Four Millennia* (Oxford, 2017).



Fig. 1. Stela of Hori (National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden, inv.no. AP 50).

HERTA MOHR AND THE MASTABA OF HETEPHERAKHTY*

Nicky van de Beek

The mastaba of Hetepherakhty in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden¹ was the start of my love for Old Kingdom elite tombs. Owing to the dedicated talks held by René van Walsem in front of the objects in this museum, his inspired lectures about Egyptian art history, and specialist seminars in an abandoned library after hours, mastabas became the subject of my choice. Hetepherakhty was furthermore the starting point of the Leiden Mastaba Project,² which resulted in a CD-ROM publication of the indispensable *MastaBase* in 2008.³ Recently, work on this database has been rebooted as a project of the Leiden Mastaba Study group, resulting in a freely accessible online version in the near future.⁴

According to the façade and false door of his mastaba, Hetepherakhty was a judge, elder of the court and priest of Ma'at during Egypt's Fifth Dynasty. He served as *wꜥb* priest of the pyramid of king Neferirkare, and *hm-ntr* priest of the sun temple of king Niuserre in nearby Abusir. His offering chapel is small (5.5 m²), but handsomely decorated, with fine reliefs and a balanced selection of scenes. These include such themes as fishing, fowling, baking, brewing, boat fighting, cattle rearing, slaughter and the funerary procession, as well as the overseeing of agriculture and marshland activities by the tomb owner. In his official duties, Hetepherakhty is accompanied by his son Nyankhptah, who was a dignitary and scribe, but is often depicted as a little boy clutching a hoopoe bird. No wife is present.⁵

The mastaba was first excavated in Saqqara by Auguste Mariette in the 1860s, and posthumously published in his *Mastabas*.⁶ Unfortunately, the plates that were to be inserted in this work are missing, and on the enclosed map of the necropolis, the location of Hetepherakhty's tomb is not indicated. From a later map, we know that it must have been near Mariette's house and the entrance to the Serapeum.⁷ Strangely, an offering table bearing Hetepherakhty's name and titles was discovered by Mariette lying face-down in the mastaba chapel of Ka'aper,⁸ in which the famous 'Sheikh el-Beled' statue was also found (CG 34). This offering table has been the subject of some confusion by Margaret Murray, who reopened a number

* This paper was first presented at the Netherlands-Flemish Egyptologists' Day in Leuven on 5 November 2016.

¹ Inventory no. F 1904/3.1.

² R. van Walsem, 'The Mastaba Project at Leiden University', in S. Schoske (ed.), *Akten des vierten Internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses München 1985, Band 2: Archäologie, Feldforschung, Prähistorie* (Hamburg, 1989), 143-54.

³ R. van Walsem, *Mastabase: A Research Tool for the Study of the Secular or 'Daily Life' Scenes and their Accompanying Texts in the Elite Tombs of the Memphite Area in the Old Kingdom* (Leiden/Leuven, 2008).

⁴ See also <http://mastabase.org/>, accessed 1 June 2017.

⁵ For possible reasons for this phenomenon, see A.M. Roth, 'The Absent Spouse: Patterns and Taboos in Egyptian Tomb Decoration', *JARCE* 36 (1999), 37-53.

⁶ A. Mariette, *Les mastabas de l'Ancien Empire: Fragment du dernier ouvrage de A. Mariette* (Paris, 1889), 340-8.

⁷ J.J.M. de Morgan, *Carte de la nécropole memphite: Dahchour, Sakkarah, Abou-Sir* (Cairo, 1897), pl. 9-10.

⁸ Mariette, *Les mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, 127-9.

It is a tragic tale that deserves to be told. Being Jewish in an increasingly anti-Semitic environment, but also a woman in a male-dominated field of scholarship, Mohr defied the status quo in more than one way. It is therefore an immense honour to be able to take up her work and complete the publication of the mastaba, and to share this task with my mentor René van Walsem. In order to publish the chapel according to the latest standards, a complete digital photographic record of the relief decoration was made by Hans van den Berg in the summer of 2016. Photographed in such a way that there is as little distortion as possible, and stitching together the overlapping photographs with computer software, extremely high resolution images of the walls can be created. These will form the basis of facsimile drawings made using essentially the digital Chicago House method and a drawing tablet.²⁷ René van Walsem will take it upon him to collate the drawings. The final publication will appear in the PALMA series of the National Museum of Antiquities. It is to be hoped that by continuing Mohr's work, and by telling her story, we will do a little bit of justice to her courage and perseverance as a scholar and, more importantly, as a human being.



Fig. 5. Herta Mohr.
Photo from the *Gedenkboek*.

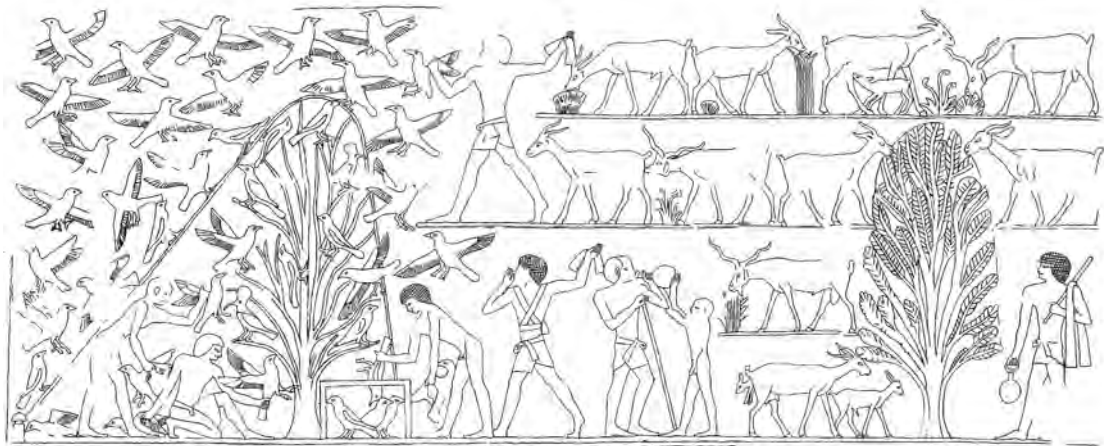


Fig. 6. Pencil drawing of a scene in the mastaba by the author.

²⁷ K. Vértés and the Epigraphic Survey, *Digital Epigraphy* (Chicago, 2014), <https://oi.uchicago.edu/research/publications/misc/digital-epigraphy>, accessed 1 June 2017.

EIN LEBEN MIT ALTERTÜMERN:* **EIN RELIEF AUS DEM ALTEN REICH MIT** **LANDWIRTSCHAFTLICHEN SZENEN**

Ingrid Blom-Böer

Sammlungsgeschichte und Einleitung

Die 'Sammlung Preuß, Antikensammlungen Ursula und Karl-Heinz Preuß' in Brühl besteht aus mehreren Sammlungen, die sich vornehmlich mit der Antike beschäftigt, jedoch auch Objekte der Moderne umfasst.

Ursula und Karl-Heinz Preuß möchten Wissenschaft verständlich verbreiten; mit ihrer privaten Initiative fördern sie daher seit vielen Jahren leidenschaftlich Forschung und eine Auseinandersetzung mit Kunst und Kultur. Viele Institutionen profitieren von den Dauerleihgaben, Schenkungen und Zuwendungen oder von der finanziellen Unterstützung zur Aufarbeitung und Publikation längst vergessen geglaubter Grabungsbefunde. Dem Ägyptischen Museum der Universität Bonn wurden 2010 und 2012 im Rahmen einer Kooperation für Lehre, Forschung und zu Ausstellungszwecken mehrere Stücke zugeführt, darunter das im Folgenden zu besprechende Relief aus Memphis mit der Nummer P 36.

Aus Überzeugung hat das Ehepaar Preuß ein Fragment eines geraubten Wandreliefs aus einem thebanischen Grab der ägyptischen Regierung zurückgegeben: Eine Geste mit Signalwirkung, so die Hoffnung aller Beteiligten.

Geplante Stiftungen sollen das Engagement von Ursula und Karl-Heinz Preuß langfristig absichern und dafür sorgen, dass ihr Leben und Wirken mit den von ihnen zusammengetragenen Altertümern in ihrer Sammlung dauerhaft erhalten und zugänglich bleibt.¹

Beschreibung

Das Relief besteht aus zwei zusammengeklebten Fragmenten mit der Darstellung von Szenen der Landwirtschaft im erhabenen Flachrelief, die sich auf zwei Register verteilen. Das obere Register zeigt von links die Hinterbeine eines Rindes sowie die Beine von mindestens drei Männern. Vermutlich sind es

* Voor een nieuwe levensfase na, maar zeker ook nog met Egyptologie, wens ik je met deze kleine bijdrage het allerbeste!

¹ <http://www.antikensammlungen-preuss.de> (Dezember, 2014); Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, presseinfo Nr. 155/2012, *Ehepaar Preuß stiftet altägyptische Objekte* (Bonn, 11.06.2012); Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, presseinfo Nr. 148/2014, *Wandmalerei aus Theben entdeckt* (Bonn, 25.06.2014); General-Anzeiger Bonn, *Ehepaar Preuß beweist 'kulturelle Güte'* (Bonn, 02.07.2014); U. Siffert, *Ein Eingeweidekasten aus der Sammlung Preuß im Ägyptischen Museum der Universität Bonn* (Bonn, 2014), 121-23; Ägyptisches Museum der Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn in Zusammenarbeit mit der Sammlung Preuß, Antikensammlungen Ursula und Karl-Heinz Preuß (Hg.), U. Siffert, *Von der Antike bis zur Moderne. Tierdarstellungen aus vier Jahrtausenden in der Sammlung Preuß* (Berlin, 2014), 145-46. Ich danke dem Ehepaar Preuß herzlich für die Genehmigung, das Relief P 36 bearbeiten und publizieren zu dürfen, Dr. Martin Fitzenreiter, als Kurator des Ägyptischen Museums der Universität Bonn, für die kollegiale Unterstützung sowie Simone Stöhr, M.A. für die profunde Durchsicht des Manuskripts.



Bild 1. Vorderseite Relief.



Bild 2. Rückseite Relief.



Bild 3. Oberseite Relief.



Bild 4. Detail Relief.

WORK SONGS IN OLD KINGDOM ELITE TOMBS¹

Janny Roos

Introduction

Ancient Egyptian literature includes many kinds of hymns, poems, and songs. Well-known are the Great Hymn to the Aten, the Harper's songs, and the beautiful love poetry from the New Kingdom. It is less known that some texts on the walls of Old Kingdom tombs are also called songs. One of the first Egyptologists to refer to some of these texts as such was Adolf Erman. His publication *Reden, Rufe und Lieder auf Gräberbildern des Alten Reiches* was written to give insight in the way in which the ancient Egyptian artists combined pictures and texts, in order to make the pictures more understandable. In some of the texts, for instance in those found in the tombs of Mereruka and Ti, Erman recognized songs.²

Fascinated by the idea that songs may indeed be written in tombs dating back to the Old Kingdom, I decided to devote my Master's Thesis to this subject. I seriously doubted whether it would in any way be possible to say something about this subject. After all, no musical notation is known from ancient Egypt, so which arguments could be given to identify texts as songs? For my research, I drew up an inventory of the texts concerned. Four different types of songs appearing in Old Kingdom tombs - listed in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* - formed the starting point of my research: the fishermen's song, and the harvest song. For data on the individual tombs, I consulted the digital *MastaBase* prepared by Dr. René van Walsem. This database contains extensive information on 337 Old Kingdom tombs from the Memphite area, which covers the necropolises of Abu Roash, Abu Sir, Dashur, Giza, Meidum, and Saqqara. Tomb scenes may be studied for specific texts in seventeen main themes and two hundred subthemes. When using data derived from *MastaBase* in this article, I will use the same numbering system for tombs, rooms and walls, each time starting with the abbreviation LMP (*Leiden Mastaba Project*).³

The scenes in the Old Kingdom tombs find their origin in daily life. Therefore, the texts included in the scenes can be considered as expressions by common people, such as farmers and herdsmen. The tomb owner most likely had influence on the choice of the themes to be included in his tomb, as well as on the decoration and the texts. He was probably attracted by the language and the mentality of the common man, and by his humour. The texts in the iconographic scenes have been put before and above the depicted persons. They are in most cases simple, brief and to the point, sometimes existing of one or two words only, or an exclamation or an entire line. However, not all iconographic scenes contain texts. Therefore, the text may be considered as a secondary element only.⁴

¹ This article is an abridged version of my Master's Thesis, undertaken in completion of my Egyptological studies at Leiden University in October 2014.

² A. Erman, *Reden, Rufe und Lieder auf Gräberbildern des Alten Reiches* (ADAW 15; Berlin, 1919), 4.

³ R. van Walsem, *MastaBase: The Leiden Mastaba Project – A Research Tool for the Study of the Secular or 'Daily Life' Scenes and their Accompanying Texts in the Elite Tombs of the Memphite Area in the Old Kingdom* (Leuven/Leiden, 2008).

⁴ W. Guglielmi, *Reden, Rufe und Lieder auf altägyptischen Darstellungen der Landwirtschaft, Viehzucht, des Fisch- und Vogelfangs vom Mittleren Reich bis zur Spätzeit* (TÄB 1; Tübingen, 1973), 179, 187-8.



Fig. 2. Relief from the tomb of Nekhebu in Giza (MFA Boston nr. 13.5984; LMP 231).¹³

Above the heads of the rams, three hieroglyphs and part of a fourth hieroglyph are written, which are reminiscent of the shepherd's song translated above:



If the remaining part of the hieroglyph on the left side of the fragment could be construed as part of the emblem of the West (Gardiner Sign List R13), the text could be read as *bt n imnt*, which is also written above the ram at the far left in the tombs of Ti (Fig. 1), and Mereruka (Fig. 3a). Compared to the texts in these tombs, the forepart of a ram (F8) and the seated man (A1) do not appear on the Nekhebu relief.

According to *MastaBase*, no other words including these hieroglyphs in this combination occur in the other texts accompanying this scene. Therefore, it is indeed possible that the text on the Nekhebu relief forms part of the shepherd's song, in which case nine specimens of the text are now known.¹⁴

The scenes in the tombs of Ti, Sekhem-Ankh-Ptah, Nebet, Ii-nefret and Mehu all show the herd of sheep and rams treading the seed into the ground.¹⁵ The scene in the tomb of Mereruka seems to differ, though. Figure 3a shows a herd consisting of one ram and seven sheep.

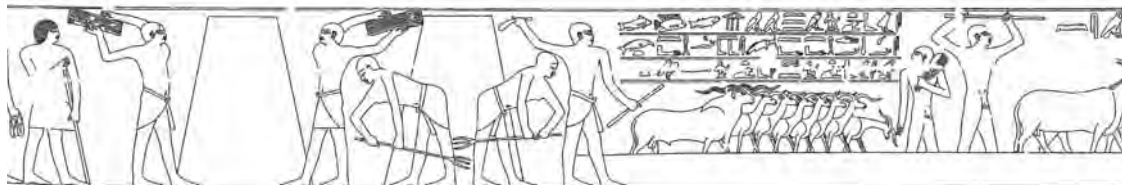


Fig. 3a. Scene from the tomb of Mereruka in Saqqara (LMP 182A/XIII/079-080).¹⁶

Behind the flock, only one single driver with a stick and a whip is visible instead of four drivers. In front of the animals, a man holding a bushel of corn in his hand is depicted; he does not carry a bag of seed. The legs of the animals partly disappear behind a horizontal stripe, which may represent the spread-out sheaves of corn on the threshing floor. To the right of Figure 3a, the scene continues with Figure 3b. Here herds of donkeys and oxen are depicted in much the same way, standing in the middle of a thick layer of corn on the threshing floor. On both sides of the three herds, men with pitchforks are depicted piling up the sheaves.

¹³ The Museum of Fine Arts Boston electronic database, <http://www.mfa.org/collections>, accessed 1 June 2017, nr. 13.5984.

¹⁴ Dr. Edward Brovarski, who is preparing *The Senedjemib Complex, Part 2* in the Giza Mastabas Series, also assumes that MFA 13.5984 bears part of the shepherd's song.

¹⁵ The relief from the tomb of Ptahshepses only shows the heads of sheep and rams and part of the shepherd's song. Quibell's description of the block from the area of the monastery of Apa Jeremias does mention a scene with rams treading in the seed, but his publication only gives the hieroglyphic text; the depiction is missing.

¹⁶ N. Kanawati, A. Woods, S. Shafik and E. Alexakis, *Mereruka and his Family, Part III.2: The Tomb of Mereruka* (ACE Reports 30; Warminster, 2011), pl. 81B.

STOLES OF REJOICING AND PROTECTION

Edward Brovarski



Fig. 1. Statue of Metjetji (William Rockhill Nelson Trust 51-1). Courtesy of the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art.

I had been working for some time on the topic of stoles in pharaonic Egypt, and the gold and bead stole found in the tomb of Tutankhamun in particular, when a very interesting article on the same subject by Bart R. Hellinckx appeared in print.¹ Dr. Hellinckx recognized straight away the connection between certain stoles represented in Old Kingdom sculpture and relief and Tutankhamun's stole, and made some very interesting conclusions, some of which I will review below. Initially, I decided to shelve my article, but ultimately concluded that its emphasis on Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom stoles made it worth publishing.

The best preserved example of a stole in paint is worn by a statue of the 'Overseer of the Department of the Tenant Land-holders of the Palace', Metjetji, in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art and Mary Atkins Museum of Fine Arts in Kansas City (Fig. 1)². Metjetji probably served in office under King Pepy I in the Sixth Dynasty.³ Metjetji's stole is a long, narrow scarf, with a decoration consisting of individual strands of beads whose ends are joined into single tassels. Like his matching beaded collar, it is composed of white, green, and black (?) short, cylinder beads, strung together without spacer bars. In fact, in Metjetji's case there are actually two stoles tied together at the back.⁴

A second statue of Metjetji, in the Brooklyn Museum, also wears a stole (Fig. 2).⁵ This one is comprised of

¹ B. Hellinckx, 'Tutankhamun's So-Called Stole', *OLP* 27 (1996), 5-22.

² P. Kaplony, *Studien zum Grab des Methethi* (Monographien der Abegg-Stiftung Bern 8; Bern, 1976), cat. no. 14. I am grateful to Stacey Sherman, Senior Coordinator, Rights & Reproductions, the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, for the image of the Kansas City statue of Metjetji and for permission to reproduce it in the present article.

³ See E. Brovarski, 'The Date of Metjetji', in Z. Hawass and J. Houser Wegner (eds), *Millions of Jubilees: Studies in Honor of David P. Silverman* (SASAE 39; Cairo, 2010), I, 85-139.

⁴ Kaplony, *Methethi*, picture on p. 69.

⁵ I would like to express my appreciation to Dr. Edward Bleiberg, Curator of Egyptian, Classical, and Ancient Near Eastern Art, Brooklyn Museum, for the image of the Brooklyn statue of Metjetji and for permission to reproduce it in the present article.

There may thus have been a shift in the significance of the stole between the Middle and New Kingdoms, as there had been between the Old and Middle Kingdoms, when the stole became an item of royal apparel. Nevertheless, there is at least one mortuary association for the stole in the New Kingdom. At Deir el-Bahari, an Osiride statue of Queen Hatshepsut from the top porch of the temple holds a crossed crook and flail (and *ankh*-sign), while wearing a stole whose tassels have once again been replaced by *ankh*- and *neb*-signs, as in the Middle Kingdom examples (Fig. 12).³⁶ This example may yet imply a mortuary connection to Tutankhamun's stole.

It will be noted that in one of the scenes in which the king wears a stole on the pillars of the White Chapel of Senusert I referred to above, the ithyphallic Amun-Re wears crossed bands (Fig. 13).³⁷ These bands are noticeably different from the stoles worn by the king, being quite simple and plain.

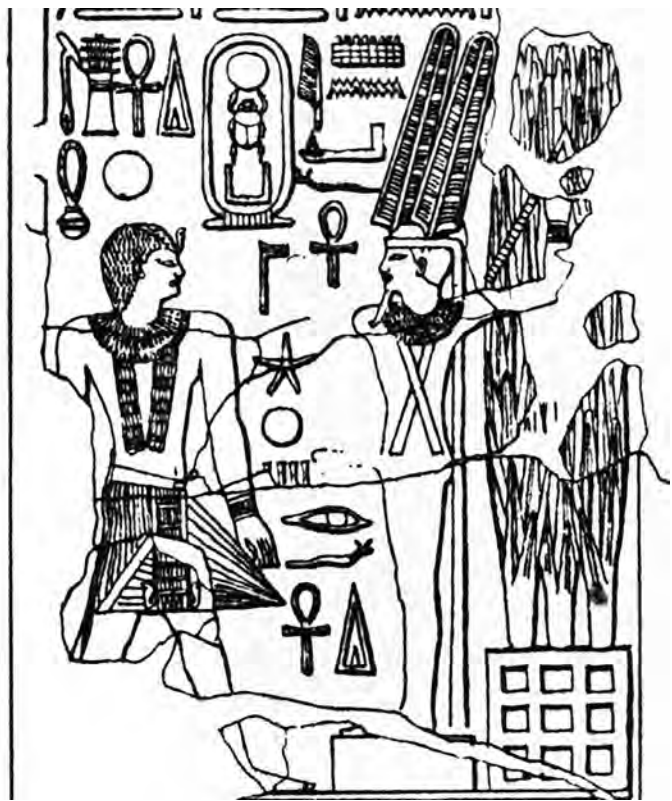


Fig. 13. Senusert I worships the ithyphallic Amen on a pillar from the 'White Chapel' at Karnak, after Lacau and Chevrier, *Chapelle de Sésostris*, pl. 36 (Scene 19).

In his masterly monograph on the Coffin of Djedmonthuiufankh in Leiden, in the course of his discussion of the representations of stoles on coffins of the Twenty-First Dynasty and later and of the actual red dyed leather stoles (or 'mummy braces') worn around the necks of mummies from the late New Kingdom, René van Walsem had already noted that representations of stoles date back to the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty.³⁸ Indeed, he also cites a representation of the ithyphallic Amun-(Re) from the White Chapel with this in mind. He further observes that other mummiform deities such as Min, Osiris, and Ptah are also commonly equipped with stoles.³⁹

The stole worn by the Osiride statue at Deir-el-Bahari (Fig. 12) may form a link between the stoles of the Old and Middle Kingdoms and those of the Twentieth Dynasty and later, insofar as it has a fringe of *ankh*-symbols but lacks the design of beads and spacer bars.

³⁶ H.E. Winlock, *Excavations at Deir el-Bahri (1911-1931)* (New York, 1942), fig. 9. I owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Diana Patch, Lila Acheson Curator in Charge, Department of Egyptian Art, at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, for leave to reproduce the image in the present article.

³⁷ Lacau and Chevrier, *Chapelle de Sésostris*, pl. 36 (scene 19); cf. pls. 17, 18, 20, and *passim*.

³⁸ R. van Walsem, *The Coffin of Djedmonthuiufankh in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden* (Leiden, 1997), I, 117.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

RAMESSIDE BODY CONTAINERS OF WOOD AND CARTONNAGE FROM MEMPHITE NECROPOLISES

Kathlyn M. Cooney

In this contribution to the René van Walsem Festschrift, I document all the known body containers of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties from northern necropolises.¹ My book *The Cost of Death* focused in large part on Theban data sets, and this article attempts a correction of that southern perspective.² Most of these northern Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasty coffin examples have been published in excavation reports of various kinds. Others have no provenance and are owned by museum collections or were sold to private collections via various auction houses, and only their stylistic affinities with documented and provenanced body containers allow their inclusion here. Some of the body containers discussed below were found in excavation but have not yet been published, and I am grateful to the many Egyptologists who answered my queries and sent images of unpublished pieces found in their excavations.

One caveat: This study does not include stone sarcophagi (and no complete wooden sarcophagi survive from Memphite necropolises); nor am I discussing anthropoid stone coffins of Ramesside date, many of which do come from northern findspots.³ This is a study of wooden and cartonnage body containers from Memphite necropolises, including Saqqara, Abusir, Gurob, and Dahshur.






On the whole, the body container types found in Egypt's north mirror the southern types in that we see the same make-up of objects in a given coffin set, including (1) an outer coffin, (2) an inner coffin, (3) a mummy board, and, in some cases, (4) a mummy mask. Because of poor preservation, none of the known northern coffin sets include all of these different components. Indeed, it is not clear if a complete northern set was meant to include these four body containers.

Northern necropolises suffer a general lack of preservation, at least as far as coffins are concerned. No (semi)intact tombs like Theban Tomb 1 of Deir el Medina – with high quality, brightly painted coffins – were ever discovered at Saqqara or Abusir. The Saqqara tomb of Iurudef is invaluable and shows continuity between Twentieth and Twenty-First Dynasty type burials, but its lower socioeconomic status level is immediately apparent in comparison to Theban Twentieth and Twenty-First Dynasty coffins preserved in today's museums. Most northern Ramesside coffins of high elites were, it seems, recommodified or reused during the ensuing chaos at the end of the Bronze Age, leaving only scarce fragments of high quality coffin sets, like the inlaid mask of the so-called lady Kanefernefer.

¹ René's work has been invaluable to my own. His publication on Djedmonthuiuefankh (R. van Walsem, *The Coffin of Djedmonthuiuefankh in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden* (Leiden, 1997) helped form the way that I examine, document, and analyze coffins and body containers. René is a generous scholar and human being, always happy to share his ideas and provide analysis. I am grateful for his contributions to my own work and to Egyptology.

² K.M. Cooney, *The Cost of Death: The Social and Economic Value of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Art in the Ramesside Period* (EU 22; Leiden, 2007).

³ See *ibid.*, 22, n. 35.

Museum	Inv. No.	Provenance	Coffin Type	Description	Image
Saqqara, tomb of Iurudef ²⁹	Coffin no. 49+58	Tomb of Iurudef, Chamber B	Anthropoid coffin	Coffin for anonymous male deceased with fisted hands, black headcloth / wig, downturned black and white eyes, yellow face, collar of green, yellow, black, and red geometric and vegetal design, above hands. Two udjat eyes below the hands. Case painted black with yellow line decoration. Modelled feet attached to lid. Coffin has angular shape. Young adult female found inside.	 Plate 6, no. 5.
Saqqara, tomb of Iurudef ³⁰	Coffin no. 54+64	Tomb of Iurudef, Chamber B	Anthropoid coffin	Coffin for anonymous male deceased with fisted hands, arms painted in red onto coffin lid, black wig with yellow and red lappet bands, suggesting female owner originally. Collar consists of red and white lotus bands, above hands like coffin nos 49 and 58. Case painted black with yellow line decoration. Modelled feet attached to lid. Coffin has angular shape.	 Plate 6, no. 6.
Saqqara, tomb of Iurudef ³¹	Coffin no. 66	Tomb of Iurudef, Chamber C	Anthropoid coffin	Coffin for anonymous male deceased with fisted hands, rounded wig ends, roughly modelled forearms, and plain footboard. Case exterior undecorated. Wig painted black, face and hands red, upper part of coffin lid white, and lower part of coffin lid black. The coffin contained a middle-aged male. Exterior of case has some black paint. Interior of lid painted white.	 Plate 6, no. 7.
Saqqara, tomb of Iurudef ³²	Coffin no. 67	Tomb of Iurudef, Chamber C	Anthropoid coffin	Coffin for anonymous male deceased with fisted hands, rounded wig ends, roughly modelled forearms. Case interior unpainted, and exterior is white. Interior of lid painted white, exterior black with details in red, yellow, and white. Wig painted black, face yellow, hands white, and lower body black with white vertical column containing no text. Concentric red and yellow lines of <i>wsh</i> collar applied to white of upper body. Black resin drips on lid. Coffin shape is angular. Female found inside.	 Plate 6, no. 8.
Saqqara, tomb of Iurudef ³³	Coffin no. 69	Tomb of Iurudef, Chamber D	Anthropoid coffin	Coffin for anonymous male deceased with fisted hands, rounded wig ends, polychrome collar with falcon ends, black wig, winged goddess below hands. Case exterior is pink with white interior. Lid has white interior. Coffin has angular shape.	 Plate 6, no. 9.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 29, pls. 9b, 10, 25-26. For a colour image, see G.T. Martin, *The Hidden Tombs of Memphis: New Discoveries from the Time of Tutankhamun and Ramesses the Great* (London, 1991), pl. 6. ³⁰ Raven, *The Tomb of Iurudef*, 29, pls. 9b, 10, 25-26, 35, 37.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 31, pls. 10, 33-34.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*, 31, pls. 9b, 10, 35-36. Also see Martin, *The Hidden Tombs of Memphis*, fig. 95.

Conclusions

These Ramesside body containers from northern necropolises can add to our knowledge of New Kingdom coffins and their owners. The most striking characteristic is that these coffins maintain different stylistic traditions from their Theban counterparts despite the unified politics of the early Nineteenth Dynasty. These northern characteristics include unpainted bare wood (ostensibly to display prestigious imported woods with fine grains), rounded and high wigs on coffin lids and one-piece mummy boards, and brightly painted polychrome and inlaid inner mummy masks. Except for the polychrome mummy masks, these features are noticeably absent from the Theban body containers of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, which avoid bare, unpainted wood in favour of heavily plastered, painted, and varnished nesting coffin sets.

NECK SCARVES IN MEMPHIS AND THEBES: A NEW LOOK AT THE STOLA

Olaf E. Kaper

Introduction: The Stola Coffins

In this contribution to honour the work of René van Walsem, I would like to come back to a central element in his PhD thesis (defended 1988, published 1997), relating to the stola-type of coffins of the Third Intermediate Period. The ‘stola coffins’, as he defined them, belong to the latest phase of development of the ‘yellow’ coffin types, which is dated to the very end of the Twenty-First Dynasty. The type was named after its distinguishing feature: a pair of painted red crossed bands that overlie the broad floral collar on the chest of the mummiform coffin lid. The term ‘stola’ for this feature was coined by Van Walsem, because he dismissed previously employed terms for the element, such as ‘braces’, ‘Mumienriemen’ and the French ‘bretelles’, which are inaccurate as to their function.¹ Since 1997, a few other terms have also been employed, such as ‘Lederbänder’,² but Van Walsem’s terminology has been widely adopted. His interpretation of the significance of the stola, however, has been the subject of various discussions. Van Walsem saw the origin of the stola in relation to the Old Kingdom mat that was used by boatmen as a lifejacket, often depicted in the elite tombs of Memphis, and which later came to be used as a hieroglyph for ‘protection’.³ In this paper, the problem of the stola will be looked at again in its widest possible context, for which the use of neck scarves in ancient Egypt will be examined, with the aim of acquiring a better understanding of this rare item of apparel.

The artefacts themselves are known from many examples of the same time as the stola coffins and earlier. Among the best preserved examples are those found upon the mummy of Nesperennub, which had a set of two bands crossing from the shoulders over the chest. The bands are made of leather,⁴ with a trapezoid tab of unpainted leather (parchment) at either end.⁵ According to David Aston,⁶ the bands ‘usually consist of red leather straps folded in three, bound together by leather strips’. He knows examples from the reign of Ramesses XI into that of Osorkon II. One mummy even was equipped with three

¹ R. van Walsem, *The Coffin of Djedmonthuiufankh in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden*, 2 vols (EU 10; Leiden, 1997), 15, with n. 46, and 116-19; *id.*, ‘The Study of 21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes’, *BiOr* 50 (1993), 50.

² H. Altenmüller, ‘Lederbänder und Lederanhänger von der Mumie des Chonsu-maacheru’, in W. Köpke and B. Schmelz (eds), *Alt-Ägypten: Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Volkerkunde Hamburg* 30 (Bonn, 2000), 73-112. Some scholars object to the use of stola because this term is already used for a woman’s garment in Latin. Stola is a loanword derived from the Greek *στολή*, which was a more general word for clothing; cf. G. Losfeld, *Essai sur le costume grec* (Paris, 1991), 44.

³ Van Walsem, *The Coffin of Djedmonthuiufankh*, 118; C. Andrews, *Amulets of Ancient Egypt* (London, 1994), 43.

⁴ The proper terms are cured leather, pseudo leather, or rawhide; C. van Driel-Murray, ‘Leatherwork and Skin Products’, in P.T. Nicholson and I. Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology* (Cambridge, 2000), 299, 312.

⁵ Multiple photographs in J.H. Taylor, *Mummy: The Inside Story* (London, 2011), 7, 33, 34, 48.

⁶ D. Aston, *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21-25: Chronology – Typology – Developments* (Vienna, 2009), 380-1.



Fig. 2. Osorkon III in the chapel of Osiris Heqadjet in Karnak, wearing a short scarf around the neck and holding the same in his hand. Photograph by Lawrence Xu-Nan.

early sources show the scarf exclusively around the necks of private persons, whereas the later sources show it exclusively with kings.³⁴ In the New Kingdom, moreover, the scarf has transverse metal spacers, is of a single colour (blue-green faience) instead of multi-coloured as in the Old Kingdom, and ends in a row of ankh-signs, which in the reliefs is sometimes even a double row (Fig. 1).³⁵ In its use, the New Kingdom royal scarf is worn on top of the broad collar, whereas in the Old Kingdom the scarf was worn underneath. These multiple differences make it hard to accept a continuity in tradition between the two garments, despite their visual resemblance.

So what is the meaning of the beaded scarf of Tutankhamun, and how does it relate to the other scarves described here? We need to emphasise that the king is not often depicted wearing a scarf, and the beaded scarf is thus far only known from a few depictions in Memphis and Saqqara, apart from the Tutankhamun item which mentions the typical Memphite gods Sokar and Ptah. At the same time, there are also a few reliefs in the Theban temples, in which the king is shown wearing a scarf. The earliest is an image of king Thutmose III in the small temple at Medinet Habu.³⁶ The king is shown embracing a mummiform image of Amon-Re, who is depicted with the crossing bands upon his chest. The king wears a white scarf around the neck, on top of his broad collar, and

³⁴ Hellinckx, 'Tutankhamun's So-Called Stole', 13.

³⁵ Munich, Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst Gl. 124; S. Schoske and D. Wildung, *Ägyptische Kunst München: Katalog-Handbuch* (Munich, 1985), 80-1, 83, 152 (No. 56), and a relief fragment of Ramesses V depicted in Fig. 1.

³⁶ MH IX, pls. 80-1, 136.

THE OUTER COFFIN OF NEFERSEMDENET (Sq9Sq)

Harco O. Willems

After decades of intensive research on Middle Kingdom coffins, I find it hard to imagine there ever was a time when the topic of ancient Egyptian burial containers was alien to me. Yet this is the case, and I even faintly remember that initially, I found the subject rather uninteresting. That this has changed is undoubtedly partly due to René van Walsem, who, somewhere in the late 1970s, taught a course on Egyptian coffins and sarcophagi, which I attended. The place of the action was a small, dark room beside the garden of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden. In that remote, pre-PowerPoint age, with an institute that at the time did not even have a slide collection, our teacher every week carried piles of books to the lecture hall. In the course of the class, all these books would finally be displayed vertically, and folded open, on the table in front of him – from which, inevitably, some would fall down at some point. René’s knowledge about coffins was immense, and was undoubtedly founded in a deep love for the subject. One day, I vividly recall him saying that Egyptian coffins constituted a very ‘lively’ topic of research. The remark sounded bizarre at the time, but I have since come to realise that it holds more than a kernel of truth. Later in my career, I in fact became a coffin person myself. In the context of this *liber amicorum* it is moreover appropriate to recall that René’s interest and support have been vital for me when I was developing the methodology of *Chests of Life*. Considering all of this, nothing could from my perspective be a more fitting tribute than an article on a coffin.

(Re)Discovery

In 1906-1907, James Edward Quibell carried out excavations in Saqqāra, and discovered the intact tomb of Karenen and the lady Nefersemnenet.¹ Although apparently no thieves had disturbed the burial chamber, white ants unfortunately had, and had caused severe damage to the wooden objects. The plates provided by Quibell show that the burial chamber was in great disarray, because many of the wooden funerary models had tumbled down when the coffins, on which they once stood, collapsed.² Quibell was clearly most impressed by the beautiful and rich collection of funerary models from the tomb, and their description takes up most of the space in his description.³ The coffins, however, are described in a much more cursory fashion, even though Pierre Lacau added an extensive overview of the Coffin Texts and Pyramid Texts inscribed on them in an annex.⁴

¹ J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1906-1907)* (Le Caire, 1908), p. 7-61. In the earlier literature, Nefersemnenet is often referred to as Nefersemnet, but evidence given in Gardiner’s sign list (sub N13), as well as the coffins here discussed, leave no room for doubt that the name ends with –net. The rendering Nefermedjednyet has also been suggested, but no clear supportive evidence was cited (Do. Arnold, ‘The Architecture of Meketre’s Slaughterhouse and Other Early Twelfth Dynasty Wooden Models’, in P. Jánosi (ed.), *Structure and Significance: Thoughts on Ancient Egyptian Architecture* (ÖAW Denkschriften XXXIII; Wien, 2005), p. 36).

² Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1906-1907)*, p. 7-8 and pl. XII-XIII.

³ *Ibid.* p. 8-15.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 21-61.

The panel contained the following text, which, again, follows the one on the corresponding side of Sq3C closely both in formulation, in orthography, and in style:²⁶

Sq9Sq:



Sq3C:



Typology and Date

Although the main purpose of this article is to make available for study a hitherto undocumented coffin, a brief overview of the indications as to the date of the burial chamber in which Sq9Sq was found is in order, as there is some disagreement on this in the relevant literature.

The outer decoration of Sq3Sq contains only one register of ornamental hieroglyphs, and even though it is positioned exceptionally low on the wall, this coffin, like all others found in this burial chamber, can be said to represent type I.²⁷ On the inside, the coffin panel includes an object frieze. Since this is a FR-side, and since coffins with an object frieze on FR almost always also have one on H, F and B, this is likely also to have been the case with Sq9Sq, as was in fact the case with the closely similar outer coffin of the same owner (Sq3C) and the inner coffin Sq5C of Karenen, found in the same burial chamber. In the typology of Middle Kingdom standard class coffins, an inner decoration with object friezes on all four sides represents interior type 2. The outer/inner typology of these sources is accordingly I/2, and this combination is only attested in these three coffins.²⁸

Interior type 2 is otherwise characteristic of coffin production in the later Twelfth Dynasty, the earliest securely dated example being the sarcophagus of the vizier Mentuhotep from al-Lisht (L4Li), datable to the later reign of Senwosret I,²⁹ but type 1 outer decoration is overwhelmingly characteristic of the period up till the reign of Senwosret I.³⁰ Clearly, in the Saqqāra group discussed in this article, we are facing a pattern that is not in keeping with the overall development in Egypt. However, because of some close affinities with an exceptional pattern in evidence in a few well-dated Theban funerary monuments, I have suggested long ago that coffins Sq3C and Sq6C (belonging to Nefersemnenet and Karenen) are likely to date to the early Middle Kingdom, and presumably the late Eleventh Dynasty.³¹ In the same study, I also situated these two among a larger group of coffins, which, like them, all derive from the Teti Pyramid Cemetery. Some of these explicitly state that their owner was attached to the pyramid cult of king Merikare. Although no such mentions occur on the coffins of Karenen and Nefersemnenet, the end of the reign of this king should for this reason be considered a *terminus ante quem non* for the group.

²⁶ Here, square brackets do not indicate damage to the text, but invisibility in the published photograph.

²⁷ Willems, *Chests of Life*, p. 122-27.

²⁸ It is also found in coffins A1C, T3C, and originally probably G1T, but these early Middle Kingdom coffins are so idiosyncratic in their design that they should not be compared with the present material. See Willems, *Chests of Life*, p. 190. These coffins were extensively discussed in H. Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata (Cairo JdE 36418): A Case Study of Egyptian Funerary Culture of the Early Middle Kingdom* (Leuven, 1996).

²⁹ For this coffin siglum and the pertinent bibliography, see Willems, *Historical and Archaeological Aspects of Egyptian Funerary Culture*, p. 260-61.

³⁰ Willems, *Chests of Life*, p. 127.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 106, and particularly n. 216a.