NYU - BOBST
31142 02667 2371
DT61 .E84 1997 Essays on ancient Eg

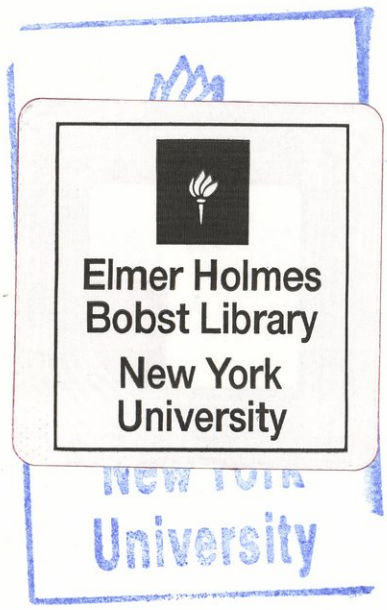
EGYPTOLOGICAL MEMOIRS

ESSAYS ON ANCIENT EGYPT IN HONOUR OF HERMAN TE VELDE

Edited by

Jacobus van Dijk

STYX
PUBLICATIONS


Elmer Holmes
Bobst Library
New York
University
University

ESSAYS ON ANCIENT EGYPT IN HONOUR OF HERMAN TE VELDE

EGYPTOLOGICAL MEMOIRS

Edited by

Jacobus van Dijk, Dieter Kurth and William J. Murnane

STYX
PUBLICATIONS
GRONINGEN
1997

EGYPTOLOGICAL MEMOIRS 1

ESSAYS ON ANCIENT EGYPT IN HONOUR OF HERMAN TE VELDE

Edited by

Jacobus van Dijk

STYX
PUBLICATIONS
GRONINGEN
1997

Copyright ©1997 Jacobus van Dijk
Copyright ©1997 STYX Publications, Groningen

ISBN 90 5693 014 1
ISSN 1387-2710

DT
61
.E84
1997

STYX Publications
Postbus 2659
9704 CR GRONINGEN
THE NETHERLANDS
Tel. # 31 (0)50–5717502
Fax. # 31 (0)50–5733325
E-mail: styxnl@compuserve.com

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements vii

Bibliography of Herman te Velde ix–xiii

J. Assmann
Ein Wiener Kanopentext und die Stundenwache in der Balsamierungshalle 1–8

J. Baines and R.B. Parkinson
An Old Kingdom Record of an Oracle? Sinai Inscription 13 9–27

R.S. Bianchi
Raneferef's Carnelian 29–32

J. van Dijk
The Noble Lady of Mitanni and Other Royal Favourites of the Eighteenth Dynasty 33–46

A. Egberts
The Chronology of the Horus Myth of Edfu 47–54

T.H.M. Falke
Radiology of Ancient Egyptian Mummified Animals 55–67

R.A. Fazzini
Some Fragmentary Images 69–78

O. Goldwasser
'Itn – "the Golden Egg" (CT IV 292b-c [B9C^{a}]) 79–84

J.-C. Goyon
Répandre l'or et éparpiller la verdure. Les fêtes de Mout et d'Hathor à la néomènie d'Epiphi et les prémices des moissons 85–99

W. Guglielmi und K. Buroh
Die Eingangssprüche des Täglichen Tempelrituals nach Papyrus Berlin 3055 (I, 1 – VI, 3) 101–166

W.M. van Haarlem
Coffins and *Naoi* as Votive Objects in Tell Ibrahim Awad 167–169

J. Harvey
Some Remarks on the Wooden Statues from Nezlet Batran 171–181

M. Heerma van Voss
Ein Spruch aus dem Papyrus Greenfield 183–186

W. Hovestreydt
Secret Doors and Hidden Treasure: Some Aspects of Egyptian Temple Treasuries from the New Kingdom 187–206

R. Jasnow
A Demotic Omen Text? (P. BM 10238) 207–218

L. Kákosy
The Ptah-Shu-Tefnut Triad and the Gods of the Winds on a Ptolemaic Sarcophagus 219–229

O.E. Kaper
The Statue of Penbast. On the Cult of Seth in the Dakhleh Oasis 231–241

H. De Meulenaere
Le papyrus oraculaire de Brooklyn, trente ans après 243–249

W.J. Murnane
"Overseer of the Northern Foreign Countries": Reflections on the Upper Administration of Egypt's Empire in Western Asia 251–258

K. Myśliwiec
Ermouthis à Athribis 259–266

W.H. Peck
An Image of Nebwenenef, High Priest of Amun 267–273

M.J. Raven
Charms for Protection during the Epagomenal Days 275–291

H.D. Schneider
Ptah in Wings 293–300

L. Troy
Mut Enthroned 301–315

R. van Walsem
The Struggle Against Chaos as a "Strange Attractor" in Ancient Egyptian Culture. A Descriptive Model for the "Chaotic" Development of Cultural Systems 317–342

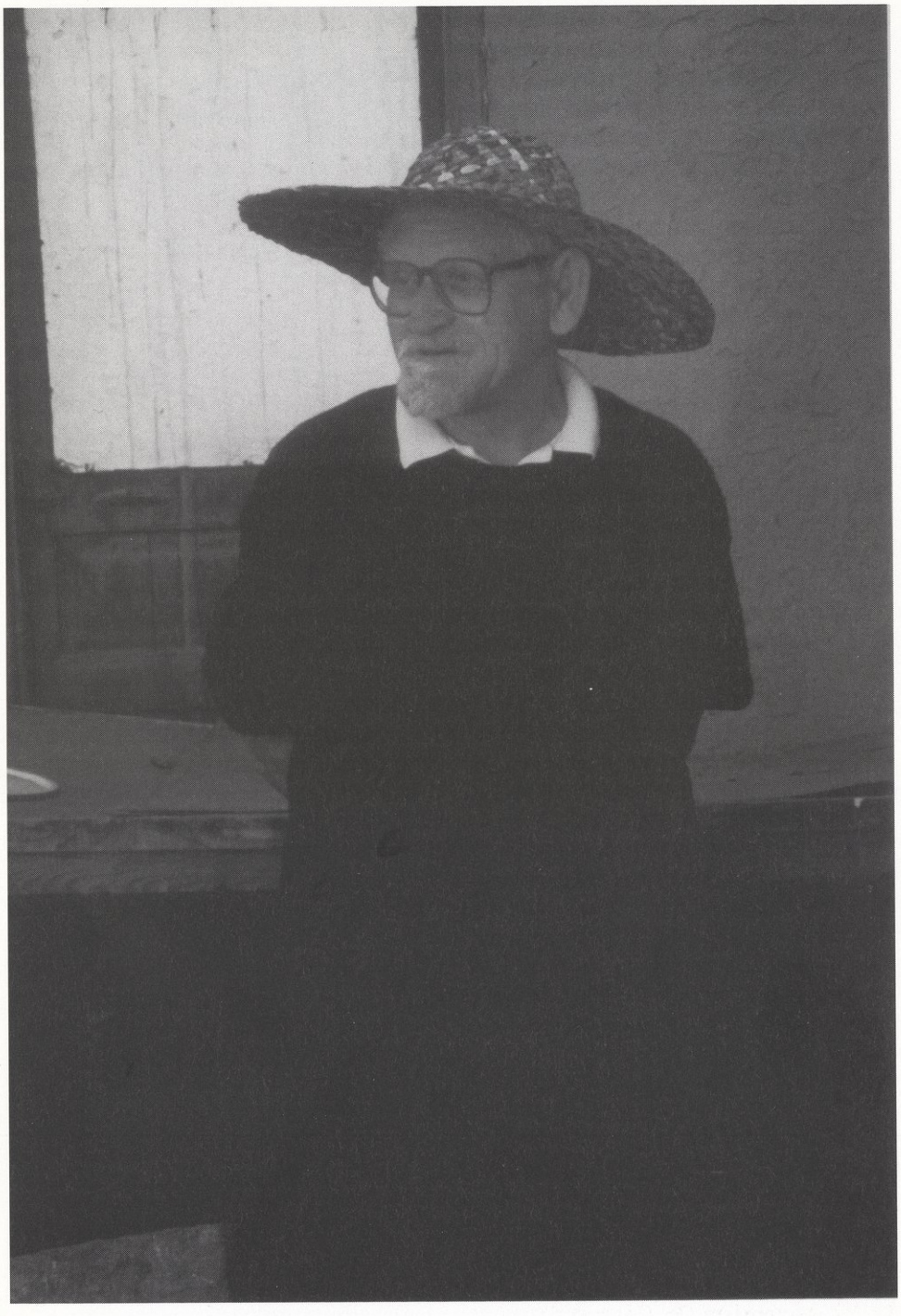
H.O. Willems
The Embalmer Embalmed. Remarks on the Meaning of the Decoration of Some Middle Kingdom Coffins 343–372

A. Zivie
Seth, échanson royal, et sa tombe de Saqqara 373–382

L. Zonhoven
Studies on the *sḏm.t=f* Verb Form in Classical Egyptian, III: The active *n sḏm.t=f* construction 383–400

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The editor would like to thank Dr Julia Harvey who corrected the English of most of the articles written by non-native speakers. She also typed out some manuscripts not submitted on disk and shared the burden of proofreading. A special word of thanks is due to Mrs Maryam Setrodimedjo of STYX Publications, without whose typesetting skills and dedication beyond the call of duty this book would not have appeared.



Bibliography of Herman te Velde

1 Review of J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy according to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions* (Leiden 1960),
in: *Vox Theologica* 31 (1961), 185–186.

2 *Seth, God of Confusion. A Study of his Role in Egyptian Mythology and Religion.* Probleme der Ägyptologie, Band 6 (Leiden 1967; reprint with some corrections 1977).

3 "The Egyptian God Seth as a Trickster",
in: *JARCE* 7 (1968), 37–40.

4 "The God Heka in Egyptian Theology",
in: *JEOL* 21 (1969–1970), 175–186.

5 "The Egyptian God Seth as a Trickster",
in: *Proceedings of the Twenty-Seventh International Congress of Orientalists, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 13th-19th August 1967* (Wiesbaden 1971), 50–51.

6 *De Goede Dag der Oude Egyptenaren.* Openbare les gegeven bij de aanvaarding van het ambt van gewoon lector in de Egyptische taal- en letterkunde aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Groningen op dinsdag 7 december 1971 (Leiden 1971).

7 "Some Remarks on the Structure of Egyptian Divine Triads",
in: *JEA* 57 (1971), 80–86.

8 "De zwaluw op de voorsteven van de oud-egyptische zonneboot",
in: *Babbels over en uit het Egyptologisch Instituut en het Instituut voor Semitistiek en Archeologie van het Nabije Oosten der Rijksuniversiteit Groningen* ([Groningen 1971]), 51–56.

9 "The Swallow as Herald of Dawn in Ancient Egypt",
in: *Ex Orbe Religionum. Studia Geo Widengren XXIV Mense Apr. MCMLXXII quo die lustra tredecim feliciter explevit oblata ab collegis, discipulis, amicis, collegae, magistro amico congratulantibus*, Vol. I (Leiden 1972), 26–31.

10 Review of E. Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen. Ägyptische Gottesvorstellungen* (Darmstadt 1971),
in: *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 26 (1972), 72–74.

11 "Egyptologisch veldwerk van de Universiteit van Pennsylvania te Dra Aboe'l Naga",
in: *Phœnix* 19 (1973), 219–230.

12 "Dämonen",
in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Band I, Lief. 7 (Wiesbaden 1974), 980–984.

13 "In Memoriam Dr. Cazemier",
in: *Phœnix* 21 (1975), 3–4.

14 "Lofzegging en Dankbaarheid in Oud-Egyptische Zonneliederen",
in: *Gratias Agimus. Opstellen over Danken en Loven, aangeboden aan Prof. Dr. W.F. Dankbaar* (Groningen 1975), 130–134.

15 "Erntezeremonien",
in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Band II, Lief. 1 (Wiesbaden 1975), 1–4.

16 "Geb",
in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Band II, Lief. 3 (Wiesbaden 1976), 427–429.

17 "Horus und Seth",
in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Band III, Lief. 1 (Wiesbaden 1977), 25–27.

18 "Horus imi-schenut",
in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Band III, Lief. 1 (Wiesbaden, 1977), 47–48.

19 "The Theme of the Separation of Heaven and Earth in Egyptian Mythology",
in: *Studia Aegyptiaca* III (Budapest, 1977), 161–170.

20 "Iunmutef"
in: *Lexikon der ägyptologie*, Band III, Lief. 2 (Wiesbaden 1978), 212–213.

21 Review of C. Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im Alten Ägypten*, MÄS 35 (München 1976),
in: *CdE* 53 no. 106 (1978), 267–270.

22 "A Few Remarks upon the Religious Significance of Animals in Ancient Egypt",
in: *Numen* 27 (1980), 76–82.

23 "Mittler",
in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Band IV, Lief. 2 (Wiesbaden 1980), 161–163.

24 "Mut",
in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Band IV, Lief. 2 (Wiesbaden 1980), 246–248.

25 "Towards a Minimal Definition of the Goddess Mut",
in: *JEOL* 26 (1979–1980), 3–9.

26 "Ptah",
in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Band IV, Lief. 8 (Wiesbaden 1982), 1177–1180.

27 "The Cat as Sacred Animal of the Goddess Mut",
in: *Studies in Egyptian Religion dedicated to Professor Jan Zandee* (Leiden 1982), 127–137.

28 "Commemoration in Ancient Egypt",
in: *Visible Religion – Annual for Religious Iconography,* Vol. I: *Commemorative Figures. Papers presented to Dr Th. P. van Baaren on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, May 13, 1982* (Leiden 1982), 135–153.

29 "Some Aspects of the God Shu",
in: *JEOL* 27 (1981–1982), 23–28.

30 "Van bies tot boekrol: Papyrus en Egypte",
in: *Maandblad Kerk en Wereld* (februari 1983), 3.

31 "De Zegeningen van Ptah-Tatenen. Een Egyptische koningsinscriptie uit de 13e eeuw v. Chr.",
in: K.R. Veenhof (ed.), *Schrijvend Verleden. Documenten uit het Oude Nabije Oosten vertaald en toegelicht*. MVEOL 24 (Leiden/Zutphen 1983), 355–360.

32 "Schu",
in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Band V, Lief. 5 (Wiesbaden 1984), 735–737.

33 "Seth",
in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Band V, Lief. 6 (Wiesbaden 1984), 908–911.

34 "Relations and Conflicts between Egyptian Gods, particularly in the Divine Ennead of Heliopolis",
in: *Struggles of Gods. Papers of the Groningen Work Group for the Study of the History of Religions*, edited by H.G. Kippenberg in association with H.J.W. Drijvers and Y. Kuiper (Berlin/New York/Amsterdam 1984), 239–257.

35 "Persoonlijke devotie in het oude Egypte",
in: *Egypte: Eender en Anders. Tentoonstelling ter viering van het vijftigjarig bestaan van het Allard Pierson Museum* (Amsterdam 1984), 119–123.

36 "Frankfort and Religious Symbols",
in: *Neue Zeitschrift für Systematische Theologie und Religionsphilosophie* 27 (1985), 111–122.

37 "Typhon",
in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Band VI, Lief. 6 (Wiesbaden 1985), 816–817.

38 "Mut, the Eye of Re",
in: *Fourth International Congress of Egyptology, Münich 26 August – 1 September 1985. Abstracts of Papers*, hrsg. von Sylvia Schoske (München 1985), 250.

39 "Scribes and Literacy in Ancient Egypt",
in: *Scripta Signa Vocis. Studies about Scripts, Scriptures, Scribes and Languages in the Near East, presented to J.H. Hospers by his pupils, colleagues and friends*. Edited by H.L.J. Vanstiphout, K. Jongeling, F. Leemhuis and G.J. Reinink (Groningen 1986), 253–264.

40 "Egyptian Hieroglyphs as Signs, Symbols and Gods",
in: *Visible Religion – Annual for Religious Iconography*, Vol. IV-V (1985–1986): *Approaches to Iconology*. (Leiden 1986), 63–72.

41 "Zeremonialbart",
in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Band VI, Lief. 9 (Wiesbaden 1986), 1396–1397.

42 "Funerary Mythology",
in: Sue D'Auria, Peter Lacovara, Catharine H. Roehrig, *Mummies & Magic. The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt* (Boston 1988), 27–37.

43 "Mut, the Eye of Re",
in: Sylvia Schoske (Hrsg.), *Akten des Vierten Internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses, München 1985*, Band 3 = *BSAK* 3 (Hamburg 1988), 395–403.

44 "Some Remarks on the Mysterious Language of the Baboons",
in: *Funerary Symbols and Religion. Essays Dedicated to Professor M.S.H.G. Heerma van Voss on the occasion of his retirement from the Chair of the History of Ancient Religions at the University of Amsterdam*, edited by J.H. Kamstra, H. Milde, K. Wagtendonk (Kampen 1988), 129–137.

45 "Egyptian Hieroglyphs as Linguistic Signs and Metalinguistic Informants",
in: *Visible Religion. Annual for Religious Iconography* VI (1987), (Leiden 1988), 169–179.

46 "Some Remarks on the Concept 'Person' in the Ancient Egyptian Culture",
in: H.G. Kippenberg, Y.B. Kuiper, A.F. Sanders (ed.), *Concepts of Person in Religion and Thought* (Berlin/New York 1990), 83–101.

47 "Some Egyptian Deities and their Piggishness",
in: *Sesto Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia / Sixth International Congress of Egyptology. Turin, 1st-8th September 1991. Abstracts of Papers* (Turin 1991), 404–405.

48 "Kulturkritik und Religionsreform im Alten Ägypten nach Gerardus van der Leeuw",
in: Hans G. Kippenberg und Brigitte Luchesi (Hrsg.), *Religionswissenschaft und Kulturkritik. Beiträge zur Konferenz 'The History of Religions and Critique of Culture in the Days of Gerardus van der Leeuw (1890–1950)'* (Marburg 1991), 93–99.

49 "Over wereldbeeld en ruimtebegrip der oude Egyptenaren",
in: *Groniek. Historisch Tijdschrift* 112–113 (1991), 8–22.

50 "Some Egyptian Deities and their Piggishness",
in: *Studia Aegyptiaca* XIV: *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt. Studies presented to László Kákosy by friends and colleagues on the occasion of his 60th birthday.* Edited by Ulrich Luft (Budapest 1992), 571-578.

51 "De Oud-egyptische levensbeschouwing en funeraire mythologie"; "Mummies en mummificatie in het oude Egypte" (with Liesbeth Grotenhuis); "Het verhaal van de Groninger mummie" (pseudonym "Janus"),
in: *De horizon van het Westen. De dodencultus in het oude Egypte*. Uitgave bij de Egyptische collectie in het Volkenkundig Museum "Gerardus van der Leeuw" te Groningen (Groningen 1993), 8–10, 46–48, 75–77.

52 "Theology, Priests, and Worship in Ancient Egypt",
in: Jack M. Sasson (ed.), *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, Vol. III (New York 1995), 1731–1735, 1740–1745, 1747–1749.

53 "The Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt" (with Jacobus van Dijk),
in: Jack M. Sasson (ed.), *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, Vol. III (New York 1995), 1736–1740.

54 "The End of a Religious Tradition: the Case of Egypt",
in: C. Eyre (ed.), *Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists, Cambridge 3 – 9 September 1995. Abstracts of Papers* (Oxford 1995), 192–193.

55 "Het oude Egypte",
in: *Volkenkundig Museum "Gerardus van der Leeuw" – De wereld van Papyrus: Egypte in stripverhaal* (Groningen [1995]), 8–10.

56 "Bastet", "Bes", "Khonsu", and "Nile",
in: K. van der Toorn, B. Becking, P.W. van der Horst (eds.), *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (Leiden/New York/Köln 1995), 312–315, 330–331, 903, 1179–1180.

57 "Op reis naar het paradijs van de oude Egyptenaren",
in: *Meander. Reizen op schrift* nr. 11 (oktober 1996), 14–16.

58 "Harry Mulisch en zijn 'De Ontdekking van de Hemel' ",
in: Goffe Jensma & Yme Kuiper (red.), *De god van Nederland is de beste. Elf opstellen over religie in de moderne Nederlandse literatuur* (Kampen 1996), 156–168.

Ein Wiener Kanopentext und die Stundenwachen in der Balsamierungshalle

Jan Assmann

Unter den vielen Interessen und Forschungsgebieten, die Herman te Velde in seiner ägyptologischen Praxis pflegt, sind es die Sargtexte und die Erforschung ihres religiösen Kontexts, auf die sich der folgende Beitrag bezieht. In der gemeinsamen Betreuung von Harco Willems' Dissertation sind wir uns in diesem Punkt besonders nahe gekommen, und ich benutze die Gelegenheit dieses Beitrags nicht nur zu den herzlichsten Glückwünschen an den Jubilar, sondern auch zum Ausdruck meines Dankes für die Gastfreundschaft in Groningen.

In der Festschrift für Gamal Mokhtar (1985) hatte Helmut Satzinger auf eine "Kanopeninschrift mit Anklängen an das königliche Totenopfer-Ritual des Alten Reichs" aufmerksam gemacht.[1] Das Wiener Kanopengefäß Inv. Nr. 5182 aus Alabaster stammt aus der Saitenzeit. Der Text ist eine Rede des Horussohns Duamutef an den Verstorbenen. Da sich der Text im Licht der Varianten, die den bisherigen Bearbeitern entgangen sind, etwas anders darstellt, gebe ich ihn hier nochmals in eigener Umschrift und Übersetzung:

"K"

1	*ḏd mdw jn Dwꜣ-mwt=f*	Worte zu sprechen von Duamutef:
2	*hꜣ wsjr tꜣ <.t> Ḥrw-zmꜣ-tꜣwj-m-ḥꜣt*	O Osiris Wesir Harsomtu-emhet
3	*jnk zꜣ=k mrj=k*	Ich bin dein geliebter Sohn
4	*jj.n=j šd.n=j tw m-ᶜ nkn=k*	ich bin gekommen, um dich zu retten[2] vor dem, der dich verletzen will.
5	*dj=j ᶜḥᶜ=k ḏt mj jtj=k Rᶜw*	Ich will veranlassen, daß du aufrecht stehst[3] ewiglich wie dein Vater Re,
6	*psḏ.t ᶜꜣ.t m mtrjj*	wobei die große Neunheit Zeuge ist.
7	*ᶜnḫ=k n wn ḫftjw=k*	Du sollst leben, ohne daß es deine Feinde gibt.
8	*drp ṯw Tfnwt*	Tefnut soll dich beschenken
9	*m jrj.n=s n jtj=s Rᶜw*	mit dem, was sie für ihren Vater Re getan hat.

[1] H. Satzinger, "Zwei Wiener Objekte mit bemerkenswerten Inschriften", in *Mélanges G. Eddin Mokhtar*, BdE 97/2 (Kairo 1985), 249–259, § 2 (255–259). Jetzt in: *CAA Wien*, Kunsthistorisches Museum ÄS 5182, ed. E. Reiser-Haslauer, 3, 1–5.

[2] Kryptographisch geschrieben mit Mann mit Hacke (von *šdj* "graben"). Wie unten gezeigt wird, lesen die Varianten hier *nḏ* "schützen".

[3] Hier ist der Zusatz *ḥr rdwj=kj* "auf deinen beiden Beinen", den die Varianten haben, ausgefallen.

10	*tz=k <r> jn.t twjj špss qrs Wsjr jm*	Du sollst aufstiegen zu jenem erhabenen Tal, in dem Osiris begraben ist.
11	*psḏ Rᶜw m jḫ.t nḏm*	Wenn Re in etwas Süßes beißt,
12	*dj=f n=k jm*	soll er dir davon geben.
13	*t.w 3 n-ḥr<=k>*	Drei Brote sollen dir vorgesetzt werden
14	*{r}[4]-ḥr Rᶜw nj-sw bšɜ.w*	bei Re aus Gerste,
15	*t.w 7 n-ḥr=k*	Sieben Brote sollen dir vorgesetzt werden
16	*ḥr Gb nj-sw b.tj 7*	von Geb aus "Sieben-Emmer".
17	*{s.t} jn.[5]tw n=k[6] sḫ.t-ḥtp n[7] bɜḫ=k*	Man möge ein Opfergefilde vor dich bringen,
18	*wsjr tɜ<.t> Ḥrw-zmɜ-tɜwj-m-ḥɜt mɜᶜ-ḫrw*	Osiris Wesir Horsomtu-emhet, gerechtfertigt.

Ohne alle inhaltlichen Dunkelheiten dieses Textes aufklären zu können, glaube ich doch, daß sich in die Herkunft dieser Kanopeninschrift Licht bringen läßt. Die Textgeschichte erscheint mir interessant genug, um ihr etwas ausführlicher nachzugehen. Es handelt sich um einen Text, der auf thebanischen Särgen der 22.–26. Dynastie von Monthpriestern als Rede des Horussohns Duamutef erscheint.[8]

"S"

1	*hɜ wsjr N, jnk Dwɜ-mwt=f*	O Osiris N, ich bin Duamutef,
2	*jnk zɜ=k Ḥrw mrj=k*	Ich bin dein geliebter Horussohn.
3	*jj.n=j nḏ.{n}=j tw m-ᶜ nkn*	Ich bin gekommen, dich zu schützen[9] vor Verletzung.[10]
4	*dj=j ᶜḥᶜ=k ḥr rdwj=k ḏt*	Ich will bewirken, daß du immer auf deinen Beinen gehst[11]
5	*mj jtj=j Wsjr*	wie mein Vater Osiris.
6	*rḏj.t<w> n=k mɜᶜ-ḫrw*	Dir soll Rechtfertigung gegeben werden
7	*jn Rᶜw nb pt*	von Re, dem Herrn des Himmels,
8	*psḏt ᶜɜt m mtrj*	wobei die beide Neunheiten Zeuge sind,
9	*ᶜnḫ.tj nn wn ḫftjw=k*	indem du lebst ohne daß du einen Feind hast.
10	*drp tw Tfnt*	Tefnut soll dich beschenken
11	*m jr.n=s n jtj=s Rᶜw*	mit dem, was sie für ihren Vater Re tut.

[4] *r* ist eine Verschreibung für *=k*.
[5] *s.t* ist eine Verschreibung für *jn*.
[6] *nb* ist eine (übliche) Verschreibung für *=k*.
[7] Lies *m*.
[8] CG 41002, ed. A. Moret, *Sarcophages de l'époque bubastide à l'époque saïte* I (Kairo 1913) [im Folgenden: Moret], 53f.; 41044, ed. H. Gauthier, *Cercueils anthropoïdes des prêtres de Montou* I (Kairo 1913) [im Folgenden: Gauthier], 40f.; 41067, Gauthier, 119f.
[9] Im Gebrauch der *sḏm.n=f*-Form an dieser Stelle sind sich alle Varianten einig.
[10] CG 41047 hat wie K *nkn=k*.
[11] Hier endet CG 41047.

12	*wṯz=k <r> jnt twjj špst qrst Wsjr jm=s*	Mögest du dich erheben <zu> jenem erlauchten Wüstental, in dem Osiris begraben ist.
13	*psḏ Rᶜw m jḫ.t nḏm*	Wenn Re in etwas Süßes beißt,
14	*dj=f n=j jm*	dann soll er dir davon abgeben.
15	*t.w 3 n ḥr=k*	Drei Brote[12] sollen dir vorgesetzt werden
16	*ḥr Rᶜw nj-sw b.tj 7*	bei Re aus "Sieben-Emmer",
17	*t.w 3 n ḥr=k*	Drei Brote[13] sollen dir vorgesetzt werden
18	*ḥr Gb nj-sw b.tj snḫw*	bei Geb aus *snḫw* Emmer,
19	*n jn.tw n=k sḫt-ḥtp m bɜḥ=k*	Das Opfergefilde soll vor dich gebracht werden.
20	*pr <m> hrw sḫm <m> rdwj=kj*	Komm heraus am Tage, verfüge über deine Füße,
21	*ḫft n=k t=k*	Nimm (?) dir dein Brot,
22	*rdj.tw n=k nst m wjɜ ᶜɜ*	Dir soll ein Sitz gegeben werden in der Großen Barke
23	*dwɜ.tw ḥr nb, wsjr N*	alle Gesichter sollen dich anbeten, Osiris N!

Der Text besteht aus drei Teilen, die auch überlieferungsgeschichtlich verschiedene Wege gehen. Die ersten beiden Teile (1–9 und 10–19) finden sich in leicht gekürzter Fassung auf dem Wiener Kanopengefäß wieder. Der letzte Teil (20–23) ist dort weggelassen. Der zweite Teil (10–19) basiert auf einem Ausschnitt aus TB 169:[14]

"TB"

1	*drp ṯw Tfnt zɜt Rᶜw*	Tefnut, die Tochter des Re, soll dich beschenken
2	*m rdjt n=s jtj=s Rᶜw*	mit dem, was ihr Vater Re ihr gegeben hat.
3	*wṯz tw n=k jnt twjj qrst Wsjr jm=s*	Jenes Wüstental soll dich für dich tragen das seinen Vater Osiris begraben hat.
4	*psḏ.n=j m jḫ.t nḏm*	Ich habe in etwas Süßes gebissen,
5	*dj=f n wsjr N jm*	dann soll er Osiris N davon abgeben
6	*t 3 ḥrw*	Drei Mahlzeiten oben
7	*ḥr Rᶜw nj-sw jt jbwt*	bei Re aus *jbw*-Gerste
8	*t 4 ḫrw*	Vier Mahlzeiten unten
9	*ḥr Gb nj-sw b.tj šmᶜw*	bei Geb aus oberägyptischem Emmer
10	*jn njwtjw jn n=k sḫt-ḥtp*	Die Stadtbewohner sind es, die dir das Opfergefilde bringen,
	dd=f (lies *-sj*) *m bɜḥ=k*	indem es vor dich gegeben wird.

Mit den Pyramidentexten, wie Satzinger vermutete, hat dieser Textabschnitt zwar nichts zu tun. Er geht aber auf Spruch 22 der Sargtexte zurück. Wie so oft, klären sich

[12] CG 41002 hat *jḫ.t* "Mahlzeiten".
[13] Hier hat CG 41044 *jḫ.t* "Mahlzeiten".
[14] Nach *Nfr-wbn=f*, Naville, *Todtenbuch* I, 190; Budge, *The Book of the Dead* (London 1910), III, 47–51.

auch hier viele Ungereimtheiten der Totenbuchfassung im Licht der Sargtextversion auf.

"CT"

1	*rpjjt nt-mnḥ ḫzrt-ḏw*	(Vermerk:) Ein Göttinnenbild aus Wachs, das das Böse vertreibt.
2	*drp-ṯw Tfnt zꜣt-Rᶜw*	Möge dich Tefnut beschenken, die Tochter des Re,
3	*m-rdjt.n-n=s jtj=s Rᶜw*	mit dem, was ihr Vater Re ihr gegeben hat.
4	*rḏj-n=k Jnt t*	Möge die Talgöttin dir Brot geben
5	*m-qrsw-jtj=s Wsjr*	von den Grabbeigaben ihres Vaters Osiris.
6	*psḥ-Rᶜw m-jḫ.t-nḏm*	Wenn Re in etwas Süßes beißt,
7	*dd=f-n=k-st*	dann wird er es dir geben.
8	*ḫmt=k r-ḥrt ḫr-Rᶜw*	Deine drei (Mahlzeiten) sind im Himmel bei Re
9	*nt-jt mḥ snḥ*	aus Unterägyptischer *snḥ*-Gerste.
10	*jfdt=k r-tꜣ ḫr-Gb*	Deine vier (Mahlzeiten) sind auf Erde bei Geb
11	*nt-jt mḥ jbw*	aus Unterägyptischer *jbw*-Gerste.
12	*nḏtj nḏ=sn-n=k*	Die beiden Müllerinnen (mahlen)[15] es für dich,
13	*sḫtj-ḥtp dd=sn m-bꜣḥ=k*	die beiden Opfergefilde, sie opfern vor dir.

Der Weg, auf dem dieser Sargtext in das 169. Totenbuchkapitel und von dort auf verschiedene Särge und auf den Wiener Kanopenkrug gelangt ist, läßt sich leicht aufklären. Spruch 22 der Sargtexte gehört zu einer Totenliturgie, deren thebanische Fassung mit der Spruchfolge 1+20+21+22+23+24+25 als 169. Kapitel in das Totenbuch übernommen wurde.[16] Dort erhielt die Liturgie den Titel *r n sᶜḥᶜ* (var. *stz*) *ḫnkjj.t* "Spruch zum Aufstellen des Totenbettes". Damit ist das Bett der Einbalsamierung gemeint. Die Liturgie wurde also im Zusammenhang des Balsamierungsrituals verwendet. Darauf verweist auch der Abschnitt aus TB 169, der im Festkalender des Gottesvaters Neferhotep aus der Zeit des Haremhab als Liturgie für den 18. Choiak zitiert wird und der dort den Titel *rꜣ n šd n ḫnkjj.t* "Spruch der Rezitation für das Totenbett" erhält. Die zugehörige Vignette zeigt die Mumie auf dem Löwenbett. Der Ritualvermerk legt fest, daß an diesem Tag für acht Tage eine Kornmumie angesetzt werden soll.[17] Nach pLouvre 3176 soll an diesem Tag das Buch "Schutz des Bettes" rezitiert werden.[18] Offenbar entspricht das Ritual der Kornmumie auf der Ebene der Götterfeste dem Balsamierungsritual auf der Ebene des Totenkults.

Auf dem Textbestand dieser und anderer Totenliturgien zur Einbalsamierung schöpfen mit Vorliebe die Reden, die Gottheiten der Sargdekoration in den Mund gelegt

---

[15] Nur die Gruppe T9C, T1L, BH5C, T1C wiederholt richtig den Stamm *nḏ*, die anderen haben: *nḏ.tj=sn n=k* "ihre Müllerinnen gehören dir".

[16] Vgl. P. Jürgens, "Textkritik der Sargtexte: CT-Sprüche 1–27", in H. Willems (ed.), *The World of the Coffin Texts*, Egyptologische Uitgaven 9 (Leiden 1996), 55–72.

[17] Verf., *MDAIK* 40 (1984), 283–286; C. Graindorge-Héreil, *Le dieu Sokar à Thèbes au Nouvel Empire*, GOF IV/28:1 (Wiesbaden 1994), 190f.; L. Manniche, "The Beginning of the Festival Calendar in the Tomb of Neferhotep at Thebes", in *Mélanges Mokhtar*, BdE 97/2 (Kairo 1985), 105–108; R. Hari, *La tombe thébaine du père divin Neferhotep (TT 50)* (Genf 1985), 46.

[18] P. Barguet, *Le papyrus N. 3176 (S) du Musée du Louvre*, BdE 37 (Kairo 1962), 17–18.

werden. Auf diese Weise kam es zu der mehr oder weniger festen Verbindung des auf CT [22] zurückgehenden Abschnitts aus TB 169 mit dem Horussohn Duamutef. Um dieses Textstück zu einer Rede des Horussohns Duamutef auszubauen, mußte es um eine Selbstvorstellung erweitert werden. Das ist Teil 1 (S: 1–9, K: 1–7).

Götterreden auf Särgen sind eine sehr typische Gattung, die vom Alten Reich bis in die römisch Kaiserzeit belegt ist. Je nach der Bedeutung der Gottheiten im Rahmen der ägyptischen Totenreligion treten hier einzelne Gestalten stärker oder schwächer hervor. Die zentrale Figur ist mit weitem Abstand die Himmelsgöttin Nut; für sie dürften über Hundert verschiedene "Nut-Texte" bezeugt sein.[19] Für andere Zentralfiguren wie Isis und Nephthys gibt es Dutzende verschiedener Texte. Weitere Gottheiten treten höchstens mit kurzen Formeln auf. Auf den von Moret und Gauthier edierten thebanischen Särgen der Dritten Zwischenzeit und der Spätzeit werden jedoch auch anderen Gottheiten der Einbalsamierung, Mumifizierung und Stundenwache lange Reden in den Mund gelegt. Der Zyklus von Götterreden auf diesen Särgen umfaßt folgende Texte:

1. Isis; dieser Text fußt in seinem zweiten Teil auf TB 151.[20]
   Hauptthemen: Atemluft; Rechtfertigung; Augenöffnung.
2. Nephthys (TB 151)[21]
   Hauptthema: Rechtfertigung (*mȝʿ-ḫrw=k ḫr psḏt*).
3. Anubis *Jmj-wt*:[22]
   Hauptthema: Gliedervereinigung.
4. Anubis *ḫntj-sḥ-nṯr*[23]
   Hauptthema: Gliedervereinigung.
5. Horus[24]
   Hauptthemen: *nḏ*: Eintreten gegen Feinde; Gemeinschaft mit dem Ka; Rechtfertigung.
6. Horus Mechentiirti[25]
   Hauptthemen: Falke und Gans; Öffnung von Himmel, Erde, Unterwelt.
7. Amset[26]
   Hauptthemen: Schutz des Grabes; Reinheit; Rechtfertigung.

---

[19] Vgl. *LÄ* IV (1980), 266–271 s.v. Muttergottheit mit weiterer Literatur.

[20] CG 41002, Moret, 46f.; 41004, Moret, 79–80; 41006, Moret, 97; 41009, Moret, 122; 41011, Moret, 141; 41013, Moret, 155; 41017, Moret, 180; 41044, Gauthier, 71; 41047, Gauthier, 136; 41056, Gauthier, 282; 41057, Gauthier, 310; 41058, Gauthier, 341; 41062, Gauthier, 393; TT 413 (Anchhor), ed. Bietak/Haslauer, 106 Abb. 29; Bologna 1957, Sarg des *Wsȝjj*, G. Kminek-Szedlo, *Catalogo di Antichità Egizie* (Torino 1895), 222.

[21] CG 41002, Moret, 45; 41004, Moret, 79; 41006, Moret, 93; 41008, Moret, 103 (als Isis-Text); 41044, Gauthier, 32; 41047, Gauthier, 112f.; 41048, Gauthier, 141; 41057, Gauthier, 299; 41058, Gauthier, 325f.; 41059, Gauthier, 357; Anchhor, 106 Abb. 29; Bologna 1957, *Cat.*, 221f.

[22] CG 41002, Moret, 54; 41008, Moret, 107f.; 41009, Moret, 126; 41011, Moret, 146f.; 41015, Moret, 167; 41044, Gauthier, 41; 41046, Gauthier, 88; 41048, Gauthier, 149; 41057, Gauthier, 305; 41058, Gauthier, 332; 41068, Gauthier, 471.

[23] CG 41009, Moret, 125; 41015, Moret, 168; 41047, Gauthier, 123; 41048, Gauthier, 152; 41057, Gauthier, 308; 41058, Gauthier, 336; 41068, Gauthier, 479.

[24] CG 41002, Moret, 48; 41011, Moret, 143. Sonst nicht in extenso belegt.

[25] CG 41002, Moret, 55; 41009, Moret, 127; 41044, Gauthier, 41f.

[26] CG 41002, Moret, 53; 41008, Moret, 197; 41044, Gauthier, 39f.; 41048, Gauthier, 148; 41057, Gauthier, 304; 41062, Gauthier, 388; CG 61010, ed. G. Daressy, *Cercueils des cachettes royales* (Kairo 1909), 12; 61016, Daressy, 22; 61017, Daressy, 24. Viele weitere Kurzfassungen.

8. Hapi[27]
   Hauptthemen: Lebensfunktionen (*sʿḥ*; *bɜ*; *ḫɜt*); Göttergemeinschaft.
9. Duamutef (s. oben)
   Hauptthemen: Versorgung; Mahlzeiten.
10. Qebehsenuf[28]
    Hauptthemen: Lebensfunktionen (*kɜ*; *bɜ*; *ḏt*; *ḥʿw*); Sonnenlauf; *jrj ḫprw*.
11. Geb[29]
    Hauptthemen: Augenöffnung; Bewegungsfreiheit gegen Feinde.
12. Irrenefdjesef[30]
    Hauptthemen: Mahlzeiten aus heiligen Orten; Himmelsaufstieg.
13. Heqamaajotef[31]
    Hauptthemen: Göttergemeinschaft; Lebensfunktionen (*kɜ*; *bɜ*; Herz).

Etwas mehr als die Hälfte dieser Götterreden sind aus dem Material von TB 169 gebildet. Das verweist auf einen gemeinsamen "Sitz im Leben". Die Liturgie wird, wie aus ihrem Titel hervorgeht, am Bett der Einbalsamierung und Mumifizierung rezitiert und soll die verklärenden und vergöttlichenden Heilswirkungen des Balsamierungsrituals bekräftigen und auf Dauer stellen. Der rituelle Rahmen dieser zum Abschluß der Mumifizierungsarbeit rezitierten Liturgien ist die Nachtwache in der Balsamierungshalle. Diese Nachtwache wird schon im MR, wie wir aus CT Spruch 49 (I 217*a*) erfahren, in der Form einer Stundenwache durchgeführt.[32] Man muß sich also vorstellen, daß die einzelnen Gottheiten, die auf den Särgen mit Anreden an den Toten dargestellt werden, einen Stundendienst ausführen. Ihre Gesamtheit gewährleistet die lückenlose und immerwährende Durchführung dieses Schutzes. Durch die Sargdekoration sollte das Ritual der Stundenwache in seiner Schutzwirkung verewigt werden.[33] Die Idee war, die Heilswirksamkeit dieses Rituals in Form der Sargdekoration auf Dauer zu stellen und den Toten auf diese Weise für immer in den Schutz der Gottheiten dieser letzten Nachtwache vor der Beisetzung einzubetten.

Für kürzere Reden dieser Schutzgottheiten bot sich das 151. Kapitel des Totenbuchs an, das sich ebenfalls auf die Schutzwache in der Balsamierungshalle bezieht. Aus diesem Kapitel wurden auch in aller Regel die Kanopentexte geschöpft. Wenn aber für bestimmte Formen der Sargdekoration längere und inhaltlich anspruchsvollere Reden gewünscht wurden, griff man auf das 169. Kapitel des Totenbuchs zurück.

---

[27] CG 41002, Moret, 49f.; 41009, Moret, 124f.; 41044, Gauthier, 42–43; 41046, Gauthier, 90; 41068, Gauthier, 478.

[28] CG 41002, Moret, 50; 41004, Moret, 81; 41008, Moret, 105; 41009, Moret, 125; 41024, Moret, 230f.; 41015, Moret, 167f.; 41041, Gauthier, 43f.; 41047, Gauthier, 123; 41048, Gauthier, 151f.; 41057, Gauthier, 307; 41068, Gauthier, 478.

[29] CG 41002, Moret, 54f.; 41009, Moret, 127.

[30] CG 41002, Moret, 51; 41048, Gauthier, 153.

[31] CG 41002, Moret, 50f.; 41004, Moret, 81; 41048, Gauthier, 153.

[32] H. Kees, *Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der alten Ägypter* (Berlin 1956[2]), 170; M. Münster, *Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis*, MÄS 11 (Berlin 1968), 35f.; Bonnet, *RÄRG*, 43; Vgl. Verf., "Stundenwachen", *LÄ* VI (1986), 104–106. Die ptolemäische Tempelfassung der Stundenwachen publizierte H. Junker, *Die Stundenwachen in den Osirismysterien nach den Inschriften von Dendera, Edfu und Philae*, DWAW 54 (Wien 1910).

[33] *MDAIK* 28 (1972), 127ff.; H. Willems, *Chests of Life. A Study of the Typology and Conceptual Development of Middle Kingdom Standard Class Coffins*, MVEOL 25 (Leiden 1988), 141–160.

Nachdem der auf CT [22] zurückgehende Abschnitt des 169. Totenbuchkapitels einmal diese feste Verbindung mit dem Horussohn Duamutef eingegangen war, lag es natürlich nahe, ihn auch einmal auf einen Kanopenkrug des Duamutef zu schreiben.

Die Selbstvorstellung des Duamutef, die nur in den Fassungen K (1–7) und S (1–9), aber nicht in TB und CT vorkommt, nimmt sehr präzise Bezug auf die Situation der Nachtwache. Duamutef verspricht dem Toten Schutz vor weiterer Verletzung und "Aufrichtung" in Gegenwart der beiden Neunheiten. Zugrunde liegen zwei Episoden des Osirismythos, die hier im Sinne eines mythischen Modells oder Präzedenzfalles auf den toten NN übertragen werden. Seth hat Osiris erschlagen, aber Isis, Nephthys, Anubis, Horus und ihre weiteren Helfer haben durch Beweinung, Verklärung und Mumifizierung die personale Integrität des Erschlagenen wiederherstellen können. Jetzt kommt alles darauf an, den wiederhergestellten Osiris vor weiterer Verletzung zu bewahren, womit Seth weiterhin droht. Die zweite Episode schließt an die erste an: der restituierte Osiris ist in den Stand gesetzt, vor Gericht aufzutreten und seinen Mörder zur Rechenschaft zu ziehen. Die Rollen dieser Gerichtsszene sind in anderen Fassungen des Mythos meist mit Horus und Seth besetzt; in den Pyramiden- und Sargtexten tritt aber auch Osiris selbst gegen Seth auf. Besonders gilt das für die Totenliturgie CT [1]-[29], auf die unser Text in seinem zweiten Abschnitt (K: 8–17; S: 10–19) zurückgeht. Duamutef verspricht also dem Toten genau jenen Beistand, um den es in der Nachtwache vor der Beisetzung geht: Schutz vor einem zweiten Angriff durch Seth und Beistand im Gericht. Das ist der algemeine Sinn des Stundenwachenrituals und speziell der Liturgie, zu der CT [22] gehört, die eine rituelle Inszenierung des Totengerichts darstellt.[34] Alle Götterreden dieses Zyklus nehmen mehr oder weniger deutlich und ausführlich auf die Gerichts-Semantik Bezug.

Die Mittelstrophe (K: 8–10; S: 10–12; TB: 1–3) wird erst in der Sargtextversion (CT: 2–5) einigermaßen verständlich. Hier treten Tefnut und die "Talgöttin" in deutlichem Parallelismus auf. Die eine steht vor den Himmel und ist mit Re verbunden, die andere steht für Unterwelt, Westen und Totenreich und ist mit Osiris verbunden. Der Sargtext soll zu einem Göttinnenbild aus Wachs rezitiert werden; vermutlich stellt dieses Bild sowohl Tefnut als auch die Talgöttin dar. Die Aufgabe der beiden Göttinnen besteht darin, die Versorgung des Toten in Himmel und Unterwelt sicherzustellen. In den späteren Fassungen ist dieser Sinn verloren gegangen.

Um Versorgung in Himmel und Erde geht es auch in der dritten Strophe. Die Aufzählung der Mahlzeiten des Toten ist ein typisches Thema der "Nahrungssprüche" in den Sargtexten.[35] Meist sind es fünf Mahlzeiten (*jḫ.t*), drei im Himmel bei Re und zwei auf der Erde bei Geb (Sprüche [201], [211], [215], [218], [660], [667] usw.), aber auch sieben kommen vor (Sprüche [195], [198], 1011]). Die Spezifizierung der Getreidearten ist mir sonst nicht bekannt. Die Verteilung der Mahlzeiten auf Himmel (bei Re) und Erde (bei Geb) ist ebenfalls kanonisch (selten: Horus im Himmel, Min auf Erde, z.B. [208]); sie zeigt, daß der Tote bei der Einnahme dieser Mahlzeiten im Sonnenlauf vorgestellt wird. Daher wird auch oft hinzugesetzt, daß es die Sonnenbarken sind, die dem Toten diese Mahlzeiten bringen.[36] Hier treten die beiden "Opfergefilde" in dieser Rolle auf (CT: 13); möglicherweise sind damit die beiden

[34] H. Willems, *Chests of Life*, 148–150.
[35] Vgl. hierzu J. Zandee, "Egyptian Funerary Ritual: Coffin Texts, Spell 173", *BiOr* 41 (1984), 5–33.
[36] z.B. *CT* III 75*b*; 122*b*; 152*a*; 161*f*; 168*c*; 172*f*; 197*e* usw.

Göttinnen Tefnut und Inet gemeint, die für Himmel und Erde bzw. Unterwelt stehen und die Versorgung des Toten oben und unten sichern sollen.

Dieser Sinn ist auf dem weiten Weg von CT [22] zum Wiener Kanopentext verlorengegangen. Dabei ist aber keineswegs Unsinn entstanden. In der Spätzeit hat man unter *sḫ.t-ḥtpw* "Opfergefilde" den Speisetisch mit Broten verstanden, wie aus der Umdeutung der Brothälften zu den Schilfgraszeichen der Feld-Hieroglyphe hervorgeht.[37] Die Wendung "man bringt ein Opfergefilde vor dich" heißt daher "man stellt vor dir einen Speisetisch auf".

Der thematische Zusammenhang der beiden Teile des Textes in den Versionen K und S ergibt sich aus der festen Gedankenverbindung von Rechtfertigung und Versorgung. Das erste, was dem gerechtfertigten Toten zum Zeichen seiner Aufnahme unter die Verklärten zugesprochen wird, ist die Versorgung mit Brot und Bier von der Tafel der Götter.[38]

Der dritte Abschnitt des Textes, der nur in Version S (20–23) vorkommt, bezieht sich ebenso eindeutig auf die Auswirkungen der Rechtfertigung. Der gerechtfertigte Tote ist befähigt zum "Herausgehen am Tage" und zur Mitfahrt in der Sonnenbarke. In der zugrundeliegenden Totenliturgie der Sargtexte ist dies das Thema von Spruch [18]:

hɜ wsjr-N-pn,	O Osiris N hier,
ḏɜj=k pt nmj=k bjɜ	mögest du über den Himmel fahren und den Ehernen durchwandern,
dwɜ ṯw jmjw mr nḫɜ	mögen dich die Bewohner des Gewundenen Kanals anbeten,
mɜɜ=sn ṯw wbn=k m ɜḫt jɜbtt	wenn sie dich sehen, wie du aufgehst im östlichen Lichtland.
jmjw dɜt ḥr rḏjt ḫɜw=k nfr	Die Unterweltlichen stimmen "schön ist dein Aufgang" an,
prj=k m Msktt	wenn du herauskommst aus der Mesektet-Barke
hɜj=k m Mʿnḏt	und einsteigst in dei Meʿandjet-Barke,
m wḏ n=k Ḥrw ḏs=f nb pʿt	wie es dir Horus, der Herr der Pat, selbst befohlen hat.

Hier ist auch von der Anbetung des Verstorbenen die Rede. Die allgemeine Semantik der Stundenwache, wie sie in den Totenliturgien des Mittleren Reichs entwickelt und entfaltet wurde, ist also bis in die Spätzeit nicht verloren gegangen. Das liegt natürlich daran, daß das Stundenwachenritual selbst als Schlußritus der Einbalsamierung und als Bestandteil der Choiakriten bis in die Spätzeit durchgeführt wurde. Dieses Ritual bildet den "Sitz im Leben" aller hier besprochenen Dokumente: des Wiener Kanopengefäßes, der Spätzeitsärge, des Totenbuchkapitels 169 und des Sargtextspruchs [22].

---

[37] S. hierzu Verf., *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott*, MÄS 19 (Berlin 1969), 153 m. Anm. 14; *Das Grab des Basa (Nr. 389) in der thebanischen Nekropole*, AVDAIK 6 (Mainz 1973), 72 m. Anm. 76; 66 m. Anm. 47; die Arbeit von Clère über diese Symbolik, die Vandier, *Manuel* IV, 96 Anm. 14 ankündigt, ist m.W. nie erschienen.

[38] Dies im einzelnen darzulegen, würde hier zu weit führen. Vgl. einstweilen meine Bemerkungen in *Liturgische Lieder*, 145, Anm. 29–30.

An Old Kingdom Record of an Oracle? Sinai Inscription 13*

John Baines and R.B. Parkinson

Introduction

Oracles are a significant phenomenon in Egyptian religion,[1] not least because they constitute a form of direct interaction between a supernatural agency and those who consult it, mediated only – but importantly – by the methods employed to discover the agency's will or knowledge. They demonstrate an agency's knowledge of, and especially involvement with, human affairs. That involvement can be apprehended in events that inform people about divine wishes and intentions – or, in such contexts as judicial knowledge, about what has occurred – and may influence them in planning or properly anticipating what will happen. The events in question may be portents or other irregular manifestations that are not generally termed oracles but form part of the same complex of human–divine relations, or they may have the regular and determinate form of an oracle.[2] In this sense, oracles are typically consultations with the deity in the context of a regular cult, with its associated reciprocity of deity and worshipper. Because the information oracles provide is so important and the value of divine participation so great, their institutional form can be used to confirm human decisions that have effectively already been taken, perhaps subject only to extreme denial when they are presented to the oracle. In Egypt the agency involved is almost always a deity, but the letters to the dead[3] show that the deceased, in most attested cases family members of nonroyal people, could function as a similar resource.

Scholars have generally assumed that the practice of oracles emerged in Egypt in the New Kingdom and that they formed part of a gradual shift in authority, and later of economic power, from the king to the gods, more specifically to their temples

*John Baines is extremely grateful to Richard Parkinson for reading and criticizing a first draft of this article, identifying the squeezes, and agreeing to make the new copy presented here. Richard Parkinson has contributed the work on the squeezes in the British Museum and much else besides. The interpretation, which is mainly the work of John Baines, was developed during a Humboldt-Stiftung fellowship at the University of Münster.

[1] The most extensive study is M. Römer, *Gottes- und Priesterherrschaft in Ägypten am Ende des Neuen Reiches: Ein religionsgeschichtliches Phänomen und seine sozialen Grundlagen*, ÄAT 21 (Wiesbaden 1994); see also the excellent treatment of A.G. McDowell, *Jurisdiction in the Workmen's Community at Deir el Medina*, Egyptologische Uitgaven 5 (Leiden 1990), 107–141; L. Kákosy, "Orakel", *LÄ* IV (1982), 600–606. The classic older contribution is J. Černý, "Egyptian Oracles", in R.A. Parker, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes*, Brown Egyptological Studies 4 (Providence 1962), 35–48. Special case, with much bibliography: K.P. Kuhlmann, *Das Ammoneion: Archäologie, Geschichte und Kultpraxis des Orakels von Siwa*, AVDAIK 75 (Mainz 1988). See also next note.

[2] This formulation is close to the integrated picture presented by I. Shirun-Grumach, *Offenbarung, Orakel und Königsnovelle*, ÄAT 24 (Wiesbaden 1993). See also pp. 23–24 ahead.

[3] Recent translation: E.F. Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, SBL Writings from the Ancient World 1 (Atlanta 1990), 210–219.

as institutions and arenas of action. A categorical example of such a vision is Jan Assmann's assertion that oracles were "completely alien" to Old and Middle Kingdom Egyptian religion,[4] while Malte Römer's *Gottes- und Priesterherrschaft* (n. 1 here), which is principally a study of oracles, does not address any period before the New Kingdom. In previous studies we have mentioned possible earlier allusions to oracles in non-oracular texts of the First and Second Intermediate Periods;[5] one of these had been noted by Jacques Vandier and Gerhard Fecht.[6]

Here we discuss a text that is more than two hundred years earlier than those and which we believe to be best interpreted as containing a record of an oracular consultation that was subsequently inscribed to record the oracle's consequences. If our interpretation of this record is acceptable, it may support indirectly the reading of the allusions, which would have been made against a background expectation that oracles might be consulted before finalizing and acting upon major decisions. Although our text is different in genre from later records of official oracular consultations, it is comparable with them in other respects.

The text

The record in question is Sinai Inscription 13 (Fig. 1),[7] from the reign of Djedkare (Izezy) in the late Fifth Dynasty. This rock inscription at Maghara was first published in part by Samuel Birch (1869)[8] and subsequently in two sections under the numbers 11–12 by Raymond Weill (1904),[9] and then presented as no. 13 in the renumbered corpus of Alan H. Gardiner and T. Eric Peet (1917), and edited and translated by Jaroslav Černý (1952, 1955). The 1917 copy, which was not changed for the 1952 edition, was based upon the group of squeezes taken by Major Charles Kerr MacDonald in 1859–60 and now in the British Museum (see Appendix for details).[10] The 1917 copy did not do justice to the quality of the relief work and was misleading in the

---

[4] *Ägypten: Theologie und Frömmigkeit einer frühen Hochkultur* (Stuttgart 1984), 188; less absolute presentation: *Egyptian Solar Religion of the New Kingdom: Re, Amun and the Crisis of Polytheism*, transl. A. Alcock (London/New York 1995), 190–191. Assmann's view forms part of his understanding of the overall shape of earlier Egyptian religion. See also his *Stein und Zeit: Mensch und Gesellschaft im Alten Ägypten* (Munich 1991), 290–292; see further pp. 23–24 here.

[5] "Practical Religion and Piety", *JEA* 73 (1987), 88–90; "Society, Morality, and Religious Practice", in B.E. Shafer (ed.), *Religion in Ancient Egypt: Gods, Myths, and Personal Practice* (Ithaca NY 1991), 175–176. Essentially similar points are made by M. Römer, "Ist der Text auf den Blöcken 222/35/184 der Chapelle Rouge ein Zeugnis für eine neue 'Dimension erfahrbarer Gottesnähe' (Assmann)?", *GM* 99 (1987), 31 with n. 4; noted by Shirun-Grumach, *Offenbarung, Orakel und Königsnovelle*, 54 with n. 22.

[6] "Zu den Inschriften des ersten Pfeilers im Grab des Anchtifi (Moʿalla)", in W. Helck (ed.), *Festschrift für Siegfried Schott zu seinem 70. Geburtstag am 20. August 1967* (Wiesbaden 1968), 54.

[7] PM VII, 341. A.H. Gardiner and T.E. Peet, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, Egypt Exploration Fund (London 1917), pl. VII; Gardiner, Peet, and J. Černý, 2nd ed. I (1952), pl. VII; II (MEES 45, 1955), 60-61. Černý stated that the inscription itself had been destroyed; while this is very probable, it is not clear what his authority was. Fig. 1 here has column and line numbers added for ease of reference.

[8] "Varia", *ZÄS* 7 (1869), 26–27; id., in C.W. Wilson and H.S. Palmer, *Ordnance Survey of the Peninsula of Sinai* II (Southampton 1869), 173.

[9] *Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes du Sinaï* (Paris 1904), 109–116.

[10] On MacDonald, see J.D. Cooney, "Major MacDonald, a Victorian Romantic", *JEA* 58 (1972), 280–285; W.R. Dawson and E.P. Uphill, *Who was Who in Egyptology*, 3rd ed. by M.L. Bierbrier (London 1995), 266–267.

bottom left sector of the inscription. The new copy presented here incorporates a full collation of the squeezes, which have much to offer over and above the publications for many of these inscriptions.

The original location of the inscription is not noted on the published maps;[11] the whole appears now to be lost.[12] From the squeezes, its measurements were approximately 46 cm high and 122.5 cm wide at the top, with a maximum width of 131 cm.

MacDonald discovered the inscription in two halves ("13 right" and "13 left"; see Appendix). A re-examination of the labels attached to the squeezes shows that 13 right was on the second block of two blocks discovered lying in front of the "Cave of Magarah" and raised by MacDonald, and that 13 left was one of five "tablets" (then the term for inscriptions) on the first block mentioned in the letter printed in our Appendix. Gardiner and Černý[13] were incorrect in saying that 13 left had been "still intact" upon the rock face when MacDonald took his squeezes. This notion seems to derive from a misinterpretation of a label attached to squeeze 37b, which Weill[14] suggested probably referred to Sinai 13 left. However, a label attached to BM squeeze 54 makes clear that Sinai 13 left and the adjacent Sinai 19 (both present on this particular squeeze) were among the five "tablets" on the first fallen rock MacDonald discovered.[15] Both parts of the inscription were found on rocks which he stated had fallen from the face above the "cave". The exact location of the "Cave at Magarah" is now uncertain, but it seems to have been a term used by English travellers for the mine that was the most prominent in the second half of the nineteenth century. Weill argued that it was in the vicinity of Sinai 5, 8, and 12 in the north of the mining area in the wadi.[16]

Thus the inscription belongs to an area with other Old Kingdom inscriptions and was on the cliffs above the entrance to one of the principal mines. Above Sinai 13 were further, smaller inscriptions. These included a patch of sunk signs probably of the Old Kingdom, even though their technique is the opposite of the normal Old Kingdom style. Starting immediately to their right are incised outline signs that are clearly distinct from the sunk ones. (The inscription of which these formed part is also visible on squeeze 37, which records the right half of Sinai 13.[17]) The area above Sinai 13 left, which can be seen on the British Museum squeezes numbered 53 and 54, was published in part by Weill as his no. 13 (reversed) and by Gardiner, Peet, and Černý as Sinai 19.[18] This designation covers the sunk signs, which include a column

---

[11] E.g. Weill, *Sinaï*, 27 Map 4. Presumably the inscription was near those of the Old Kingdom marked in the "Ouady Genaieh"; a similar placing is indicated in *Inscriptions of Sinai*, I pl. XV.

[12] For the general Maghara context, see D. Valbelle and C. Bonnet, *Le sanctuaire d'Hathor maîtresse de la turquoise: Sérabit el-Khadim au Moyen Empire* (Paris and Aosta 1996), 2 fig. 1.

[13] *Inscriptions of Sinai* II, 60.

[14] *Sinaï*, 114.

[15] MacDonald's label attached to Squeeze 37b, which reads "Impressions of the tablet immediately over the Cave of Magarah and the two tablets on the rock which I succeeded in raising", is probably a shorthand version of the fuller "Two new Tablets found under an immense Block of stone that had fallen from the front of the Cave of Magarah and which I succeeded in raising" (on a strip from the *Times* dated 16 December 1858, attached to Squeeze 38a, to which the letter quoted in the Appendix is also glued).

[16] *Sinaï*, 28–29 with 29 n. 1.

[17] This section above Sinai 13 right has not hitherto been noted in print.

[18] Examination of the squeezes suggests that the "five tablets" were Sinai 13 left, together with the

giving the name and titles of one Idu, and to the right the remains of a preceding column ending with the numeral "1400".[19] These inscriptions were at a different scale from no. 13 and used two different techniques, of which incision is not found in the Old Kingdom evidence. A Middle Kingdom date seems likely for the incised area, and the name Sebekhotpe, read by Černý, fits that date. The presence of such a later graffito partly covering an Old Kingdom inscription relates to the likely prominence of the original site of both inscriptions at the entrance to an important mine, inviting repeated carving.

The technique of Sinai 13 is that described by Černý for all the Old Kingdom reliefs and inscriptions of Maghara.[20] The signs were outlined and then the area surrounding them was reduced by hammering, leaving the signs raised in relief. Most, but not all, of the signs themselves are flat and without internal detail. The quality of outlining – to be designated thus because the signs are not themselves carved – is relatively high. Both outlining and design are markedly better at the beginning of the composition than toward the end.

The layout of Sinai 13 distinguishes three hierarchically ordered elements.

(1) On the right are four vertical columns of inscription, with a horizontal date running across the first two. These are rather formally presented, with column dividers after the two initial columns containing the date and the 'narrative'. The second pair of columns gives a titulary of Djedkare Izezy. The lack of a divider between these makes them stand out, as is appropriate to the king's status. The siting of the king in second place might appear to emphasize the significance of the opening section, which includes a divine, and therefore hierarchically superior, action or presence. Such an interpretation is, however, uncertain. Although royal documents of the period set the king's titulary in first place,[21] this is not the case with the ancient tags with year names, from which the form of this dated inscription could ultimately derive;[22] it is therefore best to leave this matter open.

(2) After another column divider follows a slightly shallower square area, with hieroglyphs at the same scale as the royal titulary and larger than the columns with the date. This square gives information about the expedition and its leader. In the square's bottom left-hand corner is a verbal clause linking it to the next section. The size of the signs could show an arrogation of status by the leader, but it could also reflect poor design or drafting skills.

---

three apparently distinct areas later published as Sinai 19, and one that was not recorded. Weill remarked (*Sinaï*, 117), probably misinterpreting MacDonald's letter, that above it "the rock bears a whole series of inscriptions, the majority of which have not been recorded in squeezes." While there could have been additional inscriptions inaccessible to MacDonald, as a note on squeeze 54 mentioning "some impossible to take" might imply, his letter (Appendix here) only specifically mentions one such. MacDonald evidently used the word "tablet" to refer to any separately definable area of signs. He could not read the inscriptions.

[19] Weill (*Sinaï*, 116–117), whose copy in his no. 13 is reversed, indicated that this was composed of parts of two different inscriptions and dated the sunk area to the Old Kingdom and the incised area to the Middle Kingdom, as do we. The right inscription was republished in a more accurate copy in *Inscriptions of Sinai*, I pl. IX, II, 65.

[20] *Inscriptions of Sinai* II, 25.

[21] H. Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente aus dem Alten Reich*, ÄgAbh 14 (Wiesbaden 1967); W. Helck, *Altägyptische Aktenkunde des 3. und 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr.*, MÄS 31 (Munich/Berlin 1974); S. Hassan, *Excavations at Gîza 1929–1930* (Oxford 1932), 18 fig. 13 (inscription of Reʿwer).

[22] See e.g. P. Kaplony, *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit*, ÄgAbh 8 (Wiesbaden 1963), III, pls. 144–145, fig. 847.

(3) Farther right is a loosely arranged tabular listing of other supervisory staff at a much smaller scale; the mining workers themselves are not enumerated at all. The tabulation occupies two horizontal registers, the first listing nine titles and names and the second perhaps five. It is not separated from the previous section by a column divider. On the extreme left are some additional names and titles that were presented in the previous copy as more lightly incised. The squeezes show them to have been in an area with a clear edge that was not finished and had not been hammered down to the same level as the rest. The signs here were outlined in the same way as elsewhere, but the reduction of the surface extends only a small distance around them.[23] These names and titles cannot be deciphered coherently. Černý,[24] who translated only one of them, believed them to be secondary. It is uncertain whether this is correct or whether this was the last section to be carved, as is to be expected with the bottom left area, and was never finished. The execution is broadly contemporaneous in style with the rest of the inscription. Probably those recorded here were officials further down the hierarchy than those in the rest of the table. The layout suggests, however, that they were meant from the first to be included.

The inscription is a record of an expedition, including a date and the identity of its leader and supervisory staff. Our translation follows Černý's excellent version in most respects; our aim is to suggest an interpretation, which he did not do,[25] not to question his readings. We annotate where we differ from him and at points on which he did not comment. Where differences in the rendering of titles and names relate to findings since Černý wrote, we do not comment. Nor do we analyse the organizational and hierarchical implications of the titles and grouping of personnel, which are not relevant to the issues at hand.

[1]Year after the fourth(?)[a] time
[2]of counting the cattle and all herd animals.
[3]Causing by the god (*ḏjt nṯr*) that there be found precious stone (*gm.tj ꜥ3t*[b]) in the broad court of *nḫn-rˁw*,[c] in writing of the god himself.

---

[4]Horus, Enduring of Appearances; [5]Dual King, Two Ladies, Enduring of Appearances; Golden Horus, Enduring One; Djedkare, may he live for ever.

---

[6]Royal mission sent [7]together with the ship's captain and pilot [8]Niankhkhentekhtay
[9]to the terraces (of) [10]turquoise.
[11]He acted, (and) together with him (?):[d]

[12]Overseer of officials:	[13]Nemtyiu
	[14]Ptahshepses
	[15]Sabi
[16]'Judge' (*z3b*) and scribe:	Ptahuser
[17]Scribe of copper(?):[e]	Khunes
[18]Controller of a crew of troops	

---

[23] Noted by Černý, *Inscriptions of Sinai* II, 61 n. *w*.
[24] ibid., n. *v*.
[25] E. Eichler, *Untersuchungen zum Expeditionswesen des ägyptischen Alten Reiches*, GOF IV/26 (Wiesbaden 1993), 32–33, cat. no. 13, has correctly criticized the one interpretive note, p. 61 n. *e*.

(*ḫrp ꜥprw n nfrw*): [19]Abdu (*ꜣbdw*)[f]
[20]Merinetjerizezy
[21]Niankhmin
[g] [22]*hrw* (?)

[23]Overseer of foreigners: ⌜...⌝
[24]Subordinate leader (*jmj-ḫt*) of foreigners:
Nikaiankh
[25]Supervisor of officials: [26]Washka
[27]Hetepni
[28]Nisobek

[29] ⌜...⌝[h]

[a] It is impossible to decide between the readings 𓏺𓏺𓏺 3 and 𓏺𓏺𓏺𓏺 4. The number 3 may be written across the moulding separating the columns beneath, or a fourth vertical stroke may merge with the moulding. The mouldings are more lightly modelled across the horizontal line of the date than below, and this distinction may favour the reading 𓏺𓏺𓏺𓏺 .

The date could be defined by the event described in col. 3 or, perhaps more likely, by the conclusion of the expedition and inscription on the rock. If these occurred during the same calendar year, the figure would naturally be the same.

[b] *ꜥꜣt* signifies approximately hard and 'semi-precious' stone and is not used for normal building stones; see J.R. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals*, VIO 54 (Berlin 1961), 21–22; S. Aufrère, *L'univers minéral dans la pensée égyptienne*, BdE 105 (Cairo 1991), I, 101–103. In context it points to turquoise, since that is what was mined where the inscription was set up. Turquoise is within the range of materials covered by *ꜥꜣt* as a term. See e.g. Sinai 90 (*Inscriptions of Sinai* I, pl. XXVA, l. 17).

[c] *wsḫt nt nḫn-rꜥw*. This reading, which follows Černý, is not absolutely certain because the signs do not have internal detail, but it is difficult to see what else could be read, and the determinative is closely comparable with other writings of the same name. The place is the solar temple of Userkaf between Abusir and Abu Ghurab: PM III[2], 324–325; H. Ricke, *Das Sonnenheiligtum des Königs Userkaf* I: *Der Bau*, Beiträge Bf 7 (Cairo 1965); W. Kaiser, "Zu den Sonnenheiligtümern der 5. Dynastie", *MDAIK* 14 (1956), 104–116; E. Winter, "Zur Deutung der Sonnenheiligtümer der 5. Dynastie", *WZKM* 54 (1957), 222–233; R. Stadelmann, "Sonnenheiligtum", *LÄ* V (1984), 1094–1100. *nḫn-rꜥw* was the oldest Fifth Dynasty solar temple and one of the two most frequently mentioned in inscriptions (Kaiser, op. cit., 107). We render *wsḫt* "broad court" rather than "hall" because these temples were basically open to the sky; the word may designate an open or a roofed structure: P. Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple: A Lexicographical Study* (London 1984), 71–80.

This occurrence of *nḫn-rꜥw* is not mentioned in any of the works just cited or in P. Posener-Kriéger's discussion, *Les archives de Néferirkarê-Kakaï*, BdE 65 (Cairo 1975), II, 519–524. A much later example, with *sḫt-rꜥw* and *ḥtp-rꜥw* nearby (the solar temples of Sahure and Reneferef or possibly Shepseskare, Kaiser, op. cit., 107–108),

is in the list of gods and temples in the Gallery of Lists of the temple of Sety I at Abydos: A. Mariette, *Abydos* I (Paris 1869), pl. 45, upper register, cols. 60, 59, 57. Our case attests to the general significance of *nḫn-rˁw* among Old Kingdom temples.

[d] *jrj.n.f ḥnˁ.f*; or: "There acted for him together with him" (*jrj n.f ḥnˁ.f*). Neither reading is grammatically satisfactory. "He acted ..." gives an apparently initial *sḏm.n.f* without object or adjunct, since the "together with him" has the character of an apposition. In "There acted for him ..." the "for him" seems redundant since its meaning overlaps with "together with him". It is probably unwise to apply syntactical rules rigidly to tabular and formulaic material such as this. The reading "He acted ..." has the advantage that it retains a narrative *sḏm.n.f* form where this seems appropriate and that it makes the expedition leader, whose "box" this is in the graphic composition, the dominant actor.

[e] Černý placed a "sic" against the last sign of this group, which appears to be a solar disk ⊙. The sign we tentatively render "copper (*ḥmt*)", following Černý, does not have a form very close to any standard hieroglyph. The best interpretation of the group may be to read the circular sign as a determinative for "material", erroneously executed as a sun disk. If a "scribe of copper" was present on the expedition, this should probably not be taken as an exceptional indication of copper mining in a Sinai inscription (for the absence of mentions of copper, see Černý, *Inscriptions of Sinai* II, 3–11). If such a specific meaning is to be sought, the official might have been responsible for the metal tools used in extracting the turquoise. The reading is, however, too uncertain for any interpretation to be based upon it. The sign resembles 𓌙 "copper" (forms: Harris, *Lexicographical Studies*, 61 n. 1) more than 𓎛 *bjꜣ* "ore, metal" (for which see E. Graefe, *Untersuchungen zur Wortfamilie bjꜣ-* [Cologne 1971], 26–39); but the latter reading, which would be appropriate here, cannot be ruled out.

[f] For further examples of this name, see R. Giveon, "Two Old Kingdom Inscriptions at Magharah", *Tel Aviv* 10 (1983), 49–51; A.M. Moussa and H. Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Khnumhotep*, AVDAIK 21 (Mainz 1977), 30, 39 with n. 37.

[g] A heading may be lost here, but it is also possible that the outline of the inscription was irregular.

[h] Unfinished material that cannot be fully read (see p. 13). It is possible that this area was devoted to lower-ranking officials on the expedition. The title *sḫḏ ḥmt*(?) can be read in the middle left; the *špss* to its left was probably part of another column.

The edge line on the copy marks the limit of the area around the signs that was not cut back to the background level of the finished area of the inscription. The 𓊃 immediately right of the line at the top appears to form a group with the 𓈖 on the other side, suggesting that the cutting back proceeded from right to left and top to bottom and that the point at which it stopped was a matter of chance.

Interpretation

The crucial elements for a general interpretation are contained in column 3, a statement that is separate from the further "record" of the mission in line 6 and following. What is said in column 3 might at first seem contradictory, but is not likely to be so in

fact. Stone was "found" in a writing of the god, in the broad court of a temple that has been identified archaeologically (see n. *c* above) in Egypt and not in Sinai.[26] There are at least three possible approaches to interpreting this statement in the Sinai context. The overall significance of its carving there as a record of an expedition sent to extract turquoise can hardly be doubted; the motivation for placing the finding of stone in *nḫn-rˁw* at the beginning is what needs to be discussed. This inscription is also the oldest known at the site to include an extensive listing of personnel and thus contrasts very strongly with its predecessors, all of which have pictorial form and partly apotropaic character. Without the new form, the unusual content could not have been recorded, but it does not follow that the form was devised for this particular content, and this is unlikely to be the case, because its style is comparable with widespread Old Kingdom documentary practice.[27] Later Old Kingdom inscriptions at Maghara include examples that place an image above a "document" (Sinai 16, Pepy I) and organize a documentary presentation into a half-image (Sinai 17, Pepy II). A fragmentary relief from later in the reign of Izezy (Sinai 14; year-count 9) was a hybrid containing a date and a note of a royal commission together with a smiting scene.

(1) The general notion of a "writing of the god" has many parallels from the late Middle Kingdom on, where spells in the Book of the Dead and other magical and/or religious compositions are said to have been found as writings of earlier times, often related to a particular ancient king.[28] Ludwig Morenz has cited this inscription as the earliest known example of "finding" the writing of a god, interpreting the mention as a year name rather than an event specific to the matter in hand, as we read it.[29] The practice of ascribing texts to gods is a legitimation of their efficacy that normally invokes vast spans of time and may also need to look back past major period breaks to have a proper effect, in contrast with the maximum century or so between the continuously used temple of Userkaf and the time of Izezy. Moreover, written textual traditions may not have been sufficiently developed by the late Fifth Dynasty for such an invocation of antiquity, even though a reference to ancient precedent is attested in a different context for the Fourth Dynasty.[30] The parallel of a more ancient list of gods exploited as a source of restricted knowledge in the late Fifth and early Sixth

[26] The core of our translation is essentially the same as that of Birch (*ZÄS* 7, 27), which Weill (*Sinaï*, 112) was unable to comprehend. Birch, who did not know the temple name *nḫn-rˁw*, related the "writing of the god himself" to the actual inscription in Sinai. Although this cannot be correct, his interpretation was otherwise rather close to ours.

[27] Analysed in Helck, *Aktenkunde*. For the inscriptions cited in this paragraph, see *Inscriptions of Sinai* I, pls. VIII-IX.

[28] A good example is the conclusion (*Nachschrift*) to Book of the Dead 30B, 64, and 148, first attested in the Thirteenth Dynasty, which states that the spell, which according to one manuscript was composed by the god himself, was found in Hermopolis by Prince Hardjedef in the reign of Menkaureˁ; see D. Wildung, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige im Bewusstsein ihrer Nachwelt* I: *Posthume Quellen über die Könige der ersten vier Dynastien*, MÄS 17 (Berlin 1969), 217–221.

[29] We are very grateful to him for showing us the relevant pages of his work before publication: *Beiträge zur ägyptischen Schriftlichkeitskultur des Mittleren Reiches und der Zweiten Zwischenzeit*, ÄAT 29 (Wiesbaden 1996), 14–16. Morenz also notes (n. 63) a possible connection between the inscription and the interest of Izezy in such practices as letters; see further Baines, "Prehistories of Literature: Performance, Fiction, Myth", in G. Moers and A. Loprieno (eds.), *Definitely: Egyptian Literature; Papers from a Colloquium at UCLA, March 24–26 1995*, LingAeg, Series Monographica 2 (Göttingen, in press); see also p. 21 here.

[30] See Baines, "Ancient Egyptian Concepts and Uses of the Past: 3rd to 2nd Millennium BC Evidence",

Dynasties shows that comparable practices existed,[31] but the material in question is of a quite different genre. Thus, although the wording of Sinai 13 could refer to a (probably stage-managed or "inspired") find of an old text, the context does not favour this interpretation. It remains possible that a "find" of stone as noted or predicted in an ancient text could be the occasion for an expedition. That would constitute an omen or portent, and would then be similar in implication to the reading we present under 3) ahead.

Dominique Valbelle and Charles Bonnet propose an interpretation that is similar to that of Morenz but more generalized: the king would have consulted the sacred archives relating to the desired stone before sending the expedition.[32] While the text's wording can be understood in this way, their reading does not suggest an event that was striking and worth recording and could provide the occasion for the expedition, but rather a routine exercise. In particular, the "finding" would presumably occur in a text rather than pointing directly to a find at Maghara itself. We therefore prefer the interpretation we propose at 3) ahead, since it is connected more specifically with the expedition's purpose.

(2) Eckhard Eichler has published a transliteration and brief analysis of this inscription.[33] He translates the crucial sentence:

> Das Veranlassen des Gottes, (nämlich) daß ein Stein gefunden wurde im *wsḫ.t*-Hof (des Sonnenheiligtums) *Nḫn-Rꜥw* mit einer Schrift (=Inschrift) des Gottes selbst.

Eichler reads the inscription as stating that the text which was found was inscribed upon the stone, whereas we understand the stone as something that was found "in" the text, which would most plausibly have been on papyrus. The main difficulty with his translation is the rendering of *m zḫ* as "mit einer Schrift (=Inschrift)", on which his conclusion about the inscription's location is based. The presence of an inscription "on" a stone does not seem otherwise to be indicated by *m* and the usage seems unlikely. The word *zḫ* requires a gloss to mean "inscription", whereas the rendering "in the writing of ..." does not pose such problems.

Eichler's interpretation therefore involves philological difficulties. He takes the text as signifying that an inscription with the name of Thoth[34] was found in the solar temple and that the discovery was made into the occasion for the expedition to Sinai. Thus, whereas we understand the notation as the record of an oracle, Eichler believes that it recounts a seemingly chance divine portent that led to the expedition. The

---

in R. Layton (ed.), *Who Needs the Past? Indigenous Values and Archaeology* (London 1989), 135, with references.

[31] Baines, "An Abydos List of Gods and an Old Kingdom Use of Texts", in Baines *et al.* (eds.), *Pyramid Studies and Other Essays Presented to I.E.S. Edwards*, EES Occasional Publication 7 (London 1988), 124–133.

[32] *Le sanctuaire d'Hathor maîtresse de la turquoise*, 3.

[33] *Untersuchungen zum Expeditionswesen*, 32–33, cat. no. 13.

[34] He does not indicate why he identifies the god as Thoth. This could be because he is the scribe of the gods, or might be suggested by cases such as Sinai 10, discussed ahead (see n. 44), where "Thoth, lord of foreign lands" is named in a prominent place; for another instance of this epithet, see L. Borchardt *et al., Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Śaȝḥu-Reꜥ* II: *Die Wandbilder* (Leipzig 1913), pl. 12, lower left (see Sethe, ibid., 83, referring additionally to Thoth *nb jwntjw*). Thoth is also depicted in Sinai 7, of the reign of Khufu, and named in the Sahure inscription in Wadi Kharig (Giveon, n. 47 here).

motivation he proposes is problematic insofar as it implies that the expedition would not have been planned beforehand, unless – as is possible – a suitable but in principle unforeseeable portent was sought out. Nothing appears to speak strongly for such a scenario, and since expeditions to Sinai were not unusual, there is no evident reason why a special portent should be required. Moreover, the record of finding the stone would have only an indirect relevance to setting up the inscription at Maghara, whereas our reading that the "finding" of turquoise is meant gives a more direct connection between text and location. While Eichler's interpretation and ours differ, both see some apprehension of divine will or approval as having preceded the expedition.

Texts are known from later periods in which stones were "found" and the find was recorded in connection with the stone itself. The best example may be an inscription of Thutmose IV on a naos in the Cairo Museum. The inscription carved from front to back on the top of this states (restorations following Helck):[35]

[1]Now His Person found this stone
in [2]the manner (*šḫr*) of a divine falcon <when (*m*?)> he was a youth (*jnpw*).

[3]Now [Amun?] commanded [to him?] to perform [4]the kingship of the Two Lands as Horus: Mighty Bull, Perfect of Appearances;
[5]Lord of Appearances, Menkheprureʿ,
given life like Reʿ.

This seems to imply that the discovery of the stone was in part a portent presaging Thutmose's accession to the throne. The naos has an opening in its upper part above a sculpted element that is the base either of a human figure or conceivably of a standard. Presumably the stone referred to in the inscription was inserted into the opening to complete the figure, thus resembling either a falcon's head joined to a human, probably mummiform body, or a whole falcon upon a standard.[36] If this was the stone's destination, we cannot know what type it was – perhaps a flint or similar mineral that could easily have a curious, evocative form.[37] The find was probably "inspired" by the god. Unlike the Maghara inscription, this text does not mention writing. Moreover, the naos was probably set up to contain the stone it mentioned. The two cases are therefore not closely comparable.

(3) There are difficulties with reading Sinai 13 as referring in any straightforward way to a find of a stone in the temple of Userkaf. Although precious stone could have been "found" in a temple, such stone would have had to be brought there previously, like all other stones. One possibility would be that a token of the stone which it was desired to find elsewhere was presented to the god as part of a ritual procedure.

---

[35] CG 70002, 43 cm high, quartzite(?); provenance not given and probably not known: G. Roeder, *Naos* (Leipzig 1914), 11, pls. 8b, 62d (inscription not visible on photograph); W. Helck, *Urk.* IV, 1565, 3–6 (collated); id., *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie: Übersetzung zu den Heften 17–22* (Berlin 1961), 153 (also suggests the restoration <*m*> in col. 2).

[36] For parallels to such naos forms as they were represented in relief, see e.g. A.M. Calverley and M.F. Broome, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos* III (London/Chicago 1938), pls. 14, 16.

[37] For an analogous phenomenon, see L. Keimer, "Jeux de la nature retouchés par la main de l'homme, provenant de Deir el-Médineh (Thèbes) et remontant au Nouvel-Empire" = his *Etudes d'Egyptologie*, fasc. II (Cairo 1940).

A practice of this type is conceivable and has parallels in trade,[38] but there is no specific reason for postulating it here. Be that as it may, the inscription does not state that the stone was in the temple but that it was found "in writing". The third possible interpretation keeps closer to this wording of the text, while modelling a more elaborate context.

As indicated under (1) above, the "writing of the god himself" cannot be meant literally unless it refers to some ancient wonder or the "god" is the king. The latter solution is implausible since the god's temple and "causing" are mentioned immediately before. These apparent paradoxes can be resolved if it is assumed that the "find" was prospective and was being proposed to the god, so that a written oracle question *to* the god became a writing "*of*" the god through being presented to him and ratified by him, in a procedure for which generalized later parallels are known.[39] It is not said who presented the question to the oracle. The king's name in the next section of the inscription places the event under his tutelage, but the procedure could have been performed by others.

On this reading one may reconstruct the point of departure for the undertaking which ended with the carving of the inscription as being that an expedition to Maghara in Sinai was projected and Reʿ (rather than Thoth as posited by Eichler) was consulted through his oracle at the solar temple *nḫn-rʿw*. After the exhibition's successful conclusion, the record of the consultation was inscribed at the destination. Since a number of such expeditions are known from the Fifth Dynasty, the undertaking would not in itself have been exceptional. The planning of state enterprises abroad might frequently have involved consulting a deity or deities – from which it follows that the burden of explaining why the record was set up must fall upon the inscription's genre rather than the nature of what is recorded (see p. 21).

Reʿ had responded that precious stone would be found, perhaps in a specific location, effectively predicting success for the expedition. The "finding" was thus the god's response to the question, and was informed by the selection of possible outcomes – or perhaps single option – which was offered to him. There is no indication of how the god's response was apprehended, that is, what form the oracle took, so that precise comparison with later practices is not possible. But since the stone was found "in writing of the god himself" (cf. n. 28 here), the obvious reconstruction is that a written question, or possibly a decree of the god, was presented in the oracular consultation, which selected the piece of writing or confirmed it as being valid. The oracular amuletic decrees of the Third Intermediate Period appear to have been written first and then validated by the deities, after which the word *ḏd* "have spoken" was inserted at the beginning of the text; in this case the god's speech, rather than the inscribed object, was the authentic divine source.[40] The small objects from Deir el-Medina with "questions to oracles" belong here despite coming from a different social milieu.[41] If in the case of Sinai 13 the mechanism of validation was a question to

[40] See M. Liverani, *Three Amarna Essays*, transl. M.L. Jaffe (Sources and Monographs on the Ancient Near East 1:5; Malibu 1979), 22–26.

[39] See e.g. K. Ryholt, "A Pair of Oracle Petitions Addressed to Horus-of-the-Camp", *JEA* 79 (1993), 189–198.

[40] I.E.S. Edwards, *Oracular Amuletic Decrees of the Late New Kingdom*, Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, 4th series (London 1960), I, xvii–xviii.

[43] J. Černý, "Questions addressées aux oracles", *BIFAO* 35 (1935), 41–58; "Nouvelle série de questions

the oracle, rather than a royal decree deposited for ratification, it could have run either "Where is stone to be found (among one or several possibilities)?" or simply "Will stone be found?", the latter being essentially a question about the success of the prospective mission, and corresponding with later questions to oracles. Comparison with such consultations before expeditions as the Konosso text of Thutmose IV (see p. 22) might favour the latter option, but the two cases are too far apart for this to be strongly indicative.

The location of the "finding" in *nḫn-rˁw* is worth considering. The solar temple of Userkaf (p. 14 n. *c*) was relatively modest architecturally, and altogether less impressive than the *šsp-jb-rˁw* of Neuserre, Izezy's second predecessor, at Abu Ghurab.[42] *nḫn-rˁw* is, however, well attested in titularies of Fifth Dynasty officials and evidently maintained its religious significance for several generations. Such a slightly older temple might acquire a reputation for its oracle and be used in preference on an important occasion. This would imply that the oracle was already an established institution. This temple might also have had associations with undertakings of this kind, but there is no available basis for speculating about these. Since Izezy did not himself construct a solar temple of this type, the consultation would have had to take place in an older structure if such a location was necessary to the procedure.

The setting-up of the inscription at Maghara would then mark the expedition's successful conclusion: what the god had predicted for Maghara and commissioned in his oracular response had taken place. This would explain why the place mentioned in the inscription is in Egypt and not in Sinai. At the same time, the inscription's hybrid character allowed the leading nonroyal participants to be named within it, while the opening two sections have the appearance of a royal document (see n. 21). This may be more than a formal matter: despite the reservations just expressed, access to the oracle in a crucial temple may have required royal sanction, and the undertaking that resulted from the consultation was royal. It would therefore have been inappropriate to alter the record brought away from the consultation, which would have a higher prestige than anything the nonroyal leader could set up on his own behalf even if he had had the necessary authority. What he did was itself an innovation in introducing a major nonroyal component into one of these inscriptions. He therefore gained by inscribing something as received from royalty and brought to Maghara as a token and fulfilment of the oracular decision, just as contemporaries gained by inscribing royal letters in their tombs (compare n. 21). In this perspective, the inscription was performative, enacting the finding of turquoise, in addition to commemorating and celebrating the expedition's success.

Apart from the divine sanction at the expedition's point of departure, there was probably religious significance in the Sinai locale. This is suggested by Sinai 10 of the reign of Neuserre, a few hundred metres to the south of Sinai 13's probable location; this includes a colossal image of a libation vase, above which is a caption "Thoth, lord of foreign lands; may he give pure libation".[43] Religious associations are also paralleled in Middle Kingdom Sinai, with its major development of the cult of Hathor,

addressées aux oracles", *BIFAO* 41 (1942), 13–24; "Troisième série de questions addressées aux oracles", *BIFAO* 72 (1972), 49–69.

[42] PM III^2, 314–324.

[43] *Inscriptions of Sinai* I, pl. VI; II, 59–60; pl. XV map I.

and by later Old Kingdom inscriptions in other desert regions.[44] While this religious context had no obvious influence on the form of the inscription, it may have helped to make it fitting to set up information about an oracle in a place that might be construed as public. The probably apotropaic images of kings of the Third–Fifth dynasties carved nearby may have had comparable religious associations.[45] Perhaps some sanctity in the site allowed the record of an oracle to be inscribed; but because the listing of senior personnel extends the range of content in inscriptions, the implications of this possibility are not clear.

Discussion

A document like this inscription raises issues of the preservation of evidence and of genre. This is the only Old Kingdom inscription of its date from Sinai that has a relatively informative record, rather than an apotropaic image, including both royal and nonroyal elements.[46] Its informativeness may parallel the rather more extensive 'biographical' inscriptions that emerge in the Fifth Dynasty, including royal letters from the same reign of Izezy (see n. 29 here), and may relate generally to the increased exploitation of written forms for public records of personal interest. The initial appearance of such genres is often accompanied by new content, and existing styles of record may be used for new content at a particular stage in the development of written forms. While the display of such new content is significant in itself, it does not necessarily demonstrate that there were concomitant innovations in lived practice.

Here it is significant that inscriptions from two major later stages in the development of royal genres, the early Twelfth Dynasty and the early Eighteenth, include records of divine consultation. The fragmentary long inscription of Senwosret I from the temple of Satet at Elephantine contains a reference to a royal dream that probably constituted a divinatory experience leading to the temple construction.[47] In a rather

[44] See E. Eichler, "Zur kultischen Bedeutung von Expeditionsinschriften", in B.M. Bryan and D. Lorton (eds.), *Essays in Egyptology in Honor of Hans Goedicke* (San Antonio 1994), 69–80. For Sinai in general, see Valbelle and Bonnet, *Le sanctuaire d'Hathor maîtresse de la turquoise.*

[45] Not suggested by Eichler (n. 44 here) and not, so far as we know, proposed in the literature, but a logical corollary of his arguments.

[46] Sinai 12, from the previous reign of Menkauhor, combines royal name and commission to nonroyal official. All that is left is "Commission which [...] made" (*Inscriptions of Sinai* I, pl. VII; II, 60). From the same reign as Sinai 13 is no. 15 (I, pl. IV; II, 62), a smaller and more heraldic composition with information about the commission (almost completely lost) running along the bottom. Sinai 1–2, of the reigns of Sekhemkhet (as well as the probable earlier draft rediscovered by Raphael Giveon, "A Second Relief of Sekhemkhet in Sinai", *BASOR* 216 [1974], 17–20) and Djoser, include nonroyal as well as royal figures, but not in fully integrated compositions. The inscription of Sahure in Wadi Kharig consists only of the king's titles, together with "(beloved of? – implied) Thoth, lord of slaughter, who oppresses Asia": see Giveon, "Inscriptions of Sahureʿ and Sesostris I from Wadi Kharig (Sinai)", *BASOR* 226 (1977), 61–63, with corrections by Giveon and E. Edel, *BASOR* 232 (1978), 76–78.

[47] W. Schenkel, "Die Bauinschrift Sesostris' I. im Satet-Tempel von Elephantine", *MDAIK* 31 (1975), 116, 117 fig. 9, 118 n. *a*; W. Helck, "Die Weihinschrift Sesostris' I. am Satet-Tempel von Elephantine", *MDAIK* 34 (1978), 70–72. Other long texts are the Tod inscription of Senwosret I: C. Barbotin and J.-J. Clère, "L'inscription de Sésostris Ier à Tôd", *BIFAO* 91 (1991), 1–31; and the "annal" inscription of Amenemhat II at Mit Rahina: H. Altenmüller and A. M. Moussa, "Die Inschrift Amenemhets II. aus dem Ptah-Tempel von Memphis: Ein Vorbericht", *SAK* 18 (1991), 1–48; J. Malek and S. Quirke, "Memphis 1991: Epigraphy", *JEA* 78 (1992), 13–18.

different way, the inscription of the lost Thirteenth Dynasty stela of King Neferhotep from Abydos concerns the king's discovering, through consulting old records rather than a god, how a divine image should be executed; recourse to an authority again precedes action.[48] From the early Eighteenth Dynasty, the text of Hatshepsut inscribed on the plinth of the Red Chapel at Karnak[49] and on the upper terrace at Deir el-Bahri repeatedly mentions oracles or divine omens. Especially for Hatshepsut, scholars have tended to assume that the text's novel character demonstrates that the content was novel.[50] Such an interpretation is, however, difficult in view of the explicit archaism of much on Hatshepsut's monuments, while the invention of such a practice might not be an effective legitimizing strategy for a female usurper. We prefer to see the content as traditional, perhaps with innovative features, and as happening to be expressed in writing and given a particular relevance to Hatshepsut's position – as well as happening to be preserved among the relatively small numbers of extant royal inscriptions.

In part, our discussion suggests a routine context for the Sinai inscription: since the record is relatively modest, it would be unwise to ascribe a unique or truly exceptional status to it. The implication must then be that kings regularly had recourse to oracles before undertaking significant missions. This could apply particularly to missions outside the Nile Valley into the deserts, to areas where the divine was in some respects more immediately present than in Egypt,[51] where its principal manifestation was in the managed environment of temples. This emphasis on the world outside Egypt can perhaps be seen also in the Konosso inscription of Thutmose IV,[52] which was set up in a desert region on the edge of Egypt through which an expedition passed after having its mission confirmed by a divine oracle or consultation in the temple of Karnak.

This reading of the context is close to that of Irene Shirun-Grumach,[53] who has studied First Intermediate Period/Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom texts presenting revelations of the divine, the earliest being Eleventh Dynasty rock inscriptions in the Wadi Hammamat[54] and the later ones belonging to the *Königsnovelle* genre. These inscriptions are especially pertinent because of their desert location, with its evident analogies to Maghara, and the quarrying activities which were the indirect occasion for their inscription. She concludes (p. 178) that the notion of an "innerweltlicher *eschaton*" emerged at the end the First Intermediate Period, as demonstrated by the inscriptions of the reign of Nebtawyre Mentuḥotpe. She then sees the emergence of the full *Königsnovelle* type with the Berlin Leather Roll and its inscription dated to

---

[48] W. Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und neue Texte der 18. Dynastie*, KÄT [6] (Wiesbaden 1975), 21–29; R. Anthes, "Die Berichte des Neferhotep und des Ichernofret über das Osirisfest in Abydos", in *Festschrift zum 150-jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums*, Mitteilungen aus der Ägyptischen Sammlung 8 (Berlin 1964), 16–25.

[49] P. Lacau and H. Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak* I (Cairo 1977), 92–53, with parallel text; W. Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und neue Texte der 18. Dynastie: Nachträge*, KÄT 6:2 (Wiesbaden 1995), 7–33.

[50] E.g. J. Assmann, "Der Einbruch der Geschichte: Wandlungen des Welt- und Gottesbegriffs in der 18. Dynastie", in his *Stein und Zeit* (n. 4 here), 298–302.

[51] See, for example, the spread of usage of the term *t3-nṯr* "god's land": *Wb.* V, 225, 1–21.

[52] *Urk.* IV, 1545–1548; extensively discussed by Shirun-Grumach, *Offenbarung, Orakel und Königsnovelle.*

[53] *Offenbarung, Orakel und Königsnovelle.*

[54] Conveniently presented by W. Schenkel, *Memphis, Herakleopolis, Theben: Die epigraphischen Zeugnisse der 7.–11. Dynastie Ägyptens*, ÄgAbh 12 (Wiesbaden 1965), 263–270, esp. Hammamat 110, 191.

Senwosret I, which she reads as announcing an oracle in the guise of a consultation with advisers. Her reading of the setting as an oracle, plausible as it is, is based upon an emendation of the text,[55] and the Leather Roll composition has been suggested to be later than its ascribed date.[56] Here, the same king's inscription at Tod offers better evidence, since its opening is best restored as that of a *Königsnovelle*.[57] The Thirteenth Dynasty stela of King Neferhotep,[58] mentioned above, offers both a parallel and a chronological link to unambiguous examples from the Hatshepsut Punt inscriptions onward. As with the desert associations we have discussed, the Konosso inscription of Thutmose IV gives the clearest example of a consultation with comparable implications to those of Sinai 13.

Our reading of Sinai 13 suggests that Shirun-Grumach's thesis can be applied to earlier periods and that the institutionalization of direct divine consultation and guidance may go back as far as we are likely to have relevant documentation.[59] Some of her argument relates to views of Assmann on the arcane aspects of religious knowledge,[60] but the basic thrust of her interpretation is different from his vision of pre-New Kingdom Egypt. On her reading, divine manifestations and portents bespeaking divine involvement were mobilized no later than the First Intermediate Period and institutionalized by the Middle Kingdom. If the institutionalization was older, the exotic style of the portents of the gazelle giving birth and the discovery of the well in the Hammamat inscriptions (see n. 54) may be seen as lying on the fringes of more conventional but largely unattested religious practice within Egypt, rather than constituting eccentric early cases.

This picture contrasts with that of Assmann, who believes that before the New Kingdom deities did not intervene strongly in human affairs and in particular in 'history' – a category he sees as having a meaning comparable with that of later civilizations only from then on.[61] The issues involved cannot be rehearsed here, but two aspects should be distinguished. Both the evidence we propose for royal oracles and the material studied by Shirun-Grumach form part of the central cult or of central royal religious practices, even if some of what is done is figuratively and literally written into the landscape of marginal regions. Their apparent absence in central areas may be due to chances of preservation or to differences in practice. The broader implication of Shirun-Grumach's and our interpretation is that the deity plays a role in the reciprocity of the cult and is in part stimulated to do so in ritual, even if presented as acting freely. This stimulation must be seen in the context of the primary dependence of king and humanity upon divine provision. Without such reciprocity and occasional

---

[55] See her n. *i* on p. 159.

[56] See P. Derchain, "Les débuts de l'Histoire [Rouleau de Cuir Berlin 3029]", *RdE* 43 (1992), 35–47; appeared too late to be seen by Shirun-Grumach.

[57] C. Barbotin and J.J. Clère, "L'inscription de Sésostris Ier à Tôd", *BIFAO* 91 (1991), fig. 1, col. 1, pp. 8, 12 n. 1; C.J. Eyre, "Is Historical Literature 'Political' or 'Literary'?" in A. Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms*, PrÄg 10 (Leiden 1996), 431.

[58] n. 48 here; see Shirun-Grumach, pp. 125–127.

[59] We would not accept the derivation from prehistoric practices which Shirun-Grumach sketches on pp. xvi–xvii, 179. This line of reasoning argues on the basis of a different social context from what we can posit for dynastic Egypt, and therefore seeks to explain the better known by reference to the unknown.

[60] See her pp. xix–xx.

[61] See, among more recent works, *Egyptian Solar Religion in the New Kingdom* (n. 4 here), 190–92; *Stein und Zeit* (n. 4 here), 298–302.

unpredictability, the cult might lack the tension that would keep relationships alive. In this respect, Assmann's institutional and compartmentalized vision of the role of deities in pre-Ramessid Egypt seems problematic. But the phenomena in question are relatively narrow. The broader question of how the nonroyal in particular might relate to and interact with deities and other supernatural agencies is not addressed by the materials we consider here.

One reason for Assmann's reserve on the subject of oracles and how widespread and binding they may have been appears to be a sense that they are irrational and militate against a workable conduct of life.[62] This concern is, however, probably not necessary. Pragmatically, many societies have used oracles for long periods without becoming unviable; this applies to Egypt for well over a millennium, even if any pre-New Kingdom examples of oracles are rejected. Study of oracles at Deir el-Medina does not suggest that they had an unduly adverse effect on the inhabitants' lives even by modern "rational" criteria.[63] Malte Römer comes to a similar conclusion for the end of the New Kingdom and the Twenty-first Dynasty.[64] E.E. Evans-Pritchard, the author of the classic modern study, reported in *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande* that during his fieldwork he organized his life according to the dictates of the poison oracle and "found it as satisfactory a way of running my home and affairs as any other I know of".[65] Oracles appear to be perfectly livable institutions, as is widely noted in the ethnographic literature. Our reading of Sinai 13 suggests that for Egypt too this was true for most of the historical period.

Conclusion

This article is intended to contribute to modelling the position of the sparsely preserved earlier royal inscriptions – quasi-royal in the case of Sinai 13 – within a broader context of how royal action and undertakings were both organized and memorialized. An appreciable proportion among the very small numbers of these inscriptions relates to divinatory matters or to topics that can be compared with them. We suggest that this distribution can be meaningful and that from the Old Kingdom onward the king may often have consulted divine agencies or other precedents before embarking on significant actions. Here as elsewhere, it is important to note gaps in the record and the way its patterning tends to exclude possible types of material and evidence that become more broadly available with the richer and more diverse written record of later times. John Baines has discussed such problems in person with Herman te Velde, whose *Seth: God of Confusion* has been acclaimed across different disciplines for filling an essential gap in studies of Egyptian and other religions and their counter-currents. In dedicating this edition and discussion to him, we hope that he will find our interpretation and modelling of the gaps convincing – or if not, will enjoy responding with vigorous counter-arguments.

---

62 Esp. *Ägypten: Eine Sinngeschichte* (Munich/Vienna 1996), 326–328.
63 McDowell, *Jurisdiction*.
64 *Gottes- und Priesterherrschaft*, esp. 272–283.
65 (Oxford 1937), 269–270.

Appendix: The Squeezes and MacDonald's Letter

The Sinai squeezes of Major Charles Kerr MacDonald (see "The Text" above) are in the Department of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum. The numbers written on them were assigned in the nineteenth century. MacDonald gave them to Samuel Birch as Keeper in the museum, where they have been since soon after they were made.

The squeezes of Sinai 13 are of good quality and well preserved; where it is difficult to identify the traces, this is the fault of the original and not of the squeeze. The first squeezes to be taken off a surface have a reddish colour evidently deriving from the rock itself. A number of overlapping and duplicating squeezes were made. Raymond Weill described and listed the material (*Sinaï* [n. 9 here], 109 no. 11 [left half], 114 n. 12 [right half]). Notes attached to the squeezes that are relevant to the inscription's original location are quoted in n. 15 here.

Squeezes consulted in relation to Sinai 13

A (Sinai 13 right)

Three squeezes, taken in 1859. Numbered 37–8, 37–8a 37–8b (in red pencil).

B (Sinai 13 left)

Three single sheet squeezes numbered in red pencil 2, 2a, 2b. Squeezes numbered 53 and 54 contain Sinai 19 (for which see p. 11) and parts of 13 left.

Description of the discovery

MacDonald's three-page letter to Birch describing the find of the blocks bearing Sinai 13, to which we have referred in the text, is attached to Squeeze 38a. It reads as follows (transcribed without modification; "—" and "." are virtually interchangeable):

Back:
S. Birch Esq
Memorandum accompanying inscriptions

Front:

[p. 1] January 24th 1859

Wady Magarah, Desert of Sinai

I am happy to inform you that I this day made a most interesting and important discovery at the Cave of Magarah – the results of which you will find in the impressions accompanying this notice – The circumstances attending the discovery are as follows

– There are mounds masses and debris of rocks scattered in front of the Cave of Magarah and on the slope leading from it that have been detached from the precipice overhanging the cave – Many of them no doubt some thousands <of> years ago.

I was so convinced that some of these masses must contain inscriptions that had occupied a position above the cave that I set to and examined with the greatest care. And on looking carefully underneath a huge rock of many hundred tons weight and clearing off whole cakes of sand and dust which the rains had formed into a cement I found to my joy and surprise no less than five tablets of which I have taken copies excepting one which was not possible for me to get at [= Sinai 13 left, 19] – On proceeding further I saw another immense rock with other rocks upon it And as the one [p. 2] had evidently come from near the place which the first had occupied. I contrived with great difficulty to pass my hand underneath and to my astonishment and infinite delight I felt that it was covered with beautiful tablets – And I happened to have 4 fine large iron crowbars which I had sent to me from England. I immediately set with these and assisted by 10 Arabs I succeeded after some hours hard work in clearing away the debris and raising the rock so as to place the slabs uppermost – And I assure you I don't exaggerate when I say that they are the most beautiful and best preserved of any inscriptions I have seen in the whole of this Peninsula – Its beautiful state of preservation is of course to be accounted for by the fact of its having lain for so many centuries with the writing downwards where it was preserved from the action of the wind and weather. [= Sinai 13 right] I have taken two copies of the one and three of the other – And I shall feel obliged for your keeping one copy of each for me as I feel [p. 3] a great interesting [sic] in this discovery and hope that together with other inscriptions it may throw some light upon the Ancient history of this most interesting nation of the world –

Fig. 1 Sinai Inscription 13. Revised drawing, collated with the British Museum squeezes, by R. B. Parkinson.

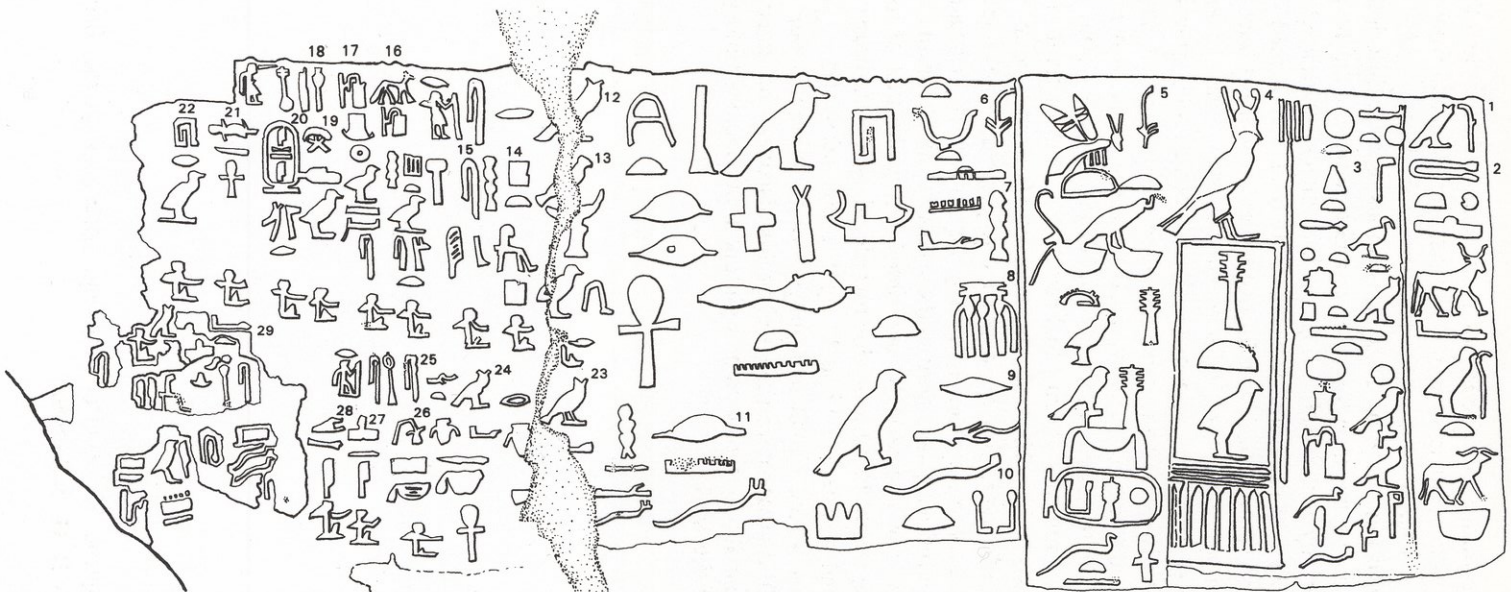


Fig. 1

Raneferef's Carnelian

Robert Steven Bianchi

I first had the pleasure of meeting Herman te Velde at Beit Canada as a member of The Brooklyn Museum's Expedition to the Precinct of the Goddess Mut during that period of time when I was fortunate enough to be participating in that excavation. He freely shared his wealth of information about aspects of ancient Egyptian religion in a good-natured, light-hearted way which was consistent with his embrace of the workmen with whom he patiently tutored until they could, with remarkable harmony, sing the Dutch ditty "Varen, varen, over de baren". It is as a reminder of those happy days and of the importance of his work for my own studies, that I offer this brief essay with the full realization that archaeological evidence alone and in isolation is not an irrefutable historical document.

Although a great deal has been written about the material culture of ancient Egypt, very little attention has been paid, until very recently, to the choice of the materials employed as a factor reinforcing the meaning(s) and/or function(s) of the objects into which they are incorporated. A comparison between any earlier book on ancient Egyptian amulets and that recently published by Carol Andrews will reveal the direction of these new avenues of investigation.[1] These approaches also reveal that many aspects of the material culture of ancient Egypt must be regarded within the framework of the philosophy of the hieroglyphs, because ancient Egyptian art is hieroglyphic.[2] The hieroglyphs are abstractions, in the main, of objects known to the ancient Egyptians from their own environment, and as such represent concrete objects. As symbols the hieroglyphs were then pressed into service to express the abstract. Because there were many more abstract concepts in the minds of the ancient Egyptians than there were individual hieroglyphs for expressing them, one sign had perforce to be employed for expressing several different abstract concepts.[3] As a result of this multiplicity of applications to which any given hieroglyph was subjected, the ancient Egyptians were forced to contend with a resulting polyvalence of meaning, which can be best appreciated by the puns thereby created in such compositions as the Pyramid Texts. This polyvalence extended as well to the symbolic meanings inherent in the very materials employed by the ancient Egyptian craftsmen in their productions,[4] as well as to the color of the material itself, as a summary of the significance of the color red suggests.[5] The following discussion is, therefore, to be understood against this background of polyvalence in ancient Egyptian culture. Its subject is a remarkable discovery of more

[1] C. Andrews, *Amulets of Ancient Egypt* (London 1994), 100–106.

[2] Although others support this position, the treatment of this subject by H.G. Fischer, *L'écriture et l'art de l'Egypte ancienne* (Paris 1986), is perhaps the most forcefully argued.

[3] H. te Velde, "Egyptian Hieroglyphs as Signs, Symbols, and Gods", *Visible Religion* 4–5 (1985–1986), 63–72.

[4] M.J. Raven, "Wax in Egyptian Magic and Symbolism", *OMRO* 64 (1983), 7–48; id., "Magic and Symbolic Aspects of Certain Materials in Ancient Egypt", *VA* 4 (1988), 237–242.

[5] S. Aufrère, *L'Univers minéral dans la pensée égyptienne*, BdE 105 (Le Caire 1991), Vol. 2, 556–557.

than 2,000 carnelian beads (Fig. 1) carefully arranged around the perimeter of two burnt, sand-covered boats associated with Raneferef (Fig. 2), which Miroslav Verner and his team excavated at Abusir.[6] I quote his succinct description of the find in full:[7]

> In one of the rooms adjacent to the east of the limestone nucleus of the private part of the temple, in the place where a group of five niches was habitually positioned in the Fifth Dynasty mortuary temples, a pair of wooden boats was found. One of the boats, measuring over 3 m in length, was nearly complete and could be consolidated. The second boat was found badly damaged and even partly burnt. The boats rested in a layer of debris containing ashes, fragments of inscribed jars and jar-stoppers with sealings. Carnelian beads (over two thousand examples) carefully and regularly arranged along the boats as well as the walled-up entrance to the room, raise the question whether the boats, having perhaps been damaged by fire, were deliberately buried.

The use of beads, more commonly associated with jewelry, as a magical chain, which is clearly the purpose here, in an architectural context is virtually without precedent. Before one can discuss the possible meaning(s) of these beads, one must present a brief discussion of carnelian, *ḥrst* in ancient Egyptian,[8] a type of chalcedony occurring naturally in the Egyptian landscape, principally in the Eastern Desert and in Nubia.[9] Almost everyone who has dealt with carnelian as a material in ancient Egyptian art and literature has commented on its polyvalent nature connoting polarities of good and evil.[10]

There is no doubt that carnelian as a material, because of its reddish color, was anciently associated with the sungod, Re.[11] The presence of this solar "ring" of carnelian beads might, then, graphically represent the circuit of the sun as traversed by the two boats from the pyramid complex of Raneferef. These two vessels have in fact been tentatively identified as magical substitutes for the *mꜥnḏt* and *msktt* sun boats.[12] This interpretation, as persuasive as it appears to be, cannot preclude an alternative because of the polyvalent nature of the evidence.

This alternative interpretation is linked with the malignant associations of carnelian as a material which is unyielding, evil,[13] and doleful.[14] In these contexts, carnelian is the symbol of destructive violence, often associated with the very fire by which the foes of the gods are annihilated. It is within this latter context of sad intractability

---

[6] M. Verner, "Funerary Boats of Neferirkare and Raneferef", in *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt* [Fs L. Kákosy], StudAeg 14 (Budapest 1992), 592–593. I wish to thank Miroslav Verner for his kind permission to publish this article and for providing the photographs with which it is illustrated.

[7] id., "Excavations at Abusir. Season 1984/1985 – Preliminary Report, The Mortuary Temple of Raneferef", *ZÄS* 113 (1986), 155.

[8] S. Aufrère, op. cit., 554–556.

[9] A. Lucas and J.R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (London 1962[4]), 391–392; Andrews, *Amulets*, 102.

[10] Aufrère, loc. cit.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Verner, in *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt*, 593–594, with the caveat that their identification with vessels mentioned in the Raneferef temple archives yet remains to be unequivocally established.

[13] P. Derchain, "La perruque et le cristal", *SAK* 2 (1975), 55–74.

[14] C. Andrews, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery* (London 1990), 39.

that, I think, one can better understand what appears to have been the intentional destruction by fire of the funerary boats of Raneferef at Abusir. They were then ritually reburied in a closed room surrounded by a meticulously arranged continuous line of small carnelian beads, over 2,000 in number. The room so arranged was then walled off and plastered over. The carnelian beads, in this context, seem to imply an attack upon the memory of Raneferef. The intractability of this irreversible act, then, which consigned that pharaoh to eternal sadness because he had forever more been ostensibly deprived of one of the more expeditious means of effecting his journey through the hereafter, is reinforced by the use of the carnelian beads. His aspired resurrection was magically circumvented. In a very real sense, then, this ritual use of carnelian may be regarded as yet another manifestation of the ancient Egyptian practise of *condemnatio memoriae.*

Fig. 1 Workmen uncovering one of the vessels and the carnelian beads laid around them within the mortuary complex of Raneferef at Abusir. (This and the following photograph are courtesy of Český egyptologický ústav Univerzity Karlovy)

Fig. 2 Some of the more than 2,000 carnelian beads meticulously laid out in the form of a magical chain around two of the vessels from the mortuary complex of Raneferef.

Fig. 1

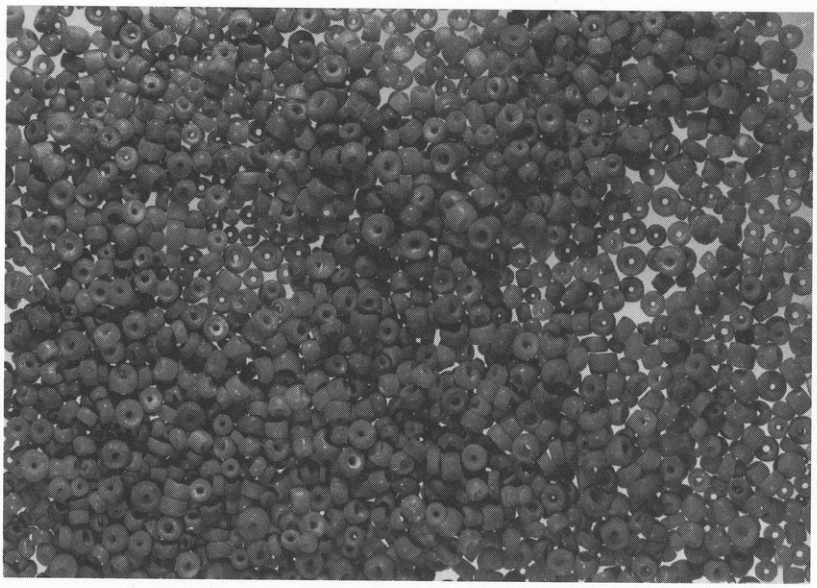


Fig. 2

The Noble Lady of Mitanni and Other Royal Favourites of the Eighteenth Dynasty*

Jacobus van Dijk

Ever since Lise Manniche published her very ingenious article on "The Wife of Bata"[1] it has been suggested that Akhenaten's "greatly beloved wife" Kyia was of Mitannian origin.[2] The assumption mainly rests on the evidence of the 'unofficial' title *t3 šps.t* given to her on two wine dockets from Amarna and the occurrence of this same title on a Theban funerary cone (Fig. 1a) of a certain Bengay,[3] who was "overseer of the domain (*ꜥ3 n pr*) of *t3 šps.t Nhrn*".[4] In view of the rarity of the title *t3 šps.t* these two ladies have been equated, and Kyia has been tentatively identified with the Mitannian princess Tadu-Ḫeba. Unfortunately, the funerary cone in question is one that has been published in handcopy only, and no facsimile of its text is available, making it even more difficult to date than is normally the case with cones whose owners are not known from other sources. In this particular case, however, it is possible to shed some further light on Bengay, for his name does appear in one or two further documents.

Manniche herself suggested that the Bengay mentioned on the cone was identical to the owner of two further funerary cones, Nos. 260 and 528. The first of these (Fig. 1b) belongs to a Beng(a)y who was "steward (*imy-r pr*) of Henutempet". According to Helck these two titles, *ꜥ3 n pr* and *imy-r pr*, refer to what is essentially the same function,[5] although his argument that the two are distinguished mainly by the position they occupy in a given text in relation to their holder's name is less convincing.[6] Graefe[7] believes the two titles are very similar but not identical, mainly because they are listed as separate titles in the Twenty-first Dynasty Decree of Amenhotep son of Hapu, but he admits that in several cases one and the same man may be called *imy-r pr* in one instance and *ꜥ3 n pr* in another, and suggests that apart from a slight difference in rank the distinction may have lain "auf der Ebene der Höflichkeit". Perhaps the keyword here is formality rather than politeness; *imy-r pr* appears to represent the

---

*A shortened version of part of this article was read at the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists in Cambridge, 3–9 September 1995. Prof. G.T. Martin subsequently read a draft of that part at Saqqâra and I am very grateful to him for his critical remarks. I dedicate the final, greatly expanded version to Herman te Velde, in affection and admiration.

1 L. Manniche, "The Wife of Bata", *GM* 18 (1972), 33–38.

2 E.g., D.B. Redford, *Akhenaten, The Heretic King* (Princeton 1984), 150; C. Aldred, *Akhenaten, King of Egypt* (London 1988), 285–286; C.N. Reeves, *JEA* 74 (1988), 100; B.M. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV* (Baltimore/London 1991), 137 n. 168; M. Gabolde, *BSEG* 16 (1992), 38 with n. 56.

3 On the name *Bng(3)y*, which is almost certainly Semitic, see T. Schneider, *Asiatische Personennamen in ägyptischen Quellen des Neuen Reiches*, OBO 114 (Freiburg/Göttingen 1992), 93–94, N 184 - N 185.

4 G. Daressy, *Recueil de cônes funéraires*, MMAF 8 (Paris 1893), No. 237; N. de Garis Davies/M.F. Laming Macadam, *A Corpus of Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones* I (Oxford 1957), No. 527.

5 W. Helck, *MIO* 4 (1956), 165; id., *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs* (Leiden/Köln 1958), 102–103.

6 Cf. E. Graefe, *Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung und Geschichte der Institution der Gottesgemahlin des Amun vom Beginn des Neuen Reiches bis zur Spätzeit*, ÄgAbh 37 (Wiesbaden 1981), II, 81–82.

7 loc. cit.

formal title, whereas *ꜥ n pr* is the version for less formal and administrative use,[8] although the latter form does occasionally appear in funerary inscriptions as well.[9] This agrees well with the occurrence of the informal phrase (with definite article) *tꜣ špst Nhrn*, without name, on the cone on which the *ꜥ n pr* title is used.

If these two men Bengay are indeed identical, as seems likely, it is very probable that the name of the "noble lady from Mitanni" on cone No. 527 is actually preserved on No. 260; according to this cone, she was called Henutempet.[10] The name Henutempet is not very common; Ranke only lists three examples,[11] one from the Old Kingdom, one on a Middle Kingdom stela, and one on a stela in the British Museum (belonging to one Sipair) which he dates to the Second Intermediate Period, but which more likely belongs to the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty.[12] Two further examples may be noted, both on coffins belonging to members of the royal family of the Eighteenth Dynasty; to these we shall return later.

On a third funerary cone (No. 528) (Fig. 1c), thought by Manniche to belong to the same owner, Bengay bears the simple title of *wꜥb*-priest of Amun, and as such he almost certainly occurs again on a fourth cone (No. 519) (Fig. 1d), not considered by Manniche, which belongs to the *wꜥb*-priest of Amun Ahmose, son of Beng(a)y. Whether this *wꜥb*-priest of Amun Bengay is really identical with the steward of the Mitannian princess remains uncertain, but a final monument mentioning a man with that name may well refer to the latter official. On a stela in Leiden,[13] which can be dated to the beginning of the reign of Amenhotep IV-Akhenaten, a man Bengay is shown receiving offerings in the company of his wife Tanetmennefer and his brother, the royal butler and steward Maaninakhtef. On a companion stela in the Louvre[14] with an almost identical layout the owner of both stelae, Paser, is shown offering in the same way to his grandfather, who is also called Paser. B. Geßler-Löhr has therefore argued that the older Paser and Maaninakhtef belonged to the same generation and has connected Maaninakhtef with the royal butler of that name who served under Amenhotep II and Tuthmosis IV.[15] If so, Maaninakhtef's brother Bengay must of course be dated to the same period. It is true that on the Leiden stela Bengay does

---

[8] Cf. the usages of *rmt ỉswt* (*n pꜣ ḫr*) and *ꜥꜣ n ỉswt*, as against *sḏm-ꜥš* (*m st-mꜣꜥt*) and *ỉmy-r ỉswt*, resp.; the latter designations are used in "more formal and chiefly funerary hieroglyphic inscriptions", while the former belong to "the spoken language and ... the administrative jargon", J. Černý, *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period*, BdE 50 (Cairo 1973), 43ff. Cf. also J.-M. Kruchten, *Le grand texte oraculaire de Djéhoutymose, intendant du domaine d'Amon sous le pontificat de Pinedjem II*, MRE 5 (Brussels 1986), 359: "Les titres formés au moyen de *ꜥꜣ n* ... 'le grand de ...' font leur apparition au Nouvel Empire, et semblent équivalents à ceux correspondants composés de *ỉmy-rꜣ* ...", with further examples listed in his n. 1.

[9] E.g., alabaster shabti of May in Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet A.A.a.16, on which both titles occur; cf. J. van Dijk, *OMRO* 71 (1991), 8 n. 6 = id., *The New Kingdom Necropolis of Memphis: Historical and Iconographical Studies* (Groningen 1993), 74 n. 34.

[10] Helck, "Kija", *LÄ* III, 423 n. 4, states categorically that the name on the cone should be read *ḥnwt tꜣw* instead of Davies's *ḥnwt-m-pt*, but he produces no evidence for this.

[11] *PN* I, 243, 7 with addition on p. xxvi.

[12] BM 906: E.A. Wallis Budge, *British Museum – A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries* (*Sculpture*) (London 1909), 141–142 (No. 502).

[13] Inv. TV (= Leemans V 93); P.A.A. Boeser, *Beschreibung der aegyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden*, VI: *Die Denkmäler des Neuen Reiches*, Abt. III: *Stelen* (The Hague 1913), 9, Pl. XIX (No. 29); cf. E. Drioton, *RdE* 1 (1933), 23–25, 28–30, Pl. V:2.

[14] Louvre C 65; E. Drioton, op. cit., 23–28, Pls. IV-V:1.

[15] B. Geßler-Löhr, in *Festschrift Jürgen von Beckerath*, HÄB 30 (Hildesheim 1990), 53–57.

not bear any titles except for the ubiquitous *sš nsw*, but his close family relationship with a high court official like Maaninakhtef makes it probable that he, too, held a fairly important office, especially since he was still remembered two generations later, despite the fact that neither he nor his brother Maaninakhtef appears to have had a direct family connection with the owner of the stela.

All of this falls short of proving that the *špst Nhrn* of Bengay's funerary cone cannot possibly be identified with Kyia, but it seems far more likely that this princess belonged to the reign of Tuthmosis IV, who was, after all, the first to conclude a diplomatic marriage with a Mitannian princess after a long period of hostility between Egypt and Mitanni. In fact, Henutempet may well have been the official Egyptian court name given to the daughter of Artatama, king of Mitanni, whom Tuthmosis IV married and whose actual name is not mentioned in the Amarna Letter (EA 29) which refers to this marriage.[16] The phrase *t3 špst Nhrn*, '*the* noble lady of Mitanni", without a name, might even suggest this, for such a phrase would make good sense if there was only one such princess, but less so once there were more (Kelu-Ḫeba, Tadu-Ḫeba). It would seem that the coffin of the Henutempet mentioned on Bengay's funerary cone was found in the Deir el-Bahari royal cache (TT 320).[17] It is a reused early Eighteenth Dynasty coffin, painted black with inscriptions in yellowish white with details in red; the name of the original owner has been erased everywhere, but only on the vertical band of text running down the centre of the lid has it been replaced with the name Henutempet, spelled in exactly the same way as on the cone of Bengay. No title or filiation is given and her name is not enclosed in a cartouche,[18] but the fact that her badly rewrapped and mutilated mummy[19] was reburied where it was strongly suggests that she was connected with the royal family of the Eighteenth Dynasty.[20]

The connection of the Mitannian princess mentioned on Bengay's funerary cone with Kyia would thus appear to be untenable. It has already been pointed out by J.R. Harris that the name *Kyi3*, although fairly rare, is by no means unique and does not itself suggest a foreign origin.[21] There is no reason to believe that it represents a shortened form of the Hurrian name Kelu-Ḫeba, as has been suggested by Redford and, in a modified form, by M. Gabolde, or that it was the Egyptian name given to Tadu-Ḫeba, as proposed by Manniche and Helck. In fact, if foreign princesses received Egyptian names, these were more likely to be official court names such

---

[16] W.L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore/London 1992), 93; cf. Bryan, op. cit., 118–119.

[17] CG 61017; PM I/2², 662; G. Daressy, *Cercueils des cachettes royales* (Cairo 1909), 24–26, Pl. XV (reproduced in R.B. Partridge, *Faces of Pharaohs: Royal Mummies and Coffins from Ancient Thebes* [London 1994], 42 fig. 21).

[18] Cf. Bryan, op. cit., 118 on the apparent lack of status of Amenhotep III's Mitannian and Babylonian wives.

[19] CG 61062; G. Elliot Smith, *The Royal Mummies* (Cairo 1912), 20ff, Pl. 15 (reproduced in Partridge, op. cit., 41 fig. 20).

[20] C.N. Reeves, *Valley of the Kings: The Decline of a Royal Necropolis* (London/New York 1990), 212 and 251 ascribes this coffin to Ahmose-Henutempet, daughter of Seqenenre-Taʿa II and Ahhotep I. This princess of the blood, whose name is written in a cartouche, was not buried in the royal cache, however, but elsewhere in the Theban area, probably at Dra' Abu el-Naga', see PM I/2², 604; her coffin, now lost, was seen by early Egyptologists long before the Deir el-Bahari cache was discovered, see L. Troy, *GM* 35 (1979), 87 (I: C4); M. Gitton, *Les divines épouses de la 18e dynastie* (Paris 1984), 16 n. 35. The same error is made in Partridge, op. cit., 40–42, where Henutempet is called Queen (!) Ahmose-Hentempet.

[21] J.R. Harris, *CdE* 49 (1974), 26 n. 9. See also the excellent discussion in T. Schneider, op. cit., 207–209 (N 438), who concludes that the name cannot be used as evidence in a discussion of Kyia's origin.

as Henutempet or Maᶜat-Hor-neferu-Re (the Egyptian name given to Ramesses II's Hittite princess), rather than a hypochoristicon or *Lallname* of the Kyia type. In short, there is no evidence to suggest that Akhenaten's second wife Kyia was of foreign extraction.

The latest datable occurrence of Kyia's name is on a wine docket from Amarna mentioning Akhenaten's Year 11,[22] but the exact date of her disappearance, whether through death or through a fall from favour, has so far remained uncertain. One of the Amarna blocks from Hermopolis (438/VIIA) (Fig. 2)[23] throws new light on this question: the erased inscription which originally mentioned Kyia has been replaced by a text mentioning Ankhesenpaaten in conjunction with the prenomen of Akhenaten. The new text includes a few signs which have so far baffled commentators, mainly because the sculptor made a mistake by leaving part of the original text untouched. The original inscription contained the 'captions' for a scene showing Akhenaten in the company of his "greatly beloved wife" Kyia. The text began on the missing block to the right of the present one with Akhenaten's nomen (*sꜣ Rᶜ ᶜnḫ m mꜣᶜt, nb ḫᶜw, ꜥḥ-n-ỉtn, ᶜꜣ m ᶜḥᶜw.f*), followed by Kyia's formal titulary (*ḥmt mrrty ᶜꜣt n(t) nsw bỉty* etc.) which, of course, includes Akhenaten's prenomen. In the new version, the beginning of the inscription was replaced by further names and epithets of Akhenaten himself which were intended to join up with the prenomen originally contained in Kyia's titles; the last columns of the text, which originally contained the end of Kyia's titulary and her name, were replaced by a text identifying the woman in the scene as "the King's daughter of his body, his beloved, Ankhesenpaaten". The new epithets of Akhenaten leading up to his prenomen begin with *hqꜣ nfr, mry ỉtn*, followed by a group of signs which Roeder called "nonsensical".[24] R. Hanke recognized that the last sign of the enigmatic group was the genitive *n* from the original *ḥmt mrrty ᶜꜣt n(t) nsw bỉty* which the sculptor forgot to erase, but he too was unable to explain the group as a whole.[25] I believe the signs in question read *nḫt ḫpš*, "victorious of sword". Roeder actually published two different photographs of the block, and the smaller one shows clear traces of at the top of col. 3. The and the at the end of col. 2 are very clear on this photograph and can in fact be identified on the other photo as well.

It has already been noted by Perepelkin, that the epithet *nḫt ḫpš* is found in inscriptions which display the late form of the Aten cartouches.[26] It can in fact be associated with Akhenaten's Nubian campaign, which took place in his Year 12. It

[22] Sir W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Tell el Amarna* (London 1894), Pl. XXV: 95; Reeves, *JEA* 74 (1988), Pl. XV: 1. Aldred, op. cit., 227, is probably right that a further docket (Fairman, in *CoA* II, Pl. LVIII: 16) should be dated to Year [1]6 rather than Year 6 because of the designation *ḥry bᶜḥ* for the vintner, which had replaced the customary *ḥry kꜣmw* by Akhenaten's Year 13, but does this docket really refer to Kyia? All it says is "wine of the estate of the noble lady *of* ..." (contrast the Year 11 docket: "wine of the estate of the noble lady Ky[ia]"), and it might thus equally well refer to a different "noble lady" from Akhenaten's harîm. Cf. also Manniche, op. cit., 37 n. 18; Reeves, op. cit., 100 n. 39.

[23] G. Roeder, *Amarna-Reliefs aus Hermopolis* (Hildesheim 1969), Pl. 111.

[24] op. cit., 56 ("unsinnig"); 287 ("unsinnige Schriftzeichen"); 290 ("Veränderungen [welche] besonders schwer festzustellen und zu erklären sind").

[25] R. Hanke, *Amarna-Reliefs aus Hermopolis: Neue Veröffentlichungen und Studien*, HÄB 2 (Hildesheim 1978), 160.

[26] Y.Y. Perepelkin, *The Revolution of Amenophis IV*, I (Moscow 1967; in Russian), § 68; cf. I. Munro, *GM* 94 (1986), 85. According to Perepelkin this form of the Aten cartouches appears from Year 12 onwards, §§ 25, 29; cf. Munro, 82.

occurs on the Amada stela (CG 41806) which records this campaign, and which, as A.R. Schulman has shown, is dated to Year 12, just like its companion stela at Buhen.[27] It is also echoed, it seems, in a prayer to Akhenaten in the tomb of Meryre II, who addresses the King with the words "... it is your sword/strong arm (*ḫpš*) which protects the Two Lands", in a context which deals with Akhenaten's dominion over Egypt's foreign territories.[28] Kyia's presumed downfall and the subsequent erasure of her name may therefore have occurred roughly around the same time. This would agree well with a recent proposal by M. Gabolde,[29] who has argued very convincingly that Baketaten was a daughter of Akhenaten and Kyia, not of Amenhotep III and Tiye, as previously believed. Baketaten is shown under the wings of her grandmother Tiye in the tomb of Huya which contains scenes explicitly dated to Year 12 showing the presentation of tribute which Schulman has associated with the Nubian campaign of that same year.[30] It has also been noted that Nefertiti appears with the title *ḥmt-nsw ʿɜt* (rather than *wrt*), which had formerly belonged to Kyia, in several inscriptions in the tomb of Meryre II, including the one which contains the Year 12 date.[31] All of this admittedly circumstantial evidence suggests that Kyia's disappearance occurred in or shortly before Akhenaten's Year 12. The only known wine docket mentioning Baketaten appears to be dated to Year 13.[32] One wonders, therefore, whether she perhaps inherited her mother's estate.

Hermopolis block 831/VIIIC, which contains the only reference to Tutankhaten before he became king, is justly famous. It is therefore all the more surprising to find that only one photograph, and not a particularly good one, has ever been published of this crucial piece of evidence.[33] The three short columns of text on the block read "the King's bodily son, whom he loves, Tutankhuaten", and may well have continued on the missing adjacent block with the name of the prince's mother, now one of the major historical questions of the Late Eighteenth Dynasty. The handcopy of the text provided in Roeder's publication is unsatisfactory in that it does not adequately deal with all the traces visible on the photograph. The text as it stands consists of three columns which appear to be practically complete (Fig. 3b). Col. 1 ends with traces of the *f* (i.e. the horns of the viper sign) of *sɜ nsw n ḫt.f* and does not require comment. Col. 2 continues with the expected *mry.f*, "his beloved", which is written in a peculiar orthography, with the hoe sign for *mr* and an ideographic stroke between *mry* and the suffix; this writing is, as far as I know, unparallelled in Amarna texts, at least as far as the epithet "his beloved" as applied to Akhenaten's children is concerned. The next group is *twt*, followed by a large blank space not commented on by Roeder; traces of a small circular or oval sign at the top of this space, in the centre of the column,

[27] A.R. Schulman, "The Nubian War of Akhenaten", in *L'Egyptologie en 1979: Axes prioritaires de recherches* II (Paris 1982), 299–316; see especially p. 301 n. 16 and 302 n. 24 on the reading of the Year 12 date on both stelae. Cf. also W. Helck, *SAK* 8 (1980), 118–119.

[28] N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna* II, ASE 14 (London 1905), Pl. XXX.

[29] M. Gabolde, "Baketaton fille de Kiya?", *BSEG* 16 (1992), 27–40.

[30] Schulman, op. cit., 311–312.

[31] C.N. Reeves, "A Further Occurrence of Nefertiti as *ḥmt nsw ʿɜt*", *GM* 30 (1978), 61–69 (following earlier discussions by Y.Y. Perepelkin and J. Samson).

[32] H.W. Fairman, in *CoA* III, Pl. LXXXVI: 42.

[33] Roeder, op. cit., Pl. 106.

suggest that there was a determinative of *twt* here, i.e. either (A53) or (A22), for both of which there are parallels on objects from the King's tomb.[34] The third column contains the rest of the name, spelled in the unparallelled form (*twt*)-*ʿnḫw-itn*, followed by a determinative, probably the seated man with the flagellum or , for which there is ample space.

So far the inscription, although it displays a number of anomalies, is perfectly straightforward. Close examination of the photograph, however, reveals that there are traces of what appears to be an underlying, i.e. erased, text (cf. Fig. 3b). Unfortunately, the quality of this photograph (or of its reproduction in the book) leaves something to be desired, and more than a few disconnected signs cannot be made out, but it seems clear that in col. 2, directly below the of *mry.f*, there is an , and directly underneath this, touching the upper part of the back of the of *twt*, a circular sign. A vertical trace beneath the throat of this *w* ends at the same level as the circular sign and may well be the lower end of a , suggesting the word *itn*. In col. 3, below the and crossing the neck of the in *ʿnḫw* are traces of another , the V-shaped horns of the viper and its head being particularly clear. Without further photographs or, better still, access to the original block, it is impossible to decipher or reconstruct the whole of the original text, but it would be surprising, at least to me, if these traces turned out to be completely illusory.

Roeder made the plausible suggestion that block 56/VIIIA (= 612/VIIA) (Fig. 3a) constitutes a companion block to 831/VIIIC.[35] Both blocks have virtually the same height (21.5 and 23 cm, resp.) and the same depth (20.5 and 21 cm); both display the same arrangement of three short columns, each of which measures 8 cm in width on both blocks, although the orientation of the text is towards the right on the one and the other way round on the other. The reverse of both blocks shows the same decoration of wine leaves and grapes in raised relief. The text on 56/VIIIA reads "the King's bodily daughter, whom he loves, the one greatly favoured by the Lord of the Two Lands", followed by a name of which only the beginning of the group *-itn* towards the end survives. The reconstruction of the text as given on Roeder's plate suggests that the last column contained the cartouche with the prenomen of Akhenaten, followed by the name of Merytaten; in the text of the volume, however, Roeder interprets this column as containing only the name of Ankhesenpaaten, which seems far more likely. The published photograph, which has been reproduced on an even smaller scale than the Tutankhaten block, is not good enough to enable one to judge whether this inscription, too, is secondary, but this is not impossible in view of the fact that many occurrences of the names of both Merytaten and Ankhesenpaaten on these blocks have been carved over original texts mentioning Kyia.[36] The position

---

[34] A53: H. Beinlich and M. Saleh, *Corpus der hieroglyphischen Inschriften aus dem Grab des Tutanchamun* (Oxford 1989), nos. 227b (original text) and 269f, both in "Tutankhaten"; A22/23: ibid., nos. 48i (2), 48j (2), 398 (in "Tutankhaten"); the latter sign is also used in "Tutankhamun", but only on objects which retain Atenist names and inscriptions (nos. 79, 91, 351).

[35] Roeder, op. cit., Pl. 105; cf. his pp. 40, 57 and 88.

[36] Although I no longer believe it to be unlikely that Kyia's name would have been replaced by that of her son Tutankhaten if the birth of the latter was the cause of her fall from grace (cf. my "Kyia Revisited", in *Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists, Cambridge, 3–9 September 1995, Abstracts of Papers*, 50), the traces visible on blocks 831/VIIIC and 56/VIIIA, which appear to be in a magazine at Hermopolis, are of considerable importance, and it therefore remains essential that these blocks should be re-examined

of the names of Tutankhaten and Ankhesenpaaten side by side on two matching blocks strongly suggests that these two royal children were already married at the time these inscriptions were (re)carved.[37]

It is often assumed that Kyia was the mother of Tutankhaten and it has been speculated that the fact that, unlike Nefertiti, she had been able to produce a male heir to the throne caused her downfall (although not necessarily her death). It seems very unlikely that Amenhotep III and Tiye could have been Tutankhaten's parents, because, as M. Gabolde has argued,[38] Tiye was simply too old to have been his mother, even if a maximum coregency of Amenhotep III and IV of some 12 years is assumed. Nefertiti does not appear to be very likely either, in view of the total absence of Tutankhaten from the multitude of monuments depicting Nefertiti with her six daughters.[39] A similar objection might be raised against Kyia being Tutankhaten's mother, for if Kyia was the mother of Baketaten, as seems probable, it is odd that only her orphaned daughter is shown in the care of her grandmother, Queen Tiye, and not her son Tutankhaten, unless the latter had only just been born. In other words, *if* Tutankhaten was a son of Kyia, he must have been born in or just before Akhenaten's Year 12. This might support the idea that Kyia disappeared from the scene because her producing an heir posed a threat to the position of Nefertiti as Akhenaten's chief queen. It would also imply that Tutankhaten was about 5 or 6 years of age when Akhenaten died[40] and that his marriage to his half-sister Ankhesenpaaten had then already been arranged, possibly to ensure the young boy's eventual accession.

Finally, a few words must be devoted to another woman who played an important role at Akhenaten's court. Her name appears on a shabti dating from the Amarna Period[41] which has been known since the beginning of this century, when it was seen at a dealer's in Luxor by G. Legrain, who published a copy of the text inscribed on it a few years later.[42] The shabti first entered the collection of Omar Pasha Sultan and was published in the auction catalogue of his antiquities after his death (Fig. 4).[43] It was subsequently acquired by King Farouk I, in whose collection it was when E. Drioton examined it in 1943.[44] Presumably it was then transferred to the Cairo Museum along

---

by an experienced epigrapher.

37 Confirming Redford's speculation that Tutankhaten and Ankhesenpaaten were united "perhaps while Akhenaten yet lived" (*Akhenaten, the Heretic King*, 193).

38 Gabolde, op. cit., 39.

39 *Pace* G. Robins, "The Mother of Tutankhamun", *DE* 20 (1991), 71–73.

40 This in turn would agree rather well with recent estimates of Tutankhamun's own age at death as about 16 or 17.

41 All known Amarna shabtis have been published by G.T. Martin, "Shabtis of Private Persons in the Amarna Period", *MDAIK* 42 (1986), 109–129, Pls. 8–19.

42 G. Legrain, "Notes d'inspection, LXV: Sur un oushebti du temps de Khouniatonou et le scarabée n°. 5993 de Turin", *ASAE* 10 (1910), 107–108.

43 *Collection de feu Omar Pacha Sultan, Le Caire. Catalogue descriptif* (Paris 1929), no. 378, Pl. LVII. I am extremely grateful to Richard Fazzini for providing me with a photocopy of the relevant pages of this rare publication and to Mary McKercher for taking a photograph of Pl. LVII for me, reproduced here as Fig. 4. See on this collection J.F. Aubert, "Les statuettes funéraires de la collection Omar Pascha", *CdE* LI No. 101 (1976), 58–71.

44 "Trois documents d'époque amarnienne, I: La statuette funéraire de la dame Ipy", *ASAE* 43 (1943), 15–25.

with the rest of the King's collection, but attempts to locate it there have remained unsuccessful.[45]

The owner of this shabti has entered Egyptological literature as the "royal ornament" Py, even though occasional references to this mysterious lady describing her as a "concubine" (*Nebenfrau*) of Akhenaten – a misinterpretation of the titles on the shabti – were quickly and rightly refuted by E. Graefe.[46] The reading of her name, however, is somewhat of a problem. In the auction catalogue it is given as "Hapi"; Legrain read it as Py, whereas Drioton, while giving the first sign of the name as a tall vertical stroke, interprets this as a , reading the name as Ipy (cf. Fig. 5).[47] Unfortunately the crucial part of the name is not completely visible on the only available photograph, but a suggestion as to the true identification of the owner of the shabti may nevertheless be ventured. It is apparent from the photograph that some signs in the text have been rather badly executed, particularly in the last few lines of the text, where the craftsman had to work in an awkward space.[48] The first sign of the name is obviously a maladroitly carved tall vertical sign, interpreted as a in the auction catalogue (as implied by the form "Hapi") and as a by Drioton. I would suggest it is a . The following , which is not questioned by either Legrain or Drioton, probably represents the two vertical strokes which in Amarna inscriptions regularly replace the two diagonal strokes of the sign ; the vertical form of this sign is also used in the word *šꜣbty* in l. 8 and in three occurrences of *ỉry* in ll. 8 and 9. The name then reads , which is the normal way of writing the name of Ay's wife Ty.

One of Ty's known titles was *ḥsyt ꜥꜣt nt Wꜥ-n-Rꜥ* "the one greatly favoured by Wa-en-Re" (i.e. Akhenaten),[49] and this title also appears to be present on the shabti, along with another title of Ty, *ḫkrt nsw*, "royal ornament". Legrain read the sign following the group *ḥsyt* as a mere horizontal line (and misinterpreted the papyrus-roll determinative as). Drioton replaced it with , reading *ḥsyt mꜣꜥt*. Both Legrain's and Drioton's readings were rejected by Graefe, who identified the sign in question as , i.e. the Amarna form of , reading "*ḥzyt mrjt*", "Geliebte Gelobte".[50] This reading is not very likely, however, as *mry* "to love" is never written with the bookroll determinative. The disputed sign is carved in the difficult curved area at the front of the ankle; on the published photograph it appears as a thin, slightly irregular horizontal line, which was no doubt meant to be an ꜥꜣ.

A final argument in favour of assigning the shabti to Ay's wife Ty is the fact that the Omar Pasha collection contained two further Amarna shabtis, one of wood, the other of white faience, which are both inscribed for Ay himself.[51] Judging from the photographs, the wooden shabti has been carved from the same highly polished wood as Ty's shabti; like the latter it measures 24 cm in height. It bears a striking stylistic similarity to the shabti of Ty, particularly in the way the facial features have been carved. Both shabtis probably came from the same workshop and may have been made

[45] Cf. Martin, op. cit., 114–115, no. 6, with bibliography.

[46] E. Graefe, "Zu *Pjj*, der angeblichen Nebenfrau des Achanjati", *GM* 33 (1979), 17–18.

[47] The sign in question is represented by a small vertical stroke in Legrain's copy. Martin, who did not see the original, follows Drioton's copy, but inadvertedly left out the crucial stroke.

[48] Cf. Drioton's textual notes, op. cit., 16.

[49] Berlin 17555; *Aeg. Inschr.* II, 267–268 (see note 54 below).

[50] *GM* 33, 17 with n. 7.

[51] Martin, op. cit., 118–119, nos. 14 and 15, Pls. 15 (right) and 16 (left).

by the same craftsman. They may even originally have formed a pair and may have been found together. Nothing is known about the provenance of these three shabtis, nor of that of a further shabti of Ay in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.[52] G.T. Martin suggests that they may have been destined originally for Ay's Amarna tomb (no. 25), and then for another as yet undetected tomb at either Saqqâra or Thebes which Ay may have prepared for himself during the reign of Tutankhamun.[53] Further possibilities would be Akhmîm, Ay's probable hometown, and Tuna el-Gebel. The only other item of funerary equipment known from Ay's pre-royal career, a decorated wooden box in Berlin, was acquired in Akhmîm, although it was alleged to have come from Tuna el-Gebel.[54] This box is the only object on which Ty's title *ḥsyt ʿɜt nt Wʿ-n-Rʿ*, which is absent from the Amarna tomb, occurs; her name is also spelled exactly as it is on the Omar Pasha shabti, with vertical 𓏛. It is true that no tombs or objects dating from the Amarna Period have yet been discovered at Tuna el-Gebel,[55] but from the ibis catacombs comes a cubit rod of the Treasury scribe Panehsy with cartouches of Amenhotep III in which the element "Amun" has been erased.[56] It is interesting to note that at least one other Amarna Period shabti, Cairo JE 39590, is said in the Journal d'Entrée to have come from Tuna el-Gebel.[57] Whatever the original provenance of the shabtis of Ay and his wife Ty, it seems very probable that they came from the same tomb as the Berlin box. Meanwhile, the phantom royal favourite Hapi/Ipy/Py can safely be dismissed from the list of women belonging to Akhenaten's inner circle.

---

[52] ibid., 118, no. 13, Pl. 15.

[53] ibid., 118 with n. 23.

[54] Inv. Nr. 17555; W. Kaiser, *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin* (Berlin 1967), 56 (no. 583) with fig.; G. Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin* II/1: *Inschriften des Neuen Reichs: Statuen, Stelen und Reliefs* (Leipzig 1913), 267–268; O. Schaden, *The God's Father Ay* (diss. University of Minnesota, 1977), 88–93.

[55] On the largely unexplored New Kingdom necropolis of Tuna el-Gebel, which is situated north of the Amarna Boundary Stela A, see D. Kessler, *Historische Topographie der Region zwischen Mallawi und Samalut*, Beihefte TAVO B30 (Wiesbaden 1981), 109–115.

[56] S. Gabra, "Coudée votive de Touna el Gebel Hermopolis Ouest. La Khemenow pa Meket des Egyptiens", *MDAIK* 24 (1969), 129–135.

[57] Martin, op. cit., 111 (no. 1) with n. 13.

Figs. 1a-d Funerary cones of Bengay (a-c) and his son Ahmose (d). After N. de Garis Davies (ed. M.F. Laming Macadam), *A Corpus of Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones* I (Oxford 1957).

Fig. 2 The inscriptions on Hermopolis block 438/VIIA. The shading indicates the parts which have been recarved.

Fig. 3a Hermopolis block 56/VIIIA.

Fig. 3b Hermopolis block 831/VIIIC with traces of an earlier, erased inscription.

Fig. 4 Shabti of Ay's wife Ty. After *Collection de feu Omar Pacha Sultan, Le Caire. Catalogue descriptif* (Paris 1929), Pl. LVII.

Fig. 5 Titles and name on the shabti according to Legrain (a) and Drioton (b), with variant readings given in Cat. Coll. Omar Pacha (d) and Graefe (c). The lowermost line (e) gives the reading proposed in the present article.

527

260

528

519

Fig. 1

a	b
c	d

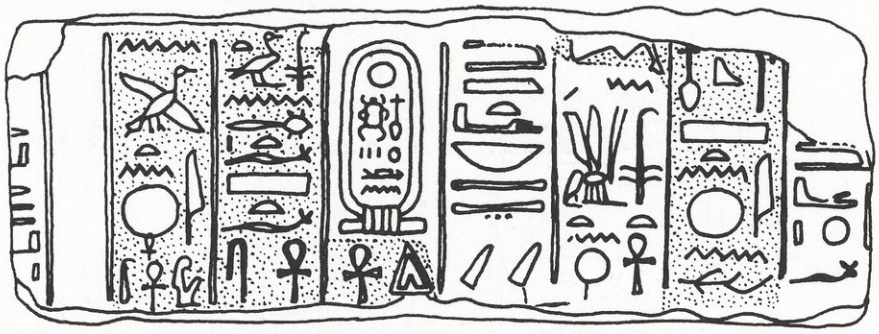


Fig. 2

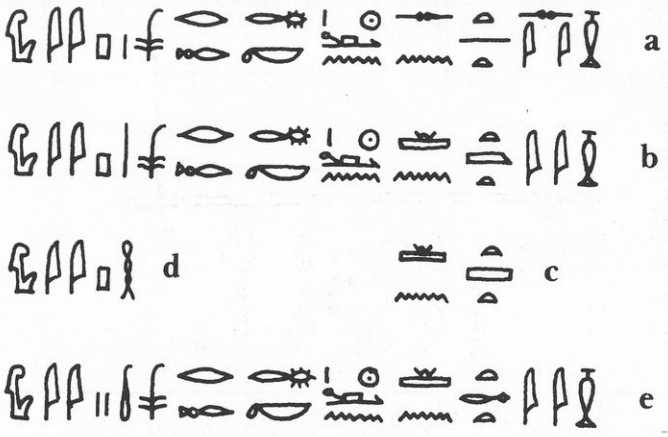


Fig. 5

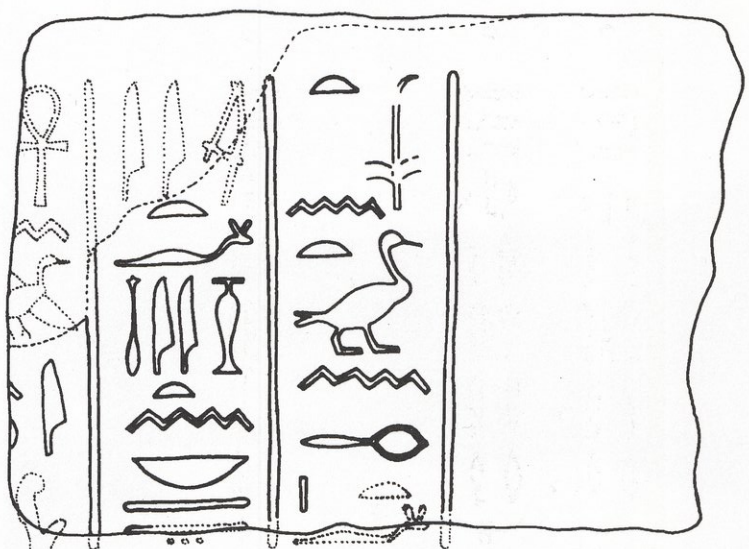


Fig. 3a

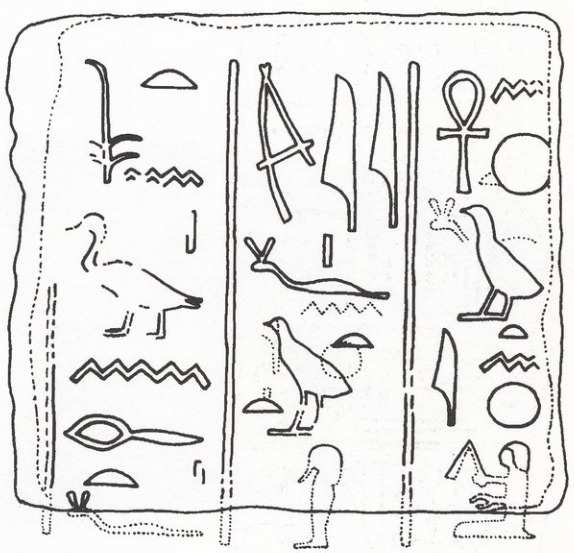


Fig. 3b

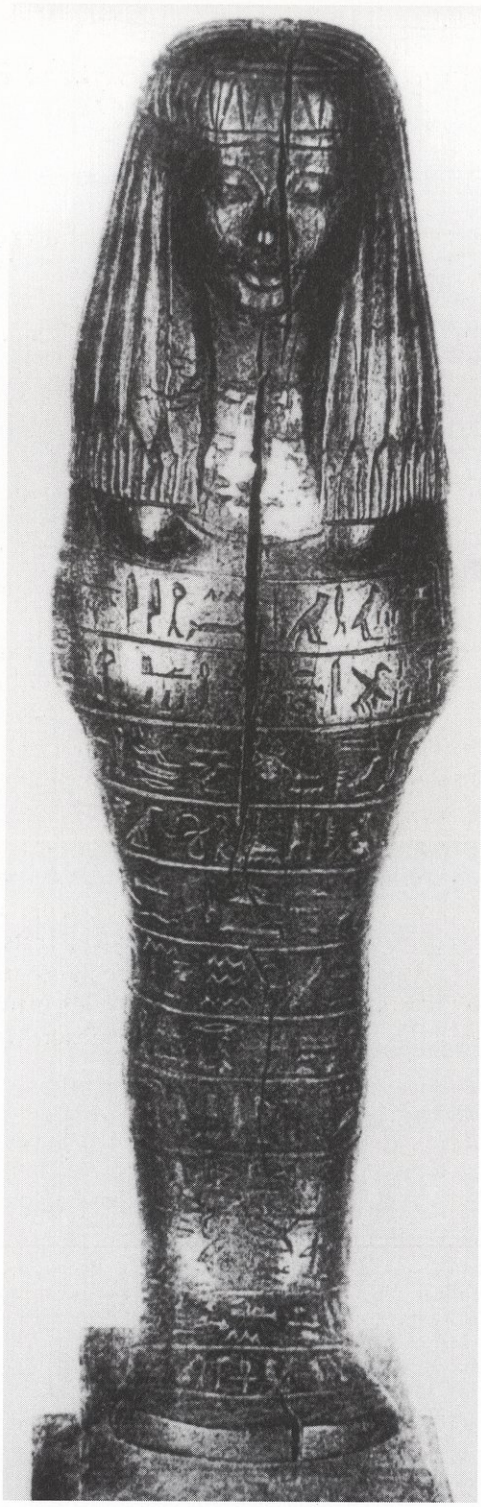


Fig. 4

The Chronology of the Horus Myth of Edfu*

Arno Egberts

All friends of Herman te Velde know him to be a faithful man. This must be one of the reasons why he has spent his whole academic life at Groningen University, where he received his theological and Egyptological education. Yet Herman's career as a scholar can hardly be called sedentary, witness his annual flights to Egypt in order to unveil the mysteries of Mut and her temple at Karnak. Within the Dutch borders as well, Herman is sometimes forced to act like a nomad. Many an early morning he leaves his home near Groningen, situated in the outskirts of the arctic zone according to my world view, and makes his way towards the south. Leiden is among his current destinations and its Egyptologists rightly consider this a reason for rejoicing. Herman's travels from north to south and back again are reminiscent of the peregrinations related in the well-known Horus myth of Edfu. Since the persecution of Seth is a major theme of this narrative, it is repeatedly referred to in the pages of Herman's influential monograph *Seth, God of Confusion.*[1] The present article is concerned with the chronological aspects of the Horus myth. I dedicate it to Herman, in the hope that his personal chronology may include many *Wanderjahre* to come.

The term "Horus myth of Edfu" is usually applied to a collection of five texts from the Ptolemaic temple of Edfu and distinguished by means of the sigla A, B, C, D, and E.[2] Texts D and E are inscribed on the base of the inner face of the east enclosure wall.[3] The three remaining ones are found on the inner face of the west enclosure wall. Text C occupies a considerable part of the first register and is accompanied by ritual representations.[4] Since its nature seems to be dramatic rather than narrative, I prefer to call it a "Horus play" rather than a "Horus myth". Texts A and B follow upon each other in the register above the Horus play and are illustrated in like manner. For reasons I have exposed elsewhere, the traditional distinction between these two texts is ill-founded.[5] This gives me the welcome opportunity to abandon the cumbersome sigla

*I thank Mark Smith (Oxford University) for correcting my English.

1 H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion* (Leiden 1967/1977^2), 39; 59; 148–149.

2 H.W. Fairman, "The Myth of Horus at Edfu–I", *JEA* 21 (1935), 26–36, esp. 26–27.

3 See for a translation and study D. Kurth, "Über Horus, Isis und Osiris", in U. Luft (ed.), *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt: Studies Presented to László Kákosy by Friends and Colleagues on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday* (Budapest 1992), 373–383.

4 See for a recent partial translation D. Kurth, *Treffpunkt der Götter: Inschriften aus dem Tempel des Horus von Edfu* (Zürich/München 1994), 217–229. See for a complete translation and study H.W. Fairman, *The Triumph of Horus: An Ancient Egyptian Sacred Drama* (London 1974).

5 A. Egberts, "Mythos und Fest: Überlegungen zur Dekoration der westlichen Innenseite der Umfassungsmauer im Tempel von Edfu", in R. Gundlach (ed.), *Akten der 4. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung, Köln, 10.–12. Oktober, 1996* (forthcoming). It should be noted though that the last part of text B (starting in *Edfou* VI, 135, 2) is thematically closer to text D than to the preceding narrative. For that reason, I prefer to regard the gloss on the spear of Horus (*Edfou* VI, 134, 11–135, 2) as the end of the composite text A-B.

in the context of the present article, which leaves texts D and E out of consideration. Consequently, I will employ the term "Horus myth" as a designation of what scholars have traditionally called texts A and B. The following reconstruction of the internal chronology of this myth is based on the standard edition by Émile Chassinat.[6]

The natural starting-point for any discussion of the chronology of the Horus myth is the regnal year mentioned at its very beginning:[7]

ḥsbt 363 n nswt-bity Rᶜ-Ḥr-ȝḫty ᶜnḫ ḏt r nḥḥ

"Year 363 of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Re-Horakhte living for ever and ever".

Apart from the presence of a divine name in the cartouche and the length of the reign, which transcends the lifetime of mortals, the *incipit* of the myth is identical with that of royal inscriptions. Thus the events narrated in the myth were thought to have occurred in the time preceding the pharaohs, when the gods held sway over Egypt. Regnal years of deities are also known from other sources, such as the Turin Canon, which shows that the ancient Egyptians considered the period of divine rule to be fully integrated into the history of their land.[8] The significance of the year date 363 will be dealt with once I have finished my review of the other chronological indications provided by the Horus myth.

Besides the regnal year, the narrative contains only two other occurrences of a mythic date, which should be carefully distinguished from the festival dates mentioned in the etiological portions.[9] The first mythic date is named in connection with the victory of Horus the Behdetite and Harsiese over Seth and his gang near *Pr-rḥwy*, a locality in the south of the 19th Upper Egyptian nome (Oxyrhynchites). After a detailed description of the various ways in which the enemies were slaughtered, the text states:[10]

ỉw ȝ nn ỉrw ḫpr=sn m tpy prt sw 7

"And all this happened on 7 Tybi".

Consequently, the sojourn of Re and his retinue in the Oxyrhynchites can be dated with precision to 7 Tybi of his regnal year 363. Having gained such a firm chronological footing, we must now turn to the text passages informing us about the duration of the divine travels, before we devote our attention to the second absolute date, which relates to the period of rest after the completion of the *Tour d'Égypte*.

Prior to the massacre of 7 Tybi, the enemies in the shape of crocodiles and hippopotami had suffered a crushing defeat near *Ḥbnw*, the capital of the 16th Upper Egyptian nome, which caused them to take refuge with their ally Seth in the Oxyrhynchites. The duration of the interval between these two confrontations is indicated as follows:[11]

---

[6] *Edfou* VI, 109, 9–135, 12; XIII, pls. 518–535. See for a recent translation D. Kurth, *Treffpunkt der Götter* (see n. 4 above), 196–217.

[7] *Edfou* VI, 109, 9.

[8] U. Luft, *Beiträge zur Historisierung der Götterwelt und der Mythenschreibung* (Budapest 1978), 195–200. Cf. D.B. Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-Books: A Contribution to the Study of the Egyptian Sense of History* (Missisauga 1986), xix-xx; P. Vernus, *Essai sur la conscience de l'Histoire dans l'Égypte pharaonique* (Paris 1995), 36–42.

[9] *Edfou* VI, 121, 9 (7 Tybi); 123, 2 (1 Thoth; 7 Tybi; 21 and 24 Mechir); 126, 5 (2 Thoth; 24 Khoiak; 7 Tybi; 21 Mechir).

[10] *Edfou* VI, 121, 7.

[11] *Edfou* VI, 118, 5.

ꜥḥꜥ.n ỉr.n=f hrw wꜥ grḥ wꜥ m ḫd ḥr ḥḥ=sn

"Then he (i.e. Horus the Behdetite) spent one day and one night travelling downstream in search of them (i.e. the enemies)".

From this passage we may safely conclude that the battle of *Ḥbnw* was fought on 6 Tybi. On that day Horus the Behdetite finally succeeded in spotting his adversaries, having sought for them in vain for several days:[12]

ỉr.n=f hrw 4 grḥ 4 ḥr mḥ ḥr-sꜣ=sn

"He spent four days and four nights swimming after them".

The aquatic animals which Horus was pursuing were the survivors of the holocaust he had made in the 6th Upper Egyptian nome (Tentyrites). The passage just cited allows us to date this horrid event to 2 Tybi.

Before their escape to the Tentyrites, the enemies had already incurred severe losses near Edfu in the 2nd Upper Egyptian nome (Apollonopolites) and Tod in the 4th Upper Egyptian nome. After describing the triumph of Horus near the latter town, the text once again presents a precious bit of chronological information:[13]

ꜥḥꜥ.n ỉr.n=f hrw wꜥ grg ḥr=sn

"Then he spent one day prepared for them".

Accordingly, it was on 1 Tybi that the forces of chaos met their doom near Tod. In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, it may be assumed that the encounter near Edfu took place on the same day. This was the first occasion on which Horus, in his capacity as winged sun-disc, played havoc among the enemies of Re. Thereupon his opponents tried to trick him by transforming themselves into crocodiles and hippopotami attacking the solar bark, after which Horus cunningly assumed the guise of a harpooner.

The foregoing discussion has shown that the victories of Horus can be dated to 1 Tybi (Edfu, Tod), 2 Tybi (Dendara), 6 Tybi (*Ḥbnw*), and 7 Tybi (Oxyrhynchites). The humiliation of Seth and his accomplices in their own home was not the end of their trials and tribulations. Having left the Oxyrhynchites on 7 Tybi, the enemies once more sought safety in flight by wending their way to the nearby 20th Upper Egyptian nome (Herakleopolis). In all probability, they arrived there on the same day, Horus close on their heels. For quite a while, the foes remained hidden from view in the Herakleopolites, while the bark of Re was moored near a place called *St-ꜣb=ỉ*:[14]

ꜥḥꜥ.n ỉr.n=f hrw 6 grḥ 6 mnỉ ḥr mw=s

"Then he spent six days and six nights moored on its waters".

This means that it was on 13 Tybi, the seventh day of his stay in the Herakleopolites, that Horus was able to locate the enemies, who then fled northwards just as they had done previously. In the Delta Horus massacred the rebels at various places, the last being Sile, where he took the form of a raging lion. Then the survivors changed their habits by swimming in a southerly direction from Sile to the Red Sea heading for Nubia, where their revolt had begun. Unremittingly, Re and his followers steered their course to the same destination. At this point, the text states:[15]

---

[12] *Edfou* VI, 116, 3.

[13] *Edfou* VI, 115, 5.

[14] *Edfou* VI, 122, 13–14.

[15] *Edfou* VI, 128, 6. The sun hieroglyph after *grḥ* should be read as *wꜥ*; cf. C. de Wit, "A propos des noms de nombre dans les textes d'Edfou", *CdE* 37 (1962), 272–290, esp. 273.

ir=sn ḥr ḫnt m grḥ wꜥ

"They sailed southwards in one night".

This passage suggests that the voyage started in the night of 13 Tybi. The following day the gods landed in Nubia, where they discovered their opponents near the town of *Šꜣs-ḥrt*. For the second time, Horus turned into the winged sun-disc and annihilated his enemies. After this final victory, the divine company retired to Behdet to the south of Edfu, the scene of the first fight between Horus and the assailants of Re. Thus the circle is closed on the fourteenth and last day of the pursuit of the enemies through Egypt and the surrounding lands. The itinerary of Horus can be summarized as follows: 1 Tybi (Edfu, Tod), 2 Tybi (Dendara), 6 Tybi (*Ḥbnw*), 7 Tybi (Oxyrhynchites and Herakleopolites), 13 Tybi (Lower Egypt), and 14 Tybi (Nubia, Edfu).

This brings us to the second part of the Horus myth (or text B). Its geographic and chronological setting is clearly determined by the first part of the myth. Re and the other gods enjoyed their leisure in the south of the Apollonopolites after the extermination of their foes. Then Re decided to release the captives, who were sent to the four cardinal points and became the patriarchs of Egypt's neighbours: the Kushites to the south, the Asiatics to the north, the Libyans to the west, and the Bedouins to the east.[16] After relating this act of mercy, the text continues with the mention of the second absolute date contained in the mythic narrative:[17]

wnn Rꜥ-Ḥr-ꜣḫty ḥr ḥms ḥr st m tpy prt sw 27

"Re-Horakhte was seated on the throne on 27 Tybi".

This day was the fourteenth day of the period of rest which had started on 14 Tybi. It was chosen by Re as a fitting occasion to ordain a festival, which came to be called "the great offering of Pre" (*pꜣ wdn ꜥꜣ n Pꜣ-Rꜥ*).[18] Elsewhere I have ventured the suggestion that this expression might be synonymous with the offering called *tꜣ ꜥꜣbt*, which gave the month Tybi its name.[19]

On the basis of what has been said above one can trace a nice symmetrical pattern involving the dates 1 Tybi, 14 Tybi, and 27 Tybi. The period 1–27 Tybi comprises the two halves of 1–14 Tybi and 14–27 Tybi. The first half is characterized by movement and war, the second half by arrest and peace. All three dates have solar connotations: 1 and 14 Tybi saw the manifestation of the winged sun-disc alias Horus the Behdetite, whereas 27 Tybi was the day on which the supreme sun god Re-Horakhte decreed his own honours. Last but not least, the major location associated with the three dates is the sacred mound of Behdet, which should be identified with Nag' el-Hasaya to the southwest of Edfu.[20] This is the site of a Late Period cemetery, where a company of gods known as the "children of Re" were buried and venerated as divine ancestors.

With my last remark I have already strayed from the realm of myth and entered the domain of ritual. I intend to stay there for a while, since it is ritual that permits

---

[16] *Edfou* VI, 133, 9–134, 1.

[17] *Edfou* VI, 134, 2. The date may have been repeated in *Edfou* VI, 134, 7, but unfortunately the inscription is damaged at this crucial point.

[18] *Edfou* VI, 134, 2–3.

[19] A. Egberts, "Praxis und System: Die Beziehungen zwischen Liturgie und Tempeldekoration am Beispiel des Festes von Behedet", in D. Kurth (ed.), *Akten der III. Tempeltagung, Hamburg, 1.–5. Juni, 1994* (Wiesbaden 1995), 13–38, esp. 29.

[20] *Ibid.*, 15. See for a more cautious point of view D. Kurth, "Zur Lage von Behedet, dem heiligen Bezirk von Edfu", *GM* 142 (1994), 93–100.

us to understand the chronological framework of the Horus myth. The significance of the regnal year 363 has already been elucidated in a perspicacious article by Philippe Derchain.[21] It is a transposition of the 363rd or third epagomenal day of the festival calendar, which constituted the birthday of Seth according to the Egyptian mythographers. Needless to say, the day on which the god of confusion saw the light is excellently suited to start a revolt against the sun god. Moreover, the epagomenal days were associated with the dog days, which induces Derchain to a structuralist comparison of the Horus myth with the myth of the destruction of mankind by Sakhmet transmitted in the Book of the Celestial Cow.

In the surface structure of the Horus myth, the rebellion and its first suppression by Horus the Behdetite are dated to 1 Tybi. Egyptologists with a penchant for numerology will be pleased to note that this is the 121st day of the Egyptian calendar, which is suggestive of a relation with the regnal year 363 (= 3 × 121). More important are the liturgical connections of 1 Tybi. In the festival calendar of the temple of Edfu, this is the first day of the so-called Festival of the Sacred Falcon. Its major event was the coronation of a falcon, which symbolized the reigning king as well as the primeval falcon figuring in the cosmogony of Edfu.[22] Besides the falcon, the winged sun-disc is an important feature of this cosmogony.[23] Viewed from this angle, the Horus myth acquires the characteristics of a creation myth. This impression is strengthened by the fact that the Egyptians regarded 1 Tybi as a second New Year's Day, which as such involved a renewal of the entire creation.[24]

Within the first half of the period encompassed by the Horus myth, 7 Tybi seems to be very important, since it is the only date to be mentioned explicitly. There are two sources illuminating the liturgical significance of 7 Tybi. The first source is the Horus myth itself. In one of its numerous etiological digressions, it is stated:[25]

ỉw ḏd.ṯ ḥb ḫn n tpy prt sw 7 r-mn hrw pn

"And 7 Tybi is called the Festival of Navigation until the present day".

This passage should be interpreted in the light of a previous etiology relating to the same festival:[26]

ỉw nṯr pn ḥr ḫn mw=f pw r-mn hrw pn

"And therefore this god (i.e. Harsiese) navigates on its (i.e. *Pr-rḥwy*) waters until the present day".

Our second source is a remark by Plutarch in his *De Iside et Osiride*, which suggests that the festival of 7 Tybi was celebrated throughout Egypt and accordingly not confined to the Oxhyrhynchites:[27]

---

[21] P. Derchain, "«En l'an 363 de Sa Majesté le Roi de Haute et Basse Égypte Râ-Harakhty vivant par-delà le Temps et l'Espace»", *CdE* 53 (1978), 48–56.

[22] A. Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning: A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Rites of Consecrating the* Meret-*Chests and Driving the Calves*, Egyptologische Uitgaven 8 (Leiden 1995), Vol. I, 153.

[23] *Ibid.*, 151–152.

[24] *Ibid.*, 153.

[25] *Edfou* VI, 121, 9.

[26] *Edfou* VI, 121, 6–7.

[27] J.G. Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* (Cambridge 1970), 199 (ch. 50); 491–493. See also J. Hani, *La religion égyptienne dans la pensée de Plutarque* (Paris 1976), 365–366. The relation with the Horus myth was already perceived by H. Brugsch, "Die Sage von der geflügelten Sonnenscheibe nach altägyptischen Quellen", *Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* 14 (1869), 173-236, esp. 196.

> By the hippopotamus they represent Typhon and by the falcon power and sovereignty, which Typhon acquires by force so that he is often aroused again, being disturbed by evil and causing disturbance himself. For this reason, when they sacrifice on the seventh of the month of Tybi, which they call the arrival of Isis from Phoenicia, they stamp on round sacrificial cakes the figure of a tied-up hippopotamus. In Apollonopolis it is customary for everyone throughout the town to eat of a crocodile; and on one day, after hunting as many as they can and killing them, they throw them out right opposite the temple; and they say (in explanation) that when Typhon was running away from Horus, he changed into a crocodile, regarding all evil and harmful animals, plants and experiences as deeds, qualities and movements of Typhon.

According to Plutarch, the festival of 7 Tybi is called "the arrival of Isis from Phoenicia". In his version of the Osiris myth, Isis went to Byblos in order to retrieve the coffin of Osiris, which had been thrown into the Nile by Typhon and his confederates and had subsequently drifted to the shores of Phoenicia (ch. 15–17). The navigation of Isis may be compared to the navigation of her son Harsiese in the Oxhyrhynchites, which could have involved Isis as well, since she is introduced into the Horus myth shortly before the mention of 7 Tybi.[28] There she asks Re to commit Harsiese to the care of Horus of Behdet, after which the latter two gods take the shape of harpooners spearing crocodiles and hippopotami. Here we have a link with the sacrificial cakes stamped with the figure of a hippopotamus to which Plutarch refers in connection with 7 Tybi. Having dealt with the festival, he continues with a discussion of some cult practices at Apollonopolis (i.e. Edfu) involving crocodiles. All this shows that there are close affinities between the passage of *De Iside et Osiride* cited above and the Horus myth, even though the date of 7 Tybi does not figure in the festival calendars of the temple of Edfu. The name of this festival ("the arrival of Isis from Phoenicia") suggests an intertwinement of the Horus myth and the Osiris myth, their common denominator being the victory over Seth.

The next important date in the Horus myth is 14 Tybi, the day that saw the end of a time of strife and the beginning of a time of harmony. This pivotal date does not figure in the Egyptian festival calendars. It should be noted though that during the second period (14–27 Tybi), comprising fourteen days just like the first (1–14 Tybi), the gods remained at Behdet to the south of Edfu. This sojourn bears a slight resemblance to the period of fourteen days which was spent there by Horus and Hathor during the Festival of Behdet in Epiphi.[29] The last day of this festival coincided with full moon day. This lunar association seems to be lacking in the chronological setting of the Horus myth.

The final date of the Horus myth, 27 Tybi, is known from the festival calendars of the temple of Edfu and an inscription on the southern gate of the temple enclosure.[30] The festivals of 27 Tybi and the two preceding days involved a visit of Horus to the gods of Behdet, i.e. Re, the "children of Re", and Osiris, in order to perform the divine ancestor cult. It was on this occasion that the "great offering of Pre", decreed

---

[28] *Edfou* VI, 120, 9.

[29] A. Egberts, "Praxis und System" (see n. 19 above), *passim*.

[30] *Ibid.*, 17–18.

by Re himself according to the mythic narrative, was presented.

The ritual ramifications of the period 1–27 Tybi and the 363rd day of the Egyptian calendar evoked by the regnal year to which the Horus myth is dated may clarify the meaning of this text. My use of the concept "meaning" is ambiguous, since it refers to the ancient Egyptian as well as the Egyptological interpretations of myth. The first type of meaning is reconstructed by the philologist, while the second type is established by the historian of religion. These two persons are often merged in the Egyptologist, and I leave it to others to decide which is Dr. Jekyll and which Mr. Hyde.

The etiological portions of the Horus myth are our primary source for the ancient Egyptian ideas about its meaning. The etiologies concern divine names and epithets, divine representations, geographical names, temple names, priestly titles, names of divine barks and other sacred objects, festivals, and rites. Nearly all of these pertain to the temple cult. For this reason, the Horus myth has rightly been termed a *Kultlegende* or *Kultmythos*.[31] This aspect of the myth can also be gleaned from its geography, for all scenes are laid in localities that could boast of a cult devoted to Horus. In the preceding pages I have shown that the chronology of the myth is likewise rooted in cultic realities. This suggests that the ancient Egyptians saw the Horus myth as a charter myth, to use the expression coined by Bronislaw Malinowski, explaining the cultic institutions and manifestations associated with Horus the Behdetite and Harsiese.

Despite the fact that the etiologies have virtually nothing to do with political realities (the explanation of the origin of Egypt's neighbours being the only exception) or astronomical phenomena, there have been several attempts by Egyptologists to detect a historical[32] or cosmic[33] meaning behind the events narrated in the Horus myth. Such approaches to myth are part of a venerable tradition, which started in the days of Euhemerus and the Stoics and dominated scholarly discourse about myth in the last century, as exemplified by the works of Karl O. Müller and his namesake F. Max Müller.[34] Modern historians of religion tend to regard the historical or astronomical outlook of their predecessors as monolithic and reductionist. In the structuralist approach introduced by Claude Lévi-Strauss, there is nothing wrong with assigning multiple meanings to myths. Although his theory is based on tenets concerning the organization of the human mind which are ultimately incapable of proof, I find its

---

[31] H. Kees, "Kultlegende und Urgeschichte: Grundsätzliche Bemerkungen zum Horusmythus von Edfu", *NGWG* 1930 (Berlin 1930), 345–362; W. Schenkel, *Kultmythos und Märtyrerlegende: Zur Kontinuität des ägyptischen Denkens*, GOF IV/5 (Wiesbaden 1977).

[32] E.g., J.G. Griffiths, "The Interpretation of the Horus-Myth of Edfu", *JEA* 44 (1958), 75–85.

[33] E.g., D. Kurth, "Der kosmische Hintergrund des grossen Horusmythos von Edfu", *RdE* 34 (1982–1983), 71–75.

[34] See for a (still unsurpassed) introduction G.S. Kirk, *Myth: Its Meaning and Functions in Ancient and Other Cultures* (Cambridge 1970). In the vast corpus of scholarly literature about myth, a useful collection of essays is L. Edmunds (ed.), *Approaches to Greek Myth* (Baltimore 1990). Recent discussions of ancient Egyptian myth include H. Sternberg-el Hotabi, "Ägyptische Mythen", in O. Kaiser (ed.), *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments* III/5, *Mythen und Epen* III (Gütersloh 1995), 878–883; J. van Dijk, "Myth and Mythmaking in Ancient Egypt", in J.M. Sasson (ed.), *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* III (New York 1995), 1697–1709; H. Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata (Cairo JdE 36418): A Case Study of Egyptian Funerary Culture of the Early Middle Kingdom*, OLA 70 (Leuven 1996), 8–14.

results interesting and stimulating. A truly structuralist reading of the Horus myth would involve comparisons with the myth of the destruction of mankind,[35] the myth of the sun's eye,[36] the myth of the falcon coming from Punt,[37] the cosmogony of Edfu,[38] the contendings of Horus and Seth,[39] the Osiris myth,[40] and possibly other myths as well. It is improper for a philologist like me to undertake such an ambitious exercise in a Festschrift devoted to an eminent historian of Egyptian religion, since I would definitely fail to meet his high standards. Thus the end of this contribution is determined by the shortcomings of its author. Fortunately, I know Herman te Velde to be a good-natured man, who readily forgives the faults of his fellow creatures, after the example set by the Founder of his faith.

35 See n. 21 above.
36 W. Schenkel, *Kultmythos und Märtyrerlegende* (see n. 31 above), 94–120.
37 A. Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning* I (see n. 22 above), 153.
38 *Ibid.*, 151–153.
39 P. Derchain, "Miettes § 3. – Sur la composition du Mythe d'Horus", *RdE* 26 (1974), 13–15.
40 See my discussion of the passage from *De Iside et Osiride* on the preceding pages.

Radiology of Ancient Egyptian Mummified Animals

Theo H.M. Falke

Introduction

For nearly a century, investigators have utilized diagnostic imaging techniques in the study of ancient Egyptian mummified remains (1–12). The first human and animal mummies were X-rayed in 1896, one year after Röntgen's discovery of X-rays (1, 2). The first computed tomography (CT) examinations were applied in 1976 (13) and 1977 (14). Because radiographic techniques are non-destructive in nature, they are particularly appropriate for certain types of documentation and analysis of these specimens. This statement pertains to whether the purpose of the investigation is to determine the condition of the mummy, its methods of embalming, or at times even the period of manufacture or the authenticity of the examples themselves. Additional purposes include detection of valuables, paleopathological studies, and documentation of an object that is subject to slow, progressive deterioration.

Conventional radiography and CT have been occasionally used in research into the mummified fauna of ancient Egypt (2, 11, 15). For the present study we applied various radiological techniques to a collection of 12 mummified animals to illustrate, by selected examples, the usefulness of these techniques in the reconstruction of the ancient Egyptian fauna.

Materials and methods

Twelve mummified animals from a larger animal collection at the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, the Netherlands, were examined. The specimens included: 4 cats, 1 dog, 1 crocodile, 3 serpents, 2 fish, and 1 gazelle. The specimens have no definite locality labels, but most likely date from Graeco-Roman times. The mummies were examined with conventional radiography including tomography, a recently introduced multiple beam equalization technique (AMBER) (16), computed tomography (Pfizer AS & E 450; Philips Tomoscan 350), and Magnetic resonance imaging (Philips Gyroscan 0.5 T) in selected cases. As film-screen combination we used Lanex-regular screens and TMG-film (Eastman-Kodak). Conventional tomography was performed with a Stratometic (CGR) using circular or spiral excursions (3S; 10 degree). Exposure was adjusted to the object examined with approximate parameters of 30 MAS and 50-80 kV. Computed tomographic images were produced in sagittal and axial planes with a slice thickness of 9 mm. The resolution was adjusted to the object under investigation.

Results

Cats, dog and gazelle

Three of the four cats were well preserved. Radiological examination showed that one of the mummies was actually an incomplete cat, of which only the head, proximal parts of the vertebral column, and forelegs are present (Fig. 1). Similar examples of mutilated cat mummies have been radiologically detected in the Museo Arqueologico in Madrid and in the Museum of Natural History in London (9, 17). Mutilated or fake cat mummies have previously been described as early as 1931 (11).

All of our specimens were of the *Felis lybica* species as determined by the long tail and the results of a comparative study with radiographs of modern species of a *Felis caus*, *F. lybica*, *F. caracal*, and *F. catis*. Compared with the radiographs of a modern *Felis lybica* in the wild the main differences are that the cat mummies have thin cortices of bone, and one of the species had general under-mineralization. Felines in captivity, like the ancient mummified cats, may consume a diet consisting mainly of muscle and organ meats. The resulting high phosphorus level is associated with a related calcium deficiency (18). The effect of improper diet, a diet of unsupplemented muscle meat only, is possibly also demonstrated by the presence of a femur fracture in one of the cats, clearly visible (Fig. 2). Another type of selective dietary indiscretion with consequent bony changes has been described for living as well as mummified primates (11, 18).

The radiographs show the presence of epiphyseal plates and milk teeth in all specimens, indicating that the animals were not fully grown at the time of death. In a collection of 40 cat specimens examined in another institution the age at death demonstrated peaks at 1–4 months and 9–12 months, indicating violent death (17). That they must have died a violent death is also reflected in the remains of two of our examined cats by demonstration of a luxated cervical spine in the presence of an intact and well-preserved remaining skeleton (Fig. 3). Radiographic evidence of a broken neck was also reported in the study by Armitage. The findings are related to the fact that by Greek and Roman times, worship of the cat goddess resulted in mummification on a massive scale. The creatures were commercially bred and slaughtered at the onset of maturity, and were mummified and offered for purchase to pious pilgrims. The priests of Bastet received these tokens of devotion back and entombed the mummies on behalf of the pilgrims (19). Although it is very likely that kittens were ritually raised and killed by means of strangulation, it is also known that certain adult specimens of cats were also mummified, with radiographs showing no evidence of trauma. Immature cat mummies showing no signs of neck fracture are also known and the cause of these premature deaths is not known.

Dogs were buried from the predynastic period onwards. Although these animals, like baboons or antelopes, have occasionally been part of the ceremony of human burials (20), they are mostly the results of temple activity in Graeco-Roman times. Several burial places have been found in modern times, the largest one at Abydos. This cemetery contained large quantities of mummified dogs, poorly embalmed and hastily wrapped (20). The specimen we examined may well have come from this area taking into account the poor state of preservation (Fig. 4). We were unable to identify

the species. Conventional tomograms reveal an unerupted last molar indicating that the animal was in its adolescence at the time of death (Fig. 5).

We examined one specimen classified as a mummified gazelle. Conventional X-ray studies revealed that we were dealing with a fake mummy (Fig. 6) similar to a case present in the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago (11).

Serpents, crocodile and fish

Egypt was crowded with snakes, including the cobra, the black-tail viper and the horned adder. Several were worshipped as lesser deities and mummified and wrapped in parcels. One of the parcels we examined contained as many as five vipers (*Viperidea*) in a bundle (Fig. 7a). The presence of multiple snakes within one parcel has also been observed by others (11). Conventional and Computed tomography revealed the individual snakes (Figs. 7b-c). Detailed examination of the heads by thin section conventional tomography demonstrated artificial filling of the mouth with stuffing material (Fig. 7d). The practice of mouth stuffing has been described for human mummies (6, 12) and can be regarded as an artifact of the embalming ritual. Vipers are characterized by a complicated poison-tooth system: the large hollow teeth that fold backwards when the mouth is closed. In one of the vipers we examined the backfolded teeth could be identified on the thin section conventional tomography.

Mummified crocodiles are found in many collections of Egyptian art worldwide. The god Sobek was represented as this animal and worshipped in many temples including Kom Ombo. Another centre for worship was the ancient town of Shedet, also referred to by the ancient Greeks as Crocodilopolis. Expansion of worship and mummification of the crocodile began, as with most other animals, relatively late in Egyptian history. The crocodiles were kept in the sacred lakes near the temple and cared for by the priests. Controlled feeding sessions were carried out by holding the animals down firmly at feeding time to prevent them from eating the priests. The animals were fed by opening the jaws and forcing down meat, bread and a mixture of honey and water (20).

In our example of a mummified crocodile, a mutilated young animal (*Crocodilus niloticus*) was found underneath elaborate wrappings (Fig. 8). Comparable findings are numerous in the literature and include bundles of small crocodiles within one package (20), crocodile-shaped wrappings containing four skulls rather than one body (2), and a crocodile with a swallowed fish (21). In another extraordinary case, discovered in 1901 (22), examination revealed an animal with pieces of a larger animal in breeding position on top of it. Between the pieces was a family of some fifty tiny crocodiles.

We examined two fish mummies, including a common Nile catfish (*Bagrus bayad*) and a Nile perch (*Lates niloticus*). The latter was worshipped as the goddess Neith and represents the most commonly found mummified fish (23). Mummification was performed by slicing the animal down the side to allow the preservatives to penetrate deeply. Then they were covered by a layer of salted mud and buried in the hot dry sand (20).

Discussion

The examples in this study clearly demonstrate that radiographs are very suitable for the study of ancient animal mummies in a non-invasive way. They may reveal important aspects of the mummification practice, including signs of slaughter, nutritional bone changes, and aspects of the embalming techniques. The advanced multiple beam equalization technique, by increasing the dynamic range of the film, offers the possibility of visualizing both the soft tissue and high density parts. This advantage is of particular interest when mummies with large object dynamic range are examined, as for instance in cases where large amounts of overlying opaque resin is present. Computed tomography further adds to evaluation by provision of true sections eliminating overprojection. This is especially valuable in the presence of radiographic embalming materials. CT is also helpful if multiple species are present. In our experience, imaging with MRI was not possible due to the absence of signal from the dried tissues.

The most striking findings represent the mutilated animals, fake mummies and other bizarre mummification practices. The practice of mutilated and fake mummies has been explained in the past in several ways. One possible explanation is that many of these mummies represent residues of the mummification process. The embalmers dealing with large quantities sometimes found isolated parts which they packed up nevertheless, apparently relegating the job of straightening things out to 'over there' (11). Another popular explanation is that the embalmers, paid by the number of packs they turned out, occasionally faked a few. In our opinion, it is more likely that at least some of the practices are related to religious ritual. For instance, cat mummies with amputated forelegs and fake mummies, such as the gazelle, have been repeatedly found, indicating a stereotype pattern rather than an incidental finding resulting from carelessness. Also, some of the findings described for mummified crocodiles are more indicative of a hidden religious reason than a trivial one.

Although the true picture of animal disease in antiquity and its effect on man cannot be obtained from mummified specimens, the remains can provide an idea of animal diseases in ancient Egypt by detecting the minimal occurrence seen in paleopathologic radiological studies (24). In addition, paleozoological information enables us to reconstruct the fauna of a few thousand years ago, especially in ancient Egypt, since such a great variety of animals has been preserved on a very large scale (11, 25).

References

1. W. König, *14 Photographien mit Roentgen-Strahlen, aufgenommen im physikalischen Verein* (Frankfurt/Leipzig 1896).
2. R. David, *Mysteries of the Mummies* (London 1978).
3. D.N.H. Notman, "Ancient Scannings: Computed Tomography of Egyptian Mummies", in A.R. David (ed.), *Science in Egyptology* (Manchester 1986), 251–320.
4. L. Vyhnánek and E. Strouhal, "Radiography of Egyptian Mummies", *ZÄS* 103 (1976), 118–128.
5. J.E. Harris and E.F. Wente, *An X-Ray Atlas of the Royal Mummies* (Chicago 1980).

6. P.H.K. Gray, "Radiological Aspects of the Mummies of Ancient Egyptians in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden", *OMRO* 47 (1966), 1–29.
7. A. Köhler, "Rückblick und Ausblick", *Fortschritte auf dem Gebiet der Röntgenstrahlen* 13 (1935), 52.
8. I. Isherwood, H. Jarvis and R.A. Fawcitt, "Radiology of Manchester Mummies", in A.R. David (ed.), *The Manchester Mummy Project* (Manchester 1979), 825–864.
9. T.H.M. Falke, "An Egyptian Mummy in the Bijbels Museum, Amsterdam", *JEOL* 26 (1979–1980), 35–38.
10. D.J. Ortner, A.E. James, T.H.M. Falke *et al.*, "Imaging Techniques and X-Ray Interpretation in Skeletal Disease", in *Papers on Paleopathology presented at the 12th Annual Meeting of the Paleopathology Association, Knoxville, TN, 1985.*
11. R.L. Moodie, *Roentgenological Studies of Egyptian and Peruvian Mummies*, Field Museum of Natural History (Chicago 1931).
12. W.R. Dawson and P.H.K. Gray, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum*, Vol. I: *Mummies and Human Remains* (London 1968).
13. T.H.M. Falke, "Onderzoek van een Egyptische mummie met behulp van nieuwe röntgentechnieken", *Nederlands Tijdschrift voor Geneeskunde* 123:19 (1979), 802–806.
14. D.C.F. Harwood-Nash, "Computed Tomography of Ancient Egyptian Mummies", *Journal of Computer Assisted Tomography* 3 (1979), 768–773.
15. T.H.M. Falke *et al.*, "Computed Tomography of an Ancient Egyptian Cat", *Journal of Computer Assisted Tomography* 11 (1987), 745–747.
16. H. Vlasbloem and L.J. Schultze Kool,"AMBER: A Scanning Multiple-Beam Equalization System for Chest Radiography", *Radiology* 169 (1988), 29–34.
17. P. Armitage and J. Clutton-Brock, "Egyptian Mummified Cats held by the British Museum (Natural History)". Paper delivered at the First Symposium on *Science in Egyptology*, Manchester, 26th–30th June, 1979.
18. A.E. James jr., "Application of the Radiological Sciences to Advance Clinical and Fundamental Knowledge of the Animal Kingdom", *Radiology* 124 (1977), 581–597.
19. S. Fleming, B. Fishman, D. O'Connor *et al.*, "Mummification of Animals", in *The Egyptian Mummy* (Philadelphia 1980), 51–68.
20. A.P. Leca, *The Cult of the Immortal* (London 1979).
21. J. Cole, "X-Raying Mummies", *British Medical Journal* 8 Sept. 1979, 589.
22. X. de Gorostarzu, "Lettre sur deux tombeaux de crocodiles découverts au Fayoum", *ASAE* 2 (1901), 182–184.
23. B. Brier and M.V.L. Bennett, "Autopsies on Fish Mummies", *JEA* 65 (1979), 128–133.
24. J. Siegel, "Animal Paleopathology: Possibilities and Problems", *Journal of Archeological Science* 3 (1976), 349–384.
25. L. Lortet & C. Gaillard, *La faune momifiée de l'ancienne Egypte*, Archives du Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle de Lyon VIII:2, IX:2, X:2 (Lyon 1903–1909).

Fig. 1 Radiograph of a mummified cat (*Felis lybica*), revealing mutilated remains.

Fig. 2 Plain radiograph (a) and conventional tomograms (b), demonstrating fracture of the femur; the long tail of the specimen indicates *Felis lybica* species (arrows).

Fig. 3 Plain radiograph with AMBER technique (a), conventional tomogram (b) and computed tomography (c) of a mummified cat, demonstrating luxated cervical spine in an otherwise intact and well-preserved skeleton.

Fig. 4 Radiograph of a mummified dog.

Fig. 5 Conventional tomogram of the head of the dog, revealing an unerupted last molar.

Fig. 6 Example of a fake gazelle mummy.

Fig. 7 Plain radiograph (a), conventional tomograms (b), and computed tomography (c) of a parcel showing multiple mummified *Viperia*. Detailed tomogram of the heads of two of the vipers (d) demonstrates mouth stuffing (arrow) and backfolded teeth.

Fig. 8 Radiographs of a mummified crocodile, demonstrating a mutilated specimen.

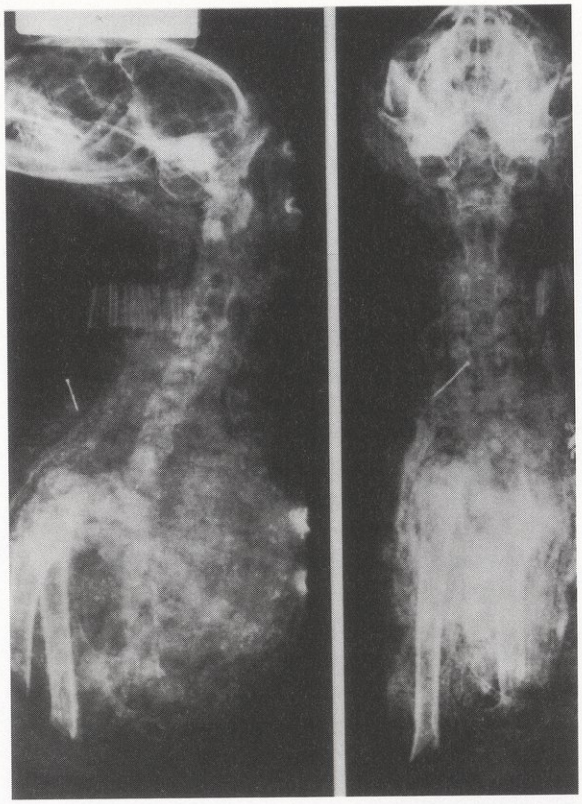


Fig. 1

Fig. 2a

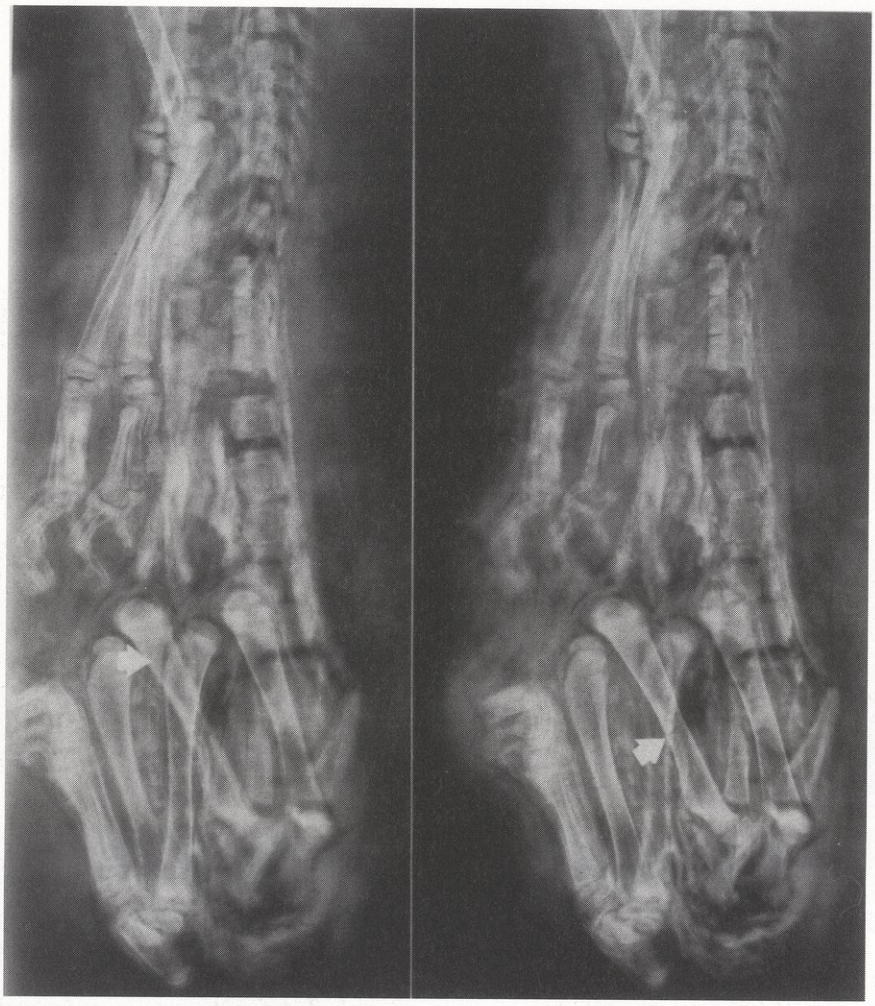


Fig. 2b

Fig. 3a

Fig. 3b

Fig. 3c

Fig. 4

Fig. 5

Fig. 6

Fig. 7a

Fig. 7d

Fig. 7b

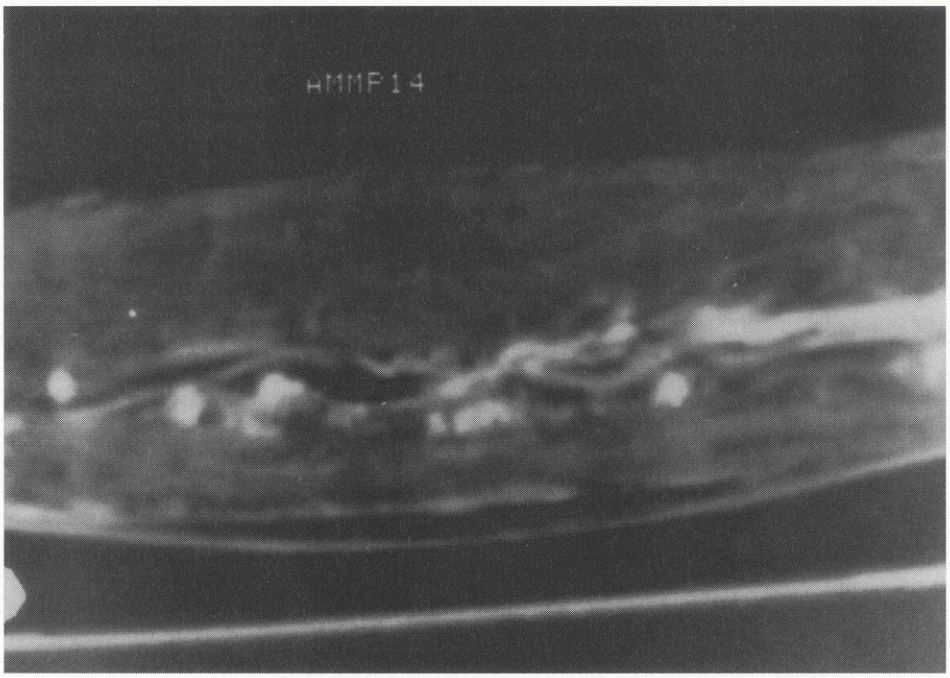


Fig. 7c

Fig. 8

Some Fragmentary Images

Richard A. Fazzini

Herman te Velde has been connected with The Brooklyn Museum – recently renamed the Brooklyn Museum of Art – in two ways as a Research Associate of the museum's Department of Egyptian, Classical and Ancient Middle Eastern Art. First and foremost is his ongoing work with the Expedition to the temple precinct of the goddess Mut at South Karnak,[1] primarily as an expert on ancient Egyptian religion and epigrapher.[2] In part as an outgrowth of this work, he also served as consultant for a long-term thematic gallery installation at the museum completed in 1993 and entitled *Temples, Tombs and the Egyptian Universe*.[3] In all his work for Brooklyn, Herman te Velde has displayed knowledge about, and a fascination with, all sorts of monuments, large or small, complete or fragmentary, inscribed or uninscribed. It thus seemed appropriate to contribute to this volume in his honor an article publishing for the first time some rather uncommon images representing the Brooklyn Museum of Art and the Mut Expedition.

The first object, which bears Brooklyn Museum of Art accession number 37.1118E, is a fragmentary, dark green serpentine coiled cobra with raised head. On the bottom of its base is a sunk relief representation of a figure wearing an *Atef*-crown offering incense to Amun-Re, identified by his usual headgear and a label. According to the inscription, the offerer is Maʿat-ka-re, described in the feminine as *ʿnḫ.tj*, "she lives". The object is illustrated here in photographs (Figs. 1 and 3) and drawings (Figs. 2a-c, 4). The drawings of this diminutive object (height 2.3 cm, length 2.4 cm, width 2.4 cm) were made by one Hannah Mcallister when it was in the New-York Historical Society's Egyptian collection, which Brooklyn borrowed in 1937 and purchased in 1948.

In 1907, Leonora Smith, the daughter of Edwin Smith (1822–1906), donated his Egyptian collection to the New-York Historical Society. According to notes compiled for the Society by Caroline Ransom Williams (1872–1952), Curator for its Egyptian antiquities from 1917 to 1924, Brooklyn 37.1118E comes from the Smith Collection and was once listed in a catalogue as "Fragment with the name of Hatasu, sister and wife of Thothmes III".[4] Caroline Ransom Williams's notes describe the image of Hatshepsut as that of a woman because she does not wear a royal beard and because of what could be the remains of shoulder straps for a dress. If this were the case, the object would be an addition to the small number of two-dimensional images of

[1] A project of the Brooklyn Museum of Art conducted with the assistance of the Detroit Institute of Arts and under the auspices of the American Research Center in Egypt.

[2] He, his former student Jacobus van Dijk, and Jean-Claude Goyon are currently preparing a publication of the Ptolemaic religious inscriptions on the doorway of the Mut Temple's first pylon.

[3] R. Fazzini, "Continuity and Change: The New Egyptian Installations in Brooklyn", *KMT* 4, no. 4 (Winter, 1993–94), 72–85.

[4] *Catalogue of the Egyptian Antiquities of the New-York Historical Society* (New York 1915), 87; Smith Collection No. 157.

Hatshepsut clearly made before she became king or, probably, early in her co-regency and showing her in female guise.[5] Among them is one from Karnak where Hatshepsut, labeled as king but with no beard, sports a short wig surmounted by a crown with horns, ostrich feathers and sun disk and wears a tight-fitting dress when offering wine to Amun-Re.[6]

On the other hand, if Hatshepsut is normally shown wearing a beard when crowned with the *Atef*,[7] it is also true that in her general era kings could sometimes be shown wearing the *Atef* without a beard.[8] Moreover, and especially given the small scale of the carving, what appear to be shoulder straps for a dress could conceivably have been intended as braces for a king's tunic.[9] Hence, the identification of Hatshepsut's image as 'feminoform', while most likely, is not certain.

More uncertain is the intended function of this object. In general, the fact that it is decorated on its underside in sunk relief relates it to animal-backed scaraboids,[10] themselves one of several types of objects often called 'seal-amulets',[11] although their function as seals is not always certain.[12] However, it is not pierced longitudinally as are many such objects, and is made of serpentine, which is unusual for seal-amulets.[13] Moreover, if the backs of some seal-amulets bear cobra images carved half-in-the-round,[14] I have found no good parallel among such objects for Brooklyn's more three-dimensional cobra. Indeed, while the presumably figure-eight arrangement of its

---

[5] E.g. PM II^2, 135, bottom; A. Grimm, "Ein Porträt der Hatschepsut als Gottesfrau und Königin", *GM* 65 (1983), 33–37 and pl. 1; L. Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History*, Boreas 14 (Uppsala 1986), 142, fig. 101; G. Callender, "Problems in the reign of Hatshepsut", *KMT* 6, no. 4 (Winter, 1995–1996), cover illustration and illustrated on p. 19. There is less general agreement about a relatively early dating of three-dimensional images of Hatshepsut as a woman: e.g., R. Tefnin, *La statuaire d'Hatshepsout. Portrait royal et politique sous la 18^e dynastie*, Monumenta Aegyptiaca 4 (Brussels 1979), and its review by B. Letellier in *BiOr* 38 (1981), cols. 305–308. Compare, as well, L. Troy's comment (op. cit., 142) that the lack of adequate dating criteria for Hatshepsut's individual monuments, including statuary, prevents the idea of seeing in them "... an ideological development, a gradual integration of the persona of the royal sister-wife, wife of the god, into the role of the king" from being more than "an attractive hypothesis".

[6] PM II^2, 136, top; cf. L. Troy, op. cit., 142; Callender, op. cit., 20 (illus.).

[7] E.g., E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari* III, EEF Memoir 16 (London 1898), pls. LXXVII and LXXXV; P. Lacau and H. Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak* (Cairo 1979), pl. 2, nos. 216+173; nos. 303+176; pl. 14, no. 150.

[8] E.g., an image of Amunhotep I, published as fig. 5 on p. 43 of C. Graindorge and P. Martinez, "Karnak avant Karnak: les constructions d'Aménophis Ier et les premières liturgies amoniennes", *BSFE* 115 (1989), 36–64; several images of Tuthmose III: R.A. Schwaller de Lubicz, *Les temples de Karnak. Contribution à l'étude de la pensée pharaonique* II (Paris 1982), pls. 174–175; and two (or possibly three) images of royal statues in Theban Tomb 100 (Rekhmire): N. de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē^c at Thebes* II (New York 1943), pls. XXXVI, XXXVII.

[9] E.g., E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari* V, EEF Memoir 27 (London 1906), pl. CXXX, showing Tuthmose II.

[10] E.g., C. Andrews, *Amulets of Ancient Egypt* (London 1994), 53, fig. 54.

[11] Cf., e.g., M. Stoof, *Ägyptische Siegelamulette in menschlicher und tierischer Gestalt: Eine archäologische und motivegeschichtliche Studie*, Europäische Hochschulschriften, Series XXXVII: Archäologie, 41 (Frankfurt am Main 1992).

[12] See, e.g., W. Ward's comments on the term "Siegelamuletten" as inappropriate at least to crudely carved objects with royal names and/or images: *CdE* LXX Nos. 139–140 (1995), 157, part of a review of A. Wiese, *Zum Bild des Königs auf ägyptischen Siegelamuletten*, OBO 96 (Freiburg/Göttingen 1990).

[13] E.g., M. Stoof, op. cit., 30–31.

[14] E.g., W.M.F. Petrie, *Buttons and Design Scarabs*, BSAE 38 (London 1925), pl. IX, no. 318.

coils is current in Dynasty XVIII[15] and later,[16] Brooklyn's cobra is unusual because it lacks the usual coil in front of the raised neck and because its neck curls down and then rises, a pose seen in many uraei on crowns but not on independent statues of cobras with figure-eight-shaped coils. The neck and hood also do not rise to as great a height as one might expect.

Unfortunately, the identity of the entity represented by the cobra is also not known. That the cobra could sometimes be related to the masculine is demonstrated, for example, by some rare Middle Kingdom and Dynasty XVIII images of cobras with kings' heads;[17] a wooden cobra from the tomb of Tutankhamun labeled "living god";[18] and, at least in Dynasty XXV, cobra images inscribed for some forms of Amun, or of Amun, Mut and Khonsu.[19] The cobra is, however, far more often a feminine image, numerous goddesses being equated with it.[20] Not the least among them are Maʿat (who figures prominently in this form in cryptographic writings of Hatshepsut's name Maʿat-ka-re), Meretseger and Renenutet. In cobra form, the latter two goddesses were sometimes considered guises of Hathor, who could, herself, appear as a cobra, although representations of her in this form are not common. Indeed, it has recently been suggested that construction of Hatshepsut's Temple at Deir el Bahri accommodated a colossal engaged column of rock simulating (perhaps with some assistance from sculptors) a cobra with raised head and spread hood behind a figure of a pharaoh or deity. This cobra, it has been further suggested, could be associated with Hathor or other goddesses that were sometimes linked to her and to the western Theban cliffs.[21] Be this as it may, however, the far from exclusive imagery of the cobra prevents an

---

[15] E.g., L. Troy, op. cit., 72, fig. 26 (pendant of Werethekau from the tomb of Tutankhamun); D. Dunham, *The Barkal Temples* (Boston 1970), 28, no. 6 and pl. XXVI (cobra inscribed for Amunhotep III); G. Daressy, *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois (1898–1899)* (Cairo 1912), 162–163, pl. XXXV, nos. 24628 and 24629 (two wooden cobras from the tomb of Amunhotep II).

[16] E.g., B. Bruyère, *Mert Seger à Deir el Médineh*, MIFAO 58 (Cairo 1930), 112 and 129, figs. 51, 66 (Ramesside images of Meret Seger); T. de Putter and C. Karlshausen, *Les pierres utilisées dans la sculpture et l'architecture de l'Egypte pharaonique. Guide pratique illustré* (Brussels 1992), 175 and pl. 42 (part of a small, periodite Ramesside figure of a cobra); and numerous bronzes of the Late Period such as G. Roeder, *Ägyptische Bronzefiguren*, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Mitteilungen aus der ägyptischen Sammlung, VI (Berlin 1956), 388, fig. 565.

[17] E.g., W.K. Simpson, pp. 433–434 and pl. 66 of "Varia Aegyptiaca in American Collections", *MDAIK* 37 (1981), 433–441 and pls. 66–67.

[18] CG 60754: *Tutanchamun in Köln*, exh. cat., Kölnisches Stadtmuseum (Köln 1980), cat. 55.

[19] E.g., M. El-Saghir, *Das Statuenversteck im Luxortempel*, Zaberns Bildbände zur Archaölogie 6 (Mainz am Rhein 1992), 52–54. For a large, fragmentary and uninscribed cobra associated with the Mut Precinct, see S. Sauneron, *et al., La porte ptolémaïque de l'enceinte de Mout à Karnak*, MIFAO 107 (Cairo 1983), 10 and pl. V, c.

[20] E.g., K. Martin, "Uräus", *LÄ* VI (Wiesbaden 1986), cols. 865–868. As Mut is not mentioned by name there, this writer cannot resist noting her associations with the uraeus attested in Dynasty XX (H. Stewart, "A Crossword Hymn to Mut", *JEA* 57 [1971], 90, 93, 95, 98, 101, 102, 103) and repeating the suggestion that on a statue of Kenamun from the Mut Precinct (CG 935, temp. Amunhotep II), the uraeus in a naos inscribed twice with a *ḥtp dỉ nsw* for Mut represents not Renenutet, as sometimes suggested (e.g., H. Wild, pp. 211–215 of "Contribution à l'iconographie et à la titulature de Qen-Amon," *BIFAO* 56 [1957], 203–237), but rather Mut: R. Fazzini *et al., Ancient Egyptian Art in The Brooklyn Museum* (Brooklyn 1989), Cat. 39, n. 3. Contrary to what is said there, however, and as Herman te Velde has recently called to my attention, a recent Oriental Institute publication includes evidence that Mut was called Eye of Re before Dynasty XIX: The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple*, I. *The Festival Procession of Opet in the Colonnade Hall*, OIP 112 (Chicago 1994), pl. 119. For Mut as the Eye of Re in general, see H. te Velde, "Mut, The Eye of Re", *BSAK* 3 (1988), 395–403.

[21] V.A. Donohue, "The Goddess of the Theban Mountain", *Antiquity* 66 (1992), 871–885.

identification of the cobra that 'backs' or protects(?) Hatshepsut and Amun-Re on Brooklyn's seal.

According to *Who was Who in Egyptology*,[22] Edwin Smith's main Egyptian residence was in Luxor, which may suggest at least a possible provenance for Brooklyn 37.1118E. However, *Who Was Who* also notes Smith was said to have assisted locals in forging antiquities and to have been a forger himself. This may perhaps raise the question: was this an object perhaps much later in date than Hatshepsut that remained in Smith's collection for some reason? This suggestion, however, would make Brooklyn 37.1118 quite a creative forgery, particularly if it does show Hatshepsut as a woman, as the discovery of the best parallels of that genre – partial at best – postdate Edwin Smith. Moreover, it has been examined in the flesh (or stone) and/or photographs by a considerable number of Egyptologists who, like the writer, have found it convincingly ancient if unusual.

The second object to be published here is more fragmentary and at least as unusual as Brooklyn 37.1118E. Given the number 10M.3 in the Mut Expedition's registry, it is the remains of a sculptural group of at least two figures (Figs. 5a-c and 6) carved in 'Egyptian alabaster' (calcite). Its maximum preserved height, length and width are 8.5 cm, 15 cm, and 8 cm respectively.

The sculpture's more readily identifiable element is the remains of the stylized proper right foreleg and wig of a lion or sphinx, more probably the latter. This figure appears to have been depicted recumbent upon a base and could be a sculpture of a sculpture. To judge from what is left of this image and the variations in proportions of at least a selection of complete sphinx images, the original length of this leonine figure could have between 3.5 and 5 times its preserved length, that is, about 52.5 cm (one cubit)-75 cm.

As visible in Figs. 5a-c, this leonine figure on a base rests upon another figure of which only part of one limb and a portion of the abdomen are preserved. Enough of the slightly convex underside and left side are preserved to demonstrate that the lower surface was continuous. The small preserved area of the proper left side (visible in Fig. 6) bears the same decorative band as the right side. If this figure was not the base of the complete object but rather stood (or, more precisely, lay) on a base, the cutting free and finishing of the belly would be very unusual and unlikely.

When 10M.3 was discovered, on January 20, 1987, the excavators first thought the lower figure might possibly be a prostrate prisoner, but was more likely a crocodile. And it is perhaps still worth noting that ancient Egyptian groupings of a lion above a crocodile do exist.[23] Nevertheless, the interpretation of the figure as a crocodile is problematic. Egyptian three-dimensional images of crocodiles normally show their abdomens resting directly on bases, and their forelegs bent at a less acute angle (sometimes verging on vertical) than the preserved limb of this figure.[24] Moreover,

---

[22] W.R. Dawson and E.P. Uphill, rev. by M.L. Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology* (London 1995[3]), 395.

[23] E.g., O. Neugebauer and R. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, III: *Decans, Planets, Constellations and Zodiacs*, Brown Egyptological Studies 6 (Providence/London 1969), pls. I, III, IX, XIII, XV.

[24] E.g., H.S.K. Bakry, "The Discovery of a Temple of Sobk in Upper Egypt", *MDAIK* 27 (1971), pls. XXIIIB, XXIXC, and XXXI(a)-(b); B. Peterson, "Sobek – der Krokodilgott: Eine Skulptur in Stockholm", *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 14 (1979), figs. on pp. 4–7; J. Paysás, "Un Ex-Voto à Sobek en la coleccion Ogdon", *Aegyptus Antiqua* 6–7 (1989), 28, figs. 1–2.

while crocodiles can be shown with abdominal markings somewhat similar to those on the sides of 10M.3, such features do not continue onto the leg and are normally not the only body markings.[25] It thus seems almost certain (as also suggested to this writer by Peter Dorman) that the lower figure represents a human, the pattern on the sides of the abdomen and the preserved portion of the arm being decorative elements of a garment. The best comparisons, although not exact parallels, are provided by certain Dynasty XVIII Theban tombs that depict Syrians wearing a long-sleeved dress with decorative bands on the edges of the dress and sleeves.[26]

If 10M.3 does represent a leonine figure atop a prostrate foreigner, it would certainly have ideological affinities to numerous Egyptian images of lions (or of kings and deities as lions) dominating enemies.[27] A few such enemies, carved in soft materials, are shown prostrate in a manner that can be related to the figure of 10M.3,[28] including the lack of a base beneath the prostrate figure. One could also relate 10M.3's lower figure to some actual three-dimensional images of kings and deities standing on or enthroned atop prostrate foreigners,[29] and at least one two-dimensional representation of a statue of a king similarly enthroned.[30] If 10M.3 represents a sphinx atop a prostrate enemy, it can be related to the numerous images in Egyptian art of sphinxes trampling enemies or even the recumbent Ramesses II sphinxes at Wadi es-Sebua that rest on pedestals decorated with reliefs of kneeling and bound prisoners.[31]

Somewhat closer in form are the scarabs and seals, especially those with the name of Tuthmose III, decorated with a recumbent sphinx over a fallen enemy.[32] And finally, there is a small (preserved length 11.9 cm), fragmentary three-dimensional figure of a recumbent sphinx, inscribed for Merenptah but considered to be Dynasty XII in

---

[25] E.g., C. Dolzani, *Il dio Sobk* (Rome 1961), 163–271, pls. IX, 1 and X, 1; H.S.K. Bakry, op. cit., pl. XXIIIB; B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934–1935)*, Pt. III: *Le village, les décharges publiques, la station de repos du col de la vallée des rois* (Cairo 1939), 197, fig. 88.

[26] See J. Pritchard, "Syrians as Pictured in the Paintings of the Theban Tombs", *BASOR* 122 (1951), 36–41. The garment in question is his garment B, which is attested mainly from the reigns of Tuthmose III to Amunhotep II but certainly survives in the reign of Amunhotep III. To be sure, the small surviving portion of the front of 10M.3's abdomen does not preserve a decorative band comparable to those running down the front of Pritchard's garment B. The upper half of Pritchard's garment type C, in existence by the earlier of the two time periods just mentioned but most at home in the time of Tuthmose IV to Amunhotep III, has decorative patterns on the sleeve edges but not on the sides of the garment. There is no decorative band down the front of garment C, but a long piece of cloth, decorated along its selvage, is wrapped around the skirt.

[27] E.g., U. Schweitzer, *Löwe und Sphinx im alten Ägypten*, ÄgFo 15 (Glückstadt/Hamburg 1948), pls. III, 5; IX, 1–4; and XII, 1–4; N. de Garis Davies (ed. by L. Bull and L. Hall), *The Temple of Hibis in El Khārgeh Oasis* III, *The Decoration* (New York 1953), pl. 3, reg. IV.

[28] U. Schweitzer, op. cit., pl. IX, 4; and cf. A. Fürtwangler, pp. 107–127 (on "Elfenbeinlöwe") of "Heraion von Samos: Grabungen im Südtemenos 1977, II, Kleinfunde", *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaölogischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung* 96 (Berlin 1981), 73–138.

[29] D. Wildung, "Der König Ägyptens als Herr der Welt? Ein seltener ikongraphischer Typus der Königsplastik des Neuen Reiches", *AfO* 24 (1973), 108–116.

[30] N. de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rēʿ* II, pl. XXXVII (enthroned king); cf. D. Wildung, op. cit., 114, n. 38. It might be noted that in TT 48 (Amunemhat, called Surer), there appears to be an image of a statue of Queen Tiye standing atop a prostrate foreigner: T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, Private Tombs at Thebes I (Oxford 1957), 39 and pl. XXXVI. In both the Rekhmire and Surer images, the prostrate figure rests atop a base rather than being itself the base.

[31] H. Gauthier, *Le temple de Ouadi es-Sebouâ* II (Cairo 1912), pls. IV-VIII.

[32] E.g., B. Jaeger, *Essai de classification et datation des scarabées Menkhéperrê*, OBO, Series Archaeologica 2 (Fribourg/Göttingen 1982), 91, section 396.

origin.[33] While most of the front part of the sculpture is missing, enough of the work is preserved to show that the underside of the front half of the sculpture's base was recessed upward from the rear half and was adorned with carvings half in the round of two prostrate, side-by-side foreigners. Part of the original sculpture, they have been interpreted as an Asiatic and a Nubian and were presumably visible in front under the sphinx's paws.[34] This is at least somewhat comparable to Mut 10M.3, although the latter appears to have had only one prostrate figure that may have constituted the sculpture's entire base.[35]

10M.3 was uncovered in the Mut Temple in the long room immediately to the north of the 'Crypt of Taharqa' or 'Crypt of Montuemhat'[36] that is all but certainly part of a Dynasty XXV rebuilding of the temple.[37] While this clearly associates the sculpture with the Mut Temple, at least at one point in its history, little more can be deduced. The figure was found in a thick layer of debris that built up over this whole area of the temple after it went out of use and presumably during the course of its destruction or dismantling over the centuries. This debris layer has turned up several scattered fragments of sculptures and pottery of varying periods. It is thus particularly unfortunate that the figure is so fragmentary and lacks the features (of lion, sphinx or prisoner) that would most often be used in an attempt at stylistic dating.[38] Nevertheless, and admitting the suggestion is very speculative, it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that this fragmentary symbol of royal power and dominion over foreign and potentially chaotic forces was made sometime during Dynasty XVIII. There is precious little evidence for the existence of the Mut Temple before this period,[39] but Dynasty

---

[33] D. Wildung *et al., Entdeckungen. Ägyptische Kunst in Süddeutschland*, Exh. cat. (Mainz am Rhein 1985), 43–44, cat. 30 (illus.); B. Fay, *The Louvre Sphinx and Royal Sculpture from the Reign of Amenemhat II* (Mainz am Rhein 1996), 68, cat. 53 (Munich ÄS 7133), and pl. 93f.

[34] Wildung *et al., op. cit.*

[35] Unless, as seems unlikely, the figure was supported over a base by its hands, knees/thighs and toes as, for example, in some royal images: e.g., G. Roeder, *Naos* (Leipzig 1914), pl. 28 (CG 70021: naos of Nectanebo I from Saft el-Henne).

[36] PM II^2, 258 [12] and pl. XXV.

[37] R. Fazzini and W. Peck, "The Precinct of Mut During Dynasty XXV and Early Dynasty XXVI: A Growing Picture", *JSSEA* 11 (1981), 115–126.

[38] For lions and sphinxes, see, e.g., U. Schweitzer, op. cit., 37, 46, 64, 72.

[39] A sounding (admittedly very limited) in the northeast area of the Mut Temenos (see p. 296 of R.A. Fazzini, "Report on the 1983 Season of Excavation at the Precinct of the Goddess Mut", *ASAE* 70 [1985], 287–307) yielded non-temple remains of the late Middle Kingdom/Second Intermediate Period, and the same may be true of an equally limited sounding undertaken in the second court of the Mut Temple. While the site has yielded a few Middle Kingdom sculptures (PM II^2, 261 [Cairo CG 914] and 262 [CG 536]), they were not necessarily brought to south Karnak until much later. That the Mut Temple had come into existence no later than the reign of Amunhotep I is suggested by the discovery there of a statue of him suckled by Mut, associated with the site of Isheru, that may well be a work of his time rather than a posthumous image (PM II^2, 261: to which add, e.g., I. Lindblad, *Royal Sculpture of the Early Eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt*, Medelhavsmuseet Memoir 5 [Stockholm 1984], 33–34; L. Troy, op. cit., 162, no. 18.3.18). Moreover, Mut as "Mistress of Isheru" is also mentioned on one of several blocks in Karnak's Amun Precinct inscribed with a calendar or calendars of offering that are attributable to Amunhotep I, although their clear inspiration by Middle Kingdom prototypes need not include the reference to Mut. For these blocks, see A. Spalinger, *Three Studies on Egyptian Feasts and Their Chronological Implications* (Baltimore 1992), 1–30, and pls. I-IV. The existence of a Dynasty XVII cult center at South Karnak is suggested by BM EA 69536, a fragmentary dyad inscribed for Sobekemsaf I or II and Mut associated with Isheru: J. Bourriau, "Museum Acquisitions, 1984. Egyptian Antiquities Acquired in 1984 by Museums in the United Kingdom", *JEA* 72 (1986), 190, no. 59, and information kindly provided by W. Vivian Davies, whose publication of this object is in preparation. Although lacking a mention of Isheru, a slightly earlier

XVIII saw at least two major stages in the building of the Mut Temple: during, or possibly slightly before, the co-regency of Hatshepsut and Tuthmose III and later in the dynasty, possibly during the reign of Amunhotep III.[40] This period also provides the best parallels for the garment worn by the figure[41] and is a time when various unusual royal group sculptures were created.[42]

Even though the objects presented here are fragmentary, the writer hopes their unusual subject matter or iconography will be of some interest to Herman te Velde, who has been a friend, mentor and inspiration.

Fig. 1 Brooklyn Museum of Art 37.1118E, Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund. Top.

Fig. 2 Drawings of the top (a), front view (b) and side view (c) of Brooklyn 37.1118E.

Fig. 3 Brooklyn Museum of Art 37.1118E, bottom.

Fig. 4 Drawing of the bottom of 37.1118E.

Fig. 5a-c Three views of sphinx/lion atop prostrate figure(?), right side (Brooklyn Museum Mut Expedition, registry no. 10M.3).

Fig. 6 Sphinx/lion atop prostrate figure(?), top view; remains of decorated surface of proper left side visible at bottom of photograph.

---

stela of Dynasty XVII's Nubkheperre Intef, found in Karnak's Ptah Temple, also mentions Mut: PM II^2, 198 (5).

[40] For a brief discussion of some stages of the growth of the Mut Precinct, see R.A. Fazzini, op. cit.

[41] A semi-comparable figure of a Syrian on a Theban temple relief wearing one of Pritchard's type B garments for Syrians (see n. 26) has been reattributed recently from Dynasty XIX (W.C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, II: *The Hyksos Period and the New Kingdom (1675–1080 B.C.)* [New York 1959], 340, fig. 214) to Tuthmoside times by P. Brand, in N. Thomas *et al., The American Discovery of Ancient Egypt*, Exh. cat. (Los Angeles 1995), 170–171, no. 74.

[42] E.g., M. Seidel, *Die königlichen Statuengruppen*, I. *Die Denkmäler vom Alten Reich bis zum Ende der 18. Dynastie*, HÄB 42 (Hildesheim 1996), 127–134 (representations of statues in TT 73), 162-164 (representations of statues in TT 96 of Senefer), and 170–171 (calcite group of Amunhotep II between Horus and Thoth).

Fig. 2a

Fig. 1

Fig. 2b

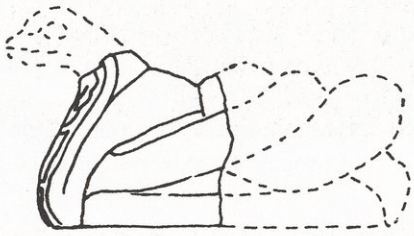


Fig. 2c

Fig. 3

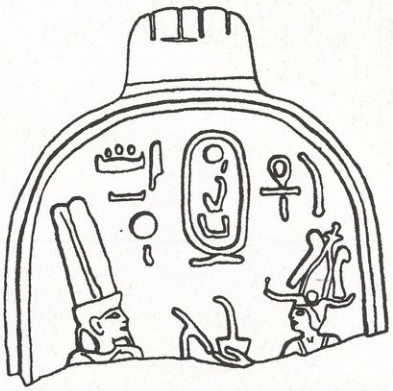


Fig. 4

Fig. 5a

Fig. 5b

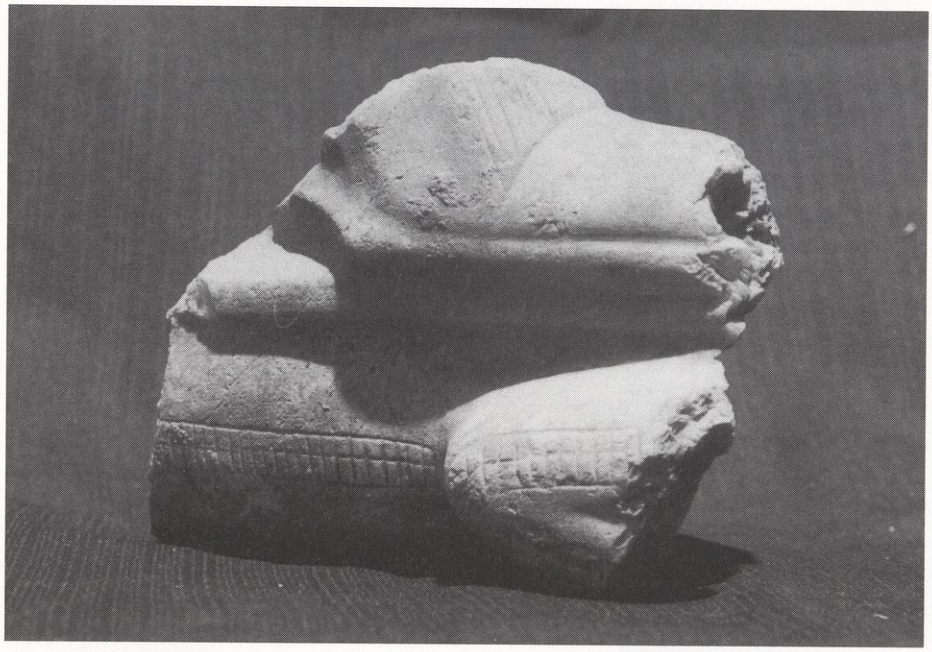


Fig. 5c

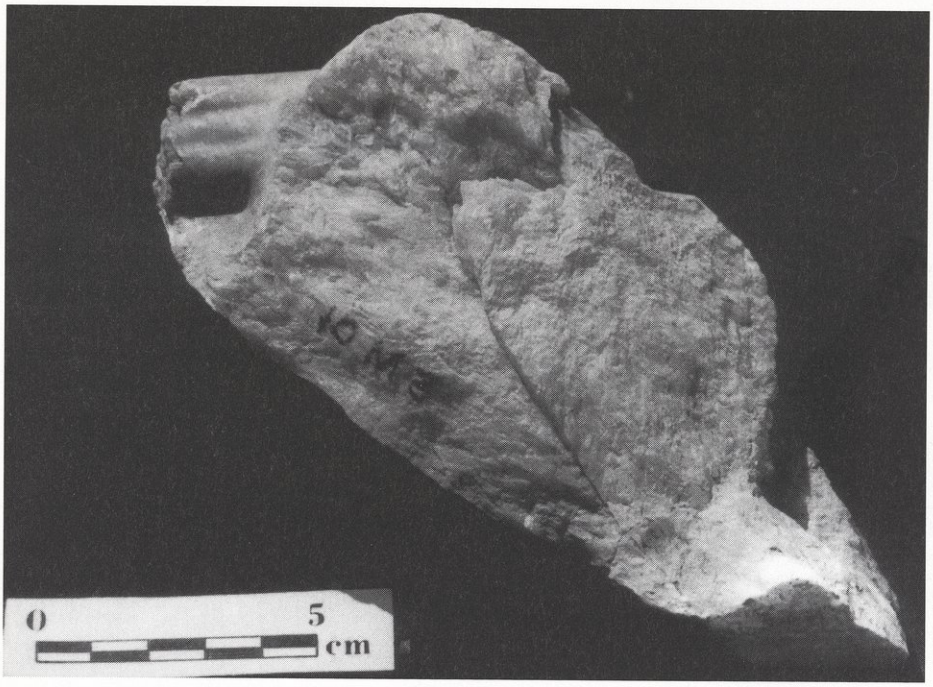


Fig. 6

ỉtn – the "Golden Egg" (CT IV 292b-c [B9C^{a}])

Orly Goldwasser

A theme which begins with hieroglyphs and ends with reflections on Egyptian religious beliefs – such a theme may be deemed appropriate to honour Professor Herman te Velde, a scholar whose mastery of these areas has long been recognized. I hope he will appreciate this modest contribution.

The second part of spell 355 of the Coffin Texts (*CT* IV 292*b*–294*b* [11 versions]) opens with the phrases:

ỉ Rᶜ ỉmy swḏt.f wbn m ỉtn.f[1] *psḏ m ȝḫt.f nbb ḥr bỉȝ.f*

"O Re (who is) in his egg! dawning from his *ỉtn*! shining in his horizon! swimming in his firmament!"

In his detailed discussion of the *ỉtn* before the Amarna period, Donald Redford suggests that in *CT* IV 292*b-c* "the parallelism between the disc and the egg is of some interest, as it might suggest a connection between the Disc and the pre-existent substance from which Re emerges. The metaphor, however, is probably devoid of real significance, as the disc is also found in parallelism with the sun-boat: 'I have made my way at the prow of his barque, I shine in his disc' ".[2]

The last citation in Redford's discussion comes from *CT* VII 267*a-b*.[3] Yet it seems that the solar-barque and the *ỉtn* are not necessarily paralleled metaphorically in this case. This sentence might allude verbally to the image later portrayed as "*Rᶜ* upon/within the disk, riding the sun-boat"[4] (Fig. 2).

Nevertheless, the assumption that the metaphor "*ỉtn* is The Primeval Egg" did indeed exist, may be confirmed in one of the versions of *CT* IV 292.

Version B9C^{a} of *CT* IV 292*b* (see Fig. 1) stands out among the other versions as it provides the word *swḏt* with a unique classifier – the 'gold' determinative.[5] This unexpected classifier replaces the customary iconic 'egg' determinative which appears in all other versions. Unlike the iconic egg determinative, the 'gold' is a classifier that stands in a schematic relationship with the word it follows. The 'ingredient' relationship (i.e. "made of") is a prevailing relation in the hieroglyphic

[1] Other versions of *CT* IV 292*b-c* read: *ỉ Rᶜ ỉmy swḏt.f psḏ m ỉtn.f* or *ỉ Rᶜ pw ỉmy swḏt.f psḏ m ỉtn.f*.

[2] D.B. Redford, "The Sun-disc in Akhenaten's Program: Its Worship and Antecedents, I", *JARCE* 13 (1976), 48.

[3] *ỉr.n.ỉ wȝt m ḥᶜt wỉȝ.(f) sšp.ỉ m ỉtn.f ȝḫ m bȝ.f*. The parallel versions read: *ỉr wȝt n N pn m ḥᶜt wỉȝ.f sšp m ỉtn.f ȝḫ m bȝ.f*, "Prepare a path for me into the bow of his bark; brightness in his disk, and power in his shape" (R.O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts* III [Warminster 1978], 129). In *CT* IV, 292*b-c* *wbn, psḏ, nbb* are probably participles.

[4] The rules of Egyptian art make it difficult to decide if *Rᶜ* is within the disk, which is represented transparently, or upon the disk.

[5] This is the only occurance of the word *swḏt* with the 'gold' determinative in the Coffin Texts. The search was made through D. van der Plas's *Coffin Texts Word Index* (1995) on the Internet.

system between a word and its classifier.[6] However, by the exceptional act of changing the determinative, the scribe connects the *swḥt* unequivocally to the following phrase. The notion 'made of gold' associates the primeval egg with the second part of the sentence, creating an image which immediately refers to the other 'golden' entity in the sentence – the *ỉtn*.[7] This understanding weds metaphorically the cardinal mythological concept of the creation of the *Urei*, the primeval egg, to the creation of the sun-god[8] – the *Urei* being conceptualized in celestial terms as the *ỉtn* disc. The egg and the sun are easily mapped metaphorically into each other. They share the important predicates 'Colour' (orange-yellow), 'Round', and 'Giving life'. Yet their bringing together is a very 'Egyptian' process, probably strongly influenced by the Egyptian religious myths of the *Urei*. In this case we find again the 'Myth and Belief Principle'[9] as the impetus which carries the *swḥt* from the 'natural' categorization (egg), to the 'mythical' categorization (gold). As with the Seth determinative, where words were carried from their natural category (e.g, ;) to the Sethian category,[10] we witness here mythological reasons that may influence world categorization and conceptual organization as represented by the Egyptian script.

It seems that the metaphor Sun-Disk = *Urei* is reinforced in this version through the verb *wbn*. Unlike the parallel versions of *CT* IV 292*b-c*, all exhibiting the 'sun-rays' determinative,[11] the verb *wbn* in version B9C[a] takes the 'egg' determinative. This combination allows the verb *wbn* to refer simultaneously to the breaking of the sun-god from the *ỉtn* and to the breaking of the shell of the *Urei* – the ultimate new beginning.

In the case of *wbn*, it is difficult to decide whether the 'egg' determinative is a purely metaphorical determinative reflecting a movement in conceptual organization under mythological influence, which relates the breaking of the *Urei* to the 'breaking of the sun-rays in the morning' or 'breaking of the sun from the *Urei*.' Alternatively, the 'egg' determinative could represent an inherent early meaning of the verb *wbn*, referring to the breaking or piercing of the egg by the fledgling. Pierre Lacau,[12] in his study of *wbn* and *psḏ*, translates the verb by "poindre"[13] in French. Following Maspero, he understands the original meaning to be "se mettre en boule", which later refers to the rising sun, and to the overflow of grain. Otto[14] mentions other "round things" such as nipples. This line of meanings is consolidated by the determinative, which appears as early as the Pyramid Texts (*Pyr.* 283*a* [T], 1465) and is also known in the Coffin Texts. Another related meaning of *wbn* is "wound"[15] which probably refers to

---

[6] See O. Goldwasser, *From Icon to Metaphor. Studies in the Semiotics of the Hieroglyphs*, OBO 142 (Freiburg/Göttingen 1995), 90ff.

[7] The sun-god is called in the New Kingdom *wbn m nbw* "the one who shines in gold" (*Wb.* I, 293,6).

[8] H. Bonnet, *RÄRG*, 162–164.

[9] G. Lakoff, *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things* (Chicago 1987), 93ff.

[10] H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, PrÄg 6 (Leiden 1967), 22–23; Goldwasser, op. cit., 99–106.

[11] Eleven examples show the variant *wbn m ỉtn.f*, seven examples have *psḏ m ỉtn.f*.

[12] P. Lacau, "Les verbes *wbn* 'poindre' et *psḏ* 'culminer' ", *BIFAO* 69 (1971), 1–9.

[13] The meanings of "poindre" in French include "to dawn," "to break" (fig), "to appear," "to break through" and "to sprout." R. Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch* (Mainz 1995), 188:7, gives a meaning for *wbn* (without a reference) "aufgehen (von Pflanzen)" citing the example *sꜥ3mw wbn.w*, "die Soam Pflanzen sind aufgegangen".

[14] E. Otto, "Die Verba Iae inf. und die ihnen verwandten im Ägyptischen", *ZÄS* 79 (1954), 42.

[15] K. Sethe, "Die Sprüche für das Kennen der Seelen der heiligen Orte", *ZÄS* 57 (1922), 39; W. Westen-

blood bursting out of the surface of the skin. Last, but not least, is a rare application in the Pyramid Texts (376*a-b*) where *wbn* describes the 'rising' or 'shining' of fire, and is also used in the same sentence to describe the 'shining of incense', a perceptible synaesthesia. In this last example the *wbn* appears with a bird determinative, probably referring to the *Bnw* bird[16] (the 'phoenix' of Heliopolis) which relates to *wbn* on phonetic grounds (paronomasia or pun) as well as on the mythical grounds of the primeval creation.[17] However, in all examples, the *wbn*, if connected to colour, relates to the 'hot' colours – from red[18] to golden-yellow.

Although this is hardly mentioned by the dictionaries,[19] the word *wbn* appears with what seems to be the 'egg' determinative as early as the Pyramid texts[20] as an epithet of the sun-god.[21] Of the sixty examples of the verb *wbn* in the Coffin Texts,[22] many versions of different coffins show the 'egg' determinative alone, or the 'egg' determinative together with the anticipated 'sun-rays' or 'sun' determinatives. Regardless of the 'egg' determinative, most of the occurrences of the verb *wbn* in the Coffin Texts are related to meanings directly referring to the sun, e.g., *CT* I 54*a*, 185*f*, 187*c*, 213*c*, 254*d*, 261*a*; II 36*c*, 44*a*, 64*b*, 95*c*, 260*c*; IV 186*c*, 294*a*.

However, it seems that the reading of the verb *wbn* with the 'egg' determinative does not remain only on the metalinguistic level in the Coffin Texts, but is also expressed in the texts themselves.

In *CT* II 44*d* the subject is Atum; in a vivid description the birth of the god is described as: *psḏ.f wbn.f prỉ.f m swḫt.f mst nṯr m prt* "as he shines, as he rises when he comes out from his egg. God's birth (is) in/as 'coming out'."[23] The *wbn* is explained by the text as "coming out from the egg".

A close variation on the same theme (*CT* II 36*c*; see Fig.3) reads: *wbn.f rˁ nb prỉ.f m swḫt.f mst nṯr prt.(ỉ)* "as he rises every day, when he comes out from his egg. God's birth is 'coming out'."[24] Here, the word *pr.t(ỉ)* is curiously 'glossed' (in

---

dorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texte*, GMAÄ 7 (Berlin 1961–1962), Vol. 1, 172.

[16] H. Kees, *Der Götterglaube im Alten Ägypten* (Leipzig 1956), 217, suggests that Benben and Benu in Egyptian connect to the meaning "emporsteigen". It is interesting to note that this verb may refer to the rising of the sun, as well as to the rising of smoke, balloons, sounds, or anger.

[17] *Wb.* I, 292; J. Baines, "*Bnbn*: Mythological and Linguistic Notes", *Orientalia* 39 (1970), 389–404. On the possible relations between *wbn* and *bnỉ*, *Bnbn* and the *Bnw* bird through the common root *bn*, see Otto, op. cit., 42; W.A. Ward, "Notes on Some Egypto-Semitic Roots", *ZÄS* 95 (1968), 66–67 and Baines, op. cit., with a long discussion.

[18] In five versions of *CT* III 13*a*, the combination *swḫt nṯr* alternates with the word *ḥrst* "carnelian". In one of the versions (B2L[a]) the word appears with the 'egg' determinative. Faulkner writes about this combination: "For *swḫt* 'egg' the B3C group substitute meaninglessly *ḥrst* 'carnelian' " (*The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts* I [Warminster 1973], 143 n.9). Is it indeed meaningless? See also Sethe, op. cit., 39.

[19] The *Wörterbuch* mentions the 'egg' determinative (refering to it as 'archaic', *Wb.* I, 292) but with no actual reference. It is not mentioned in Faulkner's *Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford 1962). Hannig, op. cit., lists the determinative, without a reference, and with no appropriate translation.

[20] *Pyr.* 283 [W]: *wbn ḫˁ.f*; compare *CT* I 115*a*; VI 237*e*.

[21] *Wb.* I, 295,5).

[22] The search was made through the *Coffin Texts Word Index* (1995), edited by D. van der Plas (Internet).

[23] Faulkner, *AECT* I, 87, translates differently here: "He shines and rises when he issues from his egg which the god fashioned as offspring (?)"; it seems that he regards *ms.t nṯr* as a relative form. The verbs *msỉ* and *prỉ* are used earlier in the spell to denote creation *ỉnk Šw sꜣ ʾỈtm ms.n.f. wỉ m fnḏ.f pr.n.ỉ m msꜣḏt.f* (*CT* II 44*a-b*).

[24] A nominal sentence would be very difficult here. It seems that it should be read *mst-nṯr pr.t(ỉ)* = an adverbial sentence + stative. Semantically this reading may be close to translations as "zeigt sich, wird sichtbar" in *Wb.* I 523,19. Frank Kammerzell made two interesting suggestions here: 1. Semantically,

all versions)[25] by the unexpected 𓊪 determinative,[26] which completes the metaphoric analogy 'rising' = 'coming out from the egg'.

In spell 305, *CT* IV 58*h*, the text reads: *rwḏ nṯr wbn*[27] *nṯr m sš.f pꜣi.f … m bik pw ꜥꜣ spd dꜣt …* "The god will grow, the god will rise from his nest, he will fly ... as the great falcon, sharp of talon ...". In this case the verb *wbn* "breaking the egg", "breaking out from the nest", appears not in a context relating to Atum or Re but in an purely ornithological celebration of Horus which carries the *wbn* very close to the concrete description of "breaking forth by the fledgling from the egg". Nevertheless, in several examples, the Coffin Texts present the notion of "coming out from the egg" in concrete terms. In these cases the verb used is *sḏ*; e.g., *CT* VI 200*j*: *sḏ.i m swḫt*[28] "I will break out from the egg" (also *CT* IV 181*g*). The Great Hymn to the *ʾItn* from the Amarna Period which describes in detail the hatching of the fledgling from its egg, also uses the verbs *sḏ* and *pri* consecutively.[29] Another verb used in the Coffin Texts is *snḫn*, as in the phrase *n snḫn.t.i swḫwt.i* (*CT* I 167*f*) "... when I had not yet hatched my eggs".[30]

That *swḫt* and *sš* are close terms we can see later in Book of the Dead Ch. 85, 17:[31] *nn mꜣꜣ.tw sši.i nn sd.tw swḫt.i* "no one will see my nest, no one will break my egg".

In spell 691 (*CT* VI 324*c-d*) the resurrection, the 'second birth', is viewed in terms of *wbn: di.f hꜣi hrw ꜥšꜣ ḥr hrw.(i) nw ꜥnḫ.(i) di.f hꜣi grḫw ꜥšꜣ ḥr grḫw.(i) nw ꜥnḫ.(i) r wḏꜣ.t.i wbn.i r snn.i ṯꜣw m fnd.i*[32] "may he cause many days to be added to my days of my life, may he cause many nights to be added to my nights of my life until I depart. May I rise to be a likeness of myself, breath in my nose ...".[33] This meaning of *wbn* is already very close to the Ptolemaic use of the word *wbn* described by the *Wörterbuch* as "zur Welt kommen, geboren werden (von Göttern)".[34]

Notwithstanding Redford's reservation, one might therefore still read *CT* IV 292*b-c* while being aware of the possibility that as early as the Coffin Texts the *ʾItn* was

---

this use relates to the use of *pri* as an auxiliary verb (Gardiner, *EG*[3], 394). It might be compared to the German "dann kam es dazu, dass er hört"; 2. There is also a possibility that this use is the result of a poetic paronomasia:

wbn.f rˁ nb pr.f m swḫt.f mst-nṯr pr.t(i)
PR M-S MS PR

Faulkner, *AECT* I, 84, translates this sentence differently – "he rises daily from his egg which the god who went up shining (?) fashioned". It seems that he regards *ms.t nṯr* as a relative form describing the egg; the status of *pr.t.(i)* in this case is unclear to me.

[25] The sun is on the mind of the scribe of B1P as he writes *swḫt.f*. Version B9C presents a somewhat different text "... *nṯr m pr.t ꜣḫw* (?)".

[26] It is of course possible to suggest that this sign is not a determinative but a pictogram for one of the "sun-rays" words, such as *wbn* or *ꜣḫw*. In this case, in all the three versions discussed, *pr.t(i)* appears without a determinative.

[27] *wbn* appears here with the 𓊪 determinative.

[28] The word *swḫt* is followed by two determinatives, 𓎛 and ⊙; or should it be read *swḫt-Rˁ*? The last determinative was probably erased, as De Buck (*CT* VI 200*j* note 14*) writes "Chiselmarks."

[29] M. Sandman, *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten*, BiAe 8 (Brussels 1938), 94: 15 (l. 7).

[30] Faulkner, *AECT* I, 32.

[31] After E.A.W. Budge, *The Chapters of Coming Forth by Day*, II (London 1910), 47 (Nu). See also the "Water Spell", J.F. Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts*, Nisaba 9 (Leiden 1978), 87.

[32] All first person suffixes are omitted.

[33] Faulkner, *AECT* II, 257.

[34] *Wb.* I 293, 19.

conceived as a kind of material – the 'egg' – from which the sun-god emerges. This relationship is probably materialized later in sentences which describe the relation between a deity and the sun-disk as – *ỉr.f ḫprw m ỉtn.f*;[35] relations illustrated by the representations of the divine manifestation (a ram or a scarab) within the disk.[36]

It seems that in the conceptual realm represented in the Coffin Texts, the *ỉtn*, not yet fully realized as a 'god',[37] might have been interpreted as an '*Ur*'-substance – the Divine 'Golden Egg', out of which emerged the familiar, pictorially defined image of the sun-god.

Fig. 1 *CT* IV, 292*b* (B9C[a]) (after De Buck)

Fig. 2 Re within the sun-disk in the solar boat (after M. Schunck, *Untersuchungen zum Wortstamm ḫʿ* [Bonn 1985], 13).

Fig. 3 *CT* II, 36*c* (after De Buck)

[35] J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott*, MÄS 19 (Berlin 1969), 40.

[36] E.g., E. Hornung, *The Valley of the Kings. Horizon of Eternity* (New York 1990), 95 Pl. 57; 99 Pl. 66 and passim.

[37] Cf. J. Assmann, "Aton", *LÄ* I (1975), 526 and Redford, op. cit. On the status of the *ỉtn* in the Egyptian knowledge organization, as represented by the script, see Goldwasser, forthcoming.

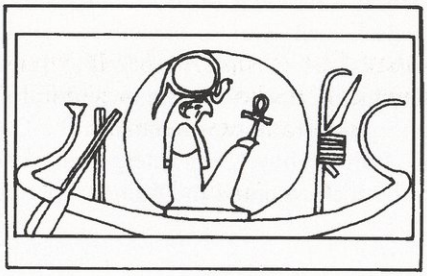


Fig. 2

Fig. 1

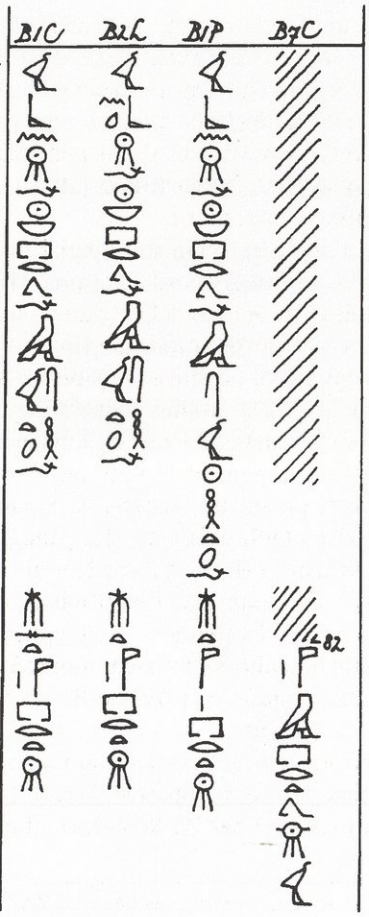


Fig. 3

Répandre l'or et éparpiller la verdure.
Les fêtes de Mout et d'Hathor à la néomènie d'Epiphi et les prémices des moissons

Jean-Claude Goyon

A Herman, en souvenir des heures animées passées dans le "garage" de Beit-Canada à lire et tenter de comprendre Mout et ses textes tardifs, en toute amitié...

Dans un article récent,[1] A. Spalinger a proposé une traduction commentée des textes calendériques de l'avant-porte de Mout à Karnak publiés naguère par le très regretté Serge Sauneron.[2] On n'entrera pas ici dans le détail des multiples problèmes soulevés par cette traduction, quelque peu prématurée, qu'il conviendra de reprendre pas à pas dès l'achèvement de la publication de l'ensemble des données théologiques et philologiques que fournissent les autres inscriptions du maître-temple, actuellement en cours d'impression.

Relevés par l'équipe d'épigraphistes de la Mut Expedition du Brooklyn Museum,[3] dont H. te Velde coordonne avec doigté et bonhomie les travaux, les textes souvent mutilés et de lecture délicate du premier pylône ainsi que ceux partiellement conservés par les blocs inventoriés, rangés sur les aires lapidaires, fournissent nombre d'informations qui n'ont pu être accessibles à A. Spalinger. Si, à date ancienne, Mout de Thèbes a jamais eu ses propres fêtes, à l'époque récente et sous les Ptolémées, le calendrier de ses fêtes majeures met en évidence le fait que les rites qui s'y trouvent mentionnés dépassent largement le seul cadre de Karnak et de ses environs. La plupart de ceux qu'au fil de ses traductions A. Spalinger a pu rencontrer appartiennent à l'*ordo*, valable dans toute l'Egypte, des panégyries d'Hathor – Sekhmet-Bastet-Menhyt-Nebtou – et la liste pourrait encore être allongée d'une infinité de noms divins, "en tous ses noms". En outre, par l'emplacement choisi pour leur gravure, le kiosque et l'avant-porte nord, les données théologiques et calendériques rassemblées par les scribes-savants thébains s'adressent moins à la Mout locale autonome qu'à sa véritable nature de manifestation de l'Œil-de-Rê, garante et incarnation, comme on va le voir, du cycle annuel agricole.

Parmi tous les points importants du grand calendrier de Mout pour lesquels une solution peut être apportée, il en est un qui mérite mieux que le maigre commentaire à lui consacré par A. Spalinger. Il correspond aux colonnes 41/42 de l'édition de S.

---

[1] A. Spalinger, "A Religious Calendar Year", RdE 44 (1993), 161–184.

[2] S. Sauneron, *La porte ptolémaïque de l'enceinte de Mout à Karnak*, MIFAO 107 (Le Caire 1983), pl. IX, 6. Cité *Mout* par la suite.

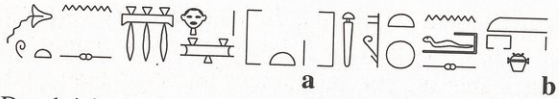
[3] H. te Velde, J. van Dijk, J.-Cl. Goyon pour l'épigraphie ptolémaïque et romaine sous la direction du chef de mission R. Fazzini, conservateur du département oriental du Brooklyn Museum of Art de New York.

Sauneron (Pl. IX, **6**) et, à quelques corrections mimimes près (signalées en italique dans ce qui suit), la traduction proposée[4] s'avère correcte; sans mention précise de date, en apparence après le 29 du IV. *Shemou*, le rédacteur a mentionné les faits suivants (Fig. 1):

Col. 41 "Une effigie est dressée aux quatre (directions) de *sa* demeure *étant donné qu'* elle donne les ordres aux *génies massacreurs* à la fin de l'année; de la *poudre verte étincelante* est parsemée pour elle sur le chemin, dès le début de l'instant de sa sortie hors de *sa demeure*.

Col. 42 La voici parvenue à son porche et nous sommes sans crainte; l'Egypte tout entière est dans l'allégresse car elle protège sa cité ainsi que ses ressortissants, elle sauvegarde le roi de Haute et Basse Egypte (A)|."

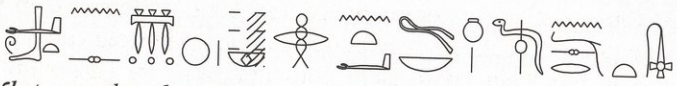
Dans ce passage, une donnée, si on la compare avec ses parallèles dans d'autres temples de l'époque ptolémaïque et romaine, permet d'écarter d'emblée toute attribution des rites évoqués au 30 Mesorê ou aux cinq épagomènes[5] et de les rattacher à la grande panégyrie du voyage d'Hathor, de Dendara vers Edfou, comportant son arrêt à Thèbes au mois d'Epiphi. Laissant de côté l'allusion aux quatre effigies dressées aux quatre directions de la demeure qui entraînerait trop loin ces remarques, on ne retiendra ici que la mention du geste liturgique dont fait état la fin de la colonne 41:



(a) Dans le joint, la place est juste suffisante pour et non pour recevoir aussi le suffixe *.s* restitué par A. Spalinger.

(b) Le signe ne peut être lu **nsr* avec l'A.; il ne s'agit pas de ou comme à la col. 24, mais d'un vase cordiforme de valeur *s* provenant de *snbt* "aiguière", Drioton, *AIPHO* 3 (1935), 139; *Wb.* III, 458 (10–12).

L'évocation du rite mettant en œuvre de la "poudre verte" *ṯḥn.t* (et sûrement pas de la "fayence"), contrairement à l'isolement dans laquelle la laisse le commentaire d'A. Spalinger, est loin d'être unique dans les textes de l'avant-porte de Mout. On lit ainsi, Pl. VIII, **6**, col. 10:



ʿb.tw n.s ṯḥn.t hrw sìs-n.t ḥnʿ nt-ʿ nb nw wdi nsrt..."

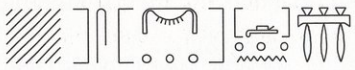
"On collecte pour elle la poudre verte étincelante en même temps <qu'est mise en œuvre> toute prescription de darder la flamme...";

---

[4] A. Spalinger, RdE 44, 179 qui lit [41]*sʿḥʿ.tw sḫm m ỉfdw n pr ḏr wḏ.n.s hby.w m pḥwy rnpt; St(ỉ).tw n.s ṯḥnw ḥr wɜt[.s] tpy tr n pr.s m pr-nsr.* [42]*S(y) ỉy.tỉ r sbḫt.s n snḏ.n; Bɜkt r-ɜw.s m nḏm-ib, ḫw.n.s. nỉwt.s m-ʿb wnḏ.w.t[s], mk.s nswt bity (Pr-ʿɜ)*|. Pour le contenu de cette colonne 42 et sa signification, voir J.-Cl. Goyon *et. al.*, *Ptolemaic Inscriptions from the Mut Temple at Thebes*, annexe II "Mout *ḫwt-nỉwt.s* et la fête éponyme à Thèbes", sous presse; l'allusion est faite au rituel de Tybi, commémoré au mois d'Epiphi, le 1, avec la panégyrie de "parcourir la Ville".

[5] Contra A. Spalinger, *RdE* 44, 179, remarques.

Pl. XIII, **17**, col. 5:



... *ṯtf.n n.*]*s* [*nwb*] [*bty.w*] *n ṯḥn.t*

"[Allons, ... répandons pour] elle [l'or et les grains] de poudre verte...";

Pl. VII, **4**, col. 5:

ỉdb.w Ḥr stỉ m ṯḥn.t

"... les Rives-d'Horus sont parsemées de poudre verte", utilisant l'expression consacrée pour proclamer la félicité qui envahit l'univers au retour de la Lointaine, quand "le ciel est en fête, la terre dans le bonheur ...".

Avant d'aller plus avant dans l'examen de l'attribution de la nature et des modalités du rite aux cérémonies hathoriques de la festivité de la Nouvelle Lune du mois d'Epiphi, il s'impose d'essayer de mieux définir ce que recouvre l'énigmatique matière, , et variantes, dont les sources religieuses indiquent que, utilisée parallèlement à de la poudre d'or, elle se "parsème" (*stỉ*),[6] "s'épand" (*ṯtf*)[7] ou "s'éparpille" (*wpš*).[8]

On l'a dit, la "fayence" dans ce cas est tout à fait invraisemblable; on voit mal un ritualiste jeter à terre des morceaux, fussent-ils broyés, de fritte émaillée[9] sur le trajet d'une procession d'hommes aux pieds nus portant solennellement la barque d'une déesse. Il doit s'agir en fait d'un matériau, pur ou composite, de couleur verte ou bleu-vert. Il y a là l'objet d'une offrande pour Hathor en toutes ses manifestations; la matière *ṯḥn.t* sert, dans ce contexte, de substitut à toutes les variétés de pierres précieuses ou semi-précieuses, dont les teintes allaient du vert-émeraude au bleu-vert des turquoises fanées. Ce qui comptait surtout, comme l'avait relevé S. Aufrère,[10] c'est que cette poudre verte devait être pailletée d'or pour devenir étincelante, même si l'on pouvait, si besoin était, tirer une pâte verte à cuire pour l'émail d'un mélange de produit vert avec de la silice et de l'eau. Le matériau réel demeure malaisé à définir dans sa nature exacte; pigment bleu-vert, sulfate de cuivre, poudre de malachite, autres ingrédients, c'est moins cela qui importe que la symbolique qui s'y attache. Il s'agit, et d'autres textes vont le montrer, d'allier la couleur verte du règne végétal à celle de l'or solaire. Verdure et rayons dorés nourriciers sont, on le sait bien pour la pensée égyptienne antique, l'expression symbolique fortement imagée des céréales fondamentales, l'orge et le blé. Leur croissance biologique les fera passer du vert "tendre" (traditionnellement encore couleur du blé "en herbe") à l'or des épis pleins que portent des chaumes mûris. C'est par là que s'explique, en partie, la pratique de

---

[6] *Mout*, pl. VII, 4, 5 et IX, 6, 41; *Edfou* V, 175 (3); 373 (6); *Mammisi Edfou*, 22 (6); *Mammisi Dendara*, 186 (16); *Esna* VI/1, n° 545 (19).

[7] *Mout*, pl. XIII, 17, 5 (?); *Edfou* V, 373 (7); VIII, 167 (15) et 168 (5); *Mammisi Dendara*, 56 (4); Junker/Winter, *Philä* II, 300, 301 (11).

[8] Esna III, n° 239; VI/1, n° 545 (19).

[9] Sur *ṯḥn.t*, en dernier lieu, S. Aufrère, *L'Univers Minéral*, BdE 105 (Le Caire 1991), index p. 29 s.v. "fritte auto-glaçurante" = I, 166–167; 179–189; surtout, p. 132, couleur "verte"; II, 521–523.

[10] S. Aufrère, op. cit., II, 522 et 525–527.

mêler vert et or, levant ainsi un pan du voile qui masquait la finalité du rite.

Ainsi, à Dendara, l'officiant royal devait accomplir, selon l'intitulé d'un tableau-clé:[11]

"l'acte de répandre de l'or et de la poudre verte étincelante (*ṯḥn.t*) dans Dendara (*Ta-Rer*), de l'orge et du blé dans Dendara (*Rout-di-Maât*)".

De même, un texte du Mammisi de Dendara,[12] assez maltraité par le lapicide comme par ses traducteurs modernes, reprend une formulation similaire. La scène montre le prêtre-du-roi puisant dans une coupe emplie de matériaux granuleux et projetant en pluie, devant Hathor "dame du bonheur, souveraine des contrées minières" les dits matériaux. Le titre du tableau est:

"Répandre l'or et la poudre verte étincelante, l'orge et le blé, pour sa mère, la Puissante."

Dans la colonne latérale d'accompagnement (*Randzeile*) du roi,[13] se placent, à la fois une difficulté de lecture et une précision importante pour la gestuelle du rite dont on voit, sans ambiguité, qu'il est double; il faut donc lire ainsi la formule royale:

"Tant que le roi (A)|... est en train de répandre l'or ainsi que (*ḥnꜥ*) la poudre verte, qu'il est en train de parsemer blé et orge dans le mammisi, il est semblable à Horus...".

À de multiples reprises, la même formulation revient dans les tableaux analogues; on se contentera d'en donner ici une liste fournie, bien que certainement non exhaustive:
Edfou VIII, 167 (15–17)–168 (1sq.);[14] titre : *ṯtf nwb ṯḥn.t ỉt bdt*,
Mammisi Edfou, 89 (3–10);[15] titre: *bꜥḥ ḥwt-nmỉt m ỉt bdt, ṯtf nwb ṯḥn.t*,
Mammisi Dendara 169 (16)–170 (1sq.) sans intitulé équivalent au contenu et image,
Mammisi Edfou, 122 (6–15) qui constitue un cas particulier, car le rédacteur, sous un intitulé à rétablir en [*stỉ ṯḥn.t*] a donné un tour spécifique aux paroles de l'officiant. Celui-ci disait en effet:

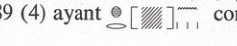
"Je parsème pour toi (Hathor) l'or, puis l'orge, et le blé à sa suite, et la poudre verte étincelante en quantité, immédiatement auprès d'eux".[16]

La légende dévolue à la reine associée à l'offrande, quant à elle, reprend le formulaire plus ordinaire des tableaux traditionnels mais personnalise ses propos en faisant qu'elle s'adresse à son époux:

---

[11] Mariette, *Denderah* I, 14 cité par S. Aufrère, ibid., 526, nn. 64 et 66; de même, 525, nn. 57–59 où l'A. reprend la phrase du tombeau de Pétosiris traitée par Daumas, *BIFAO* 59 (1960), 76 "répandre l'or et la poudre verte, l'orge et le blé (*ṯtf nwb ṯḥn.t, ỉt bdt*)".

[12] *Mammisi Dendara*, 56 (4sq.), pl. X: *ṯtf nwb ṯḥn.t ỉt bdt n mwt.f wsr.t.*

[13] *Mammisi Dendara*, 56 (7–8) où il faut écarter la lecture douteuse **nn r* de S. Aufrère, op. cit., 526 (60). Le groupe (sic) est une erreur de scribe pour *ḥnꜥ*, le terme écrit correspond à une graphie défective du radical verbal *ḥnr, Wb.* III, 298, 8–14, parallèle à *ṯtf* du premier membre de phrase, signifiant "éparpiller, disperser" comme l'avait, d'ailleurs reconnu l'A. Pour le sens, voir encore *AL* I, 280 et pour les graphies et utilisations dans des contextes similaires, *Mammisi Dendara*, 169 (17) qui confirme la lecture *ḫ(n)r* avec dét. , le parallèle de *Mammisi Edfou*, 89 (4) ayant  contre d'*Edfou* VIII, 168 (5).

[14] Cité par S. Aufrère, *Univers Minéral* II, 526, nn. 61–62.

[15] *Mammisi Edfou*, pl. X : le roi tient d'une main une coupe et, de l'autre main, verse au sol des produits granuleux. Quoique donnant les mêmes membres de phrase dans un ordre différent, le texte d'*Edfou* VIII, 89 (3sq.) est un parallèle exact du suivant à Dendara.

[16] *Stỉ.ỉ n.ṯ nwb, ỉt bdt m-ḫt.f, ṯḥn.t wrt* (adverbe, restituer) *ḥr-m.sn.*

"Je parsème la poudre verte étincelante, l'orge et le blé et le pays tout entier se trouve devant ta mère".[17]

Une finalité nouvelle du geste liturgique vient ainsi s'ajouter à la première dégagée plus haut. Parsemer le sol devant Hathor avec des produits en grains aux colorations choisies: vert, or, jaune d'or, brun-rouge, équivaut à recréer sur l'itinéraire sacré un paysage agricole rituel et symbolique. Le *pays tout entier* devant la "mère" royale est celui que l'eau revigore, il verdit; bénéficiant de l'action chaleureuse de "l'or de Rê", son sol se couvre d'or jaune et rouge, celui de céréales porteuses de vie. Sur ce point, le texte du mammisi d'Horus à Edfou que l'on vient d'évoquer ajoute une précision capitale. En effet, le roi, dans la colonne latérale d'hiéroglyphes qui l'accompagne dans son geste sacral, s'il est, comme souvent dans les formules faisant appel aux matériaux et métaux nobles, "souverain des minéraux précieux" est, par dessus tout, "celui qui fait vivre l'Egypte *To-mery* grâce à la végétation".[18]

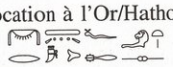
Le lien est donc établi entre le geste, sa signification partielle et, surtout, la date à laquelle il doit prendre place. Tout un ensemble d'autres documents disponibles montre que parsemer le sol devant Hathor-Sekhmet-Œil-de-Rê avec de la poudre-*ṯḥn.t* s'inscrit dans un contexte précis des solennités de l'année et non comme un élément, parmi d'autres, du culte journalier ou même périodique.[19] Il n'a lieu qu'une fois l'an à la néomènie du troisième mois de *Shemou*, dans le courant d'Epiphi, la date exacte étant aussi mobile que le moment où se produit l'invisibilité de la lune à son changement.

Le formulaire du tableau du mur est de la cour du temple d'Horus à Edfou lié à l'accueil d'Hathor en ce même jour, selon la célébration de la fête "Elle est ramenée" dite encore de la "Bonne Réunion",[20] permet d'établir sans conteste que l'accueil comportant une fumigation de résine parfumée et l'éparpillement d'une brillante poudre verte formaient l'étape préliminaire à l'installation d'Hathor visiteuse à Edfou. Bien que venant du Nord et de Dendara, elle était reçue au sanctuaire d'Horus comme si elle arrivait du *Sud*, autrement dit de Nubie. Par sa position et son contenu, cette scène ne peut se situer dans le temps qu'à l'arrivée du cortège dans la cour depuis

---

[17] *Mammisi Edfou*, 122 (11–12) : *wpš(.i) ṯḥn.t nwb ỉt bdt tȝ r-ḏr.f ḥr ḥȝt mwt.k*. Ce dernier élément de phrase fait partie d'un formulaire type que l'on retrouve en trois endroits dans les textes conservés relatifs au rite:

– formules comportant l'invocation à l'Or/Hathor:

Mammisi Dendara, 169 (17)  (est pour *ỉw*)

Mammisi Edfou, 89 (4)

– sans lien direct :

Mammisi Edfou, 122 (11) .

[18] *Mammisi Edfou*, 122 (9–10) : *sʿnḫ Tȝ-mry m ḫt-n-ʿnḫ*.

[19] On peut encore, à la rigueur, retenir l'idée de S. Aufrère, *Univers Minéral* II, 526 pour qui le rite *sti ṯḥn.t* avait une "valeur incitative" mais non le contexte de mise en œuvre dans lequel, d'ailleurs sur un mode dubitatif, il proposait de le replacer, écrivant: "Est-il possible que, tous les matins ou à des périodes régulières de l'année, un prêtre ait incité l'astre (? Lune, Soleil?) à reparaître...". Il est étrange que cet auteur, traduisant (p. 525 et nn. 54–55 = p. 535) le texte fondamental sur la question (voir note suivante 20) soit, sans le voir, passé si près de la date et de la circonstance précise.

[20] Pour la date de la néomènie du III. *Shemou* comme jour du commencement des festivités de la "Bonne Réunion", M. Alliot, *Le Culte d'Horus à Edfou au temps des Ptolémées*, BdE 20 (Le Caire 1949–1954) I, 234 et 239; jour de "Elle-est-ramenée" (*ỉn.tw.s*), voir *Edfou* V, 336 (11–12); 370 (11–12); 383 (3); VI, 124 (8 sq.). L'équivalence absolue *ỉn.tw.s* = III. *Šmw psḏntỉw* est établie par *Dendara* V, 5 (18) et 16 (11).

la porte de l'Est et les propos royaux accompagnant l'accueil se comprennent, alors, comme parfaitement en accord avec les circonstances quand le rituel leur fait dire s'adressant à Hathor:[21]

> "J'accomplis l'acte de placer la résine sur la flamme à ton intention, je répands pour toi la poudre verte étincelante sur ton chemin, (quand) tu entres en paix auprès de ton père Rê lors de la néomènie du III. *Shemou*".

Un texte voisin figure à Esna,[22] la coïncidence de date résultant, comme on le verra, de l'enchaînement des actes dans la liturgie d'Epiphi. Pour la réception d'Hathor, le titre du tableau concerné au temple d'Horus d'Edfou indique qu'il fallait:

> "Accomplir la fumigation, répandre la poudre verte étincelante au devant de cette déesse".

En exécutant cela, l'officiant garantissait la sécurité du cheminement de la procession sur un terrain pur "lorsque cette déesse parvient à son temple" par l'utilisation de la poudre sacrée. Il s'agit bien d'une *arrivée* (*spr*), de sorte que les épisodes initiaux de la fête de la "Bonne Réunion", ceux qui accompagnent la marche d'entrée de la déesse, sont à dissocier des évènements qui vont marquer les jours suivants, même s'ils sont inclus dans les inscriptions calendériques dans un *ordo* général de déroulement de la panégyrie d'Epiphi. C'est par la suite qu'Hathor accomplira sa visite aux Buttes et aux Gisants pour "distribuer les offrandes aux Enfants de Rê" et les "réjouir de sa vue".[23] Avec la néomènie d'Epiphi, en effet, s'ouvre un cycle liturgique *long* dont la durée, comme cela a été fait récemment,[24] ne peut être ramenée dans le temps à un espace horaire de vingt-six à soixante heures[25] correspondant au flottement temporel possible dans la détermination du début d'un nouveau mois lunaire. Trop d'épisodes multiples et complexes s'interpénètrent qui, en outre, rangés le plus souvent sous une rubrique générale de "jour de la nouvelle lune d'Epiphi", peuvent avoir leur propre nom, selon le ou les jours, ce qui est le cas de la fin des cérémonies que les textes nomment "fête de *Behedet*".

Lorsque s'ouvre la festivité de la "Bonne Réunion", le cycle annuel agricole arrive pratiquement à son terme; les fruits de la crue de la saison *Akhet* sont désormais acquis puisque le temps des récoltes de Pakhons, d'Epiphi/Mesorê à son début est clos ou en voie de l'être.[26] Mesorê (IV. *Shemou*) qui suit dans le décompte des mois marque,

---

[21] *Edfou* X/2 (1960), pl. CXX, reg. 2 à partir du bas; S. Aufrère, op. cit., 525 citant partiellement ce document. A noter encore qu'aux lignes 6–7 le roi est "à fumiger la Dame des dieux, à éparpiller la poudre verte étincelante pour la Souveraine des dieux", la colonne de texte latérale dévolue à Hathor précisant qu'elle était apparue dans *Behedet* en "sa belle fête du III. *Shemou*".

[22] *Esna* III, n° 236, p. 99.

[23] Edfou V, 175 (10–11): *r sfsf ɜw ms.w Rᶜ … ḥᶜᶜ ḥtpti.w n mɜɜ.s*.

[24] D. Kurth, "Die Reise der Hathor von Dendera nach Edfu", dans R. Gundlach & M. Rochholz (ed.), *Ägyptische Tempel – Struktur, Funktion und Programm. Akten der ägyptologischen Tempeltagungen in Gosen 1990 und in Mainz 1992*, HÄB 37 (Hildesheim 1994), 211–216. La reconstitution proposée par D. Kurth pour le cycle fête de la "Bonne Réunion" ne tient pas compte de la phase initiale, nettement à distinguer des épisodes postérieurs, nie l'évidence de l'accomplissement de la cérémonie sur le parcours de la déesse, Thèbes entre autres, et relègue en note (p. 216, n. 31) ce qui lui aurait évité de "mettre à mort une vache sacrée", selon sa propre expression (p. 212), bien inutilement!

[25] R.A. Parker, *The Calendars of Ancient Egypt*, SAOC 26 (Chicago 1950), 13.

[26] Sur cette période du cycle agricole, voir W. Guglielmi, *LÄ* I/8 (1975), col. 1271 selon qui les récoltes céréalières les plus tardives se placent en avril/mai du calendrier julien. Quant à la fête d'Ermouthis en Pakhons (I. *Shemou*), H. te Velde, *LÄ* II/1 (1975), col. 3, elle est, dans les faits la présentation des prémices des récoltes de raisins et céréales hâtives.

pour sa part, le moment du changement définitif de cycle et prépare l'année à venir. En rédigeant la notice "Feste" du *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*,[27] H. Altenmüller avait souligné à juste titre que le "périple d'Hathor" en Epiphi marquait une étape importante du renouvellement de la nature et avait déjà opéré un rapprochement très judicieux entre celui-ci et les cérémonies décrites au calendrier d'Esna, faisant des 20–21 Epiphi les journées majeures des rites de "faire verdoyer la campagne".[28]

En effet, au sanctuaire latopolite, le jour 21 du III. *Shemou*/Epiphi est une fête de Nebtou (*ḥb Nbt-ww*), encore nommée "Hathor dame de la Campagne", durant laquelle on avait à:

Šd sš.(w) n swꜣḏ sḫt "réciter l'écrit de faire verdoyer la campagne", composition spécifique qui, même si l'on n'en connaît pas la teneur exacte, devait être le complément obligé de l'ultime cérémonie marquant à Esna, le 20 du mois d'Epiphi, la clôture de la fête de Khnoum-Rê de "prendre la houlette" également considérée, à l'instar de la "fête de *Behedet*" à Edfou, comme panégyrie de "la Victoire" du dieu comportant la visite à la butte des "dieux morts" et l'accomplissement des actes du culte filial. Au terme de cette visite, l'on devait encore:

ỉrt nt-ꜥ n snfr sḫt "accomplir le cérémonial de *parfaire* la campagne".[29] Le terme *snfr* utilisé par le copiste antique est vraisemblablement suspect et doit recouvrir, lui aussi *swꜣḏ* mentionné quelques signes plus loin.

Ce "verdoiement de la campagne" vers la fin de l'année agricole quand les terres brûlent sous un soleil de juin peut surprendre a priori. Cela paraît beaucoup moins étonnant si, comme l'avait suggéré H. Altenmüller, on considère que vers cette fin de saison l'on renouvelait les cérémonies et les rites du III. *Akhet*/Athyr dont le moment central était l'annonce du "verdoiement" (*swꜣḏ*) de la nature avec l'amorce du retrait de la crue.[30]

Ce cérémonial d'Esna est alors à relier directement aux mentions contenues dans deux inscriptions calendériques d'Edfou qui, malgré leur remarquable édition et analyse par M. Alliot,[31] n'ont guère attiré l'attention qu'elles méritent dans le cadre des festivités d'Hathor en Epiphi, avant ou aussitôt après la néomènie.

Le premier passage indique, en relation avec le départ processionnel de la déesse vers Edfou:

---

[27] *LÄ* II/1 (1975), col. 179 établissant la concordance de la fête-*swꜣḏ* de l'Ancien Empire avec la période des fêtes d'Hathor d'Epiphi des époques plus récentes dans laquelle elle est venue s'intercaler.

[28] H. Altenmüller, op. cit., col. 179 n. 144 = Sauneron, *Esna* II, n° 77 (17) = p. 171; *Esna* V, p. 27.

[29] Sauneron, *Esna* V, 26–27 et 377: le 20 Epiphi, jour de la fête de "saisir la houlette", on accomplit une "cérémonie de parfaire la campagne" et ce même jour est considéré comme celui de la "Victoire" de Khnoum-Rê comportant, comme à Edfou pour la "fête de *Behedet*", une visite aux ancêtres divins, les "Gisants", et l'accomplissement des rites de libation et d'offrande par le "dieu-fils".

[30] H. Altenmüller, *LÄ* I/1, col. 175, n. 80 (III. *Akhet*) et 179.

[31] *Edfou* V, 394 (12). Voir note suivante.

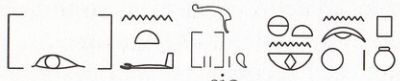
sic

(*Edfou* V, 356 (8))

psḏntiw n ỉbd pn (= III. *Shemou*) ... "A la néomènie de ce mois...."
(*Edfou* V, 357 (1))

ỉr(t) tp.w ꜣḫ r wḏwt nw (Ỉmn-m-ḥꜣt)| "accomplir (le rite) *tp.w ꜣḫ* conformément aux prescriptions royales d'Amenemhat..."

Le second passage, pour sa part, sous l'intitulé général de l'accomplissement des instructions rituelles pour la nouvelle lune du mois d'Epiphi, incluant également la mise en oeuvre du moment initial de la navigation solennelle d'Hathor vers le Sud, reprend l'indication liturgique relative au rite spécifique qui accompagnait l'épisode:



sic

[*ỉrt*] *nt-ᶜ.w* <*nw*> *psḏntiw n ỉbd pn* (III. *Shemou*) "[accomplir] le cérémonial de la néomènie de ce mois..."
(*Ibid.*)

ỉrt tp.w-ꜣḫ "accomplir le rite *tp.w-ꜣḫ*".

Alliot[32] dans sa traduction de ces documents n'a pas commenté cet aspect très particulier de la fête de la "Bonne Réunion", qu'il rendit par: "rites des prémices des champs", son centre d'intérêt, alors, étant avant tout la navigation d'Hathor et d'Horus.

C'est à H. te Velde, à qui ces pages sont dédiées, que l'on doit l'établissement de l'équivalence entre les expressions *tp.w n šm.w* "prémices des récoltes" et *tp.w ꜣḫ* "prémices des champs".[33] Sa perspicacité s'avère par là un guide pour un nouvel examen sur le fond de l'enchaînement correct des épisodes qui marquent l'ouverture du cérémonial de la "Bonne Réunion" à partir de la Nouvelle Lune d'Epiphi, à Edfou comme à Dendara, et au soir du 20 du mois à Esna avec l'apogée du 21 et la "fête d'Hathor-Nebtou". On ne peut, en effet, comme cela a été fait, tout amalgamer en un lieu, en un temps, bref, en un jour selon une règle imaginaire des "Unités". Alliot a parfaitement établi que la date de la néomènie est *fictive* et que, quatre jours auparavant, la remontée au Sud du cortège sacré d'Hathor avait déjà commencé.[34] En gros, avec les étapes d'arrêt à Thèbes – halte qu'on ne peut nier puisque le calendrier du temple de Mout en porte directement témoignage, à Esna/Kômir *Per-Meret*, de

[32] Alliot, *Culte d'Horus* I, 213 = *Edfou* V, 394 (12); 234 = V, 357 (1) et 297–299; pp. 248 et 298, l'A. traitant du calendrier des fêtes d'Hathor à Dendara indique seulement que la "fête des prémices" était célébrée également au temple tentyrite, mais sans plus de précisions. L'édition des textes de Dendara encore incomplète ne permet ni infirmation ni confirmation précise.

[33] H. te Velde, "Erntezeremonien", dans *LÄ* II/1 (1975), col. 1 et nn. 2–3; depuis, *AL* I, 415 (77.4773).

[34] Alliot, *Culte d'Horus* I, 298–299.

même qu'à El-Kab/Hiérakonpolis *Nekhen*, le temps qui s'écoule recouvre une durée de quatorze à dix-huit jours!

On a vu avec les deux mentions de Dendara utilisées plus haut[35] que la néomènie d'Epiphi marque indubitablement la première étape de ce qui est un *cycle*, celui de la "Bonne Réunion", mais que le jour précis qui caractérise le début de celui-ci recevait un nom spécifique: "jour de «Elle est ramenée»". C'est donc à la rubrique des rites à mettre en oeuvre lors de cette phase initiale qu'il faut rapporter l'accomplissement de la présentation des "prémices des champs" en exécutant le rituel de "faire verdoyer la campagne" assorti de la lecture de ses écrits spécifiques.

En outre, comme on va le voir, c'est aussi à ce moment précis qu'il faut accomplir les gestes d'accueil pour Hathor, à la fois "l'Or" et "la Verdoyante", celle qui est "Ramenée", pour qui l'officiant doit parsemer la voie processionnelle sur laquelle elle s'avance de poudre verte mêlée de paillettes dorées.

Un détail très important doit être maintenant souligné; dans la plupart des sources, même à Edfou, les informations sont dispersées, éparses, souvent incomplètes ou tronquées. Cependant, au temple d'Horus Behedety, tout se concentre en un espace précis, sacral, qui est la Cour Péristyle du Sud vouée aux rassemblements des fêtes et, tout particulièrement, de la "Bonne Réunion".

Sur l'épaisseur du montant droit (sud) de la porte ouest du passage sud-est de cette cour, au quatrième registre (à partir du bas, Fig. 2), prend place un tableau intitulé: "La vénération de cette déesse",[36] dans lequel l'officiant royal prononce pour "Hathor en sa fête d'Epiphi" les paroles d'accueil qui suivent:

"Bienvenue, bienvenue, Hathor de Dendara!
Bienvenue à Edfou-*Outjeset* au III. du mois de *Shemou*, en la néomènie!
Tu viens et le Grand-Siège-de-Rê t'accueille!
Rê-Harakhtès, son effigie sacrée jubile à ta vue!"

Malgré la mutilation du reste de la scène,[37] cette réception joyeuse s'accompagnait sans équivoque d'une danse exécutée par deux figurants sacrés à tête humaine et un troisième, en haut, à masque de singe en qui l'on reconnaît sans peine l'auxiliaire obligé du retour de la Lointaine, Shou/Onouris/Thoth;[38] sa présence avec référence au sud, géographique et liturgique, est parfaitement logique et justifiée dans ce contexte.

Sur l'épaisseur du montant gauche (nord), également au quatrième registre (Fig. 2), répond de manière strictement parallèle un second hommage, accompagné de la danse de circonstance pour la déesse. Il semble que le "singe" soit, cette fois, absent du

---

[35] *Supra*, p. 89, n. 20; *Dendara* V, 5 (18): sic *ibd 3* (*ḫmt*) *šmw* (*s*)*sw ỉn.tw.s*; V, 16 (11) *psḏntỉw* (*s*)*sw ỉn.tw.s*. Même équivalence à *Edfou* V, 336 (11–12) *ibd 3* (*ḫmt*) *šmw psḏntỉw ỉn.tw.s*. C'est d'ailleurs pourquoi à Esna ce jour est voué à Hathor-Nebtou.

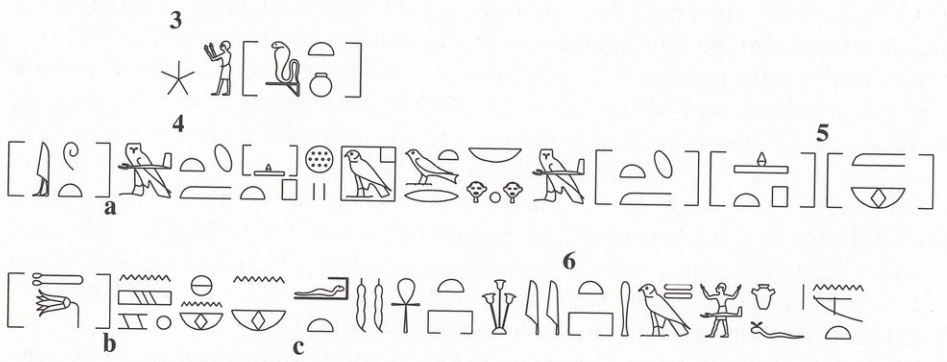
[36] *Edfou* V, 370 (10sq.)–371 (1–9) = *Edfou* X/2, pl. CXLI : [11]*dwꜣ nṯr.t tn: ỉy.tỉ m ḥtp sp 2* (*sn-nw*) *Ḥwt-Ḥr wr.t nb.t Ỉwnt, ỉy.tỉ m ḥtp* [12]*r Wṯst m ibd 3* (*ḫmt*) *Šmw psḏntỉw; ỉw.ṯ šsp t*(*n*) *St-wr.t* [13]*n Rᶜ; Rᶜ-ḥr-ꜣḫty tfn sḫm.f n mꜣꜥ.ṯ*.

[37] Chassinat, *Edfou* V, 371: "Danseurs": un *singe* (en haut) et deux hommes dansant devant la déesse; ils ont été fortement martelés et il ne reste plus que quelques signes de l'inscription qui accompagnait le premier ... *ḥb n Wr.t* ... "Danser pour l'Imposante...". Voir *Edfou* X/2, pl. CXLI droite haut = fig. 2.

[38] H. Junker, *Die Onurislegende*, DÖAW 59:1–2 (Vienne 1917), 68–80 en particulier et 113sq.; *Der Auszug der Hathor-Tefnut aus Nubien*, APAW 1911 (Berlin 1911), 37sq.; H. te Velde, "Schu" dans *LÄ* V/5 (1984), col. 735–737; *JEOL* 27 (1981–1982), 23–28.

tableau, remplacé par un danseur à tête humaine, étant donné qu'en toute logique son action médiatrice est terminée, la déesse ayant atteint le "nord", c'est à dire le terme de son retour des contrées méridionales de Nubie. La scène, hélas, est encore plus saccagée que la précédente mais, en raison du strict parallèlisme entre les rédactions qui se font face, le texte hymnique mis dans la bouche royale pour accueillir la Lointaine peut être rétabli correctement.[39]

On lit ainsi:



(a) ou **(b)** ou **(c)** la place est insuffisante pour la mention du quantième du mois.

"[3]Vénérer [cette déesse]:
[Tu es venue!] Viens[4] en paix, en paix, Hathor l'imposante, dame de Dendara! Viens [en paix][5] [en ta belle fête] de *Shemou* à la néomènie, lors de la fête de ton entrée à Edfou-*Nedjemet-ânkh* (Celle-qui-est-agréable-à-vivre), le refuge[6] de la majesté d'Harakhtès, quand son cœur jubile de l'amour de toi!"

Cette scène est inséparable de la consécration de la poudre verte et des paillettes d'or qui se place immédiatement au-dessous, occupant le troisième registre de l'épaisseur du même montant gauche.[40] Devant la Lointaine "Ramenée", le liturgiste projette les ingrédients rituels vert et or en disant:

"[7]J'ai pris la coupelle, je la saisis dans ma main gauche, je provoque une inondation (*bʿḥw*) d'or ainsi que [8] de couleur verte, je parsème pour toi l'or, j'éparpille pour toi la poudre verte étincelante et la terre tout entière étincelle de ta radiance!"

Tandis que s'accomplit, autour de l'effigie sainte d'Hathor, le geste qui fait miroiter les paillettes reflétant l'éclat solaire au sein de l'irisation verte, les danseurs, encore eux et toujours par trois, sans figurant à face simiesque, exaltent l'Imposante.[41]

Comment, dès lors, s'articulent ces épisodes de saltation et de récitation d'hymnes avec leurs corollaires qui sont, d'une part, la projection de poudres couleur de lumière

---

[39] *Edfou* V, 374 (3–14) : [3]*dwꜣ* [*nṯr.t tn*] : [*iy.ti* (ou *iw.ṯ*)] *mi.* [4]*ṯ m ḥtp sp 2* (*sn-nw*) *Ḥwt-Ḥr wr.t nb.t Ỉwnt; mi.*[*ṯ m ḥtp*] [5] [*m ḥb.ṯ nfr*] *n Šmw psḏntiw n* (=*m*) *ʿḳ.ṯ nḏmt-ʿnḫ, ḥꜣyt ḥm Rʿ-Ḥr-ꜣḫty ḥʿ ib.f n mrwt.ṯ.* La légende en partie détruite des danseurs comportait également la mention [illegible] *ḫb* (*n*) *Wr.t*... "Danser pour l'Imposante...".

[40] *Edfou* V, 373 (6sq.) = *Edfou* X/2, pl. CXLI gauche (Fig. 2), évoqué *supra* p. 87 et nn. 6–7: [6]*ḫrp nwb ṯḥn.t -- ḏd-mdw:* "[7] *Šsp.n.i ʿ ḥfʿ.n.i s*(*w*) *m ỉꜣb.i bʿḥ.*(*i*) *m nwb ḥnʿ* [8]*ṯḥn.t sti.*(*i*) *n.ṯ nwb, ṯtf.i n.ṯ ṯḥn.t ṯḥn tꜣ ḏr.f* <*m*> *ꜣḥ.w.ṯ*".

[41] *Edfou* V, 373 (13) : [1] [illegible] [2] *ihb* [3] *ḫb.*

et de verdoiement de la campagne et, d'autre part, l'offrande couplée, ainsi qu'on l'a vu,[42] d'orge et de blé?

La solution est, au fond, très simple et elle est donnée tout au long à Esna par les divers tableaux de la danse du roi-Shou devant Menhyt-Sekhmet-Hathor-Nebtou. Deux versions étroitement parallèles pour le début de leur formulaire, l'une étant seulement plus développée que l'autre, peuvent être mises en relation directe avec la célébration de la fête "Elle est ramenée" dans laquelle le roi danseur se substitue à Onouris-Shou, agent indispensable du retour de la Lointaine et, plus encore, de la Crue. En lisant les écrits de "faire verdoyer la Campagne", en exécutant la danse d'accueil des 20–21 Epiphi – la théorique néomènie – l'on célèbre l'annonce favorable de ce qui, environ un mois et demi et cinq jours plus tard, interviendra avec le gonflement du fleuve et l'arrivée du flot rouge de la crue nubienne.

A *Esna* III, n° 380 et VI/1, n° 520, la danse royale s'accompagne d'un superbe chant de liesse, bien plus vivant et riche que les "Vénérations" d'Edfou mais, comme elles, apparenté aux formules de l'*Apaisement de la Puissante*, Sekhmet:

> "Quel beau jour! Les dieux sont en fête, les hommes en joie, tout humain est dans l'allégresse! L'eau se renouvellera en son temps, s'élevant hors de replis de *Mehen*! Comme il est beau de danser pour son (Menhyt-Hathor) *Ka*, car son divin corps est muni de sa splendeur et (dieux et hommes) sortent pour elle dans l'inauguration de la fête!"[43]

Le texte plus précis d'*Esna* III, n° 380 ajoute alors,[44] avant ce qui forme la clausule finale du chant de liesse rendu par *Esna* VI séparément de la figuration de la danse, un long paragraphe où l'on peut lire:

> "La terre arable fleurit de la verdure de la Dame de la Campagne, la parfaite, et tout vient à l'existence, (car) elle a nourri toutes les éclosions à partir d'elle-même..."

La suite de l'hymne montre encore qu'en cette circonstance tout était joie intense, parfums de fleurs et verdures tressées en couronne.[45] Tandis qu'on dansait, exultait, priait avec ferveur pour Menhyt "Dame de la terre arable", la hantise de la terreur qui régnerait si la crue ne revenait pas "en son temps" s'évanouissait, elle était conjurée car, aux dires mêmes de la fin du texte, on repoussait par là "tout évènement néfaste de la dualité du cycle"; en effet, en ce temps précis de l'année, la déesse révérée plus que toute autre manifestation féminine du Divin: "c'est l'Œil-de-Rê qui a illuminé le Double-Pays par (la révélation) de sa face."[46]

Une certitude s'impose d'elle-même au sortir de l'examen de ces documents: lorsqu'on danse et chante pour Hathor "en tous ses noms" (Sekhmet, Menhyt, Nebtou, Mout, etc.), c'est un principe de fertilité rénovée que l'on invoque. Que ce soit à Esna en donnant à l'arrivée de ce principe le nom de "fête parfaite d'entrer dans la

---

[42] *Supra*, p. 88 et liste des attestations.

[43] *Esna* III, n° 380 = pp. 354–355; VI/1, n° 520 = pp. 130–131; texte de VI/1, n° 520: *Wrḥ n Mnḥyt Nb.t-ww ỉn sꜣ Rᶜ – Rꜣ.w n sḫtp ḥm.t.s. Ḏd-mdw: "hrw nfr, nṯr.w m ḥb, rmṯ m ršwt, ḫr-nb m ḥy-ḥnw. Mw mꜣw.f <r> tr.f ḳꜣy m-ḳꜣb Mḥn. Nfr.wy Kꜣ.s, ḫt.s ʿpr m nfr.s pr.w* (= *.sn*) *n.s m wp(t)-ḥb*". Pour la scène figurée qui correspond, voir *Esna* III, n° 382 = pp. 358–360.

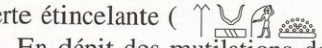
[44] *Esna* III, n° 380 = p. 354, col. 26: *wbs ww m wꜣḏ.w nb.t sḫt nfrt; ḫpr (i)ḫt nb(t) rr.n.s pr.w nb.w ỉm.s.*

[45] Ibid., p. 355, col. 27 *tꜣ.n n.s mꜣḥ n ḫrr* "Nous tressons pour elle la couronne de fleurs".

[46] Ibid., p. 355, col. 28: *ḫsr.tw (i)ḫt nb(t) ḏw nw tr.wy; dwꜣ.wy s*(y) *m-mᶜ nṯr.w.t, ʾIrt-Rᶜ pw wbg.n.s tꜣ.wy m ḫr.s.* Mout (Hathor-Sekhmet) "Œil-de-Rê", H. te Velde, *JEOL* 26 (1979–1980), 3–9, 7 en particulier.

Campagne"[47] ou, comme à Edfou et Dendara, de "jour où «Elle-est-ramenée»", ou sans dénomination particulière au temple de Mout de l'Asherou, l'idée sous-jacente est identique. La force divine qui "revient" constitue l'annonce de la future verdure qui succèdera inéluctablement aux chaumes dorés des moissons achevées de Mesorê.

Utilisons encore les richesses d'Esna dans le même contexte pour lequel le n° 236, en une combinaison neuve de la plupart des éléments d'information déjà rencontrés à *Edfou* (V, 175), associe une fumigation de résine de térébinthe à un éparpillement de poudre verte pailletée sur "le chemin de cette déesse".[48] Qui désigne-t-on ainsi? La réponse est: Menhyt-Tefnout-Sekhmet "revenant de Nubie-*Keneset* et parvenant à Esna" dont le *Ka* lénifié par la danse et le chant de Shou/le Roi a pris la nature de Nebtou.

Le souverain jouant le rôle du pacificateur de la Furieuse et Lointaine chasse par son action liturgique, fumiger, saupoudrer le sol, les séquelles de sa fureur, il en écarte tout risque. Il est, de ce fait, "celui qui fait l'encensement pour sa mère, qui fumige les sanctuaires grâce au parfum qui est sien, en éloignant les tourments du cœur de Celle-ci"; il épanouit encore le cœur de sa "mère" divine "en parsemant la poudre verte étincelante ( *m wpš ṯḥn.t*)".[49]

En dépit des mutilations de la scène figurée où paraissent ces légendes, derrière Menhyt à tête de lionne se dresse Nebtou (avec l'apparence de Neith), contrepartie de la double nature (les "deux cycles" (*tr.wy*) rencontrés plus haut), celle qui compense selon Maât la fureur ardente l'Œil-de-Rê. Il est regrettable que la colonne latérale de texte (*Randzeile*) qui complétait les deux figures soit presque totalement détruite; il en reste cependant assez pour y lire sans ambiguïté l'explication de l'emploi de la poudre verte étincelante *ṯḥn.t* au côté de l'or dans les cérémonies de la néomènie d'Epiphi. La déesse en son double aspect est, en effet, définie là comme celle qui:

wn.n.s pt m ṯḥn.t ... wpš.n.s tɜ m ṯḥn.t

"quand elle a ouvert le ciel en un étincellement de lumière a parsemé la terre de poudre verte étincelante."[50]

La substance verte qui est répandue en pluie sur la terre est aussi ce qui doit faire "verdir la campagne" parce que, dans le même temps, l'on est en mesure de présenter les preuves du succès du bon accomplissement des rites dans le cycle précédent: les "prémices des champs (*tp.w ɜḫ*)" constitués d'épis mûrs de céréales.

A Edfou, dans l'illustration des évènements du début des cérémonies de la néomènie d'Epiphi, cet acte ultime est traduit par l'image doublée du souverain élevant vers Hathor trois épis de céréales dans chacune de ses mains. Les deux scènes qui se répondent au sud et au nord ne se placent pas, cette fois, dans les épaisseurs des montants de la porte ouest comme les hymnes d'accueil royal, les danses, la consécration de l'or et de la poudre-*ṯḥn.t* de la phase initiale de l'arrivée, mais au registre inférieur

---

[47] *Esna* III, n° 382 (8), p. 360 : *ḥb.s nfr n ʿḳ sḫt.*

[48] *Esna* III, n° 236 = pp. 99–102 ; 236 (1–2, p. 99): *ỉr.t snṯr, wpš ṯḥn.t ḥr ḥɜt nṯr.t tn*; 236 (8–11, p. 100): *Mnḥyt ... Tfnwt ... ỉy m Knst, spr r ʾỉwnyt ... shr kɜ.s m Nb.t-ww.*

[49] Ibid., 236 (7, p. 100): le roi *ỉr snṯr n mwt.f, kɜp sḫm.w m stỉ.f, rwỉ gnwt ḥr ỉb.s, ɜw ỉb.s m wpš ṯḥn.t...*

[50] Ibid., 236 (19, p. 102).

(Fig.3, reg. 1 bas) de la face intérieure de cette même porte au passage sud-est.[51] Et c'est pour Horus d'Edfou que le rite est accompli.

Ainsi, lors des célébrations d'ouverture de la Nouvelle Lune du III. *Shemou*, à Thèbes comme à Esna ou Edfou, le gonflement des céréales nouvelles, sorties de leur viridité, est l'aboutissement du triomphe de l'arrivée de la déesse dans son nuage poudroyant de lumière et d'éclat vert, en quoi se mêlent l'or annonciateur des épis mûrs et lourds de la moisson et les verdures d'une saison à venir. Un cycle est achevé, un autre s'annonce avec les paroles prophétiques que le Roi d'Egypte avait à prononcer solennellement:

"Ermouthis est revenue, elle qui s'était éloignée vers la Nubie-*Keneset* et j'apporte les récoltes (des champs) vers tes (Horus) greniers...".[52]

[51] Montant droit sud: *Edfou* V, 376 (4); montant gauche nord: *Edfou* V, 379 (16)–380 (1–10); *Edfou* X/2, pl. CXLII = Fig. 3.

[52] *Edfou* V, 380 (2–3): ^{2}*iy.n Rnnwtt* ^{3}*ḥr.ti r Knst ... fꜣ.i šm.w.sn* (*ww nb* ligne 2) *r* [*šnwt.k*] et voir *Edfou* V, 376 (9) pour cette restitution.

FIGURE 1

d'après Sauneron, *Mout*, pl. IX, 6

41 42

FIGURE 2
d'après *Edfou* X/2, pl. CXLI

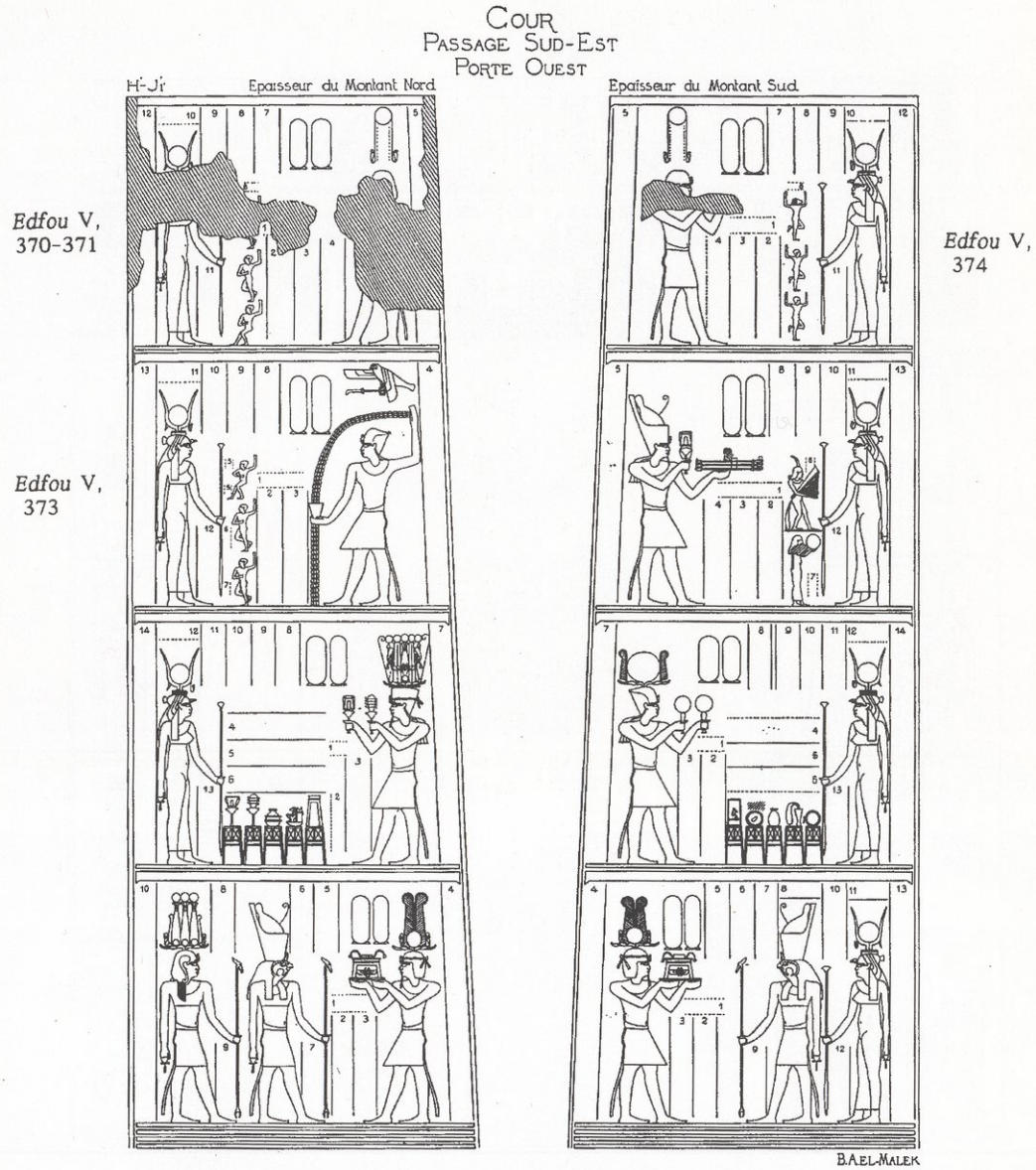
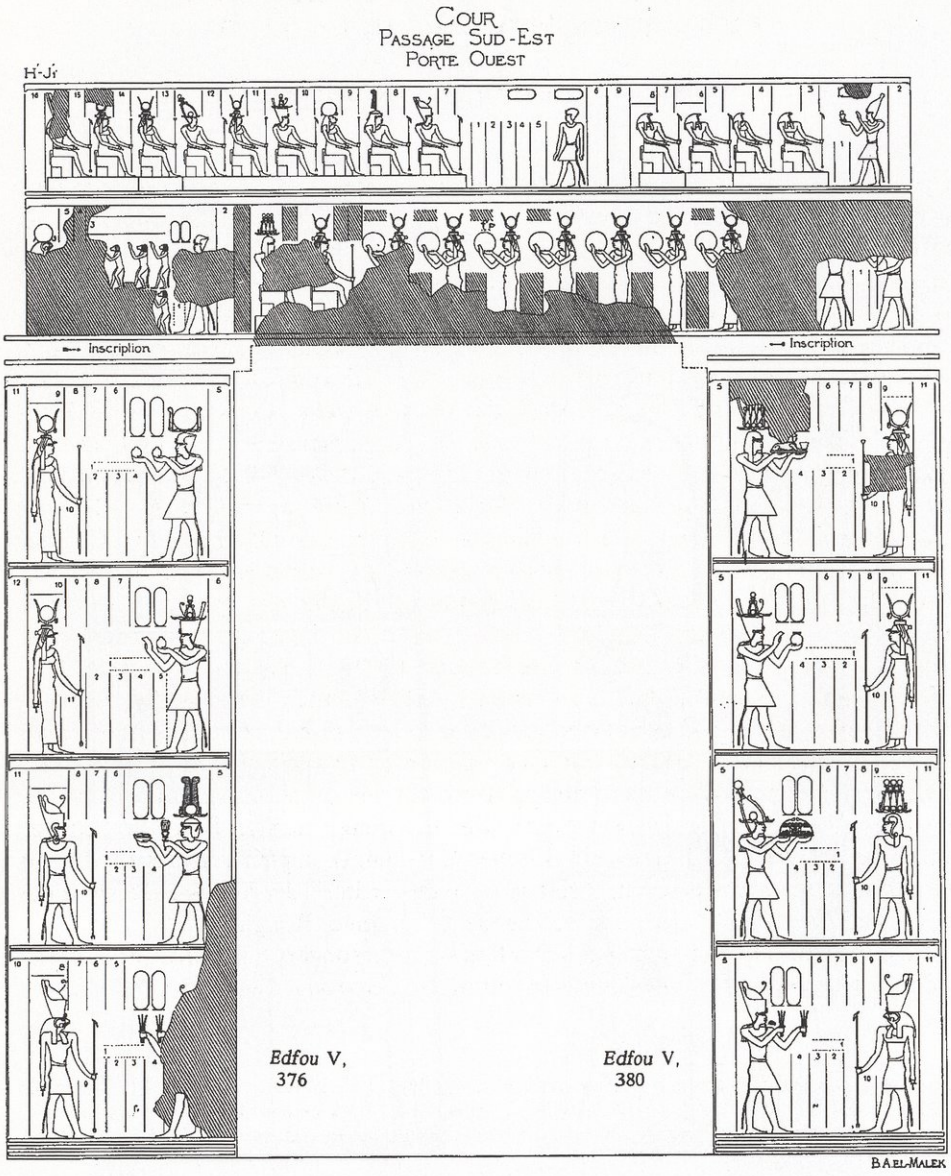


FIGURE 3
d'après *Edfou* X/2, pl. CXLII



Die Eingangssprüche des Täglichen Tempelrituals nach Papyrus Berlin 3055 (I, 1 – VI, 3)

Waltraud Guglielmi und Knut Buroh

Es gehört zu den Besonderheiten der ägyptischen Religion, daß klare Aussagen über das Verhältnis des Gottes zu seinem Kultbild vorliegen. Die Auswertung dieses für den Religionswissenschaftler erfreulichen Befundes wird dadurch etwas eingeschränkt, daß sich die meisten Texte einer rein mechanistischen Terminologie bedienen, sie aus der Spätzeit und griechisch-römischen Zeit stammen und die wenigen zusammenhängenden Ritualtexte des Neuen Reiches zwar bekannt und übersetzt sind, aber eine neuere Zusammenstellung des Materials fehlt. Obwohl es sich um ein zentrales Gebiet ägyptischer Religion handelt, das die klassische Antike und die jüdisch-christliche Tradition faszinierte und das auch der ausgearbeiteten Kritik am Götterbild zugrunde liegt,[1] ist das Ziel unseres Beitrags ein bescheidenes: Für den eingeschränkten Bereich des Kultbildrituals, wie es aus dem Neuen Reich überliefert ist, sollen die Eingangssprüche der Berliner Papyri mit den Varianten, vor allem aus den Tempeln von Abydos und Karnak, zusammengestellt werden, um eine zuverlässigere Textbasis zu schaffen, die die Herkunft und Überlieferungsgeschichte der Sprüche klären hilft und einen Einstieg in das komplexe, aus verschiedenen Quellen zusammengesetzte Ritual ermöglicht.[2] Sie soll die 1902 erschienene, bislang nicht ersetzte Ausgabe von A. Moret von einigen Versehen der Umschrift und Irrtümern befreien, die wieder in neuere Übersetzungen und Deutungen verschleppt worden sind, obwohl der hieratische Text zuverlässig von G. Möller ediert ist.[3] Inwieweit das Ritual insgesamt aus verschiedenen "Versatzstücken" zusammengesetzt und wie diese Kompilation zu werten ist, soll einer späteren formgeschichtlichen Untersuchung von Knut Buroh vorbehalten sein. Unter "Ritual" wird hier ein kultischer Handlungskomplex verstanden, der aus einem bestimmten Anlaß durchgeführt wird, unter "Ritus" der kleinste Baustein des Rituals und unter "Kult" das gesamte rituelle Leben einer Religion.[4]

Da die ägyptische Religion eine Kultreligion und besonders bildverhaftet ist, liegen vom Alten Reich an bis zum Demotischen und Griechischen zahlreiche schriftliche

---

[1] B. Gladigow, "Zur Konkurrenz von Bild und Namen im Aufbau theistischer Systeme", in H. Brunner, R. Kannicht, K. Schwager (Hrsg.), *Wort und Bild, Symposion des Fachbereichs Altertums- und Kulturwissenschaften zum 500jährigen Jubiläum der Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen 1977* (München 1979), 103–122; ders., "Epiphanie, Statuette, Kultbild", *Visible Religion* 7 (1990), 98–121; Peter Eschweiler, *Bildzauber im alten Ägypten*, OBO 137 (Freiburg/Göttingen 1994), 299ff.

[2] Die vorliegende Synopse und hieroglyphische Umschrift stammen von Knut Buroh, der einleitende Text, die Übersetzung und Bearbeitung von Waltraud Guglielmi. Den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin danken wir für die Überlassung der Fotografien.

[3] G. Möller, *Hieratische Papyrus aus den königl. Museen zu Berlin* I (Berlin 1896); A. Moret, *Le Rituel du culte divin journalier en Egypte* (Paris 1902); vgl. K. Kausen, in *TUAT* II (1988), 391–405; K. Koch, *Geschichte der ägyptischen Religion* (Stuttgart/Berlin/Köln 1993), 292–294.

[4] S.B. Lang, in H. Cancik, B. Gladigow, K.-H. Kohl (Hrsg.), *Handbuch religionswissenschaftlicher Grundbegriffe* III (Stuttgart/Berlin/Köln 1993), 475.

Inventare von Kultbildern vor.[5] Auf die äußere Form von Kultbildern, die vor allem auf den Naoi in der Spätzeit und auf Tempelwänden der griech.-röm. Zeit knapp und prosaisch beschrieben wird, kann hier nur summarisch eingegangen werden. Nach den beigefügten Maß-, Material- und Herstellungsangaben sind die Statuen zumeist eine bis zwei Ellen hoch, also relativ klein,[6] und aus Gold, anderen Metallen oder aus Holz mit verschiedenem Überzug und Einlagen aus kostbaren Steinen hergestellt;[7] auf eine zu vermutende symbolische Ausdeutung der Materialien gehen die Texte nicht ein. Die gelegentliche Beschreibung ihrer Ikonographie ist ebenfalls sehr kurz und prosaisch und zählt nur äußerliche Merkmale auf.[8] Die Vorläufer dieser Texte entstammen dem magischen und funerären Kontext, wo sie als Anweisungen für den Vorlesepriester, Arzt und Zauberer in der magischen Praxis dienten. Die Vorstellung, daß der Mensch über das Kultbild verfügen und es für die Kommunikation mit dem Göttlichen instrumentalisieren kann, spielt auch im Kultbildritual eine Rolle.[9]

Die Herstellung von Statuen im "Goldhaus" des Tempels durch die Handwerker und die dabei einzuhaltenden Vorsichtsmaßnahmen bei den Konsekrations- und Belebungsakten sind aus den Inschriften des Goldhauses in Dendera bekannt.[10] Auch sie berühren inhaltlich das Kultbildritual, wenn der Große Wab und andere Priester nach der Herstellung durch die Handwerker, die ja Hand an das Bild angelegt haben und die "nicht beim Gott eingeführt sind" (*n bs=sn ḥr nṯr*),[11] die Zeremonien überwachen und einen möglichen "Zorn" oder eine "Irritation" (*nšnj*)[12] des Gottes auszuschließen versuchen, indem sie darauf achten, daß der Vorgang vorschriftsgemäß durchgeführt wird und keine "große Menge" Menschen zugegen ist.

Leider kann hier der bedeutsame Akt der "Einwohnung" der Götter in ihren Kultstatuen nicht näher ausgeführt werden. Der Begriff selbst wurde von Hermann Junker[13] geprägt und meint die Vereinigung des fernen Gottes mit seinem Kultbild, die in der ägyptischen Terminologie sehr verschieden ausgedrückt wird. Neben den Texten des Neuen Reiches wie dem Leidener Amunshymnus I 350 IV, 16f., Anii VII, 16,[14] und den Unterweltsbüchern wird die "Einwohnung" vor allem in den Texten der

---

[5] S. die Zusammenstellung der zahlreichen Dendera-Belege und die Angabe früherer Inventare einschließlich der Königsstatuen mit reichhaltiger Bibliographie bei S. Cauville, "Les statues cultuelles de Dendera d'après les inscriptions pariétales", *BIFAO* 87 (1987), 73–117 mit Anm. 1–3; C.M. Zivie-Coche, *Giza au Premier Millénaire. Autour du temple d'Isis dame des Pyramides* (Boston 1991), 226–233.

[6] Die relative Kleinheit der Kultbilder scheint gemeinmediterraner Usus gewesen zu sein, s. B. Gladigow, "Gottesvorstellungen", in *Handbuch religionswissenschaftlicher Grundbegriffe* III, 41.

[7] Kürze weisen auch die Beischriften zur zentralen Szene des Opet-Tempels auf, s. C. de Wit, *Les inscriptions du temple d'Opet, à Karnak* I, BiAe XI (Brüssel 1958), 118–120, Tf. 4; vgl. W. Guglielmi, "Die Biergöttin Menket", in M. Minas und J. Zeidler (Hrsg.), *Aspekte spätägyptischer Kultur* [Fs Winter], Aeg. Trev. 7 (Mainz 1994), 126.

[8] Zumindest bei den aus dem 4. Jh. v. Chr. stammenden Papyri, s. S. Cauville, "Un inventaire de temple: Les papyrus Berlin 10.472 A et 14.400", *ZÄS* 122 (1995), 38–61; zu den Vorläufern solcher Beschreibungen in den Instruktionen für den Priester/Magier in den magischen Papyri und Nachschriften funerärer Texte, s. Eschweiler, *Bildzauber*, 20ff.

[9] Spruch 14, 15.

[10] F. Daumas, "Quelques textes de l'atelier des orfèvres dans le temple de Dendara", in *Livre du Centenaire*, MIFAO 104 (Le Caire 1980), 109–118; Ph. Derchain, *CdE* 65 (1990), 219–242.

[11] Dendara VIII, 131, 1.

[12] Daumas, a.a.O., 115, Dendara VIII, 131, 11f.

[13] H. Junker, *Die Stundenwachen in den Osirismysterien*, 6f., spricht von "Einwohnen"; Morenz, *Religion*, 93, 158f. ("Einwohnung").

[14] Assmann, *ÄHG*, Nr. 138, 13–19; J. Zandee, *Der Amunhymnus des Papyrus Leiden I 344, Verso*, CNMAL

griechisch-römischen Tempel thematisiert:[15] Die Statue (*twt, ʿḥm, sḫm, bs, qd* u.a.) oder auch das in die Wand gemeißelte und bemalte Relief des Gottes wird als sein Leib betrachtet, der dem Gott ähnlich (*twt*) ist. In ihn tritt die Gottheit ein (*ʿq*),[16] mit ihm vereinigt sich die Gottheit, zumeist als Ba-Seele, indem sie vom Himmel "herabsteigt" (*ḥȝj*), "-fliegt" (*ʿpj*) oder "-schwebt" (*ḫnj*) und sich mit ihm "vereinigt" (*snsn, smȝ, sḫn*) oder "in ihm ruht", "mit ihm zufrieden ist" (*ḥtp m*). Die Einwohnung ist nicht auf die eigentlichen Götter beschränkt, sondern umfaßt auch Schutz- und Botengötter in deren Gefolge.[17] Das Motiv der Ba-Vereinigung dürfte dem Totenglauben entstammen.[18]

Ob das Tägliche Tempelritual zu den sogenannten Kernritualen gehört, in denen bestimmte innere, treibende Motive des Kultes besonders deutlich hervortreten, ist zu bezweifeln, weil es im Grunde lediglich ein Bekleidungs- und Reinigungsritual mit zahlreichen als "Sprachopfer" und "Handlung" zu deutenden Rezitationen darstellt,[19] bei dem außer dem bevollmächtigten Priester keine weiteren Teilnehmer zugegen sind. Im Unterschied zum Begräbnis- und Mundöffnungsritual, dem übrigens zahlreiche Reinigungs- und Räuchersprüche im folgenden Teil entstammen, ist es rein operativ und scheint mir eher vom Vorbild des königlichen Zeremoniells geprägt – soweit die wenigen überlieferten Quellen für das königliche "Morgenhaus" eine solche Vermutung erlauben.[20] Denn das Kultbildritual wird weder von der Idee der Vergegenwärtigung göttlichen Handelns beherrscht noch vom Opfergedanken, sondern zeigt in seinen eigentümlichen Teilen eine magieartige, "technologische" Auffassung. Freilich unterliegt in der Regel die Ausdeutung der Kultakte und -gegenstände einer deutlichen Tendenz zur "Osirianisierung", gleichgültig vor welcher Gottheit sie – etwa in Abydos – vorgenommen werden.[21] Die eingeschobenen Hymnen hingegen dürften ihren "Sitz im Leben" im Kult gehabt haben; jedoch werden sie zumeist nicht für das "Kultbildritual" verfaßt worden sein, sondern auf spezifischeren Quellen, etwa Festliedern, beruhen.

Voraussetzung für den Kontakt mit der Gottheit ist die Vorstellung, diese hätte

---

7 (Leiden 1992), 733–740; J. Quack, *Die Lehren des Ani*, OBO 141 (Freiburg/Göttingen 1994), 175f.

15 Belege aus Edfu, Esna und Dendera: Morenz, *Religion*, 159–161; J. Assmann, *Ägypten: Theologie und Frömmigkeit*, 50–58: "Descensio – ägyptische Theorien des Kultbilds"; Eschweiler, *Bildzauber*, 287ff.; C. Traunecker, "De l'hiérophanie au temple", in U. Verhoeven und E. Graefe (Hrsg.), *Religion und Philosophie im alten Ägypten* [Fs Derchain], OLA 39 (Louvain 1991), 310, 312–315; D. van der Plas, " 'Voir' Dieu", *BSFE* 115 (1989), 24, nennt sie "LAT" (Living Apart Together)-Relation.

16 Denkmal memphitischer Theologie Z. 60f.: "So traten die Götter ein in ihren Leib aus allerlei Holz, allerlei Mineral, allerlei Ton; jedes Ding, das auf ihm wächst, darein haben sie sich transformiert." Der "Leib" des "Weltgottes" ist hier die "Erde", nicht das Kultbild; s. H. Buchberger, *Sargtextstudien* I: *Transformation und Transformat*, ÄgAbh 52 (Wiesbaden 1993), 581.

17 J.-C. Goyon, *Les Dieux-gardiens et la genèse des temples* I, BdE 93 (Kairo 1985), 498f.

18 So Assmann, a.a.O., 53ff.; bes. 64 (40–41).

19 Assmann, *Ma'at. Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im alten Ägypten* (München 1990), 192f.

20 S. H. Kees, *RT* 36 (1914), 1–16; B. Altenmüller-Kesting, *Reinigungsriten im ägyptischen Kult* (Hamburg 1968), 150–175; vgl. die ramessidische Biographie des Nefersecheru, der als "Schreiber der Speisetafel" ebenfalls besondere Reinheitsvorschriften für seine Tätigkeit im inneren Wohnpalast zu beachten hatte; er mußte *wʿb* und auch "eingeführt" (*bs*) sein, s. J. Osing, *Das Grab des Nefersecheru in Zawyet Sultan*, AVDAIK 88 (Mainz 1992), 46f.; J.-C. Goyon, *Confirmation du pouvoir royal au nouvel an (Brooklyn Museum Papyrus 47.218.50)*, BdE 52 (Kairo 1972), 20, 54, 85 n. 15 (I, 7); vgl. S. Schott, *Die Reinigung Pharaos in einem memphitischen Tempel (Berlin P 13242)*, NAWG 1957:3 (Göttingen 1958), 45ff.

21 Bereits Gardiner, in A.M. Calverley, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos* I, vii, fiel diese Tendenz auf, s. J.G. Griffiths, "The Horus-Seth Motif in the Daily Temple Liturgy", *Aegyptus* 38 (1958), 3.

einen Körper, der grundsätzlich dem eines Menschen vergleichbar ist. Die Vorstellung einer ganz konkreten Körperlichkeit ist weiterhin die Basis für Reaktionen, die Offiziant und Gott verbinden, so hat das Kultbild wie der Priester Angst und muß geschützt werden;[22] es zeigt Emotionen im sozialen Kontext wie Zorn (*nšnj*).[23] Nicht nur die Macht der Gottheit ist ambivalent, sondern wegen der Verfügbarkeit des Kultbildes auch die Akte des Offizianten. Er muß sich des von Gott ausgehenden Bösen gegenwärtig sein und umgekehrt der Gott sich der Manipulationen des Offizianten. Auffallend sind beim Kontakt mit der Gottheit die Zutritts- oder Einlaßbeteuerungen des Offizianten, d.h. solche seiner Legitimation und Reinheit sowie Versicherungen, daß er seine Macht nicht mißbrauche. Sie ähneln denjenigen, mit denen der Magier mit der Gottheit kontaktiert.[24]

Die Einwohnung selbst ist im Amunritual nur indirekt beschrieben, sie wird wohl vorausgesetzt; im Grunde wird von der Identität von Bild und Gottheit ausgegangen. Im Abydenischen Ritual antworten sogar die Götter mittels Götterreden; diese Texte werden hier ausgelassen. Zur Identität von Gott und Kultbild passen auch die Aussagen, die von der Macht und dem Schrecken des Kultbildes reden, und die Versicherung des Offizianten, dem Gott keinen Schaden zufügen zu wollen. Die tägliche Pflege des Kultbilds dürfte bewirken und zur Folge haben, daß der Gott sein Bild nicht verläßt.

Die Sprüche besitzen eine ziemlich feste Struktur, jedoch enthält nicht jeder Spruch alle konstitutiven Merkmale. Nach dem Spruchtitel, der die zeremoniellen Handreichungen des Priesters in der Realwelt angibt, folgen Anreden in Gruß-, Huldigungs- und Überreichungsformeln, die zu Weckliedern und Hymnen ausgestaltet sein können,[25] sodann götterweltliche Ausdeutungen der Kultgegenstände und Gebärden, bzw. Hinweise auf mythische Präzedenzfälle. Sie sind zumeist aus anderen Bereichen wie dem der Totentexte bekannt.[26] Beendet werden die Sprüche von variantenreichen und zum Teil umfangreichen Versicherungen des Offizianten, das Kultbild nicht anzutasten, es nicht von seinem Sitz vertreiben oder sein Aussehen verändern zu wollen, und der Behauptung, daß er nicht aufgehalten oder zurückgewiesen werden könne. Es schließen sich Versicherungen seiner Reinheit, Legitimation und Ehrfurcht an. Bemerkenswert ist die breite Skala dieser Beteuerungen, die von Achtung, Furcht bis zur kaum verhüllten Drohung reicht und an die Worte des Zauberers in Götterbedrohungen

---

[22] Spruch 11: "Mein Gesicht, hüte dich vor Gott; Gott, hüte dich vor meinem Gesicht!"

[23] S. Anm. 11 und Amunsritual IX, 6–10, Spruch 23, 24 "Spruch zum Eintreten in das Sanktuar des Gottes: Frieden, Frieden, lebender Ba, der seine Feinde schlägt! Dein Ba ist bei dir, dein Machtbild (*sḫm*) auf deiner Seite. Ich bringe dir deine weiße Krone (Var. *Abydos* II, pl. 4: *twt ʿnḫ* "lebendes Bild") dar." "Ein anderer Spruch: Ich trete zum Himmel ein, um die Sonnenscheibe zu sehen; ich gehe vorbei an dem Gott in seinem Zorn (*m nšnj=f*). Die Opfergaben sind auf meinen Armen, nicht wird man zu mir sagen: 'Weiche zurück!' Ich werde den Gott ruhen lassen [auf] seinem Sitz; nicht werde ich den, der mich beschützt, beflecken. Nichts Böses (Unreines) ist an mir." Die Versicherungen wirkten traditionstiftend; sie finden sich fast wortwörtlich in *sn-tꜣ-* und *ʿq-r-ḥw.t-nṯr*-Riten griech.-röm. Zeit; Edfou VI, 240, 6f. (*n ḏd.tw n=j ḥm*); VII, 192, 13f.; 193,1f., F. Labrique, *Stylistique et théologie à Edfou*, OLA 51 (Louvain 1992), 204, 196–213.

[24] Spruch 14, 15.

[25] Mit ihnen endet dann der Text bzw."der andere Spruch", z.B. Spruch 4, 6.

[26] Das besagt freilich nichts über ihre ursprüngliche Abfassungszeit und formprägende Verlautbarungssituation ("Sitz im Leben"). Das abfälligste Urteil darüber stammt von A. Erman, *Die Religion der Aegypter. Ihr Werden und Vergehen in 4 Jahrtausenden* (Berlin 1934), 174ff.; vom "Eindruck eines leeren versteiften Formalismus" spricht L. Kákosy, "Tempel und Mysterien", in R. Gundlach und M. Rochholz (Hrsg.), *Ägyptische Tempel – Struktur, Funktion und Programm. Akten der ägyptologischen Tempeltagungen in Gosen 1990 und Mainz 1992*, HÄB 37 (Hildesheim 1994), 165.

erinnert. Eine scharfe Trennung zwischen Magie und Religion ist auch hier nicht möglich. Zwar besteht bei der Übersetzung gelegentlich Unsicherheit,[27] ob die Sätze – wie im Totenbuch – perfektiv als Ableugnung von Freveln und Fehlern oder futurisch als Versicherung, solches nicht vornehmen zu wollen, aufzufassen sind, aber beide Übersetzungen zeigen, daß man damit rechnete, daß der Offiziant Schadensakte am Götterbild vornehmen und über seine göttliche Substanz verfügen konnte. Daneben kommen götterweltliche Identifikationen mit Selbstvorstellung des Offizianten vor; sie sind zumeist mit *jnk* "Ich bin" eingeleitet. Zwar besitzen Horus-Seth- und Osiris-Horus-Konstellationen in der Ausdeutung der kultischen Akte und Darreichungen eine gewisse Priorität – so versteht sich in der Regel der Offiziant als Horus und die Gottheit als Osiris – aber auch andere Identifikationen treten auf. So bezeichnet sich der Offiziant häufig als Thot,[28] vor allem beim Darreichen der Maat und Überbringen des Udjatauges, gelegentlich als "Horus auf seinem Papyrus", "jener große Phönix" oder "der wirksame Ba, der in Herakleopolis ist".[29]

In dem großenteils operativen Ritual kam sicher eine erhebliche Rolle den begleitenden Gesten zu, vor allem den Gebetsgebärden, die von Spruch 12–14 auch in den Titeln erscheinen und eine Abfolge ergeben, die ähnlich wie im gesetzlichen *ṣalat* der Muslime streng geregelt gewesen sein könnte.[30] Die ausdrucksstarken Unterwerfungsgesten der Prosternation bilden deutlich den Mittelpunkt des Rituals, nicht der Text, der eine "Feindrolle" des Offizianten assoziiert, die von diesem ins Positive gewendet wird. Sie sind mit Versicherungen verbunden, die Vorstellungen der Bildmagie entstammen. Aber auch andere Handreichungen, wie etwa das "Willkommen" (Spruch 1) oder formelhafte, unpassend und altertümlich wirkende Wendungen wie "Nackter, bekleide dich ..." (Spruch 9 und 10) und "Mein Gesicht, hüte dich ..." beim "Schauen des Gottes" (Spruch 11) erhalten einen besseren Sinn, wenn man sie sich von rituellen Gebärden begleitet vorstellt. Die Wiederholungen und Redundanzen der Ritualsprache dürften nicht in einem steifen und inhaltsleeren Formalismus ihren Grund haben, sondern darin, daß sie die zeremoniellen Handreichungen zeitlich ausdehnen und mit Bedeutung aufladen sollten. Unsere Zusammenstellung umfaßt den Ritualtitel und 17 Sprüche; sie reicht bis zur ersten Zäsur des Textes, bei der bei "Amun" (VI, 3) zwei Hymnen eingefügt sind.[31] Eine größere Zäsur, bei der die Spruchfolge bei "Amun" und "Mut" durch Hymnen, längere Wiederholungen und die "Reise" unterbrochen wird, tritt bei Spruch 27 auf.[32] Die lediglich durch Titel und

---

[27] Die Negation liegt in der Graphie *nn* vor, die auch für *n* stehen kann; gleichgültig, welche Übersetzung man wählt, nach ägyptischer Vorstellung kann das Kultbild durch priesterliche Akte seine Eigenmächtigkeit einbüßen.

[28] Generell gilt Thot als Bringer der als "Horusauge" gedeuteten Opfergabe, zu der auch die Rezitationen gehören, s. B. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus in den Sargtexten*, GOF IV/7 (Wiesbaden 1974), 237f., Assmann, *Ma'at*, 190ff.; Spruch 7 (Zusatz Abydos); 42 "Spruch zum Darbringen der Maat", Amun XX, 2 - XXV, 5, Assmann, *ÄHG* Nr. 125, 126; Spruch 26: Horus und Thot; vgl. *mk Ḏḥwtj* in Spruch 44.

[29] Spruch 5, 9 (Varr. Abydos), 17; vgl. Spruch 23: *jnk pr m Sḫm.t*. Sie sind in der zeitgleichen Totenliteratur – zumeist Tb 17, aber auch Tb 112 – vorgegeben, was jedoch nichts über ihren ursprünglichen "Sitz im Leben" besagt.

[30] Zu dieser Vermutung s. H. Brunner, "Ein Torso Echnatons in Tübingen", in *L'Egyptologie en 1979. Axes prioritaires des recherches* II (Paris 1982), 225.

[31] Bei "Amun" (VI, 3 – VII, 2) folgen die bei Assmann, *ÄHG* Nr. 119, 120 und A. Barucq und F. Daumas, *Hymnes et prières de l'Egypte ancienne*, LAPO 10 (Paris 1980), Nr. 83A, aufgenommenen Hymnen; Spruch 18 und 19 ist in "Mut" verloren.

[32] U. Verhoeven und Ph. Derchain, *Le voyage de la déesse libyque. Ein Text aus dem 'Mutritual' des Pap.*

Götterreden, doch ohne Sprüche, überlieferten Abrégés, wie sie sich gelegentlich in Sanktuaren finden,[33] wurden nicht in die Abschrift aufgenommen, ebenso wenig einzelne Ritualszenen, die ihren Spruch aus dem Täglichen Tempelritual bezogen haben, wie etwa das "Ziehen des Riegels" am Eingang zum Per-Duat und zur Bibliothek in Edfu,[34] oder wörtliche Parallelen in anderen Ritualen und Totentexten besitzen, aber keine Abfolge bieten; sie werden allerdings im Kommentar vermerkt. Die Texte in den Sanktuaren der griechisch-römischen Tempel erwiesen sich als zu verschieden, als daß sie als Varianten gelten könnten.[35] Auf eine Diskussion der Abfolge der Szenen konnte hier verzichtet werden,[36] da das Amunsritual die ausführlichste Spruchfolge besitzt und die sechs Eingangssprüche nur dort und bei Mut überliefert sind.[37]

Titel:
ḥ3.t ˁm r3.w n.w jḫ.t-nṯr
jr.t n pr Jmnw-Rˁw nsw nṯr.w m ḫr.t hrw n.t rˁw nb
jn wˁb ˁ3 jmj hrw=f

Der Anfang des Buches mit den Sprüchen des Rituals,
das für den Tempel des Amun-Re, des Götterkönigs, täglich vollzogen wird
durch den Großen Wab-Priester, der seinen Tagesdienst verrichtet **(a)**.
(Zusatz KO 210a: nachdem er sich im heiligen See gereinigt hat, um alle seine Zeremonien des Rituals auszuführen **(b)**).

(a) Das Ritual wird durch den Großen Wab vollzogen, der wohl einem mittleren Priesterrang angehört und nach dem *ḥm-nṯr* rangiert. Nach F. von Känel, *Les prêtres-ouâb de Sekhmet et les*

Berlin 3053, Rites égyptiens 5 (Brüssel 1985), VIII, 7 – XIX, 5; der Hymnus: Abschnitt VIII, 7 – IX, 9.

[33] z.B. M. Abd el-Raziq, *Die Darstellungen und Texte des Sanktuars Alexanders des Großen im Tempel von Luxor*, AVDAIK 16 (Mainz 1984), 10ff., Szenen E188–190; vgl. die Stele des Pije (Pianchi) Z. 103–105 mit der Schilderung des Besuchs im Hut-Benben, N.-C. Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ˁankh)y au Musée du Caire, JE 48862 et 47086-47089*, MIFAO 105 (Kairo 1981), 36*f., 13Of.

[34] Edfou III, 333, 19; bereits erwähnt von H. Kees, *RT* 36 (1914), 7; Edfou III, 344, 20f.; D. Kurth, *Treffpunkt der Götter. Inschriften aus dem Tempel des Horus von Edfu* (Zürich/München 1994), 138, 142f.

[35] Im Sanktuar des Edfu-Tempels sind 19 Szenen überliefert, Edfou I, 24–36, 40–49, Tf. 11–12; Teilübersetzungen: M. Alliot, *Le culte d'Horus à Edfou au temps des Ptolémées*, BdE 20 (Kairo 1949–1954) I, 69ff.; Kurth, a.a.O., 89–93; im Sanktuar des Dendera-Tempels sechs Szenen, Dendara I, 40–42, 58–60, Tf. 51–54, 62–64; III, 64–66, 76–77; Tf. 180, 186–187, 190–192. Zu verwandten Passagen in den Reinheitsbeteuerungen des Königs beim Eintritt in den Tempel, Edfou III, 78, 79, 83, s. Alliot, a.a.O., 142ff., E. Otto, *Gott und Mensch nach den ägyptischen Tempelinschriften der griechisch-römischen Zeit* (Heidelberg 1964), 67–69.

[36] S. A.R. David, *A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos* (Warminster 1981), 58ff.; dies., *Religious Ritual at Abydos* (Warminster 1973), 104–126; A.M. Blackman, "The Sequence of the Episodes in the Egyptian Daily Temple Liturgy, *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society* 8 (1918–1919), 26ff.; Alliot, *Culte d'Horus*, 75ff.; G. Roeder, *Kulte, Orakel und Naturverehrung im Alten Ägypten* (Zürich 1960), 72–141; H. Altenmüller, "Die abydenische Version des Kultbildrituals", *MDAIK* 24 (1969), 16–25; W. Barta, "Die Anordnung der Wandreliefs in den Götterkapellen des Sethos-Tempels von Abydos", *MDAIK* 21 (1966), 116–122; ders., "Bemerkungen zur Rekonstruktion des abydenischen Kultbildrituals", *MDAIK* 29 (1973), 163–166; ders., *LÄ* III, 839ff., bes. 841–843; ders., "Das Opferritual im täglichen Tempelkult", *JEOL* 19 (1967), 459–461; H.H. Nelson, "Certain Reliefs at Karnak and Medinet Habu and the Ritual of Amenophis I", *JNES* 8 (1948), 201–229, 310–345; D. Arnold, *Wandbild und Raumfunktion in ägyptischen Tempeln des Neuen Reiches*, MÄS 2 (Berlin 1962), 11–24; O.E. von Lemm, *Ein Ritualbuch des Ammondienstes* (1882) (non vidi).

[37] Auf mögliche weitere unedierte Varianten in Papyri griech.-röm. Zeit, vor allem aus Tebtunis, wies uns Joachim Quack hin.

conjurateurs de Serket (Paris 1984), 235, gehören Wab-Priester, die durch einen Gottesnamen spezifiziert sind, zum niedrigeren Personal, so auch die des Amun und Min. H. de Meulenaere, in *Ägyptologische Studien* [Fs Grapow] (Berlin 1955), 223ff., hält die seit dem Mittleren Reich bezeugten Großen Wab für mittlere Priesterränge, läßt jedoch die Frage für die Spätzeit offen, ähnlich vorsichtig äußert sich Daumas, a.a.O. (s. Anm. 10), 112, Anm. 3; s. A. Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux de la théologie de Kom Ombo* I, BdE 47 (Kairo 1973), 155f. (l). Der *wᶜb ᶜ3* ist also keineswegs der Hohepriester; vgl. aber J.-M. Kruchten, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak (XXI - XXIIImes dynasties) et autres textes contemporains relatifs à l'initiation des prêtres d'Amon*, OLA 32 (Louvain 1989), 177, der wegen Spruch 9, IV, 2 und X, 2-3, einer Priesterprädikation, meint, es handele sich um einen "Propheten", was die Sachlage nur verunklärt. Möglicherweise ist *wᶜb ᶜ3* ein zeitlich begrenzter Funktionstitel, der durch das folgende *m hrw=f* "im Dienste, diensthabend" aufgewertet wird. Zumindest bei der Treppenprozession in Dendera rangiert der Große Wab hinter den Ersten und Zweiten Propheten: "Der Erste und Zweite Prophet und die Großen Wab-Priester des Heiligtums bedienen (*šms*) die Ehrwürdige im 'Haus der Ehrwürdigen' ", s. Guglielmi, a.a.O. (s. Anm. 7), 115, Dendara VIII, 100, 15, Tf. 751–762; 86. Wenn D. van der Plas, " 'Voir' Dieu", *BSFE* 115 (1989), 8, und andere folgern, daß nur der Hohepriester als Vertreter des Königs den Gott sehen dürfe, nicht aber die niedrigere Priesterschaft, so mag das zwar für die (ägyptologische) Theorie zutreffen, nicht aber für die Praxis, wie bereits aus Merikare E 64f. und dem *ḥm-nṯr-ᶜq*-Titel, s. Gutbub, a.a.O., hervorgeht. Im Kultbildritual entspricht seine Tätigkeit vor allem der des Stolisten, s. G. Vittmann, *LÄ* VI, 63–65. In griech.-röm. Zeit ist der Titel *wᶜb ᶜ3* mit Geheimhaltung verbunden, s. die Inschrift aus dem Laboratorium in Edfu, s. D. Kurth, *Treffpunkt der Götter* (Zürich/München 1994), Nr. 13, 116: "Du sollst keinen Menschen zu ihm (diesem Salböl) gelangen lassen, mit Ausnahme des Großen Wab-Priesters, der das Ritual für den Gott vollzieht; denn es ist ein Geheimnis, das man nicht kennt"; s. auch die Inschrift im Goldhaus, Dendara VIII, 131, 134, Daumas, a.a.O., 109–118. Der Große Wab wird auch mehrfach im "Buch vom Tempel" erwähnt, das in etwa 40 Handschriften in Hieratisch, Demotisch und in griechischer Übersetzung fragmentarisch erhalten ist und das Joachim Quack rekonstruieren wird. Im Abaton werden die täglichen Riten vollzogen "vom Großen Wab, der den Monatsdienst hat", s. H. Junker, *Das Götterdekret über das Abaton* (Wien 1913), 19, 30.

(b) Die Kom-Ombo-Abschriften konnten nicht kollationiert werden, s. Alliot, *Le culte d'Horus*, 5; KO I, 165, Nr. 210 a,1: *r3 n ᶜq r ḥw.t-nṯr jn wᶜb ᶜ3 m hrw=f m-ḫt jrj*[*.t*] *ᶜbw=f m šj wᶜb jrj.*{*n*}*=f jrw nb n jḫ.t-nṯr*; KO I, 139, Nr. 36, 1-2; Korrekturen: U. Bouriant, *RT* 18 (1896), 151 § 23: *ḫ3.t m r3.w n jḫ.t-nṯr jr*(*.t*) *m pr Ḥrw-wr m Nbj.t* (*m*) *ḫr.t-hrw n*(*.t*) *rᶜw nb jn wᶜb ᶜ3 m hrw=f m wᶜb=f m šj jrj.*{*n*}*=f jrw=f nb jḫ.t* "Beginn der Sprüche des Rituals, das im Tempel des Haroeris, des Herrn von Kom Ombo, täglich vollzogen wird durch den Großen Wab, der seinen Tagesdienst verrichtet, wenn er seine Reinigung im See vollzogen hat, damit er alle seine Pflichten des Rituals erfülle." Es folgt der "Spruch für den Eintritt in den Tempel." Zur Reinigung im heiligen See, der Tempeleinlaßliturgie, bzw. den Priesterermahnungen, s. Kurth, a.a.O., 147ff., Nr. 22; Gutbub, a.a.O., 144ff.

Spruch 1 (I, 2–5)

r3 n sḫj st3 ḏd mdw.w
jj.tj jj.tj m ḥtp
jr.t Ḥrw 3ḫ.tj
wḏ3.tj rnp.tj m ḥtp
psḏ=s mj Rᶜw m 3ḫ.t{*j*}
sdg3.n s<*w?*> *sḫm n Stḫ tp-ᶜ jr.t Ḥrw*
[*jnk?*] *jtj sw jnj sw*

<r> rdj.t=f r s.t=s n Ḥrw
mɜᶜ ḫrw Ḥrw ḥr jr.t=f
jr.t Ḥrw ḥr dr ḫftj.w Jmnw Rᶜw nb nsw.t tɜwj m sw.t=sn nbw
ḥtp dj nsw jw=j wᶜb.kw

Spruch zum Feuerschlagen **(a)**. Worte zu sprechen:
Willkommen, willkommen in Frieden **(b)**,
Horusauge, indem es erstrahlt,
heil ist und sich verjüngt in Frieden!
Es möge aufleuchten wie Re im Lichtland **(c)**!
Verborgen hat sich die Macht des Seth vor dem Horusauge **(d)**.
[Ich] habe sie (es) (d.h. die Macht oder das Feuer) ergriffen und sie (es) geholt, (oder: das es ergriffen und geholt hatte,)
um [sie (es)] zu verleihen (geben) dem Horus auf seinem (scil. des Auges) Platz **(e)**.
Horus triumphiert wegen seines Auges.
Das Horusauge vertreibt die Feinde des Amun-Re, des Herrn der Throne der beiden Länder, von allen ihren Stätten.
Ein königliches Opfer, ich bin rein **(f)**.

(a) *sḫj stɜ* ist nur hier belegt; es dürfte das Feuerschlagen durch zwei Feuersteine bezeichnen und in etwa dem *sjn mdw*, dem Feuerentfachen mit Holz und Feuerbohrer, entsprechen, was freilich Alliot, *Culte d'Horus*, 63, verneint; er denkt an das Reiben der Silexe, das Feuerschlagen mit dem Schlagfeuerzeug. O. von Lemm vermutete bereits ein Wortspiel mit *sḫj Stš* "den Seth schlagen"; da aber *stɜ* im Textverlauf mit Horus, bzw. dem Horusauge gleichgesetzt wird und nicht mit Seth, hat J.G. Griffiths, "The Horus-Seth Motif in the Daily Temple Liturgy", *Aegyptus* 38 (1958), 3ff., diesen Gedanken verworfen. Er kann m.E. aber sehr wohl als Erklärung des abweichenden Titels in Betracht gezogen werden, da der Spruch mit Tb 137B bis auf kleinere Abweichungen übereinstimmt, dort aber mit *sḫḏ.t tkɜ* betitelt ist. Der Spruchtitel *sḫt ḥᶜ.t*, der im Hypostyl von Karnak, s. H.H. Nelson/W.J. Murnane, *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak* I, 1, *The Wall Reliefs*, OIP 106 (Chicago 1981), pl. 203, bezeugt ist, bezieht sich jedoch trotz des Eintrags *Wb.* III, 467, 9, nicht auf das "Schlagen", sondern auf "das Flechten des Dochtes", wie schon H.H. Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), 224f., Anm. 116, bemerkt hatte. Die Abweichung von den üblichen Titeln ist also signifikant, scheint mit Bedacht gewählt und beruht wohl auf der mythologischen Aussage im Texthintergrund mittels Wortspiel, die den Silex, dem das Feuer entspringt, mit Seth gleichsetzt. Griffiths, der Spruch 1 übersetzt und kommentiert, geht auf die Tb-Varianten Spr.137A/B nicht weiter ein, E. Hornung, *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter* (Zürich 1979), 500, dagegen nicht auf das Amunsritual, s. aber P. Barguet, *Le Livre des Morts des anciens égyptiens*, LAPO 1 (Paris 1967), 183. Da solche Fackelriten bereits im MR für den Vorabend des Neujahrstages in den Siut-Verträgen und einem Text des Fürsten *Nḫj*, *Berl. Äg. Inschr.* I, 160 (8815) "Licht des Neujahrs anzünden (*jr.t tkɜ n tp-rnp.t*) für die Edlen (d.h. Toten) auf dem Berg (*sᶜḥ.w ḫrj-tp ḏw*)" erwähnt werden, s. H.G. Fischer, *LÄ II*, 79-81, und vielleicht vor der Tempelstatue im Schrein stattfanden, kann auch dieser Spruch ursprünglich dem Statuenritual des Verstorbenen entstammen und von dort ins Totenbuch und Tägliche Tempelritual gelangt sein. Wegen des "Fackel-Spruchs" im Tb halte ich es für unwahrscheinlich, daß das "Niederschlagen" des Feuers, das den Gott umgibt, gemeint ist, eine Vorstellung, die ebenfalls seit dem NR bezeugt ist, s. Magischer Papyrus Harris, Hibis-Hymnus, J. Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete* (Zürich/München 1975), Nr.129, Z. 16–18 ("Er hat seinen Sitz umgeben mit Flammen"); S. Sauneron, *Le Papyrus Magique illustré de Brooklyn*, Wilbour

Monographs 3 (Brooklyn 1970), 12, pl. 2, 3 (Art Aureole).
(b) *jj.tj* "Du kommst" für "Willkommen", s. H. Grapow, *Wie dei alten Ägypter sich anredeten, wie sie sich grüssten und wie sie mit einander sprachen* III (Berlin 1941), 105. Die Tb-Variante 137B, die im Grab des Senmut, auf dem Papyrus des Nebseni und – mit dem Titel *rꜣ n stꜣ tkꜣ n rˁw nb* – auf oDeM 1608 (Freundlicher Hinweis von H.-W. Fischer-Elfert) überliefert ist, bietet einen abweichenden Text und hat *jj* "Es kommt", was besser zum folgenden *psḏ=s* paßt. Der Text bei Senenmut steht in zwei waagerechten Zeilen direkt unter der Scheintür mit der "Vignette" eines kleinen fackeltragenden Mannes, s. P.F. Dorman, *The Tombs of Senenmut*, MMA EEP 24 (New York 1991), 137, Frontispiz, pl. 70 (C88–90). Er lautet:
jj jr.t-Ḥrw ḥḏ.tj ꜣḫ.tj
wꜣḏ.tj ḏbꜣ.tj m ḥtp wḏꜣ.tj
psḏ=s mj Rˁw m ꜣḫ.t
sdg=s sḫm.w Stš tp-rd.wj jr.t-Ḥrw
jtj s(j) swt jnj=f s(j)
tꜣ hh=s r=f. Es folgt *Pyr.* § 192*b*.
Dorman übersetzt: "The eye of Horus comes, bright, (splendid), hale, equipped with peace, and prosperous. It shines like Ra in the horizon, concealing the power of Seth before the feet of the eye of Horus. As for him who shall seize it, it is he who will bring it (back), the heat of its blast against him ..." Bei Nebseni steht: *dr=s sḫm Stš tp-rd.wj n jn sj* ... "Es hat die Macht des Seth vertrieben vor dem, der es fortgeholt hatte".
(c) Vermutlich ist mit Tb 137B Singular statt Dual zu lesen. Der Dual *ꜣḫ.tj* kann in Angleichung, also Art "Reim", an *jr.t-Ḥrw ꜣḫ.tj* in den Text geraten sein.
(d) Die Stelle ist schwierig, vgl. die abweichenden Übersetzungen von Hornung, Gritffiths, Dorman. Sehr hart scheinen mir die Übersetzungen, die *sdgꜣ.n=s* lesen und später *tp-ˁ* (oder: *rdwj*) *jr.t Ḥrw* und beides auf das Horusauge beziehen. Vielleicht verweist *s* auf *ꜣḫ.t* "Lichtland". Wahrscheinlicher ist jedoch reflexiv *sdgꜣ.n sw* zu lesen, da *sḫm* "Macht" im weiteren Text nicht mit anlautendem *s* geschrieben wird. Abwegig scheint mir die Interpretation von Kausen, a.a.O. (s. Anm. 3), 393, der – Moret folgend – *tp-ˁ* als Präpositionaladverb auffaßt und "vor ihm verbirgt sich die Macht des Seth sogleich" übersetzt. *tp-ˁ* heißt nicht "zugleich". Damit wird auch das Gefüge des folgenden Textes zerstört, den er übersetzt: "Das Auge des Horus bemächtigt sich seiner und bringt ihn vor (seinen) Thron. Horus erhebt seine Stimme durch sein Auge, das Auge des Horus vernichtet die Feinde ..."
(e) *jtj sw jnj sw* ist ebenfalls schwierig. Ich möchte statt des Imperativs (Griffiths) oder eines auf das Horusauge bezogenen Partizips (Hornung) eine Emendation vorschlagen. Da in fast allen folgenden Sprüchen, wenn nicht gerade ein Anruf oder Hymnus vorkommt, eine in der 1. Person abgefaßte Prädikation des Priesters erfolgt, wäre es am plausiblesten – auch wegen der Pronomina – den Text nach den formelhaften Worten des Totenpriesters und Balsamierers beim Hin- und Herziehen des Sarges im Bestattungsritual in: *jnk jtj sw jnj sw r* zu verbessern, s. H. Altenmüller, *LÄ* I, 758; R. Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch* (Mainz 1995), 114. In ähnliche Richtung zielt auch Dormans Senenmut-Übersetzung. *jtj jnj* heißt auch "ab- und zugeben, manipulieren", s. J.J. Clère, *JEA* 54 (1968), 140f.; A.H. Gardiner, *JEA* 24 (1938), 124f. *rdj sḫm n* heißt "Macht verleihen (dem)".
(f) Die eigentümliche Aussage, bei der *jw=j wˁb.kw* die Stelle der Opfergaben einnimmt, wird bei W. Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*, ÄgFo 24 (Glückstadt 1968), 274, nicht erklärt. Vermutlich ist sie als "Ein königliches Opfer an (beinhaltend): ich bin rein!" aufzufassen. G. Roeder, *Die ägyptische Religion in Texten und Bildern* III: *Kulte, Orakel und die Naturverehrung im alten Ägypten* (Zürich 1960), 81, hält *ḥtp dj nsw* für eine Anweisung an den Priester und *jw=j wˁb.kw* für seine Rede. Jedoch ist eine Interpretation als Handlungsanweisung ohne graphische Kennzeichnung, etwa durch Zeilentrenner oder Rubrum, wenig wahrscheinlich. F. Labrique, *Stylistique et théologie à Edfou*, OLA 51 (1992), 204, denkt an einen Anakoluth, s.

z.B. Edfou VI, 240, 9, 16; VII, 192, 17; s. G. Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, MMAF 13 (Paris 1893–1895), 22, 3. Dieselbe Schlußformel, bei der "ich" durch "Pharao" ersetzt wird, findet sich auch in anderen Ritualen, s. S. Schott, *Die Reinigung Pharaos in einem memphitischen Tempel (Berlin P 13242)*, NAWG 1957:3, 48f., 56; ähnliche Reinheitsbeteuerungen von Klagefrauen, s. H. Junker, *Die Stundenwachen in den Osirismysterien* (Wien 1910), 70.

In der ersten Handlung entfacht der Priester ein Feuer, wahrscheinlich durch das Schlagen von Feuersteinen. Die mythologische Ausdeutung, die in einer beinahe identischen Fassung als "Spruch, um die Fackel anzuzünden" im Totenbuch Spruch 137B erscheint,[38] setzt das Licht des Feuers mit dem Horusauge gleich und vergleicht es mit dem Aufgang der Sonne, die die Macht des Seth (= Finsternis) und die Feinde vertreibt. Das Feuerschlagen ist auch mit den nächsten Akten zu verbinden und dient sowohl dem Entzünden des Räuchergeräts als auch dem Erleuchten des Opfertischraums.[39] Das *jtj - jnj* könnte sich auf das Hin- und Herschwenken des Napfes mit der Flamme beziehen.

Spruch 2 (I, 5–8)
rꜣ n tꜣj sḫtpy ḏd mdw.w
jnḏ ḥr=k [nn m] jmj.w-ḫt Ḏḥwtj
ꜥ.w=j ḥr=k m Ḥrw
ḏr.tj=j ḥr=k m Ḏḥwtj
ḏbꜣ.w=j r=k m Jnpw ḫntj sḫ-nṯr
jnk ḥm ꜥnḫ n Rꜥw
jnk wꜥb jw=j wꜥb.kw
ꜥbw=j ꜥbw nṯr.w
ḥtp dj nsw jw=j wꜥb.kw

Spruch zum Ergreifen des Räucherarms (**a**). Worte zu sprechen:
Gegrüßt seist du, [diese(s) da] im Gefolge des Thot (**b**)!
Meine beiden Arme sind auf dir als Horus,
meine Hände sind auf dir als Thot,
meine Finger sind an dir als Anubis, der Erste der Gotteshalle (**c**).

[38] Hornung, *Totenbuch*, 270f., 500; M. Saleh, *Das Totenbuch in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern des Neuen Reiches*, AVDAIK 46 (Mainz 1984), 75f. Längere Fassung: 137A. Fackelriten finden sich vom Alten Reich bis in griech.-röm. Zeit, s. A. Gutbub, *Mélanges Maspero* I/4 (1961), 41–46, Assmann, *MDAIK* 28 (1972), 63. Zu Tb 137A s. Hornung, a.a.O., 266, Z. 13–16, 499ff.: "Es kommt das Horusauge, unversehrt / und strahlend wie Re im Horizont, // es hat den Schutz des Seth versteckt, / der es gepackt und fortgeholt hatte." Das Vertreiben der Feinde der Osiris-Chontamenti wird refrainartig am Ende der Strophen abgehandelt, z.B. Z. 32ff., 43ff.: "Das Horusauge ist dein Schutz, es bringt dir alle deine Feinde zu Fall. Deine Feinde sind vor dir gefallen!" Gegenüber Tb 137A mit dem unverständlichen "Schutz des Seth" dürfte die "Macht des Seth" des Amunsritual die bessere Lesung bieten. Tb 137B (Nebseni) hat ebenso "Macht": "Es kommt das helle Horus-Auge, / es kommt das leuchtende Horus-Auge. // Es ist in Frieden gekommen / und strahlt wie Re im Horizont! // Es beseitigt die Macht des Seth vor dem, der es fortholte; / (denn) er war es, der seine Flamme ergriff". Amunsritual hat vermutlich "vor dem" durch eine Hyperkorrektion "vor dem Horusauge" zu verdeutlichen versucht.

[39] Die entsprechenden Riten in Tempelritualen wie das Lichtentzünden am Neujahrstag, Entzünden der Fackel oder des Dochtes oder Erleuchten der Thronestrade tragen nicht nur unterschiedliche Titel, sondern auch völlig verschiedene Texte, wie etwa "Livre que mon nom fleurisse", s. H.H. Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), 336–341; vgl. A.-P. Zivie, *La tombe de Pached à Deir el-Medineh (No. 3)*, MIFAO 99 (Kairo 1979), 47 "Anzünden der Fackel".

Ich bin ein lebender Diener des Re **(d)**;
ich bin ein Wab-Priester, ich bin gereinigt **(e)**.
Meine Reinigung ist die Reinigung der Götter **(f)**.
Ein königliches Opfer, ich bin rein.

(a) Zur Bedeutung der Räucherung als Reinigung, s. H. Bonnet, Die Bedeutung der Räucherung im ägyptischen Kult, *ZÄS* 67 (1931), 20–28, bes. 26; H. Beinlich, *MDAIK* 34 (1978), 15ff., geht auf das Tägliche Tempelritual nicht ein.

(b) Die Reste der Zeichen lassen sich nur zu *nn* ergänzen, das anschließende Zeichen ist fraglich. *nn* dient als Bezeichnung des Kultgegenstandes, möglicherweise ist ein Wort, etwa ꜥ "Arm" oder "Horusauge" ausgefallen. Eine Parallele konnte nicht ausgemacht werden, auch der Anfang des Spruches 44 läßt sich nicht zu einer Ergänzung verwenden. "Im Gefolge des Thot" befindet sich zwar der Tote als Stern, s. B. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus in den Sargtexten*, GOF IV/7 (Wiesbaden 1975), 239; Tb 131, 183, was aber nur zu einer Erklärung des Räucherarms als "Stern" im Gefolge des Mondgottes passen würde.

(c) Mit Gliedervergottung, wie K. Koch, *Geschichte der ägyptischen Religion* (s. Anm. 3), 293, die Stelle deutet, hat sie nichts zu tun; es liegt lediglich ein verkürzter Vergleich oder "rollisches" *m* vor: "Meine Arme sind auf dir wie die des Horus (oder: in der Funktion des Horus) ..." Die Körperteil-Topik "Arme-Hände-Finger" (vom Größeren zum Kleineren) wird noch durch Alliteration verstärkt. *ḥr=k* und *Ḥrw, ḏr.t=j* und *Ḏḥw.tj, r* und *Jnpw*, vgl. *Pyr.* (Sp.532) § 1257*a*: "Sie verhüten, daß du verwest (*rpw*) entsprechend jenem deinem Namen *Jnpw*". Spruch 2 ist in Spruch 44 "Spruch zum Geben seiner (Var.: der) beiden Hände auf den Gott" enthalten: Amun XXVI, 5–7, Mut XXI, 2 – XXII, 2, Abydos I, pl. 10 (Osiris), pl. 19 (Isis), pl. 27 (Horus); II, pl. 5 (Amun-Re), pl. 15 (Re-Harachte), pl. 23 (Ptah), wo der König die Arme ausstreckt, um das Kultbild zu berühren. "Ich bin gekommen als Bote <deines> Vaters Atum." Es folgt wortwörtlich der gleiche Text bis zum Spruchende. Zum vorausgehenden Text s. K. Goebs, *ZÄS* 122 (1995), 175f. Zur Kultsituation, bzw. dem dieser Szene zugrundeliegendem Bestattungsritual s. H. Roeder, *Mit dem Auge sehen. Studien zur Semantik der Herrschaft in den Toten- und Kulttexten*, SAGA 16 (Heidelberg 1996), 95 (Spruch 2 fehlt). Zu Thot als Schreiber "mit reinen Händen" in Tb 182 und 183, s. Hornung, *Totenbuch*, 390, 1f.; 397, 110f. Die Aufzählung der Götter findet man noch im Balsamierungsritual, s. S. Sauneron, *Le rituel de l'embaumement* (Kairo 1952), 23 (VIII, 7, 5).

(d) Zu *ḥm ꜥnḫ n Rꜥw* ist mir außer Spruch 44 keine Parallele bekannt, formal dürfte er dem Epitheton *bꜣ ꜥnḫ n Rꜥw* des Bocks von Mendes nachgebildet sein; vgl. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott*, MÄS 19 (Berlin 1968), 80, n. 13; ders., *Re und Amun*, OBO 51 (Freiburg/Göttingen 1983), 155, 205; inhaltlich jedoch ist er mit den vor allem spätzeitlichen Priestertiteln vergleichbar, mit denen sich der König als "Diener" einer Gottheit bezeichnet, s. E. Otto, *Gott und Mensch nach den ägyptischen Tempelinschriften der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, AHAW 1964:1, 72.

(e) *jnk wꜥb jw=j wꜥb.kw* ist noch im Reinheitstext Edfou III, 79, 4 belegt, s. Alliot, *Culte d'Horus*, 142f., vgl. Otto, *Gott und Mensch*, 69.

(f) Alte Reinigungsformel, bereits in *Pyr.* § 829*d-e* (Sp. 447) bezeugt: *ꜥbw=k ꜥbw nṯr.w* "Deine Reinigung ist die Reinigung der Götter"; B. Altenmüller-Kesting, *Reinigungsriten im ägyptischen Kult* (Hamburg 1968), 202; E. Otto, *Das altägyptische Mundöffnungsritual*, ÄgAbh 3 (Wiesbaden 1960), 45, Szene 4. Dieselbe Formel erscheint noch in Spruch 59 (Amun XXXIV, 2–6; Mut XXIX, 2–4).

Außer der Anrede wurde der gesamte Text von Spruch 44 "Spruch, zum Geben seiner (Var.: der) beiden Hände auf den Gott" (*rꜣ n rḏj.t ꜥ.wj ḥr nṯr*) entlehnt. Ursprünglich

wird die Nennung der Götter Horus, Thot und Anubis sich auf die Balsamierungssituation beziehen. Der Anknüpfungspunkt für die götterweltliche Ausdeutung und die Reihenfolge dürfte zum einen die Form des Räucherarms mit dem nach vorn gewendeten Falkenkopf sein, der als hinterer Abschluß dient; vielleicht existierte auch schon die erst in ptol. Zeit belegte Bezeichnung *ꜥ n Ḥrw* "Horusarm" als Räucherarm, die älteren Bezeichnungen *ꜥ n snṯr* und *ꜥ n ḫt* enthalten aber ebenso *ꜥ* "Arm", so daß der Offiziant sich beim Aufnehmen des Geräts nach dem Feuerschlagen mit Horus identifizieren konnte; zum anderen dürfte das Wortspiel zwischen *ꜥ* "Räucherarm" und *ꜥw.j, ḥr=k* und *Ḥrw* eine Rolle gespielt haben; die folgenden Ausdeutungen *ḏr.tj* und *Ḏḥwtj* dürften der Alliteration zu verdanken sein, da sonst in funerären Texten die "Arme" des Thot oder Anubis genannt werden. Die Referenzfähigkeit von *ꜥ* wird auch der Grund für die Übernahme in Spruch 44 gewesen sein.

Spruch 3 (I, 8 – II, 2)
[rꜥ n] wꜣḥ ꜣꜥꜥb ḥr sḥtpy ḏd mdw.w
jnḏ ḥr=k ꜣꜥꜥb pwj n …
ꜣḥ.t m Ḏdw sjn.t m ꜣbḏw
wꜥb.kw m jr.t Ḥrw r jr[.t]=j jḫ.t jm=k
jw.w wꜥb.w n Jmnw Rꜥw nb nsw.t tꜣ.wj ḥnꜥ psḏ.t=f
ḥtp dj nsw jw=j wꜥb.kw

Spruch beim Setzen des Weihrauchnapfes auf den Räucherarm. Worte zu sprechen:
Gegrüßt seist du, dieser Napf ...
... Erde von Busiris, Ton von Abydos (**a**).
Ich bin gereinigt mit dem Horusauge, damit ich mit dir (dem Räuchergerät) die Riten vollziehe.
Sie sind rein für Amun-Re, den Herrn der Throne der beiden Länder und seine Neunheit (**b**).
Ein königliches Opfer, ich bin rein.

(a) Zu diesem Passus ist mir keine Parallele bekannt. Lediglich die "Erde des Benbenhauses" (*tꜣ* – nicht *ꜣḥ.t*) wird bei J.-C. Goyon, *Confirmation du pouvoir royal au nouvel an* (s. Anm. 20), 63, 96 (III, 18) als "Schutz" verwendet. Nach der Huldigung an das Kultgerät erfolgt wiederum eine osirianische Ausdeutung, vermutlich des Napf-Materials oder -Herstellers.
(b) Der Plural ist merkwürdig, er wird sich wohl auf "die Riten" ("Dinge") oder das zweiteilige Gerät, bzw. auf seine Tonsorten oder Inauguratoren beziehen.

Spruch 4 (II, 2–4)
rꜣ n rdj.t snṯr ḥr sḏ.t ḏd mdw.w
n bꜣ jꜣb.tj n Ḥrw jꜣb.tj
n ḫꜥj mw.t=f m ḫnw jtn=f
n bꜣ psḏ m wḏꜣtj=fj
n Rꜥw-Ḥrw-ꜣḫ.tj nṯr ꜥꜣ
sꜣb šw.t ḫntj jtr.tj šmꜥ n p.t

Spruch zum Legen des Weihrauchs auf die Flamme **(a)**. Worte zu sprechen:
Für den östlichen Ba, für den östlichen Horus **(b)**,
für den, "der in seiner Mutter erscheint" im Inneren seiner Scheibe **(c)**,
für den Ba (Widder), strahlend an seinen beiden Augen **(d)**
für Re-Harachte, den großen Gott,
mit buntem Gefieder an der Spitze der oberägyptischen Heiligtümer des Himmels **(e)**.

(a) Var. Mut: *rꜣ n dnw*, verderbt für *wdn* "Opfer, Litanei".
(b) *Bꜣ jꜣb.tj Ḥrw jꜣb.tj* sind häufige Bezeichnungen der aufgehenden Sonne, die bereits im Wecklied (Spruch 573) der *Pyr.* § 1478*c* erscheinen, s. J. Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern*, Theben 1 (Mainz 1983), 390 (mit zahlreichen Belegen), z.B. 110f. mit Anm. a (TT 57); in demselben Hymnus erscheint auch die in Spruch 9 auftauchende Gleichsetzung der Federn der Federkrone mit den beiden Augen,
(c) In beiden Var. ist die Schreibung *ḫˁj mw.t=f* eindeutig, bei Amun erscheint der Mut-Geier nochmals über der Zeile 1; vielleicht ist deshalb ein *m* ausgefallen. M.E. wäre eine Emendation zu *ḫˁj* <*m*> *mw.t=f* "der in seiner Mutter (= Nut) erschienen ist" gerechtfertigt. Es könnte auch ein transitiver Gebrauch in einer Relativform vorliegen: "den seine Mutter zur Erscheinung bringt", "den seine Mutter gebar (erscheinen ließ)", s. das erst ptol. belegte *ḫˁj*, *Wb.* III, 241, 3 "gebären (von Nut als Mutter)". Das Epitheton wurde seit Moret, a.a.O., 20, als Verschreibung für Kamutef, Kamephis betrachtet; s. jüngst J. Zandee, *Der Amunhymnus des Papyrus Leiden I 344, Verso*, 192; J. Assmann, *Orientalia* 63 (1994), 100. Aus lautlichen Gründen scheint mir das unwahrscheinlich, da *ḫˁj* zu ϣⲁⲓ und *ḫˁꜣ* zu ⲕⲱ wird; vgl. auch die reguläre Schreibung in XV, 9. Der Ausdruck "Kamutef im Inneren seiner Scheibe" ist m.W. nicht belegt. Es liegt wohl nur eine Anspielung auf die Kamutef-Vorstellung, die vaterlose Geburt, vor. Der Verfasser hatte vermutlich Darstellungen der Sonnenscheibe mit einem Skarabäus, Widder oder dem widderköpfigen Ba-Vogel der Königsgräber und Goldschreine des Tutanchamun vor Augen. Zu *m ḫnw jtn=f*, eigentlich der Bezeichnung der Nachtsonne, s. Assmann, *LL*, 39–42, "der die Unterwelt durchfährt in seiner Scheibe" (a.a.O., 39); *m ḫnw jtn* ist in den Sargtexten mehrfach als Epitheton des Re belegt, s. B. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 111. Zu *ḫˁj m jtn s.* Zandee, a.a.O., 442.
(d) Zu fast identischen Formulierungen: "Amun, der sich in seiner Pupille verbirgt, Ba, der in seinem Auge erstrahlt (*psḏ m wḏꜣ.t=f*)!", s. p mag Harris IV, 10–V, 2 = N. de G. Davies, *The Temple of Hibis in el Khargeh Oasis* III (New York 1953), Tf. 33, 7.8 = Assmann, *ÄHG*, Nr. 130, 33–38; ders., *LL*, 50f.; Zandee, a.a.O., 737; Schott, *Urk.* VI, 98, 5: *ntk bꜣ psḏ m wḏꜣtj=fj*.
(e) Die *jtr.tj* sind schon in *CT* VI, 287*s* als Wohnsitz des Re erwähnt. *sꜣb šw.t ḫntj jtr.t šmˁ* (oder: *mḥ*) ist der Titel des Horus von Edfu, s. S. Cauville, *Essai sur la théologie du temple d'Horus à Edfou*, BdE 102/1 (Kairo 1987), 213f.; Edfou III, 353, 17.

Der Spruch zum Räuchern enthält lediglich eine Anrede an die aufgehende Sonne in Form einer durch *n* eingeleiteten Litanei. Der aufsteigende Weihrauchduft wird mit Horus gleichgesetzt.[40] Falls *m ḫnw jtn=f* sich auf die untergehende Sonne (im Westen) bezieht, könnte man an ein Hin- und Herschwenken des Räucherarms in verschiedene Himmelsrichtungen denken.

Spruch 5 (II, 4–7)
rꜣ n nmt.t r bw ḏsr ḏd mdw.w
bꜣ Jwnw wḏꜣ=ṯn wḏꜣ=j

[40] H. Bonnet, *ZÄS* 67 (1931), 26.

wḏ3=j wḏ3=ṯn
wḏ3 k3=ṯn jw k3=j wḏ3.w
ḫnt k3.w ꜥnḫ.w nb.w
ꜥnḫ n3.w nb.w ꜥnḫ=j
mns3.wj n Jtmw m s3 n ḥꜥw=j
dj n=j Sḫm.t ꜥ3.t mrj.t Ptḥ ꜥnḫ ḏd w3s
ḥ3 jwf=j tm n ꜥnḫ Ḏḥwtj
jnk Ḥrw ḥrj w3ḏ=f
nb nrw ꜥ3 šfy.t
k3 šw.tj ꜥ3 m 3bḏw
ḥtp dj nsw jw=j wꜥb.kw

Spruch zum Schreiten zum heiligen Ort. Worte zu sprechen:
Seelen von Heliopolis, seid ihr heil, bin ich heil **(a)**.
Bin ich heil, seid ihr heil **(b)**.
Sind eure Ka heil, ist mein Ka heil
an der Spitze aller lebenden Ka **(c)**.
Leben diese alle, lebe ich **(d)**.
Die beiden *mns3*-Krüge des Atum sind der Schutz meiner Glieder **(e)**.
Sachmet, die Große, die Geliebte des Ptah, gebe mir Leben, Dauer und Heil, um mein "Fleisch" (in) der Fülle des Lebens des Thot **(f)**.
Ich bin Horus auf seinem Papyrus,
der Herr des Schreckens, groß an Hoheit,
mit hohen Federn, groß in Abydos **(g)**.
Ein königliches Opfer, ich bin rein.

a) Die "Seelen von Heliopolis" gehören im Neuen Reich zu den mythischen Gemeinden, die die aufgehende Sonne begrüßen und anbeten. Sie vollführen den *hnw*-Gestus und begleiten mit den *Mr.t*-Göttinnen den ausziehenden oder aufgehenden Gott, s. pLeiden T2: "Die Seelen von Heliopolis jubeln ihm zu, die Seelen von Buto und Hierakonpolis erheben ihn. 'Betet ihn an!', sagen die Sonnenaffen; 'Lob ihm!' sagt alles Getier insgesamt", s. Text III 4 bei Assmann, *LL*, 314f., 322f., 331f.; ders., *Re und Amun*, 69. In CT Sp. 154, Tb Sp. 115: "Spruch, zum Himmel herauszugehen und das Totenreich zu öffnen, die Mächte von Heliopolis zu kennen" sind es Re, Schu und Tefnut. Der Tote bezeichnet sich als einer, der Zutritt hat: "Ich bin einer von euch, / ich kenne diese von den Mächten von Heliopolis, zu welchen nicht (einmal) der Hohepriester eingeführt ist". Zum unmittelbar folgenden Text paßt die Vorstellung einer aufs Jubeln beschränkten Adorantenfunktion nicht sehr gut, vermutlich sind eher die bislang nicht erklärten Anspielungen des CT und Tb gemeint; s. H. Kees, *Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten* (Leipzig 1956), 282f. In Edfou IV, 134, 4–16 wird beim Dattelbehälteropfer ein Ritus für den *B3w Jwnw* (*ꜥrq jrw n B3w Jwnw*) genannt, wobei dies eine Bezeichnung für Osiris "die Manifestation von On" ist, s. S. Cauville, *RdE* 32 (1980), 48.
(b) Zu dieser mehrfach im Totenbuch und anderswo belegten Umkehrformel, die auch in literarische Texte Eingang gefunden hat; s. W. Westendorf, *GM* 5 (1973), 43–45; Tb Kap. 17, 35; 72, 6–7; 160, 3; Hornung, *Totenbuch*, 65, 18; U. Rößler-Köhler, *Kapitel 17 des ägyptischen Totenbuches*, GOF IV/10 (Wiesbaden 1979), 220, 247. Zur Umkehrformel mit *ꜥnḫ* vgl. *Pyr.* Sp. 219 (passim); zum "Kehrsatz" s. W. Westendorf, "Der Rezitationsvermerk *ṯs-phr*", *Ägyptologische Studien* [Fs Grapow], (Berlin 1955), 383–402, bes. 387.
(c) *ḫnt k3.w ꜥnḫ.w nb.w.* Das königliche Epitheton findet sich beim Ritus des "Lösen(s) der

Umhüllung" (*sfḫ.t ḏbꜣ*) des Götterschreins, s. E. Naville, *Deir el Bahari* I, pl. 11; II, pl. 45 (Ptah).
(d) Nach Mut ist *nꜣ nb.w* zu lesen.
(e) *mnsꜣ*-Krüge (*Wb.* II, 88, 8–10) sind seit dem AR belegt, s. P. Posener-Krieger, *Les Archives du Temple Funéraire de Néférirkarê-Kakai (Les Papyrus d'Abousir)*, BdE 65 (Kairo 1971), 413 (58F); Barta, *Die altägyptische Opferliste von der Frühzeit bis zur griechisch-römischen Epoche*, MÄS 3 (Berlin 1963), 79, 81 (Wasserlibation).
(f) Sowohl Mut wie Amun schreiben *dj.t* für *dj*. Zur Übersetzung: "Mein Fleisch ist vollständig (*tm*) für das Leben, Thot", s. H. Roeder, *Mit dem Auge sehen*, 130. Die Floskel ist alt und kommt bereits in *CT* V, 222*i* (Sp. 407) vor. Einen passenden grammatischen Anschluß und eine überzeugende Segmentierung vermag ich nicht herzustellen, möglicherweise ist *dj n=j* zweimal zu lesen: "Gib mir die Fülle des Lebens, Thot!", was aber auch nicht zum Vorhergehenden paßt. Deshalb schließe ich mich der üblichen Übersetzung "in der Fülle des Lebens (des Thot)" an, vgl. *Wb.* V, 303, 14. *tm n ʿnḫ* (ohne *Ḏḥwtj*) erscheint in der Formel "Horus, Horus, Sproß der Sachmet, umgib den Leib (*ḥꜣ jwf*) des Pharao, Leben, Heil, Gesundheit, in der Fülle des Lebens!", s. J.-C. Goyon, "Sur une formule des rituels de conjuration des dangers de l'année", *BIFAO* 74 (1974), 75ff.; Dendara VIII, 56, 6; 62, 3.
(g) *jnk Ḥrw ḥrj wꜣḏ=f*. Nach der Var. Mut ist eindeutig *ḥrj wꜣḏ=f* zu lesen. Von Kausen, a.a.O., mißverstanden, obwohl schon richtig bei G. Roeder, *Kulte, Orakel* (s. Anm. 36), 81; H. Schlögl, *Der Sonnengott auf der Blüte. Eine ägyptische Kosmogonie des Neuen Reiches*, AegHelv 5 (Genf 1977), 15f. Zum älteren Vorkommen in den CT s. B. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 142, 147; *CT* II, 348*a-b* (Spruch 157) = *Tb* 112, 14 und *CT* VI, 36*a*, 38*s* (Sp. 477). H. Kees, *RT* 37 (1915), 66–67; ders., *Götterglaube*, 90, vermutete eine Konstellation zwischen den Gestirnen Sothis und Orion. "Horus auf seinem Papyrus" ist beim Fischfang mit Stricken oder Tauen verbunden und auch mit Buto, s. CT Sp. 157, Tb 112. Der älteste Beleg einer Darstellung stammt aus der Nefertem-Kapelle des Tempels Sethos I., *Abydos* III, Tf. 16. Der König räuchert vor einem Horusfalken auf einer *wꜣḏ*-Säule, der zusammen mit einer knienden Königsfigur auf einer Basis steht. In späteren Abbildungen erscheint er als eine Standarte in Gestalt eines Falken, der auf der Dolde einer *wꜣḏ*-Säule sitzt. Vermutlich ist hier wie in den späten Belegen eine Standarte das Vorbild, die der Priester trägt und mit der er sich identifiziert. In den Treppenprozessionen in Dendara, ist es der Priester, der direkt hinter dem König schreitet, Dendara VIII, 88, 4; 103, 4; Tf. 763, 741; R.A. Parker, J. Leclant, J.-C. Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak* (Providence/London 1979), 50, Tf. 22–23, halten den Horus *ḏsr-ʿ* bei den Riten auf dem *jꜣ.t*-Djeme für den Horus *ḥrj wꜣḏ=f*. Die häufig zusammen auftretenden Epitheta *nb snḏ* (selten: *nrw*) *ʿꜣ šfy.t* (*šfšfj.t*) "Herr der Furcht, groß an Hoheit" beschreiben die "Anbetung heischenden Eigenschaften des erscheinenden Herrschers", so Assmann, *LL*, 59. Sie kommen verschiedenen Gottheiten zu, z.B. Ihi, *CT* IV, 182*c*.

Zunächst wendet sich der Offiziant, der sich noch im Opfertischraum befindet, an die Ba von Heliopolis, die hier vermutlich nicht in ihrer aus den Sonnenhymnen bekannten Funktion von Adoranten auftreten, sondern in ihrer älteren, am geheimen Wissen teilhabenden Mächten. Er bittet sie um Zutritt und beschwört in Wechselsätzen seine körperliche Integrität ("Heilsein", "Leben"). Bis auf den nicht sicher bestimmbaren Horus *ḥrj wꜣḏ=f*, der jedoch mit Buto verbunden sein könnte, stammen alle Götter aus dem memphitischen Raum, so daß man eine heliopolitanisch-memphitische Tradition erwägen könnte, falls nicht einfach eine Kompilation von verschiedenen Totentexten vorliegt. Dazu paßte der Wunsch nach körperlicher Integrität und Unversehrtheit, vor allem der nach dem Schutz der Sachmet und der Vollständigkeit des Fleisches, die dem Toten das Weiterleben ermöglichen und ein altes Thema der Totenliteratur

sind. Aber auch eine ganz andere Herkunft, z.B. aus einem Neujahrsritual, ist nicht auszuschließen.

Spruch 6 (II, 7 – III, 3)
kjj rꜣ
rs=ṯ nfr m ḥtp Jp.t-swt
ḥnw.t rꜣ.w pr.w nṯr.w nṯrw.t jmj=s
nṯr.w nṯrw.t jmj.w Jp.t-swt
nṯr.w nṯrw.t jmj.w Wꜣs.t
nṯr.w nṯrw.t jmj.w Jwnw
nṯr.w nṯrw.t jmj.w Ḥw.t-kꜣ-Ptḥ
nṯr.w nṯrw.t jmj.w p.t
nṯr.w nṯrw.t jmj.w tꜣ
nṯr.w nṯrw.t jmj.w rsj mḥ.tj jmnt.t jꜣbt.t
nꜣ nsw.w bjtj.w msw nsw
šsp ḥḏ.t jrj mnw(.w) n Jmnw m Jp.t-sw.t
rs=ṯn ḥtp=ṯn
rs=ṯn nfr m ḥtp

Ein anderer Spruch:
Erwache schön in Frieden, Karnak **(a)**
Herrin der Tempel und der Götter und Göttinnen, die in ihm sind! **(b)**
Oh Götter und Göttinnen, die in Karnak sind,
oh Götter und Göttinnen, die in Theben sind **(b)**,
oh Götter und Göttinnen, die in Heliopolis sind,
oh Götter und Göttinnen, die in Memphis sind,
oh Götter und Göttinnen, die im Himmel sind,
oh Götter und Göttinnen, die auf Erden sind,
oh Götter und Göttinnen, die im Süden, Norden, Westen und Osten sind **(c)**,
oh Könige von Oberägypten und Könige von Unterägypten, Königskinder,
die die weiße Krone empfangen und Denkmäler für Amun in Karnak geschaffen haben **(d)**,
erwachet, seid gnädig
erwachtet schön in Frieden!

(a) Der Spruch bildet eine Variante des Morgenliedes, das von den *Pyr.* Spruch 573 (§ 1478*c*) an bis in griech.-röm. Zeit bezeugt ist. Mit ihm weckt man den Gott, die Kronen, seine Körperteile und Insignien, seine Mitgötter und seine(n) Tempel. Das Morgenlied besitzt eine feste Struktur, in die man die jeweiligen Anrufungen einsetzt. Hier ist eine einzige lange Anrufung eingeschoben. Zu den Varianten in Edfu s. Kurth, *Treffpunkt der Götter*, 80–88, 337–340. *rs=k nfr* "Du erwachst schön" kommt vor allem in der Ritualversion der Wecklieder vor und wird in den Gräberfassung zumeist durch *jnḏ ḥr=k* ersetzt, vermutlich weil man kultischen Weckruf in Gräbern als unangemessen empfand, so Assmann, *LL*, 183, s. jedoch ders., *Sonnenhymnen*, 110 (TT 57), Text 75, 21f.

(b) Zu *Wꜣs.t nḫt.t ḥnw.t rꜣ.w pr.w,* s. J.-M. Kruchten, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak (XXI-XXIIImes dynasties) et autres textes contemporains relatifs à l'initiation des prêtres d'Amon*, OLA 32 (Louvain 1989), 258; P. Vernus, *ASAE* 68 (1982), 129–135. *Jp.t sw.t* und *Wꜣs.t* sind

auch als Personifikationen unterschieden. Das Epitheton verweist auf eine späte Redaktion (19. Dyn.?) des Spruches.
(c) *rsj* (*rsw.t*) bei Amun zu *nsw.w* verschrieben. Zur Aufzählung vgl. die Sammelliste im Mundöffnungsritual beim Weihräuchern, Otto, *Mundöffnungsritual* II, 135f. (Text 4); die Opferlitanei in Tb 141/142, Hornung, *Totenbuch*, 274, 12f., "für die südlichen Götter, die nördlichen Götter, die westlichen Götter und die östlichen Götter, für die Götter, die knien, und die Götter, die zu den Opfern gehören."
(d) Mut hat Plural *mnw.w*. Die ausdrückliche Nennung der Königskinder läßt zunächst an Totentempel von Kronprinzen wie den des Wadjmose denken, die dem Amunkult angeschlossen waren. Vermutlich sind aber Statuen der Mitglieder des Königshauses gemeint, die Amun Stiftungen gemacht haben. Solche Statuen, die vermutlich im Opfertischraum standen, werden noch im Sanktuar von Dendera als Kultempfänger verzeichnet und beschrieben: "Könige von Oberägypten, Könige von Unterägypten, Königsmütter, Königsgemahlinnen und Königskinder", Dendara II, 54–55, pl. 104–107, s. S. Cauville, "Les statues cultuelles de Dendera d'après les inscriptions pariétales", *BIFAO* 87 (1987), 107ff.

Mit diesem ersten Morgenlied begrüßt der Priester, der sich im Sanktuar vor dem geschlossenen Naos befindet, zunächst das Erwachen des Tempels von Karnak, der Herrin aller Tempel, dann das seiner Gottheiten und noch einmal das der Götter(statuen) in Karnak und Waset, Heliopolis und Memphis, schließlich zusammenfassend, das der Götter(statuen) des Himmels und der Erde, der vier Weltgegenden (Himmelsrichtungen) sowie das der Statuen der Könige und der königlichen Kinder, die als Stifter für Amun wirkten. Die Kultstatue des Amun wird erst nach der sog. zweiten Öffnung mit Spruch 37 (XIII, 9 – XVI, 1: "Amun anbeten" *dwꜣ Jmnw*), einem Hymnus mit Namensanrufungen, nach Assmann, einem für Festtage, geweckt. Ein weiterer mit Weckruf eingeleiteter Hymnus stellt der *kjj* betitelte Spruch 38 (XVI, 1-XVII, 1; Assmann, Nr. 122) dar, mit dem u. a. Amun als Horus, der 10. Gott der Neunheit, gepriesen wird.[41] Mit "Eine andere Preisung Amuns am frühen Morgen" (*kjj dwꜣ Jmnw ḥr tp dwꜣ*) ist Spruch 41 (XIX, 3–XX, 2), ein weiteres mit *rs=k nfr* eingeleitetes Wecklied, betitelt.[42] Vermutlich entstammt das Morgenlied dem königlichen Zeremoniell.

Spruch 7 (III, 3–5)
rꜣ n sḏ jꜣd.t ḏd mdw.w
sḏ jꜣd.t sfḫ ḏbꜥ
(Zusatz Abydos:
jw dr.n=j ḏw.t nb(.t) jrj=j r tꜣ)
jj.n=j jn.n=j n=k jr.t Ḥrw
jr.t=k n=k Ḥrw
(Zusatz Abydos:

[41] E. Graefe, "Horus, der zehnte Gott der 'Neunheit' ", in *Hommages à François Daumas* (Montpellier 1986), 347–349 (zu XVI, 8–9 und XV, 3).
[42] Assmann, *LL*, 168ff. (II, 1, Nr. 9); 183, Anm. 76; 307, Anm. 30; ders., *ÄHG*, 323f., 334; ders., *Sonnenhymnen*, XXIX, (3.2.5. Text F, Hymnus zum Sonnenaufgang), Anm. 115. Das Morgenlied kommt in Abydos nur bei einer Räucherung vor, jedoch finden sich anderenorts zahlreiche Varianten; das Erwachen der Kronen s. A. Erman, *Hymnen an das Diadem der Pharaonen*, APAW 1911, das des Kultbilds, pBerlin 3056, vso VII, 7ff. (= oRam Nr.30), das des Hauptgottes und der synnaoi theoi, seinen Körperteilen, das des Tempels und seiner Bauteile s. Kurth, a.a.O.; E. Brunner-Traut, *LÄ* III, 205f.

jnk Ḏḥwtj m jp wḏ3.t
ḥtp dj nsw jw=j wˁb.kw)

Spruch zum Zerreißen (Abwickeln) des Bandes **(a)**. Worte zu sprechen:
Das Band ist zerrissen (abgewickelt), die Öse (der Griff) befreit (gelöst) **(b)**.
Ich habe alles mir anhaftende Übel beseitigt **(c)**!
Ich bin gekommen und bringe dir hiermit das Horusauge;
dein Auge für dich, Horus!
Ich bin Thot beim Berechnen des Udjatauges **(d)**.
Ein königliches Opfer, ich bin rein.

(a) Varr. Abydos: *sfḫ ḏbˁ(w).t* "Lösen des Siegels". Re wiederholt den Titel im Bildfeld. *j3d.t* ist die Siegelschnur. Die Naoi sind nicht nur verriegelt, sondern auch durch eine durch Ösen (Krammen) oder Griffe geführte Schnur gesichert, s. M. Eaton-Krauss und E. Graefe, *The Small Golden Shrine from the Tomb of Tutankhamun* (Oxford 1985), 2, pl. 1, 4, wo in einer der Ösen noch die Schnur erhalten war; W. Boochs, *Siegel und Siegeln im Alten Ägypten* (Sankt Augustin 1982), 33–36: "Die auf jedem Türflügel sitzenden metallenen Krammen (wurden) mehrfach durch einen Strick miteinander verbunden. Die hierdurch entstehende Querverbindung wurde nochmals mit einem Strick umwickelt und das Ganze auf der linken Seite verknotet und auf der Kramme der rechten Seite zweifach gesiegelt." Im Unterschied zu Abydos (*ḏbˁw.t*) haben Amun und Mut *ḏbˁ* "Riegelring", bzw. "Öse, Kramme, Griff", s. P. Posener-Kriéger, "Noms des parties de portes dans les documents d'Abousir", Beiträge Bf 12 [Fs Ricke] (Wiesbaden 1971), 75–85, bes. 80f. ("anneau"); dies., *Les Archives du Temple Funéraire de Néférirkarê-Kakai* I, 194, II, 434 (q), 442, 502. Die Schwierigkeiten der Reihenfolge der Szenen, auf die E. Graefe, "Die Versiegelung der Naostür", *MDAIK* 27 (1971), 150ff., hinwies, lösen sich auf, wenn man *ḏbˁ* als "Öse/Griff" liest und nicht mit Abydos als *ḏbˁ(w).t* "Versiegelung". Auch in den *st3 jtr* betitelten Sprüchen griech.-röm. Zeit könnte man *ḏbˁ* in *sfḫ ḏbˁ* statt mit "Siegel" besser mit "Öse/Griff" übersetzen, so Dendara III, 76, 5f: "Die Schnur wegziehen. Ich habe die Schnur weggezogen aus der Kapelle Ihrer Majestät, ich befreie (löse) die Öse (*ḏbˁ*)"; Edfou I, 40, 3f: "Die Schnur wegziehen. Ich habe die Schnur herausgezogen, um mich dem Schrein zu nahen; ich befreie die Öse (*ḏbˁ*), um den Gott zu schauen"; Kurth, *Treffpunkt der Götter*, 90, 340 (zu *jtr* "Papyrusschnur"). Es folgt als nächster Akt das im Spruchtitel in gleicher Graphie *ḏbˁ* – statt *ḏbˁw.t* – geschriebene *sfḫ ḏbˁ*, s. **(d)**.
(b) Unnötiger Zusatz Abydos (Horus, Re, Ptah): *r sn ˁ3 pn*: "um diese Tür zu öffnen".
(c) Zusatz Abydos (Horus, Re, Ptah). Häufige Formel zur Versicherung der Reinheit beim Eintritt, z.B. Tb Sp. 86, Hornung, *Totenbuch*, 176, 24, vgl. Tb 17 (20) mit Glosse, Hornung, a.a.O., 66f.; vgl. *Pyr.* 851*a* (*sfḫ* statt *dr*); Junker, *Stundenwachen*, 75. Kultbildritual, Edfou I, 40, 4: *dr=j ḏw.t ḥr jtn jmj=s* "Ich vertreibe das Übel von der Sonnenscheibe, die darin ist."
(d) Der Offiziant beruft sich auf seine Rolle als Thot, vgl. Assmann, *LL*, 190, E. Zum Suchen, Überprüfen und Überweisen des Udjat-Auges, s. Spruch 22 (VIII, 9); Assmann, *Ma'at. Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im alten Ägypten* (München 1990), 191 (*CT* VII, 372–377). Auf der Darstellung in Abydos zieht der König zieht eine Schnur zwischen zwei Krammen heraus, s. E. Graefe, *MDAIK* 27 (1971), 150f., Abb. 3. In Edfu gehört die Thotrolle zum folgenden Spruch, Edfou I, 25, 10–12: "Das Siegel lösen. Ich habe die Erde fortgenommen (*st3.n=j t3*) und das Siegel (Graphie: *ḏbˁw.t*) gelöst. Ich erhebe das Lebende (Auge) für seinen Herrn: Ich bin Thot, der das Glänzende (Auge) seinem Herrn bringt und Horus zufriedenstellt mit seinem Auge", vgl. Kurth, a.a.O., 90.

Mit Spruch 7 beginnen die Türöffnungsriten, die bis Spruch 10 reichen. Das Herausziehen der Siegelschnur aus der Öse und ihr Beiseitelegen oder Wegwerfen wird als Beseitigen (*sfḫ, dr*) der Unreinheit gedeutet. Der Bezug auf die Thotrolle des Offizianten ist mehrschichtig, er ist derjenige, der das Siegel überprüft und das Opfer überbringt, und zugleich mit dem *wḏȝ.t*-Auge die Summe aller guten und heiligen Dinge in einem heilen, unbeschädigten Zustand.[43]

Spruch 8 (III, 5–8)
rȝ n sḏ sjn ḏd mdw.w
sḏ sjn wbȝ qbḥw
jtḥ mt.w n Wsjr
n{n} jj.n=j js r dr nṯr ḥr s.t=f
jj.n=j <r> rdj.t nṯr ḥr s.t=f
mn.tj (mn tw) ḥr s.t=k wr.t Jmnw-Rᶜw nb nsw.t tȝwj
jnk bs nṯr.w
ḥtp dj nsw jw=j wᶜb.kw

Spruch zum Zerbrechen des Tons **(a)**. Worte zu sprechen:
Zerbrochen ist der Ton, erschlossen ist das Himmelsgewässer **(b)**;
gezogen sind die Sehnen des Osiris.
Nicht, um den Gott auf seinem Sitz zu vertreiben, bin ich gekommen,
ich bin gekommen, um den Gott auf seinen Sitz setzen **(c)**.
Sei fest auf deinem großen Thron, Amun-Re, Herr der Throne der beiden Länder **(d)**!
Ich bin ein Eingeführter der Götter **(e)**.
Ein königliches Opfer, ich bin rein.

(a) Die Varr. Abydos und Amenophis-Ritual haben masc. *sjn*. Das *Wb.* unterscheidet zwischen *sjn* "Ton", bzw. *sḏ sjn* "Zerbrechen des Tons", IV, 38, 2, und dem in der 18. Dyn. belegten *sjn.t* "Tempelgerät aus Kupfer", führt aber *sḏ-sjn.t* an, *Wb.* IV, 39, 16 (*Urk.* IV, 206, 14), ein Gerät in Form eines menschlichen Arms, der eine kleine Keule umfaßt, s. E. Graefe, *MDAIK* 27 (1971), 153ff., Abb. 4.
(b) *wbȝ qbḥw* wird zumeist zusammen mit der Phrase "Geöffnet sind die Türflügel des Himmels" gebraucht, s. *Pyr.* (Sp. 422) 756*c*: "Die Tore des Himmels öffnen sich vor dir, die Tore des Himmelsgewässers tun sich vor dir auf" (*wn.w n=k ᶜȝ.wj p.t snj n=k ᶜȝ.wj qbḥw*). Das *qbḥw*-Gewässer ist ein typisches Jenseitsgebiet, in dem der Tote sich aufzuhalten wünscht, s. *Pyr.* 1356*b*; die Sequenz bildet häufig den Beginn eines "Eröffnungsliedes", Otto, *Mundöffnungsritual*, 93, 167, Szene 74 (Statue in der Kapelle); Tb Sp. 60, *CT* IV, Sp. 353; V, Sp. 358; vgl. Tb Sp. 62; 68; 169 (Hornung, a.a.O., 346, 69). S. die Wiederholung in Spruch 10 (Kommentar b).
(c) *n ... js* ist emphatische Konstruktion.
(d) Eine sichere Unterscheidung zwischen Pseudopartizip (als altertümliche Wunschform) und *tw* als Verstärkung des Imperativs ist in diesem Text nicht möglich. Die Phrase steht in Var. Abydos (Amun) nach *jnk bs nṯr.w*.
(e) Auch Anrede "ihr Götter" ist möglich. Die Übersetzung als Part. Perf. Aktiv. "der die Götter einführt" ist nicht auszuschließen, erscheint aber unwahrscheinlich, da der Priester initiiert wird, nicht der Gott. Grammatikalisch dürfte ein Substantivalsatz, keine *jn*-Konstruktion vorliegen. Zu einer möglichen Ergänzung *bs* (*ḥr* oder *r*) *nṯr* s. J.-M. Kruchten, *Les annales des prêtres de*

[43] S. H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, PrÄg 6 (Leiden 1967), 47f.: "The *wḏȝt* is a symbol of soundness in the sense of integrated contrasts."

Karnak, 175ff.; (*bs r*); zu *bs ḥr* s. Daumas, "Quelques textes de l'atelier des orfèvres dans le temple de Dendara" (s. Anm.10), 113, 6; Gutbub, a.a.O., 159. *bs nṯr* ist auch ein Untersatz, auf dem die Gottheit ruht, s. S. Cauville, *BIFAO* 90 (1990), 107, 42.

Mit diesem Akt stellt der Priester fest, daß der Ton des Siegels, das um die Schnur gedrückt worden war, zerbrochen ist, ein Vorgang, der gleichzeitig mit dem Herausziehen aus der Kramme stattfand, aber erst mit diesem Spruch seine götterweltliche Ausdeutung erhält. Die Gleichzeitigkeit der drei Aktionen dürfte auch das *sfḫ ḏbᶜ(w).t* der Abydos-Varianten erklären. Der Zugang zum Naos, dem "Himmel", wird mythologisiert durch die Nennung des "Himmelsgewässers" (*qbḥ.w*). Die "Sehnen/Gefäße des Osiris" (oder: Gottes N.) die gezogen sind, dürften eine Mythologisierung der Türschnüre und des Siegels darstellen.

Spruch 9 (III, 8 – IV, 2)
rꜣ n sfḫ ḥḏ (*sṯꜣ s*) *ḏd mdw.w*
sṯꜣ ḏbᶜ n Stḫ m jr.t Ḥrw nḍm st
sfḫ ḏbᶜ n Stḫ m jr.t Ḥrw nḍm st
(Zusatz Abydos:
sfḫ rwḏ ḥr Wsjr) *sfḫ dḥr ḥr sꜣ nṯr*
Jmnw-Rᶜw nb nsw.t tꜣwj šsp n=k šwtj=k ḥḏ.t=k (Var. *ḥḏ.tj*) *m jr.t Ḥrw*
wnm.t m wnm.t jꜣb.t m jꜣb.t
nfrw=k n=k Jmnw-Rᶜw nb nsw.t tꜣwj
ḥꜣw ḥbs tw
ᶜrq ᶜrq tw
jw ḥm jnk ḥm nṯr
jn nsw wḏ wj r mꜣꜣ nṯr
(Zusatz Abydos:
jnk bnw pwj ᶜꜣ ntj m Jwnw
jw sḥtp.n=j ntj m šj dwꜣ.t
sjp.n=j ntj(*.t*) *wn*
ḥtp dj nsw [*dwꜣ*] *n nṯr.w nṯrw.t jmj.w ḫw.t* (N)

Spruch zum Lösen (Aufmachen) der Kapelle. (Alle Varr. außer Amun: Ziehen des Riegels) (**a**). Worte zu sprechen:
Gezogen ist der Finger des Seth aus dem Auge des Horus;
(und) es ist angenehm (**b**)!
Gelöst ist der Finger des Seth aus dem Auge des Horus;
(und) es ist angenehm!
Gelöst ist die Sehne bei Osiris, das Leder(band) hinter dem Gott (**c**).
Amun-Re, Herr von Karnak, empfange dir deine Doppelfeder,
deine weiße Krone (Var.: die Strahlende, Weiße) als Horusauge (**d**):
die rechte (Feder) als rechtes Auge, die linke (Feder) als linkes Auge.
Deine Vollkommenheit (dein Ornat?) für dich, Amun-Re, Herr von Karnak (**e**)!
Du Nackter, bekleide dich,
du zu Umbindender, umbinde dich (**f**)!
(Es) ist wahrlich (so); ich bin der Priester.

Es ist der König, der mich gesandt hat, den Gott zu schauen **(g)**!
(Zusatz Abydos:
Ich bin jener große Phönix, der in On ist.
Ich habe zufriedengestellt den, der im See der Duat ist;
ich habe kontrolliert das, was ist.
Ein königliches Opfer; [Anbetung] den Götter und Göttinnen, die sich im Tempel des N. befinden **(h)**).

(a) Nur Amun hat *ḥḏ*, wie *ḥḏ* "Kapelle", die beim Mundöffnungsritual in ähnlichem Kontext als Statuenschrein vorkommt, Otto, *Mundöffnungsritual*, 166ff., Sz. 74 ("Niedersetzen in der *ḥḏ*-Kapelle; Öffnen der *ḥḏ*-Kapelle"), s. weiter die Passage, a.a.O., 168 "Deine Schönheit gehört dir, N. Die Verklärtheit (*ꜣḫ*) gehört dir!" In der Spätzeit ist *ḥḏ* auch eine Bezeichnung für den tragbaren Naos, s. Daumas, "Quelques textes de l'atelier des orfèvres dans le temple de Dendara" (s. Anm. 10), 112, n. 9. Falls nicht einfach eine Verschreibung vorliegt, könnte *ḥḏ* auch im Wortspiel zu *ḥḏ.t* "weiße Krone", bzw. *šw.tj ḥḏ.tj* verwendet worden sein. *sṯꜣ s* wird die bessere Lesart sein. Nach dem Lösen der Verschnürung und des Siegels muß das Zurückschieben des Riegels erfolgen.

(b) Der wortwörtlich gleiche Titel und Spruch finden sich am Eingang der Bibliothek und des *Pr-dwꜣ.t* in Edfu "Ziehen (Zurückschieben) des Riegels", s. Edfou III, 333, 19f.; 344, 20f., aber nicht im Täglichen Ritual. Der erste Teil ist häufig übersetzt und kommentiert; s. Hermann Kees, in A. Bertholet (Hrsg.), *Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch* (2. Aufl., Tübingen 1928), 33, Nr. 51; Griffiths, *Aegyptus* 38 (1958), 7ff.; H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 49. Der Finger des Seth bedeutet den Riegel des Naos, der das Gottesbild enthält.

(c) Varr. Abydos (Isis, Amun, Re, Ptah) haben zusätzlich *sfḫ rwḏ ḥr Wsjr* "Gelöst ist die Sehne bei Osiris, gelöst ist das Leder hinter dem Gott"; zumeist in der Schreibung *dḥr* "Bitterkeit" statt "Leder"; bei Mut und Amun ist *dḥr* zu *ndḥr* verschrieben, das Determinativ ähnelt dem von *ḥm*, s. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* III, Nr. 166 und 98. Mit diesem Zusatz dürften alle Spekulationen von Moret, a.a.O., 42ff., über D. Kessler, *Die heiligen Tiere und der König*, ÄAT 16 (Wiesbaden 1989), 182, bis zu Y. Koenig, *Le Papyrus Boulaq 6*, BdE 87 (Kairo 1981), 110, über ein Bekleiden der Statue des Amun mit dem Widderfell bzw. ein Abziehen der Haut, die gewöhnlich *msq* oder in pBoulaq 6 rto XI, 2 *ḫn.t* heißt, in diesem Zusammenhang hinfällig geworden sein. Es handelt sich lediglich um eine mythologische Ausdeutung des Riegels und der Siegelschnur; s. *Wb.* II, 410, 4 *rwḏ* "übertragen: Band am Türverschluß". Vielleicht ist der Satz gedanklich mit dem folgenden Empfang der Doppelfederkrone zu verbinden, der in der Praxis viel später geschieht – von Spruch 44 an ("Legen der beiden Arme auf den Gott"), 49, den Bekleidungsriten oder Zusatzspruch Abydos 9 ("Aufrichten der beiden Federn auf dem Kopf") – und hieße dann: "Gelockert ist das Lederband (ob *sšd*-Band der Krone?) hinter dem Gott". Das Band wäre einmal als *rwḏ* und *dḥr* mythologisiert.

(d) Amun. Mut u.a. haben ein unpassendes *ḥḏ.t* "Weiße Krone" zugefügt. Die Doppelfederkrone sitzt nicht auf der Weißen Krone; vermutlich haben die Abydos-Varr., die *ḥḏ.tj* ohne Suffix schreiben, den besseren Text, da Straußenfedern weiß sind. Eine weitere Möglichkeit ist, *ḥḏ.tj* einfach auszulassen, wie Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern*, Text 75 (TT 57), 110f. mit Anm. f es tut; es handelt sich jedoch lediglich in der Vorstellung, nicht im Ritualablauf um einen Übergabespruch zur Darreichung der Krone.

(e) Die Gleichsetzung der beiden Federn der Federkrone des Amun mit den beiden Augen des Himmelsgottes wird auch in die Sonnenhymnik (Grab des Chaemhet, TT 57) übernommen, s. Assmann, a.a.O.; ders., *LL*, 193; ders., *ÄHG*, Nr.86, Die Var. oIFAO 204 rto ist verderbt; sie läßt den Anfang aus und hat *wnmj m wnmj=k jꜣbj r jꜣbj=k/nfrw n=k nfrw n=k Jmnw Rᶜw nb nsw.t tꜣwj* "Die rechte (Feder) ist dein rechtes (Auge), die linke (Feder) ist dein linkes (Auge)..."

(f) Zu *nfrw=k n=k s*. Otto, *Mundöffnungsritual*, 174, Sz. 74B, mit dem Zusatz "die Verklärtheit gehört dir". Zu *ḫ3w ḥbs tw ꜥrq ꜥrq tw*: neben den Belegen im Amunsritual (Spruch 10, 25, X, 3) vermerkt das *Wb.* noch Edfou I, 388, 9, aus dem gleichfalls nicht eindeutig hervorgeht, ob es sich um Imperativ oder Pseudopartizip handelt. G. Roeder, *Kulte, Orakel*, 91, 93, hält es für ein Pseudopart. "Nackter, du bist bekleidet! Vollendeter, du bist vollendet!". Kees, in *Religionsgesch. Leseb.*, 36, Nr. 58, gibt die identische Passage aus Spruch 25 mit Imperativ wieder, was auch ich für passender halte: "Dir geht es gut, Amon-Rê, Herr von Karnak; du Nackter, bedecke dich, du zu Bekleidender, bekleide dich!" Vermutlich ist der jetzt offene Schrein gemeint, nicht ein unbekleidetes Götterbild. Möglicherweise stammt der Text aus einer Balsamierungssituation und wurde nur adaptiert, s. etwa die Rede der Klagefrau in den Stundenwachen: "Ich bekleidete aber meinen Herrn, der nackt war", s. Junker, *Stundenwachen*, 77, 162; 85, 92: "Mein Finger kleidete den Nackten" mit Hinweis auf Tb 145, 83 (Lepsius). Falls der Satz eine "metaphorische" Bedeutung hätte, wäre dann wohl mit Pseudopartizip zu übersetzen, etwa "Unverhüllter, du bist nun durch (mit) Maat bekleidet": vgl. Maatlitanei XXII, 2f.: "Dein Gewand und dein Leinenstoff ist Maat, die Verhüllung deines Leibes (*ḥbs n ḥꜥ.w=k*) ist Maat", Assmann, *ÄHG*, Nr. 125, 51. Bei *ꜥrq* liegt vermutlich eine potentielle gerundivische Verwendung eines passivischen Partizips vor, E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, AnOr 34/39 (Rom 1955–1964), §§ 645, 661, Anm.

(g) *jw ḥm*; bei *ḥm* handelt es sich um die seit dem AR belegte Partikel; für den Übersetzungsvorschlag danke ich H. Buchberger. Varr. Abydos (Amun, Re) haben: *wḏ n=j* "Es ist der König, der mir befohlen hat"; was ich für die schlechtere Lesart halte; s. D. van der Plas, *BSFE* 115 (1989), 8. Vgl. die Versicherung des Königs(priesters) *jnk ḥm nṯr sꜣ ḥm-nṯr jn nsw wḏ wj r mꜣꜥ nṯr ḥtp dj nsw jw=j wꜥb.kw* im Reinheitstext, Edfou III, 83, 11, s. Alliot, *Culte d'Horus*, 144f., Otto, *Gott und Mensch*, 69. S. Spruch 11.

(h) Es folgt in Abydos der Zusatz, der zum großen Teil aus Totenbuch stammt und vermutlich von Sp. 17 übernommen wurde, s. Hornung, *Totenbuch*, 61, 8f.: "Ich bin jener große Phönix, der in Heliopolis ist, der Revisor dessen, was ist" und Tb 29B: "Ich bin der Phönix, der Ba des Re, der die Götter zur Unterwelt leitet"; vgl. Sp. 64; Sp. 100; Sp. 125; Sp.180. Zu weiteren Belegen s. U. Rößler-Köhler, *Kapitel 17 des Ägyptischen Totenbuches*, 241. Die Nennung von Heliopolis könnte ein Hinweis auf den Ursprungsort der Türöffnungsriten sein. Zumindest auf der Siegesstele des Pije Z. 103–105 heißt es vom Besuch im Benbenhaus: "'Er stieg die Treppe hinauf zum großen Fenster, um Re im Benbenhaus zu sehen. Der König selbst stand dort ganz allein. Brechen(?) der Riegel (*sḏ s.wj*); Öffnen der Türflügel; Erblicken seines Vaters Re im heiligen Benbenhaus, der Mandjet-Barke des Re und der Mesektet-Barke des Atum. Schließen der Türflügel; Auflegen des Tons; Siegelung mit dem Siegel des Königs selbst; Weisung an die Wab-Priester: 'Ich habe das Siegel aufgelegt für mich (selbst) (*jnk sjp n=j ḥtm*). Keiner der anderen Könige, die künftig aufstehen werden, soll (in das Sanktuar) eintreten!' "; s. N.-C. Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi('ankh)y* (s. Anm. 33), 130ff.

Der Türriegel des Naos wird hier als Finger des Seth gedeutet, während in anderen Texten wie dem Mundöffnungsritual und Ritual für Amenophis I. er als Phallus des Seth bezeichnet wird.[44] Der zweite Teil könnte ursprünglich aus einem Spruch zur Überreichung der Krone stammen, der dritte Teil aus einem Balsamierungstext.

Spruch 10 (IV, 2–6; XI, 1–4)

rꜣ n wn-ḫr nṯr (Varr. Abydos*: wn ꜥꜣ.wj*) *ḏd mdw.w*
wn.w ꜥꜣ.wj p.t sn.w ꜥꜣ.wj tꜣ

[44] s. H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 49.

nḏ ḥr n Gb m ḏd n nṯr.w
mn.w ḥr s.t=s
wn.w ꜥ3.wj p.t psḏ psḏ.t
q3 Jmnw-Rꜥw nb nsw.t t3.wj ḥr s.t=f wr.t
q3 psḏ.t ꜥ3t ḥr s.t=sn
nfrw=k n=k Jmnw-Rꜥw nb nsw.t t3.wj
ḥ3w ḫbs tw
ꜥrq ꜥrq tw

Spruch zum Öffnen des Gesichts des Gottes (Varr. Abydos: Öffnen der beiden Türflügel) **(a)**. Worte zu sprechen:
Geöffnet sind die Türflügel des Himmels, aufgetan sind die Tore der Erde **(b)**.
Geb wird mit der Rede der Götter gehuldigt,
die an ihrem Platz dauern **(c)**.
Geöffnet sind die Türflügel des Himmels, die Neunheit erglänzt.
Erhoben ist Amun-Re, der Herr von Karnak, auf seinem großen Thron **(d)**;
erhoben ist die große Neunheit auf ihrem Thron.
Deine Vollkommenheit für dich, Amun-Re, Herr von Karnak!
Du Nackter, bekleide dich,
du zu Umbindender, umbinde dich!

(a) Die Abydos Varr. haben lediglich "Spruch zum Öffnen der Türflügel", was m.E. die bessere Lesung ist. A. Lohwaser, *Die Formel "Öffnen des Gesichts"*, Veröffentl. der Institute für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität Wien 58 (Wien 1991), 28f. zitiert Assmann, *LL*, 249, Anm. 20, läßt aber die Interpretation offen, "dem Kultbild das Gesicht öffnen (sodaß es sehen kann) verändert sich im Laufe der Zeit zu das Gesicht des Gottes enthüllen, sodaß er sichtbar wird." *wn ḥr* ist sicher ein Terminus für das Öffnen des Naos, s. Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), 206; *Wb.* I 313, 4 ("Enthüllen des Götterbildes im Ritual"); in funerärer Verwendung – bis hin zu Uschebti – wird das Gesicht des Toten geöffnet, s. Lohwasser, a.a.O., 37ff. Nach I. Shirun-Grumach, *Offenbarung, Orakel und Königsnovelle*, ÄAT 24 (Wiesbaden 1993), 124, bezieht sich *wn ḥr* "jedoch stets auf die Einweihung von jemanden ('das Enthüllen der Sehkraft von') und niemals auf 'das Gesicht des Gesehenen' ". Im Ritual ist der Befund nicht eindeutig, zumal die von ihr angeführten Parallelen zumeist *wb3 ḥr* und *swn ḥr* lauten. Ein Sehendmachen des Gottes kann nicht allein gemeint sein, vielleicht bedeutet es, daß jetzt – bei geöffneten Schreintüren (vgl. die Varr. Abydos) – Licht auf den Gott fällt und ihn sehend, d.h. den Priester in der Finsternis erkennend, und zugleich sichtbar macht. Vgl. auch den gegenseitigen Bezug im Kehrsatz des folgenden Spruches 11: "Mein Gesicht, hüte dich vor dem Gott! Gott, hüte dich vor meinem Gesicht!". In Spruch 26 (X, 6f.) "Spruch zum Enthüllen des Gesichts festlich" ist eindeutig das Sichtbarwerden des Re gemeint: "Enthüllt ist das Gesicht (der Anblick) des Re im Benbenhaus ... Horus und Thot sind gekommen, um dich im Großen Haus zu sehen", vgl. auch die Pije-Inschrift, Kommentar zu Spruch 9.

(b) Varr. Abydos fügen nach *wn.w ꜥ3.wj p.t wn.w ꜥ3.wj t3 sn.w ꜥ3.wj qbḥw* hinzu: "Geöffnet sind die beiden Türflügel des Himmels, geöffnet sind die beiden Türflügel der Erde, aufgetan sind die beiden Türflügel des Himmelsgewässers." Es handelt sich um einen seit den Pyr. belegten Eröffnungsspruch eines chorischen Kultliedes, zumeist in zweigliedriger Form, vgl. §§ 525–529 (Sp. 325); in der Form *wnj ꜥ3.wj p.t j.snjj ꜥ3.wj qbḥ.w*, §§ 981–985 (Sp. 479); §§ 1132–1137 (Sp. 510); §§ 1408–1411 (Sp. 563); zu weiteren Belegen und zur grammatikalischen Form s. J.P. Allen, *The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts*, Bibl. Aegyptia 2 (Malibu 1984),

§§ 511–512; J.-C. Goyon, "Le cérémonial pour faire sortir Sokaris", *RdE* 20 (1968), 63–96, bes. 84, 96 (75). Die Eingangsverse finden sich noch in den griechischen Zauberpapyri, s. H.D. Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* (Chicago/London 1986), 165 (Papyrus Leiden, I 384, V) aus dem 4(?) Jh.; *PGM* XII, 325) "The gates of heaven were opened. The gates of earth were opened. The route of the sea was opened. The route of the rivers was opened. ... Hide, hide the true (spell to control?) *OUPHOR*, which contains the truth in summary. The invocation to *OUPHOR*." Es folgt eine mit 15fachem *EI IEOU* (ägyptisch: *j? jꜣw*) eingeleitete Anrufung. Nach einer Vermutung von D. Müller, *ZDMG* 113 (1964), 202f. könnte die vox magica *OUPHOR* auf verballhorntes *wp.t-rꜣ* zurückgehen; s. H.-J. Thissen, "Ägyptologische Beiträge zu den griechischen magischen Papyri", in U. Verhoeven/E. Graefe (Hrsg.), *Religion und Philosophie im alten Ägypten* [Fs Derchain], OLA 39 (Louvain 1991), 299. Zum Mundöffnungsritual s. Kommentar zu Spruch 8 (**b**). Daß der sakrale Hohepriestertitel *wn ꜥꜣ.wj n p.t* mit dem Eingangsvers übereinstimmt, gab öfters Anlaß zu Spekulationen über den Rang des Offizianten. Zum zunächst sakralen Hohenpriestertitel, der in der Form *wn ꜥꜣ.wj n p.t m Jp.t sw.t* "der die Schreintüren in Karnak öffnet" ein Ehrentitel in der 22. Dynastie wird und in der 25. Dynastie auch in den Titeln der Militärführer erscheint, s. H. Sternberg-el Hotabi, *SAK* 16 (1989), 286.

(**c**) Varr. Abydos haben *nḏ-ḥr n Gb jtj nṯr.w m ḏd n=f nṯr.w*: "Geb, der Vater der Götter, wird begrüßt mit dem, was die Götter zu ihm sagen"; Assmann, *LL*, 254: "Begrüßt wird Geb durch das, was die Götter (Neunheit) zu ihm sagt, indem sie dauert auf ihrer Stätte". Da ansonsten in den Texten Geb der Sprechende oder vom "Spruch (*rꜣ*) des Geb" die Rede ist, mit dem die Herrschaft zugewiesen wird, ist eine Übersetzung, bei der Geb das Subjekt des Grüßens ist, nicht auszuschließen: "Geb grüßt mit einer Rede die Götter, die ...", zumal es zum folgenden: "... die Neunheit erglänzt," und "erhoben ist die große Neunheit auf ihrem Thron" besser paßt; s. z.B. *Pyr.* 162*b-c* (Sp. 218) "Geb hat das gesagt, was aus dem Mund der Neunheit gekommen ist"; *CT* VI, 306*i-j* (Sp. 681) "Huldigung dir, Thot! 'Dein Erhabensein (*qꜣj=k*) ist es', ist der Ausspruch (*rꜣ*) des Geb"; Belege zum Richterwort des Geb, s. B. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 227.

(**d**) Varr. Abydos haben *m ṯpḥ.t=f* statt *ḥr s.t=f wr.t. ṯpḥ.t* wird eine Bezeichnung der Kapellen in Abydos sein, s. *ṯpḥ.t* "Statuenschrein", P. Posener-Krieger, *Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kakai* II, 449, 502f. Die Varr. lassen *qꜣ psḏ.t ꜥꜣ ḥr s.t=sn* aus. Die Wiederholung *wn.w ꜥꜣ.wj p.t* wird konkret das Öffnen der Schreintüren meinen. Der Opfertischraum, an dessen Opfern die "Neunheit" teilhatte, und der "Saal der Neunheit" liegen vor dem Naos.

(**e**) oDeM 204 wiederholt *nfrw=k n=k* und hat statt *ḥꜣw ḥbs tw ꜥrq ꜥrq tw ḥꜣp.tj ḥbs.tj* "so daß du verborgen (verhüllt) und bekleidet bist".

Spruch 11 (IV, 6–7; XI, 4–5)

rꜣ n mꜣꜣ nṯr ḏd mdw.w
ḥr=j sꜣ tw r nṯr ṯs pḥr
nṯr.w jr.w n=j wꜣ.t sš=j
jn nsw wḏ wj r mꜣꜣ nṯr

Spruch beim Schauen des Gottes (**a**). Worte zu sprechen:
Mein Gesicht, hüte dich vor dem Gott!
Gott, hüte dich vor meinem Gesicht (**b**)!
Götter, gebt mir den Weg frei, damit ich passiere (**c**).
Es ist der König, der mich gesandt hat, den Gott zu schauen.

(a) D. van der Plas, " 'Voir' Dieu", *BSFE* 115 (1989), 9f., übersetzt kommentarlos: "Mon visage veille sur dieu, dieu veille sur mon visage." Die Formulierungen der Tempel griech.-röm. Zeit enthalten keine gegenseitige Warnformel und sind dadurch unprägnanter. So heißt es in Edfu beim "Den Gott anschauen": "Worte zu sprechen: Ich habe den Gott angeschaut, der Mächtige (das Machtbild, *sḫm*) schaut mich an. Der Gott jubelt bei meinem Anblick, sobald ich erblickt habe das Standbild (*smn*) des göttlichen Geflügelten Skarabäus, das heilige Abbild (*tj.t ḏsr.t*) des Falken aus Gold.", Edfou I, 26, 4–6; Kurth, *Treffpunkt der Götter*, 91; ähnlich Dendara I, 83, 3–4.
(b) Zum "Kehrsatz" s. W. Westendorf, *Ägyptologische Studien* [Fs Grapow], 392, Nr. 31 (ohne Suffix übersetzt). Varr. Abydos haben den Kehrsatz – ohne Suffix – ausgeschrieben und *wn.n=j ꜥ3.wj=k dj=k sw3=j* zufügt: "Gott, hüte dich vor dem Gesicht! Gott, ich habe deine Türflügel geöffnet, laß mich passieren!" Die "Hüte-dich-Formel", eine Restriktionsformel, erinnert an einen älteren, u.a. beim "Geleiten der Statue zum Gotteshaus" benutzten Ausruf: *jj nṯr s3 t3*, der mit einem bestimmten Ehrengestus verbunden ist, s. J.-C. Goyon, *RdE* 20 (1968), 94, n. 57, der den Eingangsversen des chorischen Eröffnungsliedes *wn.w ꜥ3.wj n p.t* folgt; W. Guglielmi, *Die Göttin Mr.t*, PrÄg 7 (Leiden 1991), 21f. "Der Gott kommt, hüte dich, Erde! (oder: Ehre(n)-Gestus)"; bereits im MR, P.E. Newberry, *Beni Hassan* I, EEF Arch. Survey 1(London 1893), pl. 29, ist die Formel mit dem Eröffnungslied: "Die Türflügel des Himmels öffnen sich, der Gott tritt hervor" verbunden, s. Assmann, *LL*, 253.
(c) Kees, in: Bertholet (Hrsg.), *Religionsgesch. Lesebuch*, 36, Nr. 57, gibt den Satz nicht mit Imperativ wieder: "Die Götter haben mir den Weg freigegeben, daß ich vorbeigehe". Der Wunsch "Laß mich durch" wird oft gegenüber dem unterweltlichen Torwächter geäußert.

Der Spruch ist möglicherweise mit einem bestimmten Gestus verbunden und enthält die Bitte, ungehindert dem gefährlichen Bild nähertreten zu dürfen. Als Entschuldigungsformel für die Anmaßung, das Kultbild zu schauen, kann nur der erste Teil des Kehrsatzes verstanden werden, die Umkehrung – falls sie dem ursprünglichen Textbestand angehört und nicht nur mechanisch hinzugefügt wurde – enthält eine Warnung an die Gottheit. Vielleicht ist die Formel lediglich wie in den folgenden Sprüchen durch eine Gebärde evoziert und will durch eine Schutz- oder Abwehrgeste Sanktionen der Gottheit vermeiden.

Spruch 12 (IV, 7–9; XI, 5–7)
r3 n sn t3 ḏd mdw.w
sn=j t3 ḥpt=j Gb
jrr=j ḥssw.t n Jmnw Rꜥw nb nsw.t t3.wj
wꜥb=j n=f
jw fd.t=ṯn n ṯn nṯr.w
j3d.t=ṯn n=ṯn nṯrw.t (Var. Abydos: *sḫm.w*)
j3d.t n ḏ.t=ṯn n=ṯn
sn=j [*nn*] *ꜥnḫ n Pr-ꜥ3 j3w n nb t3.wj*

Spruch beim Erdeküssen **(a)**. Worte zu sprechen:
Ich küsse die Erde, ich umarme Geb **(b)**,
ich führe den Kult aus für Amun-Re, den Herrn von Karnak **(c)**,
indem ich rein bin für ihn.
Euer Schweiß für euch, ihr Götter,
euer Wohlgeruch (Tau) für euch, ihr Göttinnen,

der Wohlgeruch eures Leibes gehört euch **(d)**!
Ich rieche (küsse) [dies], Leben dem Pharao, Lobpreis dem Herrn der beiden Länder **(e)**.

(a) Folgt in Abydos ohne Titel direkt auf Spruch 11.
(b) S. F. Labrique, *Stylistique et théologie à Edfou*, 197; Spruch 13b.
(c) Varr. Abydos haben *jrj.n=j*. S. G. Roeder, *Kulte, Orakel*, 96: "Ich habe getan, was N. lobt". Zu *jrj ḥss(w).t* "den Kult vollziehen, opfern" s. *Wb.* IV, 155, 17–19; da aber die Verben *ḥsj* "loben" und "singen" nicht mehr unterschieden werden, könnte auch "Lobpreisung" vorliegen; vgl. etwa die "Rezitation als Gesang der beiden Ufer für Ammonrasonther am Morgen" in pBerlin 3056, VII, 1–7 (*ḥw.t* I), Assmann, *LL*, 248 (2): "Die Türflügel am Großen Thron öffnen sich, die Kapelle im Großen Haus tut sich auf ... Jubel entsteht durch die beiden Ufer hin; jedermann bricht in Freudenrufe aus. Sie stimmen Lobgesänge (*jr.t ḥsw.t*) an für diesen erlauchten Gott, Amun-Re, Herrn von Karnak. Sein Gesicht wird enthüllt (*wn ḥr*) in seinem Tempel; sein Ruf (*hmhm.t*), er dringt ans Ende der Erde. Sein Fest ereignet sich in diesem Heiligtum, sein Wohlgeruch (*jꜣd.t*) durchzieht den Ozean."
(d) Der Duft ist neben dem Glanz und der Größe ein Indikator für göttliche Nähe, er ist offenbar nur Göttern eigen. Die meisten Stellen beziehen sich auf Amun. Zum "Gottesduft", "Tau", "Parfüm" (*jꜣd.t*) ist locus classicus der Passus im Mythos von der göttlichen Geburt, wo die Königin vom Duft des Gottes erwacht, der von H. Brunner, *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs*, ÄgAbh 10 (Wiesbaden 1964), 42f, 51, Tf. IV (Szene IV) mit der Aureole oder dem Heiligenschein verglichen wird: "Dein Duft ist in allen meinen Gliedern"; vgl. Plutarch *De Iside et Osiride*, 14; Kairener Amunshymnus II, 4 "Der dessen Duft, die Götter lieben, wenn er aus Punt kommt; reich an *jꜣd.t*, wenn er von den Medjai zurückkehrt"; *wr jꜣd.t* ist auch der Urgott, s. Zandee, *Der Amunhymnus des Papyrus Leiden I 344, Verso*, 227 (pLeiden I 347, III); vgl. auch VIII, 2, 702, 704–707. Nach *CT* VII, 464–465 entstanden aus dem *fd.t* "Schweiß" des Schöpfergottes die Götter. Er ist als göttliche Emanation und Substanz schöpferisch, wirk- und heilkräftig, s. Assmann, *ÄHG*, Nr. 48, 30–33: "Deine Farbe (strahlt) zur Erde, eingraviert in die Leiber, dein Tau vertreibt das Leiden."
In anderen Sprüchen des Rituals verwendet man *fd.t* zur mythologischen Ausdeutung des Weihrauchs, s. XII, 8, 12 (Spruch 35) und Spruch 36: "Es kommt der Weihrauch, es kommt der Geruch des Gottes (*stj nṯr*) ... Es kommt der Gottesschweiß (*fd.t nṯr*), es kommt sein Duft zu dir." Da hier nicht geweihräuchert wird und nur von *fd.t* – nicht von *fd.t nṯr* – die Rede ist und ausdrücklich *jꜣd.t n ḏ.t=ṯn* genannt wird, dürfte die dem Gott eigene Substanz, nicht der Weihrauch gemeint sein.
(e) *nn* von Amun ausgelassen; es bezieht sich auf den "Schweiß" und "Tau".

Mit Spruch 12 beginnt eine Reihe von Gebets- und Demutsgebärden, die bis Spruch 17 reicht, wo *sn tꜣ* und *jꜣw* verbunden sind. Sie gibt vermutlich eine Abfolge von Gebetshaltungen wieder, die ähnlich wie im gesetzlichen *ṣalat* der Muslime streng geregelt sind.[45] Im Spruch 12 assoziiert man *sn* in *sn tꜣ* "Riechen, Küssen der Erde, Proskynese" mit dem Verb gleicher Bedeutung "riechen" und den von den Göttern ausgehenden Düften, die eine Art von "Gottessubstanzen" bilden. Gleichzeitig sind *jꜣd.t* und *fd.t-nṯr* auch als Bezeichnungen des Wohlgeruchs und Weihrauchs bekannt. Der Wohlgeruch, Tau oder Schweiß, der aus dem Leib des Gottes hervorkommt und ihm im Opfer in Form von Weihrauch oder auch Maat wieder zugeführt wird, dürfte hier nicht gemeint sein, sondern der Duft als Zeichen göttlicher Nähe. Im Spruch 14

[45] Zu dieser Vermutung s. Brunner, "Ein Torso Echnatons in Tübingen" (s. Anm. 30).

versichert der Offiziant, nicht mit ihm zu manipulieren, d.h. ihn als Zauber anzuwenden. Die Gebetshaltung *sn tꜣ* wird ursprünglich die tiefer Demut sein,[46] sie dürfte jedoch im Neuen Reich auch in erweiterter Bedeutung "Verehrung, Huldigung" verwendet worden sein; denn auf zahlreichen Denkstelen ist der Beter lediglich in der Geste des Preisens mit der Beischrift *sn tꜣ* neben *rdj jꜣw* oder *dwꜣ* abgebildet.

Spruch 13 (IV, 9 – V, 2; XI, 8–10)
rꜣ n rdjt ḥr ḫ.t ḏd mdw.w
jnḏ ḥr=k Jmnw-Rᶜw nb nsw.t tꜣwj
mntj ḥr s.t=k wr.t
rdj.n=j wj ḥr ḫ.t=j n snḏ=k
snḏ.kw n šfšfj.t=k
ḥpt.n=j Gb Ḥw.t-Ḥrw dj=s wr=j
nn ḥr=j n šᶜt n hrw pn

Spruch, sich auf den Bauch zu werfen **(a)**. Worte zu sprechen:
Gegrüßt seist du, Amun-Re, Herr von Karnak,
indem du dauerst auf deinem großen Thron.
Ich habe mich auf meinen Bauch gelegt aus Ehrfurcht vor dir,
nachdem ich in Furcht geraten war vor deiner Majestät.
Ich habe Geb umarmt; Hathor, sie möge mich groß sein lassen;
nicht werde ich fallen beim Gemetzel dieses Tages **(b)**.

(a) *rdj ḥr ḫ.t* geht einmal sogar dem *sn tꜣ* voraus, CG 20360, s. B. Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden in Darstellungen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*, SAGA 10 (Heidelberg 1994), 30. **(b)** Moret übersetzt: "Ich habe Geb und Hathor umarmt, sie (lies: *sn*) lassen mich groß sein". *ḥpt.n=j Gb* findet sich noch beim *sn-tꜣ*-Ritus in griech.-röm. Zeit, Edfou IV, 55, 14; VII, 193, 6; Dendara VIII, 22, 14f. Mut hat *ḥpt=j* wie in Spruch 12. Die Prosternation wird als Umarmung des Erdgottes gedeutet. Geb, der "Herr des Erdbodens" (*nb sꜣtw*), ist häufig ein Synonym für *tꜣ*, s. S. Bedier, *Die Rolle des Gottes Geb in den ägyptischen Tempelinschriften der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, HÄB 41 (Hildesheim 1995), 173; 117, 124, 126, 131. Zu einer weiteren Var. s. Bénédite, *Philae*, 22, IX, pl. VII. In den Tempeln griech.-röm. Zeit wird *sn tꜣ* zumeist in der Gottesrede mit der Unterwerfung von Ausländern verknüpft. Die Rolle der Göttin Hathor, die ansonsten im Ritual nicht mehr erscheint, dürfte die der (den Toten) aufnehmenden und erhebenden Himmels- oder Westgöttin sein.

Spruch 14 (V, 2–6; XI, 10–13)
rꜣ n rdj.t ḥr ḫ.t m dwn ḏd mdw.w
jnḏ ḥr=k Jmnw-Rᶜw nb nsw.t tꜣwj
nn jrj=j m jꜣd.t=k
nn kfj=j šfy.t=k
nn stwt=j jwn=k r kjj nṯr
rdj.n=j wj ḥr ḫ.t=j n snḏ=k

[46] In AR-Darstellungen (Niuserre) sind die Verehrenden auf dem Boden ausgestreckt, indem sie sich mit dem Unterarm und der Hand abstützen, aber nicht die Erde mit dem Mund berühren, s. B. Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden in Darstellungen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*, SAGA 10 (Heidelberg 1994), 33–35; in der ideographischen Schreibung der Spätzeit ist ein Knie angewinkelt.

dgꜣ=j n mrw.t=k
nn ḫr=k n ḫrjj.w=k m hrw pn
ḫftj.w=k msḏḏ=k ḫr=k sn n (statt: *m*) *ḫrjj.w=k m hrw pn*
nn ḥwrw n dwꜣ nb=f

Spruch, sich auf den Bauch zu werfen und auszustrecken **(a)**. Worte zu sprechen:
Gegrüßt seist du, Amun-Re, Herr von Karnak!
Nicht werde ich eine Anwendung (Zauber) machen mit deinem Wohlgeruch **(b)**.
Nicht werde ich enthüllen deine Macht **(c)**.
Nicht werde ich angleichen deine Farbe (Wesen) einem anderen Gott **(d)**.
Aus Ehrfurcht vor dir habe ich mich auf meinen Buch gegeben;
ich blicke auf, wenn du willst **(e)**.
Nicht wirst du fallen vor deinen Feinden an diesem Tag **(f)**.
Deine Widersacher, die du haßt, du fällst sie als Feinde an diesem Tag.
Keine Erniedrigung gibt es für den, der seinen Herrn anbetet **(g)**.

(a) Nur in den Papyri überliefert, Amun hat ein überflüssiges *=j*. Entweder ist Genetiv zu lesen "Spruch ... und des Sich-Ausstreckens" oder vielleicht *m* "im, beim". Vielleicht liegt auch schon das Adverb *m dwn* vor, kopt. ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩⲛ "weiter", "ferner" > "wahrlich". Das hieße dann, daß der Offiziant in seiner Haltung verharren soll. *dwn ḫr ḫ.t* ist aus dem MR, in Sinuhe B252f. und Schiffbrüchigen 161, 166 (Epiphanie des Schlangengottes), bezeugt, s. Dominicus, a.a.O., 35. Von der Gebetshaltung her dürfte es die demütigste sein und die vollständige Unterwerfung bedeuten, die freilich hier in eigenartigem Kontrast zu den anderen Versicherungen steht. In der königlichen Fassung in Abydos hat man den Text und Gestus ausgelassen, vermutlich weil er als anstößig empfunden wurde. Moret, a.a.O., 59, übersetzt "relever", "sich aufrichten", was nach *Wb.* V 432, 1 möglich ist. Es handelte sich dann um eine Abfolge von Prosternationen.
(b) In der Praxis dürfte damit gemeint sein, daß der Offiziant die Salben, Ablagerungen und Reste von Riten des vergangenen Tages nicht mißbräuchlich verwendet. Farbe, Sand etc. sind in den Anweisungen für Bildzaubererei beliebte Ingredienzen. Da die Reinigungsriten erst später einsetzen, trägt die Statue noch die Schminke, Salben, Partikel von Ruß und Staub an sich, vgl. S. Schott, *Die Reinigung Pharaos in einem memphitischen Tempel (Berlin P 13242)*, NAWG 1957:3, 84ff. Zum Mißbrauch des Kultbilds und zur Unreinheit des Priesters vgl. die Schilderungen im sog. Elephantine-Skandal, s. P. Vernus, *Affaires et scandales sous les Ramsès* (Paris 1993), 136ff.
(c) *kfj* (Graphie: *kfꜣ*) *sštꜣ.w* "Das Enthüllen des Verborgenen" ist als Ritus nach *ḫnm rꜣ-pr* vor *ʿq ḫr ḥm* bekannt, s. Merikare E64; in der *Confirmation* III, 5f. ist das "Enthüllen des Gesichts des Chepri" als Ritus von Heliopolis bezeugt, s. Goyon, *Confirmation du pouvoir royal au nouvel an*, 61. Hier dürfte der Mißbrauch von Gottes Macht oder Würdezeichen gemeint sein.
(d) Zur Farbe als "Wesensträger", "Charakter", s. E. Brunner-Traut, *LÄ* II, 118. Zu dieser oft zitierten zentralen Stelle s. S. Morenz, *Ägyptische Religion* (Stuttgart 1960), 149, Anm. 17. Er betont, daß im Kult – in den Opfern, Sprüchen, Feiern – die Eigenart der einzelnen Gottheit schärfer hervortrat und bewahrt blieb als in den Hymnen und damit in der Theologie; Assmann, *Ägypten: Theologie und Frömmigkeit einer frühen Hochkultur* (Stuttgart 1984), 63, liest *n sḏm=f*: "Ich habe dein Wesen keinem anderen Gott angeglichen". Er weist ebenfalls darauf hin, daß das Handeln im Kult auf der polytheistischen Struktur der Religion beruht und sich an einen Gott wendet "in der spezifischen, wohldefinierten Sonderform seiner lokalen Zuwendung, ... nicht in der umfassenden Fülle seines fernen und verborgenen Wesens". Zur Farbe (*jwn*), oft in der Graphie *jnw*, als Bezeichnung des spezifischen Aussehens, s. pBoulaq 17, 4, 2–3; Assmann, *ÄHG*, Nr. 87C, 67f., auf die Menschen bezogen: "Atum, der die Menschheit

schuf, der ihren Charakter (*qd*) unterschied und ihren Lebensunterhalt schuf, der ihr Aussehen (*jwn*) trennte, einen vom anderen." Zandee, *Der Amunhymnus des Papyrus Leiden I 344, Verso*, 106 (II, 69), 349 (IV, 9 *ʿšɜ jwn.w*). Zu den Farben (Silber, Gold, Lapislazuli etc.) als Glanz des Gottes, s. W. Guglielmi, "Zur Bedeutung von Symbolen der Persönlichen Frömmigkeit: die verschiedenfarbigen Ohren und das Ka-Zeichen", *ZÄS* 118 (1991), 116–127. Der Satz wird in Spruch 15 wiederholt; eine Var. erscheint im *sn-tɜ*-Ritus, Edfou VII, 193, 2 (*n stwt sštɜ=f r kjj ɜbw.t nṯr*); Übersetzung (Edfou VII, 192, 12 – 193, 13): Labrique, *Stylistique et théologie à Edfou*, 196–208.
(e) *n mrw.t=k* "nach deinem Belieben", "um deinetwillen". Die Interpretation von Zandee, a.a.O., 344, "aus Liebe zu dir" als Hinweis auf den gnädigen Aspekt Gottes (mysterium fascinans) scheint mir in diesem Kontext unpassend, da *mrw.t* als soziale Dimension nur in den eingefügten Hymnen zur Sprache kommt. Der vorhergehende Satz ist eine Wiederholung aus Spruch 13.
(f) Amun hat ein überflüssiges *wj. ḫr n* "fallen vor". Vermutlich ist die Stelle osirianisch zu interpretieren, vgl. etwa die Rolle des Ichernofret bei der Ausstattung der Neschmetbarke und beim Niederschlagen der Feinde, s. M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature. A Book of Readings* I (Berkeley 1973), 124f.
(g) Die präzise Bedeutung von *ḥwrw*, die von "Schwachsein", "Not" bis "Gemeinheit", "Erniedrigung" und "Schmähung" reicht, entgeht mir; vielleicht ist auch (*ṯs*) *ḥwrw* "Vorwurf" oder *sḫwr* "Fluch" (im magischen Gebrauch belegt) gemeint. *ḥwrw* wird wohl durch die Demutsgeste *rdj ḥr ḫ.t*, die auch die Feinde vollführen, assoziiert. Der Gedankengang dürfte folgender sein: Ich unterwerfe mich zwar, wie Feinde es tun, aber ich werde nicht erniedrigt, weil ich den Gott anbete.

Die eigentümlich selbstherrlichen Sätze sind mit der Furcht vor den Sanktionen Gottes zu erklären, wenn der Offiziant das Kultbild berührt. So kontrastiert der Unterwerfungsgestus, der dem von Feinden vor ihrer Vernichtung gleicht, mit der Versicherung, keine Veränderung am Bild vorzunehmen und nicht wie ein Zauberer seine Substanzen in magischen Praktiken anzuwenden. Der Hinweis auf die Feinde dürfte aus dem Osiris-Ritual stammen und die Horus-Rolle des Offizianten beschreiben.

Spruch 15 (V, 6–8; XII, 1–2)
rɜ n sn tɜ jw ḥr m ḫrw
(Varr. Abydos: *rɜ n sn tɜ rdj.t ḥr ḫ.t r sn tɜ m ḏbʿ.w=f ḏd mdw.w jn NN ḥft ʿq ḥr nṯr*)
ḏd mdw.w
sn(=j) tɜ ḥr=j m ḫrw
sʿr=j n=k mɜʿ.t (Zusatz Abydos: *n nb=s*
ḥtp.t n jrj sj)
nn nṯr jrj jrj.n=j (Varr. Abydos: *jr.t.n=j n=k* GOTT N)
nn fɜj=j ḥr=j r ḥrw
nn wḏj.n=j m sɜt (Varr. Abydos: *nn wḏj=j sɜt*)
nn stwt=j jwn=k r kjj nṯr

Spruch für das Erdeküssen, indem das Gesicht unten ist **(a)**.
(Varr. Abydos: Spruch für das Erdeküssen, das Sich-auf-den-Bauch- werfen, um die Erde zu küssen (berühren) mit seinen Fingern. Worte zu sprechen durch N, wenn er beim Gott eintritt.)
Worte zu sprechen:
Ich küsse die Erde, mein Gesicht ist gesenkt;

ich lasse die Maat aufsteigen (Varr. Abydos: zu ihrem Herrn
und die Opfergabe zu dem, der sie geschaffen hat (**b**)).
Es gibt keinen (anderen) Gott, der getan hat, was ich getan habe (**c**).
Ich werde mein Gesicht nicht nach oben erheben.
Nichts gibt es, das ich in den Schmutz gelegt hätte (**d**).
Nicht werde ich angleichen deine Farbe an einen anderen Gott (**e**).

a) Varr. Abydos haben *jw ḥr m ḫrw* ausgelassen und statt dessen *rdj.t ḥr ḥ.t r sn tȝ m ḏbᶜ.w=f*. Es ist wohl an eine bewußte Redaktion zu denken, weil man den Text als anstößig oder widersprüchlich empfand. Auf den Darstellungen kniet nämlich der König mit erhobenen Händen; aus dieser Position konnte er mit den Fingern den Boden berühren, d.h. "die Erde küssen mit seinen Fingern". Für den priesterlichen Offizianten galt wohl die Vorschrift, das Gesicht gesenkt zu halten. Obwohl Königsstatuen in Proskynese-Haltung bezeugt sind, läßt sich Sethos I. in Abydos nicht auf diese Weise abbilden; in der Var. Bénédite, *Philae*, 22, IX, pl. VII, liegt der König(spriester) auf dem Bauch. Bei Re-Harachte ist bei Spruch 15, 16 der zusätzliche Titel "Viermal den Gott anbeten, damit er ein Begabtsein mit Leben mache" in das Bildfeld eingefügt.
(b) Zur Stelle (Varr. Abydos) s. Assmann, *Maʿat*, 191, der auf das Zweiwegebuch (*CT* VII, 372–377) verweist, wo der Sprecher sein Tun, das Bringen der Maat, geradezu als "Belohnung Gottes für das, was er getan hat" bezeichnet. Vgl. *Tb* 181, 13–14 "Ich habe die Opfergaben meinem Herrn dargebracht und den zufriedengestellt, der sie geschaffen hat"; Hornung, *Totenbuch*, 388, Z. 98f. Das Maatopfer wird als Kreislauf verstanden.
(c) Varr. Abydos: "Kein (anderer) Gott hat getan, was ich für dich getan habe, Gott N." Eine Variante des Satzes ist in der Rede der Isis in pLouvre 3079, Kol. 100, 10, einem Osirisritual für den Choiak, bezeugt: "Ich bin deine Schwester Isis. Es gibt keinen Gott, der getan hat, was ich getan habe, noch eine Göttin (*nn wn nṯr jrj jrj.n=j nṯr.t rȝ pw*). Ich machte mich zum Mann, obwohl ich eine Frau war, um deinen Namen auf Erden leben zu lassen"; vgl. J.-C. Goyon, *BIFAO* 65 (1967), 95, 147. Ihn lediglich auf das Überreichen der Maat zu beziehen, ist wenig sinnvoll, da mit ihm ja die Einmaligkeit einer Tat betont werden soll. Vielleicht ist er mit dem folgenden zu verbinden im Sinne von: "Ich habe zwar Einmaliges getan, (aber) ich werde deshalb nicht mein Gesicht (anmaßend) erheben."
(d) Varr. Abydos lassen *m* aus: "Nicht werde ich Befleckung anwenden." *sȝt* "beschmutzen, besudeln, verunreinigen" und das davon abgeleitete Substantiv kommen vor allem in *Tb* 125, Phrase 8 und 42, und in den Reinheitsermahnungen in Opposition zu "Reinheit" vor, zumeist in negierender oder inhibierender Verwendung. Es dürfte dort und hier die kultische Verunreinigung meinen, wenn auch ein ethischer Sinn nicht auszuschließen ist, s. Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux de la théologie de Kom Ombo* I, 159f. (u); Alliot, *Culte d'Horus*, 175ff. Konstruktion *nn* + mask. (für neutr.) Relativform. Vgl. die entsprechenden Passagen des Spruches 23 (IX, 6ff.): "Ich werde den Gott ruhen lassen [auf] seinem Sitz; nicht werde ich den, der mich beschützt, beflecken (*nn sȝt=j ḫw wj*). Nichts Unreines ist an mir. Ich bin es, der aus Sachmet herausgekommen ist."
(e) Statt *jwn* (Graphie: *jnw*) haben die Varr. Abydos das blassere *jmj.t=k* "Das, was in dir ist", ob Verwechslung für *jm* "Form, Gestalt"? Wiederholung aus Spruch 14.

Der Spruch wirkt zusammenhanglos. Der Offiziant versichert dem Gott, daß er im Ergebenheitsgestus verharrt, nicht in feindlicher, zauberischer Absicht und in unreinem Zustand gekommen ist. Vermutlich steht das Aufsteigenlassen der Maat und der Opfergaben lediglich in Opposition zur Proskynese des Offizianten und setzt diesen mit Thot gleich.

Spruch 16 (V, 8–9; XII, 2–4)
kjj
jnḏ-ḥr=k Jmnw
jn.n=j n=k jb=k m ḫ.t=k
<r> rdj.t ḥr s.t=f
mj jn.n ꜣs.t jb n sꜣ=s Ḥrw n=f
<r> rdj.t ḥr s.t=f
ṯs pḫr
(mj jn.n Ḥrw jb n mw.t=f n=s
<r> rdj.t ḥr s.t=f)
mj jn.n Ḏḥwtj jb n Nsr.t n=s
mj ḥtp nṯr.t tn n Ḏḥwtj

Ein anderer (Spruch):
Gegrüßt seist du Amun,
ich bringe dir hiermit dein Herz in deinem Leibe,
um [es] an seinen (richtigen) Platz zu legen **(a)**,
wie Isis das Herz ihres Sohnes Horus zu ihm gebracht hat,
um [es] an seinen Platz zu legen **(b)**,
wie Horus das Herz seiner Mutter Isis zu ihr gebracht hat,
um [es] an seinen Platz zu legen,
wie Thot das Herz der Neseret zu ihr gebracht hat,
damit diese Göttin ebenso gnädig ist zu Thot **(c)**.

(a) Einige Varr. Abydos haben *rdj=j n=k st ḥr* (oder: *m*) "damit ich dir es lege".
(b) Ein aus den Pyr. und CT bekanntes Segment eines Verklärungsspruches mit einer ungeklärten mythischen Anspielung, *Pyr.* 1640 (Sp.595), *CT* I, 80*l-n* (Sp. 28); P. Barguet, *Textes des Sarcophages égyptiens du Moyen Empire*, LAPO 12 (Paris 1986), 170f.; Amenophis I.-Ritual s. E. Bacchi, *Il Rituale di Amenhotpe I* (Turin 1942), 37f., Gardiner, *HPBM, 3rd Series* (pChester Beatty IX, rto 3, 11–4, 7); I, 86, II, pl. 51. Der Text erscheint mit dem Titel *rꜣ n jnj.t jb n ꜣḫ n=f* im Grab des Rechmire, s. Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rēʿ* II, pl. 76, 1, ist jedoch nicht in das Tb aufgenommen; zu einer weiteren unveröffentlichten Variante im Grab des Pay, s. J. van Dijk, in H.D. Schneider *et al.*, *OMRO* 75 (1995), 20; im unveröffentlichten pBM 10819, s. Assmann, "Egyptian Mortuary Liturgies", in S.I. Groll (Hrsg.), *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* I (Jerusalem 1990), 1–45, bes. 26, 44, fig. 14, und in einem magischen Papyrus des Athener Nationalmuseums (Freundlicher Hinweis von H.-W. Fischer-Elfert). Die älteren Varianten haben die Reihenfolge umgekehrt "wie das Herz des Horus zu seiner Mutter Isis gebracht wurde, wie das Herz der Isis zu ihrem Sohn Horus gebracht wurde." *Pyr.* 1640 läßt den überflüssigen Dativ aus und hat *mr* + Infinitiv. Die alte Vorstellung, daß das Herz "an seinen Platz" oder "seine Stelle" kommen soll, dürfte hier konkret mit dem Maatopfer zu verbinden sein; vgl. J. Assmann, "Harfnerlied und Horussöhne", *JEA* 65 (1979), 70f. Es folgt bei Rechmire: "Schweigt, ihr Götter, höre, Neunheit!", eine Var. des CT Sp. 29. Wenn nicht die Gegenseitigkeitsformel vorläge, könnte man mit J.G. Griffiths, *The Conflict of Horus and Seth from Egyptian and Classical Sources* (Liverpool 1960), 48 (Stele Parma, H.O. Lange, *Ein liturgisches Lied an Min*, SPAW 28 [Berlin 1927]; Assmann, *ÄHG*, Nr. 212; p mag Harris VII, 9–10; pChester Beatty I, 20) an eine Vergewaltigung (*nk*) denken. Var. mit *dmj* in Edfou I, 391, 1–3. Es folgt in fast allen Varr. der *ṯs-pḫr*-Vermerk, s. Westendorf, *Ägyptologische Studien* [Fs Grapow], 393, Nr.34; hier aufgelöst nach dem Amenophis I.-Ritual (pChester Beatty IX, rto 3, 11–4, 1).

c) *Nsr.t* ist eine Bezeichnung des zürnenden Gottesauges, Sachmet, s. P. Boylan, *Thot, the Hermes of Egypt* (London 1922), 35; P. Germond, *Sekhmet et la protection du monde*, AegHelv 9 (Genf 1981), 36f., 44f., 146 n. 5. Im Mythos besänftigt Thot die Göttin durch schöne Reden, s. H. Junker, *Die Onurislegende* (Wien 1917), 163; KO I, Nr. 159; Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux de la théologie de Kom Ombo* I, 20, 25.

Vermutlich knüpft das Überreichen des Herzens an das vorgehende "Aufsteigenlassen der Maat" an. Der Offiziant bringt das als "Herz" gedeutete Sprachopfer dar, um das Eindringen in Gottes Sphäre zu rechtfertigen und den Gott zu besänftigen.

Spruch 17 (VI, 1–3; XII, 4–7)
kjj
jnḏ ḥr=k Jmnw-Rᶜw
snḏ=k m ḫ.t=j
šfšfj.t=k m-ḫt ḥᶜw=j
jɜw n=k
jɜw n ḥᶜw=k
jɜw n psḏ.t ᶜɜ.t jmj.w-ḫt=k
sn=j n=k tɜ mj nb r ḏr
jnk bɜ mnḫ jmj Nn-nsw
ḏd kɜ.w dr jsf.t
sšm n=f {ḥr} wɜ.t nḥḥ
ḥtp dj nsw jw=j wᶜb.kw

Ein anderer (Spruch):
Gegrüßt seist du Amun-Re!
Die Furcht vor dir ist in meinem Leib;
deine Majestät durchdringt meine Glieder **(a)**.
Lobpreis dir,
Lobpreis deinen Gliedern,
Lobpreis deiner großen Neunheit, die in deinem Gefolge ist.
Ich küsse vor dir die Erde wie vor dem Allherrn **(b)**.
Ich bin der treffliche Ba, der in Herakleopolis ist,
der Speisen gibt und die Sünden vertreibt,
zu dem der Weg der Ewigkeit führt **(c)**.
Ein königliches Opfer, ich bin rein.

(a) Vermutlich ist wegen des zweimaligen *ḥᶜw* bei Amun I *jɜw n=k* ausgefallen.
(b) *nb r ḏr* "Allherr" ist eine Bezeichnung verschiedener Götter wie Atum, Thot, Re und Osiris, B. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, 272f. Hier dürfte Atum als Schöpfergott gemeint sein; vgl. das 200. Lied des Leidener Amunhymnus I 350, IV, 12ff: "Er vollendete sich als Atum, eines Leibes mit ihm, er ist der Allherr, der das Seiende begann" (*tm=f sw m Jtmw ḥᶜw wᶜ ḥnᶜ=f ntf nb r ḏr šɜᶜ wnn.t*), Assmann, *ÄHG*, Nr. 138; ders., *Re und Amun*, 200f. S. die Übernahme, Edfou VII, 193, 1f.
(c) *bɜ mnḫ jmj Nn-nsw* ist eine Bezeichnung des Harsaphes, s. *CT* V 257*h*. Es wird eine aus dem Totenbuch bekannte Texteinheit übernommen, wiederum aus Sp. 17 (30), Hornung, *Totenbuch*, 303; *CT* IV, 319, Sp. 335. Die dazugehörige Glosse lautet: "Was bedeutet das? Es ist Re

selber"; U. Rößler-Köhler, *Kapitel 17 des ägyptischen Totenbuches*, GOF IV/10 (Wiesbaden 1979), 164, 256 (Z. 86/87), 334ff., zieht eine Übersetzung als Passiv (*sšmw*) vor: "dem der Weg der ewigen Wiederkehr zugewiesen wird". Hinter *n=f* ist ein *wj ḥr* eingeschoben, als wäre ein "indem er mich leitete auf dem Weg der Ewigkeit" beabsichtigt gewesen.

Der Spruch enthält einen kleinen Hymnus und wie in Spruch 9 eine Prädikation des Offizianten aus Tb 17. Es schließen sich weitere mit *dwꜣ* betitelte Hymnen an, die das Sprachopfer fortsetzen.

Textzeugen

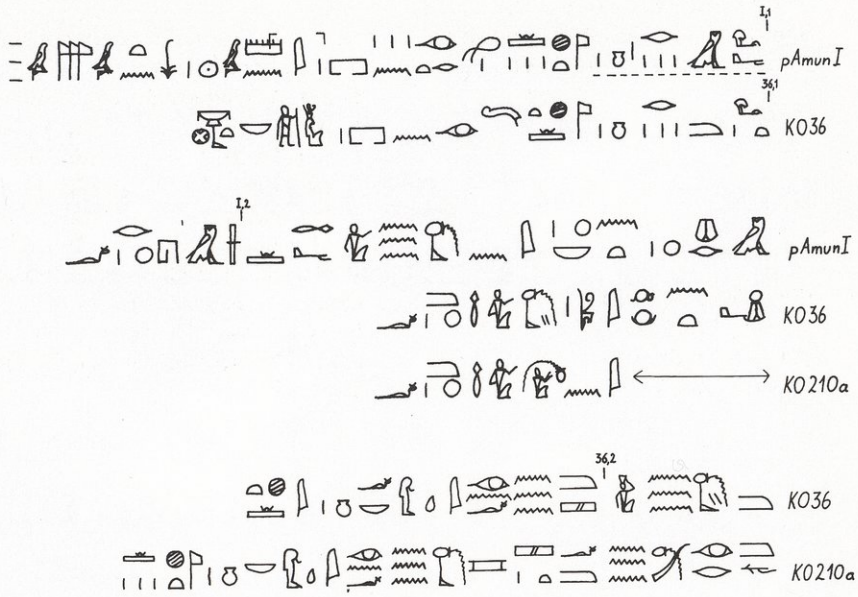
pAmun I pAmun II	pBerlin 3055	*Hieratische Papyrus aus den kgl. Museen zu Berlin*, 1. Bd., Leipzig 1901 (1. Heft bereits 1896)
pMut	pBerlin 3014/3055	*Hieratische Papyrus aus den kgl. Museen zu Berlin*, 1. Bd., Leipzig 1901
AbOsI AbOsII AbIsis AbHorus AbAmun AbReH AbPtah		A.H. Gardiner/A.M. Calverly, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, Vol. I & II, London 1933–1935.
KAmun		H.H. Nelson/W.J. Murnane (ed.), *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak*, Vol. 1, Part 1: *The Wall Reliefs*, *OIP 106*, Chicago 1981
KO		J. de Morgan, *Catalogue des Monuments et Inscriptions de l'Egypte Antique,* I Sér., t. II = *Kom Ombos* I, Wien 1895
oDM 204		J. Černý, *Catalogue des ostraca non-littéraires de Deir el-Médineh*, Tome III, Kairo 1937
pChB IX		A.H. Gardiner (ed.), *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Third Series*, *Chester Beatty Gift*, Vol. II: Plates, London 1935
MH IV		H.H. Nelson (ed.), *Medinet Habu* Vol. IV: *Festival Scenes of Ramses III*, OIP 51, Chicago 1940

Das tägliche Tempelritual
Konkordanz der wichtigsten Textzeugen

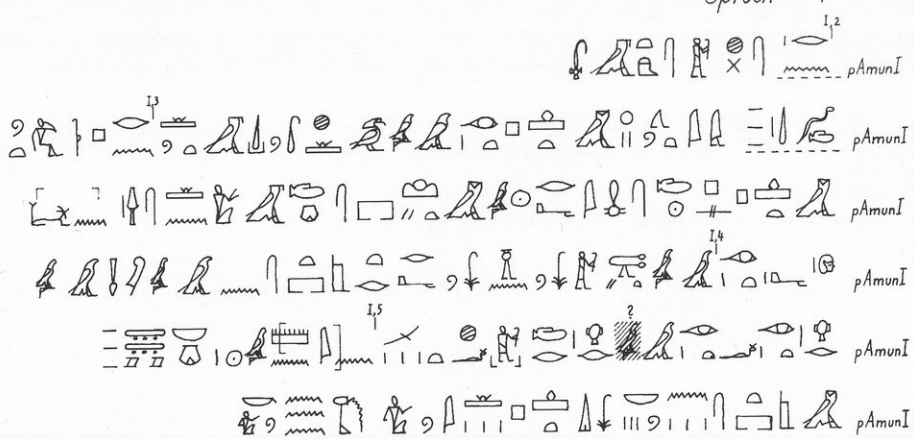
	pBerlin 3055 (= pAmun I/II)	**Tempel Sethos'I. in Abydos**
	Titel (I, 1–2)	(fehlt)
1	Spruch zum Feuerschlagen (I, 2–5)	(fehlt)
2	Spruch zum Ergreifen des Räucherarms (I, 5–8)	(fehlt)
3	Spruch beim Setzen des Weihrauchnapfes auf den Räucherarm (I, 8 – II, 2)	(fehlt)
4	Spruch zum Legen des Weihrauchs auf die Flamme (II, 2–4)	(fehlt)
5	Spruch zum Schreiten zum heiligen Ort (II, 4–7)	(fehlt)
6	Ein anderer Spruch (II, 7 – III, 3)	(fehlt)
7	Spruch zum Zerreißen des Bandes (III, 3–5)	Spruch zum Lösen des Siegels I 18 = Isis I 26 = Horus II 14 = Re-Harachte II 22 = Ptah
8	Spruch zum Zerbrechen des Tons (III, 5–8)	Spruch zum Zerbrechen des Tons I 17 = Isis II 4 = Amun-Re II 13 = Re-Harachte II 21 = Ptah
9	Spruch zum Lösen (Aufmachen) der Kapelle (III, 8 – IV, 2)	Spruch zum Ziehen des Riegels I 18 = Isis I 26 = Horus II 3 = Amun-Re II 14 = Re-Harachte II 22 = Ptah
10	Spruch zum Öffnen des Gesichts des Gottes (IV, 3–6; XI, 1–4)	Spruch zum Öffnen der beiden Türflügel I 4 = Osiris I 18 = Isis II 4 = Amun-Re II 14 = Re-Harachte II 22 = Ptah
11	Spruch beim Schauen des Gottes (IV, 6–7; XI, 4–5)	Spruch beim Schauen des Gottes I 4 = Osiris I 18 = Isis I 26 = Horus II 14 = Re-Harachte II 22 = Ptah
12	Spruch beim Erdeküssen (IV, 7–9; XI, 5–7)	(ohne Titel unmittelbar nach Spruch 11 s.o.)
13	Spruch, sich auf den Bauch zu werfen (IV, 9 – V, 2; XI, 8–10)	(fehlt)

14	Spruch, sich auf den Bauch zu werfen und auszustrecken (V, 2–6; XI, 10–13)	(fehlt)
15	Spruch für das Erdeküssen, indem das Gesicht unten ist (V, 6–8; XII, 1–2)	Spruch für das Erdeküssen, das sich-auf-den-Bauch-werfen, um die Erde zu küssen (berühren) mit seinen Fingern I 4 = Osiris (Sp 15–16) I 13 = Osiris (Sp 15 verkürzt) I 18 = Isis (Sp. 15–17) I 26 = Horus (Sp. 15 u. Anfang 16) II 4 = Amun-Re (Sp. 15–17) II 14 = Re-Harachte (Sp. 15 u. Anfang 16)
16	Ein anderer (Spruch) (V, 8–9; XII, 2–4)	(ohne Titel unmittelbar nach Spruch 15 s.o.)
17	Ein anderer (Spruch) (VI, 1–3; XII, 4–7)	(ohne Titel unmittelbar nach Spruch 15/16 s.o.)

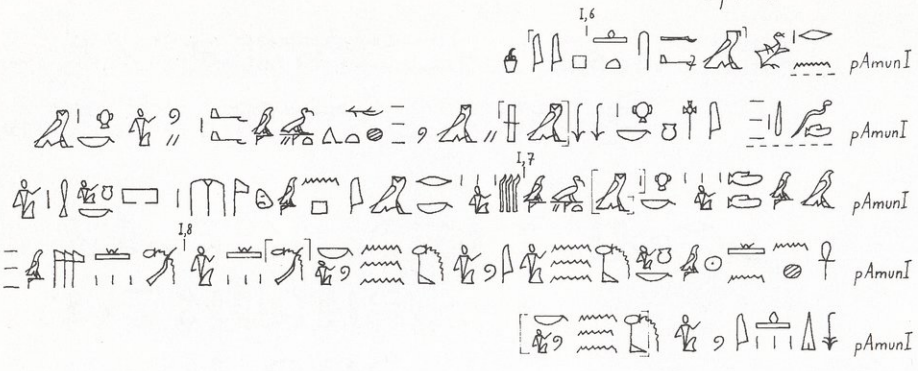
Titel



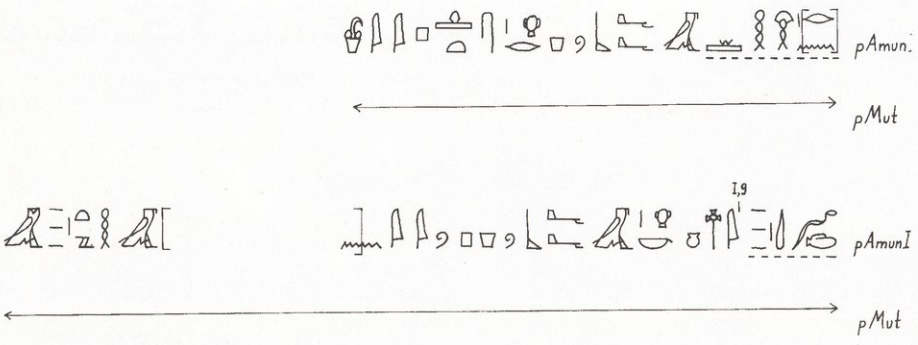
Spruch 1

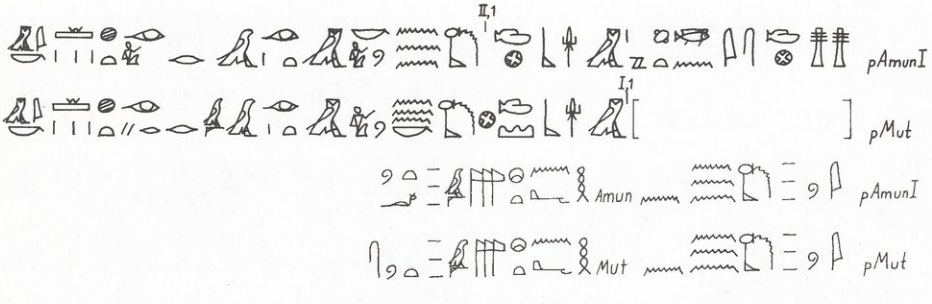


Spruch 2

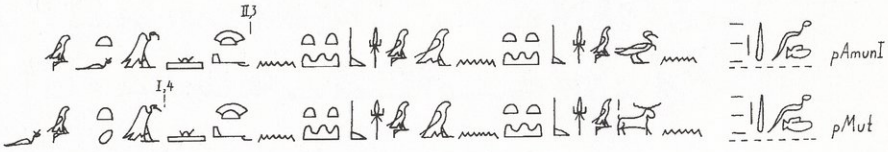


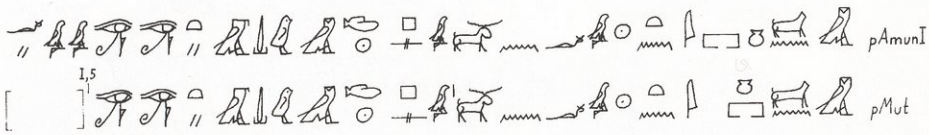
Spruch 3



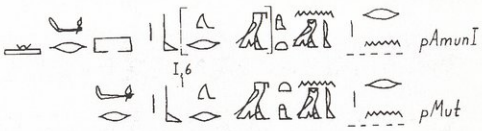


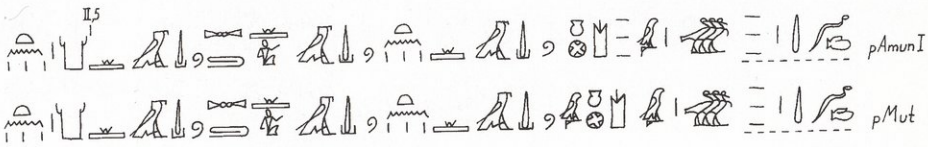
Spruch 4

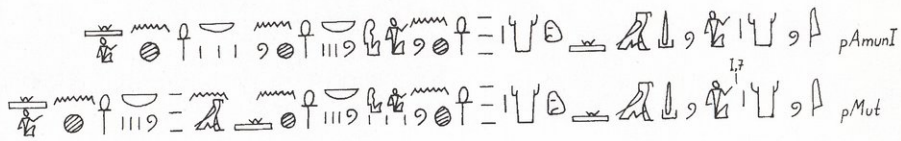


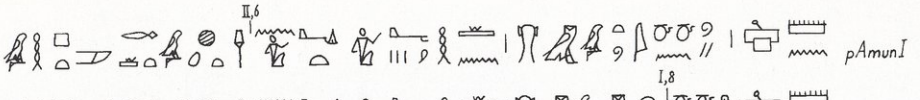


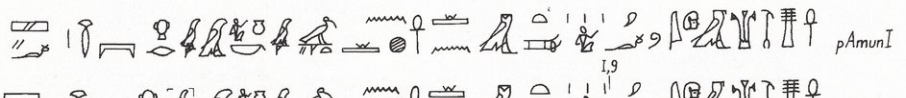
Spruch 5







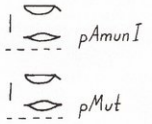

II,6
pAmunI
I,8
pMut

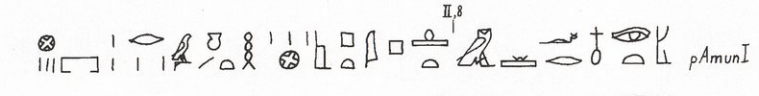

pAmunI
I,9
pMut

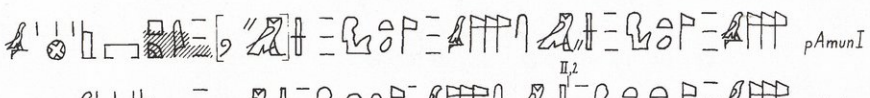
II,7
pAmunI
I,10
pMut

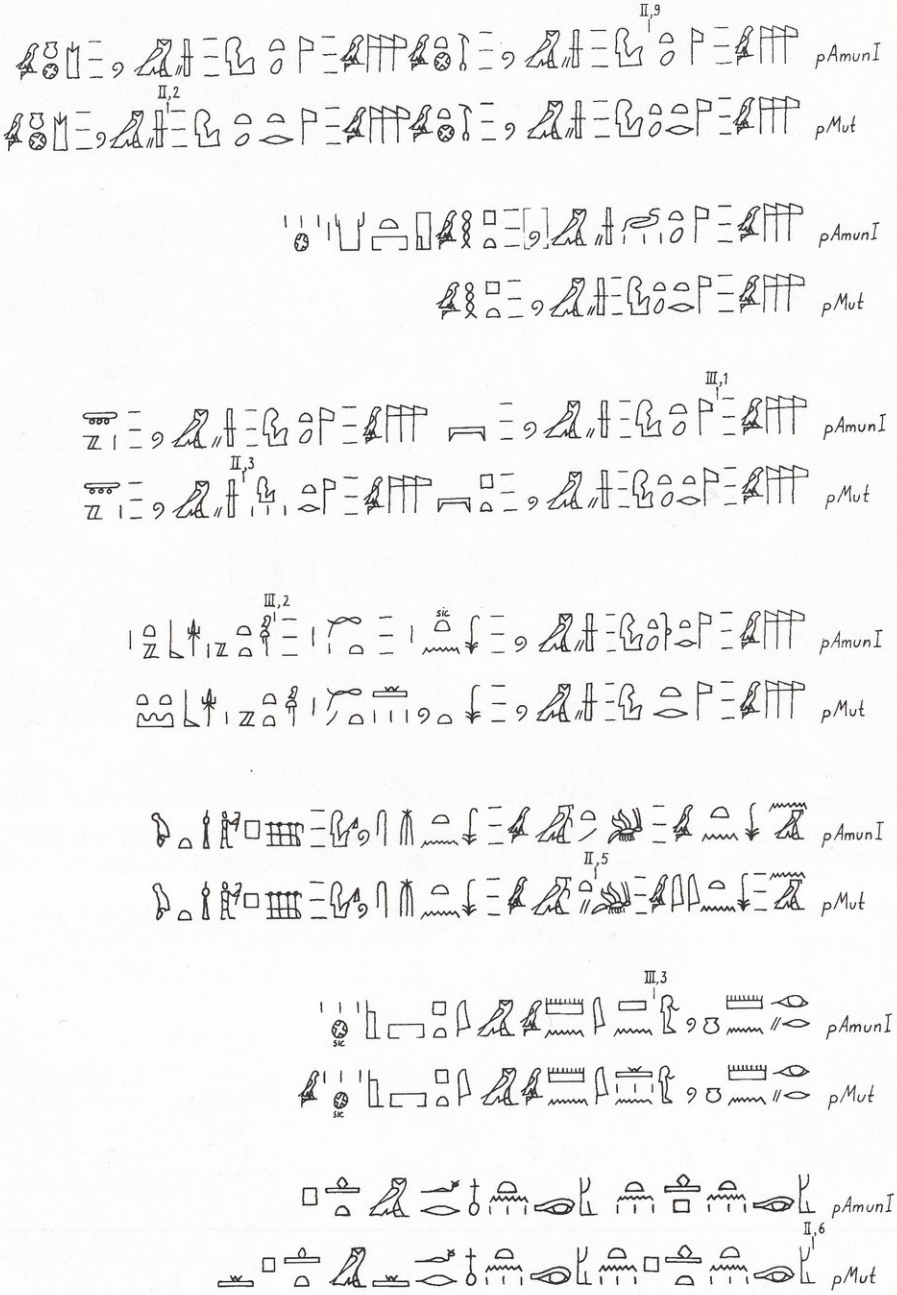
pAmunI
II,1
pMut

Spruch 6

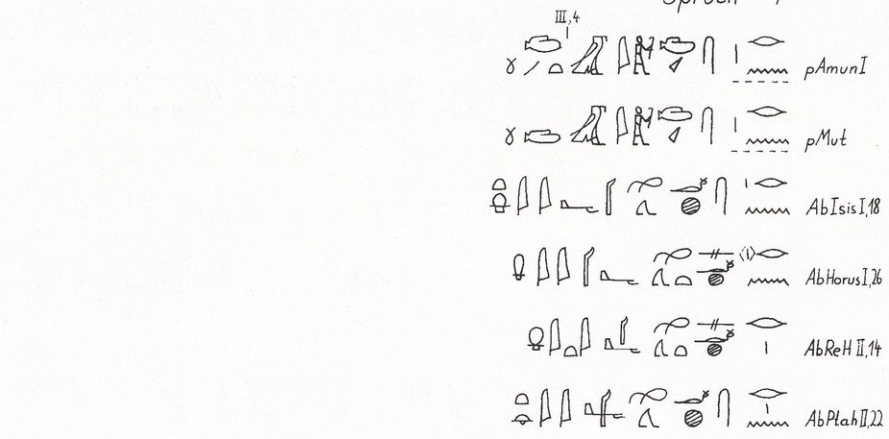

pAmunI
pMut

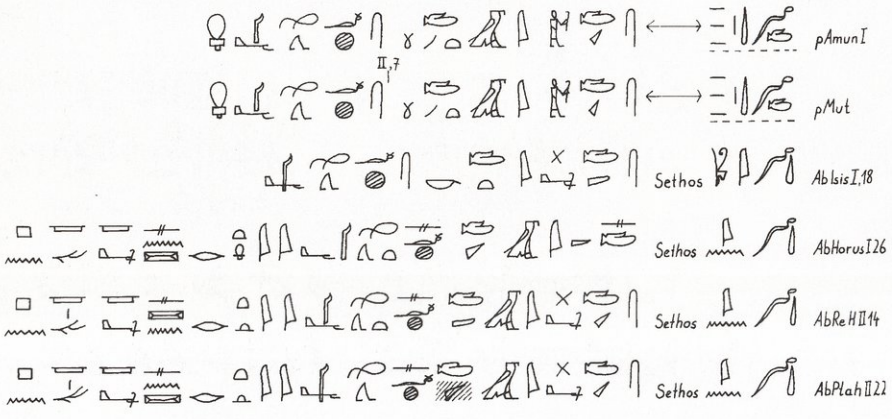

II,8
pAmunI
pMut

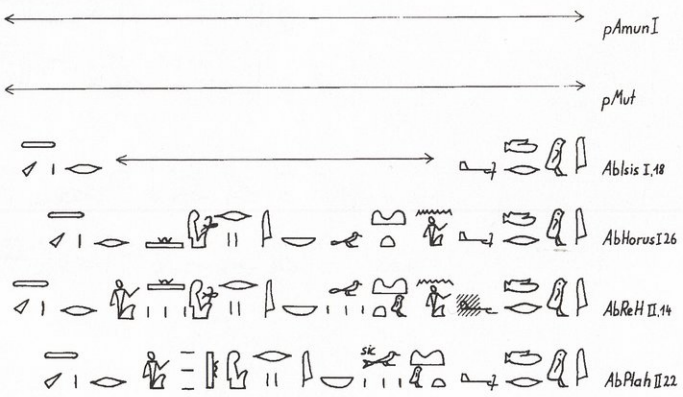

pAmunI
II,2
pMut

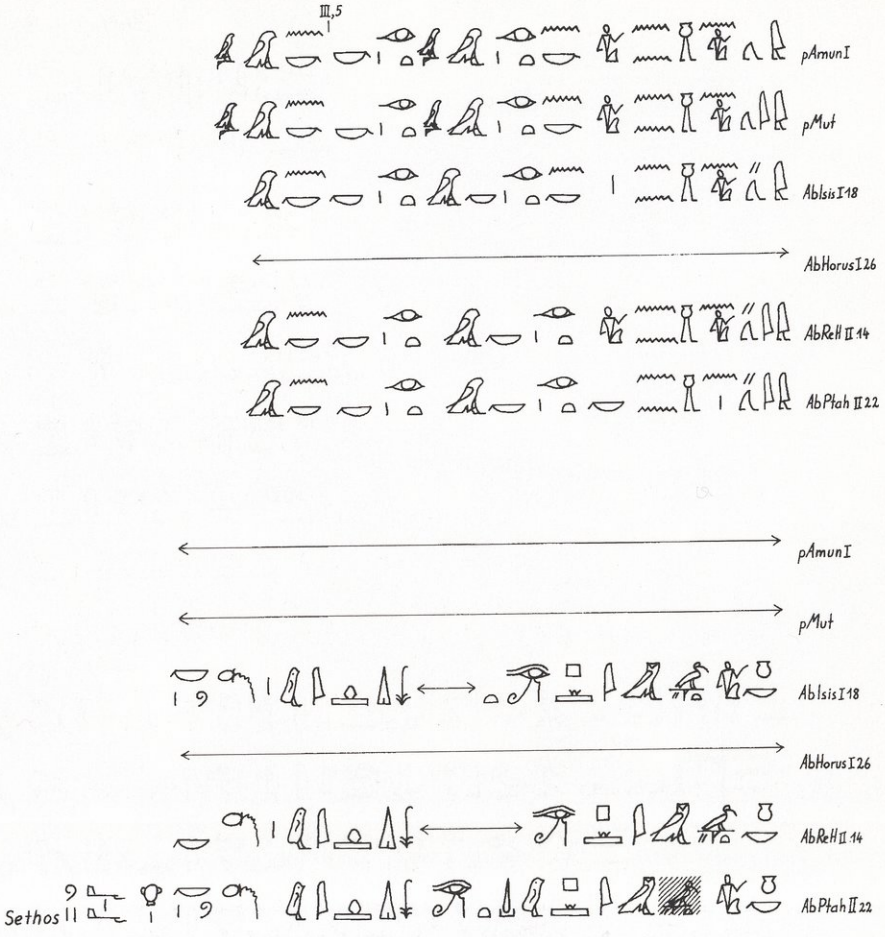

II,9
pAmunI
II,2
pMut
pAmunI
pMut
III,1
pAmunI
II,3
pMut
III,2
sic
pAmunI
pMut
pAmunI
II,5
pMut
III,3
sic
pAmunI
sic
pMut
II,6
pMut

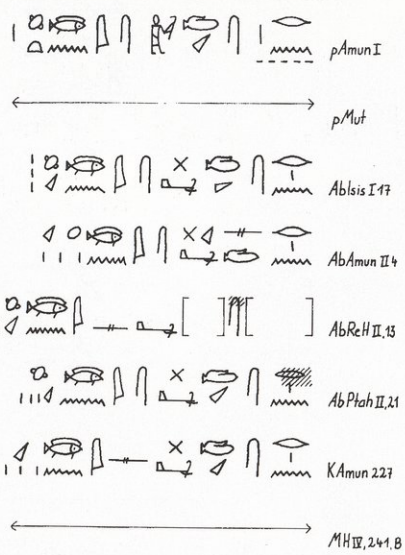
Spruch 7

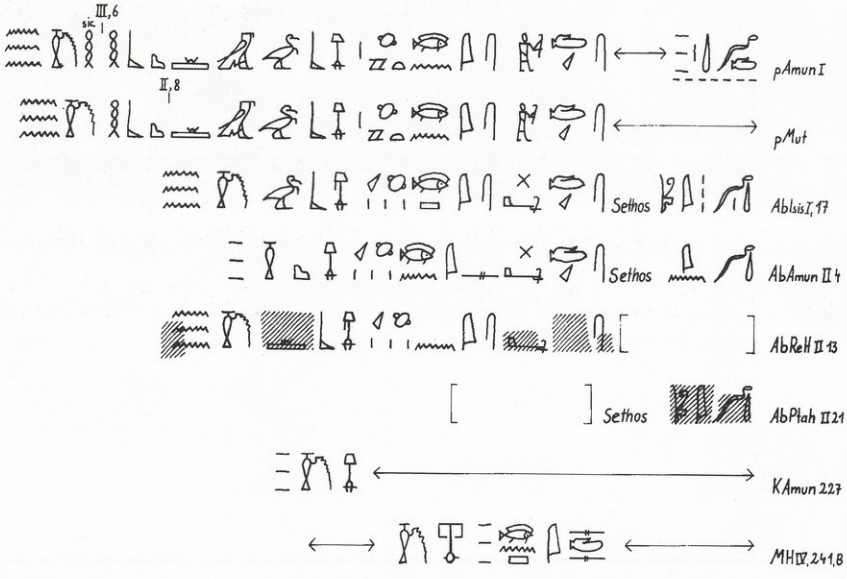

III,4
pAmunI
pMut
AbIsisI,18
AbHorusI,26
AbReHII,14
AbPtahII,22

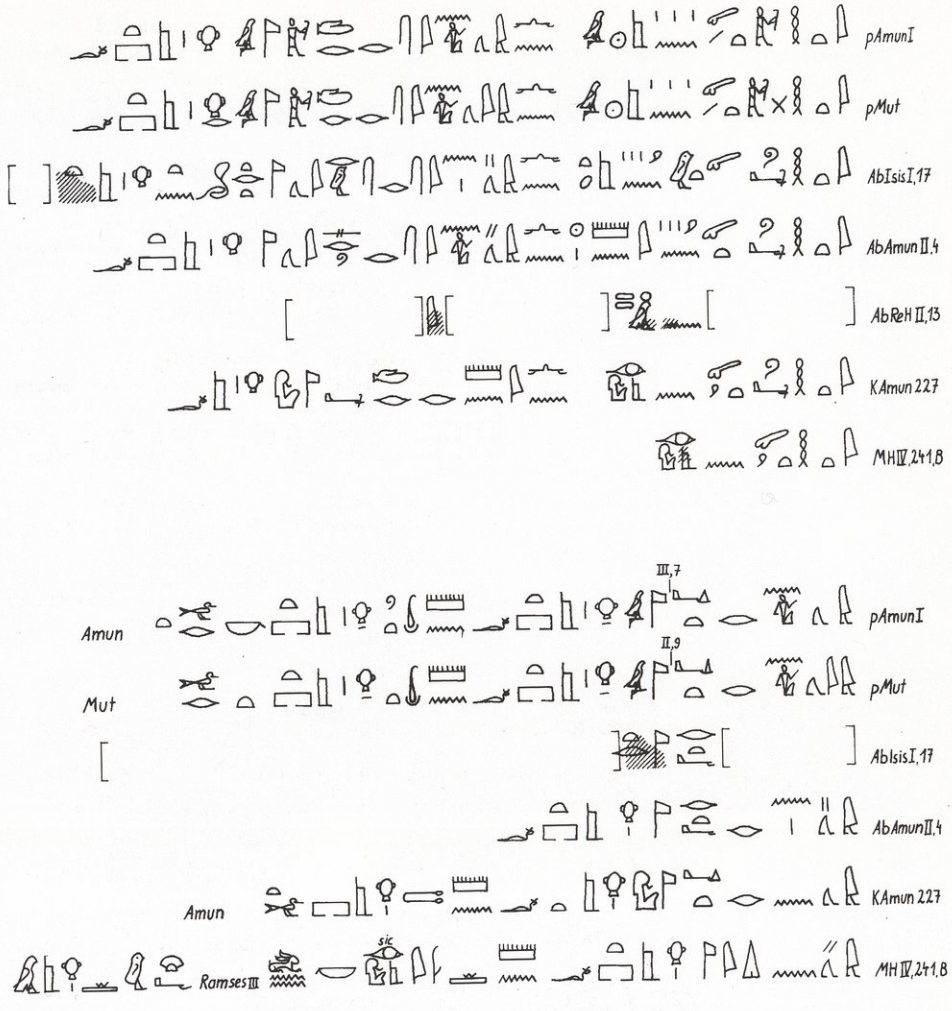

II,7
pAmunI
pMut
Sethos
AbIsisI,18
Sethos
AbHorusI26
Sethos
AbReHII14
Sethos
AbPtahII22

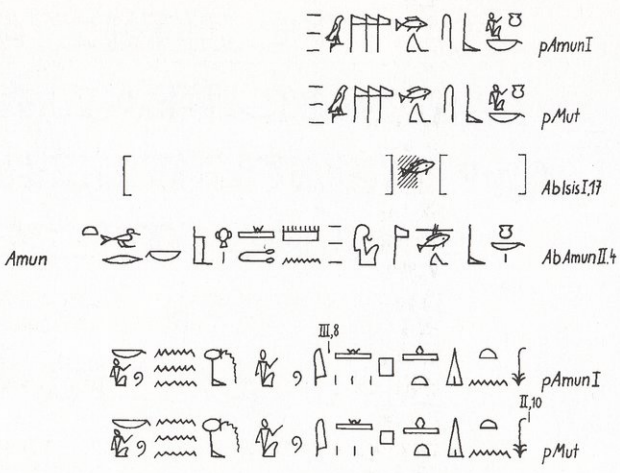

pAmunI
pMut
AbIsis I,18
AbHorusI26
AbReHII,14
AbPtahII22


III,5
pAmunI
pMut
AbIsisI18
AbHorusI26
AbReHII14
AbPtahII22
pAmunI
pMut
AbIsisI18
AbHorusI26
AbReHII14
Sethos II
AbPtahII22

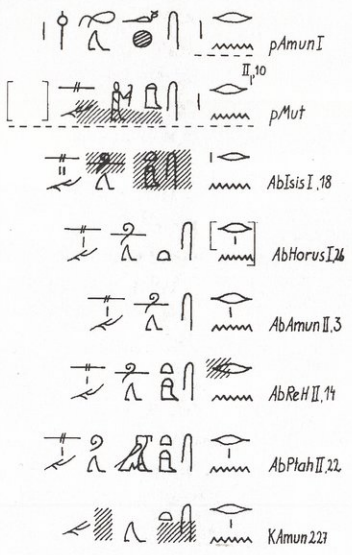

pAmun I
pMut
AbIsis I 17
AbAmun II 4
AbReH II 13
AbPtah II 21
KAmun 227
MH IV, 241 B

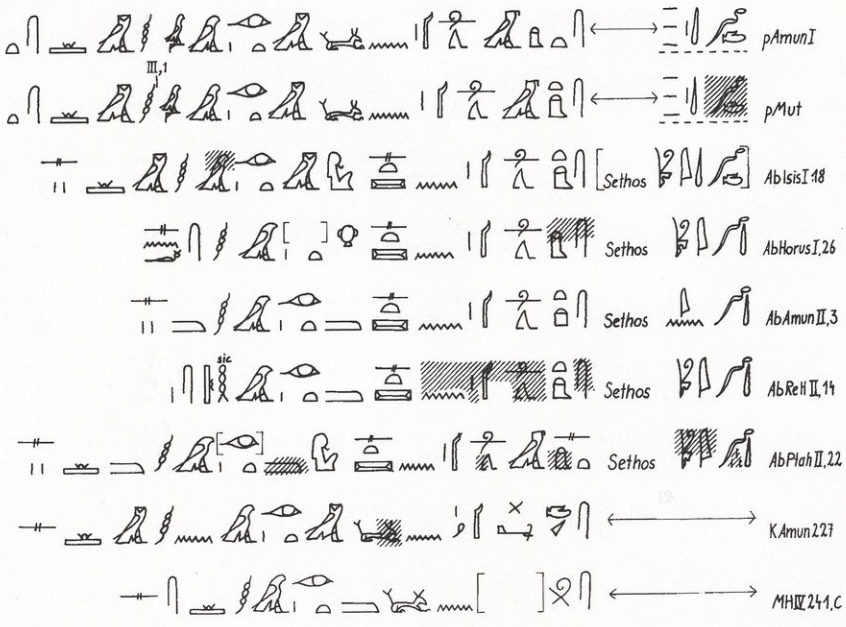

III, 6
II, 8
pAmun I
pMut
Sethos
AbIsis I, 17
Sethos
AbAmun II 4
AbReH II 13
Sethos
AbPtah II 21
KAmun 227
MH IV, 241 B

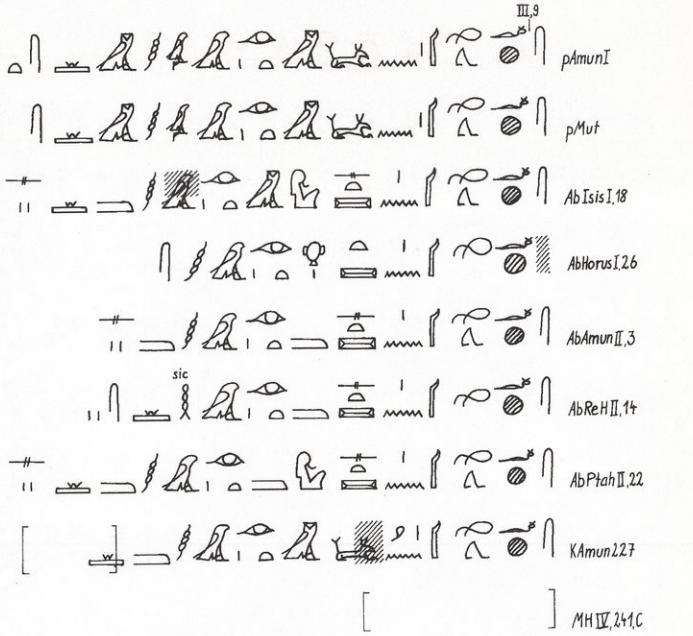

pAmunI
pMut
AbIsisI,17
AbAmunII,4
AbReHII,13
KAmun 227
MHIV,241,B
III,7
II,9
Amun
Mut
Ramses III
sic

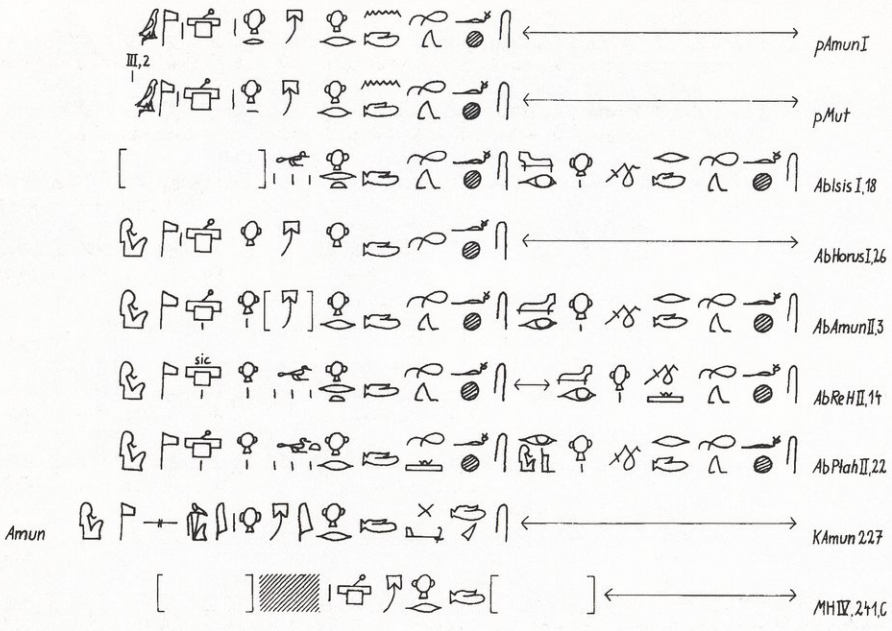

pAmunI
pMut
AbIsisI,17
Amun
AbAmunII,4
III,8
pAmunI
II,10
pMut

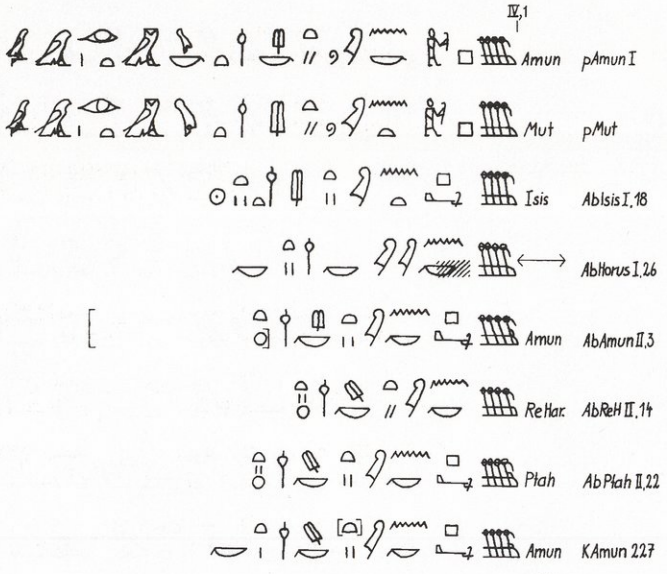
Spruch 9

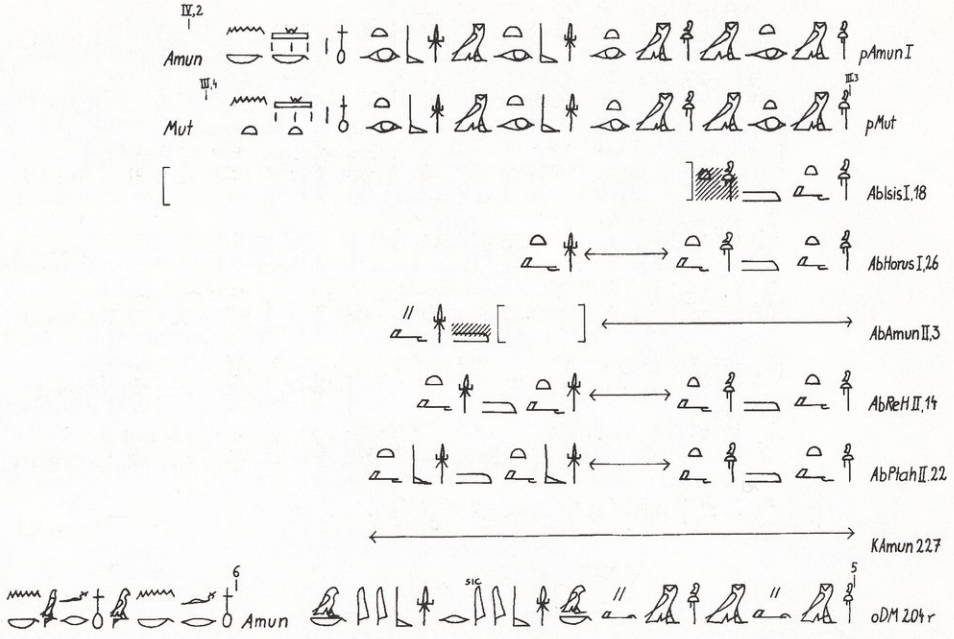

pAmunI
II,10
pMut
AbIsisI,18
AbHorusI,16
AbAmunII,3
AbReHII,14
AbPtahII,22
KAmun223

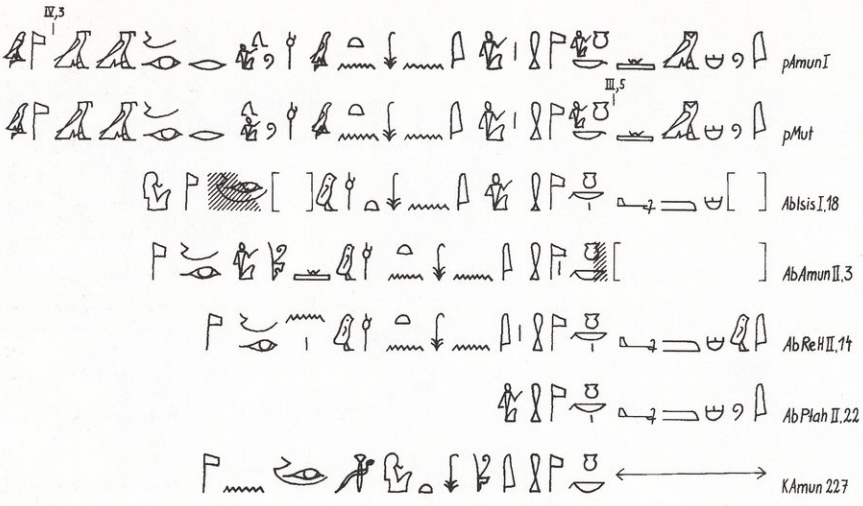

III,1
Sethos
Sethos
Sethos
Sethos
Sethos
sic
pAmunI
pMut
AbIsisI 18
AbHorusI,26
AbAmunII,3
AbReHII,14
AbPtahII,22
KAmun227
MHIV 241,C

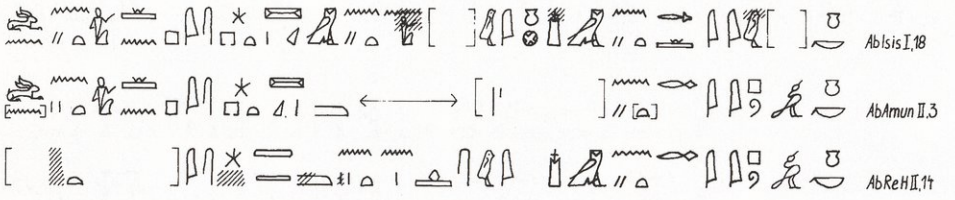

III,9
sic
pAmunI
pMut
AbIsisI,18
AbHorusI,26
AbAmunII,3
AbReHII,14
AbPtahII,22
KAmun227
MHIV,241,C


III,2
pAmunI
pMut
AbIsis I,18
AbHorus I,26
AbAmun II,3
sic
AbReH II,14
AbPtah II,22
Amun
KAmun 227
MH IV, 241,C


IV,1
Amun
pAmun I
Mut
pMut
Isis
AbIsis I, 18
AbHorus I, 26
Amun
AbAmun II, 3
Re Har.
AbReH II, 14
Ptah
AbPtah II, 22
Amun
KAmun 227

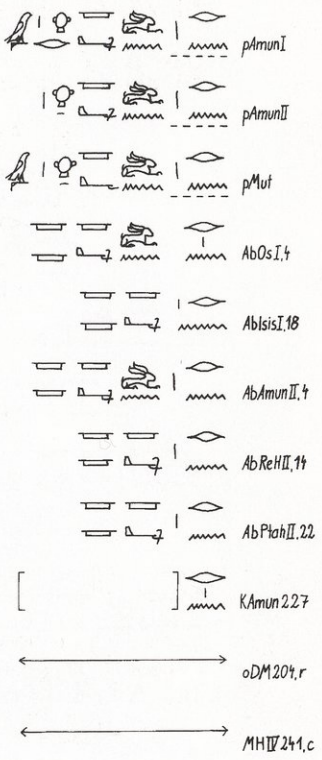

IX,2
Amun
pAmunI
III,4
Mut
III,3
pMut
AbIsisI,18
AbHorusI,26
AbAmunII,3
AbReHII,14
AbPtahII,22
KAmun 227
6
Amun
sic
5
oDM 204 r
pAmunI
pMut
AbIsisI,18
AbHorusI,26
AbAmunII,3
sic
AbReHII,14
AbPtahII,22
KAmun 227
oDM 204,r.6

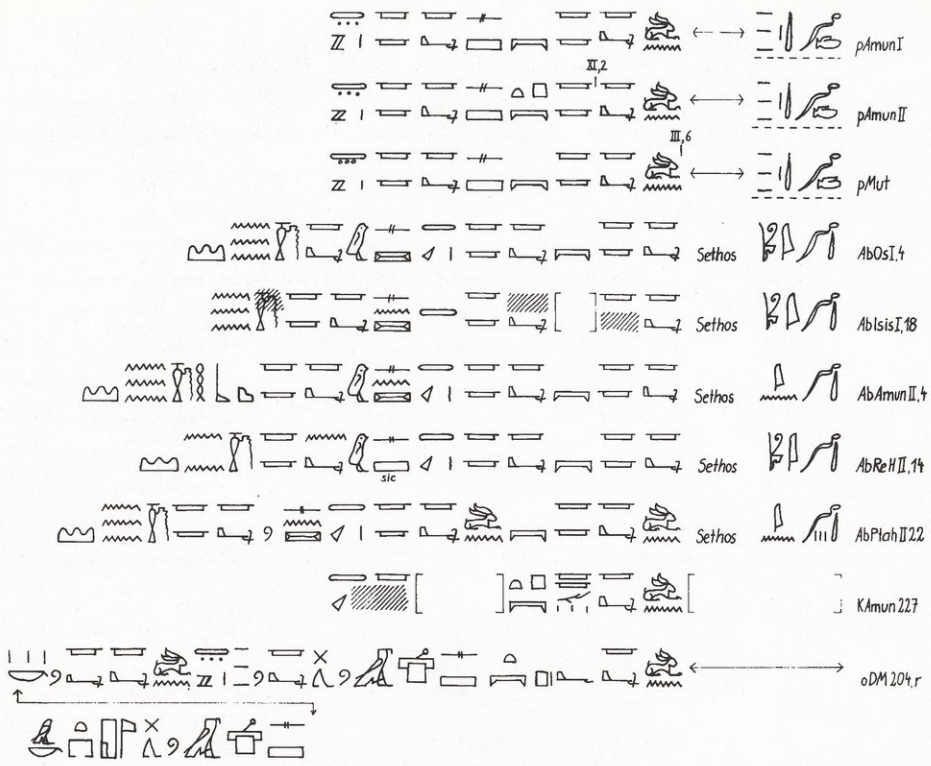

IV,3
III,5
pAmunI
pMut
AbIsisI,18
AbAmunII,3
AbReHII,14
AbPtahII,22
KAmun 227

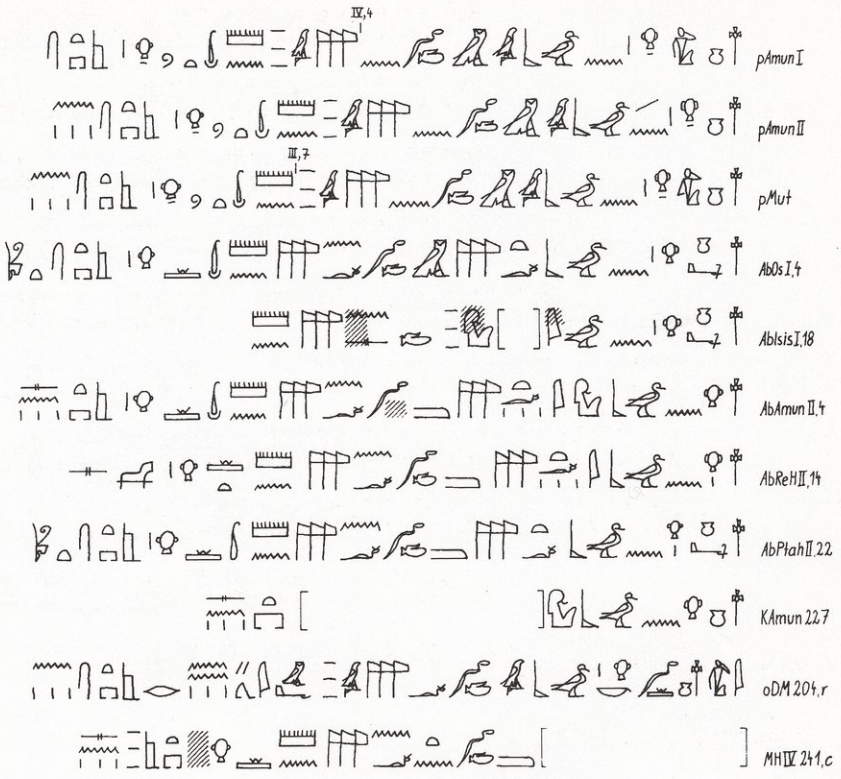

AbIsisI,18
AbAmunII,3
AbReHII,14

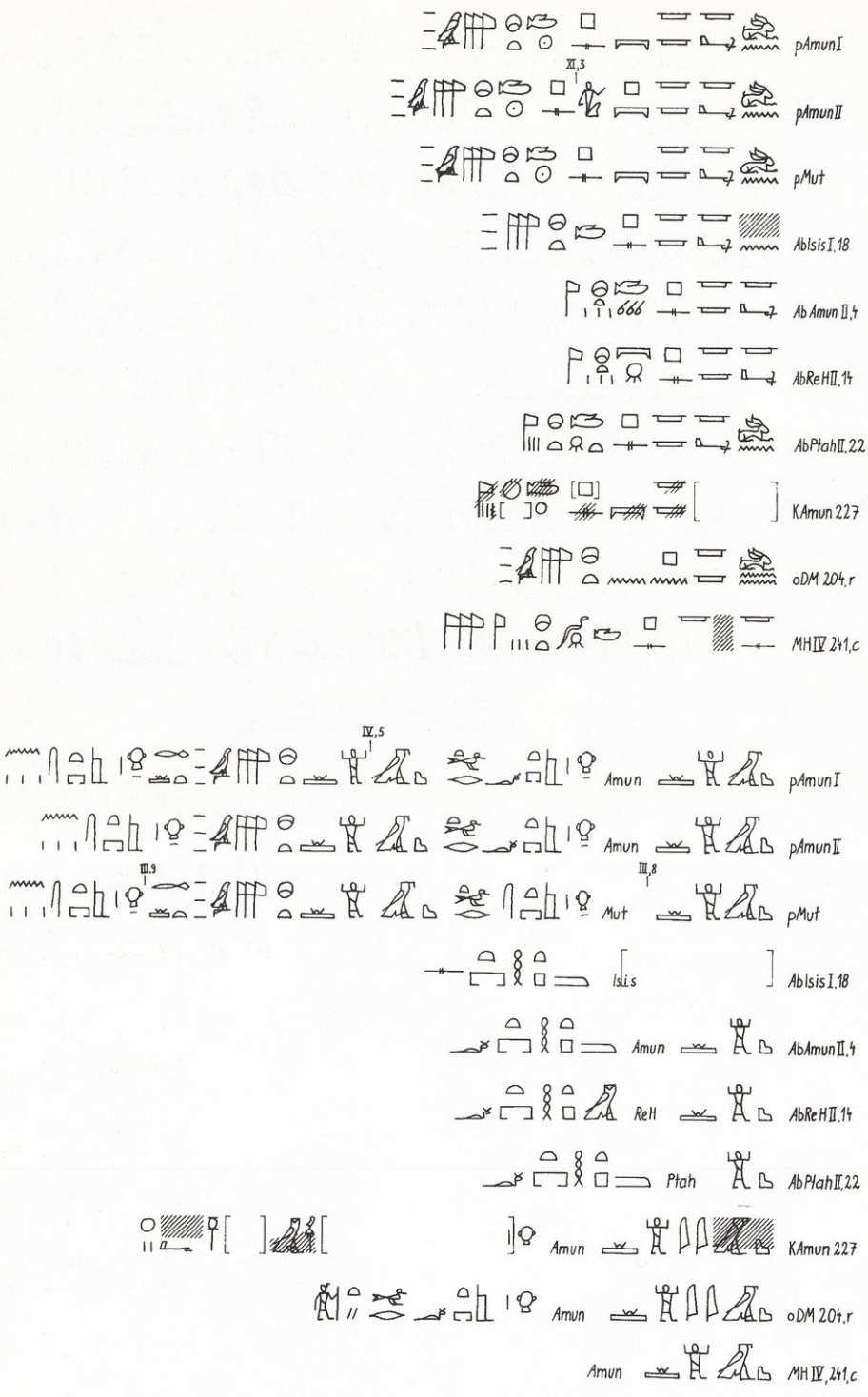
Sethos
AbIsisI,18
AbAmunII,3

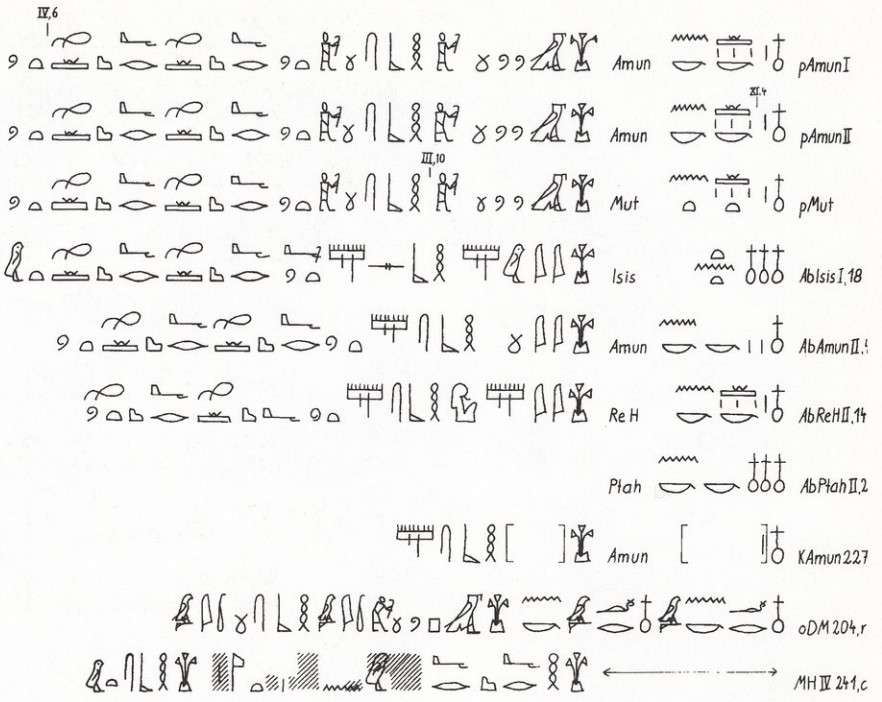
Spruch 10


pAmunI
pAmunII
pMut
AbOsI,4
AbIsisI,18
AbAmunII,4
AbReHII,14
AbPtahII,22
KAmun 2.2.7
oDM 204,r
MHIV 241,c

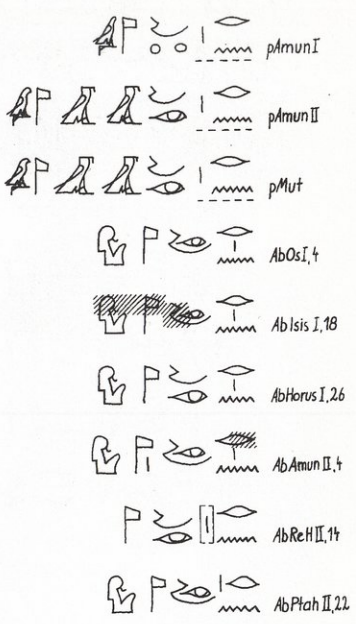

pAmunI
II,2
pAmunII
III,6
pMut
Sethos
AbOsI,4
Sethos
AbIsisI,18
Sethos
AbAmunII,4
sic
Sethos
AbReHII,14
Sethos
AbPtahII,22
KAmun 227
oDM 204,r

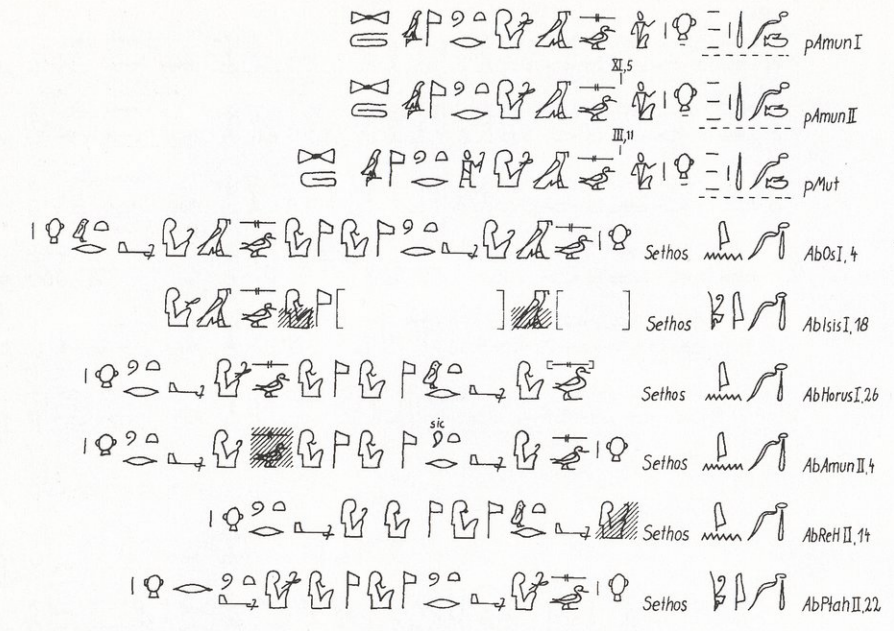

IV,4
III,7
pAmunI
pAmunII
pMut
AbOsI,4
AbIsisI,18
AbAmunII,4
AbReHII,14
AbPtahII,22
KAmun22,7
oDM204,r
MHIV241,c

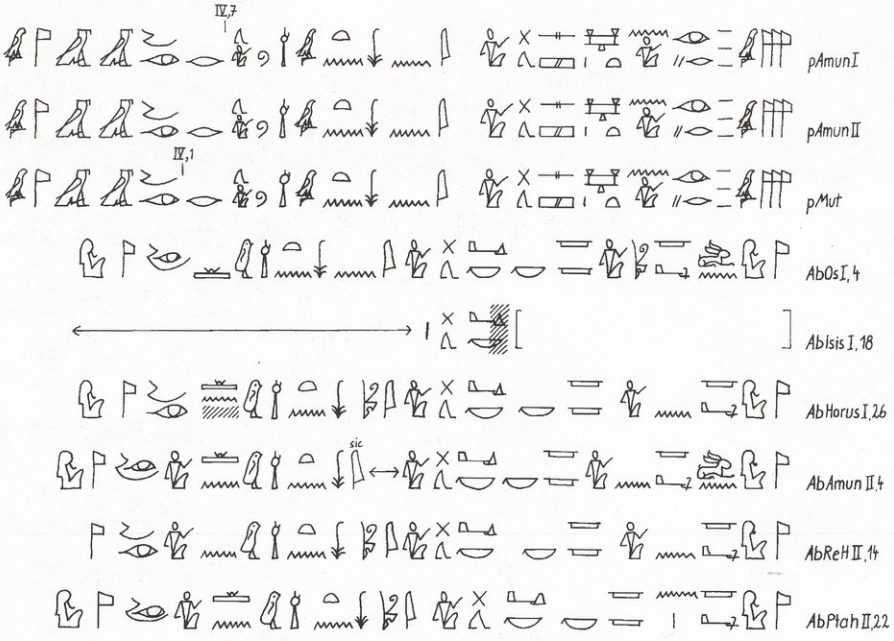

pAmunI
XII,3
pAmunII
pMut
AbIsisI,18
666
AbAmunII,4
AbReHII,14
AbPtahII,22
KAmun 227
oDM 204,r
MHIV 241,c
IV,5
Amun
pAmunI
Amun
pAmunII
III,9
Mut
III,8
pMut
Isis
AbIsisI,18
Amun
AbAmunII,4
ReH
AbReHII,14
Ptah
AbPtahII,22
Amun
KAmun 227
Amun
oDM 204,r
Amun
MHIV,241,c


IV,6
Amun
pAmunI
XI,4
Amun
pAmunII
III,10
Mut
pMut
Isis
AbIsisI,18
Amun
AbAmunII,
ReH
AbReHII,14
Ptah
AbPtahII,2
Amun
KAmun227
oDM204,r
MHIV241,c

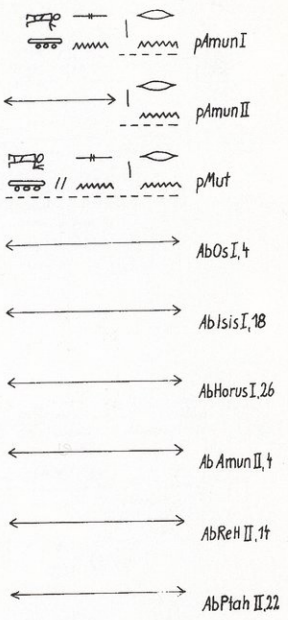
Spruch 11

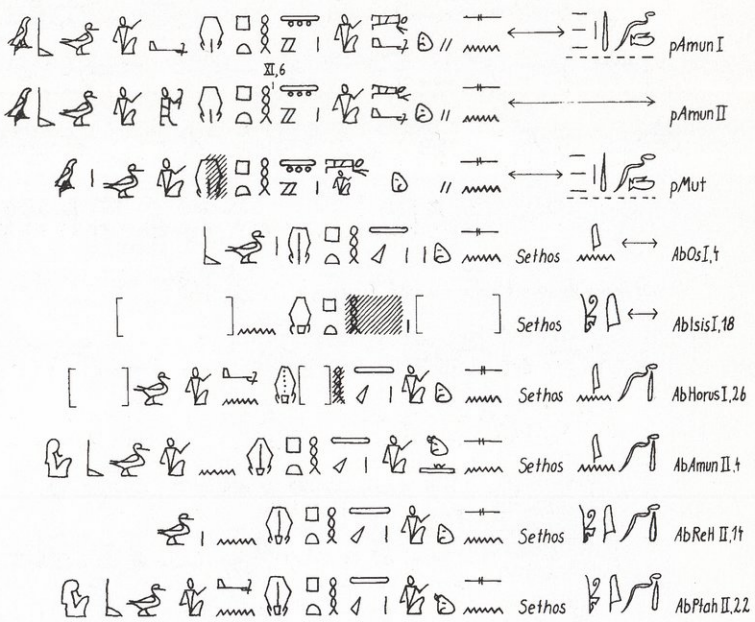

pAmunI
pAmunII
pMut
AbOsI,4
AbIsisI,18
AbHorusI,26
AbAmunII,4
AbReHII,14
AbPtahII,22

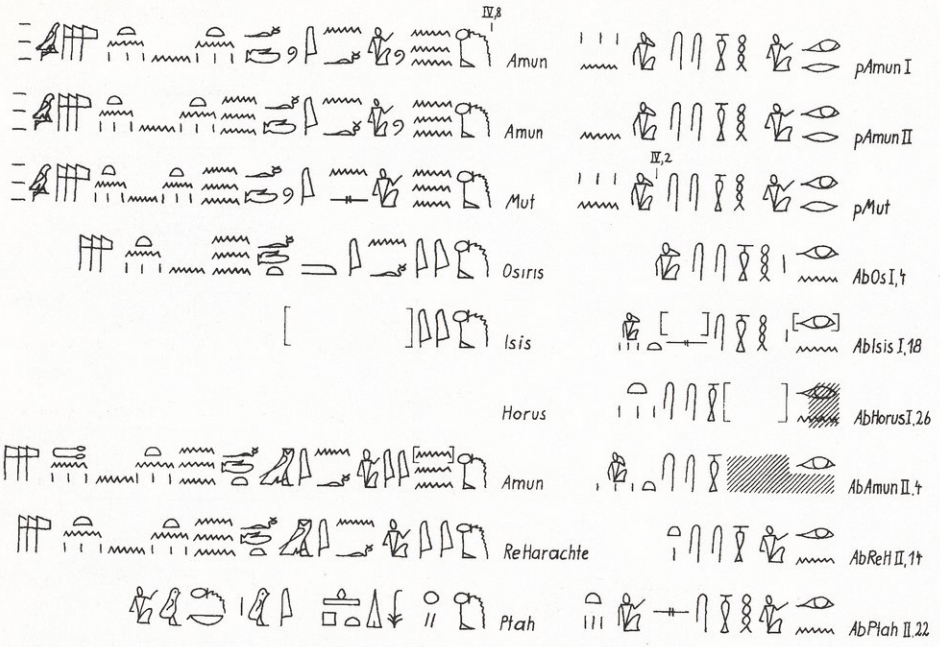

pAmun I
XI,5
pAmun II
III,11
pMut
Sethos
AbOs I, 4
Sethos
Ab Isis I, 18
Sethos
Ab Horus I, 26
sic
Sethos
Ab Amun II, 4
Sethos
Ab Reh II, 14
Sethos
Ab Ptah II, 22


IV,7
pAmun I
pAmun II
IV,1
pMut
Ab Os I, 4
Ab Isis I, 18
Ab Horus I, 26
sic
Ab Amun II, 4
Ab Reh II, 14
Ab Ptah II, 22

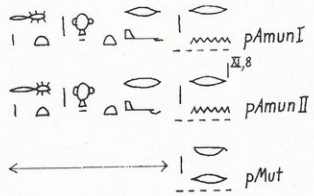
Spruch 12

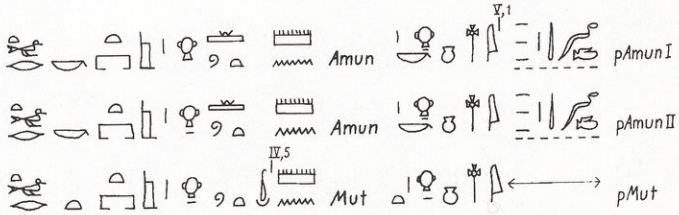

pAmun I
pAmun II
pMut
AbOs I,4
AbIsis I,18
AbHorus I,26
Ab Amun II,4
AbReH II,11
AbPtah II,22

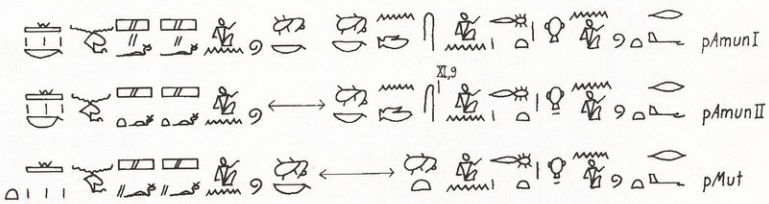

pAmun I
XI,6
pAmun II
pMut
Sethos
AbOs I,4
Sethos
AbIsis I,18
Sethos
AbHorus I,26
Sethos
AbAmun II,4
Sethos
AbReH II,11
Sethos
AbPtah II,22


IV,8
Amun
pAmun I
Amun
pAmun II
IV,2
Mut
pMut
Osiris
AbOs I,1
Isis
AbIsis I,18
Horus
AbHorus I,26
Amun
AbAmun II,1
ReHarachte
AbReH II,11
Ptah
AbPtah II,22
IV,9
pAmun I
II,7
pAmun II
IV,3
pMut
sic
AbOs I,1
Sethos
AbAmun II,1
sic
AbReH II,11
pAmun I
pAmun II
IV,4
pMut

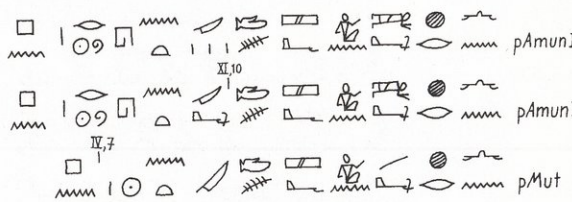
Spruch 13


pAmunI
XI,8
pAmunII
pMut

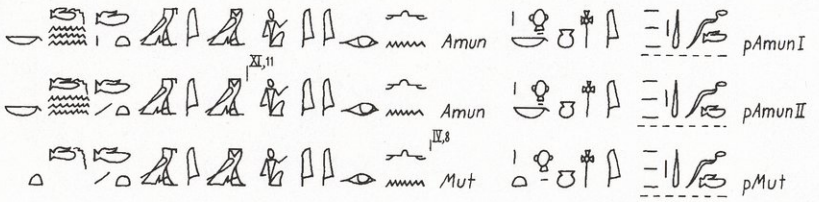

V,1
Amun
pAmunI
Amun
pAmunII
IV,5
Mut
pMut

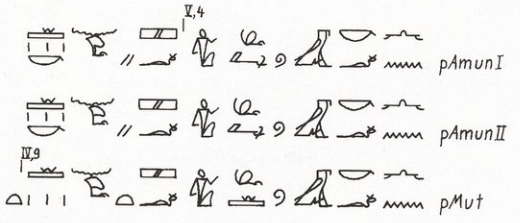

pAmunI
XI,9
pAmunII
pMut

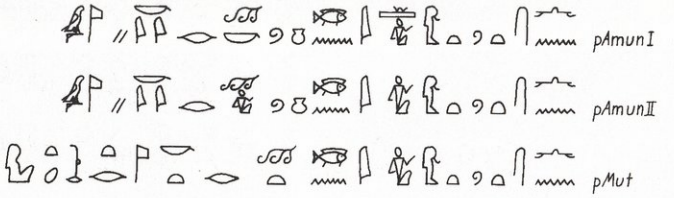
V,2
pAmunI
pAmunII
IV,6
pMut


pAmunI
XI,10
pAmunII
IV,7
pMut

V,3
pAmunI
pAmunII
pMut

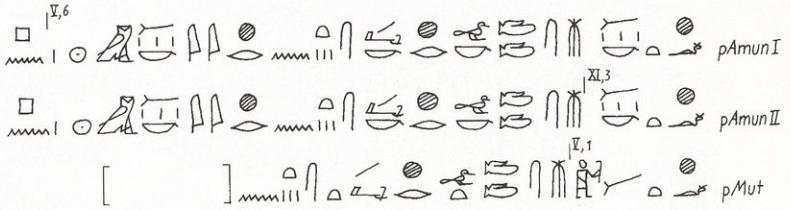

Amun
pAmunI
XI,11
Amun
pAmunII
IX,8
Mut
pMut

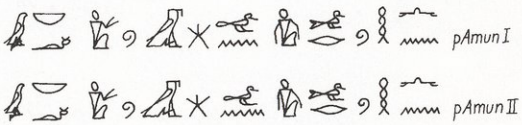

V,4
pAmunI
pAmunII
IV,9
pMut


pAmunI
pAmunII
pMut

V,5
pAmunI
II,12
pAmunII
IV,10
pMut

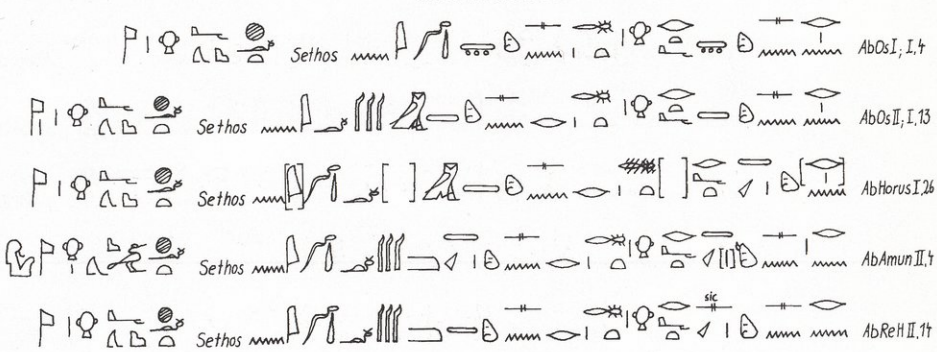
pAmunI
pAmunII
pMut

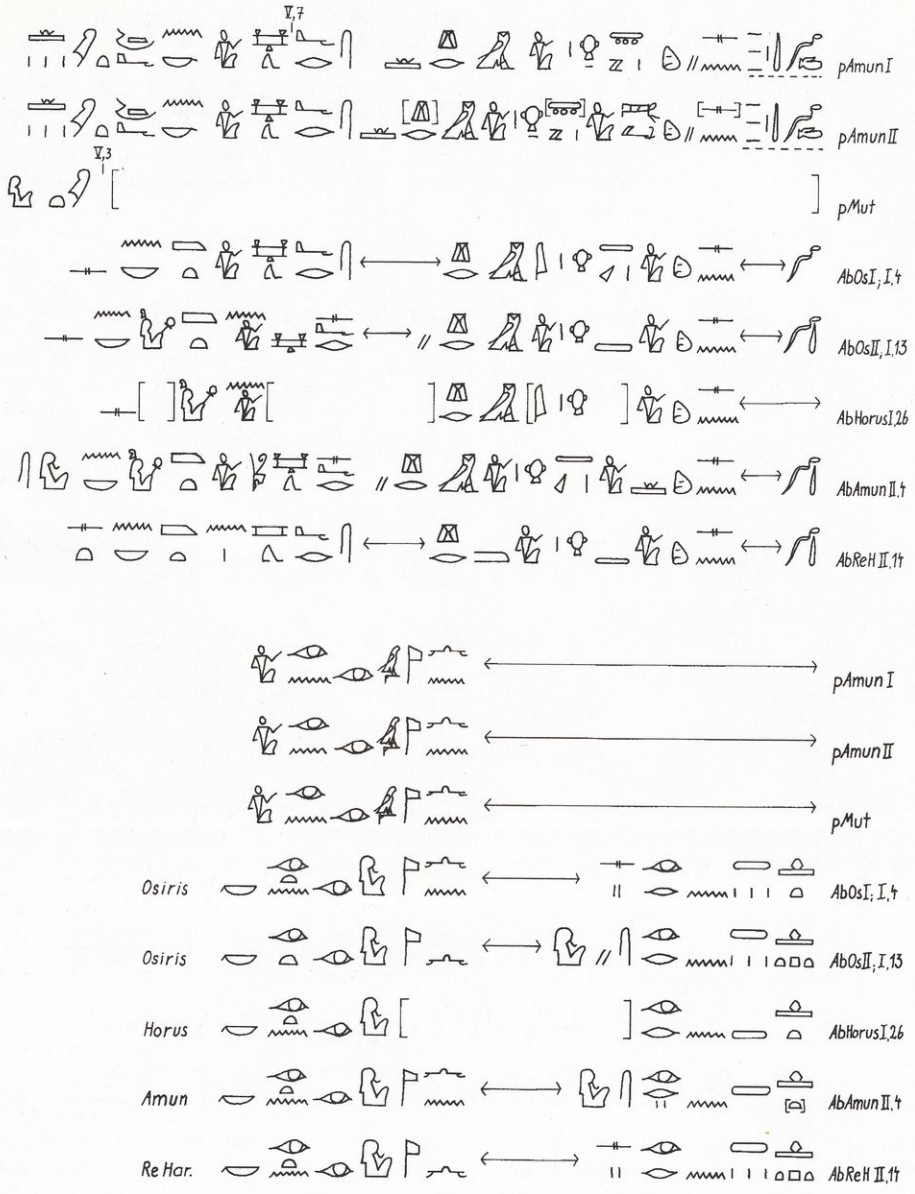

V,6
pAmunI
XI,3
pAmunII
V,1
pMut

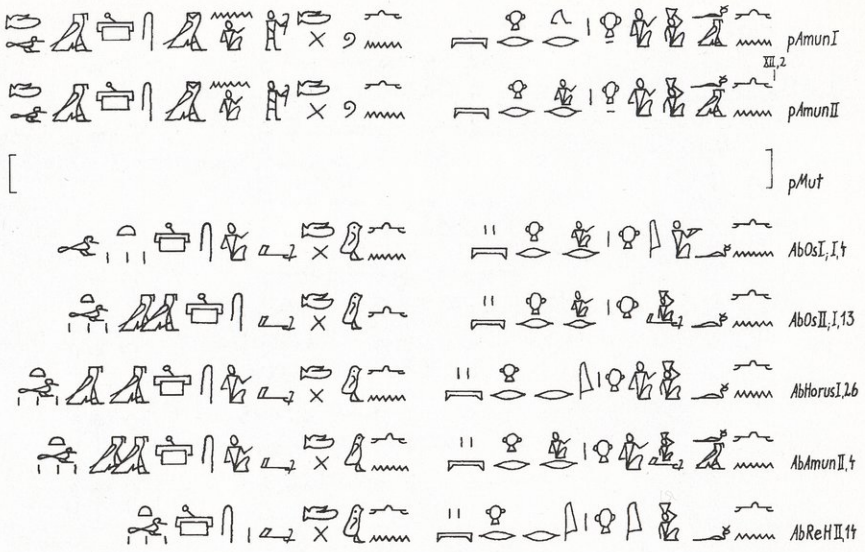

pAmunI
pAmunII

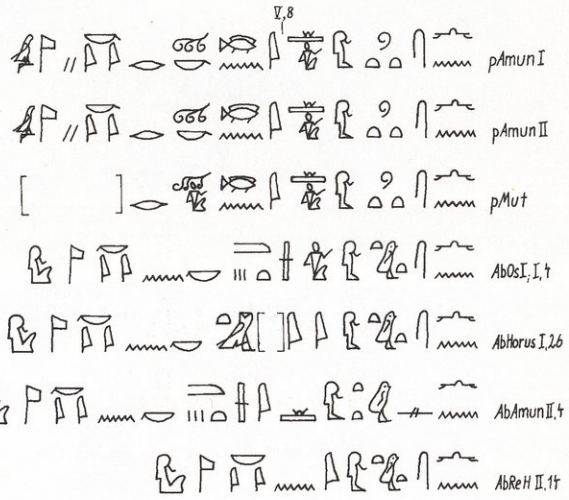
Spruch 15

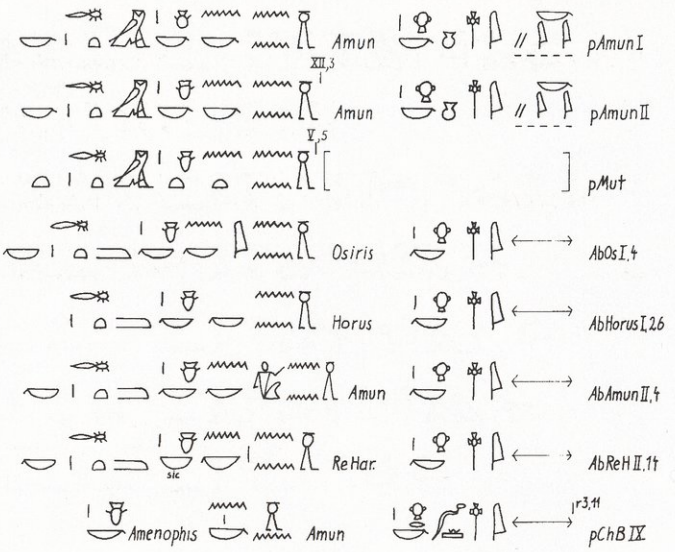
pAmunI
pAmunII
pMut

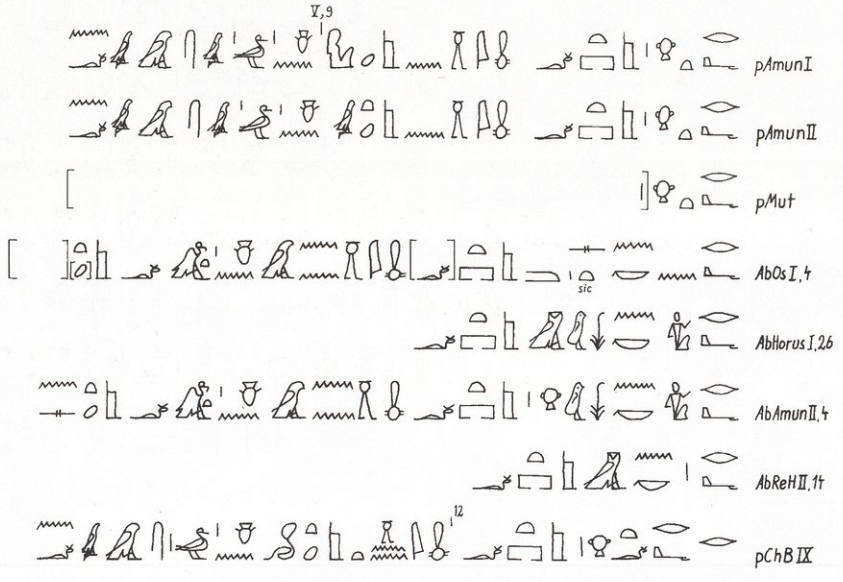

Sethos
AbOsI; I,4
Sethos
AbOsII; I,13
Sethos
AbHorusI,26
Sethos
AbAmunII,4
Sethos
sic
AbReHII,14

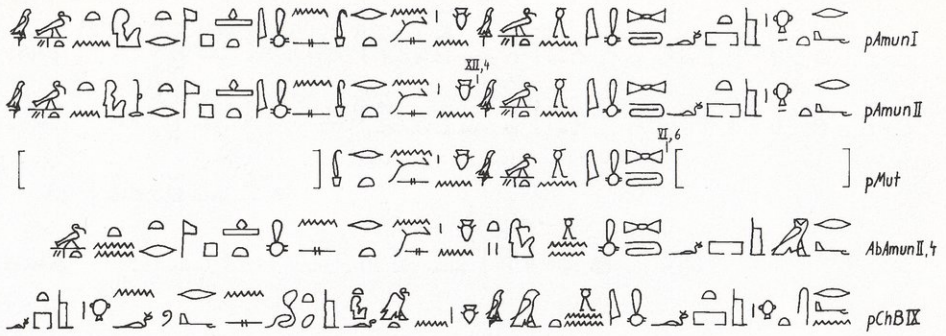

V,7
pAmun I
pAmun II
V,3
pMut
AbOs I, I,4
AbOs II, I,13
AbHorus I,26
AbAmun II,4
AbReH II,11
pAmun I
pAmun II
pMut
Osiris
AbOs I, I,4
Osiris
AbOs II, I,13
Horus
AbHorus I,26
Amun
AbAmun II,4
Re Har.
AbReH II,11


pAmunI
XIII,2
pAmunII
pMut
AbOsI,I,1
AbOsII,I,13
AbHorusI,26
AbAmunII,1
AbReHII,11

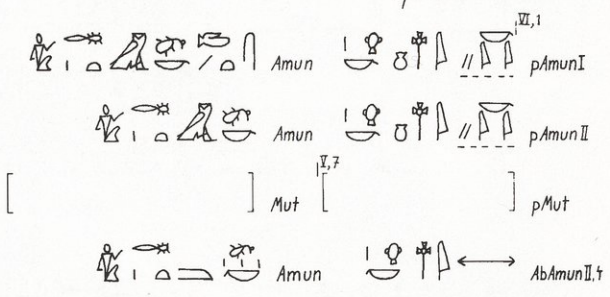

V,8
pAmunI
pAmunII
pMut
AbOsI,I,1
AbHorusI,26
AbAmunII,1
AbReHII,11

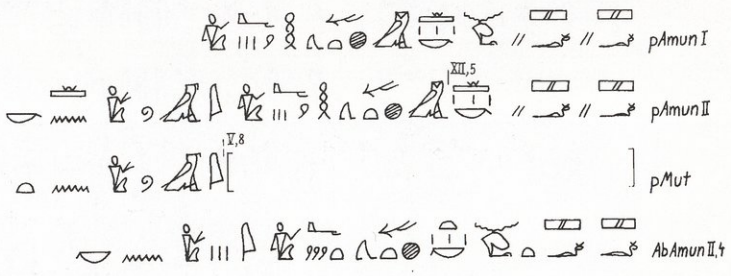

Amun
pAmunI
XII,3
Amun
pAmunII
V,5
pMut
Osiris
AbOsI,4
Horus
AbHorusI,26
Amun
AbAmunII,4
ReHar.
sic
AbReHII,11
r3,11
Amenophis
Amun
pChBIX

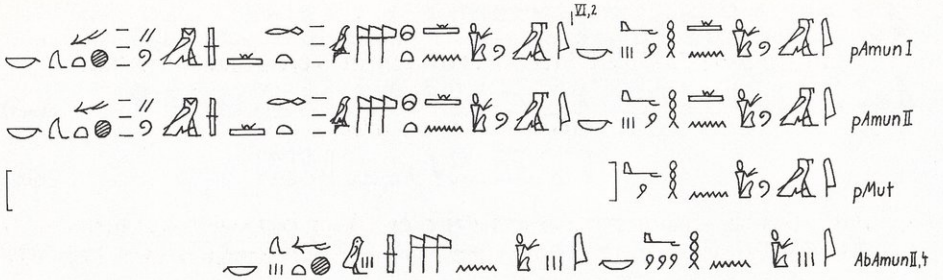

V,9
pAmunI
pAmunII
pMut
sic
AbOsI,4
AbHorusI,26
AbAmunII,4
AbReHII,11
12
pChBIX

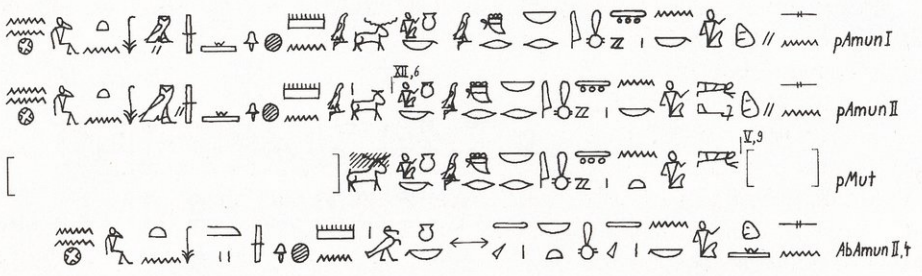

pAmunI
XII,4
pAmunII
VI,6
pMut
AbAmunII,4
pChBIX

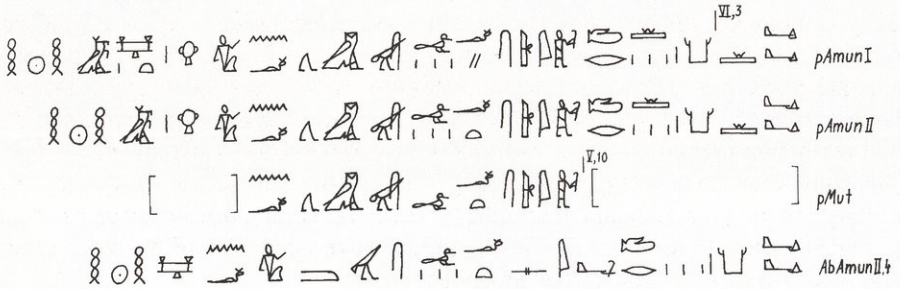
Spruch 17


VI,1
Amun
pAmunI
Amun
pAmunII
V,7
Mut
pMut
Amun
AbAmunII,4


pAmunI
XII,5
pAmunII
V,8
pMut
AbAmunII,4


VI,2
pAmunI
pAmunII
pMut
AbAmunII,4


XII,6
V,9
pAmunI
pAmunII
pMut
AbAmunII,4


VI,3
V,10
pAmunI
pAmunII
pMut
AbAmunII,4

XII,7
pAmunI
pAmunII
AbAmunII,4

Coffins and *Naoi* as Votive Objects in Tell Ibrahim Awad

Willem M. van Haarlem

Since 1986, regular excavation seasons have been taking place at Tell Ibrahim Awad. It was selected for further investigation after a survey which commenced in 1984.[1] The first soundings revealed an intact First Dynasty tomb and part of a Middle Kingdom temple.[2]

In the 1993 and 1995 seasons, several deposits of ritually buried objects were discovered under the Middle Kingdom temple foundations, together with stray finds of the same character.[3]

In general, the objects fall under four categories:

1. Tiles, which must have been part of the wall decoration of temple rooms;
2. Objects, such as specific categories of vessels, used in the daily ritual;
3. Model offerings, such as miniature vases (ceramic and faience);
4. Votive offerings (mainly human and animal figures).[4]

Most of the deposits contained only or mainly ceramic vessels, for the most part of a cultic nature, like offering stands, *ḥes*-vases and miniature pottery.[5]

The non-ceramic elements in the deposits consisted of objects of a varied nature. They contained, among other things, a considerable number of ovoid maceheads, made of calcite or quarzite, ivory objects such as a female figurine and dummy vases, a metal bowl, and some small stone sculpture such as a baboon and a falcon. The largest number, however, consisted of faience items. They include miniature dummy and real vessels, child figurines, baboons, crocodiles, a naos, a *pšs-kf*, and a cargo ship. The most numerous category consisted of (wall-)tiles of all sorts and sizes: square, oblong, vaulted, hemispherical in section, etcetera, some with incisions on the back, probably production marks. These tiles must have been part of an older sanctuary, and were ritually discarded after its abandonment.

In the Spring excavation season of 1996, several more *cachettes* were found with large numbers of similar objects, mainly of faience and ivory.[6] The deposits probably date from the end of the Old Kingdom, but the objects deposited may go back even to Archaic times. There are particularly close parallels with the deposits found in Elephantine, in the contemporary Satet temple.[7] Less well-documented parallels stem from Abydos, Hierakonpolis and the Kofler-Truniger Collection.

---

[1] E.C.M. van den Brink, "A Geo-Archaeological Survey in the North-Eastern Nile Delta, Egypt; the First Two Seasons, a Preliminary Report", in *MDAIK* 43 (1987), 7–31.

[2] E.C.M. van den Brink, *The Archaeology of the Nile Delta. Problems and Priorities* (Amsterdam 1988), 76–110; D. Eigner, "A Temple of the Early Middle Kingdom at Tell Ibrahim Awad", in E.C.M. van den Brink (ed.), *The Nile Delta in Transition: 4th.-3rd. Millennium B.C.* (Tel Aviv 1992), 69–77.

[3] W.M. van Haarlem, "Temple Deposits at Tell Ibrahim Awad – a Preliminary Report", *GM* 148 (1995), 45–52.

[4] G. Dreyer, *Elephantine VIII: Der Tempel der Satet*, AVDAIK 39 (Mainz 1986), 60.

[5] W.M. van Haarlem, op. cit., figs. 1–4.

[6] W.M. van Haarlem, "Temple Deposits at Tell Ibrahim Awad II – an Update", *GM* 154, 31–34.

[7] G. Dreyer, op. cit., passim.

Compared with Elephantine several significant differences are noticable. The deposits in Tell Ibrahim Awad were put in clearly delineated brick 'boxes', in contrast to Elephantine, where they were mostly scattered around without clear boundaries, with the exception of some larger concentrations.[8] For example, the inscribed objects which were probably used as foundation deposits per se and well represented in Elephantine,[9] are almost completely missing in Tell Ibrahim Awad, with only one exception.[10] The same is true for the so-called 'hedgehog-ships', only present in one or two pieces here,[11] but abundantly represented in Elephantine.[12] Another significant difference is the relatively much larger number of baboons found in Tell Ibrahim Awad. Although flint knives, apparently used for cultic purposes, were present in Tell Ibrahim Awad, they were found only as strays, and not in any of the deposits. Quantitative comparisons with the other sites are hazardous due to the incomplete documentation.

In none of the parallel sites were any objects found similar to three faience objects, find nos. A 130/190/70/95–119–199, found in the so-called Deposit 10 in Square A 130/190 (see Fig. 1 for one of these). They look like representations of the hieroglyphic sign known as Gardiner O20 (the shrine *pr-nw/nsr*, in the case of nos. 95 and 199) and the related Q6 (*ḳrs*, in the case of no. 119), the Old Kingdom wooden sarcophagus. It is remarkable that they are not three-dimensional representations (which is entirely possible in faience, as several *naoi* [see Fig. 2] in the above-mentioned deposits show) but rather only in two dimensions, exactly like the hieroglyphs. As far as I am aware, no parallels exist for these objects.

The meaning of the shrines as votives does not immediately seem clear. They may have been an object of adoration per se. In all probability, the three-dimensional *naoi* found in the same deposits must have had a similar function.

The sarcophagus may have been employed as a votive offering to ensure a decent funeral. Comparable objects are known from similar deposits, such as the votives in the form of miniature boats to secure a safe passage.[13] According to B. Kemp,[14] votives like these are an expression of the deep-rooted popular beliefs of the time, by then still hardly affected by the official State religion (in his vocabulary the *Preformal* period). In none of the deposit sites do these objects seem to have any visible relation with what, at least in later times, were the patron deities of the respective shrines. For example, among the votive objects found in Elephantine were no rams at all, the sacred animal of Khnum, the patron deity of the island.[15]

Fig. 1 A 130/190, Deposit 10 (2nd stage): the *pr-nw* is circled.

Fig. 2 Side view of one of the vaulted *naoi* found, this one from Deposit 4.

---

[8] G. Dreyer, op. cit., figs. 9ff.
[9] ibid., 60/148ff.
[10] A fragmentary *nbty*-sign (Gardiner G16), in all probability part of a royal titulary (A 140/190/253/3, in Deposit 11).
[11] W.M. van Haarlem, "A remarkable 'hedgehog-ship' from Tell Ibrahim Awad", *JEA* 82 (1996), 197–198.
[12] G. Dreyer, op. cit., 76ff.
[13] G. Dreyer, op. cit., 80.
[14] B.J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilisation* (London/New York 1989), Ch. 2 (passim).
[15] ibid., 74.

Fig. 1

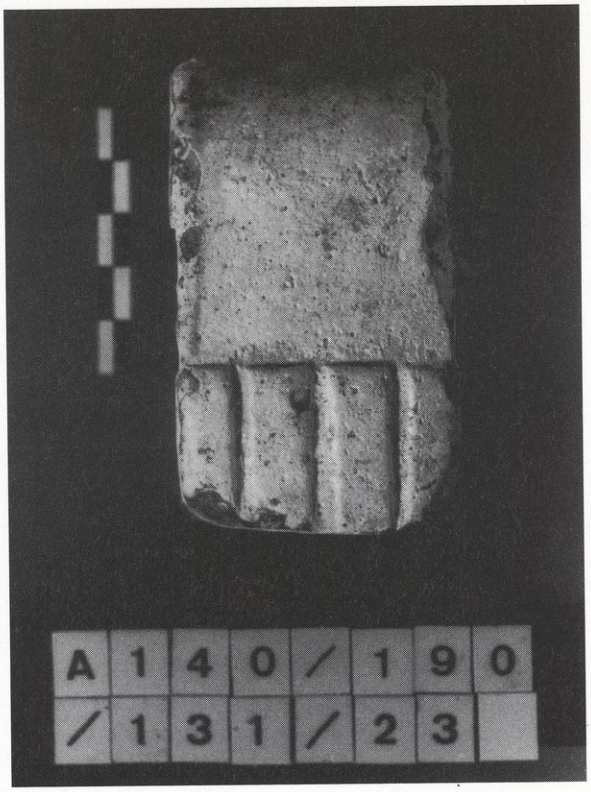


Fig. 2

Some Remarks on the Wooden Statues from Nezlet Batran

Julia Harvey

Although this paper may lie somewhat outside the usual field of the scholar to whom it is dedicated, I hope that it will nevertheless be of some interest to him. It gives me great pleasure to be able to dedicate it to Herman, an esteemed colleague and friend, in honour of his retirement and as inadequate thanks for the warm welcome and kindness shown to me by both him and his wife Gerrie since I first came to live in Groningen.

Karl Kromer's publication of a mastaba to the south of the Great Pyramid, in an area called Nezlet Batran,[1] mentions that the remains of three wooden statues were found in a serdab on the eastern side of the mastaba. These statues were in a very poor state of preservation, and only some parts of them could be removed and conserved. With the aid of the photographs taken in situ, a hypothetical reconstruction was made of the tomb group, and this is presented on p. 35 of the publication. As a result of my research into nonroyal wooden statues of the Old Kingdom,[2] I believe that I am able to add some information to that already presented by Kromer.

The statues were found in a serdab built in an extension to the east of the original mastaba, and located immediately behind a wall which apparently originally contained several false doors (Fig. 1). Kromer convincingly dates this extension, which in addition to the serdab also includes four shafts, to Dynasty V on archaeological grounds.[3] This combination would suggest that this extension was used as a family tomb, with family members adding shafts and false doors as necessary over a period of time. The serdab with the statues, for example, was partly built over the edge of Shaft 4, and thus probably postdates it.[4] Bolshakov, in his review of the publication,[5] draws attention to the fact that "mastabas with numerous shafts are characteristic of the late Old Kingdom", and points out that serdabs close to shafts are also a late feature. In this instance, however, the serdab is clearly built over part of Shaft 4. It is thus unlikely to have been a deliberate part of the original design of that particular shaft. As such the date suggested by Kromer is to be preferred.

Bearing in mind a putative date of Dynasty V for the extension and the shafts, an interesting discovery was part of the original lintel of a false door partway down Shaft 2. The inscription on the lintel was examined by H.G. Fischer[6] who ascribes it on stylistic grounds to Dynasty V. The owner of the lintel is a certain *Ḥmw*, an Overseer

---

[1] Karl Kromer, *Nezlet Batran. Eine Mastaba aus dem Alten Reich bei Giseh (Ägypten). Österreichische Ausgrabungen 1981–1983*, DÖAW 12 (Vienna 1991).

[2] J. C. Harvey, *A Typological Study of Egyptian Wooden Statues of the Old Kingdom* (PhD London 1994) [in preparation for publication].

[3] Op. cit., 24–36.

[4] Kromer does not rule out the possibility that the serdab is associated with Shaft 4, despite the overlap (op. cit., 25), although he prefers to associate it with Shaft 2.

[5] A. Bolshakov, *BiOr* 51 (1994), 62.

[6] In Kromer, op. cit., 47–51.

of the Gang(s?) of Craftsmen, and Kromer suggests that the shaft, too, should be ascribed to *Ḥmw*. This suggestion certainly deserves consideration, but the finding of the lintel partway down this particular shaft may only be coincidental. After all, we should not forget that this shaft is the only one of the four that was robbed in antiquity and considerably disturbed. As Kromer himself suggests, the lintel may have been accidentally dropped during 'quarrying' activities of a much later date, implying that the shaft at that time was not completely filled. The suggestion that the serdab is also to be ascribed to *Ḥmw* because he must have been a man of substance seems to me to rest on nothing more than a lack of other possible candidates. The possibility still remains that Shaft 2 and/or the serdab originally belonged to someone other than *Ḥmw*, and that *Ḥmw*'s tomb was one of the other shafts.

The statues were found in the remains of the serdab which measures 80 cm × 100 cm. The upper parts of the walls are missing so the original height is not determinable. The fact that the upper parts of the walls are gone is the direct cause of the poor state of preservation of the statues inside: their upper parts were exposed and as a result completely rotted away. Of the three statues found in the serdab, one was extant from the feet to the waist, one was preserved from the head to the hips, and the third was present only as rotting traces in the sand. Sadly the remains could not be preserved intact, and the excavation records are all that now remain of the statues. Kromer reconstructs them as a family group of tomb owner, wife, and young boy,[7] the tomb owner being the large statue extant from the waist down, the wife being the disintegrated remains, and the boy the upper part of a smaller statue which had fallen down in antiquity and was found lying across the feet of the other statues. Kromer infers the presence of a fourth statue because there is space to the left of the main figure, but I see no reason to assume this. The small figure found lying on the ground could originally have stood to the left of the large statue.

In his dating discussion Kromer draws comparisons between this tomb group and some wooden statues from the tombs of Akhtihotep and Kaemsenu at Saqqara.[8] As a result of these comparisons he dates the statues to either Dynasty V (Akhtihotep – reign of Unas) or Dynasty VI (Kaemsenu), inclining to Dynasty V in the end because of the archaeological evidence. The dating of the tomb of Kaemsenu to Dynasty VI is not certain, however. The discussion by Strudwick[9] provides a useful summary of research so far, and concludes that the end of Dynasty V is a more likely date in accordance with all the evidence (including the design of the chapel and false doors). This conclusion has recently been supported by Harpur's research, among others.[10] I would like to add a statue in Cairo of a man called Kahif[11] to the group of comparative

[7] Ibid., 35, fig. 10.

[8] PM III/2², 638 and 541, resp.

[9] N. Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom* (London 1985), 150–151.

[10] Y. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom. Studies in Orientation and Scene Content* (London 1987), 276 [526]. See also N. Kanawati *et al., Excavations at Saqqara. North-west of Teti's Pyramid* I (Sydney 1984), 8. C.M. Firth & B. Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* I (Cairo 1926), 31; H. Kees, "Eine Familie kgl. Maurermeister aus dem Anfang der 6. Dynastie", *WZKM* 54 (1957), 91–100; and K. Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom* (Chicago 1960), 143–144 [528] support a date at the beginning of Dynasty VI. N. Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées d'Ancien Empire. Le problème de la datation* (Brussels 1989), 136–137 proposes a date in the reign of Nyuserre on the basis of the presence of that king's name in the tomb.

[11] JE 26645 = CG 268: L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum*

material. It is wearing a similar skirt to the large male, and is also standing on an inscribed base. It is dated to the reign of Nyuserre.

There may be something to be learned from the features of the statues themselves, however. My research into dating criteria for wooden statues from the Old Kingdom is based on a catalogue of 127 statues which are dated by external criteria. This corpus was analysed and over time several features, such as dress, coiffure, and the manner of holding the arms, were found to have changed in relation to each other, and were thus capable of indicating a date for a statue. Although this did not prove possible for the vast majority of individual criteria, when two or more of the criteria are present a reliable date may be ascribed to the statue in question. Although the statues under discussion here do not provide more than a couple of definite criteria, and therefore cannot with certainty be ascribed to a particular reign on stylistic grounds alone, they do nevertheless provide some interesting information which has been used as the basis of the reconstruction in Fig. 2.

The skirt worn by the large male figure is the so-called projecting-panel kilt, and if Kromer's reconstruction is correct, i.e. that it only reaches knee-length, that style was only worn between the reigns of Nyuserre and Unas,[12] although it was revived again at the very end of the reign of Pepi II.[13] The earlier instances are all plastered and painted, as is this example, whereas the later examples are unplastered. Further, all statues wearing this kilt have their arms in the position for holding a staff and sceptre, that is, the left arm is bent forward to hold a long staff the end of which rests on the base in front of the left foot, and the right is held alongside the body with the shaft of the sceptre passing through the fisted hand. Sadly, the upper surface of the base is too sandy (or too worn) to see whether there is a small indentation for the point of the staff.[14] An additional feature that this group of statues has in common is the striated close-cut coiffure, something that is confined to Dynasty V. The remaining information concerning this statue is revealed by the inscribed base, which will be dealt with below.

As the statue of the female was reduced to pulp – Kromer says that only its size and position could be determined – I can only make some very general comments concerning female statues from Dynasty V. From this period no nude female statues have survived, therefore I assume that this statue was clothed in a long, ankle-length sheath dress. The wig was probably a heavy, shoulder-length wig with striations. The statue will have been standing on a base, that is, the feet will have been together, and the arms will have been held parallel to the body with the hands open (see Fig. 2).

The third statue in the group is probably not a child or a youth (i.e. the son of the tomb owner) as Kromer suggests, but rather the tomb owner himself once again. The most common features of a boy are missing from this statue – boys are depicted shaven-headed, with a peg or hole for a sidelock on the side of the head. Further, they usually have one finger held to the mouth.[15] This figure clearly has an echelon-curl

von Kairo I (Berlin 1911), 170–171, pl. 57.

[12] Cairo JE 26645 (see n. 10); JE 93171 (PM III/2^2, 638); New York MMA 26.2.4 (PM III/2^2, 632).

[13] Ashmolean 1896–1908 E 1881: W.M.F. Petrie, *Deshasheh*, EEF Memoirs 15 (London 1898), 31; Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek ÆIN 3: O. Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des statues et statuettes égyptiennes* (Copenhagen 1950), pl. 9.

[14] Kromer, op. cit., pl. 16, fig. 2.

[15] See for example Berkeley, PHMA 6–19768: R.A. Fazzini, *Images for Eternity. Egyptian Art from*

wig, covering the ears (the most common type throughout the Old Kingdom). Kromer states that no traces of plaster were found on the statue, which perhaps implies that the figure was nude, but this in itself is not sufficient to designate it a boy. As can be seen by the composition of other tomb groups from the Old Kingdom, it was common for the tomb owner to depict himself in various costumes (or even nude) and various sizes, and even at various ages.[16] The photograph in the publication[17] has a curious light-coloured section around the midriff, terminating in a straight line. This cannot be plaster (see above) but may perhaps be a break line along an original carved line indicating the upper part, or belt, of a (gala) kilt. This is in keeping with the costumes worn by comparable statues, although a nude figure is also perfectly possible. The remains indicate further that the right arm was parallel to the body, but there is no information available about the left arm, which therefore could have been either held forward in the staff position, or else parallel to the body like the right arm (see Fig. 2) The legs would almost certainly have been in the striding position as the standing position for male statues first appears in the reign of Pepi II.[18]

My research has revealed that groups of wooden statues from the period preceding the reign of Unas often consist of two to three statues, one of which may be female. During the reign of Unas the average number of statues per group could increase to as many as nine or ten of the tomb owner and up to three of his wife.[19] The average number in a group then declines again to two or three until the reign of Pepi II, when as many as twenty statues may be found in a single burial, although at this stage the average size of the statues is much smaller.[20] Sadly, during the last century and most of the present one, mere traces of wooden statues were not usually noted, and often only the complete or virtually complete statues were recorded. Thus much potential information about the original size of tomb groups has been lost forever. Further, damaged statues were often 'tidied up', missing limbs replaced and jagged edges removed.[21]

The geographical location of the mastaba may provide a further piece of circumstantial evidence in favour of a date in the reign of Unas. The earliest datable

---

Berkeley and Brooklyn (Brooklyn 1975), 36, No. 26 and Cairo JE 17331 = CG 128: Borchardt, *Statuen* I, 96–97, pl. 29, among others.

16 See, for example, the Meryrehashetef statues from Sedment: Cairo JE 46992, British Museum EA 55722 and Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek ÆIN 1560: M. Mokhtar, *Ihnâsya El-Medina (Herakleopolis Magna). Its Importance and its Role in Pharaonic History*, BdE 40 (Cairo 1983) pl. XIV; Giza G2378, Senedjemib Mehi, Boston MFA 13.3465 and MFA 13.3466 (PM III/2^2, 87–89); and Saqqara, Tomb of Metri, Cairo JE 93165, JE 93166, JE 52081, JE 51738, New York MMA 26.2.2–6, Medelhavsmuseet MM 11410 (PM III/2^2, 632), among others, all of which have nude figures among the group.

17 Kromer, op. cit., pl. 16, fig. 1.

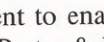
18 For example, Cairo JE 52564 (PM III/2^2, 682); Cairo CG 516: J. de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour en 1894–1895* (Vienna 1903), 21 [18], pl. IV, among others.

19 For example the tomb groups from the tombs of Akhtihotep and Metri at Saqqara. For references see PM III/2^2, 638 and 632 respectively.

20 For example Saqqara Tomb 6001, Tjeteti (PM III/2^2, 566); and Naga ed-Dêr N43, Tjetji (G.A. Reisner, *ASAE* 5 [1905], 105–109). The average size of these statues is 40–50 cm, whereas that of the earlier groups is 100–150 cm.

21 A probable example of this is Cairo JE 10177. The fact that the statue is missing from partway through the skirt indicates to me that it was probably once a full-length statue whose legs had disintegrated and which was 'tidied up' by the discoverers. See Capart, *JEA* 6 (1920), 225–233 and M. Saleh and H. Sourouzian, *The Egyptian Museum Cairo* (Mainz 1987), No. 42.

nonroyal wooden statues from the Giza necropolis can be attributed to that reign.[22] It is possible that there were earlier statues but the state of preservation at Giza is generally very poor and any that there may have been have not survived. In addition, the style of burials at Giza is usually more conservative than at Saqqara,[23] and unless other evidence strongly supports it, great care should be employed when assigning a wooden statue from the Giza area to a very early date. The statues under discussion here show features that correspond to parallels from Saqqara dating to the reigns of Nyuserre and Unas. However, on balance the characteristics which indicate the later reign outweigh those indicating the earlier and I would suggest, therefore, that the statues from this tomb may be dated to the reign of Unas.

There remains only the problem of who the owner of these statues can be. As mentioned above, Kromer attributes them to *Ḥmw* on the basis of a lack of other candidates. However, the traces on the inscribed base belonging to the large statue are sufficient to decipher a name that is not that of *Ḥmw*, see Fig. 3.[24] Bases of this period are usually inscribed with one or two vertical lines of hieroglyphs running alongside the left foot, and a horizontal line containing the name along the front of the base. This base has the one horizontal line along the front, and appears to have four or five short horizontal lines in the area alongside the left foot. The traces on the front of the base are sufficient to enable us to read the name Rahepef  [25] and a search in Ranke[26] and Porter & Moss[27] reveals the existence of a single known Rahepef (or Hepefra). This Rahepef is the owner of an inscribed offering-table now in the University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia (# B2923), found by Petrie in 1907 at Nezlet Batran, and published by him in *Gizeh and Rifeh*, p. 9, pl. VIIB. The archaeological information about the find spot for this offering-table is rather vague, but it appears to have been found lying loose on a ridge of hill to the south of the Sphinx, that is, close to the mastaba under discussion. If, as seems likely, this is the same Rahepef, then his original burial was probably in the mastaba complex excavated by Kromer, perhaps even Shaft 2, and the offering-table must have been removed from the area at some point, possibly as a result of clandestine activities.

The University of Pennsylvania offering-table[28] (Figs. 4 & 5) – H. 51.4 cm, W. 70.2 cm, Th. 6.2 cm – is a plain, rectangular block of limestone with three lines of inscription, one horizontal line along the top of the offering surface, and two vertical lines, one running down each side of the offering surface. The horizontal line consists of an offering formula and a list of festivals reading: *ḥtp-dỉ-nsw* (*ḥtp-dỉ*) *ỉnpw ḫnty Tȝ-ḏsr* (*dỉ.f*) *ḳrs*(*t*) *nfr*(*t*) *wr*(*t*) (*m*) *ḫrt-nṯr smyt ỉmntt nb ỉmȝḫ ḫr nṯr ʿȝ pr n.f ḫrw* (*m*) *wpt-rnpt Ḏḥwtỿ*(*t*) *wȝg ḥb wr prt-Mnw ȝbd sȝḏ*. This offering formula is typical for Dynasty

22 G 2738, Mehi, MFA 13.3465 and MFA 13.3466 (see n. 15).

23 Cf. the discussions on the placement of the serdab and the presence of statues in shafts and in the burial chambers in H. Junker, *Giza* VII (Vienna 1944), 86–87, 125–126; M.A. Shoukry, *Die Privatgrabstatue im Alten Reich*, SASAE 15 (Cairo 1951), 191 ff.

24 After Kromer, op. cit., pl. 16, fig. 2.

25 The reading of the name is due to Dr J. van Dijk.

26 *PN* I, 219, 13.

27 PM III/2^2, 296.

28 I would like to express my thanks to Dr D. Silverman of the University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia, for permission to publish this offering-table here.

V and figures in Barta's discussion.[29] Of all the elements in the line of text, only one is rare by Dynasty V, the epithet *ḫnty Tȝ Ḏsr*, but the relative conservatism of Giza would probably account for this. The two vertical lines contain the name and titles of Rahepef in combination with the epithet *imȝḫw ḫr nṯr ᶜȝ*, an epithet that appears on one wooden statue from the corpus, Kapunesut, dating to the Unas/Teti period.[30] The titles in the left column are *rḫ-nsw* and *wᶜb-nsw*, and in the right column are *rḫ-nsw* and one(?) other title. The title *rḫ-nsw* is known throughout the Old Kingdom.[31] It was originally given to courtiers involved in provisioning the palace, but by the end of Dynasty V it had become merely honorific. The title *wᶜb-nsw*,[32] on the other hand, does not appear on a wooden statue before the reign of Unas. Once again it is Kapunesut who bears it. When we examine the plate illustrating the base found by Kromer (see Fig. 3), we can clearly make out the remains of a *wᶜb*-sign in the second line, and *imȝḫw ḫr nṯr ᶜȝ* below that. The next line is again obscure, but luckily the signs making up the name of Rahepef are clear along the front of the base. It is a shame that the title in the right-hand column of the offering-table is not clearer (Figs. 4 & 5) as it seems that the same title also appears on the base, directly above the name. The first group of this title on the offering-table is almost certainly *sḥḏ* "inspector", followed by what looks like ,[33] as in *iᶜw-r*, "breakfast",[34] but in titles this word always occurs in association with *nsw* which is absent here.[35] The following group appears to read *ḥȝᶜt* (?), but the meaning of this word is obscure and I have not been able to find any parallels for this title.

To conclude, it appears that the owner of the wooden statues discovered by Kromer in a serdab located to the east of a mastaba at Nezlet Batran is a man called Rahepef, who is also the owner of an offering-table found nearby. This man can very probably be dated to the reign of Unas on the basis of the style of the offering formula on the offering-table, and on the style of the wooden statues. The archaeological evidence also points to a date in Dynasty V. The balance of probability tends towards Kromer's Shaft 2 being the original burial place of this man, with the serdab associated with it. This shaft was the only one of the four in this area which was robbed in antiquity, implying that it contained the burial of a person of some substance. The man *Ḥmw* is probably the owner of one of the other shafts.

---

[29] W. Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*, ÄgFo 24 (Glückstadt 1968) 17, Bitte 4 (d) and note 2.

[30] Cairo JE 67369, PM III/2², 542.

[31] W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches*, ÄgFo 18 (Glückstadt 1954), 107.

[32] Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 30.

[33] Suggested to me by Prof. G.T. Martin.

[34] *Wb.* I 39, 23.

[35] Cf. H.G. Fischer, *JAOS* 82 (1962), 75 with n. 1.

Fig. 1 The extension on the east flank of the mastaba (after Kromer, *Nezlet Batran*, Abb. 3).

Fig. 2 Hypothetical reconstruction of the tomb group (Drawing by J. van Dijk).

Fig. 3 Traces of the inscription on the base revealing the name Rahepef (Drawing by J. van Dijk).

Fig. 4 Offering-table # B 2923, University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia (Neg. # S4–141908).

Fig. 5 Offering-table # B 2923, University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia (Drawing by J. van Dijk).

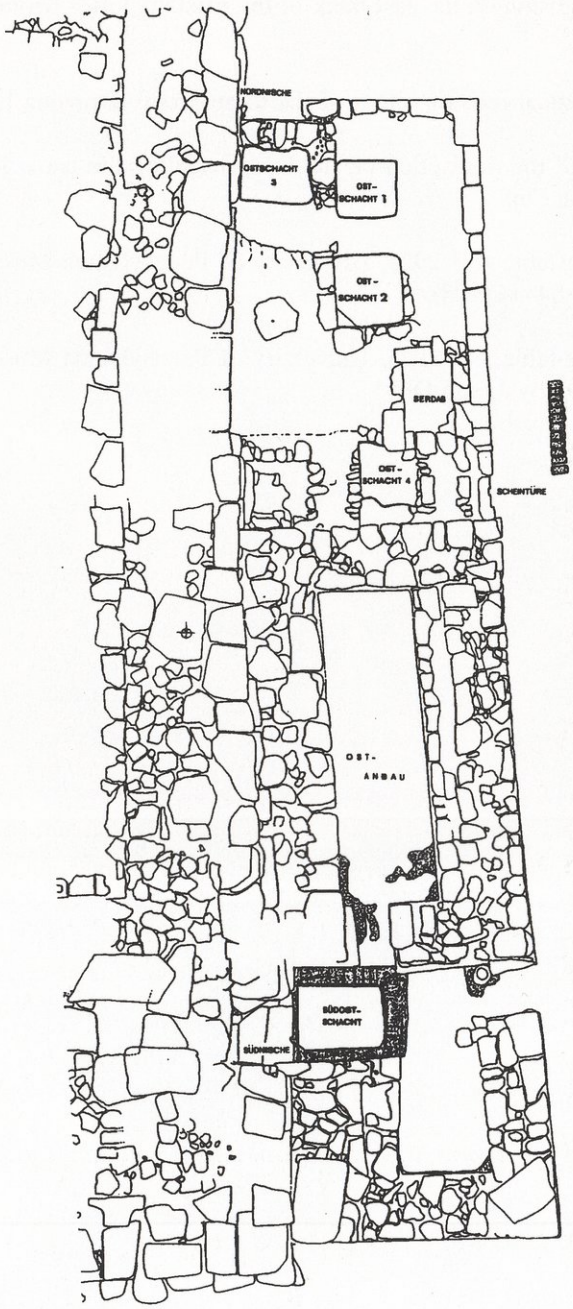
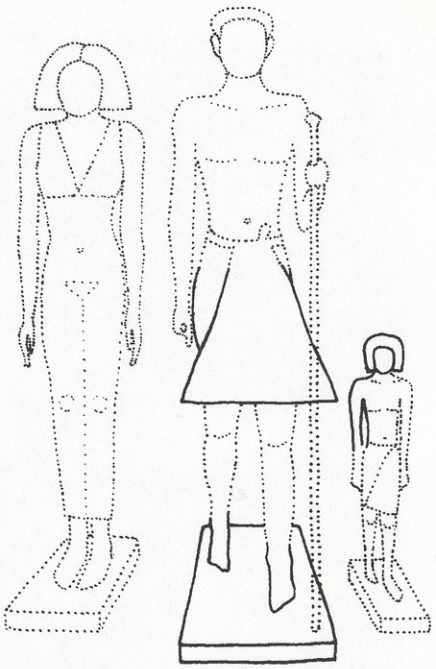

NORDNISCHE
OSTSCHACHT 3
OST-SCHACHT 1
OST-SCHACHT 2
BERDAB
OST-SCHACHT 4
SCHEINTÜRE
OST-ANBAU
SÜDOST-SCHACHT
SÜDNISCHE

Fig. 1

Fig. 2



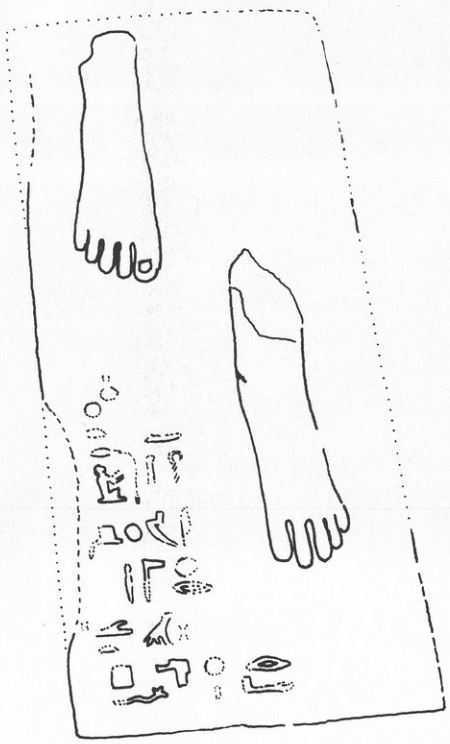


Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig. 5

Ein Spruch aus dem Papyrus Greenfield

M. Heerma van Voss

Vor einiger Zeit zog ein hieratischer Text im Papyrus Greenfield[1] (Gr.) meine Aufmerksamkeit auf sich. Ich stellte fest, daß man es mit einer interessanten Variante eines Totenbuchspruches zu tun hat. Und zwar des "Spruches um die Särge zu kennen", den der Leidener Papyrus T 3, ebenfalls aus der 21. Dynastie, enthält.[2] Ich hatte ihn früher in einer Monographie,[3] in der Gedenkschrift S. Morenz[4] und in einem dritten Beitrag[5] als Tb 193 bearbeitet. Der leider bruchstückhafte Text in Gr. fand bis 1996 kaum Beachtung in der ägyptologischen Literatur. Budge, a. a. O., S. 36, erwähnt "two (sic) paragraphs ... referring to the burial" der Inhaberin. Auch Quirke[6] weist auf zwei Texte hin, "not necessarily to be considered as Book of the Dead formulae". Vor kurzem hat aber Frau Dr. C. Zaluskowski, M.A., in ihrer Inauguraldissertation[7] das Fragment richtig identifiziert. Da eine Bearbeitung von ihr nicht vorgesehen wird,[8] möchte ich sie hier geben, im Vertrauen, daß die Version meinen lieben Freund und Kollege Herman te Velde interessieren wird.

Die Fassung ist nicht nur unvollständig, sondern wiederholt auch verderbt. Zum richtigen Verständnis ist Herbeiziehung von T 3 erforderlich. Tb 193 fängt an mit einem Titel, der in Gr. fehlt. Darauf ist achtmal (? Gr.: dreimal) die Rede von einem Sarg, immer wieder aus einer anderen Holzart hergestellt, zusammen mit den Vorrechten für einen darin Beigesetzten. T 3 schließt dabei die Dattelpalme ausdrücklich aus.

Der erste Abschnitt setzt so ein: "Was einen Sarg[9] betrifft aus Föhrenholz: er tretet ein[10] ...". T 3, 2 schließt an mit "in Kapellen gleich einem Gott. Er wird demgemäß leben unter den Unvergänglichen. O Achu, Herren (3) der geheimen Gebäude, Kundigen von Memphis, Bestatteten westlich von Memphis, Edlen, die ihr seid in Abydos (usw.), (4) laßt diesen N. in Frieden mit euch vorbeigehen nach jedem Ort, <wohin> ihr geht!". Gr. jedoch verirrte sich. Nach "er tretet ein" ist 3,7 cm der Zeile[11] nicht ausgefüllt worden. In Anbetracht von T 3, 2–3, erwartet man nach *nb* wohl die Worte aus Z. 4 bis einschließlich Ra. Die wurden aber versetzt und erhielten eine andere Funktion; *nb* verlor seine Bedeutung ohne gestrichen zu werden. "Kundiger von (2)

---

[1] BM EA 10554. Ed.: E.A.T. Wallis Budge, *The Greenfield Papyrus in the British Museum* (London 1912), Pl. 49, ohne dazugehörige Vignette. Ich gebe die Transkription in Fig. 1.

[2] Ed.: M. Heerma van Voss, *Zwischen Grab und Paradies* (Basel 1971), Tf. 20, mit Vignette.

[3] *De spreuk om de kisten te kennen* (Leiden 1971), mit Tf. Abk.: *Spreuk*.

[4] II, "Dodenboek 193", *ZÄS* 100 (1974), 103–104, Tf. VII. Abk.: *ZÄS*.

[5] "Wie buiten is", *Phoenix* 19 (1973), 282–284.

[6] S.G.J. Quirke, *Owners of Funerary Papyri in the British Museum* (London 1993), 95.

[7] *Texte außerhalb der Totenbuch-Tradierung in Pap. Greenfield* (Bonn 1996), 6.

[8] Wie sich aus einem Briefwechsel (Februar-März 1996) ergab.

[9] So, als Gegenstand, zu übersetzen; vgl. den Titel und Z. 17.

[10] "Er" ist der Tote, obwohl es sich in beiden Quellen um eine Frau handelt: *Spreuk*, 69. – Gr.: Das Hieratisch zeigt als Zeichen G 35 die Krähenscharbe. In der Verbalkonstruktion fehlt ein *f* am Ende; vgl. T 3, 2, 6, 9, 10, 13.

[11] Gegenüber 6,5 cm der vorangehenden Schrift der Zeile (Budge, Pl. 49).

Memphis, Bestatteter westlich von Theben" sind in der Umdeutung von Gr. meiner Meinung nach Epitheta des Sargbesitzers. "(In der) Würde[12] (des N.)" ersetzt die "Edlen" (von gleichem Stamm) aus T 3, 3.

Z. 4 der umgearbeiteten Fassung fängt dann an mit dem verschobenen Objekt von "er tretet ein (in)". Erwähnt werden Tore und Pforten. Im letzteren Fall interpretierte der Abfasser das Zeichen Aa 18, das T 3, 3 als Schreibung von *śꜣ.t*, "Gebäude",[13] benutzt, wohl als O 32,[14] ihm im Kontext geläufiger. Beide Versionen fügen die Charakteristik "geheime" zu. Gr. lokalisiert seine zwei sinnverwandten Begriffe auf originelle und anregende Weise. Denn sie gehören zum Grab[15] des Sonnengottes, wovon wir anderswo nicht erfahren. Sein Leichnam ruht bekanntlich in der Unterwelt[16] und wird von ihm selber besucht. Hier ist von dem Grabkomplex die Rede; er ist sonst unzugänglich. Der Inhaber des Sarges aus Föhrenholz darf jedoch dort seine Aufwartung machen und dann zum Himmel überfahren, selbstverständlich mit Ra in dessem Schiff, früh am Morgen. In beiden Varianten bildet also das Firmament das Reiseziel des Verstorbenen, bei der Sonne (Gr., 4), bzw. den Zirkumpolarsternen (T 3, 2).

Wir verdanken Gr. noch eine interessante Erweiterung. Der Tote ist zum Aufstieg berechtigt, wo er auch immer sich befindet,[17] weil er (Z. 5) mit dem Gott Meref gleichgesetzt wird. Meref oder Imeref begegnet zuweilen in den Sargtexten.[18] Seine Identität ist meines Erachtens unbekannt.[19] In der Spruchgruppe 38–40 und VI 328*d-e* werden sein Machtwort und sein Beistand für den Besitzer des Textes betont. An unserer Stelle spielt Meref ebenso eine hilfreiche Rolle.

Meine Übersetzung von Gr., 1–5, lautet also wie folgt: "(1) Was einen Sarg betrifft aus Föhrenholz: er tretet ein ..., Kundiger von (2) Memphis, Bestatteter westlich von Theben in der Würde des N. (3), (4) in geheime Tore und Pforten des Grabes des Ra. Er fährt über zum Himmel, wo er auch immer sich befindet, (5) als Meref".

Im zweiten Abschnitt lesen wir bei T 3: "(5) Was einen Sarg betrifft aus Christdornholz: das ist das göttliche Holz, in dem Osiris lebt und dessen Richtigkeit existiert. (6) Ihm (= dem Verstorbenen) wird das Totenmahl geopfert. Wer darin ist, ist ein Ach, N.".

Gr. fängt an: "(6) Was einen Sarg betrifft des N. (7) aus (*m*)", und weist danach eine große Auslassung auf. Es folgt ja nicht "Christdornholz ... lebt". Statt "dessen Richtigkeit existiert" las der Abfasser offenbar "in (*m*) Wahrheit",[20] und ist dann

---

[12] Cf. *Wb.* IV, 49, 14 und 50, 1. Das Zeichen A 41 versehentlich statt A 53; T 3 hat A 40.

[13] *ZÄS*, 103. Wiedergabe und Determinierung werden zur Änderung in Gr. beigetragen haben.

[14] "Pforte" hier Maskulinum; vgl. *Wb.* IV, 92. Die Dualbezeichnung auch in T 3 und *Wb.* IV, 14.

[15] Vgl. für das Wort in Beziehung zu Gottheiten *Wb.* I, 126, 20; E. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II (Wiesbaden 1963), 144; *CT* VI 355*l* (Hinweis verdanke ich Herrn R. van der Molen, M.A.).

[16] Cf. M. Heerma van Voss, "Een Egyptische dodenpapyrus in Antwerpen", *JEOL* 33 (1993–1994), 29, mit älterer Literatur.

[17] Vgl. T 3, 4.

[18] *CT* I 164*g*, 165*d*, 170*g*, 173*b*; VI 328*c*, 329*b*.

[19] So auch T. Bruinsma, "Some Literary Aspects of Coffin Texts Spell 38", in *Acta Orientalia Neerlandica* (Leiden 1971), 18. A. de Jong, "Coffin Texts Spell 38: The Case of the Father and the Son", *SAK* 21 (1994), 156 mit Anm. 45 (Vorschlag von J.F. Borghouts): Horus. R.O. Faulkner, "Spells 38–40 of the Coffin Texts", *JEA* 48 (1962), 41, Anm. *w*: Seth (?).

[20] *Wb.* I, 310, 10. Dabei hat er nach *m* die Elemente aus T 3, 5 beibehalten, ausgenommen *irj*; s. Anm. 21.

versehentlich vom ersten *m* übergesprungen zum zweiten. Das Thema der Ernährung aus T 3, 6 ist jedoch unverletzt: "weil[21] er[22] geopfert[23] wird, der Bedarf[24] des N. (8)". Die Bezeichnung des so Bestatteten als Ach fehlt.

Der rekonstruierte Wortlaut von Gr., 6–8, ist der folgende. "(6) Was einen Sarg betrifft des N. (7) aus <Christdornholz: das ist das göttliche Holz, in dem Osiris lebt, in> Wahrheit, weil er geopfert wird, der Bedarf des N. (8)".

Das dritte Holz in beiden[25] Versionen entstammt dem *imȝ*-Baum.[26] Nach dieser Mitteilung bricht Gr. leider ab: "(9) Was einen Sarg betrifft aus *imȝ*-Holz...". Und so erfahren wir hier nicht, welches Privileg den Inhaber erwartet. Laut T 3, 7–8, ist es die problemlose Verfügung über die Fähre[27] des Totenreichs.

Ich resümiere. Das Londoner Fragment von Tb 193 bildet einen willkommenen Beitrag im Studium der ägyptischen Totenliteratur. Der erste Abschnitt zeigt, wie ein Schreiber trotz seiner Entgleisungen zu einer sinnigen Abfassung fähig ist.

Neben Übereinstimmungen zwischen den beiden Versionen (Holzwahl, Himmelfahrt, Totenopfer) gibt es Unterschiede. So der Aufstieg mit Ra gegenüber dem Leben unter den Zirkumpolarsternen in T 3. Fesselnd ist das Auftreten des Meref in Gr. Und besonders der Eintritt in den geheimen Grabkomplex des Sonnengottes – die knappe Schilderung macht einem den Mund wässerig.

Fig. 1 Tb 193 im Papyrus Greenfield, Transkription.

---

21 *ỉr*, aus *irj* (s. Anm. 20), hier an Stelle von *(i)rf*: *Wb.* II, 355, 3. Gleichfalls unrichtig ist *j* in *ḥr* (ebenso in "westlich", Z. 2, und "und", Z. 4), sowie in *nt.t*.

22 Proleptisches Subjekt: *śt* statt *św*.

23 Partizip; Verwechslung in der Determinierung mit *Wb.* I, 525, 7.

24 Das Totenmahl; cf. *Wb.* V, 440, 10 und (so T 3, 6) 440–441.

25 Damit bestätigt Gr. die Wahl der Zeilenfolge in *Spreuk* und *ZÄS*.

26 Identität noch immer ungewiß; vgl. A. Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning. A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Rites of Consecrating the* Meret-*Chests and Driving the Calves*, Egyptologische Uitgaven 8 (Leiden 1995), 384, Anm. *m*.

27 M. Heerma van Voss, *LÄ* II, 85–86.

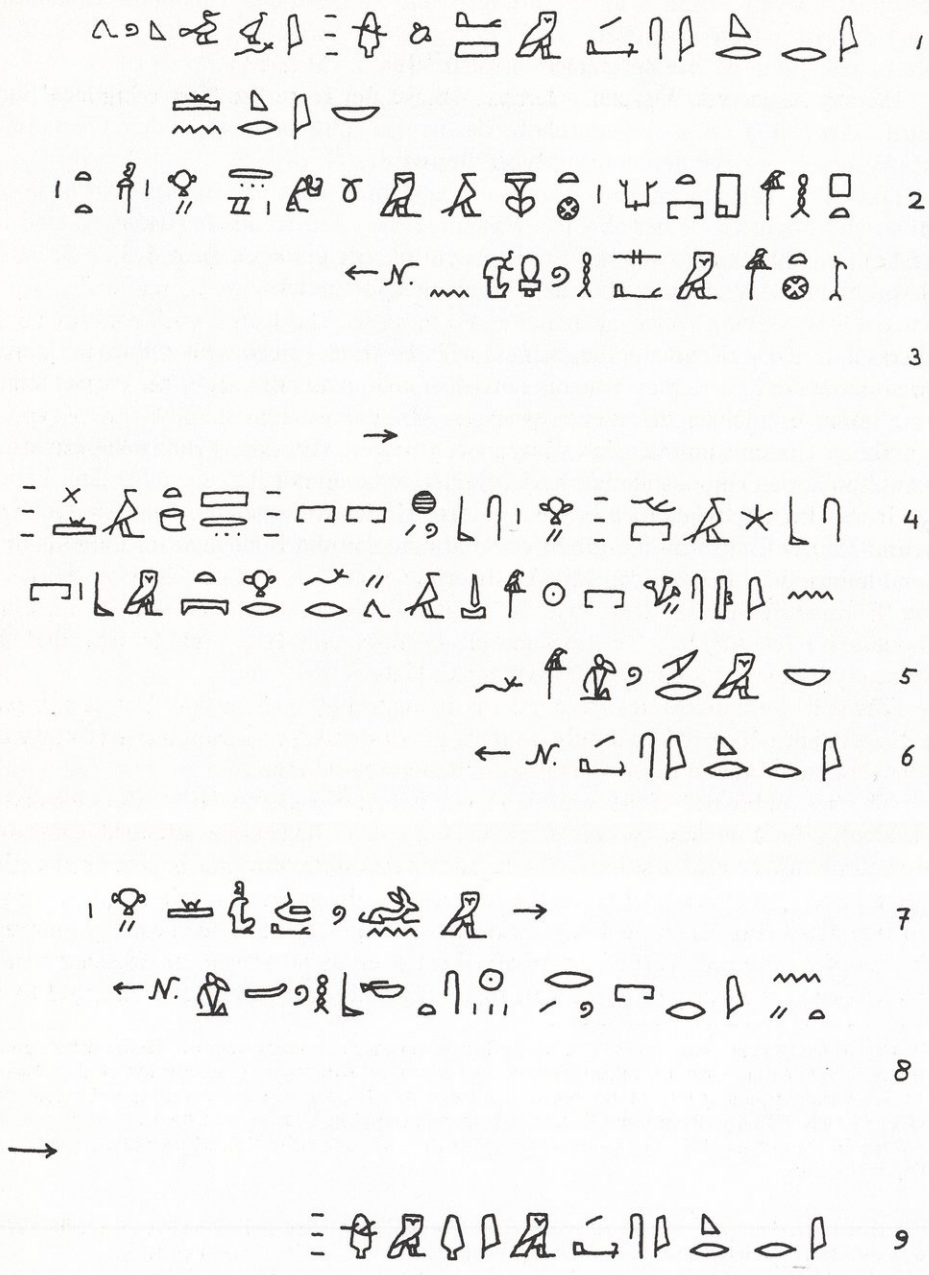


Fig. 1

Secret Doors and Hidden Treasure:
Some Aspects of Egyptian Temple Treasuries from the New Kingdom*

W. Hovestreydt

Part of the popular attraction of ancient Egypt has always been the prospect of undiscovered treasures. It has found expression in countless stories of secret doors and passageways behind which great riches lie in store. The theme goes back as far as Herodotus' story of King Rhampsinitus and the thief, which relates how the king's architect built a movable stone in a wall of the royal treasury.[1] Yet it may come as a surprise to some that secret doors do actually exist in a number of Egyptian temple treasuries from the New Kingdom. Though individually not unknown, these remarkable features have collectively received little attention.

In his *Wandrelief und Raumfunktion* Arnold identifies a number of temple treasuries.[2] The basis for this identification was either provided by their inscriptions or it was indicated by the wall reliefs. For the New Kingdom Arnold lists five instances: the 'Festival Temple' of Tuthmosis III at Karnak, the mortuary temples of Seti I and Ramesses II at Abydos, the great temple of Ramesses II at Abu Simbel, and the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu.[3]

Three of these treasuries are explicitly identified by their inscriptions as a *pr-ḥḏ*,[4] a designation which is found only on their interior walls, however. Another common characteristic is that all three possessed a concealed entrance.

The best published of the three treasuries is that of Medinet Habu.[5] It is located at the south side of the first hypostyle hall and consists of four rooms arranged in pairs on either side of a central vestibule. The façade of this suite of rooms is decorated with a relief showing Ramesses III presenting treasures and a group of foreign captives to the Theban Triad (Fig. 1). A doorway seems, at first sight, to have been cut right through this relief so that only part of the group of prisoners is preserved. In Hölscher's view this doorway was originally 1.34 m high, and only later on was it enlarged to its

*I wish to thank Jana Loose for the time and effort she spent in checking various obscure details on the spot in Luxor; for photographs I thank Herman and Marianne Krijgsman. I am also indebted to Anneke van der Meer for photographs of the treasury façade at Abydos, and to René van Walsem for providing some valuable bibliographical tips. Finally, I wish to thank Dr J. Malek and the staff of the Griffith Institute in Oxford for their help in consulting Černý's notes and Miss Calverley's photographs of the Abydos treasury.

[1] Herodotus, *Histories* II, 121. Possible connections between this story and the treasury at Medinet Habu were noted by W. Helck in: *Der kleine Pauly* 4 (München 1972), 1336, s.v. Rampsinitos.

[2] D. Arnold, *Wandrelief und Raumfunktion in ägyptischen Tempeln des Neuen Reiches*, MÄS 2 (Berlin 1962), 83–88.

[3] To this list should be added the rooms identified by C. Traunecker, "Le 'Château de l'Or' de Thoutmosis III et les magasins nord du temple d'Amon", *CRIPEL* 11 (1989), 109–110.

[4] The temple of Ramesses II in Abydos has a room mentioning the *ḫtmt-nṯr*: see *KRI* II, 547, 5; P. Kuhlmann, "Der Tempel Ramses II. in Abydos: Zweiter Bericht über die Neuaufnahme", *MDAIK* 38 (1982), 358.

[5] *Medinet Habu* V, pls. 314; 316–334.

present height of 2.92 m.[6] Hughes has shown, however, that the design is original.[7] This is demonstrated by the decoration on the inner face of the doorway and by the fact that the large block which forms the lintel is perfectly centred above the doorway and is straight across the bottom from one end to the other. Hughes suggests that the remainder of the scene was carried out on a surface which was flush with that of the surrounding stone wall, possibly a wooden panel covering a recessed swinging door. To all appearances, therefore, the entrance to the treasury was intentionally hidden from view. As the temple of Medinet Habu borrowed many of its features from the Ramesseum, it is worth noting that the latter appears to have possessed a similar treasury. A fragment from the Ramesseum has a portion of a relief similar to that on the south wall of Room 12 in Medinet Habu.[8] There is also a description by Diodorus, which clearly seems to mention the Ramesseum treasury.[9]

The treasury in the temple of Seti I at Abydos bears in its ground plan a striking resemblance to that of Medinet Habu. Apart from the texts and a few general descriptions,[10] however, very little of this complex of rooms has been published.[11] The treasury is located in the western part of the temple's south wing and the only entrance is by a doorway in the outer west wall. Again we find a central vestibule with two pairs of rooms on either side. The floor of the treasury lies 1 m below the doorway but is about 3 m above the level of the other rooms in the south wing. The most surprising aspect is the appearance of the doorway (Fig. 4). Like its counterpart at Medinet Habu, it gives the impression of having been cut through a relief decorating the façade. This impression is strengthened by the fact that the relief shows evidence of recutting. It depicts Ramesses II standing opposite his father Seti I, and the latter's left arm, which was originally stretched out in front of him, holding a staff, was altered so that it bends back across his chest. As at Medinet Habu, however, the heavy lintel shows that the entrance is part of the original design.

The treasury rooms at Abu Simbel present a different layout.[12] On either side of the large doorway at the west end of the great hall we find a pair of rooms, access to which is gained by a vestibule. The entrances of both vestibules were, again, intentionally concealed. They are unmarked and were cut through reliefs which show

---

[6] U. Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu* III. *The Mortuary temple of Ramses III*, Part I, OIP 54 (Chicago 1941), 14.

[7] G.R. Hughes, in: *Medinet Habu* V. *The Temple Proper*, Part I, OIP 83 (Chicago 1957), ix–x.

[8] U. Hölscher, op. cit., 14 note 43.

[9] W. Helck, "Zum Grab des Osymandias, Diodor I 47/9", in P. Zazoff (ed.), *Opus nobile: Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Ulf Jantzen* (Wiesbaden 1969), 73–74.

[10] Plan: PM VI, 22. Texts, based on Černý's notes: *KRI* I, 196–198. Brief general description in A.St.G. Caulfeild, *The Temple of the Kings at Abydos*, ARE 8 (London 1902), 9; 18–19. Descriptions of the decoration and translations in R. David, *Religious Ritual at Abydos* (Warminster 1973), 277–288. See also D.L. Eady, *Omm Sety's Abydos* (Mississauga 1983), 64–65, and Omm Sety and H. El Zeiny, *Abydos: Holy City of Egypt* (Los Angeles 1981), 173–176.

[11] A relief by Merneptah on the rear wall of the vestibule was published by J. Capart, *Le temple de Séti Ier* (Brussels 1912), pl. 50.

[12] Only the South Rooms have been published: see S. Donadoni, H. El-Achirie, C. Leblanc, F. Abdel Hamid, *Le grand temple d'Abou Simbel* III, 1/2: *Les salles du Trésor Sud (N-O-P)*, (Cairo 1975). Also C.E. Loeben, "Symmetrie, Diagonale und Chiasmus als Dekorprinzipien im Bildprogramm des Grossen tempels von Abu Simbel - Beobachtungen und vorläufige Ergebnisse", in D. Kurth (ed.), *3. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung: Systeme und Programme der ägyptischen Tempeldekoration*, ÄAT 33 (Wiesbaden 1995), 148–149.

the king presenting prisoners to the gods of the temple (Figs. 2 and 3). In this case only the baseline of the relief is affected. Originally there was a sealed door which closed against the inner face of the doorway, inside the vestibule. The doorway itself was probably blocked up with stones and hidden from view. At the north side of the great hall two additional rooms were cut out. Access to these rooms was given by two unobtrusive entrances, again seemingly cut right through the relief decoration – in this case a representation of the battle of Qadesh.[13]

As we have seen, the decorations of the treasury façades at Medinet Habu and Abu Simbel are closely similar. At Medinet Habu the king clutches a bunch of ropes to which a number of captives are tied. Two of the captives are clearly visible and in an accompanying inscription they are identified as the chief of Amurru and the chief of the Libu. In front of the king, a collection of richly worked vases and other utensils is displayed. There is also an altar with a staircase and balustrades, heaped with foodstuffs and flanked by two bouquets. A text in front of the king says:

> The king himself, offering gifts (*ḫrp inw*) to Amun, namely the chiefs of all foreign countries, as well as silver, gold, lapis lazuli, turquoise, and all sorts of costly stones, without limit, as gifts brought by His Majesty from the spoils of his strong arm, given in the presence of his noble father Amun-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, according as he has given to him all valour.[14]

The reliefs at Abu Simbel are nearly symmetrical compositions and show the king leading two files of prisoners towards the kiosk in which the gods are seated. The inscription in the left-hand scene says:

> Presenting gifts (*ms inw*) by the Good God to his father Amun-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, after he returned from the land of Kush, having destroyed the rebellious countries and trampled down the land of Nubia in their places: consisting of silver, gold, lapis lazuli, turquoise, and all precious stones, according as he has decreed to him valour and victory over every foreign country.[15]

The prisoners are identified as chiefs of Kush, brought by the king to fill the workshops (*šnʿ*) of his father Amun-Re. The text in the right-hand scene is almost identical, but mentions the land of Hatti and Asiatics.[16] No treasures are depicted, but this may be due simply to lack of space.

These texts strongly suggest that the presentation scenes served to mark the location where these riches were to be deposited, i.e. the temple's treasury rooms. The

---

[13] Ch. Desroches-Noblecourt, S. Donadoni, E. Edel, *Grand temple d'Abou Simbel: La bataille de Qadech* (Cairo 1971), 1; pl. 3a-b. It should be kept in mind that the cases discussed in this paper do not exhaust the subject of secret entrances. Notably in the Late Period, some highly ingenious methods were devised to conceal the entrances to the temple crypts: see the remarks by C. Traunecker, "Cryptes connues et inconnues des temples tardifs", *BSFE* 129 (mars 1994), 21–46.

[14] *Medinet Habu* V, pl. 317; cf. K*RI* V, 317, 10–12.

[15] W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte* II (Leipzig 1935), 180. Originally, the text mentioned the land of Hatti (*Ḫt*) by mistake. This appears to have been corrected later on to Kush. However, Kitchen reads not *ḫɜst Kš* but *ḫɜst nb šts*: see K*RI* II, 207, 13–15.

[16] Wreszinski, *Atlas* II, 179; K*RI* II, 147, 9–11.

efforts to disguise the entrance to these rooms may seem at odds with this idea, but it was perhaps assumed that the relationship between the relief and what lay behind it would only be obvious to the initiated.

The relief decorating the treasury façade at Abydos looks, at first sight, completely different. The only apparent point of correspondence with the presentation scenes discussed above is the way Ramesses II raises his right hand, indicating he is addressing his father Seti I. The same motif is found on the façade of a chapel built by Seti I for his father Ramesses I.[17] The texts accompanying the relief on the treasury façade give little more than the cartouches of the two kings, but it is not difficult to guess the contents of Ramesses II's address. Towards the end of the Great Dedicatory Inscription on the façade of the temple's hypostyle hall, Ramesses tells his father how he completed his temple for him. Among other things he says:

> I have given you the Southerners to offer (*ḫrp*) to your temple, and the Northerners [presenting] dues (*inw*) to your fair face. [...]
> I have enriched your treasury, filled with desirable goods which I have given to you, along with your revenues.
> I have given you a ship carrying cargoes upon the Great Green (sea), bringing in for you the great [marvels] of God's Land; merchants plying their trade, executing their orders, their revenues therefrom being in gold, silver and copper.[18]

In a relief on the south wall of the first court of the temple, Ramesses II presents captives and treasure to the temple's chief gods in the manner we have encountered at Abu Simbel and Medinet Habu.[19] The storerooms of the treasury were, however, decorated by Seti I, and in these rooms it is he who is depicted offering to the gods.[20] It seems likely, therefore, that another motif had to be found when the façade was decorated by Ramesses II.

Representations in which the king is presenting prisoners to the gods are fairly frequent in the 19th and 20th Dynasties. Found on the façade of the treasury, within the temple itself, they seem slightly out of place, however. To understand the reasons for this choice we must discuss them in somewhat greater detail.

Beginning with the reliefs of Seti I on the north wall of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, the motif of the king presenting prisoners[21] usually occurs as the final episode in a series of battle scenes depicting the king's foreign wars.[22] Examples have been

---

[17] H.E. Winlock, *The Temple of Ramesses I at Abydos* (New York 1937), pl. 2.
[18] *KRI* II, 332, 11–333, 2 (translation: K.A. Kitchen).
[19] Wreszinski, *Atlas* II, pl. 25 a.
[20] See the references in note 10. The walls of the rooms were painted, but the decoration was never finished. The vestibule was decorated by Merneptah.
[21] For earlier treatments, see R. Anthes, "Die Vorführung der gefangenen Feinde vor den König", *ZÄS* 65 (1930), 26–35; J. Śliwa, "Some remarks concerning victorious ruler representations in Egyptian art", *Forschungen und Berichte* 16 (1974), 97–117.
[22] For an extensive review of these battle scenes, see G.A. Gaballa, *Narrative in Egyptian Art*, (Mainz am Rhein 1976), 94–129.

preserved from the reigns of Tutankhamun and/or Horemheb,[23] Seti I,[24] Ramesses II,[25] Merneptah,[26] and Ramesses III.[27]

In a number of cases the king's action mirrors an episode in the preceding scenes, where, in the aftermath of battle, one or more princes are leading prisoners to the king. On his return to Egypt, the king is often shown driving the prisoners in front of him. Seen in this context, the presentation scenes possess a greater degree of realism than is normally found in temple reliefs where the king is shown engaged in ritual acts. They also recall comparable events in scenes from everyday life, often of a very mundane nature.[28]

As a rule, the accompanying inscriptions describe the king's action as *ms inw*: "presenting *inw*". The proper meaning of *inw* presents a hotly debated issue, and at the end of this paper we shall return to it briefly. For the moment we shall note that the translation "tribute" is often used, but the translation "gifts" is advocated as well. Typically, the inscriptions state that the *inw* are presented by the king on his return from a campaign abroad. The captives are usually designated as the chiefs (*wrw*) of the vanquished countries and they are said to have come with "their *inw* on their backs". Frequently, too, it is stated that they, or their women and children, are to fill the temple's workshops (*šnꜥ*).

The theme is particularly well represented at Medinet Habu, which is not surprising in view of the many battle scenes depicted on its walls. The scene on the façade of the treasury, however, differs in some respects from other, similar representations in this temple.[29] It does not form part of a series of battle scenes, and the accompanying text does not speak of *ms inw* but of *ḫrp inw*. Most of the other scenes at Medinet Habu include a fairly lengthy address by the king to the gods but leave out any mention of *inw*. Moreover, only a few scenes depict any treasure being offered by the king. A possible explanation is that the majority of the battle scenes in this temple describe situations in which the country had to defend itself against foreign aggression, and such wars may not always have lent themselves to a festive presentation of the spoils. The only two cases in which treasure is depicted are the presentation of the Nubian tribute,[30] which may have been prescribed by tradition, and a campaign in Syria.[31] This Syrian war has an anachronistic look to it and may simply have been copied from earlier temples. Grandet has drawn attention, however, to mentions of Syrians and Shasu in P. Harris I, suggesting Ramesses III campaigned in Amurru at some

---

[23] PM II^2, 183 (551; 552); 184 (557).

[24] PM II^2, 54–57 (167; 169). See also The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak* IV: *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, OIP 107 (Chicago 1986).

[25] PM II^2, 58 (174); 57–58 (171); 59 (176); 104 (43–44); PM VI, 1 (5–6).

[26] F. Le Saout, "Reconstitution des murs de la cour de la cachette", in: *Karnak* VII: 1978–1981 (Cairo 1982), 231, pl. 4.

[27] PM II^2, 274 (10); 484 (14–15); 485 (22); 494–495 (74); 496 (83); 498–499 (93); 505 (114); 522 (194); 518 (189); 520–521 (192).

[28] One might compare, for example, a scene from Amarna in which the chief of police Mahu hands over a group of arrested criminals to the vizier; see N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna* IV: *The Tombs of Penthu, Mahu, and others*, EES Arch. Survey 16 (London 1906), pl. 26.

[29] See note 27.

[30] *Medinet Habu* I, pl. 11.

[31] *Medinet Habu* II, pl. 93.

time after Year 8.[32] He also identifies the vases depicted on the treasury façade with those in the triumph scene of the Syrian campaign. In doing so he perhaps ascribes to these scenes a greater degree of exactitude than is warranted. It might be asked, for instance, why spoils from the Second Libyan War are depicted in the temple of Ramesses III in the Precinct of Mut at Karnak,[33] but not at Medinet Habu.

The Qadesh scenes of Ramesses II only rarely include a presentation of the spoils, although there is a particularly elaborate version of such a scene in Karnak in which the king is assisted by his sons in the presentation of the *ỉnw*.[34] A curious detail is that *ỉnw* is spelled here with the determinative of a bound prisoner: . At best, however, this scene seems to be only loosely connected with the other episodes from the battle. Only in Abu Simbel is such a link clearly indicated. We should probably not attach too much importance to such details. There are other cases in which the spoils are not depicted where we should expect them, and reasons of space and artistic freedom may have played a role here.

The long series of presentation scenes is opened by a number of special cases, all dating, apparently, to the reign of Tutankhamun. The first of these occurs on the exterior east wall of the Cour de la Cachette in Karnak.[35] In two symmetrically arranged scenes Tutankhamun is pictured as he approaches Amun, Mut and Khonsu. The king's right hand is raised in a manner indicating he is addressing the gods, and in his left he holds the *nḫꜣḫꜣ*-sceptre. Two lines in front of the right-hand figure describe the action as "Presenting (*ms*) the *ỉnw* of all foreign lands and the produce(?)[36] of the chiefs of every land by the king..." The king stands alone, however, and neither treasure nor prisoners are depicted. The scenes are placed on both sides of a scene which shows Hapy presenting offerings to the snake-headed goddess Renenwetet,[37] and the whole of this relief seems originally to have been covered with precious metal. Another instance of such symmetrically arranged scenes is to be found on the interior east wall of the court between the Ninth and Tenth Pylons at Karnak, where they are flanking a doorway.[38] Again we see the king approaching the Theban Triad. In the right-hand scene he holds a bunch of ropes by which he is leading files of prisoners who are identified as chiefs of Retenu and of the Hau-nebut. Several rows of elaborately worked vessels are depicted in front of him. In the left-hand scene the king is shown at the head of two files of chiefs from Punt, presenting incense and other gifts. Exceptionally, though, the Puntites are not depicted as bound prisoners.

---

[32] P. Grandet, *Ramsès III: Histoire d'une règne* (Paris 1993), 207.

[33] The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak* II: *Ramses III's Temple within the Great Inclosure of Amon, Part II, and Ramses III's Temple in the Precinct of Mut*, OIP 35 (Chicago 1936), pl. 120.

[34] On the south wall of the Great Hypostyle Hall, above the 'Poem'. See C. Kuentz, *La bataille de Qadesh* (Cairo 1928), pl. 25. The texts in front of the princes speak of *ms ỉnw m-sꜣ ḥm=f*.

[35] The right-hand scene was published by R. Saʿad, "Fragments d'un monument de Toutânkhamon retrouvés dans le IXe pylône de Karnak", in: *Karnak* V: 1970–1972 (Cairo 1975), 105–106 and pl. 36. For the texts and a reconstruction of the remainder of the relief, see Le Saout, in: *Karnak* VII: 1978–1981 (Cairo 1982), 244–245, pl. 8.

[36] The reading *bꜣkw* is not quite certain. On *bꜣkw*, see J.J. Janssen, "*Bꜣkw*: From Work to Product", *SAK* 20 (1993), 81–94.

[37] See, in addition, P. Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak: essai d'exégèse*, RAPH 21 (Cairo 1962), 273–274; J. Baines, *Fecundity Figures* (Warminster 1985), 160–161.

[38] R.A. Schwaller de Lubicz, *Les temples de Karnak* II (Paris 1982), pls. 407–408. See also Barguet, *Karnak*, pl. 37, B; Wreszinski, *Atlas* II, pls. 60, 61, and 62.

In both scenes the action is designated as *ms ỉnw*.[39] Although the cartouches give the name of Horemheb, the long garment worn by the king[40] and the so-called Nubian wig[41] suggest that the reliefs are, in fact, to be dated to Tutankhamun. There is yet another scene in this court, this time showing the king presenting captives and tribute from Nubia to Amun. It is located on the opposite side, on the interior west wall.[42] The relief has suffered much damage, but enough is left to give an accurate description. The king is seen leading several files of Nubian captives, and in front of him the tribute from Nubia is displayed.[43] Between this display and the kiosk of Amun is a large altar, heaped with foodstuffs. It has a staircase and balustrades of a type which is known from representations at Amarna.[44] The altar adds to the realism of this scene and provides an interesting link to the scene depicted on the façade of the treasury of Medinet Habu.[45]

It is remarkable that none of the scenes described so far appears to be connected with battle scenes, as under the later kings. They must be supplemented, however, with another scene, of which fragments have survived on blocks extracted from the Second Pylon at Karnak. On one of these blocks, which by their context and style may confidently be dated to Tutankhamun, two files of Nubian prisoners are depicted.[46] They are led by ropes to the foot of a dais which has a ramp or stairs leading up to it. On the dais a leg is visible which obviously belonged to the king, and it seems reasonable to assume that the king was depicted here facing Amun, perhaps accompanied by Mut and Khonsu.[47] What distinguishes this scene from all others is that it forms part of a larger composition. To the left of the Nubian prisoners, a procession by boat and a company of running soldiers are pictured in two registers, separated by a line of text. The scene is continued on a block in the Cairo Museum,[48]

---

[39] *Urk.* IV, 2126, 15–2128, 8.

[40] This garment is virtually identical to the one depicted on a panel of the golden shrine from the tomb of Tutankhamun: see M. Eaton-Krauss and E. Graefe, *The Small Golden Shrine from the Tomb of Tutankhamun* (Oxford 1985), 12; 18; pl. 16.

[41] The Nubian wig worn by the king in this relief is discussed by M. Eaton-Krauss, "JE 49536: Horemhab and the Abydene Triad", *SAK* 11 (1984), 501–508; pl. 25 A, where it is compared with a group statue from Abydos inscribed for Horemheb. Arguments for a dating of this group statue under Tutankhamun are adduced by M. Seidel, *Die königlichen Statuengruppen* I: *Die Denkmäler vom Alten Reich bis zum Ende der 18. Dynastie*, HÄB 42 (Hildesheim 1996), 243–246.

[42] PM II^2, 184 (557). The relief is unpublished. For photographs I am indebted to Jana Loose and Herman and Marianne Krijgsman.

[43] The centrepiece of this display is a large stand hung with leopard skins, strings of beads, etc. It supports an intricate piece of goldwork in the shape of a crenellated fortress. Cf. the displays in N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Ḥuy*, TTS 4 (London 1926), pls. 23; 26, and in *Medinet Habu* I, pl. 11. For a comparable fortress, see Wreszinski, *Atlas* II, pl. 25a.

[44] An altar which is very similar in shape is depicted in the tomb of Panehsy: see N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna* II: *The Tombs of Panehesy and Meryra II*, EES Arch. Survey 14 (London 1905), pl. 18.

[45] *Medinet Habu* V, pl. 317. The only other scene I know of where an altar is depicted is the presentation of the Nubian tribute at the rear of the Medinet Habu temple: *Medinet Habu* I, pl. 11.

[46] Published in H. Chevrier, "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak: 1952–1953", *ASAE* 53 (1955), fig. 1 and pl. I.

[47] The fact that the king is standing on the dais rather than at the foot of it, is not incompatible with this interpretation. In at least two other scenes the king stands on the dais: *Medinet Habu* II, pl. 99 and *Ramses III's Temple within the Great Inclosure of Amon, Part II, and Ramses III's Temple in the Precinct of Mut*, pl. 120.

[48] Cairo RT 8.6.24.4. See M. Saleh, H. Sourouzian, *The Egyptian Museum, Cairo. Official Catalogue*

which enables us to read the "song of jubilation" (*ḥn n nhm*) sung by the soldiers:

> You are as Montu,
> [...] Re, O Ruler, you are as Montu,
> You are as Montu in the midst of your army,
> The gods are protecting your limbs,
> Your attack against vile Kush has succeeded.[49]

Evidently, the relief formed part of a composition which depicted the return of a victorious army from Nubia and possibly the campaign itself.[50] The phrase "your attack has succeeded" (*ḥd=k ḫpr*) also occurs in the speech of welcome addressed to Seti I on his return to Egypt,[51] and in some later presentation scenes it is uttered by Amun in his address to the king.[52]

It is clear, then, that in the reliefs under discussion the acquisition of *inw* is emphatically depicted as a result of the king's warlike activities. With the exception of some instances discussed above, it might even be said that this is a central theme in the battle reliefs, much as Tuthmosis III's Annals are principally concerned with an enumeration of the booty and tribute that came in as a result of the king's campaigns.

While, in most cases, the presentation of *inw* by the king forms the final episode in a narrative sequence of war scenes, we have seen that it may also occur in isolation.[53] This suggests that it is not merely a standard element of such scenes, and that its origins must be sought elsewhere. In fact, the scene in which Horemheb/Tutankhamun is leading a procession of chiefs from Punt points to an important source for this motif. In several private tombs from the 18th Dynasty the tomb-owner is depicted leading a procession of foreign delegates into the presence of the king. On these occasions a variety of ornate vessels and other valuable goods are presented which are not markedly different in appearance from those discussed in the preceding sections.[54] In

---

(Mainz am Rhein 1987), No. 194. See also A. Grimm, "Ein Käfig für einen Gefangenen in einem Ritual zur Vernichtung von Feinden", *JEA* 73 (1987), 206 with pl. 15, 1, where a third block, also belonging to this composition, is published.

[49] The opening of this song is identical to that sung by the boat crews towing the royal bark at the Feast of Opet in the Khonsu temple at Karnak: The Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu – Vol. 1: Scenes of King Herihor in the Court*, OIP 100 (Chicago 1979), pl. 20. For other "songs of jubilation", see The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple* I: *The Festival Procession of Opet in the Colonnade Hall*, OIP 112 (Chicago 1994), 7 (note *b*). The Tutankhamun block from the Second Pylon is mentioned here, but not the adjoining block in Cairo. To the references should be added Davies, *Amarna* IV, pls. 18–19.

[50] Another block, also from the Second Pylon, shows Egyptian soldiers cutting off the hand of a Nubian crushed under the wheels of a chariot: G. Legrain, *Les temples de Karnak* (Brussels 1929), 135. Probably, a Syrian campaign was depicted as well: see Grimm, *JEA* 73 (1987), 202–206. The Nubian triumph scene has certain points in common with a relief of Horemheb in Gebel Silsile (Wreszinski, *Atlas* II, pls. 161–162).

[51] *KRI* I, 10, 7. The phrase derives from the metaphor of a charging bull; cf. line 14 of the Israel Stela: G. Fecht, "Die Israelstele, Gestalt und Aussage", in M. Görg (ed.), *Fontes atque Pontes: Eine Festgabe für Helmut Brunner*, ÄAT 5 (Wiesbaden 1983), 114.

[52] *KRI* V, 35, 13–14; 85, 10. Cf. *Wb.* 5, 505, 14.

[53] To these isolated occurrences should be added the scenes at the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu: *Medinet Habu* VIII, pls. 604, 606, 621, 627.

[54] For an extensive review of these scenes, see J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* IV. *Bas-*

some early examples the tomb-owner receives these goods on behalf of the king, and the action is then labelled *mȝȝ inw* or *šsp inw*. When the tomb-owner is depicted at the head of the delegation the texts usually speak of *ms inw*. It is important to note that it is the tomb-owner who is making the actual presentation. Not only does he serve as an intermediary between the foreigners and the king, but he is regarded as the actual donor. The point is emphasised by a number of cases in which the tomb-owner presents a particularly fine vessel with his own hands.[55]

The composition of these scenes is highly similar to those in which the king is depicted presenting *inw* to the gods, and there can be little doubt that they served as the model on which these later compositions were patterned.[56] The principal difference is that in the tomb scenes the foreigners appear to have arrived of their own free will.[57] An exception to this rule is the tomb of Nebamun (TT 90), where the owner is shown leading two files of bound Syrian prisoners towards the king. The prisoners are held by ropes in the same manner as we have seen in the royal presentation scenes.[58]

Processions of 'tribute bearers', as they are often called, are predominantly found in private tombs of the 18th Dynasty, though not exclusively.[59] Two fine examples are to be found in the rock shrines of Nehi and Usersatet at Qasr Ibrim, both picturing the presentation of the *inw* from Nubia.[60] The latter shrine, which dates to the reign of Amenhotep II, gives an impression of the scale of these events. After a detailed specification of the *inw*, the accompanying text concludes: "Total of those who were carrying this tribute, 2,549 men."

In the period following Amarna the series of tribute scenes comes to an end with two cases which deserve special mention. The tomb of the Nubian viceroy Huy, a contemporary of Tutankhamun, gives an extensive depiction of the presentation of the *inw* from Syria and Nubia, and it is noteworthy that among the Nubians a number of prisoners are shown.[61] In the Memphite tomb of Horemheb, which dates to the same reign, the element of force is emphatically present. The tomb is also remarkable for the way in which it combines various motifs. Thus, on the south wall of the second court, several files of prisoners are shown as they are led into the presence of the

---

reliefs et peinture: scènes de la vie quotidienne (Paris 1964), 544–614. See also: D.B. Redford, *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt: Seven Studies* (Toronto 1967), 120–128; C. Aldred, "The Foreign Gifts Offered to Pharaoh", *JEA* 56 (1970), 105–116.

55 See e.g. N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Menkheperrasonb, Amenmose and Another*, TTS 5 (London 1933), pl. 32, and A. and A. Brack, *Das Grab des Tjanuni*, AVDAIK 19 (Mainz am Rhein 1977), pl. 28 b. See also the reconstruction in E. Dziobek, M. Abdel Raziq, *Das Grab des Sobekhotep: Theben Nr. 63*, AVDAIK 71 (Mainz am Rhein 1990), pl. 33.

56 A similar conclusion is reached by Anthes (*ZÄS* 65 [1930], 32–33) with regard to the prisoners who are being led into the king's presence in the battle scenes.

57 In TT 78, dancing Nubians and a company of soldiers with a trumpeter are shown in a scene which is in many ways reminiscent of the Karnak blocks of Tutankhamun. In contrast to the latter, though, the Nubians are not depicted as prisoners. See A. and A. Brack, *Das Grab des Haremhab: Theben Nr. 78*, AVDAIK 35 (Mainz am Rhein 1980), 37 (fig. 20a) and pl. 87.

58 Davies, *The Tombs of Two Officials*, TTS 3 (London 1923), pl. 28.

59 A precursor of these scenes is found in the tomb of Khnumhotep at Beni Hasan. See P.E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, EES Arch. Survey 3 (London 1893), pl. 30; also D. Kessler, "Die Asiatenkarawane von Beni Hassan", *SAK* 14 (1987), 147–165.

60 See R.A. Caminos, *The Shrines and Rock-inscriptions of Ibrim*, EES Arch. Survey 32 (London 1968), 39–42 with pl. 10; 65–71 with pl. 28.

61 Davies, *The Tomb of Ḥuy*, pls. 23; 30.

royal couple while, in the same scene, Horemheb is awarded the gold of honour.[62] Among the treasures displayed in front of the royal kiosk, there is a *šbỉw*-collar similar to the ones bestowed on the general, a detail which sheds an interesting sidelight on the operation of the treasury department.[63] In a scene on the west wall in the same court, Horemheb presents a group of foreigners who are described as "the chiefs of all foreign countries" to the royal couple.[64] The introduction to these scenes is formed by a large relief on the east wall, where we see an impressive number of foreign captives being presented to Horemheb in his capacity of king's envoy (*wpwty nsw*).[65] The accompanying inscription relates how the king "appeared upon the throne of presenting the *ỉnw*" (*ỉsbt nt ms ỉnw*), Horemheb standing beside it.

It would seem, then, that in the reign of Tutankhamun the motif of the presentation of *ỉnw* to the king was replaced by a variation on this scheme in which the king is presenting *ỉnw* to the gods, and that the change occurred almost without a perceptible break. However, if we regard the element of force as a distinguishing characteristic, the scenes in the Memphite tomb of Horemheb appear as a transitional stage. Finally, if we view the scenes from this tomb in combination with those on the blocks from Karnak discussed above, it is difficult to regard these scenes as merely ideological, without any basis in reality.

The motif of the files of prisoners held by ropes provides a link to another well-known motif, that of the king smiting his enemies.[66] From the New Kingdom onwards, this action is often performed in the presence of a god or gods who are depicted clutching a bunch of ropes to which rows of name-rings surmounted by human figures are attached.[67] At first sight it would seem that we are faced here with a wholly different theme: instead of the king presenting prisoners to the gods, we see a number of gods presenting foreign countries to the king. The origins of this motif seem to be very old, the palette of Narmer being an obvious early example. Of particular interest, though, are some reliefs from the pyramid complex of Sahure. One of these reliefs shows files of bound prisoners, with different ethnic characteristics, led by ropes which are held by a number of gods and goddesses, among them Seth and Sopdu.[68] In another relief depicting the booty from a Libyan campaign, the number of prisoners is recorded by

---

[62] G.T. Martin, *The Memphite Tomb of Ḥoremḥeb, Commander-in-Chief of Tutʿankhamūn*. I: *The Reliefs, Inscriptions, and Commentary*, EES Excav. Mem. 55 (London 1989), pls. 99–108 (scene 72).

[63] The gold bestowed by the king on such occasions was issued by the treasury; see e.g. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna* I: *The Tomb of Meryra*, EES Arch. Survey 13 (London 1903), pl. 30, in which the king orders the Overseer of the Treasury to reward Meryre. Also, in the tomb of Neferhotep, the Overseer of the Treasury Maya is clearly in charge of the proceedings; see R. Hari, *La tombe thébaine du père divin Neferhotep* (Geneva 1985), 16–19; pl. 6.

[64] Martin, *Ḥoremḥeb*, pls. 110A–115 (scene 76).

[65] Martin, *Ḥoremḥeb*, pls. 78–95 (scene 69). The title *wpwty nsw* is also borne by the viceroy Huy. On the role of these king's messengers in the collection of tribute and their relation to the Treasury, see M. Valloggia, *Recherches sur les 'messagers' (wpwtyw) dans les sources égyptiennes profanes* (Geneva/Paris 1976), 245–247.

[66] For a survey of the occurrences of this motif, see E.S. Hall, *The Pharaoh Smites his Enemies: A Comparative Study*, MÄS 44 (München/Berlin 1985).

[67] General description in J. Simons, *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists relating to Western Asia* (Leiden 1937), 5–8.

[68] L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Śaɜḥu-Reʿ* II: *Die Wandbilder* (Leipzig 1913), pl. 5.

Seshat, with the goddess of the West and the Libyan god Ash present as well.[69] Next to this scene are the remains of a scene in which the king smites a bunch of enemies. It is only in the Middle Kingdom that we first encounter the rows of name-rings. On a stela from Buhen, the god Montu is shown standing opposite Sesostris I and holding a group of name-rings tied to ropes. The king is, however, not shown in a smiting posture but holding a mace and staff.[70] An early example from the New Kingdom is from the 'Trésor' of Tuthmosis I: some fragments of name-rings were found here, but there is no evidence they formed part of a smiting scene.[71] Such a case is first attested in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el Bahari. On the south wall of the Lower Southern Portico the god Dedwen is pictured holding several rows of name-rings by ropes,[72] and on the remaining wallspace traces are visible of an image of the queen smiting her enemies.[73] From the reign of Tuthmosis III onwards we have a fairly large number of such scenes.[74] By their nature they usually occur in pairs, and in most cases the ropes connecting the name-rings are held by a pair of relatively minor deities. Almost invariably one of these is "Victorious Thebes",[75] the other being either Dedwen[76] or Sopdu,[77] i.e. gods who are strongly associated with the lands bordering Egypt to the south and east. The smiting is carried out in the presence of the temple's chief god, who is initially depicted on a smaller scale than the king, though on a raised baseline. In later representations the god hands the king a scimitar,[78] and eventually he is depicted on the same scale as the king himself. While he may also hold some

---

[69] Borchardt, *Śaḥu-Reʿ* II, pl. 1

[70] Stela Florence 2540. The upper part is reproduced in S. Bosticco, *Museo Archeologico di Firenze: le stele egiziani dall'Antico al Nuovo Regno* (Rome 1959), pl. 29a; latest discussion in C. Obsomer, *Sésostris Ier* (Brussels 1995), 321–335; 676–681.

[71] H. Jacquet-Gordon, *Karnak-Nord* VI: *Le Trésor de Thoutmosis Ier: La Décoration*, FIFAO 32 (Cairo 1988), 154–156; pl. 40. Some doubt has been expressed as to the the identification of this edifice as a treasury: see the review by D. Arnold, *JARCE* 29 (1992), 214–215.

[72] E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari* VI, EES Excav. Mem. 29 (London 1908), pl. 152.

[73] Unpublished. For a photograph of this scene I am again indebted to Jana Loose and Herman and Marianne Krijgsman. According to J. Lipinska (*BiOr* 46 [1989], 616) there are traces of an 'erased but partly recognisable scene' in the Lower Northern Portico. I have been unable to obtain information as to the exact location of this scene. If it is, as seems probable, on the north wall of that portico, it would constitute a perfect complement to the scene discussed above.

[74] PM II^2, 85 (217; 219); 88 (235; 238); 167 (496; 497); 170 (499; 500); 83 (213; 214); 55 (168); 57 (170); PM VII, 323 (3; 5); PM II^2, 58 (172; 173); Kitchen, Gaballa, *ZÄS* 96 (1969), 23 + pl. 7a; PM II^2, 333 (202; 203); Le Saout, in: *Karnak* VII: 1978–1981 (Cairo 1982), pl. 4; PM II^2, 28 (44; 45); 489–490 (46; 48; 47; 49).

[75] On "Victorious Thebes" see W. Helck, "Ritualszenen in Karnak", *MDAIK* 23 (1968), 119–127. In addition to the scenes mentioned in the next two notes, the image of "Victorious Thebes" is encountered on a relief of Merneptah from Karnak: see Le Saout, in: *Karnak* VII: 1978–1981 (1982), 230 with pl. 4. An exception is formed by a relief of Tuthmosis III on the Seventh Pylon at Karnak. Here it is not "Victorious Thebes" but the goddess of the West who is represented: see Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 18; in PM II^2, 170 (499) this figure is erroneously designated as Wast.

[76] Apart from the scene at Deir el Bahari, also in reliefs of Tuthmosis III and Seti I: PM II^2, 170 (500); PM II^2, 57 (170), there wrongly called Inmutf; cf. *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, pl. 17a.

[77] Ramesses II on the south wall of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak: J.H. Breasted, *The Battle of Kadesh* (Chicago 1903), pl. 7; on the west wall of the Luxor temple: K*RI* II, 176, 13 (on the opposite relief a 'minor deity,' now lost, see K*RI* II, 178, 4); Ramesses III's small temple at Karnak: *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak*. Vol. I: *Ramses III's Temple within the Great Inclosure of Amon, Part I*, OIP 25 (Chicago 1936), pl. 4); on the First Pylon of the temple at Medinet Habu: PM II^2, 489, there wrongly called Onuris.

[78] For an examination of the texts accompanying these scenes, see K.A. Kitchen, G.A. Gaballa, "Ramesside Varia II", *ZÄS* 96 (1969), 23–28.

of the ropes connecting the name-rings,[79] the other deities remain present in most of the large-scale compositions.[80]

It would appear, then, that the motif of the ropes held by the king in the presentation scenes had its origin in the motif discussed above. Considerable differences remain, however. The action seems to take place on a wholly different plane and, contrary to recent assertions,[81] it does not form part of a narrative sequence.

There are, nevertheless, important thematic connections linking this motif to that of the presentation of prisoners by the king. An interesting example is a much damaged relief from a small chapel of Amenhotep II near the obelisk of Hatshepsut at Karnak.[82] The relief shows partly preserved figures of a seated Amun with the king standing in front of him. Underneath these figures, a long row of Asiatic prisoners is depicted in a manner which is strikingly different from the representations we have discussed previously. Numerous closely overlapping figures are shown, with no attempt at individual characterisation as in the later reliefs. Below these captives there are two rows of name-rings under a line of text which reads:

> List (*sḫwy*) of these rebellious countries which His Majesty slew through their valleys so that they lay heaped in their blood.[83]

This text appears to be a variation of a standardised text which is often found in smiting scenes above the rows of name-rings. The following is a typical example:

> List (*sḫwy*) of these southern and northern countries which His Majesty slew, making a great slaughter among them, their numbers unknown, whose dependants (*ḫrw*) were brought as prisoners of war to fill the workshops (*šnʿ*) of his father Amen-Re, Ruler of Thebes, all countries being as the serfs (*ḏt*) of His Majesty.[84]

The second part of this statement is frequently paralleled in scenes in which the king is presenting prisoners. A typical example says:

> The chiefs of foreign lands whom His Majesty brought back by his victory in the land of Retenu, to fill the workshops (*šnʿ*) of his father Amen-Re, king of the Gods, by the plundering through his valiant arm.[85]

---

[79] Possibly already in a relief attributed to Amenhotep II: see W.M. Muller, *Egyptological Researches*, II: *Results of a Journey in 1906* (Washington D.C., 1910), 139. Cf. *Urk.* IV, 1334, 12–1335, 20.

[80] The association of Amun with these gods is paralleled in some of these reliefs by a poetic speech in which Amun describes the wonders he performed for the king in making the countries from all four cardinal points subservient to him. For an analysis, see N.-C. Grimal, *Les termes de la propagande royale égyptienne de la XIXe dynastie à la conquête d'Alexandre* (Paris 1986), 449–466.

[81] A.R. Schulman, *Ceremonial Execution and Public Rewards*, OBO 75 (Freiburg/Göttingen 1988). In viewing these scenes as real events performed at the conclusion of a war, Schulman made a fundamental error of interpretation: see D. Devauchelle, "Un archétype de relief cultuel en Égypte ancienne", *BSFE* 131 (octobre 1994), 38–60. In a later publication Schulman concedes that a conflation of motifs is involved, but only as far as the element of conferring of the sword is concerned: "In the overwhelming majority of its occurrences on the temple wall, the god brings more prisoners to the pharaoh to be slain and, at the same time, offers the sword to him" (Schulman, "Take for Yourself the Sword", in B.M. Bryan, D. Lorton (eds.), *Essays in Egyptology in honor of Hans Goedicke* [San Antonio 1994], 268).

[82] Published by W.M. Müller, *Egyptological Researches: Results of a Journey in 1904* (Washington D.C. 1906), 40; pls. 54–55.

[83] *Urk.* IV, 1337, 12–14.

[84] K*RI* II, 161, 8–9.

[85] K*RI* II, 146, 13–14.

Both sets of motifs thus appear to have certain points in common. In addition to affirming the king's victory over his enemies, they emphasize the specific aspect of the prisoners brought home by the king to fill the temple's workshops. In this connection we may note that in a number of texts of Tuthmosis III on the Sixth and Seventh Pylons at Karnak the expression *msw* is used along with *ḫrw*,[86] suggesting that in this context the two expressions are more or less interchangeable.[87]

Thematic connections are also manifest in a number of cases where elements from both compositions are conflated. A scene on the Second Pylon at Medinet Habu shows Ramesses III leading three files of prisoners into the presence of Amun and Mut, while Amun is depicted handing the sword of victory to the king.[88] On the north exterior wall of the temple, a scene in which the king presents files of prisoners to the Theban Triad is set above a row of name-rings of the familiar type.[89] It would seem that on monuments of a more modest scale, such as stelae, the artists felt even more at liberty to combine various motifs. A good example is a stela of Ramesses II from Beth-Shan, where the king is presenting treasure to Amun while being handed a scimitar; at the bottom a number of name-rings listing the Nine Bows are shown.[90] Stelae on which the king is presenting prisoners occur as well.[91]

In compositions combining a smiting scene with rows of name-rings we are faced with a highly symbolic level of representation: the name-rings represent geographical concepts and the presence of gods introduces a supernatural element. The compositions stand in the tradition of the Old Kingdom reliefs in which the gods are bringing in prisoners and the booty is recorded by Seshat. The presentation of *inw* by the king, on the other hand, is depicted as an event which takes place entirely in the real world. The two sets of motifs may be said to present different aspects of essentially similar events. In a sense, the smiting scenes provide the theological background to the royal presentation scenes.

It will be clear by now that the presentation scenes were not chosen arbitrarily to decorate the treasury façade. In the battle scenes of the 19th and 20th Dynasties, the king's triumphal homecoming is an important episode, which culminated, in its turn, in the presentation of *inw* by the king. As the *inw* were to be deposited in the temple treasury, and the whole of the action was, in fact, orientated towards this end, the presence of these scenes on the treasury façade is eminently logical. The objects depicted in the reliefs are curiously similar in style and were perhaps specially produced for the occasion. Obviously, they can have formed only part of the total of

---

86 *Urk.* IV, 780, 4–781, 4. These texts are the complements to *Urk.* IV, 795, 7–796, 8, where *ḫrw* is used.

87 This wider meaning of *msw* is discussed by S. Allam, " = Kinder/ Volksgruppe/ Produkte/ Abgaben", *SAK* 19 (1992), 1–13. See also E. Feucht, "Kinder fremder Völker in Ägypten", *SAK* 17 (1990), 177–204.

88 *Medinet Habu* I, pl. 44.

89 *Medinet Habu* I, pl. 43.

90 J. Černý, "Stela of Ramesses II from Beisan", *Eretz-Israel* 5 (1958), 75*–82*.

91 See the stelae Cairo CG 34510 and JE 50568, in which Ramesses II and Merneptah are handed a scimitar while presenting prisoners to the god. Both stelae are discussed by Schulman in *Essays in Egyptology in honor of Hans Goedicke*, 267–268, figs. 14 and 17. The confusion to which Schulman's interpretation may lead is evident on p. 267 (note 15): "the *deity* leads in more enemies for the king to slaughter", whereas on the next page it is stated with reference to the stelae: "when captives are present, they are led by the *king* into the god's presence" (my italics, W.H.).

the king's donations: the lists in P. Harris I make this abundantly clear.[92]

The theme of the presentation of *inw* by the king occurs in a few instances under the 18th Dynasty. A stela of Amenhotep III from his mortuary temple at Thebes speaks of the temple as "the place of receiving the *bꜣkwt* of all foreign countries and presenting (*ms*) plentiful *inw* before my father from the *ḫrpwt* of all lands."[93] The Punt reliefs of Hatshepsut exhibit in their narrative pattern some striking similarities to the later battle scenes, although the element of force is here, of course, conspicuously absent. The presence of gods in these reliefs echoes certain elements in the victory scenes of the Old Kingdom: the weighing of metals and precious stones is attended by Horus and Dedwen, and the produce of the southern countries is recorded by Seshat and Thoth.[94] A scene in which the queen offers this produce to Amun may be regarded as a precursor of the later presentation scenes.[95] The same holds true for the well-known relief of Tuthmosis III in the passage round the granite sanctuary at Karnak, where he is depicted offering two obelisks and vast amounts of treasure.[96] In these reliefs the ritual setting is more pronounced: both rulers are shown consecrating the offerings holding an *ꜥbꜣ*-sceptre in their right hands and a mace and staff in their left hands.[97] The act is variously designated as *ḫrp biꜣwt, ḫrp mnw*, etc. There is a remarkable clustering of such scenes around the central bark shrine in Karnak, on the walls of the so-called Hatshepsut rooms. Apart from the relief of Tuthmosis III just mentioned, there is another relief on the exterior west wall of the south complex of rooms, in which the same king offers treasure to Amun,[98] and inside one of these rooms there is a third relief.[99] This raises the question of whether this complex of rooms perhaps constitutes another temple treasury. It is intriguing, to say the least, that the layout of the five southernmost rooms is very similar to the treasuries of Abydos and Medinet Habu: here, too, we see a central vestibule with two pairs of rooms on either side.[100] In the absence of a publication of the rooms, however, we

---

[92] For a summary of the lists constituting the *inw-n-nb*, see P. Grandet, *Le Papyrus Harris I (BM 9999)*, BdE 109, Vol. I (Cairo 1994), 69–70. See also Vol. II, 70–76: note 256.

[93] *Urk.* IV, 1651, 15–1652, 1.

[94] Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari* III, EES Excav. Mem. 16 (London 1898), 79, 81; *Urk.* IV, 336, 6–12, 338, 4–11.

[95] Naville, *Deir el Bahari* III, 77; *Urk.* IV, 334, 4–14.

[96] Wreszinski, *Atlas* II, pl. 33 a, b; *Urk.* IV, 625–645.

[97] A. Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, Egyptologische Uitgaven 8 (Leiden 1995), 54–57.

[98] PM II^2, 95–96 (277). The relief is only partly published: see H.G. Fischer, "Further Remarks on the Prostrate Kings", *University Museum Bulletin* 21,2 (1957), 36–37; W.J. de Jong, *Het hart van de Amontempel in Karnak* (Amsterdam 1986), 103; *Urk.* IV, 867–869. On the false door next to this relief, see Ch.C. Van Siclen III, "Additional Notes on the Blue Amun", *VA* 6 (1990), 171–176.

[99] S. Taufik, "Eine kleine Liste von Weihgeschenken Thutmosis' III. für Amon in Karnak", *MDAIK* 25 (1969), 179–183. See also K. Myśliwiec, *Eighteenth Dynasty before the Amarna Period*, Iconography of Religions XVI/5 (Leiden 1985), pl. xi [2].

[100] Rooms XIX–XXIII in PM II^2, 105–106. See also Barguet, *Karnak*, 142–148. In room XIX there is a relief of the gods Dedwen, Sopdu, Sobek, and Horus being raised up on a *ṯs*-support; the only parallel to this scene is in the Edifice of Taharqa: see Barguet, *Karnak*, 145–146; pl. 15D; also R.A. Parker, J. Leclant, J.-Cl. Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak*, Brown Egyptological Studies 8 (Providence/London 1979), 65–69; pls. 6D and 26. If the rooms did indeed function as a treasury, a connection with the 'Festival Court' of Tuthmosis II would make sense: see the remarks on the function of this court by L. Gabolde, "La 'cour de fêtes' de Thoutmosis II à Karnak", in: *Karnak* IX: 1993 (Cairo 1993), 55–60; see also the description of one of the walls in this court as decorated by Tuthmosis IV: B. Letellier, "La cour à péristyle de Thoutmosis IV à Karnak (et la 'cour des fêtes' de Thoutmosis II)", in *Hommages à la Mémoire de Serge Sauneron* I. *Égypte pharaonique*, BdE 81 (Cairo 1979), 56-58. We may

shall avoid further speculation.

We are left, then, with the conclusion that from the post-Amarna period onwards the king is seen approaching the god in the same manner as a courtier would approach the king on the successful completion of a mission. Both from an iconographical and an ideological point of view, this appears to be a transposition of an earlier motif in private tombs from the 18th Dynasty in which the tomb-owner presents groups of foreigners with their *inw* to the king. The principal difference is that in the royal representations the foreigners are depicted as bound prisoners. Apparently, where the acquisition of *inw* was concerned, force was the only method deemed worthy of kings – or at any rate worthy of recording – a point which is underscored by the frequent references to the drafting of foreigners into the temple workshops (*šnʿ*). In the private tombs of the 18th Dynasty, foreigners might still be depicted as having come more or less of their own accord in order to seek the king's favour, but in the royal reliefs they are transformed into slaves destined for the workshops.[101] Thus, while very few elements in this complex of motifs are new, there is a shift of emphasis, resulting in an extension of the concept of *inw* and anticipating later changes in the concept of kingship. When, formerly, *inw* were being passed up the hierarchical order, it was the king who was pictured as the final recipient. As a sign of his piety, the king took pride in making large donations to the temples, as is amply attested in, for example, the inscriptions of Tuthmosis III. Towards the end of the 18th Dynasty we are faced with a remarkable change: from now on the king is seen rendering *inw* unto the gods in a manner which mirrors the way in which lesser mortals rendered *inw* unto the king. This is a new development, which, in its way, seems to foreshadow the theology of the later *Gottesstaat*. An interesting complement to this new-found role of the king is found in the reliefs of the Eastern High Gate at Medinet Habu, where Ramesses III, like a victorious general, reports on the successful discharge of the orders given him by Amun-Re.[102]

We cannot leave this subject without making reference to some recent discussions of the term *inw*. In addition to Gordon's invaluable review of the available sources[103] and several other studies,[104] important new contributions by Bleiberg,[105] Spalinger,[106] and Warburton,[107] appeared as this article was being written. Many of these discussions

---

also note the proximity of a *pr-ḥḏ n ʿntyw*: see P. Lacau, "Deux magasins à encens du temple de Karnak", *ASAE* 52 (1952), 185–198.

[101] As these workshops were located within the temple precinct, they formed, like the treasury, an integral part of the temple. See Feucht, *SAK* 17 (1990), 191–195.

[102] *KRI* 105–107; *Medinet Habu* VIII, pls. 604, 606, 621, 622.

[103] A. Gordon, *The Context and Meaning of the Ancient Egyptian Word INW from the Proto-Dynastic Period to the End of the New Kingdom* (diss. University of California, Berkeley 1983).

[104] R. Müller-Wollermann, "Bemerkungen zu den sogenannten Tributen", *GM* 66 (1983), 81–93; W. Boochs, "Weitere Bemerkungen zu den sogenannten Tribute", *GM* 71 (1984), 61–66; E. Bleiberg, "The King's Privy Purse during the New Kingdom: An Examination of *INW*", *JARCE* 21 (1984), 155–167; M. Liverani, *Prestige and Interest: International relations in the Near East ca. 1600–1100 B.C.* (Padua 1990), 240–266; M. Römer, *Gottes- und Priesterherrschaft in Ägypten am Ende des Neuen Reiches*, ÄAT 21 (Wiesbaden 1994), 386–394.

[105] E. Bleiberg, *The Official Gift in Ancient Egypt* (Norman/London 1996).

[106] A. Spalinger, "From Local to Global: The Extension of an Egyptian Bureaucratic Term to the Empire", *SAK* 23 (1996), 353–376.

[107] D.A. Warburton, *State and Economy in Ancient Egypt: Fiscal Vocabulary of the New Kingdom*, OBO 151 (Fribourg/Göttingen 1997).

deal at some length with the question of whether the conventional translation of "tribute" is justified. As a renewed examination of the term falls outside the scope of this article, I shall only note that I find myself in general agreement with the conclusions reached by Gordon and Warburton, namely that *inw* cannot be assigned a specific meaning to the exclusion of others. Accordingly, I have variously translated "tribute" or "gift", depending on which term best seemed to fit the context.[108] If the present study has any relevance to the subject, it should be kept in mind that the sources discussed above pertain to the spheres of theology and royal ideology, i.e. they constitute only a narrow segment of the total available documentation. Whether any developments in these spheres reflected economic and political realities is quite another matter.

Finally, it might be asked to what extent the presentation scenes depicted an actual event. Scenes like the festivities on the Tutankhamun blocks are highly suggestive, and leave little doubt that such ceremonies were actually performed. There may be another side to these representations, however. Apart from storing gold, silver, and precious stones, temple treasuries served as centres for the storage and distribution of a great variety of commodities, some of them of a perishable nature.[109] It goes without saying that these goods required much more storage space than was provided by the small storerooms found in the temple interior. In a discussion of the mudbrick magazines of the Ramesseum, Goyon has plausibly identified the northwest group of magazines as the temple's treasury.[110] In view of the frequent references to the word *šnᶜ*, above, it is worth noting that in the same location a lintel was found inscribed for an official named Pyay, who bore the title of *imy-r šnᶜ*.[111] Along the façade of the magazines runs a long portico, and at its western end is a stone dais with a flight of stairs leading up to it.[112] Faint traces on the surface of this dais suggest that at one time a chapel built of light materials stood on top of it. A similar dais was found in a court which gave access to the magazines of the mortuary temple of Seti I at Abydos.[113] In Goyon's view the dais in the Ramesseum may have supported the ceremonial kiosk in which the king on certain occasions received tribute or the New Year's gifts.[114] This supposition seems, however, open to some doubt, for, as

---

[108] Bleiberg lists 36 different translations of the word *inw*: *The Official Gift in Ancient Egypt*, 127–129.

[109] See note 92.

[110] J.-C. Goyon, in *Le Ramesseum* X. *Les annexes nord-ouest* (Cairo 1976), A group of magazines adjoining this group to the east was identified as the temple treasury by E. Schott, "Das Goldhaus im Grab des Nefer-renpet", *GM* 29 (1978), 127–132. While the two views do not seem mutually exclusive, it is much more problematical to view these magazines as granaries: see, for example, B.J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* (London/New York 1989), 192. This idea – first put forward by Hoelscher – seems to ignore the evidence presented in J.E. Quibell, *The Ramesseum and the Tomb of Ptah-hetep*, ARE 2 (London 1898), 8 (with pl. 11, 9–49).

[111] Goyon, in *Le Ramesseum* X, 199 and pl. 67 a–b. This Pyay is also the owner of TT 263 (see *KRI* III, 380–383). On the title *imy-r šnᶜ*, see D. Polz, "Die *šnᶜ*-Vorsteher des Neuen Reiches", *ZÄS* 117 (1990), 43–60. Polz devotes considerable space to a discussion of Pyay but seems unaware of the existence of this lintel.

[112] Goyon, in *Le Ramesseum* X, 166.

[113] E.B. Ghazouli, "The palace and magazines attached to the temple of Sety I at Abydos and the façade of this temple", *ASAE* 58 (1964), 120–122 and pl. 5. The dais is placed inside a rectangular court surrounded by ten limestone columns. Interestingly, in a fragmentary inscription on one of these columns the king is called "beloved of [Hathor] residing in the August Treasury" (*ḥryt-ib pr-ḥḏ špsy*); Ghazouli, ibid., 140).

[114] Goyon, in *Le Ramesseum* X, 209–212.

we have seen, in the context of the temples it is the gods who receive the goods and the king who makes the presentation. I would suggest, therefore, that the dais supported a construction in which, perhaps on special occasions, a statue of the god was placed.[115] It is difficult to say whether the king ever appeared in person at this location. An alternative possibility is suggested by a feature which is found in a group of buildings from the Late Period, known as *šnᶜ wᶜb*.[116] Essentially storage facilities for the daily offerings in the temple cult, these buildings had one or more chapels which, in Trauneckers's view, may have served as substitutes for the principal sanctuary. The offerings could thus be presented to the god without having to leave their place of storage, and might be distributed to the temple's personnel forthwith. Conceivably, the *ỉnw* which entered the temple treasuries were presented to the god in a comparable fashion. Such a procedure might also help to explain the unusual location of the presentation scenes of Horemheb/Tutankhamun in the court between the Ninth and Tenth Pylons at Karnak. The orientation of these scenes is such that they lead out of the court towards the areas to the east and west of it, in other words, to the temple's magazines and workshops. Even more unusual are the reliefs of Tutankhamun on the exterior east wall of the Cour de la Cachette, where the king and the Theban Triad are depicted on either side of an image of Renenwetet. From representations in a number of Theban tombs we know that within the temple precinct there existed an open air granary in which an image of Renenwetet was prominently displayed.[117] In some of these representations the king is depicted offering to the goddess, while in another, dating to the early 19th Dynasty, a small portable image of a king is being carried in.[118] A connection of the Tutankhamun reliefs with this granary seems well within the realm of possibility.

Already in the New Kingdom, the temple treasury was not merely a utilitarian structure but an essential part of the temple. With the loss of the Egyptian empire and its revenues, the ritual aspect became even more pronounced, and the decorations of the Ptolemaic temple treasuries describe a veritable 'économie métaphysique'.[119] Seen from this perspective, the temple treasuries of the New Kingdom present a number of features that, in the later treasuries, would evolve into a theological summary of what went on in the temple itself.[120]

---

115 There are various parallels from Amarna. See, for example, the kiosk in the block of magazines behind the granary depicted in the tomb of Meryre at Amarna: Davies, *Amarna* I, pl. 25.

116 C. Traunecker, "Les 'temples hauts' de Basse Époque: un aspect du fonctionnement économique des temples", *RdE* 38 (1987), 147–162.

117 C.C. Van Siclen III, *Two Theban Monuments from the Reign of Amenhotep II* (San Antonio 1982), 18–42.

118 Van Siclen, *Two Theban Monuments*, 35–36. There are indications that a new granary was built in the period following Amarna: *ibid.*, 32ff.

119 F. Daumas, "Les textes géographiques du Trésor D′ du temple de Dendara", in E. Lipinski (ed.), *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East* II, OLA 6 (Leuven 1979), 689–705.

120 S. Aufrère, *L'univers minéral dans la pensée égyptienne*, BdE 105/2 (Cairo 1991), 716.

Fig. 1 Façade of the treasury at Medinet Habu (Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago).

Fig. 2 Entrance to the southern treasury rooms at Abu Simbel (Wreszinsky, *Atlas* II, pl. 180).

Fig. 3 Entrance to the northern treasury rooms at Abu Simbel (Wreszinsky, *Atlas* II, pl. 179).

Fig. 4 Façade of the treasury of Seti I at Abydos (Photo: Anneke van der Meer).

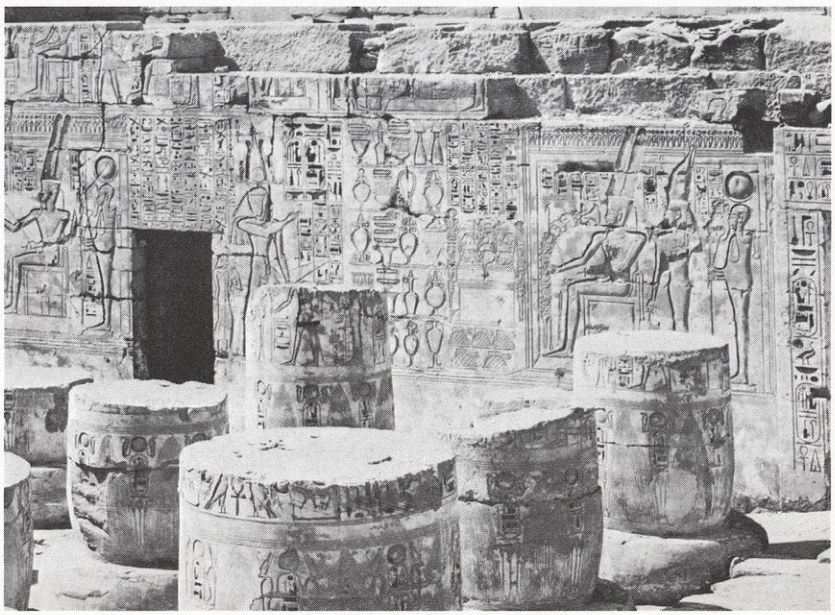


Fig. 1

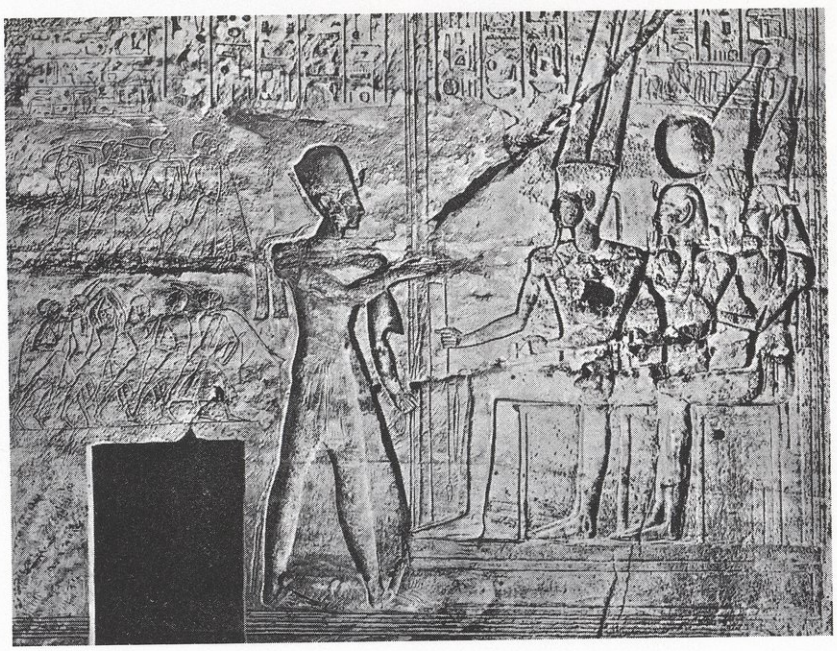


Fig. 2

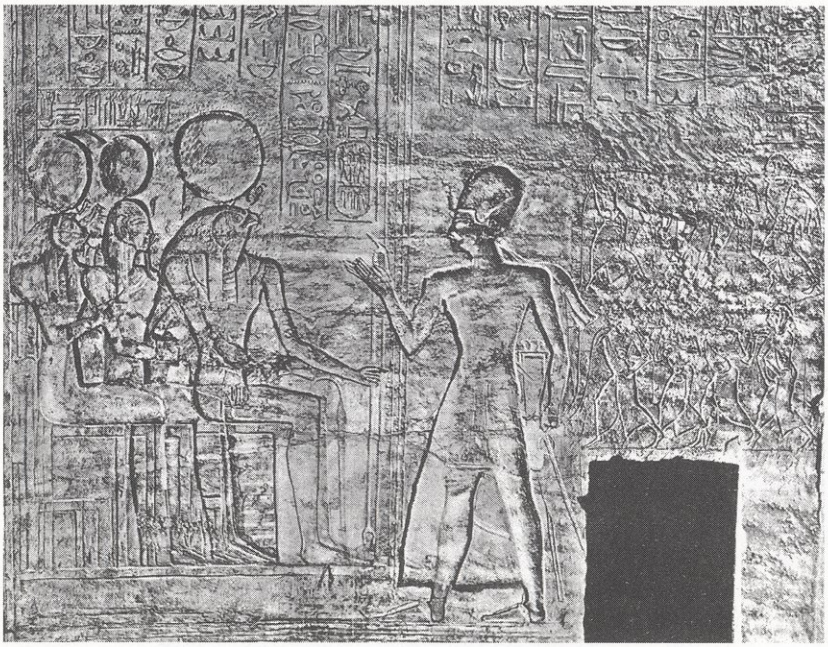


Fig. 3

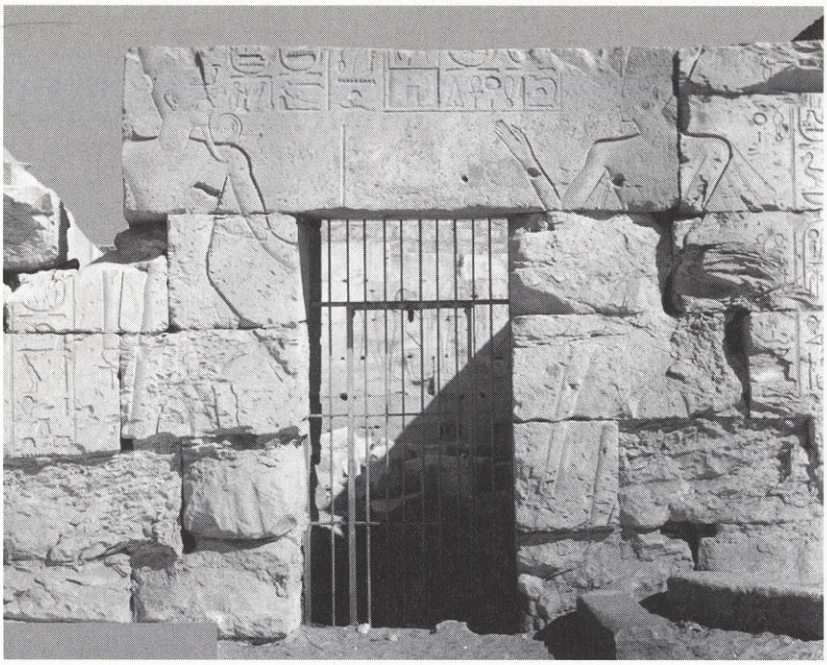


Fig. 4

A Demotic Omen Text?
(P. BM 10238)

Richard Jasnow

Long ago Eugène Revillout published descriptions and photographs of P. BM 10238.[1] Since then, however, the papyrus has suffered unjustified neglect. That pioneer demoticist understood the text as an appeal to Serapis on behalf of a daughter seduced and abandoned.[2] Much doubt remains concerning this enigmatic document, but I do not believe that Revillout's view is correct. May this fresh study of the text intrigue Professor te Velde, a scholar who has enriched Egyptology with so many valuable monographs and articles!

P. BM 10238 has been dated to 161–160 BC[3] and I see little reason to dispute this. If correct, it belongs therefore to year 21 of Ptolemy VI or year 10 of Ptolemy VIII. Not long after the invasions of Antiochus IV, this was a very troubled time for the Ptolemies. In the fall of 164 BC Ptolemy VIII took power after having chased his brother Ptolemy VI out of Egypt.[4] He ruled with Kleopatra II until the month of May in 163 when Ptolemy VI returned with Roman support, and Ptolemy VIII became king of Cyrene.[5]

The troubles of the age are reflected in humbler circles as well. The twins at the Serapeum, for example, are composing their sorrowful petitions, and Hor is industriously adding to his remarkable archive. I believe that P. BM 10238 also belongs very much to this world, being another example of the eccentric and difficult works of that time.

The papyrus seems to have come from the area of the Serapeum in Memphis.[6] While not identical, the script is similar to that of other Serapeum documents, such as

---

[1] "Les Papiers administratifs du Sérapéum", *Revue égyptologique* 5, no. 1–2 (1888), 34, and *Corpus Papyrorum Aegypti* II (Paris 1888), 4, with an illustration on pl. 6. I wish to thank T.G.H. James for originally providing me with excellent photographs of P. BM 10238, and W. Vivian Davies for permission to publish them. Carol Andrews has been extremely helpful to me in my study of this text. I thank her both for her hospitality when I visited the British Museum to collate the papyrus and, most especially, for taking the trouble of rechecking, together with Richard Parkinson, some troublesome sections of the document. I presented this text at the *Demotische Sommerschule* of 1995 at Würzburg, organized by Karl-Theodor Zauzich. I benefited greatly from the discussion of the participants of that meeting.

[2] It has also been classified as a petition to the god Apis; see *LÄ* IV, 841 ("Papyri, Demotische").

[3] P. Pestman, *Chronologie égyptienne d'après les textes démotiques (332 av. J.-C. – 453 ap. J.-C.)*, PLB 15 (Leiden 1967), 51.

[4] See E. Lanciers, "Die Alleinherrschaft des Ptolemaios VIII. im Jahre 164/163 v. Chr. und der Name Euergetes", in B. Mandilaras (ed.), *Proceedings of the XVIII Congress of Papyrology: Athens 25–31 May 1986* (Athens 1988), vol. 2, 405–433. See also G. Hölbl, *Geschichte des Ptolemäerreiches* (Darmstadt 1994), 159–169.

[5] See D. Thompson, *Memphis under the Ptolemies* (Princeton 1988), 151. For the economic problems in Egypt caused by foreign invasion and civil war, see ibid., 254–255.

[6] Thissen has published a papyrus from the nearby Anubieion, "Ein Demotischer Brief aus dem Anubieion", *Serapis* 6 (1980), 165–169.

the dream text re-edited by E. Bresciani *et al.*, "Una rilettura dei Pap. Dem. Bologna 3173 e 3171", *EVO* 1 (1978), 95–104.[7]

Despite the remaining problems of the document, I do believe its essential character can be recognized. Chiefly on the basis of the statement in recto, lines 2–3: "He finds the omen (of) the scarab by means of a man's dung-ball", I suggest that this papyrus contains an interpretation of the movements of a sacred scarab beetle.[8]

There appear to be three basic sections: narration of the scarab's actions (recto, 2–12); theological explanations (recto, 12–16); the predictions (recto, 17 – verso, l2 [?]). The symbolic aspects of the insect therefore play a crucial, if at times obscure role in the text. The Egyptians, it may be recalled, believed that there were no female scarabs. The young are laid in the the dung-ball, from which they also draw their nourishment. They eventually emerge from the dung in a manner which excited the admiration and wonder of the Egyptians.[9] As one of the few records of an omen based on the movements of a sacred animal, P. BM 10238 is thus a document of some significance for the history of popular religion in the Ptolemaic Period.

Description:
Width: 8 cm.
Height: 22 cm.
Writing parallel to fibers

Transliteration of P. BM 10238

Recto

1) *ḥ.t-sp 21 ibt 2 šmw r-ḫrw Wsir-Ḥp pȝ ntr ᶜȝ*
2) *i-ir=f gm pȝ šm pȝ mḫrr*
3) *n wᶜ sṯy rmt iw=f šww*

---

[7] Compare the writing of ᶜȝ in P. Dem. Bologna 3173, recto, l. 14. One may also mention P. BM 10233, which is a petition to Serapis, published in *Corpus Papyrorum*, pl. 5.

[8] "In ihr [i.e., in Graeco-Roman literature], aber auch in hieroglyphischen Urkunden der Kaiserzeit wird mehrfach berichtet, dass man das Gehaben der heiligen Tiere, ihr Reagieren auf Zurufe und Darreichen von Futter, ihr Brüllen und ihre Bewegungen u.a.m. als Omen erlebte", H. Bonnet, *RÄRG*, 543. Curiously enough, there does not seem in fact to be very much information concerning omens taken from living creatures, particularly from the earlier periods. D. Kurth has described how certain activities or actions of the Apis bull could be interpreted to tell the future; see *LÄ* VI, 572–573 ("Tierkult"). While he mentions there the often assumed role of sacred animals as intermediaries between the gods and men, noting especially the title *wḥm* "herald", for the Apis, he emphasizes: "Lebende Tiere die Orakel in geregelten Formen gaben, sind nicht nachgewiesen, auch nicht Widder oder Ibisse. Inoffizielle Formen der Ausdeutung des Tierverhaltens, z.B. beim Apis, gehören in die spätere ptol. und röm. Zt." E.A.E. Reymond has described still unedited papyri in Vienna which may record omina based on the movement of animals; see "Demotic Literary Works of Graeco-Roman Date in the Rainer Collection of Papyri in Vienna", in *Festschrift zum 100-jährigen Bestehen der Papyrussammlung der österreichsichen Nationalbibliothek; Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer* (*P. Rainer Cent.*) (Vienna 1983), 54–56. See the discussion of oracles and omen texts in John Ray, "Ancient Egypt", in M. Loewe and C. Blacker (eds.), *Divination and Oracles* (London 1981), 74–90; F. Guillaumont, "Ciceron et la divination égyptienne", in *Hommages à François Daumas* (Montpellier 1986), 381–387; J. Leclant, 'Éléments pour une étude de la divination dans l'Égypte pharaonique", in *La Divination* (Paris 1968), vol. 1, 1–23, and esp. 14–15.

[9] See Bonnet, *RÄRG*, 720.

4) *ḥwy ḫr-tɜ-ḥɜ.t-n-ỉm=f ỉw=f thm*
5) *m-sɜ tỉ.t ỉn.ṯ=f ty mḥṯ=f m šᶜ*
6) *m-sɜ=f gm=f wᶜ.t ḥm ⌜rhn⌝*
7) *šᶜ ỉw=s ḫyb ỉw=f ỉw*
8) *r pɜ gs n-ỉm=s ỉr=f n=f ᶜ.wy ỉrm=s*
9) *ỉw=f ỉw r ṯ=s r-ḫry ỉrm=f*
10) *wkp pɜ mɜᶜ r-wn-nɜ.w ḥr=f*
11) *[ỉr]=f ᶜ.wy (n) tỉ.t ḥr=f ⌜r-r=f/s⌝* (?)
12) *pt=f ḥwy=f st pɜ mḥrr nt pɜ*
13) *sšt pɜ Rᶜ pɜ r-ỉr pɜ wɜḥ tɜ …*
14) *ỉs.t tɜ ntr.t ᶜɜ.t tỉ.t ḫpr sḥn*
15) *nɜ-nfr (n) tɜ ḫ.t rmt.w nt pɜ mḥr*
16) *Kmy* ERASURE
17) *… ⌜ɜtnṯ⌝ pɜ sḫpy ⌜ḫn⌝*

Verso

1) *nɜ sɜt nt pɜ ḫn tɜ wɜṯ* (?)
2) *ỉw=w ɜtnṯ nɜy=w pr.w pɜ ḫn*
3) *pɜy=f wnm bn-ỉw ỉw=w* ERASURE *ᶜw nɜ*
4) *ᶜq mḫrr pɜ sšt pɜ Rᶜ*
5) *ỉ-ỉr ḥwy tɜy=f ḫr.t r bn-pw=f*
6) *ᶜḥᶜ r-r=s ỉw=w bš nɜ ᶜ.wy.w*
7) *bn-ỉw=w ᶜḥᶜ r-r=w r-ḏbɜ pɜy=f*
8) *ᶜ.wy ỉ-ỉr=f n pa-st ḥ(ᶜ)=f*
9) *r-ḫrw* (?) *pɜ nḥm ỉ-ỉr ḫpr*
10) *n-tr.t* (?) *Ḥr-wr Ḥr-nḫt-ỉ[ṯ=f]*
11) *šᶜ-ṯ=f hb* (?) *ḫn Kmy*
12) *… tɜ s.t Bks* (?)
13) *sḥ Pɜ-šr-ỉs.t*

Translation

Recto

1) Year 21, second month of summer. At the dictation of *Wsỉr-Ḥp*, the great god:
2) He finds the omen (of) the scarab-beetle
3) by means of a man's dung-ball, it being dry (?),
4) (and being) cast down before it (the scarab). It (the scarab) is urged on
5) after the causing of the bringing of it (the scarab) here. He took hold of a container
6) after him. He found a small ⌜support⌝ (of a)
7) container, which was as a shade. He went
8) to the side of it. He made for himself a house by means of it.
9) He went to take it (the container) down with him.
10) The place which was over him collapsed,

11) [He] came (to) give his attention ⌜to it⌝.
12) He ran away. He cast it (the dung) down. The scarab-beetle, which is
13) the secret image of *Pre*, is the one who made the interpretation/placing (?) ...
14) Isis, the great goddess, creates the good
15) matter (in) the body of men, which is the dung (of)
16) Egypt ERASURE
17) [...] will hold back the offspring/product.

Verso

1) As for the dung-balls which are (in) the interior of the fire (?),
2) they will hold back their comings-forth.
3) As for his eating, they will not become great, namely, the
4) food of the scarab, the secret form of *Pre*,
5) which cast down its food, without its having
6) waited for it. They will (also) abandon the houses,
7) they will not wait for them (food rations?) on account of his
8) house which he had made, namely, the one-of-dung himself
9) because of (?) the rescue (?) which happened
10) through Haroeris and Harendo[tes] (written *Ḥr-nḫt-i*[*ṯ=f*])
11) until he sends in Egypt
12) ... the place of Bakkhios.
13) There has written *Pꜣ-šr-ỉs.t*

Commentary

Recto

Line 1: Also possible is "29", although the tail of "9" should descend beneath the baseline.

The reading *šmw sw* 10 does not seem probable.

r-ḫrw as the beginning of a text is rather strange. The most obvious interpretation is "at the dictation of", W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (Copenhagen 1953), 366. The document is therefore apparently presented as though written by the scribe *Pꜣ-šr-ỉs.t* (verso, line 13) at the dictation of the god. For *r-ḫrw*, see S. Vleeming, *Ostraka Varia*, PLB 26 (Leiden 1994), 143–144.

This may be the late equivalent of old *ḫr-tw* "one says", the usual term for "Oracle", *Wb.* III, 318, 5–8; *Wb.* offers *ḫry* as a variant of *ḫr-tw*. *ḫr-tw* is not attested in Demotic; for *ḫr-tw*, see I.E.S. Edwards, *Oracular Amuletic Decrees of the Late New Kingdom*, HPBM 4 (London 1960), vol. 1, xvii and 4.

Line 2: The second tense seems to emphasize the prepositional phrase "in a dung-ball". Does the *f* refer back to Serapis?

For *šm* "omen", see R. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, SAOC 54 (Chicago 1993), 36–37.

For a discussion of the term for scarab, *mḫrr* (*Glossar*, 177), see F. de Cenival in S. Vleeming (ed.), *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography*, Studia Demotica 1 (Louvain 1987), 6.

Line 3: *sṯy* "dung", is not in *Glossar*, but see H. J. Thissen, *Der verkommene Harfenspieler*, Demotische Studien 11 (Sommerhausen 1992), 59. It seems to have the pustule determinative and the tail sign, for which see Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* 3, no. 171.

šww is not a certain reading. I have taken it to be a stative form, *šww*, "dry", *Glossar*, 495, comparing also ⲫⲟⲟⲩⲉ, "trocken", Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, 335. The evil determinative does not occur elsewhere in this text. Also possible is an identification with ⲫⲟⲩⲟ "pour out, discharge", *KoptHwb*, 333; *Glossar*, 495, translating then "human dung which has been discharged". In view of the use of the initial *w*, one may alternatively divide this group into two words. *š* is, for example, an attested writing of *šw* "to be worthy of", *Glossar*, 493. Candidates would be: *wy* "woe, suffering, complaint", *Glossar*, 78; *wʿy* "curse"; *Glossar*, 82. However, I consider these readings inferior to *šww* "dry". It is not certain whether *iw=f* refers back to *sṯy* or *rmt*.

Line 4: *ḥwy* is also a stative form, dependent on *iw=f*. This succession of statives is admittedly unusual, but other transcriptions such as *ḥwy=f s ḥ.t n-im=f* seem little better.

The writing of *ḫr* concludes with an exceptionally long stroke. For the compound *ḫr-tȝ-ḥ.ȝ.t-n-im=f*, see W. Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik* (Heidelberg 1925), § 338. *thm* (*Glossar*, 650, "laden, einladen") is Coptic ⲧⲱϩⲙ, "summon, invite", and "chase, urge, pursue", *CD*, 458b–459a.

Line 5: For the infinitive after *m-sȝ*, see Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, 105. For comments on idiomatic usages of *m-sȝ*, see R. Williams, "Demotic Gleanings", *Serapis* 6 (1980), 218–219.

in is probable, although it is rather more curved than usual and has the point beneath it. *in.ṯ=f* would be the pronominal form of the infinitive, dependent on *tỉ.t*, see Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, 118, and for the combination of *tỉ.t in*, see *KoptHwb*, 237; *Glossar*, 33.

The *m* of *mḥṯ* (*Glossar*, 172–73) overlaps the *mḥ* sign. For *šʿ.t*, "Behälter", *Glossar*, 489, see P. Pestman, *Greek and Demotic Texts from the Zenon Archives*, PLB 20 (Leiden 1980), 75.

Line 6: *ḥm.t* is apparently *ḥm* "small". On the placement of the adjective before the noun, see Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, 42 (e.g., *pȝ šm n pn* "the little mouse"). However, it is not impossible that *ḥm.t* is old *iḫm.t* "Ufer (vom Fluss und vom Tale)", *Wb.* 1, 125, 17; *KoptHwb*, 558 (ⲫⲱ(ⲱ)ⲙⲉ) "Abhang". That word is not attested in Demotic. I do not think that this is *ḫm.t*, "female young one". Inasmuch as the subject of the verb *gm=f* is still the scarab, the implication would be that this would be a "female young scarab". However, as already mentioned, the Egyptians did not believe in the existence of female scarabs; on this point, see also R. Giveon, "Skarabäus", *LÄ* V, 968.

The reading of *rhn.t* "Halt, Stütze", *Glossar*, 252, is not certain, but *rnn.t*, "virgin",

or *r-ḥn*, "beside", seem even less likely. The word contains the house determinative, but I cannot decipher the damaged sign after this (*wʿ.t*?).

Line 7: *ḫyb.t*, concluding with the *ṯ3w* group, is "Shadow, Schutzdach", *Glossar*, 377. *iw* "to come", occurs again in recto, line 9. The writing is similar to the examples of *Glossar*, 20–21.

Line 8: I suggest *gs* "side", *Glossar*, 591, particularly since *gn* does not yield satisfactory sense. The determinative is identical with that of *ḥr* "above", in recto, line 10.

I take *irm=s* to be a writing of *n-im=s*. The possible confusion between *irm* and *n/m* is implied by such Coptic forms of ⲙⲛ- (< *irm*) such as ⲛⲙⲁ=, *KoptHwb*, 93, and pronominal suffix forms of old *m*, as ⲛⲙⲟ=, *KoptHwb*, 92. Compare also U. Kaplony-Heckel, *Die demotischen Tempeleide*, ÄgAbh 6 (Wiesbaden 1963), vol. 1, 41, where *irm-n-im=k* is written for simple *irm=k*.

Line 9: The scribe does not write the *ṯ* of the pronominal state of the third weak verbs, but only *ṯ=s*. This is a feature of Bohairic Coptic sometimes attested in Demotic; see G. Hughes, "The Cruel Father", in G. Kadish (ed.), *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson*, SAOC 35 (Chicago 1969), 49.

Line 10: *wkp* is identical with *wgp* "to be destroyed", *Glossar*, 102. This is rare in Demotic, but occurs, also of a fallen house, in P. Rylands 45 A:9 *p3y ky ʿ.wy nt wgp r-ḫ.t=f* "this other house which is collapsed against it", F. Ll. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library* (Manchester/London 1909), vol. 3, 302.

r-wn-n3.w is the imperfect relative construction.

ḥr=f is written instead of the expected suffix form, *ḥr-3ṯ=f*.

Line 11: *ir* seems to be the most probable restoration, comparing recto, line 2.

I suggest *r-r=f/s* or *r-ḥr=f/s* at the end of this line.

Line 12: The scribe omits the walking-legs determinative for *pt* here and *bš* in verso, line 6.

I take *st* to refer to the ball of dung. After *ḥwy=f st*, there is a transition from the past narrative to the interpretation of the scarab's movements and actions.

Line 13: The same description of the scarab occurs in Mythus 5:27, "the scarab which is the secret form of Re", W. Spiegelberg, *Der ägyptische Mythus vom Sonnenauge* (Strasburg 1917), 20–21. This conception is reflected in Greek texts characterizing sacred animals, such as the oxyrhynchus fish, for example, as "images", εἴδωλα; see A.S. Hunt and C.C. Edgar, *Select Papyri* (Cambridge, Mass./London 1963), vol. 2, 374–375, no. 329.

P3 r-ir, which I understand as a past participle, seems probable, but not certain. *ir w3ḥ* in itself is an idiom for "answer", *Glossar*, 77; F. Hoffmann, "Einige Bemerkungen zur

Zweiten Setnegeschichte", *Enchoria* 19/20 (1992–1993), 12, while *wꜣḥ* may also have the meaning "interpretation"; see J. Ray, *The Archive of Ḥor*, Texts from Excavations 2 (London 1976), 45. The group at the end of the line is a problem. *tꜣ* seems an unavoidable reading here, but the writing differs from all others of the feminine definite article in this particular text. Such possibilities as *tꜣy, kꜣ/kṯ* or *sṯ*, have little more to recommend them, particularly as I cannot make out the determinative. It therefore remains unclear whether the word is the object of the preceding *wꜣḥ* or begins the next clause describing Isis.

Line 14: I take this to be a statement about the maternal or positive nature of Isis; see, for example, Ray, *Ḥor*, 156–57. There is presumably a symbolic connection between the previous narrative and the goddess Isis, but I have been unable to discover it.

I understand *sḫn* to be "matter, commission, order", *Glossar*, 446. The horizontal stroke above *sḫn* may be part of this, but it could also belong rather to the undeciphered word immediately above it. It is just possible to read *tỉ.t mt nb* "gives every thing" instead of *ḫpr sḫn*.

Line 15: For *sḫn-nfr*, see *Glossar*, 446. For the adjective verb *nꜣ-nfr*, in a modifying position, see *Glossar*, 217. Less probable is *ms.t*, "birth", *Wb.* II, 140, 16–141, 13. The determinative is, I think, the book-roll (compare: *ꜥq* "food", verso, line 4 and *ḫr.t* "sustenance", verso, line 5), but it may, of course, also be the silver sign or the animal skin, as in *tp-n-ỉꜣw.t*, *Glossar*, 17. I translate *ḥ.t* as "body", but the phrase is ambiguous. *ḥ.t* may also mean "womb", *Wb.* III, 356, 8, rendering then *ḥ.t rmt.w* as "the womb of people". One might equally take *ḥ.t-rmt.w* as a compound, "people", *Glossar*, 374. The passage recalls Mythus 5:22, "One has called you the child of dung. He means by it man", Spiegelberg, *Mythus*, 20–21. Is the human womb being identified with the dung-ball of the scarab beetle, in accordance with the previously mentioned Egyptian belief that the exclusively male beetles placed their seed therein, and the young came forth from it? Another illuminating statement concerning this subject is by Porphyry, who declares:

> A beetle might be detested by an ignorant person who has no knowledge of things divine, but the Egyptians reverenced it as the *living image* (my italics) of the sun. For every beetle is male, and it deposits its sperma in mud, and having made it into a ball it lifts it up with its hind feet, as the sun in heaven and waits a lunar period of 28 days.[10]

The author may be extolling the positive efforts of Isis to promote human birth, an act which the scarab achieves through its own efforts.

Mḫr seems to be Coptic ⲙⲉϩⲣⲟ, "dung", *KoptHwb*, 112. Compare also *ḫyr* "dung", for which, see E. Cruz-Uribe, "A Saite Request for Payment", *JEA* 71 (1985), 132.

Line 16: *Kmy* is a secure reading; compare verso, line 11. "Egypt", is the most reasonable translation, although *kmy* is also the name of the Serapeum itself; see *Wb.*

[10] P. W. van der Horst, *Chaeremon*, EPRO 101 (Leiden 1984), 37.

V, 125, 10; N. Reich, "New Documents from the Serapeum of Memphis", *Mizraim* 1 (1933), 28. The association of *Kmy* and *mḥr* "manure" is possibly due to a pun on *kꜣm* "garden", *Glossar*, 557. The wordplay between "garden" and "Egypt" appears in the Demotic Chronicle; see J. Johnson and R. Ritner, "Multiple Meaning and Ambiguity in the 'Demotic Chronicle' ", in S.I. Groll (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* (Jerusalem 1990), vol. 1, 496.

The end of the line seems to have been erased.

Line 17: *ꜣtnṯ* occurs again in verso, line 2. I identify it with *ỉntnt* "to hinder, hold back, restrain", *Wb.* I, 102, 9–11. The word is not in *Glossar*, but compare *ꜣnṯ*, "to restrain", in H. Thissen, *Die Lehre des Anchscheschonqi* (*P. BM 10508*), Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 32 (Bonn 1984), 48. It seems that (*r*)-*ḫn* is the adverbial complement to the verb, found also in verso, line 2.

I do not believe that much more than *pꜣ* is lost at the beginning of this line, if that. The subject of *ꜣtnṯ* is missing or is perhaps the following word.

Sḫpy is probably *sḫpr*, "create, to raise up, nurture", *Wb.* III, 240, 11–242, 17; *Glossar*, 454, or a noun derivative therefrom, "offspring". On this word, see Edwards, *Oracular Amuletic Decrees*, 9. I do think *sḫpy* the most plausible reading, but the scribe otherwise writes *p* differently; compare *wkp* (line 10, recto). It is possible that *ꜣtnṯ pꜣ sḫpy pꜣ ḫn* is a parallel to verso, line 2 *ỉw=w ꜣtnṯ nꜣy=w pr.w pꜣ ḫn*.

Verso

Line 1: *sꜣt* has the same determinative as *sṯy*, "dung", in recto, line 3, and I take it to be a variant writing of that word, spelled much like *st* "tail", *Wb.* IV, 363, 4–364, 2; *Glossar*, 475.

The last word is a problem. I have translated as *wꜣṯ.t* "fire", *Glossar*, 105; *Kopt Hwb*, 278, but also possible are *wbd.t* "burning", *Wb.* I, 297: 7–8, or *wḥe.t* "cauldron", *Wb.* I, 347, 12–17. Is this an allusion to animal manure used as a fuel, for which see H. Wilson, *Egyptian Food and Drink* (Aylesbury 1988), 53?

nꜣ sꜣt appears to begin a new sentence, being in anticipatory emphasis to the third future construction in verso, line 2.

Line 2: For *ꜣtnṯ*, see the note on recto, line 17. I translate *pr.w* as "goings-forth". However, *nꜣy=w pr.w* may be rather a variant of *nꜣy nꜣ pr.w* "the ones of the household", (cf. *nꜣy.w nꜣ ꜥ.wy*, *Glossar*, 203). Instead of *nꜣy=w pr.w*, one might also interpret the long vertical stroke as an abbreviated writing of *ꜥ.wy*, comparing *Glossar*, 53, in which case I would read *nꜣy ꜥ.wy.w*.

I believe this is the future prediction based on the actions of the scarab.

Line 3: I propose *pꜣy=f*, referring to the scarab, in preference to *r*, although neither writing is attested in the text.

Wnm "to eat", *Glossar*, 91, is somewhat more likely than *šp* "to receive, conceive", *Glossar*, 501.

The spelling of the negative third future *bn-ỉw-ỉw=w* differs from that in verso, line 7, *bn-ỉw=w*. Nevertheless, I think this preferable to *bn pꜣy=w*. The final *w* is composed

of two distinct strokes; compare *r-r=w* in verso, line 7. The negative is followed by an erased word, which seems to incorporate the *šr*-sign.

I equate *ꜥw* with *ꜥɜ* "become great", *Glossar*, 5. *ꜥɜw* is the writing of the infinitive, J. Johnson, *The Demotic Verbal System*, SAOC 38 (Chicago 1976), 15. The last sign seems to be *nɜ*, not *s*. However, one must then supply *n*, "namely", before *nɜ*.

This line continues the prediction, in which the author possibly equates the production of dung with prosperity and abundance of food.

Line 4: The same epithet occurs in recto, line 13.

Line 5: *i-ir ḥwy* is a past participle with the scarab as the subject. This refers then to the casting away of the dung by the scarab.

Line 6: *ꜥḥꜥ r* "to wait for", Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 47; Crum, *CD*, 536–538. The idiom presumably occurs in Demotic, but is not attested in *Glossar*. The *s* refers back to *ḥr.t*.

The scribe omits a determinative (either the walking-legs or the man-with-hand-to-mouth) for *bš* "to leave, abandon", *Glossar*, 123.

It is impossible to determine whether the third person plural of *iw=w bš* refers to specific persons or is the periphrastic passive.

Line 7: The plural marker *w* of *r-r=w* is oddly composed of two unconnected strokes; compare *bn-iw=w* in verso, line 3. Once more, it is not clear to me to whom the plural suffix of *r-r=w* refers. The scribe does not specify the subject, but seems deliberately vague; is he speaking of the people of Egypt in general?

Line 8: This is a problematic line. I think that the relative *i-ir=f*, the suffix *f* being written in an abbreviated fashion, is the best solution for the signs after *ꜥ.wy*. This would be followed by *n*, "namely".

The scribe apparently mentions the collapsed house of the poor scarab. The reading *st* (compare *st* in recto, line 3) seems unavoidable for the two signs; compare the *t* in *sɜt* of verso, line 1.

Despite the differences from previous spellings, I think that this is once again *st* "dung". *Pa st*, "the one of dung", is a fitting term for the scarab; compare Crum, *CD*, 359. Crum discusses another possible epithet of the scarab as "dung-eater", in "An Egyptian Text in Greek Characters", *JEA* 28 (1942), 30; see further *KoptHwb*, 112.

ḥ=f is the intensifier "himself", *Glossar*, 292.

Line 9: *r-ḫrw* recalls the *r-ḫrw Wsir-Ḥp* at the beginning of the document in recto, line 1. Other readings, such as *r wḏɜ*, seem much less likely.

Nhm "to rescue", *Glossar*, 223, has the walking-legs determinative. The scribe has apparently committed an error here, having first written *thm*. Also possible is a somewhat unsuccessful *š*, beneath the *n*. One expects in fact a name or similar after *r-ḫrw*, and yet it seems to be a past participial phrase *pɜ nhm* (?) *i-ir ḫpr*. Could this be a rendering of Σωτήρ "Savior", an epithet of Serapis? – see G. Hölbl, "Sarapis", *LÄ* V, 873 n. 22. The translation of *r-ḫrw* in this context is therefore very insecure.

Line 10: This line is equally problematic, particularly because the connection with the previous statement is unclear. The only groups about which I feel relatively confidant are:

Ḥr-wr, see *Demot. Namenb.*, 796. The lower half of *wr* is lost. This is possibly the god Haroeris, a deity closely associated with war and fighting; see Bonnet, *RÄRG*, 271. The sense may be that the author gives thanks to the god for preserving the life of a soldier or one embroiled in the endemic warfare of the period.

Ḥr-nḫt-ỉṯ=f, as a writing of *Ḥr-nḏ-ỉt=f*, see *Demot. Namenb.*, 827. The reading is not certain, for the *ỉṯ* is much destroyed. As is the case with *Ḥr-wr*, this may also refer to the god, and not be a personal name.

The question remains as to what precedes these two, possibly divine names. *tr.t* is a reasonable solution, in which case one may take this as a continuation of the preceding: "the rescue which happened through Haroeris and Harendotes". *ḫrw* seems rather less attractive, though I had first thought of *ḫrw Ḥr-wr*, on the basis of *ḥ(r)yr n Ḥr-wr*, "ragings of Haroeris", in H. S. Smith and W. J. Tait, *Saqqâra Demotic Papyri*, Texts from Excavations 7 (London 1983), 24. Unfortunately, the damage renders other readings equally possible, such as *tỉ=w* or *n-ỉm=w*.

Line 11: *šᶜ-tw=f* seems secure, and I think that *hb* "send", is most likely after this. The verbal form must continue a future statement in the previous lines. The last clear future form is the negative in verso, line 7, but too much is uncertain in the lines following this to be sure of the sense. *ḫn* seems very probable, although the supralinear stroke above the determinative is missing; compare verso, line 1. For the writing of *Kmy*, see recto, line 16.

Line 12: The obvious reading *ḥ.t-sp 2.t*, "regnal year 2", is impossible to relate to the regnal year 21 at the beginning of the document. It is certainly too daring to connect this with the fact that Ptolemy VI had returned to Egypt in 163, two years before the writing of the document. Nevertheless, other possibilities for the first group, such as *ḫnᶜ*, seem little better, while what follows may be no number at all, but rather *nb*.

tɜ is also uncertain. One might read *ḫr*, but this would be written quite differently from the undoubted example in recto, line 4.

s.t has the house-determinative and the feminine *.t*.

Bks seems to be a variant of *Bgs* "Bakkhios", *Demot. Namenb.*, 148. This is just possibly a placename, Bacchias, the town on the northeastern border of the Fayum (Kom el-Asl); see J. Baines and J. Malek, *Atlas of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford 1980), 121. The last sign is either the foreign person or land determinative. Bacchias was founded in the third century BC, and had as its focus a small temple of Sobek. It continued to be important until the fourth century AD; see G. Poethke, "Bakchias", *LÄ* I, 605–606.

Fig. 1 P. BM 10238 recto.

Fig. 2 P. BM 10238 verso.

BRITISH MUSEUM
Centimetres
Inches
SALT 700
B.37
10288

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Centimetres 1
BRITISH MUSEUM 2 3 Inches 4

The Ptah-Shu-Tefnut Triad and the Gods of the Winds on a Ptolemaic Sarcophagus

László Kákosy

In a previous article[1] I have examined the religious role played by a Memphite triad consisting of Ptah, Shu and Tefnut. In terms of a typological classification the three gods form a triad of *tritheistic* structure.[2] Numerous examples show the triad depicted in a remarkable form, viz. Ptah as a human figure and Shu and Tefnut as two *ba* birds. The evidence ranges from the New Kingdom to the Persian Period demonstrating that the association of Shu and Tefnut with Ptah was more than occasional and became in the course of time an established mythological and iconographical component of Egyptian religion and of religious art as well. Shu and Tefnut were conceived as *ba*s as early as in the Coffin Texts[3] and this notion appears again in the Book of the Dead (chapter 17).[4]

This way of representation was, however, not the only one in the case of this triad. Shu and Tefnut appear in pure human form on the limestone sarcophagus of Ankhet (*ꜥnḫ.t*).[5] This sarcophagus was undoubtedly produced in the Ptolemaic Period and may perhaps be dated on the basis of Buhl's classification system to the second half of the second century BC[6] (Fig. 1). It would be beyond the scope of this article to study the sarcophagus as a whole, here we are merely concerned with the reliefs carved on the chest and the abdominal parts below (Fig. 2).

The religious representations start with the human-headed *ba* bird with two *šn*-rings in its talons. The rings are crossed by an emblem consisting of a combination of the *ꜥnḫ*-sign and the sail on the mast (Fig. 3).

After four horizontal lines of inscription there follows the second register with a *ḏd*-pillar in its center. The pillar is flanked on each side by two wind gods[7] (Fig. 4).

On the right of the *ḏd*-pillar the first being, a ram-headed bird with four outstretched wings, symbolizes the west wind, and the last one, a ram with a pair of wings, the south wind. The winged, ram-headed scarab on the left of the pillar stands for the wind of the east;[8] this composite creature is followed by a ram with four heads and two wings (the north wind).

---

[1] "A Memphite Triad", *JEA* 66 (1980), 48–53.

[2] On triads see H. te Velde, "Some Remarks on the Structure of Egyptian Divine Triads", *JEA* 57 (1971), 80–86; J. Gwyn Griffiths, "Triune Conceptions of Deity in Ancient Egypt", *ZÄS* 100 (1973), 28–32.

[3] *CT* II 286*c*.

[4] *Urk.* V, 49, Abschnitt 21.

[5] Cairo JE 4739, M.-L. Buhl, *The Late Egyptian Stone Sarcophagi* (Copenhagen 1959), 124–126, fig. 74 (H, 1) with the list of previous literature. I wish to express my best thanks for the photos to Dr Mohammed Saleh, General Director of the Egyptian Museum.

[6] Ibid., 202, 215. Some members of the family tree of Ankhet are given on p. 168. Her father *Wnn-nfr* had the titles *ṯzty ḥɜty-ꜥ Ḏdw* (ibid., 177, pl. 9) showing that she came from a noble family.

[7] See, e.g., C. de Wit, "Les Génies des Quatre Vents au temple d'Opet", *CdE* XXXII no. 63 (1957), 25–39; O. Neugebauer/R.A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* III (London 1969), 256-258; D. Kurth, "Wind", *LÄ* VI, 1266–1272.

[8] On the identification of the four winds see C. de Wit, op. cit., 27–29; Brugsch, *Thes.*, 847.

The next register is of a distinctly funerary character, the center being occupied by the lion-headed bier with the mummy. Remarkably enough, the mummy bears on her forehead a uraeus serpent. The bier supports a *ḏd*-pillar and the Abydos emblem. The snake with the heads of the four sons of Horus bears the name Life (*ʿnḫ*). This snake with heads emerging from his coils is taken from the Amduat. In the sixth hour[9] (lower register) of the Amduat the figure of a similar snake lies between seated gods. He has a protective function as he devours the shades of the enemies of Re. The motif on the sarcophagus is well in keeping with the central idea of the pictures, i.e. to provide the deceased with the breath of life, because the text of the Amduat mentions that the heads on the coils *breathe* when they hear the voice of the great (Sun) god.[10] It is remarkable, furthermore, that, although the Amduat is not common on Ptolemaic anthropoid sarcophagi, a scene from it was chosen on a piece which shows the deceased with the royal uraeus.

A *ba* with human head and outstretched wings hovers over the mummy and holds the *šn*-ring and an *ʿnḫ*-sign with a long stem. The funerary bed is flanked on each side by two divinities: Isis and Horus on the right and Nephthys and Anubis on the left (Fig. 5).

In the fourth register the center is occupied by a mummiform god standing on a lotus flower. The pair of long arms coming forth from the lotus may stand for the *kꜣ*-sign. The scene may represent the sunrise.[11] There is a picture in the Book of the Earth[12] which may be compared with our scene; two remarkable differences must, however, be noted. In the Book of the Earth we find a standing woman instead of the mummy, and she is placed not on a lotus but on the head of Geb. The triad behind the god on the sarcophagus consists of Re, Geb and Nut. Re is depicted as a falcon-headed man; Geb wears a combination of the Red Crown and the Atef diadem. Nut has the hieroglyphic sign of her name on her head. Another triad is standing in front of the mummy. The first god, Ptah, is followed by another standing god whose name is written, rather clumsily, with the sign of a seated deity with an ostrich feather on his head. There is little doubt that the sign must be read *šw*. The third figure is Tefnut represented as a lion-headed goddess. As is clear from the whole composition, the Memphite triad is paralleled here with a Heliopolitan group of gods indicating the close relationship between the doctrines of the two religious centers (Fig. 5).

Each member of the two triads holds a mast with a sail, stressing again the importance of giving fresh air to the deceased. An overview of the registers treated above leads to the same conclusion: one can regard the wish to secure the capacity of breathing as the *leitmotiv* of the decoration. The idea is absolutely clear in the upper register, where the *ba* holds the sail, and it again dominates reg. II with the four wind gods, as well as reg. IV with the two triads holding sails. In reg. III it is the uniting of the *ba* with the mummy that appears to be the central idea, but the *ʿnḫ* held by the *ba* points to the possibility that the desire for air was involved in this scene too, as

[9] E. Hornung, *Das Amduat. Die Schrift des Verborgenen Raumes*, ÄgAbh 7 (Wiesbaden 1963), I, 113–114 (472), Pl. sechste Stunde; II, 121.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Cf. L. Kákosy, "Eine Frauenmaske im Medelhavsmuseet", *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 15 (1980), 16–24.
[12] E. Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltsbücher* (Zürich/Munich 1972), 437 fig. 87.

the *ʿnḫ*-sign could perhaps stand for (*ṯꜣw n*) *ʿnḫ*, ("breath of) life".

Without aiming to deal with the lengthy inscriptions on the sarcophagus in this article, we have to note that the inscription beneath reg. I is a version of the so-called BD 191,[13] which later turned out to be a section in a great Osirian ritual (*sꜣḫw jrw m ḥw.t nṯr nt Wsjr*); it was only secondarily incorporated into the Book of the Dead.[14] The text, which was intended to bring about the unification of the *ba* with the body, has a remarkable passage (end of line 3 – beginning of line 4 on the sarcophagus of Ankhet). "Bring[15] (the body and the heart) to him (the *ba*), O gods, in the Temple of the Phoenix in Heliopolis beside Shu, the son of Atum."

The Memphite triad was a focal point in the theological message of the decorations. The presence of Shu[16] as god of light and air was indispensable in a composition centered around the idea of the life-giving breath.[17] According to a spiritualized form of the cosmogonical (or rather theogonical) myth of Heliopolis, Atum created Shu by his wish, by his magical power (*ꜣḫ*), or by exhaling him from his nostrils,[18] which implies that the very essence of Shu was the air and, as emphasized by H. te Velde,[19] he was Life. On the other hand, when he sustains Nut with his arms he actually becomes in this capacity the protector of cosmic order.

The concept that Shu can be considered as wind remained alive till the end of ancient Egyptian religion. In an inscription in Dendara "(Shu) is the lord of the north wind who permits the throats to breathe in order to keep alive all the mouths."[20]

The presence of Tefnut (Tefenet in more ancient times) fits in well with the idea of life-giving air. In a strange passage in Pap. Salt 825, Tefnut is described as a flame threatening the rebels and as the north wind for the nose of Osiris[21] as well. Her protective role is characterized in an inscription in Philae as follows:

> Tefnut, daughter of Re in Bigga, the great uraeus of Harakhti, the powerful Neseret, mistress of the demons, who burns the rebels with the blast of fire of her mouth in this place. Her Majesty turns to the Abaton and destroys Apophis with her flame.[22]

The goddess had nothing to do with moisture or atmospheric humidity, at least in Ptolemaic times. This interpretation of her original nature was solely based on the verb *tf*.[23] As is well known, in the Heliopolitan cosmogonical theology Atum was said

---

13 T.G. Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum at the University of Chicago*, OIP 82 (Chicago 1960), 287. It is called "the Late Formula" by M.-L. Buhl, op. cit., 179 and elsewhere.

14 J.-C. Goyon, "La véritable attribution des soi-disant chapitres 191 et 192 des Livres de Morts", *Studia Aegyptiaca* 1 (Budapest 1974), 117–127.

15 The running man can be read *jn*, see F. Daumas *et al.*, *Les valeurs phonétiques des signes hiéroglyphiques d'époque gréco-romaine* I (Montpellier 1988), 8 (no. 117).

16 See H. te Velde, "Schu", *LÄ* V, 735-737.

17 On the great importance of this motif cf. the Books of Breathing.

18 *CT* II, 337–338.

19 "Some Aspects of the God Shu", *JEOL* 27 (1981–1982), 22–28.

20 *Dendara* IV, 98 (3–4).

21 Salt 825, VII:10, P. Derchain, *Le Papyrus Salt 825* (Brussels 1965), 140, 172 n. 91.

22 Junker, *Philae* I, 68 (11–16).

23 U. Verhoeven, "Tefnut", *LÄ* VI, 297.

to have spat out Shu and have vomited out (*tf*) Tefenet.[24] When the sarcophagus of Ankhet was produced, Tefnut was much more the personification of fire and the fiery aether.[25]

The winds appear as a further relevant component in the religious message of the decoration of the Ankhet sarcophagus. The four winds of the cardinal points are mentioned as early as the Pyramid Texts.[26] In view of their later iconography, the four "lock wearers" who are asked to bring the ferryboat to the deceased, can perhaps be regarded as the first personifications of the winds.[27]

Their prominent role in the Coffin Texts testifies to the importance of the winds both in theology and popular beliefs. The deceased wants to become wind[28] or the four winds of the sky,[29] or gives expression to his wish to have power over the winds.[30] It would be impossible to deal with all the occurrences of the winds in CT and other funerary texts here, yet two more instances must be mentioned. CT spell 162 is the most ancient text which extensively elaborates the nature of the four winds. They appear to be symbolized as four maidens but are also called the "bulls of the sky".[31] According to another text, magical power over the four winds could be obtained by an amulet in the form of the forepart of a lion.[32]

As far as the Book of the Dead is concerned, it will suffice to mention chapters 70 and 161. The former is an abridged version of CT spell 228. What is important in our context is the fact that from the original long text the BD retained those very passages dealing with the four winds. Three of the winds are grasped by the deceased by their locks.

The illustrations to chapter 161 often occur on stone sarcophagi in the New Kingdom.[33] As a result of the power of the spell, four openings will be made for the deceased in the sky permitting the four winds to enter into his nose. In complete versions of this text the four winds are identified as gods. The north wind is Osiris, the south wind is Re, the west wind is Isis, and the east wind is Nephthys. Some theological allusions are implied in these equations (e.g. the north wind is called Osiris because it was supposed to generate the flood of the Nile[34]).

The vignette on the sarcophagi usually shows four figures of Thoth who are either

---

[24] *Pyr.* 1652*c*.

[25] On this concept cf. L. Kákosy, "The Fiery Aether in Egypt", *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 25 (1977), 137–142.

[26] *Pyr.* 554; cf. Book of the Dead ch. 70 and also probably *Pyr.* 497*b-c*.

[27] *Pyr.* 1221*a*-1222*a*; cf. the "four brethren ... who wear side-locks and sit by their staffs on the eastern side of the sky" (*Pyr.* 360*b-d*).

[28] Spell 288.

[29] Spell 297.

[30] Spell 355.

[31] *CT* II, 399.

[32] *CT* II, 46.

[33] E.g., the sarcophagus of Djehutimes found by the Hungarian Mission in TT 32 (Dyn. XIX), J.-L. Chappaz, "Quelques «fragments» provenant de la tombe du vizir Râ-Hotep à Sedment (Héracleopolis Magna)", *Geneva* 33 (1985), 5–22, esp. figs. 3, 5, 6 (Dyn. XIX); Buhl, op. cit., 203 fig. 97. As ordered in the instruction, the illustration of the text had to be carved on the coffin, see E.A.W. Budge, *The Chapters of Coming Forth by Day or the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead*, Books on Egypt and Chaldaea 28–30 (London 1910), Vol. III, 21.

[34] *Dendara* III, 54 (3ff); C. de Wit, *Opet* I, 101; III, 50; S. Sauneron, "Une page de géographie physique: le cycle agricole égyptien", *BIFAO* 60 (1960), 11–17; cf. Herodotus II, 20.

lifting up the hieroglyphic sign of the sky[35] with a pole, or they are supporting a ceiling.[36]

Winds seem to have played, along with the stars, some role, difficult to specify, in mantic arts.[37] The relevant passage is to be found on the Israel Stela.[38] "Those who watch their stars and know all their utterances (instructions) in keeping observation on the winds" declare that a great wonder has happened for Egypt.

The increasing importance of the genii or gods of the winds in the Graeco-Roman Period is best demonstrated by their appearance in the decorations of the temples,[39] such as those of Armant, Dendara, Deir el-Medina, Karnak (temple of Opet), Kom Ombo, Medinet Habu (Ptolemaic decoration in the small Eighteenth Dynasty temple), and Esna.[40] What is remarkable in their cult is the diversity in their iconography.[41] Disregarding here minor variations, and without trying to analyze the symbolism and origins of the late images of the wind gods,[42] the representations in Deir el-Medina[43] and Kom Ombo[44] should be mentioned as two important temple types. Esna followed the type of Deir el-Medina.[45] On the sarcophagus of Panehemaset (*pꜣ-nḫm-ꜣs.t*) in Vienna[46] the wind gods have human bodies combined with animal heads (ram, lion, serpent, and a combination of four ram heads[47]). All of them are depicted with four outstretched wings. The group of the wind gods was laid out on the sarcophagus of Ankhet according to the pattern in Deir el-Medina.

The cosmic symbolism of the wind deities emerges most clearly on the wooden coffin of Heter (*ḥtr*) from the first century AD.[48] Here we find the four familiar images of the winds in the four corners of the coffin. They follow the iconography of the temple in Deir el-Medina. The winds are embedded in a grandiose vision of

---

35 E.g., Chappaz, op. cit., figs. 3, 5.

36 R.O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead* (London 1985), 159.

37 H. Brunner, "Zeichendeutung aus Sternen und Winden in Ägypten", in H. Gese and H.P. Rüger (eds.), *Wort und Geschichte* [Fs K. Elliger], AOAT 18 (Neukirchen-Vluyn 1973), 25–30.

38 *KRI* IV, 16 (ll. 13–14 of the stela). In the inscription of the astrologer *ḥr-(m)-ꜣḫ-bj.t* it is uncertain whether the text speaks of conjunctions or winds. Cf. recently P. Derchain, "Harkhébis, le Psylle-Astrologue", *CdE* LXIV nos. 127–128 (1989), 79.

39 A. Gutbub, "Die vier Winde im Tempel von Kom Ombo", in O. Keel, *Jahwe-Visionen und Siegelkunst*, Stuttgarter Bibelstudien 84-85 (Stuttgart 1977), 328–353.

40 C. de Wit, article quoted in n. 7; D. Kurth, *LÄ* VI 1268.

41 C. de Wit, ibid., 27–28

42 A "pantheistic" idol in the Biblical apocryphal tradition was invested with wind symbolism similar to that common in Egypt: "And he (King Manasseh of Judah) made an image with five faces: four of them looked to the four winds, and the fifth on the summit of the image as an adversary of the zeal of the Mighty One", R.H. Charles, *The Apocalypse of Baruch* (London 1896), 106–107 (LXIV).

43 Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 847.

44 De Morgan, *Cat. des Mon.* vol. 2 (*Kom Ombos* I), 169; vol.3 (*Kom Ombos* II) 291; A. Gutbub, "Eléments ptolémaïques préfigurant le relief cultuel de Kom Ombo", in F. Maehler and V.M. Strocka (eds.), *Das ptolemäische Ägypten* (Mainz 1978), 165–176, esp. fig. 144.

45 Cf. the picture of the south wind (ram with four wings), Sauneron, *Esna* II no. 105.

46 E. von Bergman, "Der Sarkophag des Panchemisis", *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des österreichischen Kaiserhauses* (Vienna 1883–1884) I, 1–40; II, 1–20; Buhl, op. cit., 127–134; J. Yoyotte, "L'Amon de Naukratis", *RdE* 34 (1982–1983), 129–136; W. Seipel, *Gott, Mensch, Pharao* (Vienna 1992), 447–449. I wish to express my best thanks for the photos to Dr H. Satzinger.

47 They exhibit a noticeable similarity to the wind figures in the windows in Dendara, *Dendara* II, 25–28 figs. 1–4. Cf. *Dendara* VIII, fig. 8.

48 Neugebauer/Parker, *Astronomical Texts* III, 93 (no. 71), pl. 50.

the universe represented by Nut, the constellations of the zodiac, the images of the planets, as well as the personifications of the hours of the day and night.

The adaptation of wind-symbolism into Ptolemaic sarcophagus decoration demonstrates the tenacity of the beliefs concerning the winds as protective deities. Their appearance on the walls of the temples, on the other hand, represents a new development. It would be tempting to suggest Graeco-Roman influence on Egyptian religion at that time. The connecting link could be Zeus-Amun whose relation to wind has been deeply analyzed in the 'classical' comprehensive work of K. Sethe.[49] Though the atmospheric features of Amun are to a certain extent overemphasized by Sethe, the rich evidence adduced by him is still a thesaurus for present research and makes it unnecessary to deal with this question again here. What is remarkable with regard to a possible Greek influence is the Διὸς κώδιον, the "sheepskin of Zeus", a prophylactic or purificatory ritual aimed at making the weather be good and the winds favourable.[50] The sheepskin will, naturally, recall the ram as the sacred image of Amun. At any rate, both Amun and Zeus were regarded as lords of weather and storms[51] and this common trait in their natures was undoubtedly a decisive factor in furthering their identification.[52]

A second point of comparison is offered by the role of the winds in funerary symbolism. An inscription in Esna[53] stating that the *ba* of the gods is raised up to heaven by the south wind may be paralleled with Roman sarcophagi and funerary stelae bearing the pictures of the winds which are supposed to blow the souls upwards to the celestial regions.[54]

As in other domains of Ptolemaic and Roman funerary beliefs in Egypt,[55] (e.g., the reception of the zodiac, or the punishments in the underworld taken from the myths of Tantalus and Ocnus[56]), religious syncretism may indeed also have had some impact on the notions of winds and air. Be that as it may, Greek religious elements never substantially supplanted traditional mentality in Egyptian funerary beliefs. We may conclude, therefore, that both internal development and, to a lesser extent, foreign influences may account for the rising significance of the cult of the four wind deities.

I dedicate this article to Prof. H. te Velde, whose inspiring studies have considerably furthered research on Egyptian religion.

---

[49] Sethe, *Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis, APAW* 1929:4 (Berlin 1929), 90–108 (§§ 187–230).
[50] M.P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* I (Munich 1955[2]), 110–112, 116–117.
[51] Cf. Wenamun 2, 19.
[52] On the cult of Zeus-Amun see L. Kákosy, "Zeus in Egypt", *Alexandrian Studies in memoriam Daoud Abdou Daoud* = *BSAA* 45 (1993), 173–176.
[53] Sauneron, *Esna* II, 208 (no. 105).
[54] F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des romains* (Paris 1942), 242, fig. 2.
[55] L. Kákosy, "Probleme der Religion im römerzeitlichen Ägypten", *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* 18.5 (Berlin/New York 1995), esp. 2998–3003, 3012–3016.
[56] F. Hoffmann, "Seilflechter in der Unterwelt", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 100 (1994), 339–346.

Fig. 1 Sarcophagus of Ankhet. Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

Fig. 2 Religious scenes on the lid. Drawing by Mr. Daniel Papp.

Fig. 3 The *ba* with outstretched wings.

Fig. 4 The gods of the four winds.

Fig. 5 Registers III and IV of the decoration.

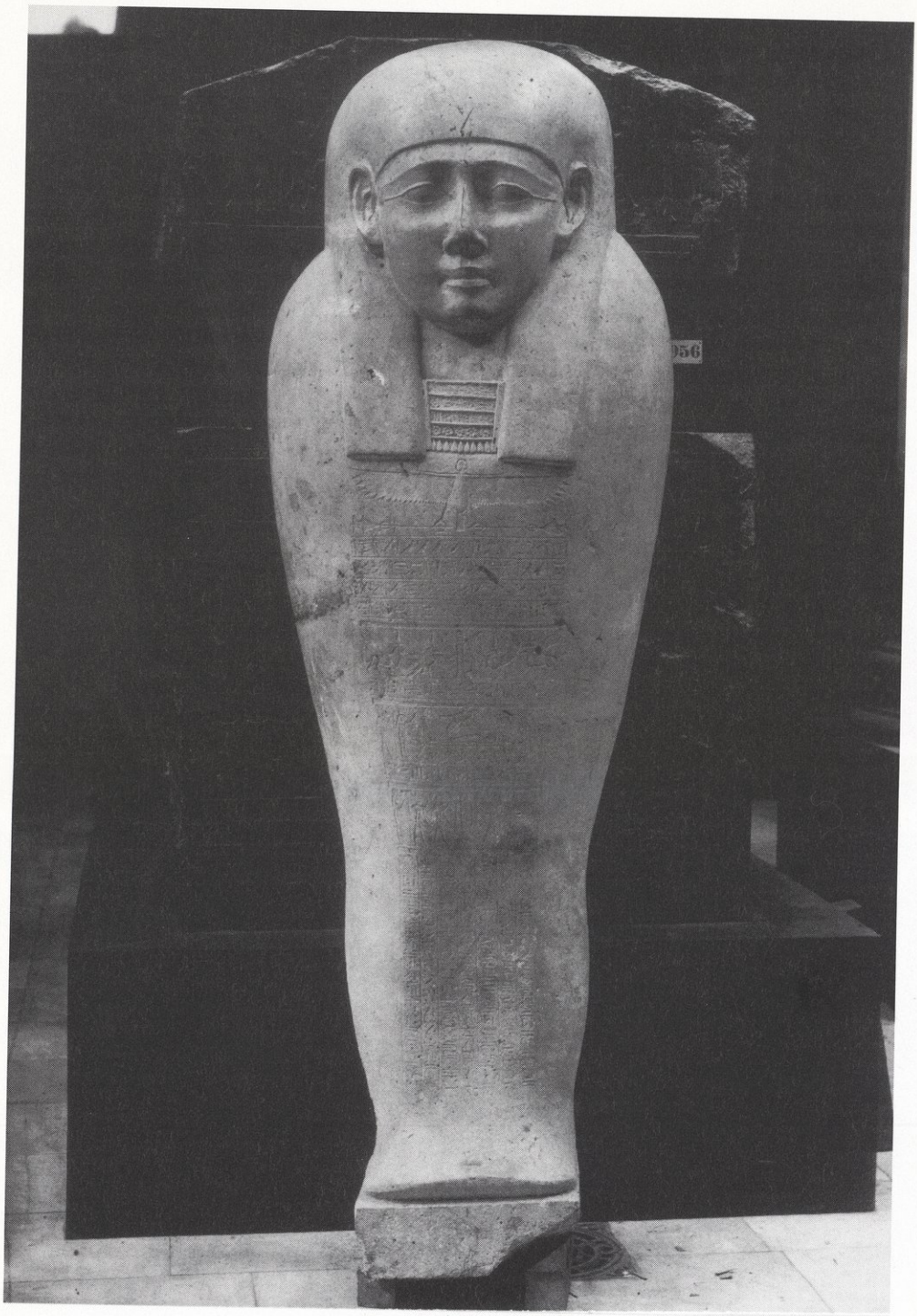


Fig. 1

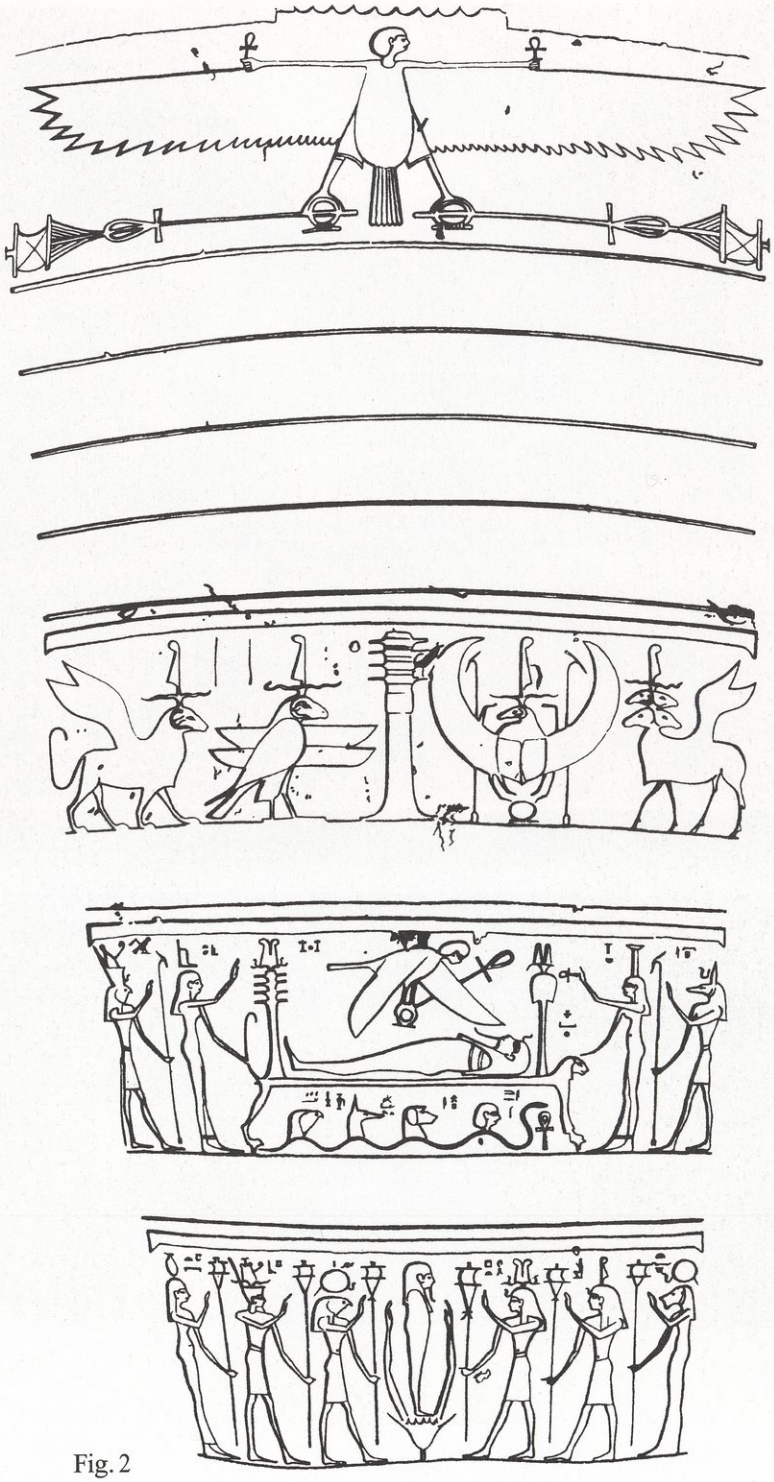


Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig. 5

The Statue of Penbast
On the Cult of Seth in the Dakhleh Oasis

Olaf E. Kaper

The temple of Deir el-Haggar lies at the western end of the Dakhleh Oasis.[1] The building has recently been cleared of the sand and debris which had covered the structure since antiquity. This work was undertaken by the Dakhleh Oasis Project and partly funded by the Egyptian Antiquities Organization from 1992 onwards, with the aim of making the temple accessible to visitors.[2] The restoration of the complex was completed in 1995.

During the clearance of the building, only a small number of objects were discovered amidst the debris. The most remarkable of these was found in the southern half of the pronaos of the temple, in the form of a small statue (Fig. 1). It lay close to the southern central column surrounded by wind-blown sand, at about 30 cm above the original floor level. The statue received the excavation number 33/390–F9–1/D/6 and the E.A.O. registration number 2201.

The statue attests the long-lasting veneration of the god Seth in the Dakhleh Oasis. I wish to pay tribute to Professor Herman te Velde on his 65th birthday by dedicating a study on the god Seth to him, because of his interest in the cult of Egyptian gods in general, but especially because the names of 'Seth' and 'Herman te Velde' have become firmly linked in the minds of all his colleagues. In 1996, I had the pleasure of showing Herman te Velde the newly uncovered Deir el-Haggar temple, and we visited the site of the temple of Seth at Mut el-Kharab together. May the following lines remind him of this visit to the land of Seth.

Physical description (Figs. 2 and 4)

The statue is made of limestone and its current height measures 28 cm, its base 14 × 22 cm. It is in a severely damaged state; the head is missing as well as the hands, arms and feet, while the remaining surface is chipped on all sides. A few traces of blue colour remain on the wig of the figure.

The statue depicts an Egyptian goddess, characterized by the traditional tight-fitting dress and the long wig which falls in three parts over the shoulders. No other iconographic details remain to determine her identity. The goddess is seated upon a traditional cubic throne set upon a base. The rear face of the statue is slightly wider than the throne so that an edge projects on either side. Above the level of the throne,

[1] On this temple: H.E. Winlock, *Ed Dakhleh Oasis, Journal of a Camel Trip Made in 1908* (New York 1936), 29–33, 65–77, pls. 17–25; A.J. Mills, "Dakhleh Oasis Project: Report of the First Season of Survey, October – December 1978", *JSSEA* 9 (1979), 178.

[2] A.J. Mills, "The Dakhleh Oasis Project: Report on the 1991–1992 Field Season", in *JSSEA* 20 (1990), 20–23, pls. 4–5.

the rear face narrows to the size of the body of the goddess and functions as a dorsal pillar supporting the figure. The broken inscription suggests that the original height of the pillar corresponded with the original height of the goddess.

The surface of the statue was found partly covered by a crust of black carbonized material caused by the practice of libations in antiquity. Elsewhere in the building, too, libations had been poured over several statues as well as upon the temple floors and doorjambs, leaving a thick mixture of dust and libational fluids. In this case, fortunately, the black deposit was not as obliterating as it was on other small objects from the site. The statue has now been cleaned by the conservator A. Zielinski for study purposes. The actual liquids employed have not yet been identified.

The inscription (Figs. 2 and 3)

On the back pillar remain two large columns of inscription, which are symmetrically arranged around a vertical central axis. A few illegible traces to the right of these show that the inscription continued here in a third short line. No text was inscribed on the corresponding surface on the left.

The left line reads: ...] *irt Rᶜ ḥnwt nṯrw nbw dj=s ᶜḥᶜw ḳɜj jɜw ᶜɜ <nfr*[3] *n> ḥm-nṯr Stḫ Pɜ-n-Bɜstt*

"... Eye of Re, Mistress of all the gods, may she give a long life-span and a high old age ... (to) the priest of Seth Penbast"

The right line reads: ...] *Stḫ ᶜɜ pḥty sɜ Nwt dj=f ᶜnḫ wḏɜw snb ḥm-nṯr tpy Stḫ Pɜ-n-Bɜstt* [...

"... Seth Great of Strength, the son of Nut, may he grant life, well-being and health (to) the High Priest of Seth Penbast..."

The reading of the name of the dedicator is problematic, but a welcome parallel is provided by the greater Dakhleh Stela.[4] On this stela, the names Nesubast and Petebast occur in which the element -bast (Bastet) has been consistently rendered with the sign , *ḥwt* instead of the expected sign , *bɜs*. In his commentary on the Dakhleh Stela, Gardiner attributed this variant spelling to "some confusion of thought".[5] Now, however, the same alternation of signs is encountered again on another monument from the oasis which confirms its deliberate nature. The signs can be identified without any doubt, and Gardiner's reading as Bastet seems to be correct. In order to explain the confusion between the two signs we may point at their possible similarity in hieratic at the time of the late Twentieth Dynasty.[6]

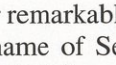
In support of the occurrence of the goddess Bastet in the local onomastics, we may refer to a later cult of Bubastis in Dakhleh, attested by a burial of twenty cat

[3] The reconstruction of this phrase is based on the inscription on a bronze in Munich; H.W. Müller, *ZÄS* 94 (1967), 127.
[4] A.H. Gardiner, "The Dakhleh Stela", *JEA* 19 (1933), 19–30.
[5] *idem*, 24.
[6] G. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* II (Leipzig 1909) nos. 245, 493.

mummies found at Balat, datable to the Persian period.[7] The name Penbast is of a type of theophoric name which seems to have been relatively popular in the Dakhleh Oasis around the time of the Third Intermediate Period. At any rate, it is remarkable that the few names now known to us from Dakhleh in this period also include the names Penseth,[8] Penmehyt,[9] and Penamun.[10]

Because the dedicator is identified as High Priest of Seth, we can be reasonably certain that the statue depicts the goddess Nephthys, the wife of Seth. Seth and Nephthys were venerated together in Dakhleh as the Lord and Mistress of the Oasis, even into the Roman period.[11] We may assume that the left column of the inscription originally started with the name of Nephthys, now broken off, parallel to the name of Seth which is still extant in the right column. The titles "Eye of Re" and "Mistress of all gods" are found ascribed to most goddesses[12] and their occurrence with reference to Nephthys causes no surprise. The first title in the inscription, however, which has not been translated above, requires further comment. This fragmentary title seems to end with the hieroglyph *mr*, which is found on the greater Dakhleh stela as a determinative with words for various kinds of wells and irrigated land.[13] No parallels for this title exist, but a toponym would fit the context perfectly.

Evidence for dating

The identical spelling of -bast in the private names links the Deir el-Haggar statue to the greater Dakhleh stela, even though the individuals involved are not the same. Another remarkable coincidence in the epigraphy of the two monuments is the spelling of the name of Seth () with an over-sized *t*, which more closely resembles *r*.[14] This link is reinforced by the fact that both Nesubast from the Dakhleh Stela and Penbast from the statue held a priesthood in the temple of Seth in the oasis which was located at Mut el-Kharab.[15] In addition, the greater Dakhleh stela mentions a

[7] L. Ginsburg, "*Felis libyca balatensis*: Les chats du mastaba II de Balat", *BIFAO* 95 (1995), 259–271.

[8] Mentioned on a statue from Dakhleh: H. Jacquet-Gordon, "A Statue from Dakhla Oasis", *MDAIK* 47 (1991), 173–178.

[9] Mentioned in a papyrus: W. Spiegelberg, "Eine Stele aus der Oase Dachel", *RT* 21 (1899), 19.

[10] Mentioned on the greater Dakhleh Stela: Gardiner, *JEA* 19 (1933), line 20.

[11] J. Osing "Seth in Dachla und Charga", *MDAIK* 41 (1985), 229–233. For a complete overview of the current evidence for the cult of Seth in Roman Dakhleh see Ch. 3 of my PhD thesis: *Temples and Gods in Roman Dakhleh: Studies in the Indigenous Cults of an Egyptian Oasis* (Groningen 1997) for which Herman te Velde acted as *promotor*.

[12] Cf. H. te Velde, "Mut, the Eye of Ra", in S. Schoske (ed.), *Akten des vierten Internationalen Ägyptologen-Kongresses*, Vol. 3 (Hamburg 1989), 395–403.

[13] The determinative is found with the words *wbn*, "flowing well" (passim), *ḫnmt*, "cistern" (passim), *bʿḥ*, "inundated land" (line 2), *ww*, "tract of land" (line 5), *ḥɜyt*, "sheet of flood-water" (lines 6 and 9) and the legal term *mw*, "well" (lines 12 and 13). An overview of the local perceptions of the water supply in Dakhleh is given in Kaper, *Temples and Gods in Roman Dakhleh*, Ch. 6. Perhaps the inscription referred to the name of a certain well in Dakhleh of which Nephthys was the patron deity.

[14] Gardiner, *JEA* 19 (1933), 29, renders this sign as and adds a *sic*.

[15] For the ruins of the stone temple, which still remain today, see the preliminary description in A.J. Mills, "The Dakhleh Oasis Project: Report on the third season of survey, September – December 1980", *JSSEA* 11 (1981), 180–181, 187–188, pl. 14. The two Dakhleh stelae were found in these ruins by the local population and sold in 1894 to H. Lyons who presented them to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. From their contents, it is clear that the stelae must both originate from a Third Intermediate Period temple

high official and priest of Seth called Wayheset, who seems to have been Nesubast's superior. The date now accepted for the greater Dakhleh stela is Year 5 of Sheshonq III, which corresponds to the year 820 BC.[16]

The artistic style of the statue is difficult to assess in terms of its dating owing to the damaged condition of the piece and the absence of its head. The inscription's paleography indicates that the date of the statue cannot be much later than the Third Intermediate Period, and is more likely to be earlier. Secure dating evidence for the statue is, however, not attainable through this approach.

A search for comparable sculptures has yielded two other votive statues in stone with which the Deir el-Haggar statue can be profitably compared. The first is a statue of a seated Renenutet found at North Karnak which resembles the Dakhleh statue in its overall proportions and appearance.[17] Its date is probably Ramesside. The second statue depicts the god Amon seated on a throne which displays the rare feature of a slight projection of its rear surface on either side of the throne, as on the Dakhleh piece.[18] The inscription upon its back is similarly divided into two lines. This statue, which was a votive gift to the main temple on Elephantine, is dated on epigraphic and archaeological grounds to the Ramesside or post-Ramesside period.

Conclusions

The statue dedicated by Penbast is likely to date from around the period of the Twenty-first Dynasty. The artistic style of the piece links it to two Ramesside votive statues of similar style, while the spelling of the name Penbast itself seems to belong to the time of the greater Dakhleh stela from the late Twenty-second Dynasty. I think the artistic criteria must weigh more heavily than the paleographic criteria in this case, and the Twenty-first Dynasty may therefore be closer to the truth than the Twenty-second. Moreover, as is pointed out above, the confusion between the signs *ḥwt* and *bꜣs* in the private names could have already occurred at the time of the latė Ramesside Period.

The Twenty-first Dynasty was a period of renewed activity in the Southern Oasis. Other monuments from this period include a stela inscribed for a governor of the oasis

---

site, of which not many have survived in the oasis. Mills rightly remarks (*JSSEA* 11 (1981), 181) that despite the dearth of archaeological evidence on the spot, this provenance for the stelae cannot be doubted. Penbast held the title of High Priest (*ḥm-nṯr tpy*) of Seth, while Nesubast was of a lower rank.

[16] According to Kitchen's dating (K.A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100–650 BC)*, Warminster 1986²). The identity of the "pharaoh Sheshonq" mentioned on the greater Dakhleh stela as Shenshonq III or IV was determined independently by D.B. Redford, "The Oases in Egyptian History to Classical Times, Part IV, *c.* 1000 BC – 630 BC", *JSSEA* 7 (1977), 7, and by H. Jacquet-Gordon, "Deux graffiti de l'époque libyenne sur le toit du temple de Khonsou à Karnak", *Hommages à Serge Sauneron I, Egypte pharaonique* (Cairo 1979), 180–182. The latter possibility has now to be discarded (A. Leahy, "Abydos in the Libyan Period", in A. Leahy (ed.), *Libya and Egypt c. 1300–750 BC*, [London 1990], 183).

[17] J. Jacquet, "Fouilles de Karnak Nord: neuvième et dixième campagnes (1975–1977)", *BIFAO* 78 (1978), 49, pl. 14. The statue measures 33.5 cm in height. This parallel was kindly brought to my attention by Helen Jacquet-Gordon.

[18] S. Seidlmayer, "Stele Osorkon II. und Votivstatuette des Amun", in W. Kayser *et al.*, "Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine: Neunter/Zehnter Grabungsbericht", *MDAIK* 38 (1982), 334–337, pl. 73. This statue measures 35 cm in height.

called Djedptahiufankh, which was found at Mut,[19] and other inscriptions from this time were found near Hibis.[20]

The statue is the earliest reference so far to the cult of Seth in the Dakhleh oasis, for which the evidence has been slowly increasing over the last decade.[21] The recent excavations at Ismant el-Kharab in Dakhleh have yielded three new depictions of Seth in the mammisi of the temple (Shrine I), which has been provisionally dated to the early second century AD. In Fig. 5, one of these paintings is reproduced in a line drawing. The painting was vandalized in antiquity, but Seth's falcon head with the double crown and the falcon's body upon the back are still recognizable. The falcon was the most common appearance of Seth in the oases, although the Seth animal did occur in the oasis in earlier times, as in the hieroglyphs on the statue of Penbast. In Fig. 5, Seth is shown spearing a scorpion as a symbol of evil, comparable to the figure of Seth spearing the serpent Apophis in the famous relief in the temple of Hibis.[22] In contrast to the oases, in the Nile Valley the cult of Seth was suppressed after the Twentieth Dynasty,[23] although there were exceptions here, too.[24]

The finding of the two Dakhleh stelae relates the cult of Seth to the temple at Mut el-Kharab, which may have been the original location of Penbast's votive gift. The temple of Deir el-Haggar, where the statue was taken at a later state, dates to the first century AD. With our current stage of knowledge, there is no evidence for the existence of an earlier temple on the site, even though a temple existed in the region in the time of the Ptolemies.[25] The statue was probably taken to Deir el-Haggar as an antique, dating back more than a millenium. The deposition of older statues in temples in the Roman period was not exceptional, as is shown by the finds in the temple at Dimeh in the Fayum, where a private statue was kept dating back to the Eighteenth Dynasty.[26] The temple of Dimeh is comparable to that of Deir el-Haggar in the sense that neither temple has a building history which goes back to the Pharaonic period.[27] It seems that the great age of certain statues was thought to increase their

---

[19] J. Osing, M. Moursi, Do. Arnold, O. Neugebauer, P.A. Parker, D. Pingree & M.A. Nur el-Din, *Denkmäler der Oase Dachla: aus dem Nachlass von Ahmed Fakhry*, AVDAIK 28 (Mainz 1982), 38–39, pls. 8, 61 (44); S. Aufrère, J.-C. Goyon & J.-C. Golvin, *l'Égypte restituée* II (Paris 1994), 79.

[20] Osing *et al.*, *Denkmäler der Oase Dachla*, 39, pl. 9 (45–46); Aufrère, Golvin, Goyon, *l'Égypte restituée* II, 79

[21] Cf. J. Osing, "Seth in Dachla und Charga", *MDAIK* 41 (1985), 229-233; Jacquet-Gordon, *MDAIK* 47 (1991), 173–178.

[22] Davies, *Hibis*, III, pls. 42–43, 77b; Te Velde, *Seth*, pl. 9.

[23] When the name of Seth started to be kept out of the official royal inscriptions; N.-C. Grimal, *Les termes de la propagande royale égyptienne de la XIXe dynastie à la conquête d'Alexandre* (Paris 1986), 90–91. Cf. in general: Te Velde, *Seth*, 133–134, 138f.

[24] E.g., M. Patanè, "Quelques remarques sur la presence de Seth dans les Textes des Pyramides à la Basse Epoque", *BSEG* 14 (1990), 69–71; F. Perpillou-Thomas, *Fêtes d'Égypte ptolémaïque et romaine d'après la documentation papyrologique grecque* (Louvain 1993) 150.

[25] Indications of a temple in the region during the Ptolemaic period are provided by the references to a so-called *ḥtp-nṯr* tax, which is unique to this region; Osing *et al.*, *Denkmäler der Oase Dachla*, 103–107; M.A. Nur el-Din, "Notes on some words in the Demotic ostraca of Qâret el-Muzawwaqqa (Dakhla Oasis)", in S.P. Vleeming (ed.), *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography*, Studia Demotica 1 (Louvain 1987), 141–142.

[26] R.-P. Charles, "Les monuments égyptiens du musée de Marseille: la statue-cube de Sobek-hotep, gouverneur du Fayoum", *RdE* 12 (1960), 7–26, pl. 2.

[27] For Dimeh, cf. A.E.R. Boak, ed., *Soknopaiou Nesos: The University of Michigan Excavations at Dimê in 1931–32*, University of Michigan Studies 39 (Ann Arbor 1935), 3–4; E. Bernand, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum* I (Leiden 1975), 121–163.

potency to act as mediators in the temple.[28] It is also possible, however, that pieces of older statuary were simply available from other temples and could conveniently be re-employed in new situations. Comparable examples are the Old Kingdom statues reused in the 26th Dynasty chapel of Harbes at Giza,[29] and the many statues of the goddess Sekhmet from Thebes which have been found reused in different temples throughout Egypt.[30]

The votive statue of Nephthys was probably taken to Deir el-Haggar from the temple in Mut, which lies approximately 30 km southeast of Deir el-Haggar as the crow flies. However, this was not necessarily the original scenario. In the western half of the oasis, the Dakhleh Oasis Project has found a temple of Osiris dating to the Late Period.[31] The goddess Nephthys was closely associated with Osiris in Dakhleh, as may be infered from various representations in Dakhleh from the Roman period which depict Osiris together with Harsiese, Isis and Nephthys.[32] In addition, another votive statue from the oasis, published by H. Jacquet-Gordon, mentions the god Seth, "the Lord of Ankhet".[33] The latter must be another location in Dakhleh where Seth, and with him Nephthys, was venerated, but unfortunately we do not know the location of this toponym.[34] In any case, we cannot exclude the possibility that Penbast deposited his votive offering to Nephthys in another temple in Dakhleh outside his hometown of Mut.

As a High Priest of Seth, Penbast must have held office in the town of Mut, the capital of Dakhleh, which means that he was one of the highest ranking officials of his time in the oasis. In this capacity, he must have maintained relations with the neighbouring temples. The greater Dakhleh stela shows that personal motifs could also connect the various regions within the oasis. The stela contains a reference to precisely the region of the Deir el-Haggar temple, "the west of *Sꜣ-wḥꜣt*",[35] where the family of the priest Nesubast owned a well. Without wanting to suggest that the family of Nesubast were the direct descendants of Penbast, even though the profession the two men shared would make this conceivable, it is sufficient to conclude from the Dakhleh Stela that some people owned property in different parts of the oasis. Consequently, Penbast could well have dedicated his statue to Nephthys in a temple in *Sꜣ-wḥꜣt*, acting on a personal motive.

When the statue was ultimately placed in the Deir el-Haggar temple in the Roman period, from whichever source, it must still have been in an acceptable condition. It

---

[28] Cf. D. Kurth, "Zu den Darstellungen Pepi I. im Hathortempel von Dendera", in W. Helck (ed.), *Tempel und Kult*, ÄgAbh 46 (Wiesbaden 1987), 1–23.

[29] C.M. Zivie-Coche, *Giza au premier millenaire: autour du temple d'Isis dame des Pyramides* (Boston 1991), 134.

[30] J. Yoyotte, "Une monumentale litanie de granit: les Sekhmet d'Aménophis III et la conjuration permanente de la Déesse dangereuse", *BSFE* 87–88 (1980), 49–50.

[31] A.J. Mills, "The Dakhleh Oasis Project: Report on the third season of survey, September - December 1980", *JSSEA* 11 (1981), 181–182.

[32] These occur upon the southern walls of the sanctuary rooms in the temples of Deir el-Haggar and Ein Birbiyeh, upon the northern side of the vault in the mammisi at Ismant el-Kharab, and in the second chamber of the tomb of Petosiris at El-Muzzawaka. Only the latter of these representations has been published, in Osing *et al.*, *Denkmäler der Oase Dachla*, 89, pls. 29a, 30f.

[33] Jacquet-Gordon, *MDAIK* 47 (1991), 175, pl. 15c.

[34] Kaper, *BIFAO* 92 (1992), 131–132.

[35] Gardiner, *JEA* 19 (1933), line 12; cf. Kaper, *BIFAO* 92 (1992), 124-129.

was probably taken to Deir el-Haggar because a statue of Nephthys was considered a necessary addition to the temple's cultic inventory. The inscriptions at Deir el-Haggar make clear that Seth and Nephthys formed part of the entourage of Amon-Re, the principal god of the temple.[36] Most notably, the names of Seth and Nephthys are listed amongst the gods of the temple upon the unpublished exterior cornice fragments of the pronaos, which were decorated under Domitian. The pronaos was conventionally the place where all the gods associated with the main deity were assembled in the decoration.[37] Therefore, the find spot of the statue within the pronaos may well correspond to its original position.

It can only have been much later that the head of the statue disappeared and it suffered mutilations in other respects, too. It is clear from the current sad appearance of the Nephthys figure that the skin of the goddess was originally gilded and that the disfiguration was caused by the removal of this gilding by force. The absence of the goddess's head, arms, hands, and feet is thus explained. The libations poured over the statue must have adhered firmly to the gold and its swift removal will have necessitated rough handling of the statue. Similarly, amongst the recently excavated votive statues in the Roman period temple at Ismant el-Kharab in Dakhleh, many damaged statues have been found with traces of original gilding on their surfaces.[38] All gilding had been removed by robbers with varying levels of success.

The other remains of the cultic equipment of Deir el-Haggar met the same fate. The recent finds inside the temple include a shattered votive stela depicting rams and fragments of a broken wooden shrine, which were all mixed up with the debris above the original floor level. Their find spot indicates the late stage at which the looting took place, probably following the temple's abandonment at about the end of the fourth century AD. The wall reliefs of the temple were not damaged at this time, nor were any of the sphinxes damaged which stood along the processional route in front of the building, probably because these were not gilded and they had simply lost their market value.[39] For the robbers of the time, even though it would be for the last time, Penbast's statue of Nephthys was still considered a valuable antique.

---

[36] Cf. Osing, "Seth in Dachla und Charga", *MDAIK* 41 (1985), 229-233.

[37] Cf. D. Kurth, *Die Dekoration der Säulen im Pronaos des Tempels von Edfu*, GOF IV/11 (Wiesbaden 1983), 354–355 and S. Cauville, *Essai sur la théologie de temple d'Horus à Edfou*, BdE 102 (Cairo 1987), 131. An interesting parallel is the – unpublished – pronaos of the Tebtynis temple, which contained in its decoration all the gods of the Fayum (cf. P. Derchain, review of: H. Beinlich, *Das Buch vom Fayum*, in *BiOr* 51 [1994], 50). At Deir el-Haggar, the main gods of the Dakhleh oasis are present upon the jambs of the doorway leading from the pronaos into the hypostyle hall, cf. Kaper, "Doorway Decoration Patterns in the Dakhleh Oasis", in D. Kurth *et al.* (ed.), *3. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung Hamburg, 1.–5. Juni 1994: Systeme und Programme der ägyptischen Tempeldekoration*, ÄAT 33 (Wiesbaden 1995), 99–114).

[38] C.A. Hope, O.E. Kaper, G.E. Bowen, S.F. Patten, "Dakhleh Oasis Project: Ismant el-Kharab 1991–92", *JSSEA* 19 (1989), 11–12, pls. 6–7.

[39] Five sphinxes and one falcon statue were removed from here to Kharga by A. Fakhry, where they are now on display in the New Valley Museum (C. M. Burri, *Bollettino d'Informazioni* Nov. 72-Jan. 73, 12; Leclant, "Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1972–1973", *Orientalia* 43 (1974), 205; three of these are depicted in A. Safwat al-Alfy, *The New Valley Museum, Cairo* (in Arabic) (Cairo 1993), plates). Seven more sphinxes were found in this area during the current clearance work. The wall reliefs at Deir el-Haggar were not vandalized until the nineteen-sixties, cf. A. Fakhry, "The Search for Texts in the Western Desert", in *Textes et Langages de l'Egypte pharaonique: cent cinquante années de recherches 1822–1972*, II (Cairo 1972), 218.

Fig. 1 The statue as found in the pronaos of the temple of Deir el-Haggar.

Fig. 2 View of the back of the votive statue.

Fig. 3 Line drawing of the inscription on the dorsal pillar of the statue.

Fig. 4 Views of the front and sides of the votive statue.

Fig. 5 Line drawing of the figure of Seth painted on the vaulted roof of the mammisi at Ismant el-Kharab (Dakhleh).

Fig. 1

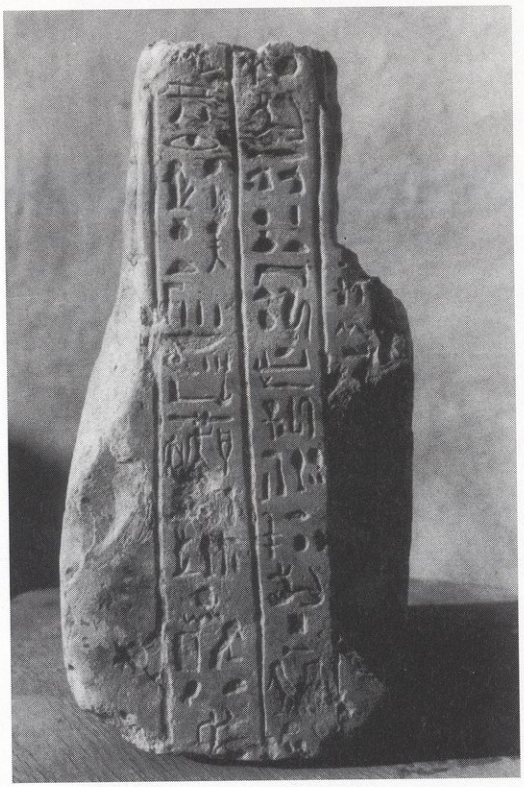


Fig. 2

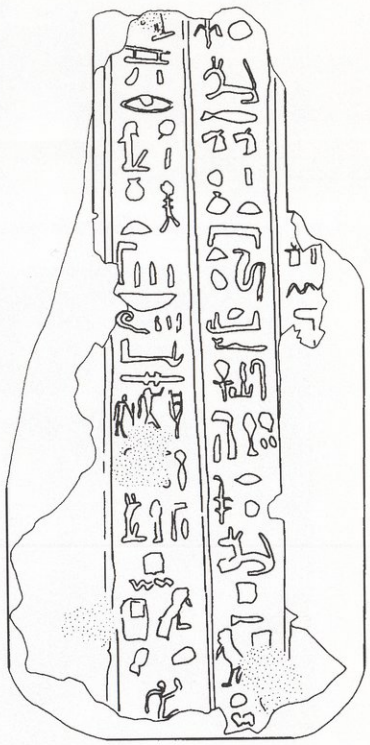


Fig. 3

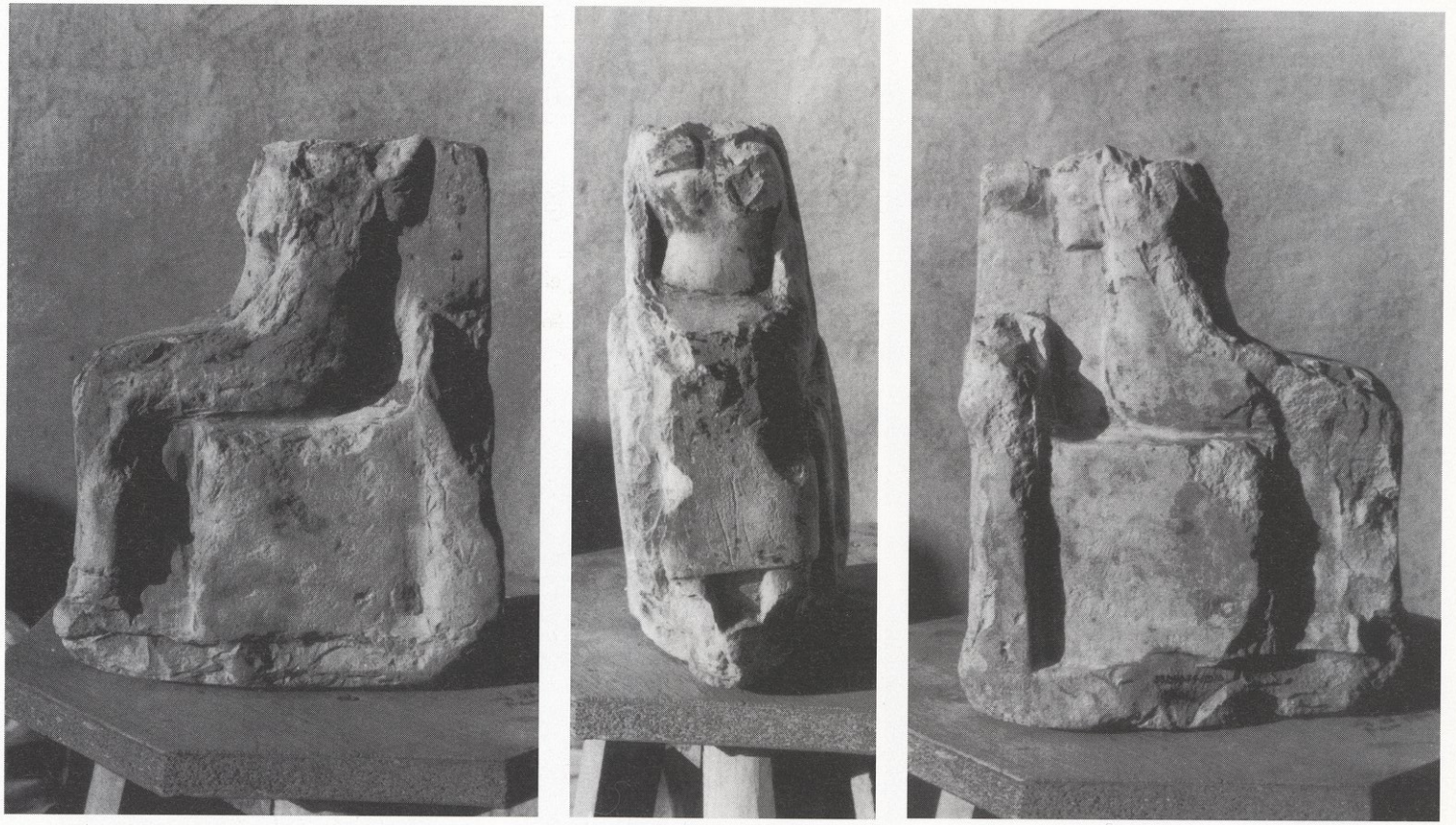


Fig. 4

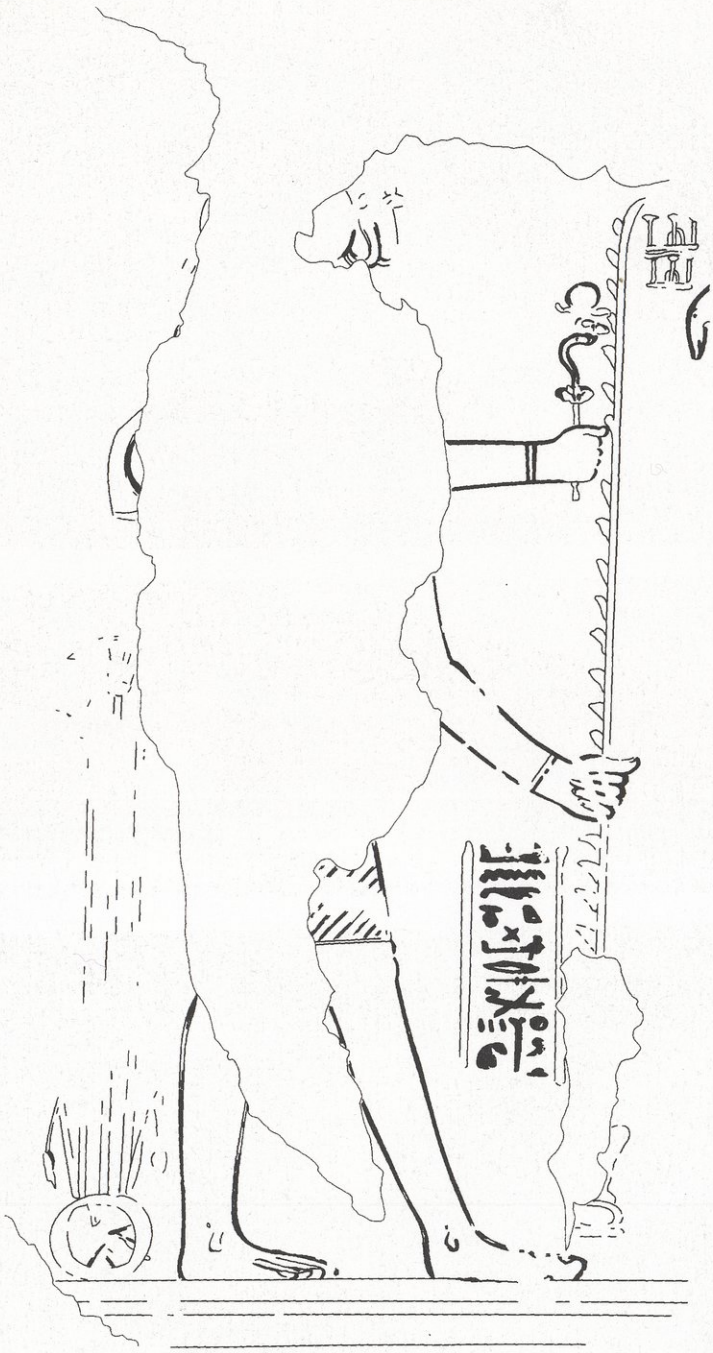


Fig. 5

Le papyrus oraculaire de Brooklyn, trente ans après

Herman De Meulenaere

Depuis que Richard A. Parker a édité le célèbre papyrus oraculaire de Brooklyn,[1] plus de trente années se sont écoulées. Ce document exceptionnel a été exploité à maintes reprises et a fait considérablement progresser les recherches sur la notabilité thébaine du début de l'époque saïte. Sans vouloir déprécier l'intérêt qu'il offre au point de vue de la connaissance des institutions religieuses, il faut reconnaître que la liste des cinquante personnages qui ont assisté à la cérémonie qu'il commémore et qui ont signé l'un après l'autre l'acte rédigé à cet effet demeure la principale information qu'il contient. C'est la raison pour laquelle il me semble opportun de faire le point sur les enseignements que cette source a fournis et sur certaines améliorations qu'il est actuellement possible d'apporter aux lectures et au commentaire de Parker.

Je me souviens du temps où l'on se posait la question pourquoi tant de représentants éminents de l'aristocratie thébaine avaient accepté d'honorer de leur présence la consultation de l'oracle d'Amon par un homme sans titre, se faisant l'interprète de son père, un simple prêtre (*wʿb*), qui souhaitait passer du service de ce dieu à celui de Montou-Ré-Harakhte. Il faut croire que, dans le document qu'il a fait rédiger après avoir reçu l'approbation d'Amon, le demandeur Pamiou s'est effacé, par modestie, devant cette audience distinguée, car nous savons maintenant, grâce au tombeau qu'il s'est fait construire dans la nécropole thébaine (TT 243), qu'il appartenait lui-même au haut clergé et occupait même le poste de "grand gouverneur de Memphis".[2] On n'a malheureusement pas encore retrouvé sa trace dans d'autres sources.

Que sait-on de plus à l'heure actuelle sur les cinquante personnages qui ont signé le papyrus de leur propre main ? Après avoir éliminé les membres les plus illustres de la haute société thébaine, tels que le Prince de la Ville Montouemhat, le vizir Nespakachouty et le troisième prophète d'Amon Petamonnebnesouttaoui, dont les dossiers ont déjà été étudiés, il en reste un certain nombre à propos desquels des recherches ultérieures ont livré des compléments d'information.

6. On s'étonne de voir le prophète d'Amon-Ré Pekiry figurer parmi les témoins, alors que son fils, le grand majordome de la Divine Adoratrice, Akhamenrou, n'en fait pas partie. Il me semble impératif d'expliquer pourquoi celui-ci a été le seul à se tenir à l'écart d'un événement que tous les hauts dignitaires de l'époque jugeaient suffisamment important pour y assister en personne. Cette absence, pour le moins curieuse, n'a pas empêché de supposer qu'Akhamenrou exerçait toujours sa fonction de grand majordome au moment où son père Pekiry a signé le papyrus.[3] Il y a lieu d'en douter pour les raisons que voici.

La fin de la carrière d'Akhamenrou demeure inconnue; sa tombe de l'Assassif (TT 404) semble négligée, peut-être inachevée. Il est certain qu'il fut un contemporain du

[1] R.A. Parker, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes*, Brown Egyptological Studies 4 (Providence 1962).
[2] G. Vittmann, *GM* 31 (1979), 77.
[3] E. Graefe, *MDAIK* 50 (1994), 97.

roi Tanoutamon mais il est peu probable qu'il ait été encore en vie lorsque Psammétique I prit possession de Thèbes. En effet, il n'est pas présent à l'intronisation de Nitokris en 656 av. J.-Chr., son nom ne figure pas parmi les signataires du papyrus, et, en l'an 26 de Psammétique I, c.à.d. dix-sept ans après l'arrivée de Nitokris, le clergé thébain rapporte au roi saïte qu'il n'y a pas de préposé à la maison de la Divine Adoratrice.[4] Tous ces indices donnent à croire qu'Akhamenrou est décédé avant l'avènement de la dynastie saïte à Thèbes et qu'il n'a pas eu de successeur immédiat. Si son père Pekiry a été invité à assister à la cérémonie oraculaire, c'est sans doute dans l'intention de dissimuler quelque peu cette vacance de succession.

Une dernière indication me semble militer en faveur d'une assez longue absence d'autorité au sommet de l'administration des biens de la Divine Adoratrice au commencement de l'époque saïte. Les grands majordomes de la Divine Adoratrice aiment se faire représenter en compagnie de leurs maîtresses sur les parois des chapelles que celles-ci ont construites dans le domaine de Karnak. De petite taille, ils se tiennent discrètement derrière elles, porteurs d'un flabellum. Ils sont plusieurs à avoir témoigné ainsi du respect qu'ils portaient aux princesses qu'ils servaient: Akhamenrou,[5] Aba,[6] Pabasa,[7] Padihorresnet[8] et Chéchonq.[9] Il y a, de façon surprenante, une exception à cette règle. Dans une des chapelles, construite par Chépenoupet II, l'image du grand majordome est remplacée par celle d'une sœur de Montouemhat, Diésehebsed.[10] Pour expliquer cette anomalie, on a suggéré qu'à une époque postérieure à la décoration de la chapelle par Chépenoupet II, on y avait gravé, dans les espaces encore disponibles, de petite taille et de manière peu soignée, l'image et le nom de Diésehebsed.[11] La photographie d'une des scènes qui montrent celle-ci[12] s'oppose à cette hypothèse. Le large espace, laissé libre derrière la Divine Adoratrice, n'est sûrement pas accidentel. Je suis convaincu qu'il attendait la représentation d'un grand majordome et qu'à défaut de celui-ci le Prince de la Ville Montouemhat l'a fait occuper par une de ses sœurs qui appartenait à cette corporation de "chanteuses de l'intérieur d'Amon" qui évoluaient dans la suite de la Divine Adoratrice.[13]

12. Grâce à une statue-bloc de la Cachette de Karnak, nous savons que le père du témoin Djedamonioufankh s'appelait Ankhnahebou.[14] La stèle Hildesheim 2127[15] fournit quelques renseignements supplémentaires sur sa descendance.

14. Trois "scribes du sceau divin" se succèdent parmi les témoins du papyrus, appartenant respectivement à la deuxième, à la troisième et à la quatrième phylè (nos 15

---

[4] Ibid., 90.

[5] J. Leclant, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la XXVe dynastie dite éthiopienne*, BdE 36 (Le Caire 1965), 93.

[6] PM II^2, 16, 19.

[7] Ibid., 13–14.

[8] E. Graefe, *Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung und Geschichte der Institution der Gottesgemahlin*, ÄgAbh 37 (Wiesbaden 1981), 79.

[9] Ibid., 150.

[10] J. Leclant, op. cit., 41–47 (chapelle d'Osiris-Onnôphris-au-cœur-du-perséa, construite par Chépenoupet II).

[11] Ibid., 47.

[12] Ibid., pl. XX.

[13] Sur ces vierges consacrées d'Amon, voir J. Yoyotte, dans *CRAIBL* 1961, 43–52.

[14] H. De Meulenaere, *SAK* 6 (1978), 63–68.

[15] P. Munro, *Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen*, ÄgFo 25 (Glückstadt 1973), 199.

à 17). La quatorzième souscription est si lamentablement endommagée que le(s) titre(s) et le nom du signataire ont disparu; seul le nom de son père, Ankhefenkhonsou, peut être identifié sans peine. Parker a expliqué, avec des arguments péremptoires, pourquoi il estime que cette souscription concerne un "scribe du sceau divin de la demeure d'Amon de la première phylè". Disposant ainsi de deux éléments pour restituer le nom manquant, une filiation et un titre, j'ai dépouillé soigneusement la documentation de l'époque à la recherche d'un "scribe du sceau divin de la demeure d'Amon de la première phylè" dont le père s'appelle Ankhefenkhonsou. Je n'en ai trouvé qu'un seul: Hahat, attesté sur le cercueil de son petit-fils qui portait le même nom[16] et, en outre, propriétaire d'une stèle en bois, conservée au Musée de Vienne.[17] Un examen serré des sources relatives à la famille du prophète de Montou, Besenmout, à laquelle il appartient, confirme l'hypothèse de Vittmann selon laquelle il était un demi-frère de Besenmout, fils d'Ankhefenkhonsou, qui occupe la trente-huitième place dans la liste des témoins.[18] Cette coïncidence chronologique est si significative que la restitution proposée aboutit à une quasi certitude.

15. Cette place est occupée par un "scribe du sceau divin de la demeure d'Amon de la deuxième phylè" qui s'appelle Nebneterou. Deux irrégularités se remarquent dans sa filiation. Son père Paânkh porte un nom qui n'est plus attesté après la Troisième Période Intermédiaire;[19] pour le relier à celui de son grand-père, Djedamonioufankh, le témoin a remplacé le (*sꜣ*) habituel par (*šrỉ*).

Parmi les documents qui doivent être attribués à la 26e dynastie, la *Cachette* de Karnak a livré une statue-bloc qui appartient au "scribe du sceau divin de la demeure d'Amon de la deuxième phylè, Djedamonioufankh", fils de Nebneterou.[20] On y retrouve donc non seulement le titre mais aussi deux des noms qui apparaissent dans le papyrus. Cette coïncidence donne à croire que nous sommes en présence de la même famille et que le mystérieux Paânkh qui s'intercale entre le témoin et son grand-père est en fait inexistant. Toutefois, comment éviter l'écueil que présente le passage, parfaitement conservé, où celui-ci semble être nommé? Étant donné que la lecture de Parker semble tout à fait plausible, on est pratiquement forcé d'admettre que le scribe a fait à cet endroit un léger dérapage.

16. Au dossier de ce témoin, Djedmontouioufankh, fils de Hor, il convient sans doute d'ajouter la stèle Le Caire RT 24/1/25/10 que Munro a très correctement datée entre 660 et 640 av. J.-C.[21]

17. En se fondant sur les renseignements, fournis par un fragment de cercueil du Musée de Boston, Parker a établi un rapport entre ce témoin, le "scribe du sceau divin de la demeure d'Amon de la quatrième phylè, Horkheb", et le n° 31, le "prophète de Montou dans Hermônthis, Khonsouiraâ". Graefe a ajouté au dossier du premier un document nouveau qui lui a permis de corriger le tableau généalogique dressé par

---

16 H. Gauthier, *Cercueils anthropoïdes des prêtres de Montou* (Le Caire 1913), I, 413.

17 P. Munro, op. cit., 208, pl. 5 [17]. Malgré l'absence de son titre "scribe du sceau divin", plusieurs indices suggèrent que le propriétaire de cette stèle est identique au personnage du cercueil.

18 G. Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte im Theben der Spätzeit* (Vienne 1978), 15.

19 PN I, 103 [1]; II, 352.

20 Le Caire JE 36732 (inédit; copié sur l'original); cf. PM II^2, 155.

21 P. Munro, op. cit., 216.

Parker; il estime, au demeurant, que la preuve concluante d'un lien familial entre les témoins n° 17 et n° 31 fait défaut.[22]

Cependant, un examen de l'ensemble de la documentation actuellement disponible me semble militer nettement en faveur d'un tel rapprochement. Étant donné que le papyrus énumère successivement quatre "scribes du sceau divin", représentant chacun une des quatre phylae, il est logique de supposer qu'ils étaient seuls à détenir leur poste. Or, selon les fragments de cercueil, publiés par Graefe, Hahat, le grand-père de Khonsouiraâ, le témoin n° 31, se réclame lui aussi de la dignité de "scribe du sceau du temple de la quatrième phylè".[23] Il me paraît donc tout à fait probable qu'il doive être identifié au père du témoin n° 17, le "scribe du sceau divin de la quatrième phylè, Horkheb" qu'on devra, dès lors, considérer comme l'oncle de Khonsouiraâ (n° 31). La différence d'une génération entre deux témoins n'est pas limitée à ce cas dans le papyrus.

20. Le rapprochement établi entre cette signature et l'inscription d'une plaque de stéatite, conservée à Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1879.349,[24] est indiscutablement correct. Seules les restitutions de Parker semblent prêter à discussion. La photographie montre que le grand-père du propriétaire s'appelait *Ḥr-mꜣᶜ* et non *Ḥr-mꜣᶜ-ḥrw*.[25] La fin du nom du propriétaire est malheureusement endommagée mais les traces subsistantes ne permettent aucune lecture autre que *Ḥr-mꜣᶜ*. Comme souvent, il portait donc le même nom que son grand-père. Dans le papyrus, le nom du signataire a entièrement disparu mais son titre "scribe des offrandes divines" est le même que celui du propriétaire de la plaque d'Oxford; les noms de son père, Irthorrou, et de son grand-père, Hormaâ, sont parfaitement conservés. Pour établir un parallélisme parfait avec le texte d'Oxford, je n'hésite pas à restituer dans la lacune, après le titre de "scribe des offrandes divines", le nom *Ḥr-mꜣᶜ* au lieu du très hypothétique *Ḥr-ỉr-ᶜꜣ* de Parker. Même s'il occupe moins de cadrats que ce dernier, il suffirait d'imaginer un quelconque déterminatif après *ḥtpw* pour que *Ḥr-mꜣᶜ* remplisse exactement l'espace disponible.

24. Vittmann a publié les inscriptions d'un bloc de grès, trouvé dans le temple de Luxor, qui commémore l'introduction (*bsỉ*) dans le temple d'Amenemope d'un prophète, appelé Harsiese, dont l'ascendance correspond à celle du signataire du papyrus.[26] L'événement ayant eu lieu en l'an 9 d'un roi qui ne peut être que Tanoutamon ou Psammétique I, il propose d'identifier les deux Harsiese. Le rapprochement est certes tentant, bien que la présence tout à fait isolée d'un membre du clergé de Luxor parmi tant de fonctionnaires du temple de Karnak ne laisse pas de surprendre.

31. Pour ce témoin, voir ci-dessus n° 17.

36. En confondant les renseignements prosopographiques tirés d'une stèle et d'un cercueil du Musée de Bologne, Pernigotti a ingénieusement reconstitué l'arbre

---

[22] E. Graefe, op. cit., 136–137.

[23] Ibid., pl. 3 (P5).

[24] J. Leclant, *Montouemhat, quatrième prophète d'Amon, prince de la vile*, BdE 35 (Le Caire 1961), 154, pl. LI, A.

[25] Comme l'avait déjà suggéré J. Černý, *apud* R.A. Parker, op. cit., 20, n. 1. Ce Hormaâ est mentionné sur le sarcophage de sa fille Neskhonsou (Le Caire CG 41025 = A. Moret, *Sarcophages de l'époque bubastite à l'époque saïte* [Le Caire 1913], I, 242), qui épousa Ankhefenkhonsou dont les fils Besenmout et Hahat figurent parmi les signataires du papyrus (nos 14 et 38).

[26] G. Vittmann, *SAK* 10 (1983), 325–332.

généalogique d'une famille dont deux membres figurent parmi les signataires du papyrus: Petamonnebnesouttaoui (n° 36) et Ankhosorkon (n° 46). Bien qu'en partie fondée sur de suppositions, l'argumentation qu'il développe est dans l'ensemble très convaincante.[27]

Ni le témoin Petamonnebnesouttaoui ni son père Réemmaâkherou ne sont attestés dans les sources que Pernigotti a réunies. Dans le papyrus, le nom de Réemmaâkherou est précédé des titres "prophète d'Amon, scribe du parvis (*wbꜣ*) du domaine de Montou". Je me suis posé quelques questions à propos de l'orthographe du mot *wbꜣ* que Parker transcrit avec le signe *ḥm* en confondant celui-ci avec *wbꜣ* dont la forme hiéroglyphique est en effet très ressemblante mais l'orthographe hiératique assez différente.[28] En outre, l'absence tant d'un complément phonétique que d'un quelconque déterminatif est plutôt contraire aux usages des textes hiératiques qui n'ont pas l'habitude de lésiner sur les éléments strictement superflus des mots égyptiens. Les principales orthographes de *wbꜣ* ont été rassemblées par Spencer.[29] Un certain nombre d'entre elles sont utilisées dans les titres *wʿb* (*n pꜣ*) *wbꜣ* et *sš* (*n pꜣ/pr*) *wbꜣ*, assez fréquemment attestés à la Basse Époque.[30] Aucun de ces exemples n'écrit cependant *wbꜣ* comme semble le faire le papyrus. Tout cela m'amène à penser que la transcription proposée par Parker n'est peut-être pas tout à fait assurée et laisse la porte ouverte à d'autres hypothèses. Je suis d'autant plus enclin à le croire qu'une stèle de l'an 21 du roi Taharka (670 av. J.-C.) fait état d'un Réemmaâkherou qui fut "prophète d'Amon, scribe-*ṯꜣ* du domaine de Montou".[31] La ressemblance avec son homonyme du papyrus est frappante. Elle serait totale si le signe, lu *wbꜣ*, pouvait être une orthographe de suivi ou non d'un déterminatif.[32] Je recommande vivement aux spécialistes de l'hiératique anormal d'examiner si une pareille lecture est envisageable. Si tel était le cas, rien ne s'opposerait plus à identifier les deux personnages à plus forte raison que l'intervalle de quelque vingt années qui séparerait ainsi le père présumé et son fils qui fut témoin à la cérémonie oraculaire est tout à fait concevable pour l'espace d'une génération.

46. Pour ce témoin, voir ci-dessus n° 36.

49. Comparée aux quarante-neuf autres signatures, celle du "père divin d'Amon-Ré, roi des dieux, Nesptah", offre une remarquable singularité. Elle comporte, en effet, le nom de sa mère *Š-mwt*, qui était l'épouse d'un "quatrième prophète d'Amon" dont le nom n'est pas communiqué. C'est la seule mention d'une femme dans tout le papyrus. L'éditeur s'est donné beaucoup de peine pour expliquer cette anomalie. Partant de

---

[27] S. Pernigotti, *SEAP* 7 (1990), 17–25.

[28] G. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* (Leipzig 1909), II, 48, n°s 486 et 487.

[29] P. Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple. A Lexicographical Study* (London 1987), 4–6; voir aussi Chr. Wallet-Lebrun, *GM* 85 (1985), 67–88.

[30] Les exemples, signalés par R.A. Parker, op. cit., 33, se laissent facilement multiplier, par ex. P. Vernus, *Athribis*, BdE 74 (Le Caire 1978), 92–94 (Copenhague, NCG 895); R.K. Ritner, dans *For His Ka (Essays in Memory of Klaus Baer)*, SAOC 55 (Chicago 1994), 209 (Chicago, OIM 10729); *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* IX (Leuven 1981), n° 5874.

[31] E. Graefe, *MDAIK* 35 (1979), 106.

[32] Le déterminatif qui suit le plus souvent dans le titre *sš ṯꜣ*, fréquemment attesté dans les documents tardifs de Haute Égypte, est . Voir par ex. A. Kamal, *Stèles ptolémaïques et romaines* (Le Caire 1905), 11 (Le Caire CG 22010); E. Bresciani, *Le stele egiziane del Museo Civico Archeologico* (Bologna 1985), 82–83 (Bologne 1949); P. Shore, dans *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honour of H.W. Fairman* (Warminster 1979), 155 (Londres, BM 57372); etc.

l'idée que le "quatrième prophète" anonyme est Montouemhat et sachant que celui-ci avait une épouse appelée Chepenmout, il propose de corriger *Š-mwt* en *Š[p-n]-mwt*. Le nom de celle-ci aurait été ajouté à la filiation pour distinguer son fils Nesptah de son homonyme, le témoin n° 33, que Montouemhat avait eu d'une autre épouse. Si astucieux qu'il puisse paraître, ce raisonnement fait appel à trop d'imagination pour être pleinement convaincant. Une autre solution me semble mériter d'être prise en considération.

Dans le passage assez indistinct qu'il transcrit *mwt.f Š-mwt*, non sans quelque hésitation, Parker considère comme certaines les lectures du signe au milieu et de à la fin. Comme on attend à cet endroit un anthroponyme masculin plutôt qu'une tournure tout à fait inhabituelle, on ne peut s'empêcher de songer au nom *Nḫt-tɜy.f-mwt*.

Sans vouloir me risquer au déchiffrement de textes en hiératique anormal, je souhaiterais que cette hypothèse donne matière à réflexion, surtout parce qu'elle apporte un élément déterminant à la solution d'un problème qui a troublé ceux qui se sont intéressés à la succcession des quatrièmes prophètes d'Amon à la Troisième Période Intermédiaire et aux époques kouchite et saïte. Il existe en effet quelques documents concernant un quatrième prophète d'Amon, Nekhtefmout, que, pour de multiples raisons, il paraît impossible d'attribuer à un des deux dignitaires qui exercèrent cette charge à la Troisième Période Intermédiaire.[33] Ce sont:

1. Le cercueil Le Caire CG 41048 appartenant à un fils de Nesamon et de Neskhonsou, petite fille du quatrième prophète d'Amon, Nekhtefmout.[34] D'après l'arbre généalogique de la famille, ce Nesamon était un frère de Besenmout, le témoin n° 38 du papyrus.[35] Il en découle que le floruit du quatrième prophète d'Amon, Nekhtefmout, se situe vers 700 av. J.-C.

2. La statue-bloc Le Caire JE 37862 qui représente un petit-fils du quatrième prophète d'Amon, Nekhtefmout; d'après ses caractéristiques archéologiques et épigraphiques, cette statue date du commencement de la 26e dynastie.[36]

3. La stèle Londres, British Museum 66422, qui appartient à un fils du quatrième prophète d'Amon, Nekhtefmout, appelé Ikhonsouchedef.[37]

Bierbrier a suggéré, de façon très convaincante, que le Nekhtefmout de ces documents pourrait être le petit-fils de son homonyme, attesté sous le règne d'Osorkon III. Il le situe en conséquence, très correctement, dans la génération du grand-père de Montouemhat, le vizir Khaemhor.[38] La mention présumée de ce Nekhtefmout dans le papyrus oraculaire confirmerait brillamment son hypothèse.

50. Le tombeau du grand-prêtre Horkheb n'a pas encore été retrouvé, bien qu'on possède à son nom un cercueil contenant des déchets de produits qui ont servi à son

---

[33] K.A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt* (Warminster 1986^{2}), 596; D.A. Aston, *JEA* 75 (1989), 145.
[34] H. Gauthier, op. cit., 145.
[35] M.L. Bierbrier, *BiOr* 36 (1979), 309.
[36] G. Vittmann, op. cit., 96.
[37] M.L. Bierbrier, *HTES* XI, 17–18, pl. 24. Il est tout juste possible, mais pas du tout certain, que le même Nekhtefmout soit nommé sur le cartonnage de sa petite-fille Djedmoutiousankh, conservé au Musée de Mulhouse; cf. *La femme dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Exp. Colmar 1994), 53–54.
[38] M.L. Bierbrier, *BiOr* 36 (1979), 307; cf. aussi J. Taylor, *JEA* 76 (1990), 221–222.

embaumement[39] et un vase canope.[40] Le dossier de son père Harmachis s'est entretemps enrichi d'un fragment de statue qui le représente en scribe accroupi[41] et d'un petit papyrus à caractère prophylactique.[42]

[39] H. Kees, *Die Hohenpriester des Amun von Karnak*, PrÄg 4 (Leiden 1964), 164.
[40] W.D. van Wijngaarden, *Beschrijving van de Egyptische Verzameling* XIII (Leiden 1926), 12.
[41] L. Kuchman Sabbahy, dans *The Precinct of the Goddess Mut* (The Brooklyn Museum, 1979), 28–30.
[42] A. Klasens, *OMRO* 56 (1975), 20–28.

"Overseer of the Northern Foreign Countries": Reflections on the Upper Administration of Egypt's Empire in Western Asia

William J. Murnane

It was on my first visit to Egypt, in 1972, that I also met Herman te Velde. One of the pleasures of that initial season in the Nile Valley (when we both worked on the University of Pennsylvania's Dira-abu'l-nagga expedition) was getting to know him – not only as the senior scholar who helped a young doctoral student discover the Theban monuments for the first time, but as a wry and witty companion who bears not the slightest resemblance to that long-eared fellow he has done so much to help us understand. I wish him many more productive years now that he has retired from university teaching, and I hope the following short study will interest him.

It has been well observed that terms for 'empire', 'imperialism', 'state', 'government', and 'religion' were absent from the vocabulary of the ancient Egyptians. The absence of such abstraction does not mean that these areas went unrecognized; but they seem to have been conceptualized rather crudely, in terms of concrete notions (such as *ḫɜswt mḥtwt/rsywt*, "northern/southern foreign countries") or activities, ranging from such generalizations as "performing ritual" (*jrt ḥt*), "expedition of victory" (*wḏyt nt nḫt*) and "making/expanding borders" (*jrt/swsḫ tɜšw*) to those which are implied in officials' titles.[1] Such indirection sometimes results in obscurity, confounding modern historians' efforts to 'read' the structures of Egyptian government from the hieroglyphic sources. Of course, it is these fragmentary resources that are most often to blame. Only rarely are officials listed in a sequence that may allow us to infer their status; and even then, such lists are often ambiguous and do not constitute anything like a *notitia dignitatum* for the entire system.[2] Most of the time we can reconstruct the administrative framework only to the extent allowed by the preservation of monuments which document individual careers, and it is from these scattered sources that scholars extrapolate how officials were ranked and what they did. All too often, however, these sources do not tell us much about *what* such functionaries did or *how* they fit into the hierarchy. Moreover, in a few cases our problems are compounded by the manner in which these men's titles are expressed, leaving their true positions either buried in terseness or cloaked in a misleading grandiloquence.

The reality of this problem was driven home to me recently, in connection with a

[1] See in general D. Lorton, *The Juridical Terminology of International Relations in Egyptian Texts through Dynasty XVIII* (Baltimore 1974); N.-C. Grimal, *Les termes de la propagande royale égyptienne de la* XIXe *Dynastie à la conquête d'Alexandre*, MAIBL n.s. 6 (Paris 1986); and J.M. Galán, *Victory and Border. Terminology related to Egyptian Imperialism in the XVIIIth Dynasty*, HÄB 40 (Hildesheim 1995), especially pp. 1–9, 156–160.

[2] E.g., in the tombs of Amenhotep III's viceroy Ramose (N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose*, Mond Excavations at Thebes 1 [London 1941], pl. XXVII) and of Huy, Tutankhamun's viceroy of Nubia (Nina de G. Davies-A.H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Ḥuy, Viceroy of Nubia in the Reign of Tutankhamun*, TTS 4 [London 1926], pl. 14).

conference on the origins of diplomacy in the ancient Near East.[3] True, the Egyptian empire in Western Asia during the Eighteenth Dynasty is documented by unusually abundant resources: not only Egyptian documents, but the cuneiform 'Amarna Letters' exchanged by the pharaoh and his vassals shed a great deal of light on the structure of Egyptian administration in Asia, and even its manner of operation. These records make it plain that, unlike the pattern in Nubia[4] (where the occupying government was all-powerful even in the few regions where local chieftains had been allowed to remain in office),[5] Syro-Palestinian communities enjoyed a significant degree of independence under Egyptian rule. The pharaoh's 'government of conquests' did not actually govern in Western Asia, except in those few areas directly 'owned' by the Egyptian state. Elsewhere it acted only as an enforcer, guaranteeing that vassals' obligations to their suzerain were honored.[6] The interactions of these subject princes with the men who represented Egypt's interests in the field bulk large in the Amarna correspondence, revealing a network of high "commissioners" and their subordinates (all designated by the identical Akkadian term, *rabiṣu*), who kept the pharaoh informed about conditions in their localities and dealt with the vassals – on occasion settling disputes between them, ensuring them access to needed supplies and fielding their requests for military aid.[7]

Still, despite this wealth of information, much about the structure of Egypt's 'government of conquests' in Asia remains unclear, particularly when we try to reconcile material from cuneiform and Egyptian sources. As noted above, Egyptian commissioners in the Amarna Letters are uniformly described as *rabiṣu*, a generic term in Akkadian which ignores differences in rank that are occasionally reflected in these texts.[8] Worse, this 'lumping' tendency is untrue to the hierarchical organization of the Egyptian civil service which employed such men: in that system, an official's rank

[3] This meeting, sponsored jointly by the Johns Hopkins and Tel Aviv Universities, was held at the Study and Conference Center of Rockefeller Foundation (the 'Villa Serbelloni') in Bellaggio, Italy on 16–20 September 1996. The proceedings are to be published imminently by the Johns Hopkins University Press.

[4] Despite S.I. Groll, "The Administrative System in Syria and Palestine in the 18th Dynasty" (in M. Görg (ed.), *Fontes atque pontes. Eine Festgabe für Hellmut Brunner*, ÄAT 5 [Wiesbaden 1983], 234–242), whose attempt to establish a functional equivalency between the Nubian and Asiatic administrations ignores significant differences in the participants' status.

[5] For these princes (who generally acted as intermediaries between their people and Egyptian authorities, with family members sometimes posted to Aswan as commercial or diplomatic representatives), see E. Edel, "Zur Familie des *Sn-msjj* nach einen Grabinschriften aus der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Aswan", *ZÄS* 90 (1963), 28–31; T. Säve-Söderbergh, "The Tomb of the Prince of Teh-khet, Amenemhat", *Kush* 11 (1963), 159–174; and W.K. Simpson, *Heka-nefer*, PPYE 1 (New Haven/Philadelphia 1963), especially pp. 26–27. The government of the Egyptian viceroy is surveyed by L. Habachi, "The Administration of Nubia during the New Kingdom...", *Sixteen Studies on Lower Nubia*, ASAE Suppl. 23 (Cairo 1981), 169–173 = *MIE* 59 (1969), 65–78.

[6] See in general B.J. Kemp, "Imperialism and Empire in New Kingdom Egypt", in P.D.A. Garnsey and C.R. Whittacker (eds)., *Imperialism in the Ancient World* (Cambridge 1978), 7–57, 284–297, 368–373; J.P. Frandsen, "Egyptian Imperialism", in M.T. Larsen (ed.), *Power and Propaganda*, Mesopotamia 7 (Copenhagen 1979), 167–190; R. Hachmann, "Die ägyptische Verwaltung in Syrien während der Amarnazeit", *ZDPV* 98 (1982), 17–49; N. Na'aman, "Pharaonic Lands in the Jezreel Valley in the Late Bronze Age", in M. Heltzer and E. Lipinskí, *Society and Economy in the Eastern Mediterranean (c.1500–1000 B.C.)*, OLA 23 (Louvain 1985), 177–185.

[7] See in general W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, ÄgAbh 5 (Wiesbaden 1971[2]), 248; and cf. J. Zorn, "The Role of the *Rabiṣu* in the Amarna Archive", in G.D. Young and B. Beitzel (eds.), *Tell el-Amarna 1887–1987* (Winona Lake 1997), in press.

[8] E.g., in Amarna Letter (EA) 292:26–40, in which the writer complains, regarding some property of his, that the high commissioner "Maya has taken it away from me and placed his commissioner in it. Enjoin

was defined by a combination of service titles, which specified what he did, and honorific rank indicators (e.g., "sole companion" of the king) which conveyed his status at court. While titles of both types do turn up in the Amarna Letters, either translated into Akkadian or transcribed from Egyptian,[9] they occur too infrequently to permit building a complete correspondence between field officers' careers (as documented in the cuneiform sources) and the hierarchy to which they belonged (in Egyptian records). This leaves in question the system's command structure: we know that various "commissioners" held military and/or diplomatic offices at different levels, but not always what these offices were or how they fitted into the formal hierarchy. Moreover, we still do not know whether the empire in western Asia was placed under a single 'bureau chief', and (if so) what rank that official held.

If one assumes that the northern 'government of conquests' was run in a manner functionally equivalent to the empire in Nubia, led by the "King's Son of Kush", a logical candidate for this corresponding position would be the "overseer of (all) the northern foreign countries".[10] Not only does the wording of this title suggest that we interpret it literally; it also invites comparison with an apparent variant, "overseer of the southern foreign countries", an adjunct title generally borne by the viceroy who governed Egypt's empire in Nubia.[11] Positing a functional equivalence between these two titles, and the roles played by their holders, may seem plausible enough *prima facie* – but is it sufficient, on its own, to prove the existence of two imperial bureaux, each with its own chief executive officer? Surely it is disturbing that we know far more about the Nubian viceroy's activities (enough to confirm the supremacy claimed for him in his own district) than we do about his putative 'opposite number' in the northern theatre. Before concluding that Egypt possessed a centralized government in Western Asia, in the manner of its Nubian counterpart, we should take a closer look at the "overseers of the northern foreign countries".

A survey of this title's holders during the Eighteenth Dynasty indicates that they were all military officers, though apparently not the highest rank:

(1) Djehuty, a well-attested figure from the middle of the dynasty (temp. Thutmose III), seems to have been the prototype for the hero of the Late Egyptian "Tale of the Capture of Joppa".[12] His most characteristic titles are "garrison officer" and, more generically, "king's follower upon every foreign country",[13] though once

---

Reanap, my commissioner, to restore my village to me". (Translation by W.L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters* [Baltimore 1992], 335).

[9] E.g., *šaḫ-šiḫḫa* (Egyptian *sš-šᶜt*, "letter scribe": EA 316, n. 4 in ibid., 348); or the Akkadian term which may be translated in Egyptian as *jmy-r ḥtm*, "fortress commander" (EA 30, n. 3 in ibid., 100).

[10] As suggested by Groll, *Fontes atque pontes*, 236. Helck maintained (*Beziehungen*[2] 250–1) that this title designated the "commissioners" serving in Western Asia; while D.B. Redford (*Egypt, Canaan and Israel in Ancient Times* [Princeton 1992], 200) treats it as an archaism which was revived "mainly as an epithet of general application and has nothing to do with a formal 'governorship' of conquered territory".

[11] G.A. Reisner's "The Viceroys of Ethiopia [sic]", *JEA* 20 (1934), 28–55 is still the best overall survey of these officials and their titles. Cf. B.M. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV* (Baltimore 1991), 250–251; and P. Der Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II*, HÄB 26 (Hildesheim 1987), 110–111, III.3 (*Wsr-Stt*).

[12] See the translation by E.F. Wente in W.K. Simpson (ed.), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt* (New Haven 1973[2]), 81–84, with references to earlier translations and studies.

[13] *Urk.* IV 999–1002 provides a handy list of monuments with the titles appearing on each one.

he refers to himself as "overseer of the door of the northern foreign countries",[14] and on another of his monuments as "overseer of a part (*jmy-r ꜥ*) of the northern foreign countries".[15] Given Djehuty's widespread reputation in modern scholarship as a military man, it is interesting that the title "overseer of the army" (*jmy-r mšꜥ*) is attested for him only on an object of doubtful authenticity.[16]

(2) Amenmose (temp. Thutmose III-Amenhotep II) bore the titles of "troop commander" (*ḫry pḏt*) and "stablemaster of the Lord of the Two Lands" (*ḫry jḫw n nb tꜣwy*).[17] Based on a representation of a Syrian fortress inside his tomb in western Thebes,[18] Helck has suggested that this man could have been a *rabiṣu* in Amurru.[19]

(3) Khaemwese (temp. Amenhotep III), buried at Bubastis in the Delta, also had "troop commander" as his highest military title.[20]

(4) Finally, there is Penhut (apparently also from the time of Amenhotep III).[21] No other titles are attested for him, but an army career may be assumed on the strength of his appearance at the head of a military escort inside his unpublished tomb in West Thebes.[22]

Similar career profiles are found among those Ramesside "overseers of the foreign countries" who left commemorative monuments at Serabit el-Khadim in the Sinai.[23] Thus, one Userkhau was a "troop commander" as well as "overseer of the foreign countries N. [of the Lord] of the Two Lands".[24] Another man (name lost) was a "chief of the Medjay" as well as "overseer of the foreign countries".[25] In other words, the level in the official hierarchy occupied by actual "overseers of the foreign countries", if measured by their other titles, is consistent: all of them were senior officers, but not at the very top of the service.

There are a few other indications of the military ambience of this title. In the Ramesside Onomasticon of Amenemope, "overseers of the foreign countries of Kharu and Kush" are listed (after the "deputy of the fortress commander of the sea" and

---

[14] J. Yoyotte, "Le général Djehouty et la perception des tributs syriens", *BSFE* 22 (1981), 48.
[15] *Urk.* IV 1002:2; cf. C. Lilyquist, "A Gold Bowl Naming General Djehuty: A Study of Objects and Early Egyptology", *JMMA* 23 (1988), 13.
[16] Ibid., 28.
[17] Der Manuelian, *Amenophis II*, 121.
[18] PM^2 I.1 82 = TT 42, (4).I.
[19] Helck, *Beziehungen*^{2} 251.
[20] *Urk.* IV 1930–1932.
[21] Thus also Helck, *Beziehungen*^{2} 251, although mistakenly suggesting he was a colleague of Amenmose (who lived two generations earlier); omitted from the list of this title's holders by Groll, *Fontes atque pontes*, 236.
[22] PM^2 II 330 = TT 239, (6).II.
[23] J. Černý (in *Inscr. Sinai* II, 193) dates them only approximately to "XIX-XXth Dynasty". Note that one of the three references here (No. 297 = ibid. I, pl. LXXVII) tells us no more about the owner (name lost) than his title, "overseer of the foreign countries of the Lord of the Two Lands" (more probably than "of Retch[enu]", see ibid. II 193, n. h).
[24] Ibid., I, pl. LXXII (No. 294).
[25] Ibid., I, pl. LXXVI (No. 296).

preceding three other military officers) in a short subsection devoted to army personnel.[26] Also significant for this title's function in Ramesside times is that a number of "overseers of foreign countries" are found operating in Asia alongside "garrison commanders" and the "chiefs (*wrw*) of the lands of Pharaoh" (the latter being vassal rulers).[27] By this period, it seems, the title could be held by more than one individual at a time (as is also implied by the Onomasticon entry); and the same thing may also have been true back in the Eighteenth Dynasty, since the pharaoh's Asiatic possessions were already being partitioned, for administrative purposes, by the reign of Thutmose III.[28]

Also worth noting is how the "overseer of northern foreign countries" title fits into the sketch which Penre, builder of the Ramesseum, gave of his career:

> I acted as overseer of foreign countries upon the northern foreign country. I acted as [chief of] the Medjay likewise, (and) charioteer of His Person, royal envoy to every land, and overseer of wor[ks in the] Mansion of King Userma'atre-Setepenre in the Estate of Amun.[29]

The sequence here is striking: not only does *jmy-r ḫ3s<w>t ḥr ḫ3st mḥtt* come first in a sequence of titles which rise in importance, culminating in Penre's final and most prestigious post; it is also isolated grammatically from the others, as if to emphasize its separation from the more notable offices this man acquired later in life. Moreover, on another of this man's monuments we find him laying claim to the same middling title, "troop commander", that occurs so often with other "overseers of northern foreign countries".[30]

In other words, common to all holders of the overseer's title was a responsible, but hardly pre-eminent, rank in the army and/or police. To be sure, a background of just this sort could have been a prerequisite for leadership in the pharaoh's Asian bureau – but even if so, that supreme rank cannot have been defined by *jmy-r ḫ3st mḥtt* or its variants, given the casual way it is used in the strings of titles belonging to these men (where it neither occurs as frequently nor is in the prominent position one might expect for the equivalent of the Nubian viceroy's title). It follows that, if "overseer of

---

[26] *AEO* I 33* (106).

[27] E.g., §§ 55, 65, 69 in the Battle of Kadesh "Bulletin" (*KRI* II 113, 115–6 = *RITA* II 16). Although Gardiner (in *The Ḳadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II* [Oxford 1960], 33) suggested that the garrison commanders were "practically identical with" the overseers of foreign countries – since the latter occur only in the Luxor Temple version of the text at B 55 and are not mentioned in parallel passages (B 65, 69) – this may be reading too much into a variant which might be explained in less drastic terms, even if the references to garrisons fit well with the presence of larger occupation forces in Asia following the Amarna period (see J. Weinstein, "The Egyptian Empire in Palestine: A Reassessment", *BASOR* 241 [1982], 11–28).

[28] As is manifest from Djehuty's title "overseer of a part of the northern foreign country" (see n. 15 above).

[29] On Penre's stela from Coptos: see M. Vallogia, *Recherche sur les "messagers" (wpwtyw) dans les sources égyptiennes profanes*, CRHP Hautes Études Orientales 6 (Geneva/Paris 1976), 136–7 (84), with earlier references.

[30] See C.F. Nims, "A Stela of Penre, Builder of the Ramesseum", *MDAIK* 14 (1956), 147, described as being "made by the one praised of the Good God, troop commander (*ḫry pḏt*), chief charioteer of His Person, overseer of the foreign countries, overseer of works in the Mansion of Userma'atre-Setepenre, chief of the Medjay".

the northern foreign countries" was not a significantly higher rank, it should occupy the same general level as the army/police offices with which it was so often associated. The same observation can be made, incidentally, for this title's Nubian counterpart, "overseer of the southern foreign countries": while it occurs most frequently among the viceroys' titles, it is claimed in one instance by someone less exalted – a man named Paheqaemsasen, who was also "overseer of the portal" (*jmy-r rwyt*) and "fanbearer" under Amenhotep II.[31] If "overseer of southern foreign countries", far from being exclusive to the "King's Son of Kush", was an office that persons of lower rank could hold, this can only subvert the commonly accepted understanding of the title: instead of being an alternative statement of the viceroy's leadership in Nubia, it expresses a more generic military responsibility which the viceroy would claim, *ex officio*, as the "overseer of southern foreign countries" *par excellence*. By analogy, "overseer of northern foreign countries" would define, not the bureau chief in charge of Asiatic affairs (if there was one), but only the area of responsibility held by senior military officers who served in the empire's Near Eastern marches.

Yet another indication of the northern overseers' middling rank is that none of them can be identified among the most senior diplomats or high "commissioners" operating in Asia. Such men, who held the distinctive title "royal envoy" (*wpwty-nsw*),[32] are well enough attested in Egyptian records, though not sufficiently to identify everyone who is on record as a senior *rabiṣu* in the Amarna Letters. Of these, only May(a) is attested with the royal envoy's title in Egypt.[33] Other major figures, like Yanhamu or Pawer, do not appear at all outside the Amarna Letters; and on the rare occasions such men are identified there with an Egyptian title, this data is all but useless, since only an honorific 'rank indicator' (not a service title) is mentioned.[34] Moreover, most "royal envoys" seem not to have held the title "overseer of northern foreign countries": the only apparent exception is Penre, who arguably served in this capacity before proceeding to the more prestigious posts he held later in his career (see n. 29 above). On the other hand, field officers who took an active role in policing the Asiatic vassals are sometimes described in the Amarna Letters as holding Egyptian titles[35]

---

[31] Der Manuelian, *Amenophis II*, 111–112 (III.4), with earlier references.

[32] As proposed by Edel, "Weitere Briefe aus der Heiratskorrespondenz Ramses' II.", in J.C.B. Mohr (ed.), *Geschichte und Altes Testament. Festschrift für Albrecht Alt* (Tübingen 1953), 56; and generally accepted since then: cf. I. Singer, "Takuḫlinu and Ḫaya: Two Governors in the Ugarit Letter from Tel Aphek", *Tel Aviv* 10 (1983), 20–21 ("the equation of 'messenger of the king to every foreign land' with 'governor, commissioner' is now conclusive"). The objections of Helck (*Beziehungen*^{2}, 250–1) are disposed of by Y.L. Holmes, "The Messengers of the Amarna Letters", *JAOS* 95 (1975), 376–381, who points to the range of activities which distinguished such men from mere "messengers"; and the same difference is also apparent in the Egyptian sources collected by Vallogia (*Messagers*, passim).

[33] Vallogia, *Messagers*, 105–7 (47, 49). This identification had been made earlier by K.A. Kitchen in a review published in *JEA* 53 (1967), 179–80, rebutting a conflicting identification of this figure with another man buried at el-Amarna. The other "commissioners" tentatively identified in Egyptian sources (see Helck, *Beziehungen*^{2} 250–1) are too sketchily attested or uncertain to be of much use.

[34] The description of Pawer (probably the later commissioner of the same name) as the king's "*irpi*-official" (a transcription of Egyptian *jry-pʿt*: EA 289, n. 5 in Moran, *Amarna Letters*, 333) reveals nothing, since this title graced the beginning of every high official's titulary in Egypt. Similarly, the Akkadian title of the high commissioner Yanhamu, "parasol-bearer of the king" (equivalent to Egyptian *ḥbsw bht*: see EA 106: 38 in ibid., 179-180 with n. 9; cf. Helck, *Verwaltung*, 281, n. 5) is also an honorific court rank which says nothing about the nature of this man's authority in the field.

[35] E.g., *ihri-pita* (Egyptian *ḥry pḏt*, "archer/troop commander": EA 107, n. 1 in Moran, *Amarna Letters*, 181); or, in Akkadian translation, *jmy-r jwʿyt*, "garrison commander" (EA 295, n. 6 in ibid., 338 and *ḥry*

which correspond with those claimed by "overseers of northern foreign countries" in Egyptian records. Thus it may well be that Helck was right (see n. 10 above) in assigning to the *rabiṣu* in Western Asia the Egyptian rank of "overseer of the northern countries", although with the difference that these would be the 'junior' commissioners, rather than higher placed figures (like Maya or Yanhamu) who give them their orders.

In conclusion, was there a 'bureau chief' who had the same overall responsibility for Western Asia that the Nubian viceroy had in Egypt's other empire to the south? The issue is complicated, both by gaps in basic documentation and the resulting impressionism which besets our assessment of the evidence. For example, the activities of "high commissioners" in the Amarna Letters have been interpreted to suggest that each was based in a different region, and from this the existence of imperial 'provinces' has been inferred – but how certainly, and how many? Cases have been made for as many as four,[36] but also for three,[37] two,[38] and even for no subdivisions at all before the post-Amarna age.[39] In the present state of our knowledge there is no way to resolve this problem, and the same ambiguity – rich in possibilities but short on specifics – affects the question of responsibility at the summit of Egypt's administration in Asia. The involvement of Yanhamu,[40] whose normal bailiwick was in Canaan,[41] with affairs further north *might* indicate that he outranked other, more locally based Egyptian officials: if so, might Yanhamu be the pre-eminent *rabiṣu*, and could he have been succeeded in this role by Maya?[42] All this is far from being proved, although it merits further investigation. On the other hand, if authority over the entire Asiatic empire *was* delegated, it might not have been to a field officer but to an official who normally resided in Egypt. If so, a strong candidate for this charge would be the ranking vizier,[43] who is designated "governor of Egypt" and (*the*?) "commissioner" in the Amarna correspondence,[44] and whose involvement (*ex officio*?) with military

---

jhw, "stablemaster" (EA 367, n. 2 in ibid., 365).

[36] Hachmann, *ZDPV* 98 (1982), 17–49.

[37] Helck, *Beziehungen*^{2}, 248–250.

[38] N. Na'aman, "The Political Disposition and Historical Developments of Eretz Israel according to the Amarna Letters", Ph.D. Tel Aviv University (1973), 166 ff.

[39] See L. Marfoe, "Between Qadesh and Kumidi. A History of Frontier Settlement and Land Use in the Biqa'a, Lebanon", Ph.D. University of Chicago (1978), 494–8, who sees places like Gaza, Sumur and Kumidi, not as provincial capitals, but as frontier posts and bases for policing the empire: "Seen in the light of internecine squabbling among the multitude of petty kingdoms ... (or) of marauding bandits terrorizing roadways through their territory, the need for a highly mobile and effective *rabiṣu* is compelling. He is not merely a tribute-collector, a guardian of the frontier, or an arbiter of petty feuds, but an overseer of the king's highways" (ibid., 510).

[40] Who is assumed to be an Asiatic on account of his semitic name (see, for example, Helck, *Beziehungen*^{2}, 249) – but could he have been an Egyptian with a 'fashionable' foreign name? Note that the physical remains of the recently discovered vizier Aper-El – if that is the correct reading of the Egyptian *ʿprjɜ(r)* – fall short of identifying him as Asiatic (E. Strouhal, "L'étude anthropologique et paléopathologique des restes du vizir Aper-El et sa famille: premiers résultats", *BSFE* 126 [March 1993], 24–37) despite *his* semitic name; so he too might be an Egyptian, as mooted already by A.-P. Zivie, *Découverte à Saqqarah: le vizir oublié* (Paris 1990), 172–5.

[41] E.g., Moran, *Amarna Letters*, 153 (EA 83:38–42), 192–4 (EA 116:73–80; 117:60–64); 258–9 (EA 71).

[42] For this sequence in the two men's careers see E.F. Campbell, *The Chronology of the Amarna Letters* (Baltimore 1964), especially pp. 96, 100; cf. Hachmann, *ZDPV* 98 (1982), 42–6.

[43] See most recently A. Gordon, "Who was the Southern Vizier in the Last Part of the Reign of Amenhotep III?", *JNES* 48 (1989), 15–23.

[44] Helck, *Beziehungen*^{2}, 248; cf. Moran, *Amarna Letters*, 113 with n. 1 (EA 40), written by the chief

administration is suggested by a couple of texts from the Nile Valley.[45] Alternatively, the pharaoh may have delegated responsibility for the Asian theatre to whomever among his officials seemed best qualified for the job. This might explain the appeals addressed to Akhenaten's court chamberlain, Tutu, who seems to have been sized up as a sympathetic listener by the wily king of Amurru.[46] Unfortunately the proof again falls short, for Tutu was a special favourite of the heretic king[47] and it may well have been for this reason that Aziru sought to gain his ear. As usual, we are left guessing at where the truth may lie, although perhaps we are a little better off than when we started, in knowing where it doesn't.

minister of Alashiya to his "brother" and opposite number in Egypt; and ibid., 140 with n. 1 (EA 71), sent from Rib-Hadda of Byblos to *Ḫaya pa-site* = in Egyptian *Ḥwy pꜣ ṯꜣty*, "Huy (=Amenhotep), the vizier", for whom see Gordon's article in the preceding note, along with idem, "The Tomb of the Vizier Amenhotep at Thebes", *MDAIK* 39 (1983), 71–9.

[45] See G.P.F. van den Boorn, *The Duties of the Vizier* (London 1988), pp. 214–228. Notice, also, that one of the two viziers accompanied Ramesses II on his ill-fated Kadesh campaign, and was "ordered to hurry-up His Person's army that was (still) marching at the south of the town of Shabtuna" (*KRI* II 117 = *RITA* II 16, slightly reworded here).

[46] Moran, *Amarna Letters*, 244–5 (EA 158), 251–2 (EA 164), 254–6 (EA 167, 169).

[47] Note the pre-eminence he claimed over a wide range of treasury officials, army officers, clergymen, and "all functionaries and chief men of the entire land", who were required to contribute some of their own perquisites to fatten Tutu's reward before the king: see Davies, *Amarna* VI, pls. xvii-xviii = *Urk.* IV 2012–2016 and idem, *Urk.* IV *Übersetzung*, 358–9; also translated by W.J. Murnane, *Texts from the Amarna Period in Egypt*, SBL Writings from the Ancient World 5 (Atlanta, 1995), 193–4 (§ 89.9).

Ermouthis à Athribis*

Karol Myśliwiec

Les fouilles de sauvetage menées depuis 1985 à Tell Atrib, faubourg oriental de Benha (50 km au nord du Caire), ont permis de dégager un quartier artisanal datant de l'époque ptolémaïque.[1] Situé à quelques centaines de mètres à l'est de l'emplacement hypothétique du temple principal de la ville, celui d'Horus Chentychety,[2] ce quartier semble bien avoir été fondé ou élargi, en tout cas habité par les soldats d'Alexandre le Grand qui s'étaient installés à Athribis, donc à l'endroit mentionné dans l'inscription biographique gravée sur le socle de la statue de Djed-Hor-le-Sauveur.[3] Un cartouche avec le nom d'Alexandre (*Stp-n-Rᶜ-mrj-Ỉmn*) gravé sur un bloc de calcaire (Fig. 1)[4] ainsi que des terres cuites représentant des chevaliers macédoniens[5] ou des têtes de soldats grecs et perses,[6] trouvées dans les couches les plus profondes de nos fouilles et datées à partir de la fin du IVe jusqu'au milieu du IIe s. av. J.-C., témoignent en faveur de cette attribution.

La stratigraphie non perturbée de plusieurs contextes archéologiques ainsi que l'abondance des objets servant à préciser la datation, surtout monnaies et anses timbrées d'amphores d'importation, permettent de situer dans un cadre chronologique d'innombrables témoignages de l'activité de potiers, coroplathes, sculpteurs et d'autres artisans locaux.[7] Le type de ces objets dénonce leur liaison avec des cultes de caractère dionysiaque associés à des traditions religieuses de l'Egypte ancienne,

*Je remercie le professeur Pascal Vernus et le docteur Nabil Swelim pour leurs précieux conseils et remarques concernant la matière de cet article, le professeur Anna Maria Donadoni Roveri et Madame Enrichetta Leopso pour les renseignements relatifs aux monuments semblables conservés au Musée de Turin ainsi que les professeurs Herman De Meulenaere et Joachim Śliwa pour l'intérêt qu'ils ont bien voulu porter à mon travail.

1 Voir les rapports de l'auteur de cet article dans *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* vols. I-VII (Warsaw 1990–1996), ainsi que les articles dans *EtTrav* XVI (1992), XVII (1995) et XVIII (1998), et les rapports de J. Leclant et G. Clerc dans *Orientalia*, à partir du volume 56, 1987. Cf. aussi K. Myśliwiec, "Tell Atrib", dans: *Od Nilu do Eufratu. Polska archeologia śródziemnomorska 1981–1994* (Warszawa 1995), 35–43.

2 P. Vernus, *Athribis. Textes et documents relatifs à la géographie, aux cultes et à l'histoire d'une ville du Delta égyptien à l'époque pharaonique*, BdE 74 (Le Caire 1978), 359, n. 4.

3 Vernus, op. cit., 358; cf. E. Jelinkovà-Reymond, *Les inscriptions de la statue guérisseuse de Djed-Ḥer-le-Sauveur*, BdE 23 (Le Caire 1956), 102–103.

4 K. Myśliwiec, "Tell Atrib excavations 1995", *PAM* VII, *Reports 1995*, 54, fig. 1, et p. 60; K. Myśliwiec and M.B. Said, "Polish-Egyptian Excavations at Tell Atrib in 1994–1995", *EtTrav* XVIII (1998), 191–193, fig. 9b, 10; K. Myśliwiec, *Herr beider Länder. Ägypten im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Mainz 1998), 214, fig. 80.

5 *EtTrav* XVIII (1998), 215 et 218, fig. 26a-d; Myśliwiec, *Herr beider Länder*, 221, figs. 91–92.

6 K. Myśliwiec et M.A.H. Rageb, "Fouilles polono-égyptiennes à Tell Atrib en 1986–1990", *EtTrav* XVI (1992), 401, fig. 5a-b; K. Myśliwiec and S.A. Senna, "Polish-Egyptian Excavations at Tell Atrib in 1991–1993", *EtTrav* XVII (1995) 220, fig. 18; K. Myśliwiec, "Athribis – eine hellenistische Stadt im Nildelta", *Antike Welt* 25/1 (1994), 39, fig. 12; Id., "Athribis entre Memphis et Alexandrie", *Dossiers d'Archéologie* 213 (1996), 43, fig. de droite; id., *Herr beider Länder*, 222–223, figs. 95–96.

7 K. Myśliwiec, "Les ateliers d'Athribis ptolémaïque", *Archeologia* XLVII (1996), 7–20.

surtout à celles qui relèvent de l'imagerie osirienne.[8]

Parmi les objets mis au jour dans ce quartier on trouve un monument unique dans son genre: un sceau en calcaire (Figs. 3–8) issu de la couche la plus profonde de nos fouilles, une couche intacte datant de la seconde moitié du IVe s. av. J.-C. (Fig. 2).[9] Cette date constitue le *terminus ante quem*, le sceau pouvant théoriquement être plus ancien; il aurait été apporté sur le lieu à l'époque en question. Cependant, vu l'homogénéité chronologique des autres objets provenant de la même couche, il semble plus plausible de l'attribuer, lui aussi, à la fin de l'époque dynastique ou au début même de l'époque ptolémaïque, conformément à son contexte stratigraphique.

Le sceau (N° TA 95/122) est fait en calcaire très mou. Il présente la forme d'une plaque ovale munie d'un tenon arrondi avec un trou au milieu. Dimensions de la plaque: longueur – 8 cm; largeur – 4,5 cm; épaisseur avec tenon – 3,5 cm.

Sur le côté plat du sceau figure une inscription hiéroglyphique gravée en creux, mise dans un cadre ovale. Sur une des extrémités, celui-ci est interrompu par une composition dont le modelé sommaire laisse à peine reconnaître les deux plumes d'autruche que l'on voit souvent surmonter les cartouches royaux, surtout dans le contexte funéraire.[10] Disposée verticalement, l'inscription se compose des signes suivants: *ꜥšꜣ*, deux signes *kꜣ* placés l'un à côté de l'autre, le signe *nb* et le cobra dont la forme suggère soit l'idéogramme soit le déterminatif du nom d'une déesse associée à l'uraeus. Bien que la lecture de ce dernier signe ne soit point évidente, des signes semblables ayant été lus dans des contextes similaires comme noms de diverses déesses-serpents,[11] l'ensemble de l'inscription permet d'exclure toute autre lecture que celle d'Ermouthis, déesse de la fécondité et de la moisson.

Qu'on la lise: (a) *ꜥšꜣ(.t) kꜣ(w) nb(w) Rnnwtt* – "(celle) qui abonde en toutes victuailles, Ermouthis";[12] (b) *ꜥšꜣ(.t) kꜣ(w), nb(.t) kꜣ(w)* – "(celle) dont les victuailles sont abondantes, la maîtresse des victuailles";[13] (c) *Rnnwtt nb(.t) kꜣ(w) ꜥšꜣ(w)* – "Ermouthis, la maîtresse des victuailles abondantes",[14] le résultat est le même: il s'agit d'épithètes bien connues d'Ermouthis,[15] la déesse vénérée tout particulièrement dans la région du Delta égyptien où plusieurs témoignages de son culte, parmi lesquels le nom d'une ville (Terenouthis), datent de l'époque gréco-romaine.[16]

Les liaisons d'Ermouthis avec Athribis sont bien connues. Une hypostase de toute

---

[8] Ibid., passim, et *Antike Welt* 25/1 (1994), 38–46.

[9] *EtTrav* XVIII (1998), 216 et 218–219, fig. 27a-d; cf. *PAM* VII (Warsaw 1996), 59–60.

[10] P. ex. sur les modèles de briques en calcaire et les plaques en faïence trouvées dans un dépôt de fondation du temple funéraire de Séti I à Qourneh, cf. K. Myśliwiec, *Keramik und Kleinfunde aus der Grabung im Tempel Sethos' I. in Gurna*, AVDAIK 57 (Mainz 1987), 36–37, pl. V:1–2, 5–8.

[11] Surtout Ouadjyt: W.M.F. Petrie, *Qurneh*, BSAE 16 (London 1909), 13, pl. XLVI:15–16; T.E. Peet and C.L. Woolley, *The City of Akhenaten* I, EES Excav. Memoirs 38 (London 1923), 162–163; J.D.S. Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten* III, EES Excav. Memoirs 44 (London 1951), 149, pl. LXXXIII:141–148 et 152), et Ermouthis (Renenoutet): W.M.F. Petrie, *Objects of Daily Use*, BSAE 42 (London 1927), 69, pl. LX:161–163, 168, 171, 186; H. Wild, "Contributions à l'iconographie et à la titulature de Qen-Amon", *BIFAO* 55 (1955), 214 n. 1. Voir aussi quelques cas particuliers dans la statuaire: E. Graefe, "Das sogenannte Senenmut-Kryptogramm", *GM* 38 (1980), 46–51.

[12] Cf. J. Broekhuis, *De godin Renenwetet* (Assen 1971), 142 (*ꜥšꜣ.(t) kꜣw*) et 148 (*kꜣw nb.w*).

[13] Comme le suggère P. Vernus que je tiens à remercier une fois de plus d'avoir bien voulu me faire part de ses idées. Pour ces épithètes, voir aussi J. Broekhuis, op. cit., 142.

[14] Cf. Broekhuis, op. cit., 144.

[15] Comp. aussi: *nb.t kꜣw ꜥšꜣ.w ḫw.t*: ibid., 144.

[16] Cf. C. Beinlich-Seeber, in *LÄ* V, 233–234, n. 32.

déesse égyptienne responsable de la protection du roi et de la fécondité,[17] Ermouthis était surtout assimilée à Isis,[18] une des déesses principales du panthéon athribite.[19] Un trait particulier pouvait aussi la rapprocher de Khouyt, une déesse athribite par excellence: les deux étaient en effet responsables de l'étoffe servant à envelopper soit le corps ou une partie du corps d'Osiris soit celui du défunt en général.[20] Indépendemment de ces affinités particulières, le fait même d'être située dans le Delta égyptien aurait suffi pour que Athribis fût un centre important du culte de la déesse-serpent.

En effet, son culte à Athribis est bien attesté par les sources écrites et, plus particulièrement, par celles de la fin de l'époque dynastique. On connaît un "autel" de Nectanébo II (Turin 1751) mentionnant "Ermouthis dans *ỉɜt-rnwtt*"[21] et "Ermouthis dans le grenier".[22] Une musicienne de la déesse Khouyt, mentionnée dans le texte gravé sur la statue de *Pɜ-n-kɜ-rwḏ* (Le Caire CG 1266, Basse Epoque), est désignée comme "une nourricière, possesseur de toute nourriture, une Ermouthis, riche en provisions".[23] Elle s'identifie donc avec la déesse-serpent en utilisant des épithètes semblables à celles qu'on lit sur notre sceau.

On connaît aussi bien des sceaux du genre représenté par le monument étudié[24] que des objets estampillés de sceaux similaires. La provenance d'un grand nombre de sceaux portant des épithètes d'Ermouthis est inconnue. Tel est, par exemple, le cas de quelques monuments semblables issus de la collection Drovetti, conservés actuellement au Musée de Turin.[25] Un autre sceau du Musée de Turin provient de Deir el-Médineh[26] où le culte d'Ermouthis est attesté pour l'époque du Nouvel Empire.[27]

Deux types d'objets étaient souvent estampillés avec des sceaux de ce genre, à savoir: bouchons d'amphores[28] et briques crues.[29] Les amphores mises sous la protection

---

17 D. Wildung, *BiOr* 29 (1972), 292, et P. Derchain, *CdE* 47 n°s 93/94 (1972), 137.

18 J. Broekhuis, op. cit., 105–109.

19 P. Vernus, *Athribis*, 459–460; id., *LÄ* I, 520.

20 Pour Khouyt, cf. Vernus, *Athribis*, 440–447, et id., *LÄ* I, 520. Pour Ermouthis, cf. Broekhuis, op. cit., 79–85, et D. Wildung, *BiOr* 29 (1972), 292.

21 Vernus, *Athribis*, 121 (1.10) et 123 n. (i).

22 Op. cit., 121 (1.7) et 123, n. (f).

23 Op. cit., 106 (n° 116).

24 P. ex.: G. Jéquier, *La pyramide d'Oudjebten* (Le Caire 1928), 19, fig. 23; W.M.F. Petrie, *Objects of Daily Use*, 69, pl. LX, et cf. p. 70, pl. LXII; Peet/Woolley, *CoA* I, 162–163; D. Ben Tor, *The Immortals in Ancient Egypt. From the Abraham Guterman Collection of Ancient Egyptian Art*, (Jerusalem 1997), 54 (n°. 46), cf. 25 (n°. 9).

25 A. Fabretti, F. Rossi et R.V. Lanzone, *Regio Museo di Torino – Antichità Egizie* (Torino 1888), 247–248 (voir particulièrement les n°s 6394–6396).

26 N° S.9955, provenant des fouilles de E. Schiaparelli à Deir el-Médineh en 1909. Je remercie Mme E. Leospo du Musée de Turin pour cette information.

27 M. Tosi et A. Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina* (Torino 1972), 223–224; J. Broekhuis, op. cit., 142–148.

28 P. ex.: W.M.F. Petrie, *Tell El Amarna* (London 1894), 30, pl. XXI (n°s 38–44); Peet/Woolley, *CoA* I, 162–163, pl. LV; Pendlebury, *CoA* III, 144 sqq., particulièrement p. 149, pl. LXXXIII (n°s 141–148 et 152); B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir El Médineh (années 1945–1946 et 1946–1947)*, FIFAO 21 (Le Caire 1952), 54, fig. 39 (n°s 31, 33, 64); W. Boochs, *Siegel und Siegeln im Alten Ägypten*, Kölner Forschungen zu Kunst und Altertum 4 (Sankt Augustin 1982), 86.

29 P. ex.: W.C. Hayes, "Inscriptions from the Palace of Amenhotep III", *JNES* 10 (1951), 162 sq.; A. Bey Kamal, "Rapport sur les fouilles du comte de Galarza", *ASAE* 10 (1910), 117; Peet/Woolley, *CoA* I, 164, pl. LV; Pendlebury, *CoA* III, 150, pl. LXXXIII (i-viii); E. Gaál, *Stamped Bricks from TT 32*, StudAeg 15 (Budapest 1993). Plus généralement sur la matière, voir: A.J. Spencer, "Brick Architecture in Ancient

de la déesse des victuailles contenaient généralement du vin, produit mentionné dans l'estampille sur le bouchon. Pour ce qui est de notre objet, aussi bien ses dimensions – il est sans doute trop large pour avoir servi à timbrer les bouchons – que le type de l'inscription laissent supposer qu'il était utilisé par un briquetier, même si, jusqu'à présent, aucune brique estampillée ne fut trouvée à Tell Atrib.

L'usage de cacheter les briques, répandu au Nouvel Empire, n'est attesté que sporadiquement à l'Epoque Tardive.[30] Bien que, dans la plupart des cas, le cadre de ces estampilles soit rempli de noms de rois ou de particuliers, on y trouve aussi des épithètes de divinités qui définissent le caractère religieux de l'édifice qu'on construisait avec des briques marquées.[31] Plusieurs sceaux portent le nom du bâtiment en question, mis parfois dans le cadre carré du signe *ḥwt* qui fait alors partie de l'inscription.[32]

Même si, sur le plan formel, l'inscription de notre sceau ne constitue pas le nom d'un édifice particulier, elle se rapporte sans aucun doute à une construction liée au culte d'Ermouthis. L'absence de la barre horizontale dans la partie inférieure de l'ovale, élément indispensable pour un cartouche complet, paraît sans importance, étant donné que même les noms de plusieurs rois du Nouvel Empire, empreints sur quelques briques à Thèbes, apparaissent dans un ovale sans barre.[33] Tout aussi facultative semble la présence ou l'absence ainsi que la forme des deux plumes surmontant cette figure.[34]

Nous aurions ainsi la preuve que, vers la fin de l'époque dynastique, il y avait à Athribis un édifice important lié au culte d'Ermouthis, construit en briques crues. Comme, pour des raisons pratiques, les briques de ce genre étaient moulées dans le voisinage des murs *in spe*, il paraît fort probable que ce bâtiment se trouvait à proximité de la zone fouillée, soit dans le faubourg oriental de la ville. De quel type de construction pourrait-il donc s'agir?

Dame des victuailles et protectrice des greniers, Ermouthis était souvent représentée ou mentionnée en relation avec ce genre d'enceintes sacrées qui abritaient, en plus, une chapelle de son culte.[35] Les briques timbrées avec notre sceau auraient donc pu servir à la construction d'un grenier ou (et?) d'une chapelle dédiée à Ermouthis, érigée dans l'enceinte du grenier. Compte tenu de la datation du sceau, on pourrait songer au grenier et à la *Ỉȝt-rnwtt* mentionnés sur l''autel' de Nectanébo II (Turin 1751).[36] Cette hypothèse devient encore plus prometteuse quand on rappelle la découverte de quelques blocs en calcaire portant les noms de ce roi, provenant sans doute d'un

---

Egypt" (Warminster 1979), 144–146, pls. 21–36; W. Boochs, op. cit., 21.

30 Spencer, op. cit., 144–145.

31 Boochs, op. cit., 21.

32 Spencer, op. cit., 144–145, pl. 32 (nos 71–73). P. ex.: Peet/Woolley, *CoA* I, 164. Il y a aussi des noms d'édifices inscrits simplement dans un ovale, p. ex.: Spencer, op. cit., pl. 28 (nos 41–46), pl. 29 (nos 52–53), pl. 30 (nos 57, 59); Peet/Woolley, op. cit., pl. LXXXIII (nos ii, vi-viii); W.C. Hayes, op. cit., 175, fig. 30 (nos vi-ix).

33 P. ex.: E. Gaál, op. cit., 102 (no 146.86/1,a = pl. 22a), 110 (no 170.89/36 = pl. 26c), 121 (no 200. 91/113 et 114 = pl. 32a,b), 125 (no 212.92/24 = pl. 34c) et bien d'autres; Hayes, op. cit., 175, fig. 30 (no v).

34 Voir, p. ex., Hayes, op. cit., 175, fig 30 (nos iii, iv) où deux types différents de plumes surmontent deux cartouches juxtaposés.

35 Cf. N.M. and N. de G. Davies, "Harvest Rites in a Theban tomb", *JEA* 25 (1939), 154–155, pl. XIX. Pour d'autres exemples, voir C. Beinlich-Seeber, *LÄ* V, 232, n. 8.

36 Cf. notes 21–22.

temple ou d'une chapelle située dans le voisinage de nos fouilles, à quelque 200 m à l'ouest de l'endroit où gisait le sceau.[37] La chapelle de Nectanébo II aurait pu être élargie au début de l'époque ptolémaïque, si tel était le témoignage des fragments en calcaire portant le nom d'Alexandre le Grand (Fig. 1) – qui peut aussi bien être celui de Philippe Arrhidée ou de Ptolémée Ier – trouvés pendant nos fouilles tout près d'un four à chaux datant de l'époque ptolémaïque tardive.[38]

On ne peut pas exclure l'hypothèse selon laquelle les briques marquées d'épithètes d'Ermouthis auraient été fabriquées pour la construction du tombeau de la prêtresse *Ḥtp*[...], fille de *Pȝ-n-kȝ-rwḏ*, identifiée à Ermouthis,[39] qui devait vivre à la même époque. Cette éventualité nous paraît pourtant moins plausible car, malgré toutes les affinités qui existent entre les deux, l'inscription de notre sceau porterait alors le nom de la prêtresse plutôt que celui de la déesse. Par ailleurs, les briques en question pouvaient aussi bien servir à la construction de divers bâtiments comme c'était, p. ex., le cas des briques portant le nom du Petit Temple d'Achet-Aton à l'époque amarnienne.[40]

Si notre interprétation du témoignage qu'apporte le sceau trouvé à Tell Atrib est juste, les soldats d'Alexandre le Grand, obligés de quitter l'enceinte d'un temple, se seraient installés dans le voisinage d'un grenier important. Ce voisinage aurait-il stimulé le développement d'un culte de fertilité dans le quartier, un culte associé tant à Dionysos qu'à Osiris et marqué d'accents érotiques?[41] C'est probablement pour satisfaire les besoins de ce culte que travaillaient les boulangers qui faisaient des pains rituels portant un décor estampillé à l'aide des moules dont on a trouvé plusieurs exemplaires dans les couches ptolémaïques.[42] La continuation du culte des divinités "agraires" à Athribis romaine est confirmée par la trouvaille d'une terre cuite représentant "Isis-sur-corbeille",[43] une hypostase de la déesse associée depuis longtemps à Ermouthis.[44]

---

[37] *EtTrav* XVI (1992) 402–404, fig. 7a-c; Myśliwiec, *Herr beiden Länder*, 214, fig. 81.

[38] Cf. note 4.

[39] Cf. note 23.

[40] Spencer, op. cit., 145 n. 48.

[41] *EtTrav* XVII (1995), 221–225, 235; K. Myśliwiec, "Un passage des Textes des Pyramides et la rencontre d'une tradition égyptienne avec une tradition grecque à l'époque ptolémaïque", in *Zwischen den Beiden Ewigkeiten* [Fs. G. Thausing] (Wien 1994), 154–158; id., "Isis-Aphrodite 'anasyrménè' et le culte de la déesse nue à Athribis ptolémaïque", in *Hommages à Jean Leclant* 3, BdE 106/3 (Le Caire 1994), 385–389; id., "Athribis entre Memphis et Alexandrie", *Dossiers d'Archéologie* 213 (1996), 40–41; id., "In the Ptolemaic Workshops of Athribis", *Egyptian Archaeology* 9 (1996), 34–35; id., "Phallic Figurines from Tell Atrib", *Essays in Honour of Prof. Dr. Jadwiga Lipińska*, Warsaw Egyptological Studies 1 (Warsaw 1997), 119–137; id., "La fonction des bains publics d'époque ptolémaïque à Athribis", *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* 46/1–2 (Warsaw 1998), sous presse.

[42] J.K. Szczepkowska, "A Stamp with a Representation of Eros Riding a Dolphin from Tell Atrib", *EtTrav* XVII (1995), 309–318; id., "A Group of Ceramic Bread Stamps and Fragments of Braziers from Ptolemaic Workshops in Tell Atrib (Egypt)", in Ε′ Επιστημονική Συνάντηση για την Ελληνιστική Κεραμική, Χανιά 6–13 απριλίου 1997 (Chania 1997), 84; *EtTrav* XVII (1995) 226, fig. 26, et p. 229; J. Leclant et G. Clerc, "Fouilles et travaux en Egypte et au Soudan 1993–1994", *Orientalia* 64 (1995), 237, fig. 5; *Antike Welt* 25/1 (1994), 46; K. Myśliwiec, "Les ateliers d'Athribis ptolémaïque", *Archeologia* XLVII (1996), 19, pl. XV: 2–4.

[43] K. Myśliwiec, "Isis à Athribis", *EtTrav* XV (1990), 287–289, fig. 1a-b.

[44] Cf. note 18.

Fig. 1 Blocs de calcaire avec le nom d'Alexandre le Grand en relief. Tell Atrib, TA 95/75. Haut. 22 cm.

Fig. 2 Le lieu de découverte du sceau TA 95/122 (indiqué par la flèche).

Figs. 3-5 Le sceau en calcaire trouvé à Tell Atrib, TA 95/122. Haut. 8 cm

Figs. 6-7 Sceau trouvé à Tell Atrib, TA 95/122. Haut. 8 cm.

Fig. 8 Inscription sur le sceau de Tell Atrib.

Dessins: Marek Puszkarski
Photographies: Andrzej Ring
Polish Center of Mediterranean Archaeology,
Warsaw University.

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

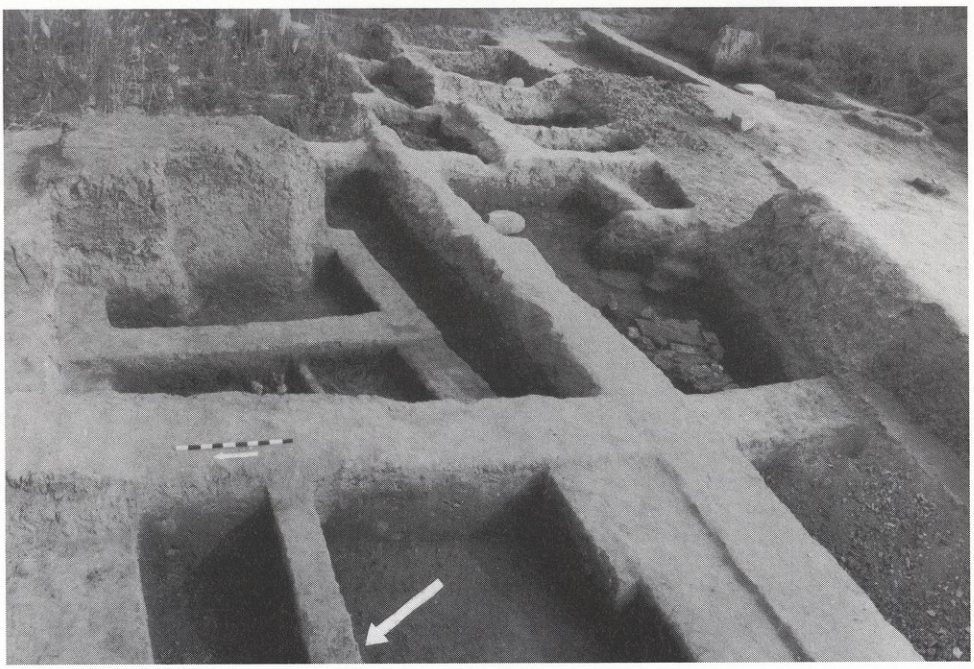


Fig. 3

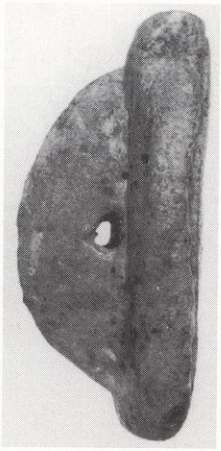


Fig. 4

Fig. 5

Fig. 6

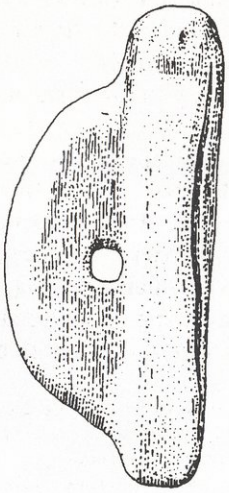


Fig. 7

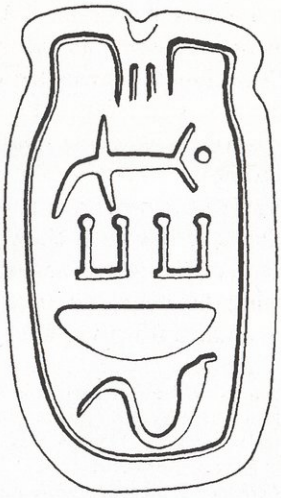


Fig. 8

An Image of Nebwenenef, High Priest of Amun

William H. Peck

It is my privilege to dedicate the following brief notes on a Ramesside sculpture to Herman te Velde, friend and colleague, who at one stage in his Egyptological career was actively involved in the excavations carried out at the tomb of Nebwenenef, High Priest of Amun in the reign of Ramesses II.[1]

In 1990 the Detroit Institute of Arts acquired a fragment from a statue[2] representing what could then only be identified as an important official who had been active during the reign of Ramesses II. The fragment, little more than a bust, preserves only the head, shoulders and upper torso of a male figure. The attire of the person, as it was preserved, indicated high rank and station. From the nature of the partially preserved inscription on the back pillar as well as the shape of the fracture on the figure's proper left arm, it was clear that this fragment had come from a pair statue, presumed at the time of its acquisition to have represented a man and his wife, lacking evidence to the contrary.[3] In addition to the small portion of what would have been a lengthy text on the back pillar, an incised cartouche of Ramesses II on the figure's right shoulder was the only inscriptional evidence on the fragment. Neither the man's name or any titles are preserved anywhere on the piece.

The figure is preserved roughly to the waist at an irregular horizontal break. The right arm is missing below the shoulder, providentially broken immediately below an inscribed cartouche, while the left arm is preserved to the elbow and includes the complete pleating of the elaborate sleeve. An indication of the top of a similarly pleated kilt can be seen at the back of the proper right side. The right side and point of the nose has been chipped, otherwise the face is in good condition. Much of the surface of the statue has suffered small cracking, possibly attributable to heating or burning the stone, but there are no apparent insecure fragments. Several of the cracks have a black fill material in them, and the bottom of the left arm and sleeve also have

[1] Professor te Velde took part in the excavations conducted by Lanny Bell at Dira Abu el-Naga for three seasons. He published a popular account of the work (in Dutch) in *Phœnix* 19/1 (1973), 219–230.

[2] Detroit Institute of Arts accession number: 1990.292.
Title: Bust of Nebwenenef, High Priest of Amun. Date: New Kingdom, Dynasty XIX, early in the reign of Ramesses II (between 1290 and 1273 BC). Material/Technique: Carved black Granite.
Measurements: H. 36.5 cm (14 3/4 in.). Provenance: Probably from Theban Tomb 157.
Founders Society Purchase: Mr. and Mrs. Benson Ford Fund, Henry Ford II Fund, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Buhl Ford II Fund, Josephine and Ernest Kanzler Fund, General Endowment Fund, Mr. and Mrs. Allan Shelden III Fund, Joseph H. Boyer Memorial Fund, J. Lawrence Buell, Jr. Fund, Mr. and Mrs. Alvan Macauley, Jr. Fund, Barbara L. Scripps Fund, Henry E. and Consuelo S. Wenger Foundation Fund, Matilda R. Wilson Fund, Robert H. Tannahill Foundation Fund, Abraham Borman Family Fund, Mary Martin Semmes Fund, Edna Burian Skelton Fund, James F. Duffy, Jr. Fund, Hill Memorial Fund, and funds from various contributors.

[3] Although the assumption was that it had come from a pair statue of a man and wife it could have represented some other family combination such as evidenced by the well-known pair statue of Thutmosis IV and his mother, Cairo CG 42080.

minor fillings. Light areas of color which are possibly the remains of polychrome are present in areas of low relief in the hair, garment, and inscriptions.

The face is full and rounded, the eyes are set in with the upper and lower lids lightly incised, the bridge of the nose is sharply articulated and the lips are full. The ear lobes are large and piercing is slightly indicated. The head is dressed with an elaborate double wig with tied locks consisting of three hair strands each at the brow. The over wig extends at the back to shoulder level, while the under wig lappets reach almost to the breasts in front. The remains of costume indicate a male garment which is traditional for the period, with its simple slit neckline and elaborately pleated sleeves. This statue fragment is an excellent example serving to illustrate the lasting influence of the courtly style popular in late Dynasty XVIII. The early years of the reign of Ramesses II, early in Dynasty XIX, are in many respects a return to and a continuation of the highly developed sensitivity of late Dynasty XVIII, the time of Amenhotep III and his successors. During the reign of Amenhotep III the development of a courtly or "palace" style produced with a high degree of artistic sensibility and subtlety of execution had come to fruition, well exemplified by many representations of royalty and nobility. After the interruption of tradition during the time of the heretic king, Akhenaten, the artists of the Ramesside age sought to return to that earlier standard and quality and to resume the attention and adherence to canonical strictures of representation in the arts. The statue now identified as the High Priest, Nebwenenef, is a good example of this artistic direction and it can be compared to advantage with other works of the same time. The seated figure of Ramesses II in the Egyptian collection in Turin[4] is the type of ideal to which the image of Nebwenenef aspired. The quality of the early Ramesside paintings in the tomb of Userhet (Theban Tomb 51) or the reliefs of Seti I at Abydos suggest the milieu from which the sculpture emerged and the high level of accomplished artistic craftsmanship available to well-placed courtiers.

When this sculpture was acquired by the Institute of Arts it was only possible to identify it as "an important official who lived in Egypt during the reign of Ramesses II, as attested by the name of that king on his right shoulder".[5] It is entirely to the credit of Dr Lanny Bell, once Field Director for the Dira Abu el-Naga project of the University of Pennsylvania and now Associate Professor Emeritus, the University of Chicago, that the identification of this piece as a representation of Nebwenenef was made known to us. We wish to extend our sincere thanks formally to him for this valuable information. Much of the information in this paper is indebted to Dr Bell and is based on his work.

Bell excavated at Dira Abu el-Naga in the tomb of Nebwenenef (Theban Tomb 157) for four seasons. Among his publications of this excavation is a semi-popular account of the work in an article in the University of Pennsylvania publication, *Expedition*,[6] in which he described the discovery of "the most important find of our whole excavation (which) is a stunning black granite bust of Nebwenenef's wife Takhat".

---

[4] Turin 1380.

[5] Quote from the initial description of the piece when it entered the collection of the Detroit Institute of Arts.

[6] "In the Tombs of the High Priests of Amun", *Expedition* Vol. 15, No. 2 (Winter, 1973), 17–27; the bust of Takhat is illustrated on p. 27.

With this description he also expressed the belief that the upper part of the figure of Nebwenenef might be "among the many disembodied heads in the world's Egyptian collections". In a further publication[7] summarizing his research on High Priests of Amun in the Ramesside period, Bell mentioned the piece now in Detroit, however he did not provide an illustration of it. It is clear from the evidence assembled by him that this representation of Nebwenenef can be said conclusively to come from a pair statue representing the man with his wife, the lady Takhat. It is at last possible to identify all of the parts of the pair statue, if not to reunite them.

Theban Tomb 157 was known to Champollion, Rosellini and Lepsius, and Champollion included a plan of the tomb in the *Notices Descriptives*. Aspects of the tomb have been noted or published by a long list of Egyptologists including Hay, Wilkinson, Borchardt, Fischer, Greenlees, Sethe, Hölscher, Säve-Söderbergh, Davies, and Gardiner.[8] The lower portion of the pair statue has an additional history of its own. It was recorded as having been seen in Cairo as early as 1881 and so noted by A. Wiedemann in "Der Oberpriester des Amon Neb-unen-f unter Ramses II".[9] Sixty years later (1941) it was published with photographs by Gregoire Loukianoff as having been located in the museum of the monastery of St. George in Old Cairo.[10] When the late Dr Labib Habachi inquired as to its whereabouts on behalf of Dr Bell, his inquiry "was met with a negative response".[11]

Before assuming his role of High Priest of Amun in the first year of the reign of Ramesses II, Nebwenenef had already held the offices of High Priest of Anhur, and High Priest of Hathor, Lady of Dendera, indicating that he had been of considerable prestige and importance during the reign of Seti I. Nebwenenef's installation as High Priest of Amun was obviously the capstone of a most distinguished career. The circumstance and manner of his selection was recorded in his tomb in a text which is often quoted in the Egyptological literature.[12] His elevation to that exalted rank occurred during the first year of the reign of Ramesses II when the king was in Thebes presumably for the funerary ceremonies for his father, Seti I, but certainly for the celebration of the feast of Opet. Nebwenenef had the distinction of being singled out and appointed by the god Amun himself when he pronounced his divine choice in an oracle after the candidates were put forward. Nebwenenef was not to be informed of the divine intervention until the king's royal progress moved north to Abydos. To roughly paraphrase a section of the text from the tomb:

> Year one, third month of Inundation: when his majesty sailed north from Thebes, (after completing the festival of Opet), Nebwenenef was brought into the presence of his majesty, being already high priest of Anhur and priest of the gods from

[7] Lanny Bell: "Dira Abu el-Naga: The monuments of the Ramesside High Priests of Amun and Some Related Officials", *MDAIK* 37 (1981), 51–62, entry 1. C. 3. with notes.

[8] PM I/1^2, 266–268 (TT 157).

[9] Bell, *MDAIK* 37, 53 n. 35 with other references.

[10] Bell, op. cit., 53 n. 36: G. Loukianoff "Le Musée du Convent Grec Saint Georges au Vieux-Caire", *BIÉ* 23 (1941), 171–178, pls. III–IV.

[11] Bell, op. cit., 53 n. 37: PM II^2, 421.

[12] J.H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* III (Chicago 1906), 104 [256], an extract; G. Lefebvre, *Histoire des Grands Prêtres d'Amon de Karnak* (Paris 1929), 117–123, 248–249; Loukianoff, cited above, gives the complete text in French because of "l'importance historique" and "beaucoup de détails intéressants"; *KRI* III, 283–285.

north of Thebes to Thinis. The king told him that he was now the high priest of Amun, and that he (the king) had offered up the names of all the priests of the god but Amun would have no other but him.[13]

In addition to his elaborate tomb in the Theban necropolis, befitting a High Priest of Amun, Nebwenenef had the rare distinction to be one of the few individuals singled out to have his own mortuary temple at Gourna. As was Amenhotep, son of Hapu, in the reign of Amenhotep III, Nebwenenef was one of the exceptional nonroyal personages awarded that honor and privilege. There is little trace of the temple, which was once located to the south-west of the Temple of Seti I, aside from a pair of broken colossal statues and the additional evidence of foundation deposit objects which were found bearing both the names of Ramesses II and of Nebwenenef.[14]

It can certainly be assumed that for the first decade of the reign of Ramesses II Nebwenenef was exalted and honored. Associated with his position as primate of the priesthood of Amun his secular titles included "overseer of the Double House of gold and silver", "overseer of the double granary", "overseer of work", and "chief of all the craftsmen of Thebes", attesting to the considerable influence and power vested in his office.

For any survey of Egyptian art this piece of sculpture would provide an excellent example from one of the most important periods in Egyptian history. In a retrospective manner, as is suggested above, it continues to exhibit the elegance and grace exemplified by work of Dynasty XVIII, as the tradition was revived in Dynasty XIX. It is of a scale that accords with the importance of the individual for whom it was made.

Egyptian sculpture in the collection of the Detroit Institute of Arts is represented by a woefully small number of examples of complete figures and heads, with little depth and range to the collection to illustrate the major directions or the variety, especially in New Kingdom sculpture. Sculpture of this period is best represented by a small Seated Scribe, an important masterpiece, but one that is miniature in size. With it can be included a limestone male head from Early Dynasty XVIII as well as a quartzite bust, both of private individuals. This representation of a high Ramesside official has done much to extend the range and convey more of the spirit of Egyptian art of this period. That it has been identified not only as a known individual, but also a personality of acknowledged historical importance, certainly makes it even more an object of considerable interest.[15]

---

[13] K.A. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant: The Life and Times of Ramesses II* (Warminster/Mississauga 1982), 46–47.

[14] PM II^2, 421.

[15] Recent publications of the piece include: *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts* Vol. 66 no. 4 (1990), 49, Ill.; "New Egyptian Statue in Detroit", *Minerva* Vol. 2 no. 4 (July/August, 1991), 37; "Detroit and the Ancient World", *Minerva* Vol. 2 no. 5 (Sept./Oct. 1991), 23; W.H. Peck, "Egypt at the Detroit Institute of Arts – A History of the Growth of the Collection", *KMT* Vol. 2 no. 3 (Fall 1991), 17, Ill.

Fig. 1 Bust of Nebwenenef, Detroit Institute of Arts 1990.292.

Fig. 2 Bust of Nebwenenef (back).

Fig. 3 Drawing of the back of the base recorded in Cairo in the nineteenth century with the fragment now in Detroit.

Fig. 4 Nebwenenef before Ramesses II and Nefertari. Line drawing of the scene in Theban Tomb 157. Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

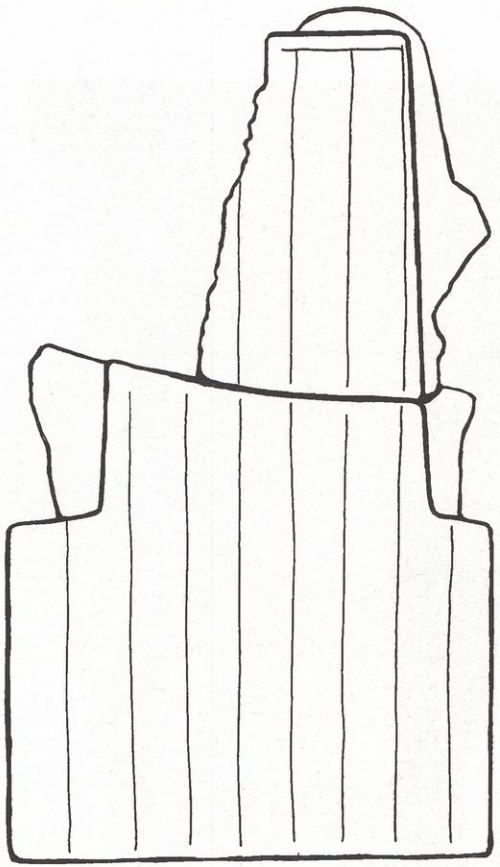


Fig. 3

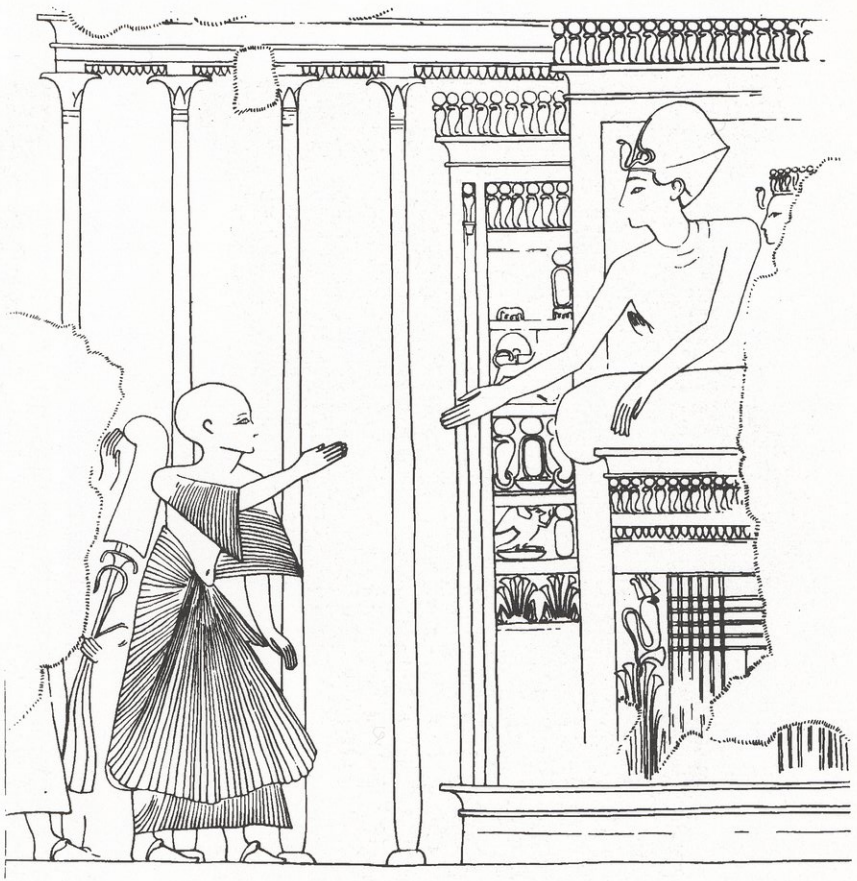


Fig. 4

Charms for Protection during the Epagomenal Days

Maarten J. Raven

In his brilliant *Studies in Iconology*, Panofsky has drawn attention to a recurring phenomenon in the tradition of cultural heritage, viz. a dichotomy between texts and images.[1] A disconnection between literary and artistic traditions was perhaps inevitable in the cultural climate of, for instance, the Middle Ages, which was characterised by a marked degree of insularity in scholarship, art, and literature. One would not expect, however, to find a similar phenomenon in contemporary Egyptological research, yet it has been remarked before that, to a certain extent, Egyptology lags behind standards set by scholars in other disciplines. Due to this 'medieval' state of mind, it is still quite common to find scholars studying the literary evidence while ignoring the archaeological *realia*.[2] Herman te Velde is certainly not guilty of this attitude; on the contrary, he has always advocated the truly iconographical method which takes into account both texts and images, as I found out to my profit when he sat on the committee which reviewed my dissertation. Therefore, I dedicate the following contribution to my good friend and colleague from Groningen, hoping its relevance for the study of the goddess Sakhmet/Mut proves to be of further interest for him.

The instructions of papyrus Leiden I 346

In 1948, Stricker published a transliteration, translation, and commentary of the Leiden papyrus cat. I 346 (inventory number AMS 23a), containing spells for protection during the epagomenal days.[3] Because of their very special character as a period of transition from one year cycle to another, these days had a status of their own in the Egyptian hemerological concepts. This period of the year was characterised by shortage and disease, but also by the eager expectation of the new inundation and the renewal of vegetation. Accordingly, the Egyptians had a very ambivalent attitude towards this critical period, during which they were exposed to the whims of the goddess Sakhmet, the Eye of Rēʿ. During the epagomenal days, the normal cyclical course of time (*nḥḥ*) came to a standstill. A new precarious balance (*ḏt*) was established, which might last forever unless certain ritual or magic precautions were taken. Clearly, these days called for a special kind of protection, and it is with this that Papyrus Leiden I 346 is concerned.[4] The text starts with a copy of the *Book of*

[1] E. Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology* (New York 1939), 3–31.

[2] Cf. my remarks in M.J. Raven, *Symbols of Resurrection* (Leiden 1984), vii-viii; and my review of P. Eschweiler, *Bildzauber im alten Ägypten. Die Verwendung von Bildern und Gegenständen in magischen Handlungen nach den Texten des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches*, OBO 137 (Freiburg/Göttingen 1994), in *BiOr* 53 (1996), 692–697.

[3] B.H. Stricker, "Spreuken tot beveiliging gedurende de schrikkeldagen naar Pap. I 346", *OMRO* 29 (1948), 55–70.

[4] Stricker, op. cit., 56–61; C. Leitz, *Tagewählerei. Das Buch ḥɜt nḥḥ pḥ.wy ḏt und verwandte Texte*,

the Last Day of the Year (Col. I.1–II.5).[5] This consists of the invocation of twelve gods who are identified as the "murderers who stand in waiting upon Sakhmet, who have come forth from the Eye of Rēʿ, messengers everywhere present in the districts, who bring slaughtering about, who create uproar, who hurry through the land, who shoot their arrows from their mouth[s], who see from afar". By equating himself with Rēʿ, the magician then conjures these spirits to keep distant. The text ends with an instruction: "Words to be said over a piece of fine linen. These gods are to be drawn on it, and it is to be fitted with twelve knots. To offer to them bread, beer and burning incense. To be applied to a man's throat. (A means) to save a man [from] the plague of the year; an enemy will have no power over him. A means to placate the gods in the retinue of Sakhmet and Thoth. Words to be said by a man from the last day <until> the opening day of the year, <on> the *Wag*-festival and at the daybreak of the Ernutet festival."

The papyrus then continues with an enumeration of the five epagomenal days and the associated protective spells (Col. II.5–III.4). The latter had to be addressed to the five gods whose birthdays were commemorated on the days in question: Osiris, Haroeris, Seth, Isis, and Nephthys. This section likewise ends with an instruction: "To be recited. Then one should draw these gods with yellow paint[6] and then with myrrh[7] on a strip of fine linen on the five epagomenal days." This is followed by a second treatise, the *Book of the Five Epagomenal Days* (Col. III.4–12), a rather puzzling spell comprising a further equation of the magician with Sakhmet and Wadjet.

This text has recently been studied by Eschweiler, in the framework of his dissertation on *Bildzauber*.[8] It is strange that the author does not make any reference to the fact that, apart from the texts, the Leiden papyrus also bears a vignette. This is to be found at the very end of Col. III and depicts twelve seated divinities, properly identified by hieratic captions (Fig. 1). The vignette was discussed by Stricker, who realised that it depicts the deities invoked in Col. I. The order of the twelve gods and their epithets are exactly the same as in the running text:

1. Sakhmet the great, mistress of Asheru (lion-headed).
2. Shentit, who resides in Busiris (human-headed).
3. King Rēʿ, lord of heaven (falcon-headed with disk).
4. Shesemtet, mistress of Punt (lion-headed).
5. Horus, lord of Behdet (falcon-headed, double crown?).
6. Sobek, lord of Minet (crocodile-headed, feather crown).
7. The Eye of Asheru (lion-headed).
8. The Eye of Rēʿ, mistress of the Two Lands, who rules over Iu-neserser (human-headed?).

ÄgAbh 55 (Wiesbaden 1994), 416–427; G. Pinch, *Magic in Ancient Egypt* (London 1994), 38–39, with n. 7 referring to pLeiden I 346.

[5] Quoted here after the translation by J.F. Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts*, NISABA 9 (Leiden 1978), no. 13.

[6] For the most recent discussion of *ḳnit* (orpiment), see I. Blom-Böer, "Zusammensetzung altägyptischer Farbpigmente und ihre Herkunftslagerstätten in Zeit und Raum", *OMRO* 74 (1994), 81 n. 182.

[7] Doubtless a solution of a gum-resin in water, used as an adhesive.

[8] P. Eschweiler, *Bildzauber im alten Ägypten, die Verwendung von Bildern und Gegenständen in magischen Handlungen nach den Texten des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches*, OBO 137 (Freiburg/Göttingen 1994), 59–61.

9. Horus of the spirits of Ipet (falcon-headed).
10. Who is under his moringa tree, lord of Shenet (falcon-headed?).
11. The brilliant Eye of Horus, mistress of wine (lion-headed).
12. Khnum, lord of the House of Thirty (ram-headed).

Thus, the vignette of the Leiden papyrus presents an explicit model for the fabrication of at least one of the linen amulets concerned. Yet nobody ever seems to have wondered whether these instructions were in fact carried out. Egyptology has become so text-oriented that the actual survival of a number of linen charms of the kind prescribed here has remained completely unnoticed, even though one of them was published as early as 1853.[9]

Description of the linen charms

The linen charms in question were acquired by the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden (RMO) with the D'Anastasi collection in 1828 and have inventory number AU 30c. They were described at the time as *1 paquet de tresses de bandes de toile de fil d'une finesse extrême; quelques une[s] avec des caractères imprimés en noir.*[10] Leemans slightly revised this description as *cordon tressé d'une bande de toile d'une finesse extraordinaire, ornée de figures de divinités, dessinés à trait* (no. I 123).[11] It is not quite clear whether the object indeed consisted of several strips of cloth plaited together, as these texts seem to imply. At present, five separate strips of linen are kept under this number; these were recently listed in the catalogue of the collection of Egyptian textiles in the RMO as no. 134.[12] For reasons of convenience I shall refer to the five strips below as nos. **a-e**. The measurements given here slightly exceed those mentioned in the textile catalogue because the fibres have now been properly flattened.

Strip **a** (Fig. 2) is the one already illustrated in the *Monumens égyptiens* (Leemans' number I 123b). It measures 75 cm long by 2.8 cm wide. Both ends have been tightly rolled and only the central section of 25 cm length has been flattened (doubtless upon acquisition by the RMO). This section is inscribed in black ink with a procession of twelve standing divinities facing right and standing on a continuous baseline, with captions in cursive hieroglyphs above their heads. The order of the deities is as follows:

1. Female, lion-headed, uraeus on head: "Sakhmet".
2. Female, human-headed: "Shentit".
3. Male, falcon-headed, disk with uraeus on head: "Rē".
4. Female, human-headed: "Wadjet".
5. Female, human-headed: "Shesemtet".
6. Male, falcon-headed, double crown: "Horus".

---

[9] C. Leemans *et al.*, *Monumens égyptiens du Musée d'Antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide*, II.14 (Leiden 1853), pl. LXXXVII no. I 123b (= strip **a**).

[10] Inventarisboek 3.61. Cf. *Catalogue original de la collection d'Antiquités Égyptiennes d'Anastasy*, 77 (Archives, RMO).

[11] C. Leemans, *Description raisonnée des monumens égyptiens du Musée d'Antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide* (Leiden 1840), 104.

[12] P.P.M. van 't Hooft, M.J. Raven, E.H.C. van Rooij, and G.M. Vogelsang-Eastwood, *Pharaonic and Medieval Egyptian Textiles*, CNMAL 8 (Leiden 1994), 76 cat. 134 with pl. 6 (showing strips **a** and **b**).

7. Male, crocodile-headed, feather crown: "Sobek".
8. Male, ram-headed: "Khnum".
9. Female, human-headed: "[Mistr]ess of Asheru".
10. Female, human-headed: "Eye of Rēʿ".
11. Female, human-headed: "Eye of Horus".
12. Male, falcon-headed: "Who is under his moringa tree".

The male gods hold *was* sceptres and *ankh* signs, the female divinities have *ankh*s and papyrus sceptres.

Strip **b** (Fig. 3) is the longest specimen at 89.5 cm; its width is 3.3 cm. Its ends have been twisted to form a tight string; the centre has now been flattened over a length of 26 cm in order to show the vignette. This again shows a row of twelve standing deities facing right and standing on a continuous baseline, drawn in a more careless manner and therefore harder to identify. There are some proper captions, but for the other figures we only have the attributes on the heads to help us with their identification:

1. Male, falcon-headed, disk with uraeus on head: Rēʿ.
2. Male, human-headed, double crown: caption "Atum".
3. Male, human-headed, scarab on head: Khepri.
4. Male, ibis-headed: Thoth.
5. Male, human-headed, headdress unclear: caption "Neḥy"?[13]
6. Male, human-headed, lotus crown on head: Nefertem.
7. Female, human-headed, throne on head: Isis.
8. Female, human-headed, house and basket on head: Nephthys.
9. Male, human-headed, caption "Geb"?
10. Female, human-headed, headdress unclear: Nut?
11. Male, human-headed, headdress damaged: Shu?
12. Female, human headed, caption "Tefnut"?

The attributes held in the hands are more varied than in the case of strip **a**. *Was* sceptres are carried by nos. 2, 5, 9, and 11, papyrus sceptres by nos. 7, 8, 10, and 12. Flails are held by nos. 3 and 6, while Thoth (no. 4) seems to hold a *wedjat* eye between his raised hands. *Ankh* signs are not visible.

Strip **c** (Fig. 4) is 79 cm long and 3.1 cm wide, twisted like the others with a flattened central part of 15 cm. This is taken up by a depiction in black ink of a standing god with short kilt and tripartite wig, facing right and carrying an *ankh* and a *was*. A hieroglyphic caption above the head gives his name: "Osiris".

Strip **d** (Fig. 5) has a length of 83 cm and a width of 5.2 cm. A portion of 21 cm in length has been flattened, the rest is twisted into a tight string. The black ink drawing is coarser than on the previous specimen and depicts a standing goddess with *ankh* and papyrus sceptre, facing right. Her headdress (a throne) identifies her as Isis.

Strip **e** (Fig. 6) has the same width as the preceding one and is 77 cm long. It has been twisted together, except for the central 22 cm. Here we see an almost identical vignette of a goddess, drawn in the same hand as the specimen on strip **d** and identified by her headdress as Nephthys.

---

[13] Reading suggested to me by Dr J. van Dijk. The signs look like a bird followed by *-y*. For the god Neḥy, a form of Ptah, see M. Sandman-Holmberg, *The God Ptah* (Lund 1948), 178–182; A.R. Schulman, *JNES* 23 (1964), 275–279.

Interpretation

The presentation of the material above will already have demonstrated the importance of Papyrus Leiden I 346 for a proper assessment of the magico-religious significance of these five strips of linen. For the sake of clarity, however, I shall divide my comparison of texts and images into separate sections devoted to various aspects of the matter.

Materials

All five strips consist of extremely fine linen with a thread count of 50 × 25 per square centimetre.[14] This is in complete accordance with the prescription of the Leiden papyrus, which specifies that only *pꜣḳ.t* "fine linen" is to be used.[15] In the preparation of magical charms, the instructions usually stress the importance of selecting materials of superior quality or great rarity. Most important of all was the condition that these materials had to be new, i.e. not contaminated by earlier use.[16] The Leiden strips of linen do not show any selvedges, so that they must have been torn from a larger piece of cloth rather than woven for the occasion. As long as the cloth in question had not been worn as a garment or used for other purposes, its magical efficacy would not have been impeded.

Many magical instructions specify the use of linen for the preparation of charms.[17] In daily life, linen occasionally served as a writing ground, but it was far less common than, for example, papyrus. The preference for linen in magic acts seems to parallel the application of bandages for the wounded and wrappings for the dead. This is corroborated by the term *wt* used for a magic bandage in pBM 10059.[18] From a healing aid, the linen bandage became a prophylactic measure, to be applied before rather than after the outbreak of the complaints. Charms written on strips of papyrus occur, too. Perhaps these are examples of the common substitution of precious materials by more readily available ones.[19]

A similar substitution may be observed in the selection of the ink. The instruction of pLeiden I 346 (Col. III.3) specifies the use of *ḳnỉt*-ink, a material that has been identified as orpiment.[20] The extant strips, however, have representations in ordinary black ink only. True orpiment is exceedingly rare in Egypt.[21] Obviously, its colour would have been associated with gold; in fact, the Leiden alchemistic papyrus (inv. AMS 66; cat. I 397) prescribes its use for *chrysographia*. In the hemerological context

---

[14] In the Leiden collections, this is only surpassed by one fragment from Tarkhan (Van 't Hooft *et. al.*, op. cit., cat. 8).

[15] Cf. pLeiden I 348, spell 13 which specifies "royal linen" (Eschweiler, op. cit., 64).

[16] Cf. Pinch, op. cit., 80. Alternatively, an earlier use might have made the cloth in question even more powerful. This is the case with a strip of linen used previously as clothing for a temple statue: L. Kákosy, *Zauberei im alten Ägypten* (Leipzig 1989), 214–215.

[17] Cf. Eschweiler, op. cit., 254 with n. 131.

[18] Eschweiler, op. cit., 39. In pLeiden I 346, the less explicit terms *stp* and *sšd* occur to designate these "bandages".

[19] Pinch, loc. cit.

[20] Supra, n. 6. Cf. Eschweiler, op. cit., 251 for other spells prescribing this material.

[21] A rare occurrence has recently been identified on a number of coffins for corn-mummies in Cracow: M.J. Raven, "Four Corn-mummies in the Archaeological Museum at Cracow", *Materiały Archeologiczne* 30 (1998, forthcoming).

of pLeiden I 346, its prescription can probably be explained by the solar associations of all yellow pigments.

The tying of knots

According to the text of the magic instruction (Col. II.3), twelve knots had to be tied in the strip of linen concerned. Indeed, the preference for linen rather than papyrus may have been determined in part by the circumstance that the former material can be knotted much more easily. Extant charms on papyrus have occasionally been folded around strips of fabric or strings, which in their turn were provided with knots.[22] The use of linen throughout would have enabled the magician to make such a charm in one piece.

Whether the extant strips now in Leiden ever possessed knots is hard to verify. The fact that their ends (and originally their whole lengths, since the flattening of the central sections was doubtless done in modern times) have been twisted to form tight strings is certainly highly suggestive. Moreover, these ends are not straight but show additional twists and turns perhaps caused by knotting the fabric. It cannot even be ruled out that the five individual strips were knotted together in some way, since some ends show more or less identical patterns. Unfortunately, the lack of detailed records dating to the period of acquisition precludes any definite conclusions in this respect.

The fact that no less than twelve knots had to be tied is undoubtedly associated with the twelve deities represented (see below). Otherwise, twelve is not one of the usual magic numbers and, for example, seven knots are much more common.[23] Knotted amulets were quite common in ancient Egypt, where even the very word *s3* "amulet" was written with the sign for a knotted cord.[24] By knotting a linen bandage, the power of the magic words recited over it were fixed into the fabric. Moreover, the knots were meant to bind an enemy or to bar his way. In this specific case, the twelve knots were meant to immobilize the twelve "murderers of Sakhmet" in order to safeguard the wearer of the amulet during the epagomenal days. The act of offering bread, beer and incense was probably aimed at propitiating the prisoners during their period of captivity. At the same time, the offering marked the moment of dedication by which the representations were raised to a supernatural level.[25]

Application around the throat

The magic instruction of pLeiden I 346 specifies that the linen charm had to be "applied to a man's throat". Indeed, the throat was a favourite position for the application of protective amulets in Ancient Egypt, because it constitutes one of the most vulnerable parts of the human body.[26] The Egyptians were of course well aware of the presence in the neck of the main channels for life-giving substances such as air, food,

---

[22] A. Erman, *Die Religion der Ägypter, ihr Werden und Vergehen in vier Jahrtausenden* (Berlin 1934), 311 and Abb. 128 (= Berlin 10826).

[23] Cf. H. Bonnet, *RÄRG*, 872–875 s.v. "Zahl".

[24] Cf. F. Lexa, *La magie dans l'Egypte antique, de l'Ancien Empire jusqu'à l'époque copte* (Paris 1925), I.80, 95–98; Erman, op. cit., 310–311; Bonnet, op. cit., 379 s.v. "Knoten"; C. Jacq, *Egyptian Magic* (Warminster 1985), 57; Kákosy, op. cit., 140–141; Pinch, op. cit., 83–84, 108.

[25] Eschweiler, op. cit., 256–258.

[26] A. Massart, *The Leiden Magical Papyrus I 343 + I 345* = *OMRO Suppl.* 34 (1954), 100 n. 13; Pinch, op. cit., 111–112.

drink, and blood. In their opinion, the body consisted of several limbs knotted together (*ṯs*).[27] The word *ṯs* or *ṯst* was particularly used for the neck and its vertebrae, as constituting the knot *par excellence* ensuring corporal integrity. Unlike other joints of the body, cutting the neck leads to immediate death. Therefore, the Pyramid Texts already express special concern that the head may not be separated from the body, while decapitation was regarded as a most effective means of eliminating hostile powers.[28] Special neck ornaments, doubtless with an amuletic character, have been recorded from the predynastic period onwards. The linen charms are just another form of these age-old amuletic chokers or necklaces.

In this respect, it may be significant that quite often seven knots (*ṯs*) had to be tied in the linen bandages.[29] These may have been connected with the seven cervical vertebrae, which are differentiated as such from the Pyramid Texts onwards.[30] Alternatively, there might be an association with the seven apertures of the head (mouth, nostrils, eyes, and ears) mentioned for example in pLeiden I 343/345.[31] Here, these apertures seem to be called the 7 *ṯst nt ḏ3ḏ3*,[32] and the instruction specifies that these have to be sealed (*ḥtm*). Sealing and knotting are merely alternative acts for protecting an orifice against invasive powers.[33] Thus, a (knotted) bandage around the throat would have prevented the loss of corporal integrity, while simultaneously warding off all hostile forces penetrating the throat via the apertures of the head. Of course, it is a well-known medical fact that numerous infections entering via mouth, nose or ears will lead to a reaction of the tonsils, lymph nodes, and other glands in the area of the neck and throat. The dreaded "plague of the year" manifestating itself around the period of the epagomenal days, probably did not form an exception, so that the application of a bandage around the throat does not come as a surprise. It should be noted that the Egyptians themselves were convinced that this plague was spread by evil winds or the contamination of food,[34] which would confirm our argument.

The divinities represented

The representations on strip **a** show an almost complete accordance with the gods mentioned in Papyrus Leiden I 346, Col. I.1–3 and depicted in the concomitant vignette. The order of the divinities, however, is slightly different[35] and Wadjet has been substituted for the original "Horus of the Spirits of Opet". Likewise, some divinities have been depicted with the heads of different animals. On the linen charm the gods are represented as standing, whereas they are squatting on the papyrus.

Most of the twelve gods in question have an association with the epagomenal days. In the first place comes the dreaded Sakhmet herself, depicted as lion-headed because

---

[27] E. Brunner-Traut, "Der menschliche Körper – eine Gliederpuppe", *ZÄS* 115 (1988), 8–14, esp. 12.
[28] R.K. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practices*, SAOC 54 (Chicago 1993), 168.
[29] Lexa, op. cit., I, 102; Erman, op. cit., 310–311; Massart, op. cit., 101 (vso I.8); Eschweiler, op. cit., 34.
[30] Pyr. § 511 = *Wb.* II, 292, 14.
[31] Rto VIII.4 and vso V.6; Massart, op. cit., 76 n. 51, 106 n. 21.
[32] *Wb.* V, 400, 15.
[33] Pinch, op. cit., 84.
[34] See e.g. Edwin Smith, vso XVIII.1 and .8, XX.1 and .8; J.H. Breasted, *The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus* (Chicago 1930), 473, 475, 484–485.
[35] Compared with the papyrus, these are numbers 1-2-3-x-4-5-6-12-7-8-11-10.

of her ferocious aspect, while the uraeus protome on her head indicates her role as Eye of Rēʿ and blinding cobra. Asheru is the name of a number of cult places of Sakhmet, especially the well-known sanctuary of Mut/Sakhmet in Karnak.[36] The lion-headed Eye of Asheru (no. 7 on the papyrus, depicted as human-headed "Mistress of Asheru" on the linen charm) and the human-headed Eye of Rēʿ (no. 8) are merely hypostases of the same goddess. The latter is called mistress of the Island of Flames (*iw nsrsr*), the locality of sunrise, revivification and elimination of enemies.[37] Other aspects of this goddess are Wadjet (no. 4 of the charm) and the lion-headed Shesemtet (no. 4 of the papyrus, no. 5 of the charm). Shesemtet is a well-known protective goddess, who is known elsewhere as "Mistress of Punt" because of her association with Hathor and Bastet.[38] Like Wadjet, she embodies the benevolent aspect of the goddess Sakhmet, which is also symbolized by the Eye of Horus, mistress of wine (no. 11). In the Myth of the Eye of the Sun, wine was the means to placate the raging lioness and it continued to play an important part in the cult of Sakhmet.[39] Like all offerings, it could be regarded as the Eye of Horus, and in fact wine is said to have come from the eyes of the sky god himself.

The last remaining goddess, Shentit (no. 2), is less clearly assimilated with Sakhmet, though we cannot exclude the possibility that in this context she was considered to be just another hypostasis. This goddess from Busiris was usually associated with the revivification of Osiris and represented as a cow,[40] hence her connections with Isis and Hathor.

The male gods in the range of twelve present a more mixed company. The presence of the sun god Rēʿ is doubtless dictated by his association with time and because he is the father of the Eye. Horus of Behdet is merely another form of the same deity, but the identity of "Horus of the Spirits of Ipet" (no. 9 on the papyrus, replaced by Wadjet on the linen bandage) is unclear. Both Khnum and Sobek were regarded as creator gods and perhaps symbolize the beginning of the New Year. The epithets of both gods are not very helpful in this respect.[41] Finally, *Ḥry-bꜣḳ.f* (Who is under his moringa tree) is known as a Memphite tree god who later developed into a protective genius closely related to Ptah and Thoth.[42] His epithet "Lord of Shenet" derives from a form of Horus worshipped near Sohag and particularly known as a sorcerer wielding protection.[43] This of course explains the hieracocephalous appearance of the genius here.

Another problem we have to solve is to what extent these twelve divinities may be equated with the *ḫꜣtyw* of pLeiden I 346 (Col. I.4). This term is rendered "knife-bearers" by Stricker and "murderers" by Borghouts, though Breasted prefers a trans-

[36] E. Otto, *LÄ* I, 460–462 s.v. "Ascheru".
[37] R. Grieshammer, *LÄ* II, 258–259 s.v. "Flammeninsel".
[38] B. Schmitz, *LÄ* V, 587–590 s.v. "Schesemtet". For the epithet, ibid., n. 30.
[39] C. Meyer, in: *LÄ* VI, 1169–1182 s.v. "Wein", esp. 1176 with ns. 135, 147–148.
[40] W. Helck, *LÄ* V, 580–581 s.v. "Schentait".
[41] *Mint* is a water in the 10th Upper-Egyptian nome: E. Brovarski, *LÄ* V, 1021 n. 100, 1024 n. 203 s.v. "Sobek". The title "lord of the hall of thirty" (*mʿbꜣyt*) is used for various deities; see *Wb.* II, 46, 17.
[42] H. Kees, "Eine Liste memphitischer Götter im Tempel von Abydos", *RT* 37 (1915), 57–76, esp. 60.
[43] H. te Velde, *LÄ* III, 47–48 s.v. "Horus imi-schenut".

lation "demons of disease",[44] while Eschweiler suggests "nightly spirits".[45] This denomination occurs in parallellism with two other groups of followers of Sakhmet, *sc.* the *wpwtyw* "messengers" and the *šmɜyw* "wandering spirits".[46] Yet, it is not clear whether these three terms have to be distinguished from one another, or were in fact more or less synonymous. The passage in the Leiden papyrus seems to suggest the latter case, since *ḫɜtyw* and *wpwtyw* are mentioned in apposition. These were the spirits who spread plague (*ỉɜdt*) and disaster (*nšny*), effects which were personalized as the Seven Arrows of Sakhmet.[47]

The opening lines of the Leiden Papyrus I 346 suggest that the twelve gods invoked are identical to the *ḫɜtyw* mentioned immediately after. Still, we have seen that not all of the company of twelve are in fact malignant. No other text specifies the names of the "murderers" nor corroborates that they were twelve in number. Perhaps the twelve deities instead represent various stages in a ritual of pacifying the goddess, since some of them are connected with specific offerings such as a bier (Shentit), (a girdle of) malachite (Shesemtet), or wine (Eye of Horus), while others symbolize new life or creation. Moreover, the magician reciting the text equates himself with Rēʿ, Wadjet, and Horus, who are all depicted on the bandage, and would hardly do so if they were themselves the "murderers" he was trying to escape. Our present sources do not allow us to solve this matter.

While the pantheon shown on strip **b** is made up of quite different deities, their number (twelve) and the way they are represented suggests a relationship of some sort with bandage **a**. As has been argued above, twelve is not one of the obvious magical numbers. In the present context, it rather suggests a relationship with the twelve months of the year, or the twelve hours of either day or night. This is partly borne out by the identities of the twelve gods. Though not directly connected with the months of the Egyptian calendar or the hours, some of them at least symbolize time in general. Thus the row of gods is opened by Rēʿ, Atum, and Khepri, who may represent noon, sunset, and sunrise. Thoth holding the *wedjat* eye may again refer to the Myth of the Eye of the Sun, and so may Nefertem who is known as the son of Sakhmet. Nefertem also symbolizes the fragrant unguent, used, for example, to anoint the King by way of protection on New Year's Day.[48] Isis and Nephthys protect Osiris, Horus, or any patient equated with the latter. If our identification is correct, the last four deities would be the primaeval couples Geb and Nut, Shu and Tefnut as representatives of the beginning of creation.[49]

Strips **c-e** with their depictions of Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys are probably to be connected with the instructions of Col. III.3 of the Leiden Papyrus. Though at first sight the text seems to prescribe a single strip of linen with the images of the five gods concerned (Osiris, Haroeris, Seth, Isis, and Nephthys), an alternative interpretation – five strips with a single image each – cannot in fact be ruled out. It would mean that

[44] Breasted, op. cit., 475, by derivation from *ḫɜyt* "disease".
[45] Eschweiler, op. cit., 212–213, by derivation from *ḫɜwy* "night".
[46] P. Germond, *Sekhmet et la protection du monde*, AegHelv 9 (Geneva 1981), 298–304.
[47] Germond, loc. cit.; Pinch, op. cit., 37–38.
[48] J.-C. Goyon, "Sur une formule des rituels de conjuration des dangers de l'année", *BIFAO* 74 (1974), 75–83, esp. 76.
[49] For the god represented as no. 5 on bandage **b**, see supra n. 13. Ptah is not only a creator god but also forms a triad with Sakhmet and Nefertem.

in the case of the Leiden charms there may originally have been two more specimens, now lost.

Thus, it rather looks as if the five linen charms now in Leiden once formed a powerful amulet to be worn during the last days of the Egyptian year. Strip **a** wielded protection during the last day of the regular year (30 Mesore), while strips **c-e** had a similar function during the first, fourth and fifth epagomenal days following it. Above, we have seen that the ancient registers of the museum suggest that the five strips may once have been intertwined to form one single tress. This would mean that strip **b** must likewise have fulfilled some function in the composition.

Parallels and date

This is not the time or the place to endeavour a complete survey of all related texts or charms. Many of these have not been published at all, and few of the latter have been recognized for what they are. Stricker has already provided a list of hemerological treatises in his study of pLeiden I 346.[50] Since then, Bakir has published the Cairo Calendar,[51] which contains two parallels for the instruction to make a linen charm for protection during the epagomenal days. While in column vso IX.7 only the names of Isis and Nephthys are preserved (with sufficient space in the lacuna for the three other names), column vso XVI.3 still lists all five gods Osiris, Horus, Seth, Isis, and Nephthys whose images are to be drawn on a strip of linen.[52] This text was studied again by Leitz.[53] Its connection with our bandages **c-e** is obvious. It should be noted that all of these treatises date to the Ramesside period or earlier. Yet the theme of protection during the epagomenal days was resumed in the Graeco-Roman temple rituals, as has been demonstrated by Goyon, among others.[54]

Similar instructions for the preparation of linen bandages occur in the magico-medical sphere. Thus, pEdwin Smith contains eight "incantations against pest", one of which prescribes the fabrication of a linen charm with the images of Sakhmet, Bastet, Osiris, and Nehebka.[55] Whereas this text is clearly connected with the epagomenal days, other papyri prescribe the use of similar bandages for quite different purposes. Papyrus Deir el-Medina I depicts a row of eight seated divinities on vso 4.4; the context is a spell for dispelling the *nsy*-disease and the identity of the individual gods is unclear.[56] A spell for "opening ..." (*wn*) is followed by the instruction to make a bandage with images of "Re-Horakhte, Atum, Khepri, Shu, Tefnut, Horus, Seth, Isis, Nephthys, Wepwawet, Imet (?), Setnet (?) ..., the *ḫ3tyw* of Sakhmet, together with the two (?) barks, ... the single and noble Eye of Sakhmet, while the ennead is inside". This vignette has again been drawn underneath, basically as a range of seated gods.[57] The constitution of this divine company reminds one very much of our bandage **b**, and the connection with the *ḫ3tyw* is most interesting. The latter are depicted as four

[50] Stricker, op. cit., 57.
[51] A.M. Bakir, *The Cairo Calendar no. 86637* (Cairo 1966).
[52] Ibid., 51 and 55.
[53] Leitz, op. cit., 416–427.
[54] J.-C. Goyon, op. cit., who gives a list of known texts from papyri and temple walls.
[55] Breasted, op. cit., 481–482 (vso XIX.9–14); Eschweiler, op. cit., 61–63.
[56] J. Černý, *Papyrus hiératiques de Deir el-Medineh* I, Documents de fouilles 8 (Cairo 1978), 9 with n. 1, pl. 12; Eschweiler, op. cit., 32–33 and Abb. 1.
[57] Černý, op. cit., 11 and pl. 15, vso 7.4; Eschweiler, op. cit., 44–45 and Abb. 11.

seated goddesses, lion-headed and each crowned with a uraeus. Obviously, they are not malignant deities here, and this quartet rather reminds us of the four protectors of the dead known from the ritual of the Four Balls.[58] Unfortunately, the purpose of this spell must remain doubtful. There are several other papyri with texts or vignettes comprising ranges of gods of less clear identity.[59]

None of these parallels is later than the Ramesside period. The divinities concerned are always depicted in a seated or rather squatting position.[60] Standing deities like those on our bandages **a-b**, however, occur on two much later papyrus charms. One of these, pLouvre 3233, was dated by Goyon to the Saite or Persian period (end 5th – beginning 4th cent. BC).[61] Although it shows a quite different selection of deities when compared with the Leiden specimens, the style of the drawing of these stick-shaped images on a common baseline looks very familiar. Moreover, the accompanying text again concerns protection of an individual during the epagomenal days. Goyon was apparently unaware of the existence of a very close parallel in pLeiden I 356, a much longer strip of papyrus, the beginning of which shows the same selection of gods as pLouvre 3233.[62] Again, this manuscript must date well into the Late Period, if not later.

I would suggest, therefore, that the five bandages **a-e** in Leiden likewise date to the Late Period, in view of the stylistic similarity of the drawings to pLouvre 3233 and pLeiden I 356. This seems to be corroborated by the ductus of the few cursive hieroglyphic or hieratic signs extant on these bandages. If this date is accepted, one has to face the surprising fact that the composition of the vignette on bandage **a** almost literally follows the instructions of pLeiden I 346, which is Ramesside in date. Whether we have to postulate the existence of later copies of this text, or whether pLeiden I 346 itself was preserved in a magician's archive for many centuries (the papyrus and the Leiden bandages were both acquired with the D'Anastasi collection, and may in theory have been found together) are questions we cannot answer.

Fig. 1 Papyrus Leiden I 346, column III, vignette.

Fig. 2 Bandage Leiden cat. 134**a**.

Fig. 3 Bandage Leiden cat. 134**b**.

Fig. 4 Bandage Leiden cat. 134**c**.

Fig. 5 Bandage Leiden cat. 134**d**.

Fig. 6 Bandage Leiden cat. 134**e**.

---

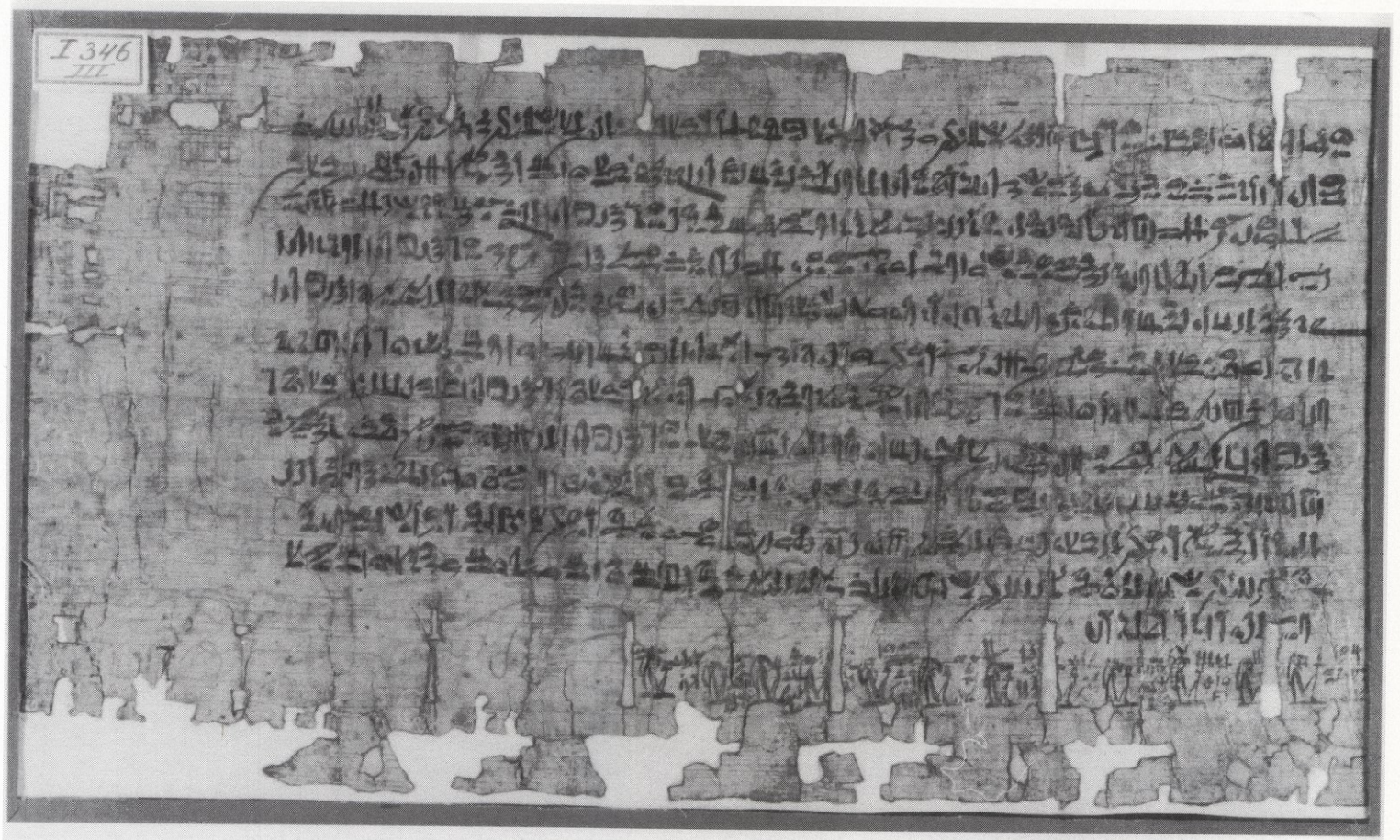
[58] C. Ziegler, "A propos du rite des quatre boules", *BIFAO* 79 (1979), 437–439.

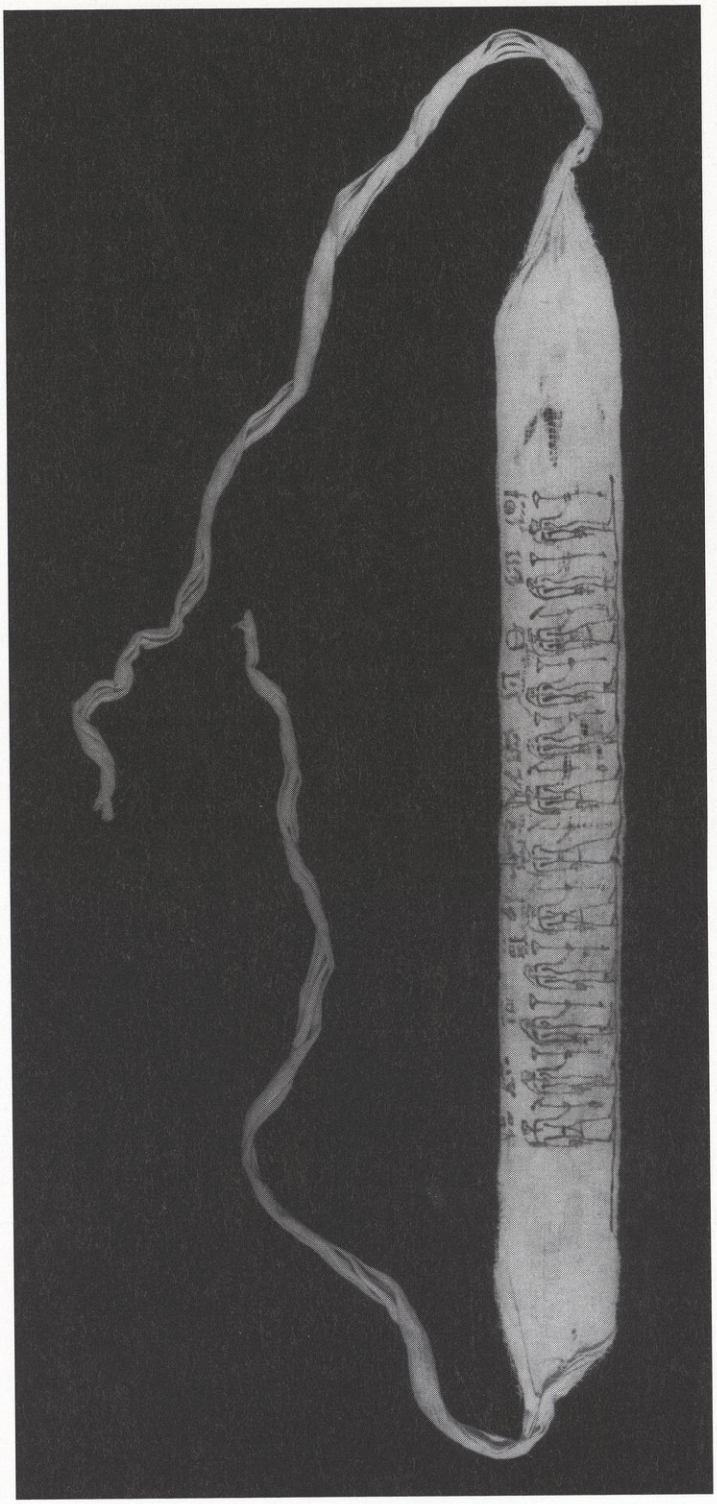
[59] Conveniently listed by Eschweiler, op. cit., 35, 37, 42, 47, 61, 64 and Abb. 4–5, 7a, 10. Add pLeiden I 354 (see C. Leemans *et al.*, *Monumens égyptiens du Musée d'Antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide* II.20 [Leiden 1861], pl. CLXIX) and a fragmentary papyrus in the Kestner Museum in Hannover (no. 1976.60b) which shows twelve seated divinities, two cobras, and four *wedjat* eyes (personal observation, 1995).

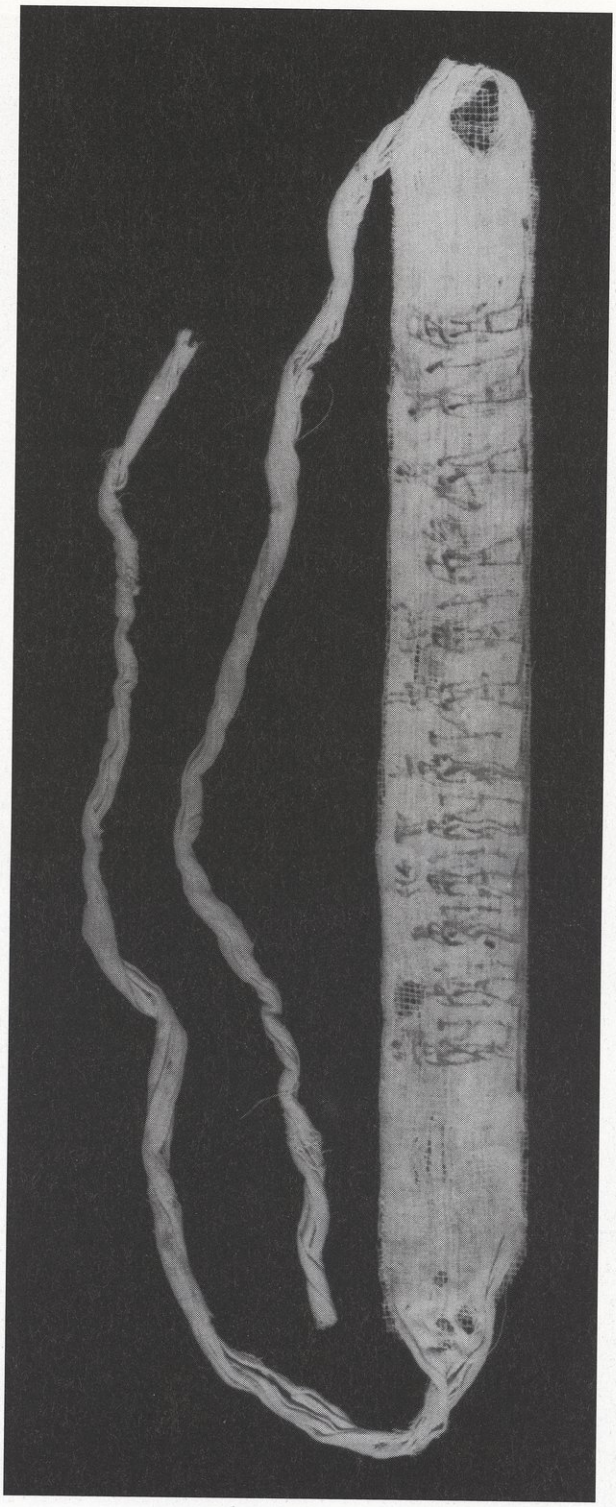
[60] Except for Horus in pTurin 54052; Eschweiler, op. cit., Abb. 10.

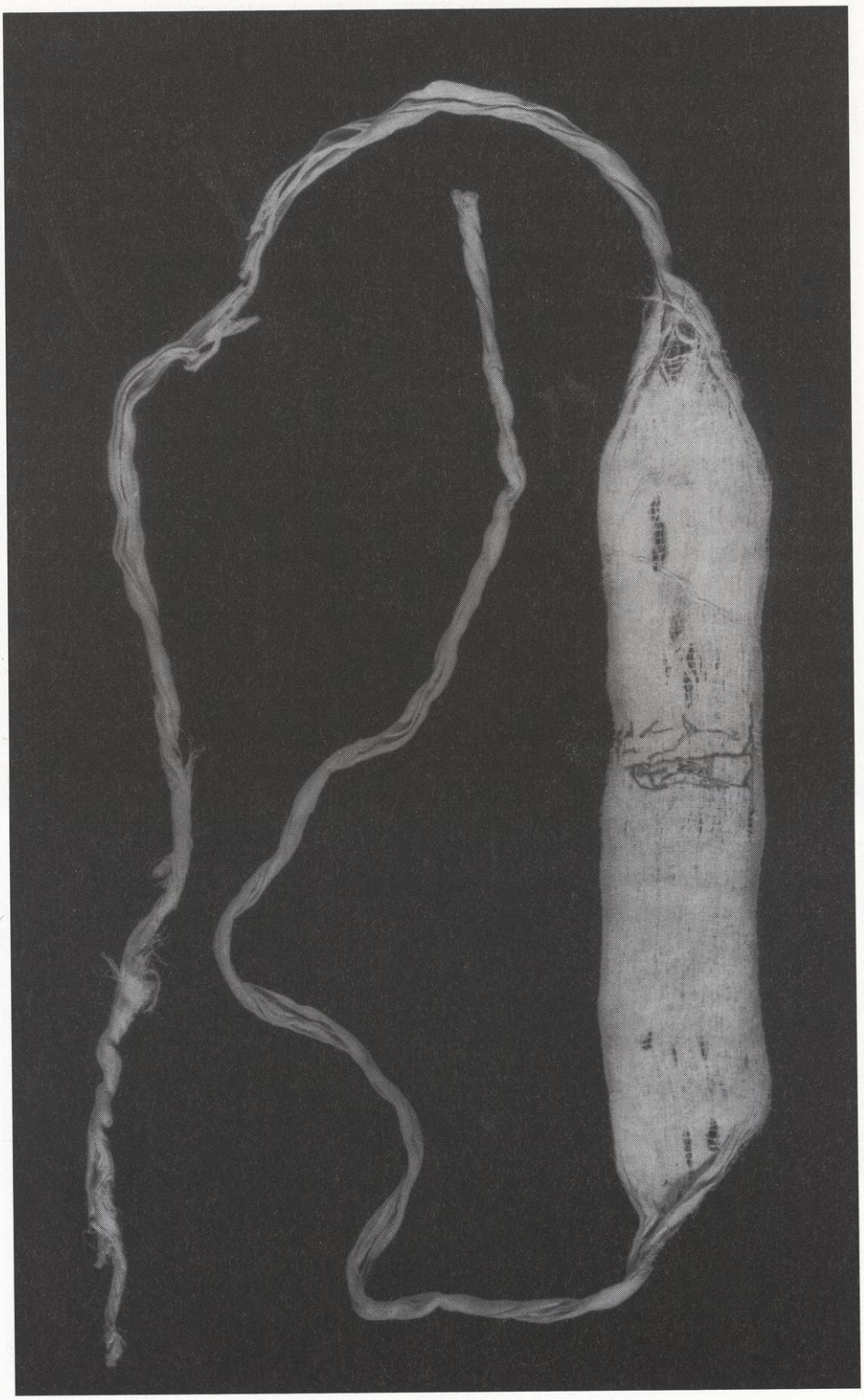
[61] J.-C. Goyon, "Un phylactère tardif: le papyrus 3233 A et B du Musée du Louvre", *BIFAO* 77 (1977), 45–54 and pl. XV.

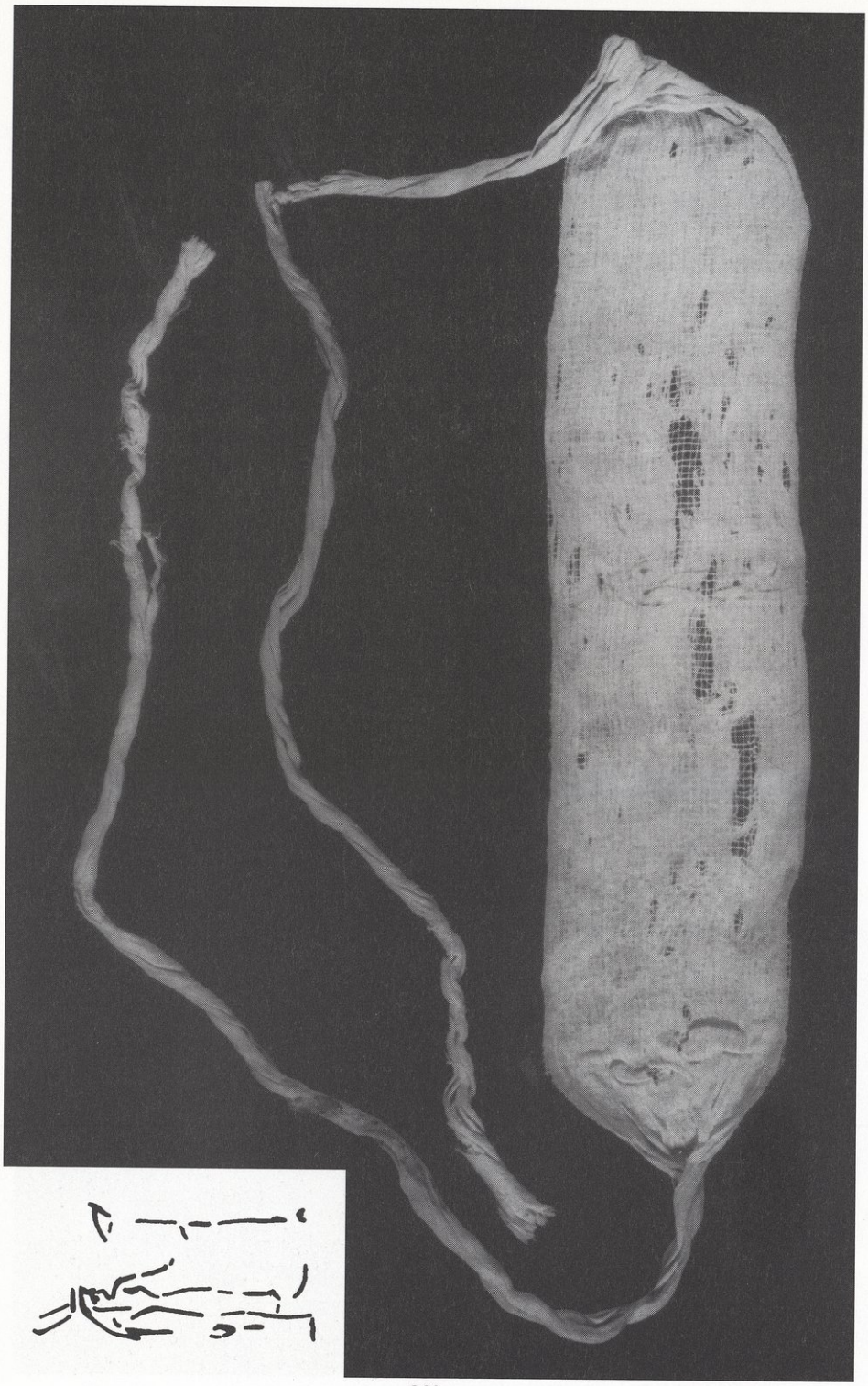
[62] Leemans, op. cit., pl. CLXX = Eschweiler, op. cit., Abb. 6.

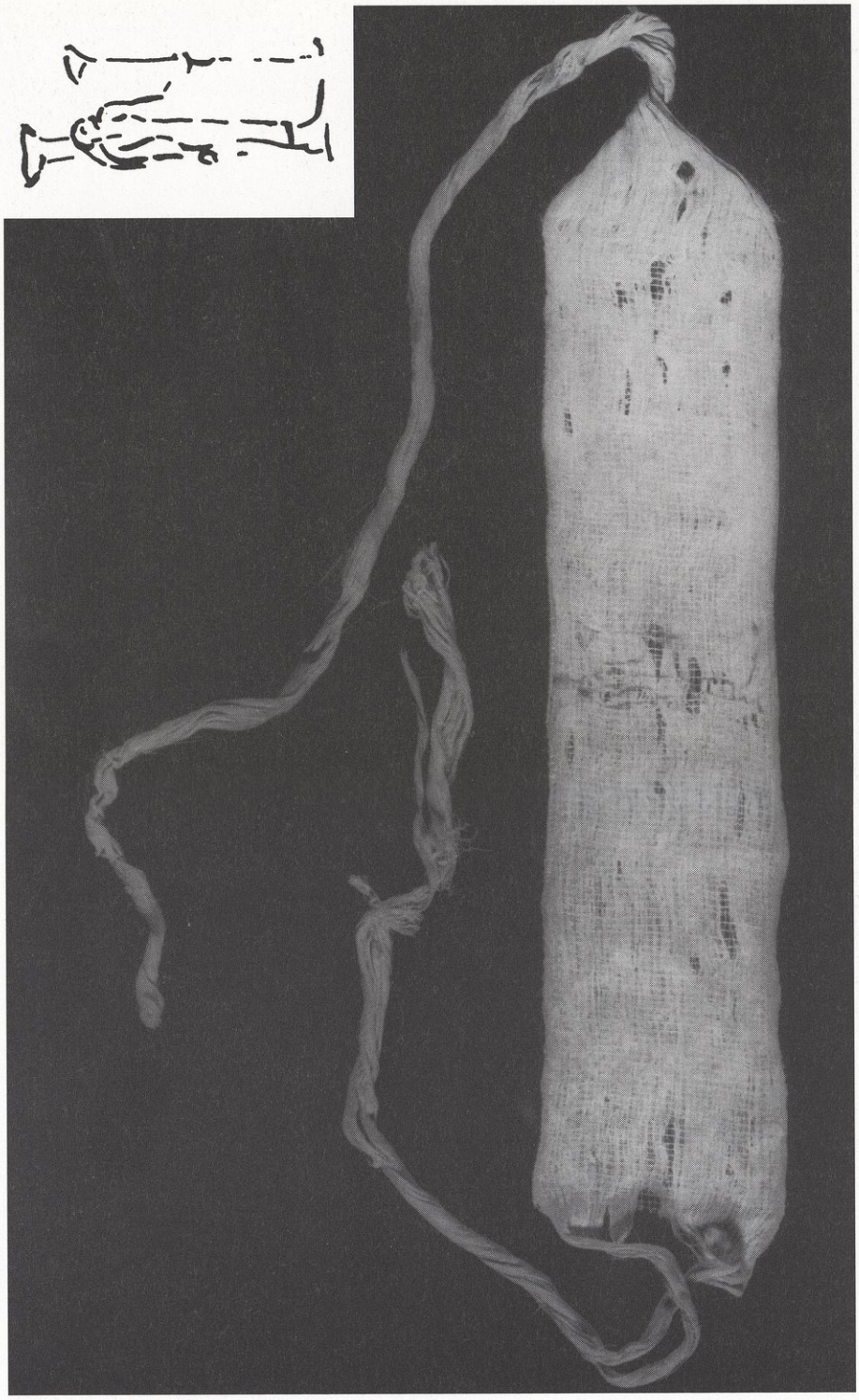

I 346
III











Ptah in Wings

H.D. Schneider

The National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden boasts a large collection of small sculptures of Egyptian gods. Among them are figures of gods and goddesses that are not only depicted in their own typical manifestations, but also in forms that differ markedly from the standard. One of the newest acquisitions of the museum belongs in this latter category: a faience statuette of the god Ptah, wrapped in a close-fitting garment of feathers and wings, attire that is very unusual for this god (Figs. 1–5).[1] This fact is sufficient reason to dedicate the publication of this interesting piece to Herman te Velde, a great authority on Egyptian religion and religious iconography. The article that the learned scholar honoured by this Festschrift wrote about the god Ptah for the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* is the natural frame of reference for the present contribution.[2]

Description

The statuette shows the god Ptah sitting on a rectangular throne placed on a dais in the form of the maʿat hieroglyph. In its present state the statuette consists of three, separately made pieces: A. statuette, B. throne, and C. dais. The head was also made of a separate piece but is now missing. The basic material is white faience. The glazed layer on the statuette is creamy white and shiny, that on the throne and the dais has faded to beige and light olive-green and is mat. The total height of the piece is 15.5 cm; the throne is H. 7.6, W. 4.9 and D. 6.1 cm; the dais is L. 15.5, W. 6.2 and H. 2.6 cm. The provenance of the object is unknown. It was purchased on the Dutch art market and allegedly comes from an old English collection. The inventory number is F 1994/9.5.

A. *Statuette*

The head, sadly missing, was attached by a peg into the neck. There are still traces of the paste that cemented the two together present in the peghole in the neck. It is likely that the face was glazed green and the cap was possibly blue. The body of the god is completely wrapped in a close-fitting feathered garment. All of the details, except the hands which protrude out of the garment and the *wās*-sceptre that they are holding, are painted with a dark-brown manganese paint. Around the neck is an *usekh*-collar

[1] The piece is briefly discussed in the list of "Recent Acquisitions" in *OMRO* 75 (1995), 137–138, Pl. 1.1. The author would like to thank Dr Elisabeth Staehelin for several references concerning the iconography of divine statues, and Mr P.J. Bomhof for the production of the photographs published here. My very warm thanks also go to Dr Julia Harvey for the translation from Dutch of this article.

[2] H. te Velde, "Ptah", *LÄ* IV (1982), 1177–1180, with references to the standard work by M. Sandman Holmberg, *The God Ptah* (Lund 1946).

consisting of five concentric, stylized bead strings. On the upper part of the back is Ptah's typical brush-shaped ornament or counterpoise.

The body of the god is covered by a shirt of overlapping coverts, and over this is a full-length cloak of bird's wings. The various bits of plumage are indicated by wide, double paint strokes. The hands are modelled and glazed olive-green. The right hand is on top of the left. The *wās*-sceptre is also depicted in relief and glazed green, and following the contours of the body reaches to just above the feet. From the hands downwards it is decorated with a horizontal stripy pattern. The legs have been broken but are now restored. The feet are missing, but with the help of the imprint and discoloration left by them on the dais they could be restored with modern materials, with the lines of the feather pattern then extended. The statuette can be attached to the throne by means of a mortise and tenon construction. To this end there is a round hole in the statue's bottom, about 1 cm deep; it is not known whether the extant peg in the seat of the throne is authentic.

B. *Throne*

The god is sitting on a rectangular throne with a low backrest. The inside of this backrest follows the contours of the statuette; the presence of a cushion over the backrest is suggested by a decrease of a few millimeters in the depth of the back about a centimeter below the seat of the throne. The throne is glued to the dais, almost certainly in modern times. It is likely that here, too, is a mortise and tenon joint. On the sides are a tangle of interwoven black-brown lines, possibly traces of decoration. The upper right corner of the backrest is missing, but has been restored in modern times.

C. *Dais*

The throne is standing on a rectangular podium, a dais, with a sloping front: the three-dimensional representation of the maᶜat hieroglyph. The glazed layer on the edges and upper surface is partly worn away and damaged. Thus the line of painted, right-facing hieroglyphs on the upper surface, in front of the feet, has partly been lost. The text reads: "Ptah, Gracious of Countenance", (very probably followed by:) "He who is on the Great Throne". There are three columns of hieroglyphs on the sloping front of the dais. The middle one, with right-facing hieroglyphs, contains the text: "Ptah, Lord of Maᶜat, King [of the Two Lands], Gracious of Countenance". To the left and right this column is flanked by, respectively, the words: "(Adoration by) all the subjects (*rekhyt*) of Lower Egypt; (adoration by) all the subjects (*rekhyt*) of Upper Egypt". The *rekhyt* birds have upraised arms. They symbolize mankind whose life has been made possible and is guided by the creator god, the god of kingship and the residence, Ptah.[3] On the long sides and the back of the dais is a frieze of *neb*-signs on top of which are *ankh*-hieroglyphs flanked by *wās*-signs. This frieze is surrounded above and below by bands with a checked pattern. The left rear corner of the dais was once broken off but has been repaired.

[3] For the *rekhyt* who owe their lives to Ptah see the Ptah hymn in Pap. Berlin 3048 (8,4), A. Barucq and F. Daumas, *Hymnes et prières de l'Égypte* (Paris 1980), 400; M. Sandman, op. cit., 40. They also appear in the inscription on a Ptah statue in Turin: R.V. Lanzone, *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia* (Turin 1881), Pl. XC.

Iconography

Feathers and wings

The figure of Ptah portrayed by this statuette is not wrapped in the usual smooth, close-fitting garment for this god,[4] but in a robe made of small, overlapping bird's feathers covering the whole body. Over this covering, that is only visible on the chest, is a long cloak in the shape of folded bird's wings. The seams of this winged cloak form a V on the chest. At the top the pattern of the wings imitates the partly overlapping wing coverts found at the point where the wings meet the shoulders, and down below – from about the middle of the god – the larger feathers or flight feathers of the wings.

The best, and so far only, known exact parallel for this manifestation of Ptah is the famous, extremely beautiful, gilded wooden Ptah statue from the tomb of Tutankhamun.[5] This shows the god completely wrapped in feathers, standing on a dais in the form of a maʿat hieroglyph. On his head is a cap of blue faience, and in his hands is a gilded bronze sceptre.

A similar depiction of Ptah can be found in the tomb of Ramesses IX.[6] The scene is one in which the king offers the Maʿat symbol to Ptah. The god is standing on a maʿat dais. His head is decorated with the crown of Tatenen, a sun disk with two feathers; in his hands he is holding *wās*-sceptres. His upper body is covered by a red shirt with rosettes, the lower part of the body is wrapped in bird's wings. On the dais, in front of the god, is a figure of the goddess Maʿat.

An unusual representation in the temple of Hathor at Dendera shows Ptah as a seated bird with a human head on which is displayed the crown of Tatenen. Here, however, the god is part of a series of gods who are all represented as birds.[7]

Feathers and wings – symbols of the emergence of new life and of cosmic order – are a common expression of the divine in Egyptian religious iconography, and thus form typical and regular elements in the clothing of gods and goddesses.[8] With the clothing of male gods, however, the use of feathers is as a rule limited to a shirt with shoulder straps consisting of small, overlapping feathers, sometimes with a loincloth underneath also covered with feathers.[9] Complete wings, as in this Ptah

---

[4] Incidentally, Ptah's usual garment is not a mummy shroud, but the primeval manifestation without limbs of divine beings, as shown by E. Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen* (Darmstadt 1971), 98.

[5] Cairo Inv.no. 291a; H. Carter, *The Tomb of Tut.ankh.Amen* III (London 1933), 52–53, Pl. LVB; I.E.S. Edwards, *Treasures of Tutankhamun*, British Museum exhibition catalogue (London 1972), No. 6; D. Wildung, *Tutanchamun*, Ägyptisches Museum Berlin exhibition catalogue (Berlin 1980), 62, No. 3; N. Reeves, *The Complete Tutankhamun* (London 1990), 133.

[6] E. Lefébure, *Les hypogées royaux de Thèbes* II, MMIFAO 3:1 (Paris 1889), Pl. 8; Lanzone, op. cit., Pl. CI; M. Sandman, op. cit., 14–15, fig. 12; E. Hornung, *Tal der Könige, Die Ruhestätte der Pharaonen* (Zürich/Munich 1982), 97, fig. 65 (watercolour by Hay).

[7] M. Sandman, op. cit., 16, fig. 17.

[8] E. Staehelin, *LÄ* II (1976), 719.

[9] For the feather-patterned shirt in the costume of gods and kings see M. Saleh and H. Sourouzian, *The Egyptian Museum Cairo*, Catalogue (Mainz 1987), No. 191; Dr Staehelin drew my attention to a series of good examples in the tomb of Seti I, see E. Hornung, *The Tomb of Pharaoh Seti I* (Zürich/Munich 1991), Pls. 71, 72, 74, 144. For shirt and loincloth, both with a feather pattern, see Hornung, op. cit., Pl. 148 and H.A. Schlögl, *Der Gott Tatenen. Nach Texten und Bildern des Neuen Reiches*, OBO 29 (Freiburg/Göttingen 1980), fig. 13. A seated figure of white glazed faience with the cartouches of Amenhotep III is completely wrapped in a close-fitting garment with a feather pattern: E. Staehelin, in *Geschenk des Nils, Ägyptische*

figure described above, are extremely rare in the costume of male gods.[10] In the dress of goddesses, on the other hand, bird wings are a commonly occurring element, as numerous examples show.[11]

Maᶜat Dais

The form of the podium on which the throne of Ptah is placed, or on which this god is shown in a standing position, is generally assumed to derive from the hieroglyph for maᶜat, universal order.[12] This maᶜat dais, which is incidentally usually met with under statues of gods and the thrones of kings, apparently represents the cultivated earth,[13] or the primeval mound expressed as Maᶜat.[14] In one text this type of dais is called *ṯnnt* "rising platform" (determined by the maᶜat hieroglyph).[15] Ptah is rarely without it.[16] The use of this particular throne base for Ptah is possibly also inspired by the notion of the rising land, which appears in names of two gods closely associated with Ptah: Tatenen, "The Rising Earth"[17] and Khenty-Tjenent, "He who is at the head of the Elevated Place", an ancient Memphite god with whom Ptah is regularly identified from the Ramesside Period on.[18] "The Elevated Place" perhaps refers to the Memphite primeval mound.[19]

Ptah: Lord of Maᶜat

The numerous epithets used to refer to the god Ptah demonstrate how closely the nature of this creator god, god of kingship and of the residence, is bound up with that of the goddess Maᶜat. One epithet that is rarely missing from representations of the god is "Lord of Maᶜat", that is, possessor of the world that was established at creation.[20] From the New Kingdom on, this designation is used for Ptah more than

---

Kunstwerke aus Schweizer Besitz (Basel 1978), 56, No. 178, fig. 178a-c. The feather pattern is identical to that on the undergarment of the Ptah figure in Leiden discussed here.

[10] A bronze statue of Khonsu-Neferhotep in the recently auctioned Adams Collection appears at first sight to be wrapped in a feathered cloak, but the wings folded around the body are those of a complete falcon that has landed on the back of the god. The god is clothed in a close-fitting garment with a rosette pattern. See Catalogue *Bonhams Fine Antiquities*, Auction 4 July 1996 (London 1996), 88–89, No. 370.

[11] From the Middle Kingdom on the close-fitting goddess's garment with a feather pattern and large wings held over the body becomes common, see E. Staehelin, op. cit., loc. cit. A few of the numerous examples: Hathor as the "Goddess of the West": E. Hornung, *Das Grab des Horemheb im Tal der Könige* (Bern 1971), Pl. 5; Hathor: J. Yoyotte, *Les Trésors des Pharaons* (Geneva 1968), 240; Isis and Maᶜat: J. Yoyotte, op. cit., 139; Tenent: F. Bisson de la Roque, *Tod, 1934 à 1936*, FIFAO 17 (Cairo 1937), 90, fig. 43, Pl. 28, 1–2. In this connection, Dr Staehelin drew my attention to a statuette of Queen Tiy represented as a mother goddess in a cloak of vulture wings; see now Betsy M. Bryan in *Egypt's Dazzling Sun, Amenhotep III and His World*, exhib. cat. The Cleveland Museum of Art (1992), 202–203.

[12] I.E.S. Edwards, op. cit. loc. cit.; W. Helck, *LÄ* (1979), 1111; H. te Velde, *LÄ* IV (1982), 1177–1180.

[13] W. Brede Kristensen, *Het leven uit de dood* (Haarlem 1949), 83–85.

[14] H. Brunner, *VT* 8 (1958), 426–427; K. Martin, *LÄ* VI (1985), 875.

[15] A.H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, Sign-list Aa 11.

[16] M. Sandman, op. cit., 15.

[17] M. Sandman, op. cit., 56–63.

[18] M. Sandman, op. cit., 112, 218; J. Bergman, *Ich bin Isis* (Uppsala 1968), 249; H.A. Schlögl, op. cit., 105–107; K. Martin, op. cit., 873.

[19] M. Sandman, op. cit., 217–218.

[20] E. Hornung, *Tal der Könige* (Zürich/Munich 1982), 90. According to Bergman, op. cit., 271, 283, *nb mɜᶜt* does not so much express a random "Beherschen", but rather "eine Teilhaftigkeit", and he refers in

for any other god.[21] Ptah's special relationship with Maʿat is also shown by a series of other epithets of the god. These are gathered together in the well-known list of names of Ptah depicted in the Ramesseum.[22] Thus Ptah is *Nb-Smnt-mɜʿt* ("Lord of (the place) Semenmaʿat"), *ʾIt-mɜʿt*, *Ḏd-mɜʿt*, *Smn-mɜʿt*, *Wṯs-mɜʿt*, *Hrw-ib-mɜʿt*, and *M-mɜʿty*. On a scribe's palette he is called "Gracious of Countenance, He who lifts up Maʿat" (*ṯny mɜʿt*).[23] Ptah is also the "Beloved of Maʿat".[24]

In a Coffin Text from the Middle Kingdom, in which the deceased in one and the same sentence calls himself the equal of Khenty-Tjenent and Ptah, the indissoluble relationship between Ptah and Maʿat is referred to implicitly: "I have entered into Maʿat, I uphold (*rmn.i*) Maʿat. I am the Lord of Maʿat. I have come forth from Maʿat. My shape is raised up. I am Khenty-Tjenent. I have entered into Maʿat, I have reached her limit. I am Ptah who has prepared the path of complete joy. I have entered in and I have come forth."[25]

When compiling an iconographical interpretation of the manifestation of Ptah in wings, a scene in the tomb of Queen Tausert must not be omitted.[26] This representation shows a standing figure of Ptah, called "Lord of Maʿat, King of the Two Lands, Gracious of Countenance, He who is on (his) Great Throne" in the accompanying inscription, being enveloped by the wings of the goddess Maʿat standing behind him. The pictorial and written material give rise to the assumption that the wings of the garment of the Leiden Ptah and of the Ptah figure in the burial equipment of Tutankhamun are none other than those of the goddess Maʿat. The winged garment is a materialization of the indissoluble cohesion between Ptah the Lord of Maʿat and this goddess.[27]

Date

The Leiden Ptah statuette dates to the New Kingdom. The typical creamy-white faience glaze, the painted dark-brown manganese details and the palaeography of the inscriptions are all reasons to date this unusual figurine to the end of the 18th Dynasty at the earliest, but preferably to the 19th Dynasty. During the 18th Dynasty many new motifs appear in religious iconography. The treasures from the tomb of Tutankhamun, in particular, contain much material in this respect.[28] It is natural to assume that Tutankhamun's Ptah statue is the oldest representation of Ptah in wings that we know of, and that there is an unmistakable link between this famous piece and the statuette published here from the National Museum of Antiquities.

---

this context to the name *Mɜʿt-pw-Ptḥ*.

21 M. Sandman, op. cit., 77, 191; J. Bergman, op. cit., 71.

22 J.F. Champollion, *Notices descriptives* I (repr. Geneva 1973), 905; M. Sandman, op. cit., 79.

23 S.J. Seidlmayer, *MDAIK* 47 (1991, 319–330) and idem in *Ägyptische Bildwerke*, Band II, *Wissenschaftliche Kataloge Liebighaus* (Frankfurt am Main 1991), 428–429.

24 M. Sandman, op. cit., 191.

25 CT 330 (S1Ca); M. Sandman, op. cit., 26.

26 E. Hornung, *Tal der Könige* (Zürich/Munich 1982), 189, fig. 154.

27 D. Wildung, op. cit. loc. cit., regards the feathered garment as the personification of a mother goddess in the form of a bird.

28 E. Hornung, *Ancient Egyptian Religious Iconography*, in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* (New York 1995), Vol. III, 1711-1712.

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig. 5

Mut Enthroned

Lana Troy

Among the more prominent goddesses of Egyptian religion, Mut is given the least space in the Egyptological literature, with the studies published by Prof. Herman te Velde[1] providing the starting point for any investigation of her character. Additional pieces to the puzzle of her identity will undoubtedly be added through the ongoing work in the precinct of Mut at Karnak, in which Prof. te Velde plays an important part.[2] Thus, it seems appropriate to offer, in his honour, a brief study of some related textual characterizations of the goddess Mut.

The Crossword Hymn

The lack of a comprehensive body of literature comparable to that available for deities such as Isis, makes a sweeping analysis of Mut difficult. A few texts have survived, however, which illustrate the breadth of her role as divine daughter, while providing clues to her antecedents. One of these is the hymn found on British Museum 194 and published by H.M. Stewart[3] as the *Crossword Hymn to Mut*. Dated to the reign of Ramses VI by a number of surviving cartouches, this text is very fragmentary and occasionally obscure with a strained conformance to the double reading of horizontal and vertical lines. The preserved text provides, however, a thematic outline of the different aspects of Mut and aptly serves as a starting point for an investigation of the typology of her descent. The block, discovered by Belzoni in 1817 at Karnak, is covered with a grid, now sixty-seven squares by eighty, within which is inscribed an acrostic hymn, surviving in a total of 147 lines, in widely varying state of preservation. A relief register, depicting a line-up of at least nineteen gods, all facing in one direction with a gesture of adoration, is accompanied by an inscription which identifies Mut of Isheru as the recipient of the hymn.

The fragmentary state of this text makes a holistic analysis of its content problematic. It does provide, however, substantial evidence for a conscious elaboration on motifs that reflect the goddess's iconography and epithets. Mut as bearer of the Double Crown, mistress of heaven, the eye and daughter of Re, becomes in this hymn a vision of the solar goddess, daughter, mother, regent, and creator. By tracing these motifs step by step it is possible to perceive the contours of Mut's character.

---

[1] H. te Velde, "Mut", *LÄ* IV, 246–248; "Towards a Minimal Definition of the Goddess Mut", *JEOL* 26, (1979–1980), 3–9; "The cat as the sacred animal of the goddess Mut", *Studies in Egyptian Religion, Dedicated to Professor Jan Zandee*. (Leiden 1982), 127–137; "Mut, the Eye of Re", in S. Schoske (ed.), *Akten des vierten Internationalen Ägyptologen-Kongresses, München 1985*, Vol. 3 = *BSAK* 3 (Hamburg 1988), 395–403.

[2] Cf. Te Velde, *BSAK* 3, 395–397.

[3] H.M. Stewart, "A Crossword Hymn to Mut", *JEA* 57 (1971), 87–104. The text citations refer to the line numbering horizontally (H) and vertically (V).

An essential point of departure is found in Mut's status as the daughter of Re. This is stressed throughout the text. It is said for example that "Re of Heliopolis, Lord of the Great Temple, recognises her as his daughter" (*Rᶜ ỉwnw nb ḥwt-ᶜɜt sỉɜ s(t) m sɜt.f*, V20). As daughter, she is also the mother of the god, "his daughter of his two eyes, she having appeared as his mother, through whom he is protected" (*sɜt.f n ỉrty.f ḫᶜ.tỉ m mwt.f ḫw.f ḥr.s*, V19). A specific reference to the pregnancy of the daughter-mother is found as the same line continues and describes the goddess "as she who is pregnant (*bkɜt*) on him as the Great of Magic".[4]

In the numerous references to Re as her father, the goddess becomes the uraeus resting upon his brow (cf. e.g. H7, H17 H27, H40, H41, V14, V15, V16, V19, V50). As the traditional protectress of her father, there are references to the fiery character of the goddess as a destructive aspect of her personality, as "no form escapes her flame" (*nn ḳỉ m nh ḫt.s*, H11) and she is "the flame of all lands and the rebels who are in them" (*ḫt tɜw nbw sbỉt ỉmyw.sn*, H49). The terrifying nature of the cobra is conveyed with the description "the coiled one, the fearsome one, the foremost of awe" (*mnḥyt nrw ḫntyt šfšft*, V33), and "the one who overthrows the rebels for her father" (*sḫrt sbỉt ḥr ỉt.s*, V31).

The close association between the uraeus as brow ornament and the crown comes through clearly in the structure of the text, as references to the uraeus are intertwined with those to the White and Red Crowns (cf. V27). However, whereas identification with the crowns are to be expected in the interface between cobra and crown, the text cites the goddess not as a manifestation of the crowns but as the recipient of their authority, thus relating to the iconography of Mut as the bearer of the Double Crown. "The White Crown and the Red Crown are established on her head" (*ḥḏt dšrt mn m tp.s*, H4) "The *Nt*-crown belongs to her" (*ỉw.s Nt n.s*, H25, cf. H10), "her White Crown is placed on her" (*rdỉ.tw ḥḏ.s ḥr.s*, H42), "lady of the White and the Red Crown" (*ḥnwt ḥḏ dšrt*, V54).

This emphasis on the goddess as the bearer, rather than the manifestion, of the crowns allows the description to enlarge upon her role as regent, and so Mut is referred to as the occupant of the throne and is called "...the great one who is on her beloved throne" (*wrt nty ḥr st mrt.s*, H9). This line has a meaningful ambivalence as the reference to the throne (*st*) can also be read "her beloved place" and refer to the goddess's position on the brow of Re. The correlation between the brow of the god and the throne of the goddess is reiterated in yet another line where she is called "his great one, the coiled one, to her belongs the throne, the head of every god" (*wrt.f mḥnyt nst n.s tp n nṯr nb*, H27).

Reference to the goddess as manifestation of the throne is, however, not lacking as she is said to be "his noble Sound Eye, the great one who is his foremost one, being under the king as the throne" (*wḏɜt.f špst wrt ḫntyt.f ḫr nsw m nst*, H16).

The close association with the crown and the throne entails identifying this goddess as ruler with the text reading "the kingship comes into being in her name of... Lady of All" (*ḫpr nsw m rn.s ... ḥnwt n ḥr nb*, H30). Our source continues to note that "she has appeared as the ruler, the mighty one" (*ḫᶜ.tỉ m ḥḳɜt ỉs wsrt*, H32). It is evident that

[4] This word is written phonetically as *b-kɜ*, followed by double horizontal lines which serves as the determinative for the word when read in the horizontal line 38, "her face is the sun disk in the sky in the morning (*bkɜw*)".

the authority of the goddess emanates from Re for "she has ruled because of him" (*ḥkꜣ.n.s ḥr.f*, H49). The regency of this goddess is described as more than symbolic as we read "she has governed, this goddess whom Re protects" (*ḫrp.n.s nṯrt tn ḫw sw Rᶜ*, V45), and "she has ruled Upper and Lower Egypt" (*ḥkꜣ.n.s rsy mḥw*, V66). Her role as the true heir to the throne is also confirmed as the text concludes that "he (Re) has given to her the throne of Geb" (*rdi.n.f n.s nst Gb*, V67).

Given the elaborate attention paid to the goddess as ruler, it is not surprising that she is termed "queen" using the feminine forms of the masculine *nsw-bit*. Mut is thus called "foremost of Thebans, who sets as the queen of Upper Egypt" (*ḫntyt Wꜣst ḥtp m nsyt*, H42), "the queen of Lower Egypt who possesses beauty" (*bityt ḫr ᶜnt*, H45) "mistress of the land, Lower Egyptian queen of the land" (*nbt tꜣ bityt nt tꜣ*, H47), "she comes into being for the land as Upper Egyptian queen" (*ḫpr.s n tꜣ m nsyt*, V46).

The connection between the role of female sovereign and the uraeus is once again taken up with such lines as "she rests on him as queen of Upper and Lower Egypt" (*snḏm.s ḥr.f m nsw šmᶜw bityt mḥw*, V14).

The description of Mut's association with the sovereignty of Egypt, as described in terms of her possession of, rather than identification with, the symbols of power, the crowns and the throne, is complete when Mut's relationship to Maat is described, not as one of identification, but rather as that of a ruler to the principle of justice. This may be observed as the text states "Maat comes into being in the land because of her" (*ḫpr Mꜣᶜt m tꜣ n.s*, H29) and as Bityt, Queen of Lower Egypt, she is said to rule in the company of a daughter of Re (*ḥkꜣt m-ḫt sꜣt.f Rᶜ im*, H45), implying a joint rule with Maat. As sovereign deity the goddess should be nourished by Maat, as a form of offering, and indeed the texts say that "Maat belongs to her as her midday meal" (*Mꜣᶜt ḫr.s m sty-r.s*, V59).

Just as the identification with the daughter-uraeus might be said to generate a link to the crowns and queenship, the image of the eye creates another path to female authority. Mut as the Eye of the God is, as has been pointed out by Te Velde,[5] well integrated into the presentation of the goddess. She is, for example "his eye who gives the land prosperity" (*irt.f rdit tꜣ wḏꜣ*, H1). The characterization of the eye interlocks, however, with the single most prevalent attribute ascribed to this goddess in the hymn as she is also the solar disk. This is a familiar connection, foreshadowed in the *Pyramid Texts* with references to "bright eye of Horus".[6] The goddess is described in the hymn as "the one who makes the lands live with her rays, this Sound Eye of Re" (*sᶜnḫ tꜣw m stwt.s wḏꜣt pn Rᶜ*, H34) and as "the Akhet-eye which illuminates the face when rising" (*ꜣḫt sḫḏ ḥr wbn*, V39).

The text is replete with references to this goddess as a physical manifestation of the sun: "the great one, the Akhet who illuminates the entire land with her rays" (*ᶜꜣt ꜣḫt sḫḏ tꜣ tm m mꜣwt.s*, H1), "the Two Lands and the Netherworld are bright because of her when she appears in the heavens" (*ḫḏ n.s tꜣwy dwꜣt m-ḫt ḫᶜ.s m pt*, H3), "she gives light, the great one, the sun disk which shines as this her likeness" (*di.s ꜣḫ wrt ỉtn n[ty] wbn m mỉtt.s pw*, H12), "when Mut shines, sunbeams fall for her, the sole one in the midst of the lands" (*psḏ mwt ḫr n.s stwt wᶜtyt m ḥry-ỉb tꜣw*, H27), "her face is the

[5] *BSAK* 3, 398.

[6] H. Goedicke, "The Bright Eye of Horus: Pyr. Spell 204", in I. Gamer-Wallert and W. Helck (eds.), *Gegengabe. Festschrift für Emma Brunner-Traut* (Tübingen 1992), 95–102.

sun disk in the sky" (*ḥr.s ỉtn m pt*, H38), "the light of her body shines for her" (*wbn n.s šw ḏt.s*, H71), "she is this light of the day" (*ỉw.s šw pn hrw*, V46), "this goddess, their leader, the goddess in the sun disk, the sole one who encircles what is below" (*nṯrt tn tp*[*yt*].*sn nṯrt m ḫp wʿtyt šn ḫr*, V62).

The imagery which links the goddess to the role of solar deity employs the totality of the language of solar cosmology, as the goddess is found in the solar bark (H43, V67) and is greeted by the baboons of the morning (H14) and is said to "run forever the limits of eternity" (*wn.s nḥḥ pḥ ḏt*, V42).

And just as solar cosmology firmly places the creation of the natural world among the tasks of the solar deity, the goddess is also projected into the role of creator. Early in the text it is established that "everything came into being because (or: "for") her (when) he was created" (*ḫpr n.s ḥr nb ỉr.f*, H13). Although the fragmentary, and compositionally strained, nature of the text does not allow a sense of the structure of the goddess's creation, it is possible to observe an emphasis on certain of its elements. There is, for example, a clear focus on the creation of the waters, more specifically the Nile and its creatures. The text tells the reader that she is "the creator and the one who spits out the Nile" (*sḫpr ḫr ỉšs ḥʿpy*, H27; cf. V24). The Nile is seen as emanating from the goddess as her bodily fluids, "her water and her sweat overflows the two banks" (*mw.s fdt.s tft.tỉ ỉbdwy*, H33). The life-giving qualities of these fluids are made explicit for "she has made her waters (in order to) give life to those who are united with the kas" (*ỉr.n.s mw.s sʿnḫ ḫnmw kɜw*, V17).

Creating the waters also entails creating the food supply found in these waters, and just as she spit out the Nile, she "spits out for him the food of the ocean" (*ỉšs.s pw n.f kɜw rn-wr*, H27), and she is said to be "the sole one who makes food through the domain of the waters" (*wʿtyt ỉrt wnmt ỉn ḥwt mw*, H36). These references make her designation as "Lady of the Sea" (*ḥnwt ym*, H44; cf. V28, V29, V30) quite appropriate.

Just as the goddess created the waters and the food in it, the land is brought forth in the same manner as "she spits out the land" (*ỉšs.s tɜ*, V23) and so "the land endures, being brought into being through her" (*tɜ mn ḫpr ỉm.s*, V61). She is also the source of the life of the land "the great one of that which comes into being of the land" (*wrt n ḫprw n tɜ*, V61). Vegetation emanates from her as "the one who grasped the *mn*-plants in the soil" (*wʿtyt nḏr.n.s mn ḥr sɜtw*, H14), as "the *tfw*-plants are established in her hand" (*mn tfw m ḏrt.s*, V64). The ability of the goddess to affect this growth is, quite naturally, associated with her role as sun disk and so the text states "she goes forth and all good Akhet plants are born" (*wḏɜ.s ms.n ɜḫt nb nfr*, H3). She appears to be responsible for emmer (*bdt*) and wheat (*swt*), which are specifically named in the text (V29, V66), which also contains reference to a more general blossoming, as one reads "she has made the land a garden according to her wishes", (*ỉw ỉr.n.s tɜ š n st-ỉb.s*, H48)

The role of the goddess as solar creator, which has its starting point in her identity as divine eye, aligns with the tradition of the eye as the origin of gods and mankind[7] and thus it is stated that "mankind and gods are her offspring" (*msty.s rmṯ nṯrw*, H10). To her creation of the waters, the land, the creatures of sea and land, mankind and

[7] Cf., e.g., S. Bickel, *La cosmogonie égyptienne avant le Nouvel Empire*, OBO 134 (Fribourg/Göttingen 1994), 91–100.

gods, is added Egypt itself as "she made the coming into being of Upper and Lower Egypt" (*sw ỉr ḫpr rsy mḥw*, H43). Perception (*sỉꜣ*) seems to be one of her means of creation, as the text relates that she is "the goddess who perceives that which she has made" (*nṯrt sỉꜣ ỉrt.n.s*, H37) and she is "the sole one who made perception" (*wꜥtyt ỉr[t] sỉꜣ*, V50).

And thus, as creator, the goddess is stated to have no equal (H31), to be mistress of all that is under her (H40) and ruler and mistress of that which is (*ḥḳꜣt nty*, H1; *nbt nty*, H53) and thus "everyone is united to her ka" (*ỉw ḥr nb twt n kꜣ.s*, H26)

The goddess is identified as a solar creator, and is, although mistress of the heavens, not identified with the heavens but rather found within them. Heaven, we read, is given to her by Re, for she is his heir, and she, in turn, gives the lands and the limbs of the people (*rdỉ n.s Rꜥ tꜣ ỉwꜥ[t] dỉ tꜣ ḥꜥw pꜥt*, V48). Heaven is not a manifestation of the goddess, but rather a place in which she reigns. It is the city of her father Re which she has inherited for "heaven came into being after she was contented in heaven, the city of her father" (*ḫpr pt gr hrr.n.s m pt nỉwt ỉt.s*, H10). A parallelism is drawn between her reign in heaven and the well-being of her temple in Thebes "she is over it, that all may live in Thebes like (in) heaven" (*ỉw.s ḥr.s ꜥnḫ tm m Wꜣst mỉ pt*, V58).

The nature of Mut, as described in this text, becomes quite clearly defined in her relation to her father Re. She is uraeus and eye, a female sovereign, the heir of her father. She is also the solar disk who creates the natural world and rules over heaven. The text contains, however, additional clues as to the placement of this goddess in the cosmological structure. The text allows the next logical step as the daughter is not only queen-creator, but also phallic-mother.

This conclusion can be drawn by observing the use of the name of the little-known goddess Atemet[8] which occurs seven times in the preserved text. In two of these occurrences a complementarity is expressed between Mut as mistress of Thebes, and Atemet as the mistress of Heliopolis (H40) or of heaven (V18). In other occurrences there are associations with the Heliopolitan gods Re, Geb and Khepri (H11, V44). In yet another we find an identification with Mut, as it is said that "her name is Atemet, the mighty one (*rn.s tmt wsrt*, V61). Mut's identification with a female form of Atum, who creates through masturbation, provides a possible explication for the portrayal of Mut as an ithyphallic goddess, found most prominently in *Book of the Dead* Chapter 164,[9] discussed more fully below. This referential frame can also have influenced the various descriptions of Mut's mode of creation as "spitting",[10] which has analogies in the birth of the twins Shu and Tefnut through ejaculation and spitting.

Atemet is found in this text as an alternate personality of Mut, representing Heliopolis as Mut represents Thebes, heaven as Mut does earth. The north-south complementarity found in the relationship between Atemet and Mut suggests a further line of analysis. Mut's co-consort at Karnak is Amaunet, a goddess, who like Atemet in relationship to Atum, is situated within a cosmogonic setting as the female counterpart of Amun in the Hermopolitan Ogdoad. At Karnak, this goddess may be recognized by the Red Crown as her characteristic attribute, and thus the two goddesses, Mut and Amaunet, create a reference to the "Two Ladies", representatives of Upper and

[8] Also Temet, J. Osing, "Temet", *LÄ* VI, 355.
[9] Cf. H. te Velde, "Mut", *LÄ* IV, 247–248.
[10] R. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, SAOC 54 (Chicago 1993), 75–78.

Lower Egypt. In this text the combination of Mut and Atemet reflects a distinctive balance in references to Upper and Lower Egyptian locations. While there is no doubt that the focus for the interaction of the father-daughter pair is Thebes, Karnak and the goddess's Karnak temple, Isheru, there is spread out through the text a complementary Lower Egyptian orientation, with numerous references to Pe and Dep,[11] Chemmis[12] and not least Heliopolis.[13] The goddess, for example, is said to be "the noble goddess who is in Chemmis, Wadjit, Mistress of Pe and Dep, Mut, lady of heaven, mistress of the Two Lands" (V23) who rules (*ḥḳ3*) there (H19, V23, V45).

In addition, the use of the Red Crown as Amaunet's iconographic attribute brings into this complex a reference to Neith, also referred to sporadically as an alter ego of Mut in our text.[14] This goddess, in her various guises, has a close association with the role of the female creator,[15] and thus is an appropriate point of reference for both Atemet and Amaunet.

If we summarize this brief review of a single text, we find that Mut is described as the daughter, and mother, of Re, his uraeus and his eye. She is the successor of her father, wearing the crowns of kingship, and ruling on the throne of Geb, with all the attributes of the kingship. She is also the solar disk, creating through her rays the natural world of gods and mankind, and the plants and creatures necessary to provide for them. The goddess is also an implicitly phallic female creator who spits forth the waters, the creatures within them and the land. This combination of roles, creating a mirror image, in feminine form, of the male solar creator, reflects a conceptual structure comprising a sovereign divine queenship expressed in terms of the duality of Upper and Lower Egypt.

The Hymn to the Diadem

The image of Mut abstracted from the Ramesside hymn is not entirely new with this goddess. As has been noted by Te Velde,[16] elements of its genesis can be found in the text known as the *Hymn to the Diadem*.[17] A connection between the characterization of the crown goddesses described in the hymn and Mut is suggested both by the occurrence of a possible early example of the name of the goddess[18] and by an inscription found on the statue of Hapuseneb,[19] dated to the reign of Hatshepsut. Discovered in the Mut complex at Karnak and containing a dedication to that goddess, this inscription includes a section of the *Hymn to the Diadem*.[20]

---

[11] H19, 22, 23, 26, 51, 54, 55; V15, 23, 39, 42, 43, 44, 51, 53.
[12] H18, 19; V23, 45.
[13] E.g., H22, 23, 54, 55; V16, 23, 39, 52.
[14] H20, 48; V21, 27, 67.
[15] S. Sauneron, *Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna aux derniers siècles du paganisme*, Esna V (Cairo 1962), text no. 206, translated and discussed on pp. 253–276.
[16] *BSAK* 3, 398.
[17] A. Erman, *Hymnen an das Diadem der Pharaonen. Aus einem Papyrus der Sammlung Golenischeff*, APAW 1911: 1 (Berlin 1911).
[18] A. Erman, op. cit., 50, line 18,14.
[19] Cairo 648, *Urk.* IV, 478–480.
[20] First noted by Erman, op. cit., 10.

This text, assigned a Second Intermediate Period date,[21] contains nine hymns of praise, and one spell, all addressed to different aspects of the crown as uraeus. Six of these texts have a specific Upper Egyptian orientation, with only two referring directly to Lower Egypt. Of the hymns with an Upper Egyptian orientation, four are addressed to various forms of the uraeus as the White One (hymns a, d, e, h, with reference to Nekhbet in h), and two identify the Upper Egyptian goddess with the Double Crown (hymns d and e). In the remaining examples of Upper Egyptian references, the uraeus is cited as Queen of Upper Egypt (hymn c) and Lady of the South (hymn i). The two with distinctive Lower Egyptian reference address the uraeus as Great of Magic of the North, Queen of Lower Egypt (hymn b) and the *Nt*-crown (hymn f). Two of the hymns (g and j) addressed to the crown goddess as the Itfat serpent and Wenwenet, do not display distinctive references to either Upper or Lower Egypt.

The hymns suggest, first of all, that although references to the vulture occur,[22] it is primarily the cobra that functions as the image of the authority of the crown, within the context of the cult of the crown, which, it has been surmised, is the origin of the text.[23] It is also noteworthy that the two shorter texts relating to the Double Crown emphasize an association with the White One of Upper Egypt, just as Mut, given an identity as representative of Upper Egypt, wears the double crown and is connected to the image of the cobra, rather than the vulture.

Like the Ramesside hymn's description of Mut's relationship to Re, this text identifies the diadem goddesses as daughter figures, although the language is less explicit. She is called the Akhet-cobra that protects her father (*ꜣḫt nḏt it.s*, hymn 9,3; 17,1). In the hymn to the Great of Magic of the North, her status as daughter is implied as she is called "foremost of her maker" (*ḫntyt n ir.s*, 10,2–3) and "the mistress of appearance on the brow of the one who gave her birth" (*nbt ḫꜥ m ḥꜣt ms.s*, 10,4). Most explicit is reference to the Double Crown as the two daughters (13,1).[24]

Given that these hymns are directed to different forms of the uraeus, it is not surprising to find that the text abounds with references to the physical attributes of the cobra, not as a symbol of power, but as the reptile. She is "uplifted of head and broad of throat" (*fꜣyt tp wsḫt ḥtt*, 8,1) and "the one who winds around and entwines the papyrus" (*sšnt snḥt wꜣḏ*, 8,3). One of the attributes of the cobra is the manner in which it rises thus being "tall" (*ḳꜣ*) (4,2, 9,4, 14,2, and cf. 16,2 referring to making the god Sobek tall). The cobra diadem is characterized as a physical extension of the god, part of his body and thus when she rises it is as one of his limbs "may you rise for him as the foremost of his limbs, in your name of uraeus ('the riser')" (*ꜥr.t n.f ḫntyt ꜥwt.f m rn.t pwy n iʿrt*, 10,2). The physicality of this union is confirmed in another line in which the goddess is addressed with the words "may you unite yourself with his flesh, may you grow from his head" (*ḫnm.t m ỉwf.f rd.t m tp.f*, 20,1).

The link between the uraeus motif and that of the eye as solar disk is found in the use of the word *ḫꜥ* "to appear", as the diadem "appears" on the forehead of the god

---

[21] Cf. most recently M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* I: *The Old and Middle Kingdoms* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1975), 201–202.

[22] "O vulture who is with the gods" (*nrwtt ỉmyt nṯrw*) Erman, op. cit., 41 line 11,4.

[23] See discussion in Erman, op. cit., 7.

[24] A few lines further down in the text there is reference to Shu and Tefnut, implying the common ambivalence between *sꜣty* read as the Two Daughters, or as the Son and Daughter.

(9,1; 16,3), being "bright" (*bɜkt*,[25] 3,1; *ꜥn*, 6,2; 9,5). This appearance, it is implied, is a form of birth as she is called "the one who came forth, appearing on the head of her lord, the one who unites with him, that she may be renewed through him" (*prt ḫꜥ.tỉ m tp nb.s dmḏt n.f mɜw.s ỉm.f*, 19,2). The god is the creator and the origin of the goddess, and she in turn sanctifies (*sɜḫ*) his head (10,5) and thus allows him to triumph over his enemies.

Although, unlike the Mut in the Ramesside hymn, these goddesses are indeed manifestations of the crowns, references to their role as sovereign rulers are still found. As noted above the titles queen of Upper and queen of Lower Egypt (*nsyt, bỉtyt*, 2,2; 7,1) are used. In addition, the Great of Magic of the North is called the uraeus who leads mankind, and the regent (*ỉtyt*) of thousands (4,4–5).

The most prevalent theme of the *Crossword Hymn* was the role of Mut as eye-sun disk. This motif introduces the collection of diadem hymns, as the first lines of "Adoring the White One (*dwɜ ḥḏt*)"[26] read (col. 1):

(1) *ỉnḏ ḥr.t ỉrt twy nt ḥr*	Greetings, This Eye of Horus,
ḥḏt ꜥɜt	Great illuminator,
ḥꜥꜥt (2) *psḏt m nfrw.s*	The one over whose beauty the Ennead rejoices
wbn.s m ɜḫt ỉɜbtt	When she rises in the eastern horizon.
dwɜ tn ỉmyw stsw (3) *šw*	Those who are in the supports of Shu,
hɜɜw m ɜḫt ỉmntt	And who descend in the western horizon adore you
sḫꜥ.t n ỉmyw dwɜt	When you appear for those who are in the Netherworld.

The appearance of the diadem on the brow of the father, the bright eye shining in the face of the god, becomes the sun rising in the horizon.

There are repeated references to the Eye of Horus in the hymns, as the primary identification of the crown goddesses.[27] The crown as eye, however, has a multiple identity, expressed in the hymns in terms of a combination of colours. Called "abundant of colours" (*ꜥšɜt ỉwnw*, 3,2), the eye is the Green One, and the White One which is transformed into red, as well as occurring in combinations of black, green and white (11,4), black, white and red (12,2–3) and green, white and red (13,1). Containing implicit reference to Egypt (black) and its component parts of north (green, red) and south (white, red), as well as land (black), water (green) and fire (red), sun (red) and moon (white).

Particularly the colour combinations of black, white and red, and green, white and red are woven into a narrative familiar from a number of other contexts. The Spell for Uniting with the Double Crown (*r n ḫnm m sḫmty*, Spell e[28]) tells us that the Double Crown consists of the two eyes, the two daughters. The first lines speak of the Black One which is in the other two (*kmt ỉmyt sny twt.tỉ*) and the White One who is in the eye (*ḥḏt ỉmyt ỉrt.k*) and who turns red with rage (*sdšr.s nšnt*). A few lines later the combination is read as the Green One, Wadjit of Pe and Dep and the White One (of Nekheb). The transformation of the White One to red is related to the slaughter of

[25] Cf. Goedicke, in *Gegengabe*.
[26] Erman, op. cit., 22.
[27] 1,1; 3,1; 4,2; 6,1; 11,1; 12,3; 12,5; 15,2; 19,1; 19,3; 19,4.
[28] Erman, op. cit., 42, lines 12,1–13,5.

the enemies of the god for whom the hymn is inscribed.[29] This accomplished, the White One returns, presumably in her "pacified" state, to jubilation. This description is followed by a line reading "may you extinguish one with the other" (*ḥm.t wʿtyt ḥr snwt.s*, 13,3). This abbreviated narrative suggests not only a parallel with the many variations of the story of the pacification of the eye and its role as the slaughterer of the enemy, but also with an additional application of the white-red symbolism of transformation. The discussion of the Isheru lakes[30] posits that this three-sided lake is typical for the sanctuaries of different lion goddesses as the ferocious eye. It is also a main feature of Mut's Karnak temple. The waters of the lake are thought to represent the primordial waters, which, when they come in contact with the goddess, pacify her by extinguishing her flame. Another example of extinguishing fire with liquid is discussed in depth by Schott,[31] who describes the use of milk to put out torches. This is a ritual practice verified in Chapter 137A of the *Book of the Dead*, which emphasizes the role of the eye as protector of the dead, as well as in 137B in which the eye is associated with the lighting of the torches. While additional investigation would be necessary to establish a well-defined connection between the white-red imagery of the eye and the roles played by milk and fire in ritual, the domination of the White over the Red, as a form of pacification, and reference to one extinguishing (*ḥm*) the other, makes this a tempting interpretation.

With the identification of the motif of the pacified eye-goddess in this hymn collection, we approach a theme which functioned as the ritual core of the cult of Mut at Karnak, although only implicit in the Ramesside hymn around which our discussion centres. The identification of Mut with the lion goddess who is often the manifestation of the uncontrolled rage of the transformed eye is well established, not least by the numerous Sakhmet statues associated with her Isheru temple. The connection between the crown goddesses and Mut-Sakhmet is found in the portion of the hymn inscribed on the 18th Dynasty statue of Hapuseneb where we read "Pestilence is on your mouth, froth is on your lips. You have gone forth and the Nine Bows have gone forth" (*idw tpw r.t mnḫw tpw spt.t šmm.t šmm pḏwt 9*),[32] referring to the rampage of Sakhmet during the epagomenal days.

The imagery used for the crown-eye goddesses described in the *Hymn to the Diadem* coincides with that applied to Mut, as daughter, regent, uraeus-eye, solar disk, and rampaging lioness. In addition, one may note that the Double Crown is given an Upper Egyptian orientation, placing the White One and her transformation at the centre of this characterization of the Double Crown. In this context the vulture form, taken to be the iconographic norm for the the White One of Nekheb, is eclipsed by the uraeus.[33]

---

[29] The hymn names the god Sobek of Shedty, Horus who is in Shedty as the recipient of the crowns.

[30] Most recently B. Geßler-Löhr, *Die heiligen Seen ägyptischer Tempel*, HÄB 21 (Hildesheim 1983), 401–423 with references.

[31] S. Schott, "Das Löschen von Fackeln in Milch", *ZÄS* 73 (1937), 1–25. A connection between this rite and the lake from which the raging lion goddess Mut drinks was already suggested by J. van Dijk, "Hymnen uit het dagelijks tempelritueel voor de godin Moet", in K.R. Veenhof (ed.), *Schrijvend Verleden. Documenten uit het Oude Nabije Oosten vertaald en toegelicht*, MVEOL 23 (Leiden/Zutphen 1983), 236 with n. 12, but rejected by U. Verhoeven and P. Derchain, "Le voyage de la déesse libyque. Ein Text aus dem 'Mutritual' des Pap. Berlin 3053", Rites égyptiens 5 (Brussels 1985), 38 (af).

[32] *Urk.* IV, 480, 2–3; Erman, op. cit., 24–25, lines 3,4–5.

[33] Cf. discussion in P. Derchain, *Les monuments religieux à l'entrée de l'Ouady Hellal*, Elkab I (Brussels

The *Hymn to the Diadem* provides some preliminary background for not only the genesis of the mistress of heaven, wearer of the Double Crown, Mut of Isheru, but also for the conceptualization of a multipersonality goddess representing the power of the kingship, a feminine form capable of functioning as daughter-mother-creator.

Chapter 164 of the Book of the Dead

Those elements which are found nascent in the collection of diadem hymns, and which are firmly grounded in the Ramesside source, also make up the character of Mut, although transmuted to serve a funerary purpose, in Chapter 164 of the *Book of the Dead*.[34]

Once again it is possible to trace the primary attributes of this goddess as divine daughter "sole one, superior to her father" (*wʿtyt ḥryt-tp n it.s*, 69). The role of the protector of her father places her, as Great of Magic in the prow of his bark of a million years (70) where she overthrows evil and replaces it with Maat (*sḫr ḳdw iw.s dì mɜʿt m ḥɜt wìɜ.f*, 73–74). A characterization as the fiery uraeus is implied as fire is used as her weapon in her father's bark (75) and she is said to be the one with fire (*ntt ìmyt ḫt*, 74), and rather than appearing on her father's brow, she is "the sacred one who appears in the place of silence" (*ḏsrt ḥʿ m st sgr*, 70). Her role as mother is found in relation to the dead, as both the Ogdoad and the living *ba*s in their coffins adore her awesomeness (*šfšfyt*, 77) she being their mother (*tnt mwt.w*, 77), who provides a place of rest in the Netherworld (77), healing their bones and preserving them from terror (*ḥry*, 78). As their mother she enters into the role of creator as it is said that "she is their beginning" (*nts šɜʿ.sn*, 77). This is the function which she is to perform in a funerary context as she protects the son, her child, from the dangers of the Netherworld, in preparation for rebirth.

The <Eye of> Re (68) and the Sound Eye (80), Mut in the horizon of the sky (71–72), she is the Lady of the White and Red Crowns (69), the duality Sakhmet (68,80) and Bastet (68), given an image as Mut, divine of *ba*s (80). The essence of this goddess is condensed in her portrayal as a winged ithyphallic woman, with the faces of a lion, a vulture and a woman.

Esna No. 251: A Hymn to Menhyt

The consistency with which Mut is incorporated into a pattern in which those aspects which have been outlined above come together and interact to create a holistic image of the goddess as both "one and many" can be best illustrated in a concluding presentation of related textual material.

The Roman temple of Esna offers unusually rich source material for the study of feminine divinity. One of these texts, a hymn to the goddess Menhyt, "the coiled

1971), 11–32, esp. 14, discussing the integration of Nekhbet into the mythic complex of the eye-lioness.

[34] For the text see W. Pleyte, *Chapitres supplémentaires du Livre du Morts 162 à 174* (Leiden 1881), 68–87; for a full translation, T.G. Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day*, SAOC 37 (Chicago 1974), 160–161; for the vignette, R.O. Faulkner, *Book of the Dead* (London 1985), 163.

one", an alter ego of Neith in this temple, and one of the epithets of Mut in the Ramesside hymn, is composed of short addresses to ten different goddesses, of which Mut is one. The composite created by the combination of the characteristics of these goddesses repeats, once again, the pattern of daughter-mother, uraeus-eye, crown-regent and creator. This text, perhaps less well known than those cited above, is given in translation below with a suggested transliteration.

Esna No. 251[35]

(21) *dì ỉɜw n Mnḥyt ḏd mdw*	Giving adoration to Menhyt, saying:
twt rɜyt sḥḏ tɜwy	You are Rait who illuminates the Two Lands;
mn.s (22) *ḥɜy.s ḥḏ m tp Rᶜ*	She has settled, streaming brightness from the head of Re
m rn.s pfy n Mnḥyt	In this her name of Menhyt.
twt nt	You are the water,
ỉr nty	The one who made that which is
ḳmɜ wnywt	And created that which exists,
mwt nṯr ḳmɜ nṯrw Mnḥyt	The mother of the god who creates the gods, Menhyt,
ḥɜyt ḥᶜpy[36]	The wind and the inundation,
tmɜt wrt šɜᶜ ṯs prt	The great mother who begins the germination of seeds,
ỉrt nt	The one who makes the flood,
ḳmɜ ḫt nbt	And creates all things
m rn.t pfy n Nt	In this your name of Neith.
twt špst wsrt	You are the noble and powerful one,
rš Rᶜ n mɜɜ.s	The one whom Re rejoices to see,
ᶜɜt mrwt Bɜstt	The one great of love, Bastet
(23) *nṯrt ᶜɜt wp(y)*	The goddess great of festivity,
šɜᶜ.tw n.s nhm	For whom one starts beating the tambourine,
sḏty ỉrt	The pupil of the eye,
tmɜt n ḳmɜ	The mother of the creator god
m rn.s pfy n Mwt	In this her name of Mut.
twt mst	You are the child
ỉr n.s ỉt.s Rᶜ ɜḫt	For whom her father Re made the horizon,
nst(.f) ḥḳɜ.f	(His) throne, his sceptre
nsyt.f m pt tɜ	And his kingship in heaven and on earth
r ỉr(t) ḥtp.s ỉm	In order to bring her contentment there
m rn.s <n> Nbt-ḥtpt	In this her name of Nebethetep.
twt Wrt ḥḳɜw	You are the Great of Magic,

[35] The text is found in S. Sauneron, *Le temple d'Esna*, [*Textes 194–398*], Esna III (Cairo 1968), 135–136. For translation and discussion see S. Sauneron, *Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna aux derniers siècles du paganisme*, Esna V (Cairo 1962), 107–110.

[36] See Sauneron's discussion of this reading, Esna V, 108.

ꜥ3 b3w n psḏt	The great one of *ba*s of the Ennead,
ḥnwt špswt	The mistress of noble ladies,
nbt hrw 3bdw	The lady of days and months,
ỉr.tw n.s ḥb n tr (n) rnpt r sḫtp.s	For whom an annual feast is made in order to appease her
m rn.s pfy n Sḫmt	In this her name of Sakhmet.
twt ḥnwt	You are the lady,
tnw ḫnty nṯrw nṯrwt	Distinguished before the gods and goddesses,
wbnt m tp n ỉt.t Rꜥ	The uraeus who is on the head of your father Re
m rn<.s> p<fy> (24) *n Mḥyt*	In this her name of Mehyt.
twt nbt ꜥgny	You are the mistress of Agny,
ỉḳḥ W3st m M3fdt	The one who travels to Thebes as Mafdat,
bḫ Šw m Ḥwt Mwt	The one who gave birth to Shu in the temple of Mut,
ỉrt Rꜥ	The eye of Re,
ꜥḳ ḥḳ3-ꜥnḏw m snt	The one who enters the nome of Heliopolis for the festival of the sixth day
m rn.s pfy n Ḥwt-ḥr	In this her name of Hathor.
twt ỉꜥrt ꜥnḫ	You are the living uraeus,
ḥnwt ꜥḥ nbt pt	Lady of the palace, mistress of the sky,
sšmt t3wy	Leader of the two lands,
ꜥ3 sḫrw m st nbt	Great of council in all places
m rn.s pfy n 3st	In this her name of Isis.
twt ḫntyt r-mn-m pḥw	You are the one who is foremost as far as the marshland,
ꜥnḫt m bi3	The living uraeus in the sky,
ỉr dit-sḫn n bnw	The one who causes the enthronization of the phoenix,
stt Ḥꜥpy m ḳrty	The one who shoots forth Hapy from the two caverns,
ḥr bꜥḥ n.f t3wy r tr.f	In order that he might flood the two lands according to his season
m rn.s pfy n Spdt	In this her name of Sothis.
twt nbwt	You are the golden one,
ḥnwt sḫt Rnnwt	The lady of the field, Renenutet,
W3dyt sḫpr ḫt nbt m st ỉit.s	Wadjit who creates all things wherever she goes,
3ḫt grg sp3wt niwwt	The Akhet-cobra who settles provinces and cities
m ḳmi3.sn	According to their forms
m rn.s pfy n Nbtww	In this her name of Nebtuu.
ḥtp ḥr.t nfr n nsw bỉt	May your fair face be gracious towards the king of Upper and Lower Egypt,
nb t3wy (Pr ꜥ3 ꜥnḫ ḏt)	Lord of the Two Lands, Pharaoh, living for ever,
s3 Rꜥ nb ḫ3w	The son of Re lord of the crowns,

(H)adrianos <nty> ḥw	Hadrian Sebastos,
sḳr.f wdnt <n> kɜ.t ḏt	In order that he may present offerings to your *ka* forever.

The ten goddesses brought together in this hymn to create a total personification of the uraeus Menhyt comprise the totality of elements which have been observed in the Ramesside hymn describing Mut.[37] Once again, she is divine daughter and mother, uraeus-eye-crown and sovereign, solar, and not least primeval, creator. The manner in which these same aspects reoccur, albeit in reference to different goddesses, suggests the existence of a paradigm to which the theologians of different periods had access as a resource for the expression of a specific view of feminine divinity.

Cosmic father and solar daughter: a paradigmatic analysis

The paradigm reflected in the combination of the different components of the character of Mut emanates from her relationship to her father, the creator god Re. The father, rather than representing a solar power, has, in this context, a cosmic role as the source of a feminine manifestation of solar power. This can be contrasted to the mother-son paradigm found in the relationship between Re as a solar creator and the heavens as personified by his mother, identified as Nut, Hathor, and/or Mehetweret, to name those most frequently found in this role.[38] While the mother-son paradigm appears to be generated by a vision of a creator with feminine attributes which encloses the solar male child in dark waters[39] and provides the potential of a return to the resurrective cycle, the father-daughter paradigm has its starting point in the image of the potent male god-king, characterized by an ithyphallic form, who brings forth a female child, to sustain his vitality.

This god's relationship to the feminine is a dependent one. His renewal is based on the principle of interaction with this daughter. Also, it is possible to detect in the description of the uraeus a reference to the sexual potency of the god manifested in a feminine personification. The uraeus, "she who rises", is a limb of the deity.

As a physical part of the father, the eye-uraeus, the role of daughter is formulated to consist of sustenance in the form of offerings,[40] of sexual stimulation for the purpose of activating the god's procreative abilities, and of violent and destructive powers used to protect the god from his enemies. The feminine part of the god's body empowers him, giving him the ability to sustain life and to act.

The correlation between two of the forms of the goddess, the uterine eye and the phallic uraeus[41] suggests an androgyny which gives this daughter the capacity for independent creation. The eye, *irt*, which can be read a pun for "she who makes",

---

[37] Cf. C. Graindorge, "La quête de la lumière au mois de Khoiak: une histoire d'oies", *JEA* 82 (1996), 83–105, for a discussion of the use of five solar daughters in bird manifestations in the feast of Sokar.

[38] Cf. L. Troy, "Engendering Creation. The Still and Flowing Waters", in A. Brenner & C. Fontaine (eds.) *A Feminist Companion to Reading the Bible: Approaches, Methods and Strategies* (Sheffield U.P. 1997), 238–268.

[39] Cf. discussion in L. Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, Boreas 14 (Uppsala 1986), 17 and L. Troy, "Engendering Creation" (in press).

[40] Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, 41–43.

[41] ibid., 20–25.

whose tears bring forth gods and men, is contrasted with the uraeus which spits fire and annilihates the enemies of the god. The daughter becomes both creator of the divine offspring and destroyer of all opposition to the power of the god.

In the relationship between the father and the daughter, the male element dominates as both generationally the elder, and as representing the whole of which the daughter is but a part. When brought into the realm of the kingship, this relationship becomes that of the king with the authoritative attributes of his kingship, primarily the crowns and the principle of right rule, Maat, both of which are identified as the eye and the daughter of the god.

The daughter of the god is, however, also a female counterpart to the son of the god, Shu/Horus. The paradigm sets up a symmetrical relationship between the two divine children (Shu/Tefnut; Shu/Maat), giving the daughter, as a feminine equivalent to the son, a role as the rightful female representative of the kingship, whether as a manifestation of the symbols of the kingship, such as the crown, as the royal women, who are closely associated with the imagery of the divine daughter in their performance of ritual, or as the daughter in the role of sovereign, found in the presentation of Mut.

The two major paradigms of gender-relationship, that of mother-son and father-daughter, are in many ways reversed images of each other. With the combination of solar son and celestial mother, the child grows in the dark landscape of the womb, which, in an analogy with the cycle of death and rebirth, becomes the dangerous journey through the Netherworld, made by the solar disk and, in imitation, the dead. The threatening powers of primordial chaos are overcome when mother and child are separated at the moment of birth, celebrated as the triumphal rising of the sun.

For the relationship of father and daughter, however, the texts are explicit in stating that the daughter, from whom solar rays emanate, is found firmly joined to the forehead of her father. In this pattern, it is separation which brings about a crisis. The daughter is described as manifested in significant parts of the body of the god. Deprived of his eye, his hand or the empowerment of the uraeus, which is an expression of his manhood, the god would be crippled and powerless. Separated from her father, the daughter becomes a dangerous power, allied with chaotic forces such as the Nine Bows, wandering around uncontrolled beyond the borders of the civilized landscape of Egypt. The resolution to this crisis is brought about by reunion. The goddess returns in her pacified form, to be reunited with her father and give birth to her son. This cycle of events is celebrated in various forms in the religious literature and temple festivities.

Mut Enthroned

The thematic presentation of Mut as solar daughter and regent creator in the Ramesside *Crossword Hymn* slots her neatly into the paradigm described above. As observed by Te Velde,[42] she becomes a female version of the Kamutef, regenerated by her father in reunion, appearing on his brow triumphant, spreading the warming rays of the sun

[42] *LÄ* IV, 247.

in analogy with the sunrise.

This presentation has been intended to suggest a line of inquiry with regard to not only the character of the goddess Mut, but also with reference to the research models applied to the study of the presentation of different deities. Embedded in the myriad details used to describe the gods, and their interaction with the divine and mortal worlds, are descriptions of normative relational patterns. These may be of importance in understanding the psychological make-up of the ancient people who are the object of our study.

Whatever the genealogy of the goddess Mut, it is evident that she represents an imaginative re-emphasis of older themes, gathered together and structured in a way which elevates her role to one appropriate for the feminine counterpart of Amun-Re, King of the Gods. Inherent in the presentation of this goddess is a sophisticated magnification of the feminine aspect of the kingship, as both solar daughter and phallic mother. Although perhaps influenced by the experience of the regency of Hatshepsut, under whose reign the first evidence for her temple at Karnak is dated,[43] the image of Mut as a manifestation of divine feminine sovereignty spans over much of the latter history of the ancient Egyptian civilization, and survives to be one of its last ideological expressions.

[43] Te Velde, *BSAK* 3, 397.

The Struggle Against Chaos as a "Strange Attractor" in Ancient Egyptian Culture

A Descriptive Model for the "Chaotic" Development of Cultural Systems*

René van Walsem

In his *Seth, God of Confusion*, Herman te Velde waged a battle against the chaotic mass of surviving data from Ancient Egypt concerning one of its key deities. In everyday language the terms "chaotic" and "confusing" almost invariably have a negative connotation. Although the Index volume of the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (VII, 124) lists a considerable number of references to other volumes under "Chaos", a comprehensive lemma on the subject in its appropriate place in vol. I is lacking. I do not intend to fill the lacuna here, though, for I do not feel qualified for the task.

I prefer to use the limited space in this *Festschrift* for some preliminary remarks concerning the possible implications of the notion of "chaos" and "chaotic behaviour" as recently developed in the natural sciences, and their applicability to a better understanding of the development of cultural systems. I shall try and do this by investigating whether some key concepts in physics may be used as *descriptive* analogies in the analysis of cultural changes and development. In other words, this is another and more elaborate attempt to bridge the apparent gap between (some concepts in) the natural and the social sciences, in particular Egyptology.[1]

It is interesting to point out that some references to particular fields in the natural sciences may be found in Egyptological literature on some specific topics, but – to my knowledge – without any systematic follow-up to a broader usefulness or applicability concerning the subject.

The first person to make a connection between quantum mechanics and Egyptology was Hornung:

"Denn der Begriff der Komplementarität spielt seit langem eine bedeutsame Rolle in der Diskussion um eine Erweiterung der 'klassischen' Logik. Niels Bohr hat ihn 1927 in die Physik eingeführt, um das zwielichtige Verhalten der Energiequanten in den Griff zu bekommen, um das Nebeneinander von Ort und Impuls, von Welle und Teilchen zu erklären... Für uns ist zunächst wichtig, um diese Diskussion zu wissen und sie weiter zu verfolgen – ohnehin kann es auch dem Ägyptologen nicht schaden, sich mit Fragen und Begriffen der modernen Naturwissenschaft vertraut zu machen!"[2]

---

*I would here like to thank Drs Willem Hovestreydt and Dr Jan D. Wieringa (who besides being a theoretical physicist is also an Egyptologist) for reading and commenting upon an earlier draft of this paper. I am also very grateful to Dr Julia Harvey for correcting my English. Needless to say, any surviving mistakes and lapses remain the author's responsibility.

[1] In the Preface to my doctoral thesis *The Coffin of Djedmonthuiufankh in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden, I, Technical and Iconographic Aspects* (Leiden 1997), 2–3, I briefly mention the complementarity of the natural sciences and the humanities; cf. also n. 92.

[2] E. Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen* (Darmstadt 1973), 238.

It is obvious that Hornung uses quantum mechanics, in particular the concept of "complementarity", only as an analogue to justify that "Die Gegensätze sind Realität, aber sie heben einander nicht auf, sondern ergänzen sich. Ein gegebenes X kann A und kann Nicht-A sein: tertium datur." The word *und* suggests and implies simultaneity.[3] The question is whether we can use quantum mechanics only for this restricted purpose, to prove that the ancient Egyptians were not really stupid when they described the sky, for example, as a cow, a woman or a waterway. Are we not just as "illogical" when we consider elementary particles such as an electron and a photon to be both a particle *and* a wave?

In discussing the "figurative language of personification and metaphor", Kemp quotes a poem using the chariot as a metaphor for time: "Take the chariot. It is a symbol of motion, and common observation shows that time and motion are related, in that, over an interval of time, motion decays without an infusion of energy so making the perpetual motion machine an impossibility... The modern world encourages us to pursue an interest in the way that time and motion are related through the study of thermodynamics."[4] Kemp here uses the term "thermodynamics" as a scientific description of the relationship time-motion as opposed to a metaphoric one which *could* have been used by the Egyptians *if* they had been interested in this relationship. However: "The ancient Egyptians did not develop an interest in time and motion. They did, however, develop a great interest in the concept of the universe as a balance of two opposing forces – one directed towards order, the other towards disorder."[5] General conclusion: thermodynamics is a modern way of describing the relationship between energetic movement and time, while Kemp uses the term to exemplify the difference between the ancient Egyptians and ourselves, both with respect to a field of interest and in the way relations are (scientifically) described.

In the same year, 1989, Englund wrote: "Another problem that is as great and important as the very act of creation, when the inert energy is transformed into active energy and substance, is the question of the regeneration of energy so that the whole work does not come to a standstill, i.e. the problem that we treat under the terms thermodynamics and entropy... This regeneration prevents creation from running down, prevents the state of entropy from coming about."[6] In contrast to Kemp she *explicitly* uses the term "entropy" for the loss of energy equivalent to "a standstill", as verbalised in the field of "thermodynamics", in accordance with Kemp's first example. Implicitly, for her too the terms are modern scientific descriptive equivalents but, in contrast to Kemp, for problems signalled in *ancient Egyptian* thoughts on creation and its maintenance. Thus, whereas Kemp states that the Egyptians were not interested in the relationship time-motion, Englund suggests that they were by using the term

[3] Op. cit., 237. The suggested simultaneity is found explicitly in relation to Frankfort's concept of "multiplicity of approaches" in J. Vergote, *De godsdienst van de Egyptenaren* (Roermond 1971), 10–11: "Hiermede wordt bedoeld dat verschillende beperkte inzichten, die ieder afzonderlijk en onder bepaalde gezichtshoek als waarheid zijn erkend, onafhankelijk van elkaar en *gelijktijdig* (italics RvW) aanvaard kunnen worden" (= "This means that different limited insights, each of which have been acknowledged separately and from a certain viewpoint, can be accepted independently of each other and *simultaneously*").

[4] B. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt. Anatomy of a Civilization* (London 1989), 3–4.

[5] Op. cit., 4.

[6] G. Englund, "Gods as a Frame of Reference. On Thinking and Concepts of Thought in Ancient Egypt", in G. Englund (ed.), *The Religion of the Ancient Egyptians. Cognitive Structures and Popular Expressions. Proceedings of Symposia in Uppsala and Bergen 1987 and 1988*, Boreas 20 (Uppsala 1989), 17 and 18.

"standstill" for the final state of creation. Well, for the Egyptians creation is order which is threatened by disorder, concepts in which they took a great interest, as correctly stated by Kemp, but he does not connect standstill with creation. Thus, Kemp and Englund use the term thermodynamics differently.

A year later, in a note in his book on *Maʿat*, Assmann refers to the term "Entropologie" as it is used by Balandier to summarize the common theme in several cosmogonies of African tribes, viz. the problem of how order is created from chaos and how the former is maintained.[7] Balandier characterizes this "entropologie" as: "...un savoir qui entretient en permanence l'obsession de l'entropie de la déperdition et du désordre". Here, entropy is again used as a modern scientific equivalent for chaos/disorder as a subject in non-modern "creation myths". Assmann uses the same equivalence of entropy=chaos without further comment in his most recent book: "Nach ägyptischen Vorstellungen kam das Böse und damit das Chaos im Sinne einer Gravitation zum Zerfall und zur 'Entropie' (Balandier) erst nachträglich in die Welt."[8] In accordance with Englund, Assmann's use of the term "entropy" also simply serves as a connective term between our culture and others to describe "chaos" or "disorder".

Although nowhere explicitly stated in the preceding quotations, the term "entropy" is a *central* notion in thermodynamics. The question is, *how* central (see p. 324ff).

Outside Egyptology, in the late sixties and seventies, when New Archaeology was absorbed in theory building, and – heavily influenced by physics – was looking for "laws", David Clarke wrote: "The degrees of 'conjunction' allow corresponding degrees of probabilistic laws – almost deterministic in the laws of science, to almost stochastic in the social sciences. Even in the physical sciences the gap between 'almost constant conjunction' and the old 'constant conjunction' laws has been shown by Heisenberg to be a serious field for uncertainty, if sufficiently large samples were employed (Heisenberg's Uncertainty Principle...)."[9] With Heisenberg's "uncertainty principle" – another central concept of quantum mechanics – we meet Hornung again. Clarke seems to use the uncertainty in quantum mechanics as an apology for the much more probabilistic character of the "laws" of human behaviour which have "...a broader field of uncertainty than the laws we organize for the physical world", and thus appear to be not that bad after all. There is even reason for optimism: "On this basis we can confidently look forward to the increasingly more competent framing of increasingly more complex and powerful laws in sociology, social anthropology, and related studies."[10]

In two of the six examples discussed (implicit) reference is made to quantum mechanics (Hornung, Clarke), and in four to thermodynamics (Kemp, Englund, Assmann, twice) as (metaphoric) descriptions of (very) limited *states* of affairs: of a way of thinking (Hornung); of the character of "laws" of fossilized man's action as found in the archaeological record (Clarke); of the relationship motion-time (Kemp); and of the role of chaos=entropy in certain "myths" ([Balandier], Assmann, twice; Englund).

---

[7] J. Assmann, *Maʿat, Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im Alten Ägypten* (München 1990), 200, n. 2; G. Balandier, *Le désordre. Éloge du mouvement* (Paris 1988), 24, 51 (this latter reference is not in Assmann, l.c.).

[8] J. Assmann, *Ägypten. Eine Sinngeschichte*, (München 1996), 166. For other examples, see pp. 88, 235.

[9] D.L. Clarke, *Analytical Archaeology* (London 1978), 470. Heisenberg is not mentioned in the index.

[10] Op. cit., 471.

A state of affairs implies a *static* situation. Thermodynamics and quantum mechanics, however, were developed by physicists to describe the evolution or transformation of *dynamic* systems of energy. With the notion of dynamic systems we enter the field of cultural-historical sciences, of which Egyptology covers only a specific area. In fact, these studies are engaged in nothing less than studying the development of cultures as dynamic systems in which "energy" is produced, channelled, organized, and transformed through interactions *among* humans as well as *between* humans and their surrounding world in the widest sense of the word, i.e. from the immediate ecosystem to astronomical=cosmic phenomena.

The fundamental problem that faces us here is that of the *mechanics* underlying phenomena, such as the breakdown of highly and strongly organized complex societies, notwithstanding their (strict) regulations of behaviour for avoiding exactly this, societies which *themselves* appear to be able to (re)create order out of the chaos resulting from the failure of those same rules. The keyword for these phenomena of *change*, or *transformation*, is *self-organization*.

Explaining why things did change is the most difficult and hotly debated subject in archaeology, because several (completely different or even opposite) theoretical and methodological frameworks and models can be used against the same set of data.[11] In explaining the mechanics of a complex system, for example, one resorts to a model[12] or analogy used in another system of phenomena. Although the use of analogy has its problems,[13] I think we cannot avoid it in explaining cultural change and that we are allowed to use it "for the formulation of general principles and the extension of theory..."; this means "...the incorporation of nonarchaeological data sources...into analogies and use of inductive inferences to 'interpret' the archaeological data".[14]

It is obvious from the quoted examples from Egyptology that in this field analogy is used as well. The point is, however, as stated before, that the concept of "complementarity", derived from physics, is only applied to a limited extent, viz. to explain the – at first sight – "illogical" way of Egyptian thinking. But before we speak of a complementarity of ideas, suggesting the coexistence of, or rather the *simultaneous* application of logically exclusive images on a single object of observation, viz. the sky, or creation, as a way of thinking qualitatively different from ours, we first have to ascertain whether these images indeed coexisted from the very beginnings of Egyptian thinking, insofar as it is traceable for us. If they do not, i.e. if they are subsequential, or if they were contemporaneous but originating from different localities, we are no longer necessarily dealing with a way of logical reasoning qualitatively different from ours. In both cases we would only be dealing with the phenomenon of change, a

[11] Here is not the place to elaborate on the issue, but excellent surveys of the problem may be found, for example, in R.J. Wenke, "Explaining the Evolution of Cultural Complexity", in M.B. Schiffer (ed.), *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* 4 (New York 1981), 79–127; C. Renfrew, P. Bahn, *Archaeology. Theories Methods and Practice*, (London 1991), 405–434; K.R. Dark, *Theoretical Archaeology*, (Ithaca 1995), 169–195.

[12] On models in archaeology, D.L. Clarke (ed.), *Models in Archaeology*, (London 1972) was the first epoch-making study.

[13] For an excellent survey of the positive and negative attitudes towards analogy in archaeology, see A. Wylie, "The Reaction against Analogy", in M.B. Schiffer (ed.), *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* 8 (New York 1985), 63–111.

[14] T.H. Charlton, "Archaeology, Ethnohistory, and Ethnology: Interpretive Interfaces", in M.B. Schiffer (ed.), *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* 4 (New York 1981), 131, 132.

change which is qualitatively different, not a way of thinking. The former possibility represents a development/change in the possibilities Egyptian thinkers – for certain reasons – formulated *successively* concerning the sky or creation without excluding the older. The latter represents – for certain (other) reasons – an *integration/ordering* of various heterogeneous images into a larger overarching ideological system, which is also a change, for example, in status. Without pressing the issue here, the implication is clear that if the situation as sketched were true, then the complementarity concept as used in Egyptology is in fact merely an analogical description of two different possible *dynamic processes*, which do not necessarily imply an illogical way of thinking in two or more mutually exclusive images/ideas *at the same time* at all.[15] But although we might be able to ascertain which of the two processes holds for many of the logically exclusive images or ideas we meet in ancient Egypt, some doubtful cases would still remain. Furthermore, do not examples of a *single text* in which several mutually exclusive qualifications of deities follow each other, irrefutably seem to support the fact that X can be A and not-A *at the same time* ("das Nebeneinander...von Welle und Teilchen")? And does not the same hold for a *single artefact* showing on one side the sky as a blue band and on the other as a naked woman whose body is covered with stars?[16]

However, this is *not*, in fact, how the concept of complementarity in quantum mechanics functions. In order to illustrate this I would like to refer to the pair "Ort und Impuls", to be read in place of the dots in the last quotation from Hornung. In quantum mechanics this pair is treated by Heisenberg's uncertainty principle, which states that it is principally impossible to measure *simultaneously* the place *and* the impulse (=velocity) of a particle or quantum phenomenon.[17] Put differently: place and velocity are no longer independent, well-defined variables. This is based on the fundamental fact that the more exactly we (try to) determine the place, the less we will know the velocity of an energy quantum vv, because the results are influenced by the measuring instrument(s) we use. It means that the described or measured phenomenon is influenced by the instruments of and the theory/ies available to the observer. It further implies that a single and objective description of a complete system by a single formalistic language is fundamentally impossible.[18] In short, there is no observer-independent reality as in the idealized classical (=Newtonian) dynamics.

---

[15] The reader might briefly ponder the question of whether an archaeologist in the distant future is drawing the correct conclusion if he states that the fact that editions of the Egyptian Book of the Dead, the Bible, Marx's *Das Kapital*, and the Koran were found on a reader's bookshelf, indicates that his thinking was complementary, since he apparently believed the contents of all these writings *simultaneously*.

[16] See the Third Intermediate Period wooden stela in the Louvre as published in C. Aldred et al., *L'Égypte du crépuscule: de Tanis à Méroé, 1070 av. J.-C. – IVe siècle apr. J.-C.* (Paris 1980), 113, pl. 99; 116, pl. 102.

[17] I. Prigogine, I. Stengers, *Order out of Chaos* (1985) [I quote from the Dutch edition, *Orde uit Chaos. De nieuwe dialoog tussen de mens en de natuur* (Amsterdam 1993)], 240, 242. Nowadays there are several books available for the non-specialist on this and other fundamental aspects of modern physics, e.g. S. Hawking, *A Brief History of Time* (1988) [Dutch edition: *Het Heelal. Verleden en Toekomst van Ruimte en Tijd* (Amsterdam 1988)]; M. Gell-Mann, *The Quark and the Jaguar: Adventures in the Simple and the Complex* (1994) [Dutch edition: *De quark en de jaguar: Avonturen in eenvoud en complexiteit* (Amsterdam 1994)]; D. Ruelle, *Chance and Chaos* (Princeton 1991) [Dutch edition: *De wetten van toeval en chaos* (Bloemendaal 1993)]. In subsequent notes, instead of giving the titles, I will refer to this note.

[18] This is related to Gödel's incompleteness theorem, elaboration of which would lead us too far astray from our main subject, but see, for example, Ruelle (cf. n. 17), Ch. 23, esp. pp. 128–129.

Consequently one has to make a choice between the theories (=literally "ways of observing") to be used. Or, as Bohr, quoted by Prigogine, puts it, the physicist has to select the language he is going to use.[19] Since no one can speak four languages at the same time to describe the same phenomenon without talking gibberish, the choice of one instrument/theory/language by definition excludes (an)other(s) *and* its/their result(s). However, subsequently and *together* they can be complementary, since each choice is internally consistent and logical in the classical sense. This means that the mathematical formalism for describing a quantum phenomenon as a wave excludes the formalism used for a particle. Therefore, there is no question of a *tertium datur* in quantum mechanics. Choices can only be made *successively*, and in this respect, they necessarily are mutually exclusive.

To summarize: When describing a quantum phenomenon the physicist chooses between considering it as a wave *or* a particle, and he decides whether he will measure its impulse/velocity *or* its place, one after another. This is exactly similar to the case of an Egyptian text using "logically" exclusive epithets of a deity, also one after another, or observing a stela like the one quoted in n. 16 showing two shapes of heaven: when one looks at one side the other is invisible. Put differently, in the words of the "language-game model" for the quantum phenomenon: within the formal language-game of mathematics the sub-language-games of wave/particle description are used subsequently. For the Egyptian stela: within the (ancient Egyptian) pictorial language-game the sub-language-games of anthropomorphic/geometric description are used also subsequently (the theriomorphic and geophysical language-games are used, for instance, in the case of a celestial cow, or a river (the sun god travelling by boat over a river in, for example, the Book of Amduat)).

Conclusion: *nowhere*[20] does there exist a *fundamental* difference between the

---

[19] See Prigogine, Stengers (cf. n. 17), 242, and for more details Hawking (cf. n. 17), Ch. 4. Choosing between different languages for describing (single) phenomena is actually the same as what happens when the model of different "language-games" as outlined in Wittgenstein's *Philosophische Untersuchungen* (1953) is applied (cf. also n. 22). See for the application of this model to the study of the elite tombs in the Old Kingdom, R. van Walsem, "The Interpretation of Iconographic programmes in Old Kingdom Elite Tombs of the Memphite Area. Methodological and Theoretical (Re)considerations", to be published in the Acts of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists, Cambridge 1995. This is a summary of the more extensive *De Iconografie van Oudegyptische elitegraven van het Oude Rijk. Theoretische en methodologische aspecten* (Nijmegen 1995), 38–54. An English edition is in preparation.

[20] Hornung differentiates between what one might call "areas" of normal (daily) logic of, for example, 4×3=12 (which he calls a "Spezialfall", op. cit., 237), and the complementary logic concerning images of, for example, heaven, suggesting that this is no "special case". Since we have just demonstrated that there is no fundamental difference between quantum and classic logic, when Hornung uses the former to explain the complementary logic of the Egyptians, it is obvious that there are no=nowhere different areas of reasoning. Incidentally, by stating that 4×3=12 is a special case, Hornung is actually turning things upside down. His example, after all, is a purely practical problem from daily routine. The majority of man's mental activity concerns routine daily problems with tangible answers by using a bivalent logic which is based on experience. This is true both for a priest of Ptah and a farmer toiling 16 or 18 hours a day just to stay alive. However, once in a while the former could spend hours a day on speculations on problems of creation or how to visualize the sky. For such fundamentally ontological questions where there is no immediate or "complete" knowledge available (because nobody was present at the event, or because the problem is simply too complex) one cannot but expect partial and, consequently, varying, "illogical", answers to the same phenomenon. Only (a selection of) the elite could ponder such *extreme* problems. Therefore *these* were "special" and so is the underlying "logic", similar to quantum logic which is extremely exceptional for most people, with the exception of theoretical and atomic physicists.

Finally, it is interesting to note that Hornung needs the *scientific* example of quantum logic to explain

Egyptian way of thinking and ours. The sobering fact, even, is that as soon as Hornung thought he had found a case of "mehrwertige Logik" in quantum mechanics, he *falsified* the theory that the Egyptians had a different mind set from our own, and he should have abandoned the idea or at least adapted it as advocated by Popper.[21] One could also refer here to the bivalent or alternating drawings used in perception tests: one either sees the image as a rabbit *or* a duck, but never simultaneously; in a split second the brain *has* to switch from one to the other.[22] Therefore, "The question of a particularly Egyptian logic has, then, lost much [if not all, RvW] of its importance".[23]

Although we have shown that the idea of complementarity as it is used for Egyptian thinking in Egyptology is "...nothing else but a logical *carte blanche* ...",[24] in my opinion, it does not imply that we should drop any use of terms from the natural sciences as *conceptual* analogies in the study of cultural systems either modern or ancient. My aim is only to free the way for Egyptology, too, to consider the usefulness of some ideas and concepts which – under the influence of modern natural sciences – have been introduced in recent years in theoretical and methodological discussions outside the field, in particular in archaeology. The most encompassing concept is "*chaos*", as the titles of two very clarifying nontechnical books on the subject show, viz. the publications of I. Prigogine and I. Stengers, and D. Ruelle (as quoted in n. 17), of which the former is the most influential in archaeological theory formation.[25] Since the matter is very complex, it is impossible to deal with the topic here exhaustively.

First of all we should differentiate between the possible meanings of "chaotic". In everyday language it usually refers to a *state*, for example that of my desk while writing this article. Although this concept is also integrated in modern chaos theory, there the term specifically refers to the undeterministic, non-linear=unpredictable behaviour of dynamic systems, of which the most universally experienced system constitutes the weather. Studies by Lorenz in the sixties on the weather systems were most stimulating for chaos theory.[26] Research in several areas led to the conclusion that the non-linear behaviour of systems originates from the system's sensibility to

---

"illogical" Egyptian *religious* ideas, while overlooking the similarly logically exclusive images for Christ in Christianity as mentioned by Donald Redford, "The concept of Kingship during the Eighteenth Dynasty", in D. O'Connor, D. Silverman (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Kingship* (Leiden 1995), 162–163.

21 Cf. e.g. Hawking (cf. n. 17), 22.

22 See, e.g., E.H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion* (London 1962), fig. 2. It is noteworthy that Wittgenstein, *Philosophische Untersuchungen*, part 2, xi (=Suhrkamp edition, Frankfurt am Main 1990), 520 ff. discusses the same figure.

23 R.B. Finnestad, "Egyptian Thought about Life as a Problem of Translation", in Englund's publication of n. 6, 20. I had finished most of the preceding line of argument before I stumbled on this article and its reference (n. 7) to U. Berner, "Überlegungen zur Übertragbarkeit des Komplementaritäts-Begriffes auf ägyptische Gottesvorstellungen", *GM* 20 (1976), 59–71, especially 60–63, who using different literature reaches more or less the same conclusion.

24 J.P. Sørensen, "Introduction" in Englund's publication of n. 6, 5.

25 Prigogine and Stengers are quoted, for example, in C. Renfrew, P. Bahn, op. cit. (cf. n. 11), 24, 433; P.M. Allen, "Modelling innovation and change", in S.E. van der Leeuw, R. Torrence (eds.), *What's New. A Closer Look at the Process of Innovation* (London 1989), 258–280; S.E. van der Leeuw, "Risk, perception, innovation", in op. cit., 300–329; J. McGlade, "Archaeology and the ecodynamics of human-modified landscapes", *Antiquity* 69 (1995), 113–132.

26 The best book on this is E.N. Lorenz, *The Essence of Chaos* (London 1993), focusing on the early history of chaos research, adding a very useful glossary. For the initial studies by Lorenz, see also J. Gleick, *Chaos: Making a New Science* (New York 1987), Dutch edition: *Chaos. De derde wetenschappelijke revolutie* (Amsterdam 1988), 18-37. Although Ruelle (cf. n. 17) 57, n. 5, has some reservations about the book, it nevertheless provides a useful survey of the issues involved.

its initial state, so that a minimal or trivial change in the constituting variables may affect the whole system. The merit of, for example, Prigogine, Stengers is that, based on this principle, they outline a synthesis unifying classical (=Newtonian) mechanics, thermodynamics and quantum mechanics subordinated to the *coexistence* of ordering and disordering mechanisms in a system subjected to the single direction of the arrow of time.[27] In short, the central issue is the relationship between being and becoming, a relationship excluded from classical physics. Before we turn to the central question of my discourse, viz. the possible applicability of the modern insights to cultural studies, the preceding needs some elaboration.

In classical Newtonian mechanics, the influence of time played no role in the development of a dynamic system. Once the independent variables of velocity and place of a body or bodies were simultaneously given in an initial state – ruled by the universal force of gravity – the future *and* the past of the system could be exactly calculated. In other words, the system completely obeyed deterministic, "eternal" laws, resulting in the reversibility of the system and implying that no fundamental difference exists between past and future. If enough precise data on the initial state were available, the future and past of the entire system (read: the universe) could be predicted, respectively "postdicted".[28] Undeniably, the Newtonian principles have been a tremendous success on the macroscopic=visible level, varying from the earthly to celestial bodies of the solar system and their movements in orbits.[29] The latter, in particular against the background of the fixed stars, seemed to underline the static unity of the universe in which the arrow of time could point in two directions. Or, viewed fundamentally, the universe and its governing laws only *are*, which implies that the flow of time experienced by man is *subjective*.[30] The underlying premise is that a *fundamental level of description* exists from which all that exists can be deduced in a *single* mathematical language (Galileo), presupposing that a direct connection exists between an objective reality and our descriptions thereof.[31] Accepting this implies that complexity is only appearance. However, the question of where and how this complexity arises from the fundamental unity is left unanswered in the classical mechanical world view, and forms a tremendous obstacle to explanation.

The problem of complexity and its relation to time, however, plays a central role in the new branch of the natural science of thermodynamics, which has arisen since the beginning of the last century and runs parallel to as well as concurrently with classical dynamics concerning the phenomena of energy and heat. Coupled with the fact that heat can be transformed into kinetic energy (e.g. machines) performing

---

[27] For details, cf. Prigogine, Stengers (cf. n. 17), Introduction by Toffler, Preface by the authors themselves, Ch. 1, 7–9, and Conclusion. On the single direction of the arrow(s) of time, see also Hawking (cf. n. 17), Ch. 9 and Gell-Mann (cf. n. 17), 131–132, 218–235, 242.

[28] The most optimistic advocate of Newtonian mechanics was Laplace who devised a "genius" having all necessary knowledge about the universe's initial state and thus would be able to know all future states, cf. Prigogine, Stengers, op. cit., 97–99.

[29] Aberrations in the predicted positions of celestial bodies and their real ones did not, as might be expected, contradict Newton's laws, but rather underlined their deterministic and predictive correctness, for they revealed the existence of a so far unknown member of our solar system, viz. Neptune. Cf. op. cit., 54, and Lorenz, op. cit. (cf. n. 26), 51–53.

[30] Even Einstein only accepted its reversibility as the fundamental character of time, cf. Prigogine, Stengers (cf. n. 17), 308–310.

[31] Op. cit., 69, 78–79; cf. p. 321 and n. 18 above.

labour is the inescapable fact that in closed systems, if no new energy is infused, over the course of time all activity will come to a standstill. For instance, the actual output of a machine is always less than is theoretically calculated. This means that effective energy, for example because of friction, is dispersed, or in thermodynamic terms dissipated. What is fundamental is that energy, in whatever way it is being manifested and/or exploited, is the result of interaction between different levels of heat, whereas the direction of energy is always from the higher levels to the lower: a hot cup of tea left alone will always end up cold, never the other way around. In other words: organized energy ends up as disorganized energy in a state of equilibrium in which there are no longer any differences in levels and their ensuing interactions. For this difference in organization or order the term "*entropy*" (international symbol *S*, no connection with Seth!) was introduced, which is the subject of the Second Law of thermodynamics, which states that in isolated or closed systems entropy only increases with time. Thus, any system will ultimately end in a situation of "heat death", the constituting entities having maximum entropy, i.e. being in such a "chaotic" state that interaction is no longer possible, nor an increase in entropy. In a closed system, then, the entropy – which can also be considered as a measure for the arbitrariness of a system[32] – can only spontaneously increase or remain constant, but never decrease; in other words, in such a system there is no negentropy. Imagine for instance a box divided in two. One half is filled with gas particles, i.e. a form of organized energy. After the separating wall is removed, the particles will spontaneously move into the other half until the entire volume is equally filled, i.e. on a lower level of organization, which is a situation of maximum entropy or chaos. Without an external force the particles will not spontaneously return to their original division in what is now a volume twice as large as compared with the initial state. The same happens with particles of two colours in the same divided box. The result will be that the entire box will be filled with an equal distribution of the two colours: the particles which on the *micro*scopic level are still coloured individually, for example, black and white, look grey on the macroscopic level, and they will never separate "spontaneously" into their original black/white division. Since entropy always increases towards the future and never towards the past, the fundamental difference with classical dynamics is that the process is *irreversible* in time. Thus time directed towards one side (=asymmetric) is introduced as a reality, no longer as an appearance.

Early thermodynamics concentrated on the study of equilibrium structures which could be manipulated by varying the essential preconditions, such as temperature, volume and pressure. These are *external* interdependent variables interacting with the system. This means that one has to differentiate between internal entropy production (e.g. loss of warmth, friction of the system's particles) and external entropy interaction.[33]

In the 19th century a problem also arose between classical thermodynamics and evolution theory. Whereas the former described the evolution of a system towards less organization (or from complex to simple organization), or – as formulated by Boltzmann – towards its most probable state, the latter described the evolution of life

[32] Cf. Ruelle (cf. n. 17), 92.

[33] For details of this very sketchy outline, see Prigogine, Stengers (cf. n. 17), Ch. 4; cf. also Ruelle (cf. n. 17), Ch. 17–18.

from a simple to a highly, actually most improbable, organized state. In other words the products of biotic evolution seemed to contradict the Second Law of thermodynamics. However, life considered as a system of biomass is not a closed system. Photosynthesis and the absorption of minerals may result in complex well-ordered plants, but this is at the expense of the environment, so the total entropy of the terrestial system still increases, and without an infusion of new energy any living system will die and desintegrate, i.e. entropy.[34] In short, individual life is only a *temporally* and *locally* limited interruption of, or rather an exception to, the influence of the Second Law.

Although Newtonian dynamics was adequate for describing the macroscopic level, it was insufficient for the microscopic level of atoms and their constituting particles. This led to the development of quantum mechanics as worked out by physicists such as Planck, Bohr, Born, Jordan, Heisenberg, and Schrödinger, to mention only the most important. In addition to the above-mentioned (pp. 321–323) dualistic notions, such as considering elementary entities as particles and waves of which the impulse/place relation is described by Heisenberg's uncertainty equation, other concepts make quantum mechanics very different from classical mechanics. In *phase space* (a concept used in both Newtonian and quantum mechanics, see pp. 329ff. for further discussion) the quanta, have *discrete* or *quantized* energy states only, which may be calculated in a statistical i.e. probabilistic way only. Their orbits are described by a *wave function* (described by the Schrödinger equation) which is expressed in *probability amplitudes* i.e. in a (narrow) bandwidth of probable positions, instead of on a single line. The most fundamental difference is that in quantum mechanics the relationship between measuring and its result(s) is most acute. It means that instead of considering the observer as "outside" the observable universe, as in classical dynamics, in quantum mechanics the observer is part of it. Therefore, a microscopic event causing an effect on a macroscopic level (the measuring instrument and its theory as used by the observer, cf. p. 321) presupposes a form of *intrinsic* irreversibility on *all* levels. The probabilistic character of quantum mechanics implies that an objective, i.e. complete knowledge of the initial stage of a system – the *idealized* base for Newtonian dynamics – is impossible. This implies *unstable* systems, which leads to *chance*, which leads to *irreversibility*, which creates the possibility of *dissipative structures*.[35]

With the concept of dissipative structures we enter the field of Prigogine's own studies of near and far-from-equilibrium situations of dynamic systems.[36] An example from hydrodynamics are the Bénard-cells occurring in a liquid heated from below. The initial equilibrium is made instable by the rise in temperature, resulting on a microscopic level in a fluctuation of energy, which is transported throughout the system by conduction which is invisible on the macroscopic level. By increasing the temperature the energy is no longer conducted but results in movement or turbulence – a convection flow – of the system's entities: disorder=entropy rises, and the system is no longer stable. However, beyond a critical limit of (a still higher) temperature

---

[34] See also, for example, G.J. Whithrow, *The Natural Philosophy of Time* (London). Again I refer to the Dutch edition *Het tijdsbegrip in de moderne wetenschap* (Utrecht 1965), 278, n. 12. On the Second Law and biological evolution, see also Gell-Mann, (cf. n. 17), 239-240, 375.

[35] For details, see Prigogine, Stengers (cf. n. 17), Ch. 7, 9, and Conclusion, esp. 310–316; Ruelle (cf. n. 17), Ch. 15–16.

[36] For details on the following, Prigogine, Stengers, Ch. 1, 4; 5–6; Ruelle, Ch. 9–12.

the chaotic movement in the flow is suddenly "transformed" into the shape of visible (i.e. on a macroscopic level)[37] hexagonal cells on the liquid's surface. So *part* of the (still increasing) entropy in the now far-from-equilibrium situation of the system is ordered in "dissipative structures": the so-called Bénard-instability. At a still higher energy level the liquid will ultimately end in utter chaos, it is boiling.

There are several lessons to be learnt here. In contrast to the classical thermodynamics of equilibrium systems (e.g. crystals) where entropy is considered only negatively, viz. as a "leaking away" of energy (=dispersion or dissipation), in far-from-equilibrium states it appears to have the positive quality of *self-organization* in a (temporary) dynamic new order, called by Prigogine a *dissipative structure*. As stated before, they originate from infinitesimal *fluctuations* among the entities on the microscopic level which, self-evidently, are related to the initial conditions of those same entities. Depending on certain internal and/or external (pre-)conditions or circumstances of the system, these fluctuations and their concomitant dissipative structures may increase, thus raising the instability to a point where there is a choice between two "stable" (i.e. in respect of the existing perturbations or turbulence) new system states: a so-called *bifurcation point* is reached (cf. Fig. 1).[38] Since this point is influenced by the system's previous "history", which itself is dependent on and (very) "sensitive" to the, in practice, never completely knoweable initial situation,[39] an intrinsic (element of) *chance* makes the system "decide" which of the stable branches will be the next state. This implies that in the long(er) term the system is *non-linear*=unpredictible, i.e. the system has an irreversible, chaotic time trajectory consisting of a concatenation of bifurcations.[40] It implies that "...*the same* (original italics) non-linearities which are able to create order out of the chaos of elementary processes, may also be, under different circumstances, responsible for the destruction of that same order by which, ultimately, they bring about a new coherence beyond a next bifurcation".[41] It also implies that the history of a system consists of a sequential *mix* of necessity or determinism and chance, in short, chance and determinism are not incompatible.[42] The fundamental conclusion to be drawn from the above is that we live in a pluralistic universe in which simultaneous organizing and disorganizing processes on both a

---

[37] One should not confuse "thermic chaos in equilibrium", in which all space and time intervals are on molecular scale only, and "turbulence chaos in nonequilibrium", which is abundant in macroscopic scale phenomena so that the system's chaos is visible, Prigogine, Stengers, op. cit., 184.

[38] The figure is a combination of elements from McGlade, op. cit. (cf. n. 25), figs. 1 and 2a; Allen, op. cit. (cf. n. 25), fig. 13.4, and Prigogine, Stengers (cf. n. 17), fig. 17. For the concept in terms of a "tree of ramifying histories", see Gell-Mann (cf. n. 17), 153–154, 159–160, 213–214, 233.

[39] Cf. Ruelle, (cf. n. 17), 31.

[40] This is especially the case in chemical reactions, studied in particular by Prigogine. One spectacular example is the Belousov-Zhabotinsky reaction, op. cit., 167–169; for an illustration of six stages of this reaction, see Gleick, (n. 17), 256. The Bénard-instability and this reaction are also used in Allen's article on innovation (cf. n. 25), 263.

[41] Op. cit., 224. This is a translation from the Dutch text, the original English version may be different.

[42] Op. cit., 186; Ruelle (cf. n. 17), 31. In op. cit., 214–221, fig. 22, Prigogine introduces *multiplying effects* such as the *urban multiplier* and describes the simulated evolution of a Christaller-diagram (a model fixing the most favourable spatial distribution of a number of centres of economic activity) transforming from a homogeneous start to a completely asymmetrical end state. The concept of "multiplier effect" – introduced in archaeology by Renfrew – was also used by Hoffmann, *Egypt before the Pharaohs. The Prehistoric Foundations of Egyptian Civilization* (New York 1979), 303–305, 386 (Index). Cf. also Kemp's "Monopoly" game model for the evolution of the interaction of predynastic settlements in prehistoric Egypt, op. cit. (cf. n. 4), 32–35, figs. 7–8.

micro and a macroscopic level exist side by side, ruled by chance, and embedded in the expanding universe.[43]

The impatient reader will by now be asking what this survey has to do with Egyptology. In my opinion it is not only permissible but also possible to use more concepts from the fields of natural sciences discussed above than has already been done in our discipline, and, derived from this, in the study of cultural systems in general. In the limited space available I will only deal with them as *heuristic* analogies, i.e. in a philosophy of science sense, whilst refraining from efforts to cast them into mathematical formalism or quantification, not only because I am not a mathematician, but because the systems at hand are simply still far too complex to establish their dynamic equations in respect of their chaotic behaviour and states.[44] In order to avoid any misunderstanding, let it be explicitly stated that the application of any mathematical or natural scientific concept to human dynamic systems is done in the full consciousness of humans being fundamentally different from the inanimate nature for which these concepts were originally formulated. Prigogine and Ruelle explicitly warn against a simplistic use of these modern insights,[45] yet, on the other hand, they see enough qualitative correspondences to draw analogies in biological and many other nonequilibrium systems, including cultural systems and their historical evolution in various areas.[46] Although these systems still defy (complete) mathematical quantification,[47] that is no reason for not at least considering the concepts, for progress is possible. Since Poincaré in the late 19th century developed the concept of the high sensibility of the weather to minimal fluctuations – for which he himself did not possess the mathematical implements for calculating or simulating their processes – it is at just this point that Lorenz was able to begin his seminal studies in modern chaos research thanks to computer simulations.[48] Since in the meantime interest in modern chaos theory in archaeology has resulted in a number of symposiums,[49] I think the present occasion fit for considering the applicability and usefulness of some of its basic concepts for Egyptology.

Looking globally at the geophysical entities of the River Nile, its fertile levees and the flood basins bordering it, squeezed in between enormous tracts of desert

---

[43] Prigogine, Stengers (cf. n. 17), 267.

[44] Ruelle, op. cit., 72. The tentatively developed models are not good enough so far, a fact also recognized by Renfrew, Bahn, op. cit. (cf. n. 11), 434, Dark, (cf. n. 11), 174, and Gell-Mann (cf. n. 17), 316–318.

[45] Prigogine, Stengers, 313; Ruelle, 72.

[46] E.g., op. cit., 15 (Toffler's Preface, stressing their analogy significance), 43, 162, 209, 214, 327 (social, economic, and historical processes); Ruelle, Ch. 13–14 (economy, historical developments); Gell-Mann, (cf. n. 17), 120–122 also stresses that the study of natural sciences has something in common with ecology, linguistics and archaeology.

[47] Those interested in efforts made in archaeological theory and methodology with the ensuing mathematical formulae, for example, from René Thom's catastrophe theory etc., should consult, for example, C. Renfrew, K.L. Cook, *Transformations. Mathematical approaches to Cultural Change* (New York 1979), and the book on innovation of n. 25.

[48] Ruelle, 47, 59, 72; Lorenz, op. cit. (cf. n. 26), 117–120; 130–150.

[49] For instance, on March 16th, 1996 the Brown University Center for Old World Archaeology and Art and the Narragansett Society of the AIA organized a symposium on "Chaos: the archaeology of Change". The following topics were announced: Minoan architectural decoration, Phoenician terracottas of Cyprus, 8th-10th century AD Russian state formation, Funerary reliefs in Roman *Egypt* (italics RvW), and Cemeteries in orientalizing Italy (reference from W. Hovestreydt via Internet).
In 1988 Balandier, op. cit. (cf. n. 7), 9 already aptly noted: "Une discipline nouvelle est née voici une dizaine d'années: la chaologie".

sands and mountain ranges, an, initially convincing, impression is created of a closed geographical system between the 26th to 34th meridian eastern longitude, and the 24th (Aswan) to 32nd parallel northern latitude.[50] These visual entities in the horizontal and vertical planes – the length and width of the river and the land bordering it, together with the height of its hills – do not complete the system however. Another very important but invisible entity, covering the entire geographical surface of Egypt, and vertically fading out into space should be integrated as well, viz. the earth's atmosphere and its climate. These entities form a dynamic system ruled by different parameters for its components: monsoon rains ensure an annual periodic flood of the river, whose height regulates the (amount of) soil deposits, which in turn regulate the (potential) fertility of the flood basins, while sunshine and winds, influenced by the annual rotation of the earth around the sun, regulate the drift of sand dunes and the erosion of rocks. Focusing on the river and its floodplain, both seem to be fixed and stable dynamic systems in their own right (for example, flowing water, transporting particles of sediment): maps of Egypt do not change daily. But are they as closed and stable as they may seem? The position of the Nile over the past few thousand years appears to have been shifting from west to east, so that the remains of the ancient capital of Memphis nowadays lie far removed from the present river bed.[51] This was made possible by interaction between the energy of the flowing water and the (lack of) resistent structure of the constraining land. Thus, varying the scales (Fig. 2) reveals the spatio-temporal evolution,[52] not only of the individual components but of the system as a whole.

At this point the concept of *phase space* should be reintroduced.[53] Phase space, in McGlade's phrasing: "...can be thought of as a geometric representation of the universe of possibilities possessed by a system – in a sense, the *allowable* (italics RvW) territory within which it operates – an arena in which a phase portrait of the evolutionary history of the system can be constructed."[54] In the example in the preceding paragraph the geophysical shape or "portrait" of Egypt, cast in geomorphological and meteorological terms, corresponds to a four-dimensional phase space: length, width, height, and time, which in daily life seems to be an adequate and exhaustive description. One should realize, though, that it concerns only a *fragment* of the earth's total phase space. However, in mathematics and other sciences (many) more, or even an infinite number of dimensions in the phase space are imagined.[55]

---

[50] See, for example, J. Baines, J. Málek, *Atlas of Ancient Egypt* (London 1980), 21.

[51] For the shift, cf., op. cit., 15; on Memphis see, for example, D.G. Jeffreys, *The Survey of Memphis* (London 1985), 48 ff., fig. 2.

[52] Cf. McGlade, op. cit. (cf. n. 25), 122 and his fig. 4, from which our figure is adapted in accordance with the preceding example; the location and the shape of the graph are fictitious.

[53] Cf. p. 326. The term was introduced by Poincaré, cf. Lorenz, op. cit. (cf. n. 26), 117.

[54] McGlade (cf. n. 25), 120. One can find an excellent exposé in Lorenz (cf. n. 26), 41–48, and he defines it on p. 211 as: "A hypothetical space having as many dimensions as the number of variables needed to specify a state of a given dynamical system. The coordinates of a point in phase space are a set of simultaneous values of the variables." See also Prigogine, Stengers (cf. n. 17), especially 263–265, 280–283; Ruelle, Ch. 16, esp. p. 89; Gleick, (cf. n. 26), esp. pp. 52–54, 126–131, 239–240.

[55] See Lorenz's definition in the preceding note; cf. also Ruelle, Ch. 10, esp. pp. 54–56; Prigogine, Stengers, 263–265. Lorenz's definition of *dimension*, op. cit., 209 is: "Any one of a number of measures of a set of points that agrees with the classical concept of dimension when the set is a point, curve, surface, or other manifold, but is also defined, often as a fraction, for more general sets." For some

Before elaborating on this point it is necessary to introduce the concept of *attractors*. In an attractor, or rather in basins of attraction, the long-term behaviour of dynamic systems is represented as an area in the phase space to which all points ultimately converge.[56] There are four types of attractors in non-linear systems:

1. all motion is directed towards a *point attractor* resulting in an equilibrium state, for example a rotating pendulum stops in the middle of its swing interval[57] (Fig. 3);
2. a *limit cycle* concerns repeated periodic motion in an orbit,[58] for example the annual rising of Sothis (Fig. 4);
3. a *torus* is a three-dimensional ring which represents periodic motions of different frequencies, in other words composite motions, for example, the moon orbiting the earth, which itself orbits the sun, together forming a single dynamic system (Fig. 5);
4. a *strange attractor* is very complex and chaotic since it is entirely unpredictable or aperiodic in respect of its *long-term* evolution; its parameters are deterministic but it does not repeat itself, for example, turbulence in liquids, and in smoke (Fig. 6).[59]

Now we can return again to phase space. For a cultural system life is a prerequisite, so in addition to the four dimensions which form the geophysical system of Egypt, we have to add a number of *biotic* system dimensions. For *human beings* – disregarding for convenience the faunal and floral dimensions – it results in:

---

penetrating observations on variables, conceived as dimensions, and how they function in archaeology and the process(es) of innovation, see Van der Leeuw (cf. n. 25), 302–316.

[56] This is a paraphrase of McGlade, op. cit., 120; cf. also Prigogine, Stengers (cf. n. 17), 166–168; Gleick (cf. n. 26), 46, 211–214, 268–269; 126, 143 etc., cf. index; Ruelle, Ch. 10, especially, 60. Here too, Lorenz, 39–45, 55–59 gives a very good explanation of the concepts. His definition, op. cit., 206, of an *attractor* is: "In a dissipative system, a limit set that is not contained in any larger limit set, and from which no orbits emanate"; of a *basin of attraction*: "The set consisting of all points lying on orbits that approach a given attractor", in which "approach (a point or a set)" is defined as: "To come near to and, ultimately, remain near to, within any prechosen degree of closeness. Colloquially, to draw nearer and nearer."

[57] Here the equilibrium consists of the point at rest, but since Lorenz, op. cit., 208 defines equilibrium as: "A fixed point, or sometimes, a periodic orbit" the next two attractors may represent equilibrium as well.

[58] Lorenz, 211, defines it as: "An orbit that exactly repeats its past behavior after the passage of a fixed interval of time."

[59] Figs. 3–6 are inspired by McGlade's figs. 3a-d, and Gleick's fig. on p. 52. For more details on the "strangeness" of attractors, Lorenz, op. cit., 48–53. His definition, 212, is: "An attractor with a fractal structure; one whose intersection with a suitable manifold is a Cantor set." A *fractal* he defines, 208, as: "A set of points whose dimension is not a whole number." A Cantor set is, 207, "A set of points on a line or a curve such that, between any two points, there are other points of the set and also gaps of finite width." See also Ruelle (cf. n. 17), 60. *Fractals* (cf. Lorenz, 176–178) nowadays form a special field of study (cf. Gleick, op. cit., index), as may be illustrated by monographs such as M. Batty, P. Longley, *Fractal Cities* (London 1994; reference from W. Hovestreydt) in which cities and social complexity are approached via fractal geometry. Very recently, in a newspaper article, R. van den Berg, "Fractale kettingreacties op Wall Street" ("Fractal chain reactions on Wall Street", *NRC Handelsblad*, August 15th, 1996) described how via "orchid fractals" not only the behaviour of large numbers of moving people, but also the exchange rate of the dollar and yen over a month could, especially in the latter case, be roughly predicted.

human biotic system:	– physical dimension	→ sustenance (food, shelter)
		→ reproduction (descendants)
	– psychological/mental dimension	→ cognitive + will consciousness
		→ unconsciousness

These bring the total number of dimensions of the cultural phase space to six, or even eight, since the items to the right side of the arrows may be considered dimensions in their own right. It is obvious that the time dimension is the overarching one to which the other five are subordinated. It is also evident that this permits us to describe ancient Egyptian culture as a materialization and evolution of the apparently allowable non-linear interactions of the above-mentioned dimensions along varying numbers of coexisting[60] types of the enumerated attractors, or rather basins of attraction, depending on their parameters, which also vary over the course of time. The system is thus allowed to assume, as it were, a "natural size" or "volume" in its phase space as a function of the describing parameters.[61]

By adding the adjective "Egyptian" or "pharaonic Egyptian", Egyptology conveniently delimits this particular cultural system's phase space on the African continent from others, simultaneously describing it as a well-defined closed system, occupying only a limited area, over a limited span of time (the ancient Egyptian culture is dead, after all), while manifesting a specific character, which makes it Egyptian and not, for example, Chinese. Taking this together with our statement on p. 320 that a cultural system may be considered as an energy system, the most suitable analogy seems to be a thermodynamic one, viz. a thermodynamic equilibrium of a closed system: ultimately the cultural machine ran out of fuel and the pharaonic Egyptian cultural system ended.[62]

This may be true for ancient Egyptian culture as viewed from our temporally far-distant perspective on its most global (=macroscopic) and static scale, viz. the total of its material remains as "fossilized behaviour", but it does not explain the working of the mechanisms of the cultural energy when the system was still functioning. To do that one has to scale down from various degrees of macroscopic levels to microscopic levels of the system's subsystems and fundamental "particles", viz. the human individuals[63] and (some of) their characteristic behaviour. It further means one has to subdivide the system into subsystems with a *conceptual* dimension (for example, the religious, economic, or social subsystems) and a *formal*, or *practical* dimension (for example, the parameters or rules of the organization and administration – which are themselves complex – of these subsystems). Actually, these subsystems are no more than specified areas or "subvolumes" of the total cultural phase space – now really multidimensional – populated by individuals who not only create the conceptual as well as the formal side, but are also able to execute, offend against, or change the

[60] A system as complex as a human society, even the most "primitive", obviously encompasses several kinds of attractors, cf. McGlade (cf. n. 25), 121, 125.

[61] Cf. Prigogine, Stengers (cf. n. 17), 166–168.

[62] An early study using the thermodynamic analogy (in a different context) is W. Shawcross. "Energy and Ecology: Thermodynamic Models in Archaeology", in D.L. Clarke (ed.), *Models in Archaeology* (London 1972), 577–622.

[63] Of course, strictly speaking, animals and plants (as species as well as individuals) are equally fundamental parts of the system's phase space, and add to its number of dimensions.

terms or value(s) of the parameters. One should also note that the mere term *sub*system isolates these units from each other, suggesting they are closed (sub)systems, but are they?

Although one may consider the king, his court, his high, middle and lower officials, his craftsmen, and, finally, the agrarian mass of the population as – ever larger – closed systems, they are, in fact, open. How else could a royal decree, for example, concerning the building of a pyramid, "sink downwards" via the administrative subsystem to the lowest level or subsystem of farmers, who in their turn "send upwards" food provisions for the labour forces? Each subsystem, therefore, only *largely* functions according to an "isolated" set of parameters and rules, but not *completely*, for there are interfaces between them where they exchange "energy". A royal decree, for example, results – as input *from above* into the administrative subsystem – in the necessary paperwork and actions to organize the mass of farmers, resulting, ideally, in the required amount of output from them. The effective organization of the farmers' subsystem implies a lower entropy (="chaotic") level than before when everybody served his own purposes. Conversely, as input *from below*, this planned output of the farmers would, ideally, keep the entropy of the administrative subsystem low, as all its members would cooperate in distributing it in accordance with the building project's needs, resulting in a stable, cyclical, or rather toroidal trajectory (viz. seasonal over the various harvest periods with internal, perhaps, five-day delivery cycles). This ideal situation does not contradict the Second Law, for, although the entropy of one subsystem is lowered while the other remains steady, the entropy of the total system still increases.[64] However, since we are concerned with *dynamic open* subsystems, they are by definition in nonequilibrium states, and thus sensitive to initial conditions, to fluctuations, and consequently inclined to generating dissipative structures, which, if allowed to grow, may affect the complete system (cf. pp. 326–328).

Similar to a machine (cf. pp. 324–325), – in accordance with the parameters – the theoretically calculable ideal output of the given examples of subsystems will in practice always be different from reality. This is partly due to the ever-present *internal* entropy production of any (nonequilibrium) system. Its increase can only be minimized by a rigorous enforcing of the set of parameters defined at the initial organization of the (sub)system. At this point it is worth noting that the total cultural phase space occupied by a given culture (and its constituting subsystems) is generated by the interacting *mental* and *physical* (=inter- and intrahuman) and *environmental* (=extrahuman) energy.[65] The parameters defining the organization and "behaviour" of the (sub)system(s) at hand are a mixed aggregate of "rules/laws" originating from and incorporating these fields of energy. For simplicity's sake I will limit myself to the mental and physical parameters – implying a *ceteris paribus* situation.[66] It is obvious

[64] A nice parallel for the principle is given by Hawking, op. cit. (cf. n. 17), 186. If the reader of his book were able to memorize all its information the order in his brain would increase by twice 10^6 units. But during the reading at least 1000 calories of ordered energy in the form of food are converted into unordered energy, increasing the universe's entropy by twice 10^{25} units, i.e. 10^{19} times the increase of order in the brain – and this only in the case where *all* is memorized.

[65] I fully agree with McGlade (cf. n. 17), 115, that the human vs. environmental dichotomy in a "Newtonian-Cartesian world" is a false one. It is only for the argument's simplicity that I *seem* to use it in this sense.

[66] Of course, when one isolates an object for study the "rest" never "is/remains the same/constant".

that their main, if not sole purpose is to control, i.e. to make deterministic or predictable and independent of time the trajectory of the system's behaviour subsequent to its formative state, both on its global or macroscopic level, and – equally, if not more – on its microscopic level, viz. that of its participants=individual humans.

Although, as established on pp. 326–328, it is fundamentally impossible for its creators to know a system's initial situation completely, yet another factor makes it impossible to fix its future course even when imposing the strictest regulations: this is the individual's (free) will. It is a major factor, which makes any system devised by man highly sensitive to fluctuations, thus easily creating a far-from-equilibrium state.[67] The conclusion to be drawn is that the parameters and their constituting terms = "rules" can at best describe and "calculate" a statistical *probabilistic* average "behaviour" of the system's participants. An imaginary example may best illustrate the point.

There is a more than reasonable chance that a lower overseer may accurately predict that a certain stonemason will appear the next morning at a fixed time at the pyramid site, as he has done for many years, and in his presence will start to chip away at the block he left unfinished the day before. One of the rules for the workforce, after all, is that this is the only way to get food, clothes, etc. However, when the mason stands with his hammer and chisel in front of the block and the overseer, there is no way of telling whether he will start work as usual or make a dash towards the overseer and split his skull, because the latter has been sweating his workers for several years. In the latter case the mason takes on the distinctive role of an avenger for prolonged injury by a bad individual – in an Egyptian context, for breaking the rules of *maᶜat* – against himself and his fellow workers. In thermodynamic terms: his physical and mental energy (building the king's pyramid, respectively complying with the work's rules) – together constituting his personality as a labourer of a well-defined class – were initially most likely in dynamic stability. However, an act of injustice, perhaps started rather harmlessly through an unintentional breakdown in communications, but not redressed by the overseer's superior, makes the former reckless in other incidents, leading to a prolonged period of personal and collective abuse. This results in an increasing, and finally critical, instability or in the mason's personal system state, ending in a bifurcation point of either bending to the rules, or trespassing against them in a radical way. This also infringes *maᶜat*, but in his view the ending of the injustice, no matter how, is apparently more in accordance with *maᶜat* than doing nothing.

Here we may interrupt the example and reintroduce the quantum mechanics analogy for certain aspects of the example. On p. 326 we have seen that in quantum mechanics the quanta have discrete, well-defined levels of energy: they are quantized.[68]

Although it has turned out to be extremely practical given our limited human capacities, Western science is so accustomed to it that one hardly realizes that it is a gross over-simplification of the "facts". Toffler therefore, rightly calls it a "myth", Prigogine, Stengers (cf. n. 17), 24; cf. also op. cit., 9.

67 Ruelle (cf. n. 17), 30–34 makes some very interesting remarks about (free) will, for example, that it enables an individual to offset predictions about a system formulated by himself. However, this is only possible when he is a part of the system, which implies that the latter must be rather complex. This in its turn implies that the necessary calculations for an accurate prediction of its future are ever more complicated and thus easily outstrip the person's capacities, leaving the future indeterminate. Lorenz, (cf. n. 26), 158-160 and Gell-Mann (cf. n. 17), 160–162 discuss free will in relation to chaos and randomness as well.

68 Prigogine, Stengers, 238; Ruelle, 90.

Analogously one could say that on the microscopic level of an individual participant – a "cultural quantum" – the rules of the constituting subsystems to which he belongs[69] quantize his allowable and discrete *social* roles or "impulse" as a "social personality"[70] in a particular culture. One might envisage an individual in his cultural = "symbolic" capacity, viz. his/her fulfilling these – almost unlimited = indeterminate[71] – roles in various subsystems as a "wave". In his purely biological = physical – very determinate – roles (sustenance, reproduction, health, illness) then, he may be viewed as a "particle". For instance, to describe Ramses II in his role of king (itself consisting of many subroles: priestly, political and military ones) a different formalism or "language game" (cf. p. 322) is required than for Ramses as a consumer of food, as a sufferer of terrible toothache in old age, and as a procreator of numerous offspring.[72]

Equally, it is impossible for an observer to establish at one and the same time the exact place and "impulse" of an individual. The more exactly an observer tries to establish Ramses II's position (for example, standing while offering to god *x* on day *y* in temple *z*), the less he will know about his "impulse" as king. For this one needs to observe his *activities* over a certain period without paying attention to exact positions. In other words, the uncertainty principle also pops up on the macroscopic[73] level of human beings.

Returning to our imaginary mason, his violent deed immediately places him as well as the administrative and the labour subsystems on a bifurcation point. For instance, does he flee, or does he try to rally as many as possible of his fellow workers to withstand the controlling (sub)system's reaction? This in turn has to decide whether to send only enough soldiers to arrest a single individual – who according to the rules should be turned over by his colleagues – or whether a large body of armed men is needed to scatter the mob which, itself having chosen to support and follow their hero, has gathered around him. Irrespective of the further development of the situation – the dissipative structure of which the man is the core may even end in his usurpation of the throne – it is obvious that any individual action or local

---

[69] Cf. D.L. Clarke, *Analytical Archaeology* (London 1978), 56, fig. 8.

[70] For the term "social personality", see J.A. Tainter, *The Collapse of Complex Societies* (Cambridge 1988–1990), 23.

[71] The range of possibly available cultural roles depends on the culture and time in which one lives, cf. Tainter, loc. cit., who notes a variation between "a few dozen distinct social personalities" in hunter-gatherer societies to "more than 1,000,000 different kinds of social personalities" in industrial societies.

[72] Although Ramses may act as a priest, whilst suffering from toothache – indeed being at the same time "wave" and "particle", or rather a "wavicle" – this is not complementarity in the sense of Hornung (cf. pp. 317–318), for it remains impossible to use a single formalism to describe both phenomena (cf. pp. 321–322). The term "wavicle" I have taken from J.W. McAllister, *Beauty & Revolution in Science* (Ithaca 1996), 193.

[73] That is, if viewed from the scale for which quantum mechanics was developed. On the cultural scale, of course, it remains microscopic. Cf. Prigogine, Stengers, 195, where Prigogine notes, in a different context, that Heisenberg's uncertainty relations are also valid for macroscopic systems as living beings.

It may be useful to note that in this respect there is no fundamental difference between the static representations we actually possess of Ramses II, and the once dynamically living Ramses. The exact location of Ramses in the scenes of the battle at Kadesh on temple walls leaves almost as much uncertainty about his role (=impulse) as king as if we were to see him in a five-minute shot of a news report on television. Conversely, the static scenes or moving images showing him as a priest offering, for example, *Maʿat* to the gods, or breaking through the lines of a hostile army, establish his role/impulse as king, irrespective of place.

event has a collective aspect which may have completely unforeseeable global effects. The system may behave contrary even to what one might intuitively expect.[74] These effects may result from fluctuations which are maximal at bifurcation points, causing "correlations over longer distances" which amplify the initial fluctuations,[75] i.e. the interactions of the individuals at the core of the event are transported through the involved subsystem like the effects of a stone thrown into a pond. It happens in accordance with a "mechanism of nucleation", resulting from the principle of self-organization in a dissipative structure in a limited area of the phase space. The area's expansion or contraction depends on whether the critical size of the area in which the initial fluctuations take place is above or below (a) certain "value(s)".[76]

It is evident that as compared with the (sub)system's state the night before the discussed event(s), its state on the day(s) after has a higher entropy, expressed in the shape of a revolt. Assuming not only that it will be suppressed,[77] but that the (sub)system has also "learned"[78] that an extra controlling "layer" in the administrative subsystem may prevent abuse by (lower) overseers, then the entropy will still increase: the building organization of the pyramid has become more complex.[79] This raises the problem of the ambiguity of the term entropy: not only was the organization of the building of the royal tombs in the Archaic Period far less complex than that of Cheops's pyramid in the Fourth Dynasty, but also the building itself. Is the latter an ordered or chaotic system? The question may be answered if one is able to establish whether the effect of "chaos" is a useful or a pathological symptom, but that is rarely easy.[80] The answer very much depends on the observer: apparently the Amarna Period – which also started as a dissipative structure (!) – was viewed by (at least a decisive group of) Egyptians as a pathological affair which heavily affected the concepts of kingship, theology, and *maʿat*.[81] Akhenaten's death is a classic example of an event placing leading individuals in various subsystems on bifurcation points concerning their appreciation and ensuing loyalty to Akhenaten's attainments. In Egyptology, too, the appreciation has varied.[82]

---

74 Prigogine, Stengers, (cf. n. 17), 221.

75 Op. cit., 197–198.

76 Op. cit., 205. On pp. 198–204 some very illuminating experiments on the self-aggregation and organization of insect populations such as termites are discussed.

77 According to op. cit., 206, the better the flow of communication in the (sub)system(s), the more easily undesirable fluctuations = entropy may be dampened or extinguished. The importance and the lack of effective communication is also recognized by Assmann, op. cit. (cf. n. 8), 64 in his use of the terms "Partizipationskrise" and "Penetrationskrise".

78 Cf. Ruelle, (cf. n. 17), 72, and Allen, o.c. (cf. n. 25), 273.

79 This is the situation to which E. Morin's verdict as cited by Balandier, (cf. n. 7), 59, is applicable: "...plus il y a activité, plus le travail produit des désordres; l'accroissement de complexité et l'accroissement de désordre sont liés". For convenience we simply ignore the entropy production in the areas where the replacements for the killed rebels are drawn from, not to mention the disorganizing impact on the mason's household!

80 Prigogine, Stengers, 185, give the example of a tropical rainforest, which *globally* suggests the highest order, although the individual histories of faunal and floral species will be highly unstable. Ruelle, 71, and McGlade, 122, 130, use the term "pathology".

81 E.g., Kemp, op. cit. (cf. n. 4), 262–266; Assmann (cf. n. 8), 243–258. The description on Tutankhamen's Restoration Stela equates the period to one of utter "chaos", Assmann, 253–254, although, of course, not according to the thermodynamic framework *we* use, for then they would have recognized it as highly successful and well-organized, for a certain elite, that is.

82 Cf., for example, the exaggerated (positive) views of A. Weigall, *The Life and Times of Akhenaten*

From the foregoing imaginary and real examples the central position of *maᶜat* in Egyptian culture becomes apparent. Its sets of rules form simultaneously a structuring and overarching parameter describing all the constituent subsystems of the entire Egyptian culture.[83] Inextricably bound up with it is Egyptian kingship: initially, *maᶜat* seems to be the will of the king.[84] Later it is the embodiment of ethical life as such by "... doing what is right ..., and desiring what is right",[85] for which on a national scale the king is responsible, which is expressed by his ritual act of offering it to the gods.[86]

One may define *maᶜat* as a set of rules for establishing "order", i.e. as an effort or even a struggle to neutralize destabilizing and discontinuous(="chaotic") factors threatening the continuation of a presently (well-)organized and (widely) accepted status quo of the (dominant = elite part of the) system into the future. In other words (cf. pp. 332–333), its purpose is to make the future deterministic and predictable with respect to the maintenance of that particular (elite) order. But even in the very beginning, when Egyptian culture was much less complex than later, it was fundamentally impossible (cf. pp. 327 and 332) for those who devised these rules to completely know the (sub)system(s)' initial state. Therefore, from the very start, *maᶜat* could not function but in an intrinsically non-, or rather far-from-equilibrium system state, probably contrary to what the Egyptians thought themselves.

Although initially consisting of a rather limited set of deterministic rules, the complexity of even that "simple" state caused its *long-term* behaviour to be completely aperiodic and unpredictable. For instance, the complexity of the juridical cases in practice is by definition greater than can be summarized by any set of rules, which by definition are based on the incomplete knowledge, not only of the present reality when they are formulated, but also in respect of the even more unknown future, for which they are still meant to be applicable. This necessitates adaptations along an unforeseeable and aperiodic trajectory on the attractor depending on the moment, character and place of the actual case(s) in the (sub)system's phase space. This process makes *maᶜat* one of the most important, if not *the* 'strange attractor' par excellence of Egyptian culture, and because of their common purpose and thus inseparable connection (see above), (postulated divine) kingship as the second. Necessarily, the rules could on the implicit *ceteris paribus* principle (cf. p. 332, n. 66) describe and "determine" an idealized part of reality for a (very) limited period only. The performance of the king on a certain day in a temple ritual offering *maᶜat* and its results differ completely from that of a nomarch on the same day, who will often have been confronted with the unforeseeable consequences of his jurisdiction. Therefore, although both are "moving" on adjacent trajectories in accordance with the same *overall* parameter of *maᶜat* but comprising different terms, viz. ritual ones for the king and juridical ones for the nomarch, these trajectories "... do not stay close to each other; they soon diverge and

(London 1923) with the more recent literature cited in Assmann, op. cit., 512, n. 28.

[83] For details on this all-pervading concept of the culture as formulated by the Egyptian *elite* I refer to W. Helck's lemma on the subject in *LÄ* III, 1110–1119; to Assmann's study of n. 7, and especially to S. Quirke's excellent review of the latter: 'Translating *Maᶜat*', *JEA* 80 (1994), 219–231.

[84] Cf. Quirke, op. cit., 222.

[85] Op. cit., 220.

[86] *LÄ* III, 1114 plus figure.

follow totally different paths on the attractor".[87] Exactly this situation, multiplied by various kings and many more nomarchs, means that *maᶜat* and kingship cannot but be strange attractors, revealing over the course of time a complicated "portrait" of these concepts, influencing by their central position the cultural phase space as a whole accordingly.

For Egyptian thinkers, then, the main problem was to continually adapt the rules of both parameters under the influence of the unavoidable discrepancies between "real" and "predicted" reality. Therefore, a main *internal* factor in a culture's collapse is when in (too) many (sub)systems, in a (too) short period, the limits to their resilience in accommodating these discrepancies between the (sub)system's fundamental parameters and reality are reached, or rather transgressed. This happened in the Intermediate Periods and reached a fatal climax in the prolonged confrontation with the Graeco-Roman cultural phase space, which not only penetrated, but ultimately replaced the ancient Egyptian one. The internal and external entropy had become too extensive to keep all, or rather enough subsystems organized for the continuation of the cultural system's identity as a whole by means of a stable, nonequilibrium, dynamism.

The analogical model developed here may be applied to other non-linear attractor systems, such as the language, the writing, and especially the religious subsystems. However, an introductory article on a different approach to the "chaotic" mechanism of cultural dynamics should not try to be definitive on the subject; the subject may be easily penetrated through the bibliographical references in the notes. Therefore the discussion may be best summarized by the following conclusions:

1. If Egyptology wants to keep up with the times, it should be aware of some fundamental theoretical discussions in several areas, now going on in archaeology for some years, but which to my knowledge have not yet penetrated our subject.[88] These include the interface between social sciences/archaeology and the natural sciences with regard to modern chaos theories/models on non-linear="chaotic" dynamical systems.[89] The first step to be taken – and the main purpose of this contribution – is to become acquainted with (the potential of) the *ideas*; formulas, if available (cf. n. 47) or feasible, may follow later.
2. One should clearly differentiate between the term chaos as denoting the *disordered state* of a system's constituent entities and as a term for *long-term unpredictable behaviour*, or motion centred on (a) strange attractor(s), which is best termed "*sensitive dependence*".[90]

---

[87] McGlade (cf. n. 24), 120.

[88] For instance, it would be also useful for Egyptologists to take notice of, for example, C. Renfrew, E.B.W. Zubrow (eds.), *The Ancient Mind. Elements of Cognitive Archaeology* (Cambridge 1994), in which Ch. 8, 75-82: "The Meaning of Death: Funerary Beliefs and the Prehistorian" by C. Scarre discusses mastabas and pyramids from the point of view of a prehistorian. R.H. McGuire, "Breaking down Cultural Complexity: Inequality and Heterogeneity" in M.B. Schiffer (ed.) *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* 6 (New York 1983), also discusses Egypt's pyramids on pp. 110–114: "The Interaction of Heterogeneity and Inequality: the Pyramids of Egypt". Finally, Egypt is mentioned several times in Tainter's book of n. 70. This short list demonstrates that it is quite useful to keep up with theoretical and methodological discussions *outside* the subject.

[89] It is interesting to note that both Prigogine and Gell-Mann had strong interests or were involved in studying history and archaeology before they studied physics and chemistry, Prigogine, Stengers (cf. n. 17), 39; Gell-Mann (cf. n. 17), 15–16; cf. also n. 46 above.

[90] Cf. Lorenz (cf. n. 26), 179, 212: "The property characterizing an orbit if most other orbits that pass

3. Hornung's wave/particle and position/impulse duality of pp. 317–318 may then be re-employed in a wider and more appropriate field than before.
4. It underlines that in Egyptology, too, and in all social sciences for that matter, the observed "object" and the observer are interdependent through the latter's interrogative instruments, which brings us back to p. 321.
5. Therefore, on this basic, *epistemological* level there is no fundamental difference between the natural and social sciences. Neither is there any reason for an inferiority complex on the part of the social in respect of the natural sciences. It is a very comforting thought, for example, to know that Bohr adopted both the ideas of the interference of observation and the observed object, and the idea of "quanta" from *The Principles of Psychology* by William James (1842–1910, brother of Henry).[91]
6. The most positive aspect of the dialogue between modern natural and social sciences in my opinion is that concepts such as entropy, dissipative structures, self-organization, bifurcation points, chance, and, consequently, nonlinear behaviour of dynamic systems in a phase space, result in a *unified* world view by denouncing determinism as the only fundamental characteristic of the universe.[92] Variation and pluralism – prohibited by an absolute determinism – may now be understood. And, because of the unimaginably complex concatenation of personal and collective bifurcation points in respect of many *identical* situations in any human culture, finally, we are able to realize that exactly because of this complexity *all* – past and present – cultures are complementary solutions to mankind's confrontation with "reality". Everywhere one meets order and disorder, simplicity and complexity on an equal footing as mutual prerequisites for each other's existence.

We started with Seth as "god of confusion", we will now end with him as well. I hope that the foregoing pages have reduced the confusion which may easily arise while scrutinizing the analogies of quantum mechanics and thermodynamics as used in Egyptology. I trust that the preceding discussion has also underlined the truth of Hornung's statement (p. 317) "...ohnehin kann es auch dem Ägyptologen nicht schaden, sich mit Fragen und Begriffen der modernen Naturwissenschaft vertraut zu machen!".

Finally, it must be most flattering for Herman to see that the modern chaos theory started with Lorenz's study of, among other things, convection streams, which

---

close to it at some point do not remain close to it as time advances".

[91] A highly stimulating newspaper article on the subject was published by R. Gerritsen, "Clair-obscur tussen fysica en psychologie" ("Chiaroscuro between Physics and Psychology", *NRC Handelsblad*, 18 May, 1995), which is based on G. Holton, *Thematic Origins of Scientific Thought* (Cambridge, Mass. 1988) and A.P. French, P.J. Kennedy (eds.), *Niels Bohr: A Centenary Volume* (Cambridge, Mass. 1985). Bohr, incidentally, was not unique in this respect. R. Thom's catastrophe theory was also inspired by the social sciences, viz. by the ideas of Levi-Strauss and Chomsky, see Wenke, op. cit. (cf. n. 11), 108. Maxwell too, was influenced by the statistical probability theory as applied to social questions and human behaviour by Quételet (Belgium, 1796–1874), Prigogine, Stengers (cf. n. 17), 141, 257.

[92] Allen (cf. n. 25), 277 puts it: "Although the reassuring feeling lent by 'determinism' has had to be sacrificed, in return we now have a unified view of the world which bridges the gap between the physical and the human sciences. And it is not true that this represents a final 'reduction' of human and social phenomena to the 'mechanical' dictates of physics. Instead, the latter has been 'elevated', and has had to abandon its immature search for absolute certainties." Cf. also Prigogine, Stengers (cf. n. 17), "Conclusion", esp. pp. 319–321.

beginning as a gentle breeze, can end as a devastating "twister" or typhoon.[93] A significant aspect of Seth thus appears to be the cradle of the most modern insights into the processes which, since primeval times, have determined not only the existence of the ancient Egyptians, but ours as well. This is very appropriate for a god whose iconography predates that of the creator gods Atum and Re.[94]

[93] In order to get some visual ideas about the "entropy" such storms can create, Jan de Bont's motion-picture *Twister* is highly recommended.
[94] H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion* (Leiden 1967), 7–12; *LÄ* V, 157.

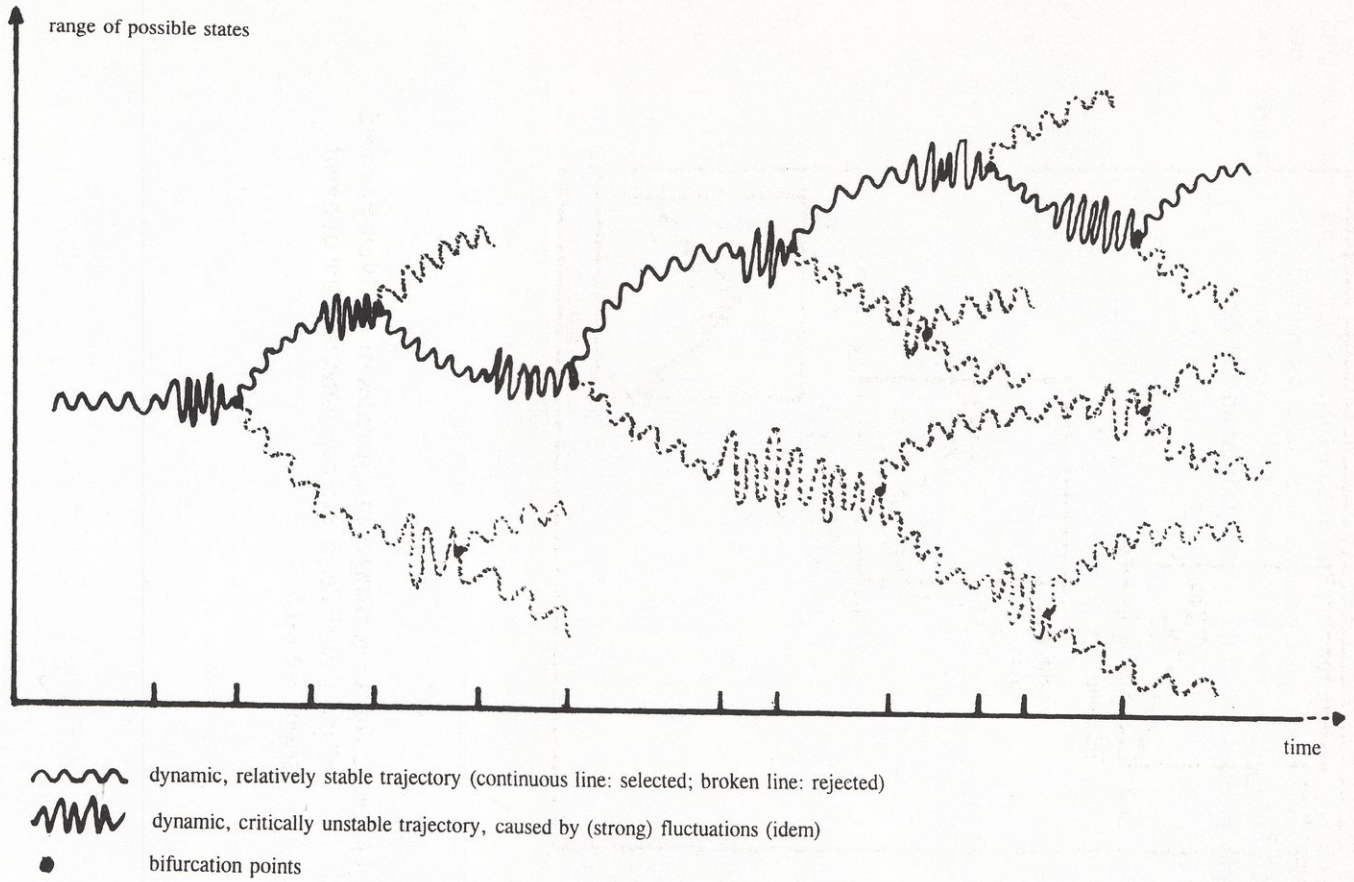


FIGURE 1 Bifurcation diagram showing possible future, qualitatively different trajectories of a system.

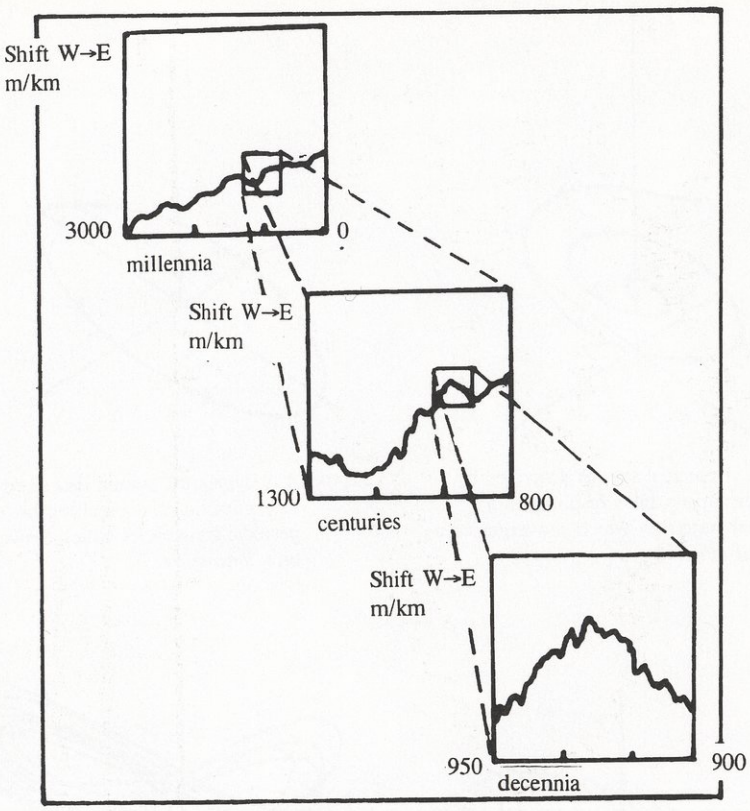


FIGURE 2 Apparent changes in dynamics of the West-East shift of the river Nile in meters/kilometer when different scales are used.

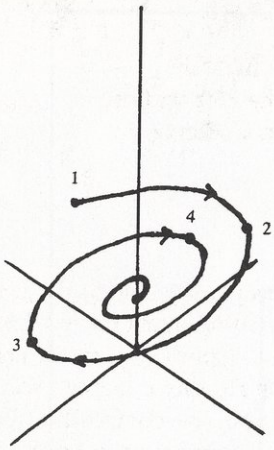


FIGURE 3 A dynamical system described by deterministic rules resulting in a linear trajectory which converges on a *point attractor*.

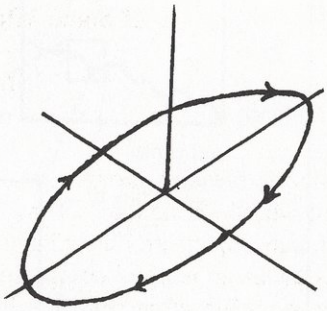


FIGURE 4 A dynamical system described by deterministic rules resulting in periodic trajectories which converge on a *limit cycle*.

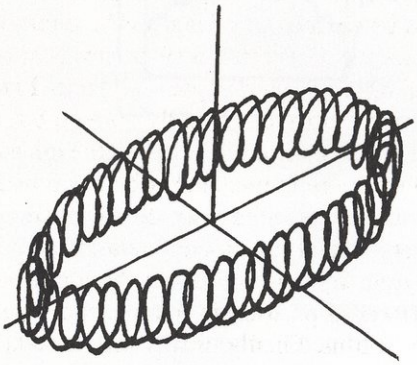


FIGURE 5 A dynamical system described by deterministic rules resulting in a periodic trajectory, modulated by a second set of periodic trajectories of a different frequency, which converge on a *torus attractor*.

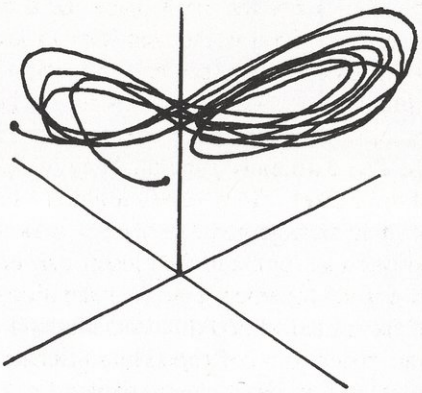


FIGURE 6 A dynamical system described by deterministic, a-periodic rules resulting in trajectories which converge on a *strange attractor*. Typical is that close trajectories may (very) soon, erraticly diverge.

The Embalmer Embalmed
Remarks on the Meaning of the Decoration of Some Middle Kingdom Coffins

Harco Willems

Object friezes, pleasing though they may be to the eye, are among the least studied aspects of Middle Kingdom coffins. It is true that some attention has been paid to the individual objects and their labels, but the same applies to a much lesser extent to the friezes as an integral composition. The reason for this is easy to see. Although the frieze items are often painted with meticulous care, the compositions as a whole look rather sterile. Even if it may now seem obvious that this part of the decoration of coffins usually has a ritual background, the friezes give us no more than rows of objects which somehow played a part in the ceremonial. It is as if we are visiting the backstage storeroom of a theatre, where we may perceive the attributes used by the players without, however, knowing for which play or plays they are intended. This being the case, our impression of the ideas underlying the layout of an object frieze is perforce rather elementary or, which may be closer to the truth, grossly distorted.

This is not the right place for a full discussion of the various explanations that have been given in the past for various items or complexes of items. The point made at the end of the preceding paragraph is, however, illustrated well by my attempt to outline some broad principles for the build-up of the *frises d'objets* – as far as I know, the only account of the issue so far.[1] These rules still seem broadly correct, but they are also extremely general. They were, indeed, never meant to give a full explanation of the friezes. They merely highlight some of the more immediately obvious principles of their arrangement. In brief, I indicated that there is often a locational relationship between an item and the closest part of the corpse; that functionally related items tend to cluster together; that considerations of symmetry may influence the arrangement of facing sides; and that items having a preferential position in tomb chapels may be transposed to a corresponding position inside coffins. Finally, it was shown that these rules may in practice be countereffective.

The present article investigates a case where some of the above rules are clearly in force, but where their restricted explanatory value is equally obvious. It will appear that in at least this case, the internal arrangement of a single frieze – the one on the head (H) – only becomes fully understandable by relating it to friezes on other sides. The immediate gain will be that it casts a somewhat new perspective on some details of the object friezes. However, in the process it will appear that this entails consequences for understanding the meaning of the entire decoration programme of certain coffins. The fact that the iconographic details evaluated on these pages are particularly common on coffins of the second and third quarters of the XIIth Dynasty

[1] H. Willems, *Chests of Life. A Study of the Typology and Conceptual Development of Middle Kingdom Standard Class Coffins*, MVEOL 25 (Leiden 1988), 209–211.

moreover suggests that we are not facing an isolated case, but rather a paradigmatic one with a fairly general application in this period.

Our point of departure is formed by the object friezes on H. Like those on all other sides, individual cases show a great variability, but those on H are nevertheless those which conform most closely to a common pattern. The pattern is that of the purification ritual of *Pyr.* §§ 50–57, a ritual in which the seven sacred unguents and two colours of eyepaint are applied to the face of the object of veneration, which may be either a cult statue or a mummy. The ritualists also use two *wnḫ*-cloths, which are mentioned at the end of the sequence.

This ritual is among the most commonly attested ones from Egypt, and apart from the liturgy from the Pyramid Texts, we have abundant other evidence for its continuing importance. From the Old Kingdom, for instance, there are alabaster palettes with small cavities for each of the seven unguents,[2] while containers with the same selection of unguents have been found in at least one Middle Kingdom tomb.[3] Furthermore, the offering lists begin with the same selection of items. It is a well-known fact that these lists outline the material content of invocation offerings, which can concern either presentations of food offerings or of the elements of the Opening of the Mouth ritual.[4] This gives a context for the ritual: these offering rituals, apart from their use in temple cults, have a place in burial rituals and in the subsequent mortuary cult. Depending on the context of use, the unguents and eyepaint were applied either to the face of the mummy[5] or to that of the cult statue in the tomb chapel.[6]

The same objects are included in almost all H-friezes of coffins and burial chambers, and *Pyr.* §§ 50–57 (or some later version, like CT Spells 934–936) regularly appear below the object frieze on this side. The consistent location of the objects is easily understood from the fact that the ritual affects the head of the corpse or statue. To anyone who has studied these friezes, it will be clear that the decorators were well aware of the right way of performing the ritual, for they clearly attempted to arrange the objects in the sequence of the liturgical texts – although for reasons of space, the sequence was frequently abbreviated. Sometimes, moreover, there are slight rearrangements. These are usually rather restricted, however, and leave no doubt about the origin of the sequence.

A second item also has its preferential location on H: the round object labelled *ḫnm.t-wr* (see Fig. 1). Because of its location, G. Jéquier has suggested that it might be a pillow.[7] However, most Egyptologists now assume that it is a kind of sieve, which

---

[2] E.g., C.M. Firth and B. Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* I (Cairo 1926), pl. 13 (C–D).

[3] J. de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour mars-juin 1894* (Vienna 1895), 109–110.

[4] The most useful study is that by G. Lapp, *Die Opferformel des Alten Reiches*, SDAIK 21 (Mainz am Rhein 1986), 91–194.

[5] At least, I consider this very likely, although there is as yet little positive evidence. Considering that this purification rite had an almost general application as the introduction to almost any kind of offering ritual, it seems hardly conceivable that it was not practiced during the funeral.

[6] The state of affairs here described obviously presupposes the presence of a statue, and thus a fairly wealthy tomb owner. It is not clear how the unguents were applied in tombs without statues. Cf., however, W. Schenkel, in J. Assmann *et al.* (eds.), *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen*, SAGA 12 (Heidelberg 1995), 169–183.

[7] G. Jéquier, *Les frises d'objets des sarcophages du Moyen Empire* (Cairo 1921), 238–240.

most scenes apparently represent as being made of basketry.[8] J. Settgast points to some New Kingdom scenes to be discussed below, in which water is poured through the basket in a purification rite. This purificatory use would, according to Settgast, explain the regular association of the item with the sacred unguents. It is uncertain whether he means to say that the purificatory rite in which the *ḫnm.t-wr* was used was identical with that in which the sacred unguents and eyepaint occurred.

Schott must be credited with having associated the *ḫnm.t-wr* with the purification scene in the tomb of Rekhmire (see Fig. 2). We see here two men pouring some liquid through a *ḫnm.t-wr* over the head of a sitting man.[9] However, he and Settgast did not study the label to this scene, nor the parallels, some of which add interesting details. We shall pay attention to the latter evidence first.

Firstly, depictions of the same event have been recognized on a stela and three coffins of the early Middle Kingdom.[10] These scenes are rather indistinct, but they at any rate show that the iconography under study was well known in the early Middle Kingdom.

An analogy, in which the details are more clearly rendered, is afforded by TT 21. It is reproduced in Fig. 3.[11] Its interest lies in the fact that the bottom part of the scene, which is absent in Rekhmire's tomb and is indistinct in the Middle Kingdom cases, is preserved here. The man is here shown sitting on a very large vessel, at the bottom of which two *ankh*-symbols are lying on the ground.[12] A similar instance is afforded by the tomb of Renni at el-Kab, although the *ankh*-symbols have not been rendered here.[13]

When I visited the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek in Copenhagen in the spring of 1995, I of course came across the coffin of *Gmỉ.n=ỉ-m-ḥɜ.t* (Sq2X) from Saqqâra, which is on display there.[14] Having studied the scenes just discussed a short while before, I could not help noting their conceptual similarity to the decoration of this coffin – a similarity which was made particularly apparent by the fact that the mummy still lies in its coffin.

The illustrations in Figs. 4 and 5 will immediately make clear what I have in mind, as they show an example where the formal similarity with the objects depicted

---

[8] See generally J. Settgast, *Untersuchungen zu altägyptischen Bestattungsdarstellungen*, ADAIK 3 (Glückstadt/New York 1963), 10–12, partly on the basis of S. Schott, *Bemerkungen zum ägyptischen Pyramidenkult*, in Beiträge Bf 5 (Cairo 1950), 173–174; see also A.M. Blackman, *RT* 39 (1921), 54–55. Materials other than basketry also occurred. The Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, for instance, has a still unaccessioned *ḫnm.t-wr* of wood. It has a hole in the bottom which is covered with a square sheet of bronze through which holes have been drilled (seen during a visit to the basement of the Museum in November 1987). In form, this object thus closely resembles the normal represention of the *ḫnm.t-wr* as a round object with a gridded square in the centre. Note that pottery sieves of roughly similar form are also known, see D. Arnold, *The Pyramid of Senwosret I* (New York 1988), 106–107; J. Lopez, *OrAnt* 14 (1975), pl. XXVIIb.

[9] N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rēʿ at Thebes* II (New York 1943), pl. XCIV.

[10] H.O. Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata*, OLA 70 (Leuven 1996), 210–211. The coffins are A1C, G1T and T3C, the stela is Louvre C 15.

[11] N. de G. Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, EES Arch. Survey 21 (London 1913), pl. XXI.

[12] They are also shown on the Middle Kingdom coffin A1C and, in a rather peculiar form, on stela Louvre C 15.

[13] *LD* III, pl. 11.

[14] For the relevant parts of the coffin, see C.M. Firth and B. Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* II (Cairo 1926), pl. 26.

in Fig. 3 is more immediately apparent than on coffin Sq2X.[15] H shows, apart from the sacred unguents (of which the number is here reduced to six), a *ḥnm.t-wr* sieve, while on the foot (F) we see a large vase, labelled *snw*, which is similar in form to the one shown in Fig. 3.[16] Immediately adjoining it are two *ankh*-symbols, which recall those in the same figure. If one imagines the spatial relationship between the corpse, the *ḥnm.t-wr* sieve depicted above it, and the vase and the *ankh* symbols shown below it, one cannot fail to notice the analogy with the scene shown in Fig. 3. The deceased's body and the surrounding items in the object friezes form a three-dimensional version of the iconography of TT 21. The layout of the coffin thus creates a spatial reality in which the purification rite is perpetualized.

The correctness of this hypothesis is borne out by the fact that the case just studied is representative of a much larger group of coffins, in which *snw*-vases and *ankh*-symbols frequently occupy the same position. They are often part of a larger group of objects, which characteristically include sandals, a *mgrg*-vase, and sometimes also some anklets (*mnfr.t*), *nms.t*-vessels and *dšr.t*-vessels. The appended labels frequently stress the association of these items to the deceased's feet.[17] The evidence is tabulated in Table I.

In Middle Kingdom coffins from Deir el-Bersheh, the kind of items normally represented in object friezes are often also given to the deceased in three-dimensional form. For instance, the well-known royal power emblems of the *frises d'objets* were not only painted on the sides of coffin B17C, models of the same objects were also placed inside it.[18] In similar fashion, Daressy found an *ankh*-shaped object inside coffin B1C, where it lay near the foot.[19] The item, which is now in the Cairo Museum (JE 32867), is illustrated here in Fig. 6. The object, the ends of which have broken

---

[15] Figures 4 and 5 show the coffin of the steward *Ḥnni* from Meir (Cairo JE 42947 = De Buck siglum M2C). I would like to express my gratitude to Dr Muhammad Saleh for giving permission to publish the pertinent parts of this coffin.

[16] In the tomb of Renni at el-Kab, the purification scene is accompanied by a liturgical text featuring the word *sn.w=f*, "his siblings". I wonder if this is a pun on the name of the vase. For another pun on the name of the *snw*-vase in a liturgical text, see n. 27 below.

[17] In many coffins, the *ankh*-items are labelled *ʿnḫ.w r tꜣ ḫr rd.wy=f*, "*ankh*-objects on the ground under his feet" (B1C, B.2–3.63; FR.2–3.38; B7C, F.2.2; B2L, B.2–3.29; B3L, B.2–3.52; BH4C, F.2.3; perhaps also with T2Be, F.2–3.1; see the commentary by G. Steindorff, *Grabfunde des Mittleren Reiches in den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin. I. Das Grab des Mentuhotep* [Berlin 1896], 28) or *ʿnḫ tꜣ*, "*ankh*-objects of the ground" (B16C, H.2–3.12; B20C, B.2–3.11). The location codes for the frieze items should be read as follows. First, a code indicates on which side the item appears (H: "head"; F: "foot"; B: "Back"; FR: "Front"). The number after the first dot indicates the register, counted from the top downwards. Cases like ".2–3" indicate that the item covers two registers, one containing its label and one containing its depiction. Finally, the number after the second dot indicates the position of the item within the register. Thus, T2Be, F.2–3.1 refers to the first item depicted in register 3 and labelled in register 2 of the foot of coffin T2Be. For the bibliography of the coffins cited, see Willems, *Chests*, 19–40.

Note that the labels cited above derive mostly from coffins from Deir el-Bersheh, where the objects frequently occur, not on the foot, but on B or FR. Nevertheless, the labels specify that the items stand in relation to the deceased's feet. In fact, in most cases, the depictions which do not appear on F itself appear close to the foot.

Note, finally, that labels similar to those accompanying the *ankh*-symbols often accompany the *ḥnm.t-wr*-sieve, which is in these cases associated with the head: the label *ḥnm.t-wr ḫr-tp=f*, "a sieve above his head" accompanies depictions of the sieve in B9C, FR.2–3.34; G1T, FR.2.1; FR.3.2. In coffin M8C, H.4–5.1 we read *ḥnm.t-wr ḫr tp=f*, "a sieve at his head".

[18] G. Daressy, *ASAE* 1 (1900), 42, fig. 1.

[19] Op. cit., 40. I would like to thank Dr Muhammad Saleh for giving permission to publish the object here.

off, was made of reed covered with a thick crust of a salty substance. G. Daressy has already noted that this crust probably reflects the actual use of the object in connection with the mummification process.[20] This evidence is interesting on several counts. Firstly, it proves that at least one element of the depictions of the purification (cf. Fig. 3) is not merely an iconographic detail. This makes it at least likely that the objects depicted in connection with the ablution were also used in actual practice. Secondly, the *ankh* was deposited in coffin B1C in a position suggesting a meaningful analogy with the placement of drawings of *ankh*-symbols in the F-friezes. Since the material characteristics of the former *ankh* suggest that it has actually been used in purification rites, it seems very likely that the latter depict objects intended for the same ritual, and not simply symbols of life.

Since the publication of B. Grdseloff's *Das ägyptische Reinigungszelt* we know that these objects formed part of the equipment used in the *ỉbw*, "Purification Tent", the place where the deceased was purified in connection with his mummification.[21] Rekhmire's tomb adds a label to the scene of Fig. 2 which enables us to obtain a somewhat clearer picture of the relationship between the event and the Purification Tent. It reads:

Saying words by the lector priest and the *ỉm.y-ḫnt*-priest. Standing outside the Divine Booth. Taking an ablution on (the bank of) the canal.[22]

J.K. Hoffmeier has adduced strong arguments to suggest that the term Divine Booth (*sḥ-nṯr*) is largely coreferential with *ỉbw*, "Purification Tent".[23] Moreover, he reiterates the current view that the scene concerns the purification of a corpse. He analyzes the label just translated in conjunction with a very similar one stating that the lector priest and the *ỉm.y-ḫnt*-priest themselves are purified outside the Divine Booth.[24] He concludes that, before entering the *ỉbw/sḥ-nṯr*, both the officiants and the deceased should be purified.

I accept much of the general drift of this argument, although matters may be more complicated than Hoffmeier suggests. In the first place, it is not certain that his evidence for the Purification Tent (*ỉbw*), which dates predominantly to the Old

---

[20] G. Daressy, *RT* 26 (1904), 129; cf. B. Grdseloff, *Das ägyptische Reinigungszelt* (Cairo 1941), 26–27.

[21] B. Grdseloff, op. cit., 25–31; see also Schott, in: *Beiträge Bf* 5, 173–174; Settgast, *Bestattungsdarstellungen*, 9–15.

[22] B. Grdseloff assumed that *tp mr* here means "über das Waschbecken" (*Reinigungszelt*, 33), but although *mr* according to *Wb.* II, 97, 9 may refer to a "Becken o.ä. aus Metall", I have some hesitations about relating the term to a pottery vessel such as the scene depicts. I am not certain, therefore, that the label refers to the position of the person on top of the *snw*-vase. J.K. Hoffmeier renders the same expression as "over the trough" (*SAK* 9, 172), but his preceding discussion makes it likely that canals led to the purification tent. The supposition underlying my rendering of the text is that the purification takes place on the banks of these canals. A.M. Blackman's reading "over the pool" probably comes closer to the truth (*RT* 39, 55). Note that *ḥr*, which has here been read as an infinitive, could also be a participle. The text would now concern "the lector priest and the *ỉm.y-ḫnt*-priest who are standing outside the Divine Booth".

[23] J.K. Hoffmeier, *SAK* 9 (1981), 167–177.

[24] Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rēʿ* II, pl. LXXXIX, top left.

Kingdom, can be simply transposed to the period of Rekhmire. I have the impression that, already in the Middle Kingdom, there was a trend to amalgamate the Purification Tent and the Place of Embalming into a single structure,[25] whereas the two seem still to have been separate entities in the Old Kingdom. If these considerations are brought to bear on Hoffmeier's hypothesis, the outcome is that the funerary officiants and the corpse were purified immediately before they entered the Place of Embalming. The situation perpetuated in the decoration of the coffin would accordingly be this important preliminary stage of the mummification process. Of course, it is possible that this would represent the entire process as a *pars pro toto*, but this cannot be confidently asserted.

There is a second complication which, however, may necessitate a major revision of this interpretation. Thus far, I have concurred with the widespread view that the scenes of Figs. 2 and 3 show the purification of the body of the deceased.[26] I am, however, no longer very certain that this really is what the scene depicts. The first, though not the greatest problem is that Hoffmeier's reconstruction entails that the deceased is purified *before* he enters the Purification Tent – where he should also be purified. This argument could be countered by suggesting that the entire ritual sequence included different purifications, one taking place outside the tent, and one inside it. However, as a second argument it should be pointed out that the object of the rite in Fig. 3 has an attitude suggesting that he is very much alive. What is more, he is wearing the same clothes and the same headdress as the officiants who carry out the ablution. This, added to the fact that the label shown in Fig. 2 also occurs in a scene depicting the purification of the priests (see n. 24), suggests that our scene may be interpreted in a rather different way: it shows an officiant who is being purified by his colleagues before he enters the Place of Embalming, inside which we may assume the mummification bed with the corpse is standing ready.

I am not stating that the evidence just produced *proves* this new hypothesis, for none of my arguments are fully conclusive. It is, moreover, possible to raise a counter-argument. The scene apparently shows a person being purified over a *snw*-vase. Such vases are well known as the containers of the efflux which left the body of Osiris while he was being mummified. As far as I know, there are as yet no indications that

---

[25] A clear indication to this effect is provided by CT Spell 60, which deals with the hourly vigil around the mummification bed, see Willems, *Chests*, 141–159 and J. Assmann, in S.I. Groll (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* I (Jerusalem 1990), 19–21. The end of the text provides a deification of the constructional elements of the building (*CT* I, 253*d*-254*c* [60]), from which it becomes crystal clear that the Place of Embalming was a tent which must have looked very similar to the Purification Tent (*ibw*) depicted in the tomb of Pepiankh at Meir (A, no. 2), see A.M. Blackman and M.R. Apted, *The Rock Tombs of Meir* V, EES Arch. Survey 28 (London 1953), pls. XLII-XLIII. Note also that Spell 60, which uses the term *sḥ-nṯr* (*CT* I, 252*d* [60]) forms part of the same liturgy as CT Spell 44, the only Middle Kingdom text to mention the *ibw* (*CT* I, 188*a* [44]). Thus, an *ibw*-like structure here serves at the same time as a Place of Embalming (*wry.t*; this term is also mentioned in Spell 60, see *CT* I, 252*e* [60]). The topic will be dealt with at greater length elsewhere.

[26] A.M. Blackman, *JEA* 5 (1918), 123–124; idem, *RT* 39 (1921), 53–56 (where the lively attitude of the 'deceased' is stated to be an iconographic convention); W.R. Dawson, *JEA* 13 (1927), 44 (reference due to Dr R. Vos); Grdseloff, *Reinigungszelt*, 32–35; idem, *ASAE* 51 (1951), 134–138; Schott, *Beiträge Bf* 5, 173–174; Settgast, *Bestattungsdarstellungen*, 12–14; J.K. Hoffmeier, *SAK* 9 (1981), 172–174; and Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata*, 210–211.

the same type of vessel was used for the purification of officiants.[27] Yet the hypothesis remains a distinct possibility.

Therefore, the conclusion of the first part of this article must be that the object friezes discussed here can be interpreted in two different ways:

1) the association of the H- and F-friezes situates the corpse lying in between in the position of a body being embalmed; and

2) the same friezes situate the corpse in the position of an officiant, preparing him for entering the Place of Embalming. This presupposes a liturgical view of life in the netherworld which differs from current interpretations of the Hereafter. However, as I have attempted to show in my dissertation, the decoration programme of at least some Middle Kingdom coffins in fact draws a profile of the deceased who is first brought to life at the instigation of (his father) Osiris (or another dead father-god). Then, as a young and reborn individual, he assumes the sacerdotal role of the son who brings his dead father back to life by performing funerary rituals.[28]

Although the preceding analysis has not resulted in a single, clear-cut answer, it contributes to an understanding of the ideas underlying the decoration of parts of certain coffins. However, from a historical perspective, the recognition of ideas is not an aim in itself. It is equally relevant to determine when and where the ideas were voiced, how this was done, and who did it. The basis of our inferences – archaeological material – is of course lacunous, but at any rate we should attempt to trace the gradual process of how the iconography under discussion was incorporated in the object friezes.

Table I

coffin no.	H	F	date	royal attributes
B1Bo	*ḫnm.t-wr*	–	early MK	–
B16C	*ḫnm.t-wr*	–	late MK	(+)
S10C	*ḫnm.t-wr*	–	early MK	–
B6C	*ḫnm.t-wr*	?	early MK	–
R2X	*ḫnm.t-wr*	?	late MK	(+)
B3C	?	sandals.	early MK	–
B4C	?	sandals.	early MK	–
M12C	?	sandals.	early/late MK	?
M38C	?	sandals.	early/late MK	?
M39C	?	sandals.	early/late MK	?
M48C	?	sandals.	early/late MK	?
M53C	?	sandals.	early/late MK	?

[27] I have compiled the evidence on the *snw*-vase in *The Coffin of Heqata*, 118–119. Note that a MK liturgical text, written below an object frieze on F showing the items from the purification tent, associates the *snw*-vase with the treatment of Osiris, i.e., of the deceased, see J.P. Allen, in H. Willems (ed.), *The World of the Coffin Texts*, Egyptologische Uitgaven 9 (Leiden 1996) 9 and fig. 5. But, as we shall see, this argument may not be of enough strength to discount my alternative hypothesis.

[28] Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata*, see most conveniently pp. 363–389.

B7C	?	sandals, *ʿnḫ*-symbols.	late MK	+
B2L	?	sandals; unique objects apparently related to mummification.	late MK	+
M42C	?	*ʿnḫ*-symbols, rest much effaced.	late MK	+
Sq3Sq	?	sandals (*snw*- or *mgrg*?)-vase, rest destroyed.	late (?) MK	+
Sq1X	?	sandals, *ʿnḫ*-symbols, *snw*- (and *mgrg*-?) vases.	early MK	+
Sq10X	?	sandals, *ʿnḫ*-symbols, *snw*- and *mgrg*-vases.	early MK	+
Ab2Le	–	sandals.	early MK	–
B9C	–	sandals.	late MK	(+)
BH3C	–	sandals.	early MK	–
BH5C	–	sandals.	early MK	–
BH2Ox	–	sandals.	early MK	–
G1Be	–	sandals.	early MK	–
M1Be	–	sandals.	early/late MK	–
M3C	–	sandals.	early MK	–
M5C	–	sandals.	early MK	–
M6C	–	sandals.	early/late MK	–
M2War	–	sandals.	early/late MK	–
M13War	–	sandals.	early/late MK	–
S6C	–	sandals.	early MK	–
S1P	–	sandals.	early MK	–
S1Tü	–	sandals.	early MK	–
Sid1Sid	–	sandals.	early MK	–
Sq1Be	–	sandals.	early MK	–
Sq11C	–	sandals.	early MK	–
TT 240	–	sandals.	early MK	–
A1C	–	sandals, *snw*-vase, anklet.	early MK	–
Ab2X	–	sandals, *ʿnḫ*-symbols.	early MK	–
BH1Br	–	sandals, *ʿnḫ*-symbols, *snw*- and *mgrg*-vases	late MK	+
BH4C	–	sandals, *ʿnḫ*-symbols, *snw*- and *mgrg*-vases, anklets.	late MK	+
G1T	–	sandals, *snw*-vase, anklet.	early MK	–
Ha2X	–	*ʿnḫ*-symbols.	late MK	(+)
M7C	–	*ʿnḫ*-symbols; textiles and boxes.	late MK	+
M1NY	–	sandals; vessels and other purificatory items.	late MK (?)	+
M2NY	–	sandals; *ʿnḫ*-symbols; purificatory items.	late MK	(+)
R1X	–	*ʿnḫ*-symbols; chests.	late MK	+
S3C	–	sandals; purificatory equipment.	early MK	–

Sq9C	–	sandals; probably *snw*-vase, other vase and anklet.	early MK	–
Sq12C	–	sandals, *ʿnḫ*-symbols, textiles.	early MK	–
Sq13C	–	sandals, *ʿnḫ*-symbols.	early MK	–
Sq1Ch	–	sandals, *ʿnḫ*-symbols, *snw*- and *mgrg*-vases.	early MK	–
Sq4Sq	–	sandals, *ʿnḫ*-symbols.	early MK	–
T2Be	–	*ʿnḫ*-symbols, *snw*- and *mgrg*-vases.	late MK	+
T3C	–	sandals, *snw*-vase, anklets.	early MK	–
Ab1Le	*ḫnm.t-wr*	sandals, *snw*-vase, *mgrg*-vase, *ʿnḫ*-symbols, *mnfr.t*-anklets, box.	early MK	–
B10C	*ḫnm.t-wrt*	sandals.	late MK	(+)
B1L	*ḫnm.t-wr*	sandals, *ʿnḫ*-symbols.	late MK	(+)
B4L	*ḫnm.t-wr*	sandals.	late MK	(+)
B1P	*ḫnm.t-wr*	sandals, *ʿnḫ*-symbols.	late MK	(+)
BH1Liv	*ḫnm.t-wr*	sandals, *ʿnḫ*-symbols, *snw*- and *mgrg*-vases, anklets.	late MK	+
L1NY	*ḫnm.t-wr*	sandals, *ʿnḫ*-symbols, *snw*- and *mgrg*-vases.	late MK	+
L4Li	*ḫnm.t-wr*	sandals, *ʿnḫ*-symbols, *snw*- and *mgrg*-vases.	early MK	+
M2C	*ḫnm.t-wr*	sandals, *ʿnḫ*-symbols, *snw*- and *mgrg*-vases.	late MK	+
M8C	*ḫnm.t-wr*	sandals, *snw*- and *mgrg*-vases, *nms.t*-vases (?), etc.	late MK	+
M1Lei	*ḫnm.t-wr*	sandals, *ʿnḫ*-symbols, *snw*- and *mgrg*-vases, etc.	late MK	+
Sq1C	*ḫnm.t-wr*	sandals, *ʿnḫ*-symbols, *snw*- and *mgrg*-vases.	late MK	+
Sq2C	*ḫnm.t-wr*[a]	sandals. *ʿnḫ*-symbols, *snw*- and *mgrg*-vases; anklets, etc.	late MK	+
Sq6C	*ḫnm.t-wr*	sandals, *ʿnḫ*-symbols, rest unrecognizable.	early MK	(+)
Sq7C	*ḫnm.t-wr*	sandals, *ʿnḫ*-symbols, *snw*- and *mgrg*-vases.	late MK	+
Sq2X	*ḫnm.t-wr*	sandals, *ʿnḫ*-symbols, *snw*- and *mgrg*-vases.	early MK	–
T1Bal	*ḫnm.t-wr*	*ʿnḫ*-symbols; *snw*- and *mgrg*-vases.	late MK	+
T1Be	*ḫnm.t-wr*	sandals, *ʿnḫ*-symbols, *snw*- and *mgrg*-vases.	late MK	+
T3Be	*ḫnm.t-wr*	sandals, *ʿnḫ*-symbols, *snw*- and *mgrg*-vases, *nms.t*- and *dšr.t*-vases.	late MK	+

T2L	*ḫnm.t-wr*	sandals, *ʿnḫ*-symbols, *snw*- and *mgrg*-vases.	late MK	(+)
T1Len	*ḫnm.t-wr*	sandals, *ʿnḫ*-symbols, textiles.	late MK	+

"+" – rendering of royal attributes resembling list of offerings in OK pyramids; "(+)" – not a faithful rendering of the pattern, but clearly inspired by the same ideas (royal power emblems); "–" – no royal attributes.
L4Li: sarcophagus of Mentuhotep from Lisht.
[a] remains probably visible on photograph (round trace plus top of what may be a *ḫnm*-vase and a clearly visible *wr*-bird), though not seen by Lacau.

The following pages will concentrate on such matters. Firstly, the chronology and regional spread of the sources displaying a *ḫnm.t-wr*-sieve on H and/or other items related to the Purification Tent on F will be discussed. This will give an indication of the origin of the decorative pattern. Secondly, it will appear that the incorporation of these items was not an isolated phenomenon, but that it went hand in hand with other changes in the decoration of the coffins. Having determined the nature of these changes, we may be in a better position to evaluate the alternative solutions proposed at the end of the first section.

Table I surveys the occurrence of the *ḫnm.t-wr*-sieve on H and of the items from the Purification Tent on F. In this table, the left-hand column contains the codes for the coffins, in which the numbers are those listed in my *Chests of Life*, 19–34. The second and third columns contain simplified descriptions of the content of the object friezes on H and F respectively. In the case of H, the only feature recorded is the presence or absence[29] of the *ḫnm.t-wr* sieve, in the case of F, a greater diversity is recorded. Column four contains a very broad indication of the date of the pertinent source, in which "early MK" refers to coffins antedating Amenemhat II and "late MK" to coffins of a later date.[30] The rightmost column is not relevant at the present juncture.

The Early Coffins

Some features can be easily read from the table. Firstly, in the early MK and occasionally later, the sandals occur on the F-frieze without any of the other items used in the Purification Tent. The most likely explanation of this feature is, I think, that no explicit link with rituals in the *ỉbw* was intended. The sandals may in these cases simply be part of the deceased's dress.

However, in a few early coffins we find a *ḫnm.t-wr* on H (the corresponding items from the Purification Tent being absent on F). This may well be an allusion to the purification ritual under discussion. This is doubtless the case in the rather frequent instances where items having an origin in the Purification Tent occur on F (no *ḫnm.t-wr*-sieve being rendered on H). These are mostly the *ʿnḫ*-symbols and the *snw*- and

[29] Indicated by "–". Uncertain cases are indicated by "?".
[30] Dates based on Willems, *Chests* or, in the case of the coffins from Lisht, on J.P. Allen, in *The World of the Coffin Texts*, 1–15.

mgrg-vases. These are very frequently associated with the sandals. Considering the fact that sandals are also depicted in Old Kingdom representations of the Purification Tent, it is difficult to determine whether their function is in these cases 'practical' or ritual. In analogy to the cases discussed a moment ago, it could be argued that they are intended as depictions of the personal property of the deceased. However, they could also be meant as part of the liturgical dress of attendants in the Purification Tent.[31] Perhaps both explanations are correct, the preferential location of elements from the Purification Tent on F being caused by the fact that the sandals had already become one of the standard items depicted there, and subsequently attracted the other ritual implements.

The early coffins where the *ḥnm.t-wr* is depicted on H form a relatively small and regionally restricted group,[32] but cases where the items of the Purification Tent occur on F are already frequent in the early MK. These cases will be investigated here in somewhat greater detail.

An important concentration of sources derives from the Memphite area. It concerns coffins Ab2X, Sq9C, Sq12–13C, Sq1Ch, Sq4Sq, and perhaps Sq1X and Sq10X, although the latter might, owing to uncertainty about the decoration of H, also be attributable to the pattern in which items from the Purification Tent occur on both ends.

The difficulties in dating the Saqqâra coffins are notorious, an important problem being that decoration patterns that had long gone out of fashion elsewhere remained current in the Memphite area. However, I have noted elsewhere that a decoration programme from Saqqâra is once duplicated in a well-dated Theban sarcophagus (TT 240), which was carved in the late XIth Dynasty. The decoration pattern under discussion occurs on several of the coffins listed above (Sq9C, Sq1Ch, Sq4Sq, Sq1X), and it is therefore likely that at least some of them date to approximately the same period.[33] One group of sources where items relating to the Place of Embalming appear on F can thus be pinpointed to Saqqâra, and be dated approximately to the end of the XIth Dynasty and the early XIIth Dynasty.

A second group of coffins which feature items related to the Purification Tent on F is formed by coffins A1C, G1T, and T3C, which date between the period just before the reunification of Egypt by Mentuhotep II (T3C) until into the XIIth Dynasty.[34] One of these coffins (A1C) shows evidence of direct influence from the Teti Pyramid Cemeteries: some of the offering formulae on the outside, and some constructional details.[35] The same source and G1T, moreover, have an object frieze register on B which spans only part of the length of the side. This is an exceptional feature which might be compared with the FR-friezes on a few coffins from the Teti Pyramid

---

[31] If interpretation **2)** above is followed, the two explanations overlap, for the deceased is both the owner of the sandals and an officiant wearing them in the course of his liturgical task.

[32] B1Bo, B6C are two early coffins from Deir el-Bersheh. They have an exceptional decoration pattern which has a number of analogies with that of S10C, a fact suggesting a relationship between the two sites, cf. Willems, *Chests*, 103; the coffin has now been published in G. Lapp, *Typologie der Särge und Sargkammern von der 6. bis 13. Dynastie*, SAGA 7 (Heidelberg 1993), pls. 29–30. B16C is a later coffin from Deir el-Bersheh. Only coffin R2X (from Rîfa) comes from another part of Egypt.

[33] See Willems, *Chests*, 106, n. 216[a].

[34] For the date of these coffins, see Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata*, 15–25.

[35] Op cit., 40–41 and n. 63; 43–48.

Cemeteries.[36] This suggests at first sight that the object friezes on the coffins from southern Upper Egypt were inspired by those from Saqqâra, but on looking closer, this appears to be less likely. The southern Egyptian coffins share a type of 'object' frieze of which the most conspicuous feature is that it not only depicts objects, but also human beings and animals. The earliest coffin of the southern Egyptian group, T3C, was made before the reunification of Egypt, when artisanal contacts with Memphis were presumably not very intensive. To all intents and purposes, the object friezes of coffins A1C, G1T and T3C are probably an indigenous product of the Theban area.[37] Indeed, although some of the characteristic items of the Purification Tent occur in the southern Egyptian object friezes, some quite exceptional items are added, while the way in which the others are depicted differs markedly from what we see in the Saqqâra material. This suggests that the inclination to include ritual implements of the Purification Tent in the F-frieze originated simultaneously at several places. This is important, as it shows that parts of the country as far removed as Memphis and Thebes shared a set of common underlying ideas which were only given different artistic expression.

This philosophical background had its effect not only on the object friezes, but also on other details of the decoration of the coffins. Already for southern Egyptian coffins of the XIth Dynasty, the decoration of both ends can be shown to concentrate on the topic of mummification. For instance, the ends of many coffins contain brief formulae in ornamental hieroglyphs mentioning the goddesses Isis and Nephthys. The Theban coffins are innovative here; whereas they already feature these female divinities in the early MK, this only became the rule in Egypt as a whole in the course of the XIIth Dynasty.[38]

The reason why the goddesses appear in this position is clear. Their spatial arrangement can be compared to scenes in which they assist in the mummification of Osiris. The best known instance of this is the vignette to BD Chapter 151, which shows Isis and Nephthys sitting as wailing women at the head and foot of the mummification bed of Osiris. By associating the coffin ends with the two goddesses, the decoration of the coffin places the deceased in the position of an Osiris who is being mummified and resuscitated in a Place of Embalming. In my study of the decoration programme of coffins A1C, G1T and T3C, a similar relationship between the ends was argued to exist. The other texts and representations on the sides also establish a relationship with Isis and Nephthys, and concentrate on the topic of Osiris's, or the deceased's, mummification.[39]

Already very early in the MK, there was thus a tendency to consider the short ends of the coffin as a set, the decoration of one end complementing and giving sense to the decoration of the other, and the topic of the decoration being that of mummification. This mental background set the stage for a next phase in the development of the

[36] Three coffins from the Teti Pyramid Cemeteries share this feature: Sq3C, Sq6C and Sq9Sq. Only the inner decoration of Sq3C has been published, see J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1906–1907)* (Cairo 1908), pls. XX–XXV. Coffin Sq9Sq is briefly mentioned by Quibell in op. cit., 7–8. An ancient photograph formerly belonging to P. Lacau shows that the layout of this coffin was the same as that of Sq3C. I hope to publish this photograph elsewhere. Sq6C remains unpublished.

[37] Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata*, 15–25; 50–51; 52–54 and passim.

[38] See Willems, *Chests*, 126–127.

[39] Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata*, 55–56; 89–93; 101–106, and passim.

object friezes on H and F: the cases where the H-frieze includes a *ḫnm.t-wr*-sieve and is *combined* with a F-frieze featuring the other items from the Purification Tent.

Towards the Decoration Pattern of the Later Middle Kingdom

The pertinent cases of this combination have been listed at the end of Table I. A first point to note is that only a few coffins of the early MK testify to this combination: Ab1Le, L4Li, Sq6C and Sq2X, and perhaps Sq1X and Sq10X, of which H is missing. The general attribution of an 'early MK' date to these sources can be narrowed down somewhat: the coffins from Abusir and Saqqâra apparently date to the end of the XIth Dynasty or the beginning of the XIIth,[40] whereas L4Li belongs to the vizier Mentuhotep, whom J.P. Allen dates to the second half of the reign of Sesostris I.[41] The iconographic pattern thus seems to take Saqqâra and Abusir as its point of departure. The Lisht coffin testifies to the dissemination of the pattern outside the Memphite region, which gained impetus in the course of the XIIth Dynasty.

If we survey the coffins with the combined decoration pattern on H and F, we cannot fail to notice that all have an object frieze on all four sides except for the early coffins Ab1Le and Sq2X, which lack an object frieze on the front (FR). Although this feature should not be read too strictly in chronological terms, it is possible to say that they represent the least developed typological stage of the group. On Ab1Le, the items depicted in the object frieze on the back (B) are mainly elements of dress, as well as a mirror and some cosmetic vessels. The latter may, or may not, be connected with a purification rite. On the whole, the object friezes of this coffin concentrate on utilitarian artefacts.

On Sq2X, matters are different. Apart from items of dress, the B-frieze here features a row of sticks, staves, weaponry, and sceptres which must go back to the ritual presentation of royal power emblems to the king as attested in Old Kingdom Pyramids.[42]

Sq6C may date to the late XIth or early XIIth Dynasty (cf. n. 40). In terms of absolute chronology, this is perhaps not much later than Ab1Le and Sq2X, but it features an important typological innovation: it adds an object frieze on FR. The 'new' FR-frieze is, moreover, reserved for the items of the royal offering ritual just discussed.

It seems likely that the preference for items with this specific background on Sq2X and Sq6C reflects the social setting of their owners. Both coffins were found in the cemetery around the pyramid of Teti, whose cult was still flourishing in the early MK. Perhaps the royal ritual books of the mortuary cult of this king were also accessible

[40] For the date of Ab2Le, see H. Willems, *GM* 150 (1996), 103, nn. 23–24 and 26; 108–109, n. 56; Sq6C is among the coffins showing a comparable interior decoration to TT 240, which dates to the late XIth Dynasty (see n. 33). S. Seidlmayer has proposed a similar date for the tomb in which Sq6C was found on the basis of the archaeological context, see his *Gräberfelder im Übergang vom Alten zum Mittleren Reich. Studien zur Archäologie der Ersten Zwischenzeit*, SAGA 1 (Heidelberg 1990), 384.

[41] J.P. Allen, in *The World of the Coffin Texts*, 3; for the coffin ends, see also his figs. 4 and 5.

[42] G. Jéquier, *Le Monument funéraire de Pépi II* I (Cairo 1937), pls. II; IV; idem, *Les pyramides des reines Neit et Apouit* (Cairo 1933), pl. XII; cf. also pl. VIII (where the crowns and uraei occur, which play such an important role in the object friezes).

to the elite of his pyramid town. At any rate, at no other place in Egypt do we see the incorporation of these items in object friezes at such an early date.[43]

With coffin L4Li, dated to the latter part of the reign of Sesostris I, we for the first time see this layout pattern outside the Memphite region. Here, as well, we notice:

1. the occurrence of an object frieze with the seven unguents, the bags of eyepaint, the *wnḫ*-cloths, and the *ḥnm.t-wr*-sieve on H combined with the sandals, *ꜥnḫ*-symbols, *ꜥnḫ*- and *mgrg*-vases on F;[44]

2. an object frieze on B and another on FR, which show a selection and arrangement of items which can be traced directly back to the royal object ritual of the OK.[45]

Later in the XIIth Dynasty, this evolved into a very popular decoration pattern throughout Egypt. On most coffins of this date (and already on L4Li), we not only see friezes of the kind just described, but also a number of other characteristics:

3. the outside is decorated with text columns. The most common patterns here are the presence of four text columns on the long sides and one or two on the ends (my types IV, V and VI). Each column characterizes the deceased as the *imɜḫ.y ḫr* + name of a god + name of the deceased, "venerated one near such-and-such a god, NN", a formulation I have termed the "standard formulation".[46]

4. the frequent occurrence on the outside of a false door below the *udjat* eyes on FR (my subtypes IVb and Vb).

5. the frequent occurrence of a palace façade decoration on the outside of all four coffins sides (my type VI).

6. the mentioning, in the ornamental texts on the outside and inside of the short ends, of Isis and Nephthys.

7. the occurrence of CT Spell 335 on the inside of the lid and of Spell 397 on the bottom.

This decoration pattern is the hallmark of coffins dated between approximately the reign of Amenemhat II to the end of the XIIth Dynasty.[47] L4Li is the only known source of an earlier date which features it. It is presumably not coincidental that this

---

[43] Note that the object friezes in the burial chambers of Ihy and Hetep, also in the Teti Pyramid Cemeteries and dated to the first half of the XIIth Dynasty, also include items from the Purification Tent and the royal sticks, sceptres, staves, and weapons, see Firth and Gunn, *TPC* I, 278–279 and 286–287; the burial chambers are currently being investigated by D. Silverman and R. Freed, who now date the monuments to the reign of Amenemhat I (paper read at the 7th International Congress of Egyptologists at Cambridge, September 1995). This dating would be interesting in connection with the topic of the present paper, but their arguments have not yet convinced me that the traditional dating of the tombs to the reign of Amenemhat II or slightly earlier is incorrect, see Willems, *Chests*, 106, with literature).

[44] In my classification, H-frieze c) combined with F-frieze f) (see Willems, *Chests*, 212–214).

[45] In my classification, these are B-frieze c) and FR-frieze a) and b) (op. cit., 216; 220).

[46] For the types, see Willems, *Chests*, 122–168; for the standard formulation, op. cit., 138 ff.

[47] This may be the best place to briefly mention the decoration of the coffin of the lady Neferhesut discovered in 1910 on Elephantine by J. Clédat. My information concerning this source derives from a set of photographs provided by S. Seidlmayer and a xerox copy of the relevant parts of M. Clédat's field notes, now kept in the Louvre, which Dr E. Delange sent me. I hope to publish this coffin together with M. Marée in S. Seidlmayer's forthcoming volume on the MK cemetery on Elephantine Island. Our study will reveal that this coffin dates to the XIIIth Dynasty. At that time, coffins were usually no longer decorated on the inside, but the outside follows the pattern of earlier MK coffins to a certain extent. This also applies to Neferhesut's coffin, which has text columns (**3**) and a palace façade decoration (**4, 5**) on the outside; the ends mention Isis and Nephthys (**6**). A unique feature of this monument is that, apart from these traditional features, it bears Coffin Texts on the outside. The texts are apparently a version of CT Spell 397 or a text very similar to it (**7**). Likewise, it includes object frieze items on B and FR. According to J. Clédat's field notes, the frieze items on B include "des armes et autres objets". They might well derive

belonged to a high-ranking official (a vizier) buried in the Residence. As so often in Egyptian history, we are entitled to assume that a fashion developed at the court disseminated through the country. However, although the pattern reached sophistication in the Residence, we have seen above that that was not where it originated: the decoration of L4Li has partial precursors in the coffins of the late XIth/early XIIth Dynasty belonging to some priests at the Teti Pyramid.[48]

A Possible Interpretation

The preceding listing of evidence may have been extremely dull, but it does lead to an important conclusion: the combination of a *ḥnm.t-wr* in the H-frieze with items from the Purification Tent in the F-frieze should not be considered in isolation from the rest of the decoration of the coffin. Rather, the growing popularity of this combination goes hand in hand with an emphasis on the royal object ritual in the object friezes on the long sides. In Table I, the cases where this latter feature can be observed have been marked "+" in the rightmost column, if the selection and arrangement of objects seems to go back directly to the ritual as found in OK pyramids. The code "(+)" indicates that the selection clearly favours items with a royal background, but features them in a more liberal arrangement. The indication "–" means that no clear connection with the royal ritual could be ascertained.

A second point to be noted is that the integration of frieze items with a background in the context of mummification and of the royal object ritual goes hand in hand with the introduction of typological features **3–7** above. They thus form part of an integral reorganization of the decoration pattern, a reorganization which it seems reasonable to suppose had the purpose of giving expression to a coherent set of ideas. However, what were these ideas? What is it that relates the topic of the purification of the deceased on H and F with the offering of royal power emblems (on B and FR), with the introduction of text columns and palace façade decoration on the outside, and with the presence of CT Spells 335 and 397 on the inside? Raising this question has been one of the reasons for writing this article, for it concerns a vital issue for our understanding of the development of Egyptian funerary culture of the MK. After all, the success of the new decoration pattern shows that it appealed to many Egyptians. Its inception meant that the CT were applied within a new context. Understanding the motivation behind the changed decoration scheme means, in other words, understanding more of the environment in which the CT functioned, and thus of the CT themselves. Finally, changes can not only be observed in the way coffins came to be decorated in the course of the XIIth Dynasty, but also in other characteristics of burials. For instance, J. Bourriau has shown that certain kinds of funerary equipment, like funerary

---

from the royal object ritual (**2**). This shows that the decorators of this coffin chose to incorporate elements of the classic Middle Kingdom decoration pattern even though other parts of the interior decoration had been abandoned by this time.

[48] Note that close links between the Teti Pyramid Cemetery and Lisht are suggested by the tomb of Ihy just east of the Pyramid of Teti. Although Ihy held offices in the clergy of the pyramid of Teti, his titles also include functions in Itji-towe, i.e., presumably, in the neighbourhood of Lisht (Firth and Gunn, *TPC* I, 280 and II, pl. 83). See also n. 43.

models, were gradually replaced by other items.[49] There can accordingly be no doubt *that* the Egyptian perspective on death was undergoing a major change. The nature and background of this change has, however, hardly been addressed. My attempt to explain the new decoration pattern is perhaps premature, but, riddled with errors as it doubtless is, if it directs the interest of other scholars to this problem area, it will have served its purpose.

The three foci of attention in the new decoration programme appear to be 'mummification', 'royalty' and 'offering rituals', the latter aspect being crucial to coffin decoration since the late Old Kingdom.[50] We have repeatedly encountered the former two features in our discussion of the object friezes, but they can also be perceived in other elements of the decoration. 'Mummification' is probably alluded to when Isis and Nephthys are mentioned on the short ends (**6**) – arguments for this have been given above. The same may underlie the 'standard formulation' (**3**; see below). 'Royalty' is not only represented in the object friezes on the long sides, but also in the palace façade decoration of many coffins of the later XIIth Dynasty (**5**).

This inventorizes the situation, but does not yet explain very much. Why were these themes combined? Moreover, there is still the remarkably stable distribution of texts on the lid, where CT Spell 335 became the norm, and the bottom, which was usually inscribed with Spell 397 (**7**). Can the presence of these texts be explained from the ideational orientation of the decoration programme?

In an earlier study, I have attempted to explain the theology underlying the ornamentation of the exterior of MK coffins which are decorated with text columns inscribed with the standard formulation (**3**). Following a suggestion by J. Assmann, I argued that the gods mentioned in the text columns are officiants in mythological disguise, who participate in the hourly vigil around the mummification bed of the deceased.[51] The ornamentation thus perpetuates the kind of rituals performed on earth for the deceased. The vigil had the purpose of bringing the deceased to a new life. In the symbolism of the ritual, this meant overcoming a crisis, which could be specified in terms of various different mythological antecedents. One was the vindication of Horus (and Osiris) against Seth, as a result of which Horus was crowned king. Analogously, Osiris became king of the netherworld, a feat to which his title "Horus (i.e., king) of the Dat" bears testimony.[52] In other words, the mummification of the deceased was, among other things, interpreted as his coronation.[53] In the course of this rite, the mummy lay on its lion-headed mummification bed, and was covered by a shrine.[54]

In the study just cited, I mentioned depictions of such a shrine in the Theban tomb of Antefoker (TT 60).[55] Since then, I have come across two actual instances, one of

[49] J. Bourriau, "Patterns of Change in Burial Customs during the Middle Kingdom", in S. Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies*, (New Malden 1991), 3–20.

[50] The following decoration elements reflect the offering ritual: the false door near the head on the inside and outside of FR, and the offering table and list of offerings shown further to the right on the inside of the coffin. The issue (which concerns typological feature **4** above) will not be pursued any further here.

[51] J. Assmann, *MDAIK* 28 (1973), 127–130.

[52] Willems, *Chests*, 141–159.

[53] Therefore, even the mummies of non-royal persons occasionally wear a royal uraeus (thus the mummy still displayed inside its coffin [M1] in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York). See further below.

[54] Op. cit., 158–159.

[55] N. de G. Davies and A.H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Antefoker, Vizier of Sesostris I, and of His Wife, Senet*

which is illustrated here in Fig. 7.[56]

Precisely such an object is depicted in the Osireion of Seti I at Abydos, in the burial chambers of a number of pharaohs and private persons dating between the NK and the Saite Period, and in the Hathor temple at Dendera. Fig. 8 illustrates the well-preserved instance from the tomb of Shoshenk III at Tanis.[57] It shows a lion-headed mummification bed on top of which lies the Osirian mummy, which has just turned itself about in a gesture of resurrection. The body is covered by a shrine with cavetto cornice just like the one shown in Fig. 7. The mummy is being brought to life by Horus, who approaches his dead father with a *was*-sceptre, from the top of which an *ankh*-symbol protrudes. Horus is shown holding the *ankh*-symbol before Osiris's nostrils. Thirty-six gods attend the event, approaching the mummification bed from both sides. The scene has been amply studied in recent years by J. Assmann and W. Waitkus, who reached the conclusion that it depicts the hourly vigil in the Osirian Place of Embalming.[58]

It is of considerable interest that the mummy which is the object of this mummification ritual has a uraeus attached to its front, and that a large number of royal attributes are shown below the mummification bed. The latter items closely resemble those of the royal offering list of the OK and of the object friezes rooted in the same background (see n. 42).

Scenes like this can perhaps be regarded as pictorial renderings of the kind of events reflected also in the object friezes which formed the starting point of this analysis. At any rate, there is little room for doubt that the aspect of mummification is here associated with that of royalty. An important new aspect of the scenes is the role

---

(*No. 60*), TTS 2 (London 1920), pl. XXI.

[56] Cairo 19/11/27/4 (XIIth Dynasty); I would like to express my gratitude to the former director of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, Prof. Mohammad Mohsin, for giving permission to publish the object. This is actually a coffin in the shape of a mummification bed with a shrine on top (this shows that S. Morenz's view that "Bahrensarkophage" date to the Graeco-Roman Period is wrong, see *Religion und Geschichte des Alten Ägypten. Gesammelte Aufsätze* [Cologne and Vienna, 1975], 510). A second, similar object has been discovered at al-Hawawîsh and is now in the Bodemuseum in Berlin (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 12708; First Intermediate Period). It has been published by N. Kanawati in *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish. The Cemetery of Akhmim* VII (Sydney 1987), 55 and pls. 15–16. This 'mummification bed' cannot have been actually used in mummification because it is much too small to accomodate the body of a fully grown person. For the same reason it cannot have been a coffin (note that Kanawati's account suggests that the same owner also possessed a coffin). We must therefore be facing a model of a mummification bed. (I do not follow Kanawati's suggestion that the object is an offering box, for its iconography closely resembles the bed depicted in our Fig. 8. It includes, for instance, the four corner poles, depicted with sitting falcons on them, as well as the uraeus frieze. Finally, the sides of the bed are lined by figures of squatting knife-carrying protectors. Later coffins often use the same iconography for the protectors of Osiris in the hourly vigil, see, e.g., G. Maspero and H. Gauthier, *Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque* [Cairo 1939], pls. XIII, XV, XXVII-XXIX, XXXV).

[57] P. Montet, *Les constructions et le tombeau de Chéchanq III à Tanis* (Paris 1960), 67–69, pl. 30. Other cases have been published in H. Frankfort, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, EES Excav. Mem. 39 (London 1933), I, 68–71; II, pl. LXXIV; A. Piankoff, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI* (New York, 1954), 439–441 and fig. 142; pls. 183–185; F. Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX*, MIFAO 15 (Cairo 1907), pl. XCIII; A. Piankoff, *BIFAO* 46 (1947), 87; J. Assmann, *Das Grab der Mutirdis*, AVDAIK 13 (Mainz am Rhein 1977), 74 (scene 31), 82 and pl. 34b (scene 41), 90–93; Farbtafel A (b-c); pl. 41 (scene 45); A. Mariette, *Dendérah* IV (Paris 1873), pls. 65, 88, 90; cf. pl. 72. Assmann cites an unpublished parallel in TT 279 (op. cit., 90, n. 73). Cf. also the scenes in A. Niwiński, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C.*, OBO 86 (Freiburg/Göttingen 1989), 145, figs. 37–38.

[58] Assmann, *Mutirdis*, 92–93; W. Waitkus, *GM* 99 (1987), 68–70.

played by Horus, for it is he who is instrumental in embalming Osiris and conferring royalty on him.

This brings me to the issue of the relevance of CT Spell 397 in the decoration programme of coffins of the later XIIth Dynasty (7).

Spell 397 is one of the best-known ferryman spells. I have studied these texts to a certain extent in my commentary on Spell 398, another representative of the genre, and of Spell 399. The upshot of this discussion was that the purpose of the ferry-crossing is not just to enable the deceased to travel safely through the netherworld. Rather, the coffin owner, who figures in the spells as the main speaker, is placed in a Horus-like role. In this capacity, he ferries across the Winding Waterway to an area near the Eastern horizon. Once arrived there, he intends to enter the abode of Osiris whom he wants to embalm in order to come to a new life. This in its turn turns Horus into his father's rightful heir and successor.[59]

The speaker of Spell 397 performs the same task. This transpires very clearly from the following part of his dialogue with the ferryman Mahaf:

(deceased:) I am one whom his father loves, one whom his father loves greatly! I am one who awakens his father when he is asleep!
(Mahaf:) Did you say you would navigate to the Eastern side of the sky? With what aim will you navigate?
(deceased:) That I may raise his head, that I may lift his brow.[60]

The precursor of this text in the pyramid of Ibi has a slightly different wording, according to which the speaker also intends to open his father's mouth.[61] He is therefore acting in a priestly function. The deceased's statement that he is "one whom his father loves" suggests that he does so in the capacity of a *sꜣ-mr.y=f*-officiant. We have already seen that the ferryman spells also attribute the deceased with a Horus-like role. It is therefore particularly striking that he states in the passage just translated that he intends to awaken his sleeping father. This is precisely what Horus does in Fig. 8.[62] The scenery of this Figure and Spell 397 thus run parallel to a large extent: in the former case, Horus approaches a mummification bed, on top of which Osiris lies in a shrine, in the latter, the Horus-like deceased crosses over to an area near the Eastern horizon, where Osiris is in his abode. In both cases Osiris is asleep, i.e., dead, and is awakened by Horus.

The theme of a young and active god approaching his dead father in a shrine is not restricted to the Horus-Osiris constellation. I have argued elsewhere that the topic of the Shu spells is essentially identical to the one we have just briefly touched upon. The fact that Spell 335 was preceded as the characteristic lid text by (one of) the Shu spells strongly suggests that the philosophy of the latter is of some importance for understanding the former. In the Shu spells, the role of the dead god is played by

[59] Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata*, 156–187.
[60] *CT* V, 78*c*-81*c* [397].
[61] G. Jéquier, *La pyramide d'Aba* (Cairo 1935), pl. XI, lines 591–592.
[62] Note the large hieroglyph for the word *rs*, "to wake up" above the back of Osiris in Fig. 8. In a later variant of the same ferryman spell, the Horus-like traveller also claims "I am the one who awakens his father", E. Naville, *Das Aegyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie* I (Berlin 1886), pl. CX, lines 3-4 (chapter 99).

Atum, that of the active god by his son Shu. Just before sunrise, Shu approaches Atum who dwells in his shrine, enters the shrine, and brings his father to life by providing him with air.[63] The fact that the god of the air, Shu, is called *Ankh* in these spells, and that this god *Ankh* embraces Atum in order to provide him with breath constitutes a certain analogy with the scene of Fig. 8, where Horus holds out an *ankh*-symbol to his father's nostrils.[64]

A variant of the same pattern occurs in the familiar theme of the merger of Re and Osiris in the course of the night. Here, the role of the dead god is played by Osiris, that of the living and active one by Re. After having died at sunset near the Western horizon, Re has entered the Underworld, bringing the corpses residing there to life with his sunrays. The archetype of the dead is, of course, Osiris, and funerary texts deal at great length with the specific case of how Re brings Osiris to life. Re is Osiris's *ba*, and in this capacity he approaches the latter's corpse.[65] The *ba*-bird descends on Osiris's breast which, according to some scenes, he embraces with his wings – compare this with Shu's life-giving embrace of Atum. There is some evidence that Re's journey to bring Osiris to new life was considered by the Egyptians to be a variant of the pattern of the son (Horus) approaching his dead father. A very explicit reference occurs in Papyrus Carlsberg I, II, 3–9, where Re, having reached the Eastern horizon, is said to be "glorious in the arms of his father Osiris", but it has been argued that the same model underlies funerary texts of MK date.[66] Conversely, we have seen in our discussion of Spell 397 that the Horus-like deceased is travelling through the netherworld, and hopes to reach his dead father near the Eastern horizon. The journey of the sun god Re to reach Osiris can accordingly be regarded as a structural parallel to the ferry-crossing, the more so as the meeting of Re and Osiris also seems to have taken place around sunrise – and therefore near the Eastern horizon.

This transpires with particular clarity from CT Spell 335, the lid text on many coffins of the later XIIth Dynasty. It is impossible to discuss this difficult and important text at great length here. It is noteworthy, however, that the elements highlighted in the preceding paragraphs recur in Spell 335.

The spell is a long speech by a speaker who assumes a number of divine identities. His statements do not follow a narrative sequence, but their internal logic enables us to reconstruct a chronological order: some of the events described take place before the speaker reaches the Eastern horizon, and thus apparently in the course of the night, others must be situated at the very end of the night, when the new day is about to begin, while a few remarks identify the speaker with the sun god who rises immediately after this point. The following analysis will discuss the text in the sequence just outlined.

CT IV, 202/3*c*–226/7*a* [335] identifies the speaker with the god Min, who is crowned with feathers on his head. The glosses explain that this god is in fact "Horus,

---

[63] For the shrine episode, see particularly *CT* I, 385*d*–394*a* [75].

[64] Willems, op. cit., 270–324; idem, in: *The World of the Coffin Texts*, 197–209.

[65] W. Barta, *LÄ* V, 169–170.

[66] For the text translated here, see O. Neugebauer and R.A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* I, Brown Egyptological Studies 3 (Providence/London 1960), 50–51 and pl. 45. For a comparable case from the XXIst Dynasty, see E. Naville, *Papyrus funéraires de la XXIe Dynastie*. II. *Le papyrus hiératique de Katseshni* (Paris 1914), pl. XII, lines 19–20; see J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott*, MÄS 19 (Berlin 1969), 92. For earlier cases, see H. Altenmüller, *Die Apotropaia und die Götter Mittelägyptens* (diss. Munich 1965), 79–122; Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata*, 264–266.

who protects his father" (Harendotes), and that the feathers are his uraei.[67] A long passage follows in which the speaker states that he has been purified, an event which is located in certain ponds in Heracleopolis, and in which natron was apparently used. The text identifies the speaker in this part with "Re himself".[68] I suggest that the identification of the speaker with Harendotes and Re respectively may be related with identities attributed to the son who travels through the netherworld to enter the abode of his father near the Eastern horizon.

I think this suggestion is justified because the ensuing part of Spell 335 concerns the speaker's journey to the Eastern horizon. The description given in Spell 335 can be complemented by that in Spell 341, which mentions several of the same geographical designations.[69] A reconstruction of the route would exceed the limits of this article, but some features must be mentioned. Firstly, at least part of the speaker's journey is apparently made by ship, for in the remark "I approach (*spr=i*) the Land of the Horizon-dwellers in the sky"[70] the verb *spr* is determined with the boat sign. Moreover, another passage designates the destination as "the Island of the Just Ones",[71] thus implying that the journey there must have included the crossing of a stretch of water. The same is suggested by a passage which says of the trajectory: "It is the road which my father Atum followed when he sailed across to the Field of Reeds".[72] The speaker in Spell 335 apparently follows a path which is strongly reminiscent of the one dealt with in ferryman spells like Spell 397, where the Field of Reeds is also the destination.

The text also deals with events at a later point in time, immediately before sunrise. At this moment, when the old day ends and a new one is about to begin,[73] past and present meet. In theological terms, the past, or "yesterday", is associated with Osiris, the dead god who dwells motionless in the netherworld. The text opposes this with "tomorrow", the new day about to start when Re rises. Therefore, "yesterday" is said to be identical with Osiris, and "tomorrow" with Re: "As for yesterday, it is Osiris, as for tomorrow, it is Re (or "Atum")".[74] This sentence is a theological gloss explaining the words of the speaker, who claims "Yesterday belongs to me, I know tomorrow".[75] Instead of the text just translated (n. 74), most other glosses comment: "He is Osiris".[76]

The speaker therefore claims a different identity than he did in the passages concerning earlier parts of the night. In the latter, he figures in a Horus- or Re-like capacity, here in an Osiris- or Re-like capacity. This also appears from what is probably the most famous part of Spell 335, the passage concerning the so-called Mendes

---

[67] Although the uraei on his head are said to be "the uraei which are at the head of his father Atum" (*CT* IV, 206/7a [335]). Does this point to the kind of merging of the role of Horus and the sun god mentioned above?

[68] *CT* IV, 215/6*c* [335].

[69] *CT* IV, 218/9*a*–226/7*a* [335] and 343*c*-*g* [341]. M.S.H.G. Heerma van Voss, *De oudste versie van Dodenboek 17a* (Leiden 1963), 67, provides an analysis of the geographical terms involved, but his account is not fully satisfactory. I shall return to this issue elsewhere.

[70] *CT* IV, 222/3*a* [335].

[71] *CT* IV, 218/9*a* [335].

[72] *CT* IV, 220/1*b* [335].

[73] According to Egyptian conceptions, the day began at sunrise, see U. Luft, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 14 (1987), 3–11; idem, *DE* 18 (1990), 35–36; C. Leitz, *BSEG* 18 (1994), 49–59.

[74] *CT* IV, 193*c* [335]/BH1Br, M1C, M54C.

[75] *CT* IV, 192/3*a* [335].

[76] *CT* IV, 192/3*b* [335].

doctrine. Here the speaker makes the following statement:

> I am the One whose two *bas* are in his two chickens.
> (gloss:) What is that? As regards the one whose two *bas* are in his two chickens, he is Osiris when he entered Mendes. There he found the *ba* of Re. Then the one embraced the other. Then the one with the two *bas* came into being.[77]

This much cited passage concerns the moment when Re and Osiris meet at the end of the night. At this short moment, the two gods embrace each other and became a single being with two *bas*. It is the moment when Osiris receives the life-giving sunrays of Re. Spell 335 seems to situate the event at the end of the night. Hence, the merger of Re and Osiris is also the starting point of a new episode in the life-cycle of the sun. The temporary union of Re and Osiris is, in other words, vital for the existence of both deities. Finally, some passages of Spell 335 identify the speaker with the rising sun. This is indicated, among other things, by its title "Going out into the day",[78] after which the opening words proceed with an account of sunrise. The speaker here claims to be "Re at his first sunrise, when he goes forth from the horizon".[79]

In review, the various parts of Spell 335 all appear to concern the sun god, although he is assimilated to different other deities at different points of his trajectory. While approaching the Eastern horizon (where Osiris dwells according to the ferryman spells), he appears in a Horus-like role; after he has reached Osiris, he merges with the latter. After that, he experiences sunrise as Re himself.[80] The last of the three stages just discussed hardly comes into focus in the ferryman spells and the Shu spells. However, for the rest, the similarities between the three groups of spells are legion. In Spell 335, the sun god approaching Osiris is said to wear two feathers, which the sequel explains are his uraei. In other words, the traveller is crowned.[81] In the ferryman Spell 397 this is not stated unequivocally, but in *CT* V, 103*g*-104*a* [397], he at any rate claims sovereignty, stating that on arrival at the Eastern horizon he will rule cities and govern villages. In another ferryman spell, however, we do read that the passenger is provided with royal headdress – just as in Spell 335.[82] Similarly, the main protagonist of the Shu spells is said to be wearing a *nms* headcloth while he approaches the shrine where his father is dwelling. Later, when he has entered the shrine, the (same?) headdress is identified as the royal crown of Lower Egypt.[83]

---

77 *CT* IV, 276/7*a*-280/1*a* [335].
78 *CT* IV, 184/5*a* [335].
79 *CT* IV, 186/7*b-c* [335]/B5C, B1Y.
80 Heerma van Voss has already argued that the sun god is the main protagonist of the text (*Oudste versie*, 6), but he did not survey the dynamics with which he assumes different identities.
81 *CT* IV, 202/3*c*-206/7*a* [335]. The passage has its roots in the Abydene processions of Min. In this context, Min, adorned with two feathers, was often associated with Wepwawet or Harendotes. The god here assumes the role of the vindicated Horus, who protects his father and destroys his enemies. His attributes clearly profile him as a king, even though this does not necessarily imply that the Min festival was actually a coronation ritual (thus J. Spiegel, *Die Götter von Abydos*, GOF IV/1 [Wiesbaden 1973], 66–77). See, e.g., stelae Cairo CG 20089; 20397.
82 *CT* V, 158*a-b* [398]; for the interpretation, cf. Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata*, 171–172.
83 *CT* I, 366/7*c*–371*i*; 387*a*-388*c* [75]. The former passage concerns the *nms* headdress. Cf. CT Spell 312, where the possession of this type of headdress is a precondition for being allowed to reach Osiris. For the symbolism of the *nms*, which is closely linked to the topics dealt with in this article, see the interesting study by K. Goebs, "Untersuchungen zu Funktion und Symbolgehalt des *nms*", *ZÄS* 122 (1995), 154–181.

In the Shu spells, the father-god is dwelling in a *kꜣr*-shrine. Before reaching this shrine, Shu must undertake a cumbersome journey, ascending to his father over a ladder.[84] The ladder is not mentioned in Spell 397 or Spell 335, but here, as we have seen, another liminal area must be crossed before the traveller reaches the abode of the father: the Winding Waterway. The nature of this abode is described in Spell 397 in general terms only as "the place where this noble god is".[85] However, we have seen that the traveller intends to resuscitate his dead father in this spell, and that there are reasons for assuming that he does so as a ritualist in a Place of Embalming. In Spell 335, we do hear some details about the dwelling of Osiris. Like the father-god in the Shu spells, he apparently resides in a *kꜣr*-shrine, which is surrounded by a group of protective deities.[86] These protective deities are asked to clear the speaker of evil – i.e., to purify him – just as they had done for "the seven *akh*-spirits".[87] This means that the speaker wants to be treated as if he were one of the seven spirits. From the ensuing listing of the names of these beings it becomes clear that they are none other than the seven spirits associated with the hourly vigil around Osiris.[88] The Re- or Horus-like figure approaching the Eastern horizon accordingly not only wishes to unite with Osiris, but also to participate in the hourly vigil around his mummification bed.

Finally, Spell 335 is not the only one where the son merges with his father after his successful entry into the latter's *kꜣr*-shrine. A very similar episode is mentioned in CT Spell 75.[89] In this case, the text adds some further particulars suggesting that the temporary identity of father and son, Atum and Shu, manifests itself in their dress: both are wearing the Lower Egyptian crown. The text thus gives the impression that the events described not only involve the mummification and royalty of the father god,[90] but apparently also the transmission of royalty to the younger generation. The same may be at stake in Spell 335. This is suggested by a gloss concerning "that day of 'We remain' ". It is not immediately clear what the anchor-point of this gloss is, for the pertinent day is not mentioned in the main text. However, the context is a passage concerning the temporary union of Re and Osiris shortly before sunrise. Probably with reference to this episode, the gloss remarks: "It is the funeral of Osiris and making his son Horus ruler".[91]

Cf. also *CT* II, 21*b* [78]/A1C, G1T, where the Heh gods are said to create an *atef*-crown for Shu. For the relationship between the *nms* and the *atef*-crown, see Goebs, op. cit., 173–174.

84 *CT* II, 1*e-f*; 8*c-d* [76]; 20*f*-21*d* [78].

85 *CT* V, 115*a* [397].

86 *CT* IV, 224/5*b*; 411 [335].

87 *CT* IV, 252/3*c*-258/9 [335].

88 Compare the names mentioned in *CT* IV, 266/7*a*-272*c* [335] with H. Junker, *Die Stundenwachen in den Osirismysterien* (Vienna 1910), 4–5.

89 *CT* I, 389*b* [75]; cf. H. Altenmüller, *SAK* 15 (1988), 1–16; Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata*, 318–322.

90 Note that K. Goebs in her study on the *nms* argues that the deceased (in the terms of the present discussion: the 'son') provides Osiris (the 'father') with the royal headcloth. The pertinent sources date to the New Kingdom, *ZÄS* 122 (1995), 169–171.

91 *CT* IV, 193*e* [335]/BH1Br; the same passage occurs on M1Lei (unpublished).

Some Tentative Conclusions

It is time to return to our starting point: the object friezes with sieves on H and other items connected with the Purification Tent on F. The first part of this article arrived at the conclusion that these friezes concern the purification of the deceased, a purification the antecedents of which in real life may have been either the purification of the mummy, or that of priests before entering into the Place of Embalming. One might also formulate this by stating that the alternative interpretations either place the deceased in a passive role (as a corpse undergoing mummification) or in an active role (as a priest taking part in the purification rites required to enter the Place of Embalming).

The evidence adduced in the first part of this article did not enable us to decide between the alternatives. The investigation in the second part may now place us in a better position for an assessment, for we have seen that the H- and F-friezes occur in the vast majority of cases as part of a consistently transmitted decoration programme.

There is much to be said in favour of the passive interpretation. The gods mentioned in the text columns on the outside can be regarded as the ritualists surrounding the mummification bed of Osiris in the course of the *Stundenwachen* (typological feature **3** on p. 356). Likewise, the positioning of Isis and Nephthys in the ornamental texts on H and F (**6**) must have its roots in the iconography of the goddesses sitting as wailing women at the head and foot of the Osirian mummification bed. The deceased inside his coffin occupies an analogous position vis à vis these gods as Osiris does in the hourly vigil. Moreover, in a depiction of this ritual (Fig. 8), Osiris is provided with royal attributes comparable to those depicted on the long sides of coffins (**2**). The attribution of royal power to the Osirian deceased can explain the palace façade decoration on the outside of many coffins (**5**). Taking all this into consideration, it seems quite likely that the decoration of the coffin intends to profile the deceased as Osiris who is mummified and for whom the hourly vigil is staged. From this perspective, it seems likely that the items in the object friezes of H and F concern the purification of Osiris in the course of his mummification.

However, this explanation cannot fully account for the content of CT Spells 397 and 335, which form part of the same decorative scheme (**7**). Our analysis of these texts has shown that the main protagonist – who is identified with the deceased – plays the filial role of a Horus- or Re-like being who is on his way to Osiris in order to embalm him. Some passages of Spell 335 unequivocally suggest that the speaker wants to partake actively in the performance of the *Stundenwachen* rather than being the passive beneficiary of the rite. Prior to this, he crosses the celestial waters and is purified. One might suggest that this is the purification rite rendered in the H- and F-friezes (**1**). Apart from being purified, we have seen that the speaker in his Horus role also assumes royal power. The royal elements in the object friezes (**2**) and the palace façade ornamentation (**5**) on the outside might equally well apply to the deceased in his royal sacerdotal role.

Contradictory though they may seem, both interpretations can therefore be reconciled with the decoration programme of the coffins. As a matter of fact, Spell 335 and the Shu Spells themselves seem to reconcile the irreconcilable quite explicitly when they state that the son and his dead father merge into a single person when the former

has reached the latter in his shrine. I think that this is what underlies the decoration of the coffin as a whole: on the one hand the deceased is profiled as the son of Osiris, who has the intention of embalming Osiris, on the other he is Osiris who is submitted to this treatment.

This ideology is not restricted to coffins of the second and third quarters of the XIIth Dynasty. In my dissertation I have dealt with a closely similar pattern which pervades the decoration of the southern Egyptian coffins A1C, G1T and T3C. Here, a greater variety of texts and iconographic elements was available, so that a clearer picture emerged of the role division between father and son.[92] The coffin owner here appears on the one hand in an Osiris-like identity, and as such he is embalmed. *After* this, he emerges as a rejuvenated god in a Horus- (or Shu-)like role, who proceeds to a Place of Embalming in order to mummify his dead father (Osiris or Atum). The latter, in his turn, takes the initiative to have his son embalmed again. This leads to a cycle of resuscitation in which the deceased in his filial role embalms his father and is transposed to the father role to be embalmed himself. The decoration pattern of the coffins of the late XIIth Dynasty features the deceased in the same two roles,[93] and it is likely that it is rooted in the same cycle of resuscitation as the earlier southern Egyptian coffins.

I could end my article with this model concerning the ideas underlying the decoration programme of the coffin. However, a final question remains. My argument has been that the decoration of our coffins creates the reality of a kind of ritual *perpetuum mobile*, a process of action that kept itself going. This explains the manner in which the decoration of the coffin was thought to function once the deceased was buried. But it does not explain what started the process.

A minimal explanation could be that the decoration was assumed to begin functioning automatically when the body was placed inside the coffin. The actual process may often have been as straightforward as this. Even so, it was the participants in the funeral who – perhaps in many cases unthinkingly – set the process in motion by their ritual performance. Taking this into consideration, it is a small step to assume that the process was in many cases perhaps not at all unconscious, but that the funerary ritual was actually intended as the start of the perpetual ritual cycle.

Some evidence lends credibility to this view. A first instance is the recent find of an Old Kingdom coffin in which a mummy clothed as a lector priest lay.[94] As part of the preparatory acts for the burial, the officiants had clearly made an effort which is not self-evident: they dressed the deceased as a priest. One could interpret this find as the result of a burial ritual preparing the deceased for a sacerdotal role in the netherworld, a role which might be compared with that of the deceased functioning as an officiant embalming Osiris.

Other indications might be explained along similar lines, although the matter is

[92] As noted above, these coffins also have a variant of the purification scene of Figs. 2 and 3. What I did not realize at the time of writing the book is that the royal attributes depicted after this scene may be meaningfully related to it, cf. Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata*, items FR.2.19; FR.2.21; FR.2.22–24 (pp. 211–215); FR.3.3 (p. 221); FR.3.5–9 (pp. 223–225).

[93] Although the role of the father is here primarily that of Osiris. The Atum-Shu constellation hardly plays a part.

[94] M.J. Raven, *Mummies onder het mes* (Amsterdam 1993), 11, fig. 10.

less clear here. I am referring to the models of royal attributes placed inside coffin B17C (see n. 18) and the uraeus attached to the mummy in coffin M1 (see n. 53). Placing these objects on the deceased's mummy, as well as putting a natron-encrusted *ankh* at his feet (see n. 19 and Fig. 6) may have been ritual acts symbolizing that the deceased was identified with Horus and prepared by purification for entering into the place where the corpse of Osiris was waiting.[95]

The objects dealt with in the last paragraph, however, might equally well have been given to the deceased to profile him as Osiris himself, who was also purified and provided with royal status. It is impossible to decide which of the alternatives was most immediately present in the mind of the officiants. Perhaps they thought of both interpretations at once. One thing, however, seems clear: the application of the objects to the mummy must have followed a structural pattern which closely resembles that of the rituals alluded to in the decoration of the coffin. This, as we have seen, situates the object of the revivifying acts, the corpse of a god, in a secluded shrine in the netherworld. The situation on earth was comparable: here the body lay in the Place of Embalming, likewise a place to which access was limited. A text in the mastaba of Khentika makes clear that the embalmers had to be initiated before entering it.[96] The above-mentioned objects applied to the mummy of the deceased must have been brought into the Place of Embalming by such initiated men. The texts are none too clear about what happened inside "the secrecy of the Place of Embalming",[97] but I have the feeling that the Egyptians drew an analogy between the officiants (including the "beloved son"-priest) entering the Place of Embalming and the entry of Re (/Horus) into Osiris's shrine in CT Spell 335.[98]

If this interpretation is correct, the earthly reality of the ritual might be as follows. A man has died and his corpse lies in the Place of Embalming as 'an' Osiris. His son, interpreted as 'a' Horus, enters and provides his father's mummy with the necessities of life in the netherworld, including royal attributes. From this moment, the deceased, too, is a form of Horus, and is ready to start his journey to Osiris. The son, a form of Horus, thus sends another form of Horus to the netherworld.

Precisely this state of affairs is described in CT Spell 312. Here, the god Osiris asks Horus to come to Busiris, which, in this spell, is clearly a name for part of

---

[95] In CT Spells 30–43, on which I am preparing a study, the ritualists do more or less the same thing. Here, their rituals are performed not during the deceased's burial, but on festival days. The son, who acts as the officiant, profiles his father as Horus, and the rituals have the aim of guiding him through the netherworld toward the abode of Osiris.

[96] T.G.H. James and M.R. Apted, *The Mastaba of Khentika Called Ikhekhi*, EES Arch. Survey 30 (London 1953), pl. V, B10–11.

[97] Citation from *CT* III, 294*g* [229].

[98] Or, according to the Shu spells, Shu's union with Atum in the latter's shrine. Both spells situate these mythological events in the early morning. The possibility that such mythical events can have a ritual dimension is well illustrated by an episode of the daily temple cult. Here the high priest (in theory the king, i.e., a form of Horus) awakened the god of the temple, i.e., his father, in the morning. The critical episode of this rite was the opening of the naos in which the cult statue rested. After the opening of the naos, the officiant 'embraced' the god in a manner not unlike the embrace of Re and Osiris in the Mendes doctrine, see A. Moret, *Le rituel du culte divin journalier* (Paris 1902), 79–102.

As I only noted after having completed this article, some of the above themes have already been correctly understood by A.M. Blackman, *RT* 39 (1921), 47: "The rite preparing the dead king's body for burial was therefore as nearly as possible a replica of the daily ceremonial toilet of the living king in the House of the Morning ..."

the netherworld. Horus, however, does not aspire to this fate. He is profiled as a living human being intent on "striding and copulating among human beings", i.e. on remaining on earth.[99] Instead he sends an envoy invested with his (i.e., Horus's) *ba*.[100] This Horus-like envoy finally reaches Osiris. Could it be that our interpretation above provides the rationale behind this intriguing spell, the (Horus-like) envoy being the dead father travelling from Horus, the son on earth, to Osiris in the netherworld?

The evidence from CT Spells 44–61 is even more suggestive, because these texts form a liturgy for the *Stundenwachen*,[101] and the same division of roles can be perceived here. In the texts, an important role is played by the deceased's son, who regularly appears as the speaker and who functions as the *sꜣ-mr.y=f*-priest. In *CT* I, 251*f* [60], this person is explicitly identified as 'Horus' and as a 'king'. From his words and those of other officiants (like 'Isis'), the deceased, too, appears to be a king. A very clear passage is offered by *CT* I, 197*f* [45], where the son addresses his dead father as follows: "You are the king, the son of the hereditary prince (= Geb)".[102] Similarly, he exclaims in *CT* I, 217*a* [49] to the participants in the ritual: "Celebrate the hourly vigil over the Lord of the Upper Egyptian crown!". The last spell of the series, finally, addresses the deceased with the words: "May you rise with the feathers of Sopdu, may you receive the *atef*-crowns of Horus, and may your white crown be attached for you upon the dais, just like what was done by Re for Horus at the latter's coronation. The one who acts for you is Horus, the leader of the Two Lands."[103] Many passages associate the deceased in various other ways with aspects of kingship.[104]

The sequence of spells under discussion offer more instances showing that both the son/officiant and the deceased/beneficiary could assume the role of Horus, but I shall not explore them all here. *CT* 201*c-d* [46], however, offers an especially interesting case, for it features the deceased in the specific role of Harendotes, of "Horus who protects his father". This name is significant, implying as it does that even after his death, the deceased will be concerned with the care of a dead Osiris figure in the role of his father. Considering the fact that all this is stated in the context of a mummification rite, the ceremonial acts appear to prepare the deceased for the liturgical task of the "son" in the netherworld.

As noted above, the ideology of coffins of the second and third quarters of the XIIth

---

[99] *CT* IV, 72*b* [312]. My reading of the passage differs from that of A. de Buck, *JEA* 35 (1949), 93. Starting from *CT* IV, 71*f*, my understanding is that Osiris should not force the speaker to come to him (the implication being his early death), but that he should instead support the speaker. In 71*f*, the speaker might be presented as Osiris's *ba*, the words "build (or: protect) your *ba*" being an injuction to Osiris to display positive action towards him.

[100] *CT* IV, 73*f*-74*b* [312].

[101] See J. Assmann, in *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* I (Jerusalem 1990), 19–21.

[102] The deceased is also called "king" in *CT* I, 225*a* [50].

[103] *CT* I, 257*d*–258*a* [61].

[104] *CT* I, 183*f*-186*f* [44] is borrowed from *Pyr.* § 196*a*–198*d*. The deceased is here associated with his crowns. The *wr.t-ḥkꜣ.w* mentioned here may be symbolically related to the crowns as well. Note also the mention of the deities personifying the royal dress in 184*f*. At the end of the spell the deceased is addressed as follows: "You have appeared (*ḫꜥi* – note that this word also refers to coronations!) as the Lord of the West after having governed the Egyptians who are on earth" – the latter addition suggesting that, before dying, the deceased had also been a king (189*f-g* [44]). In *CT* I, 212*b* [48], the deceased is said to be on his throne; cf. *CT* I, 224*a*; *h*; 225*b-c* [50]; 258*g* [61]. In *CT* I, 214*f* [48], it may be the deceased who is called "king". In *CT* I, 219*e*-220*a* [49], the Place of Embalming is apparently compared with a palace (see also *CT* I, 223*f* [50]). In *CT* I, 242*d* [53], Isis states that Osiris rules (*ḥkꜣ*) in the necropolis.

Dynasty as reconstructed here has close parallels with the patterns I have discerned in my dissertation for some southern Egyptian coffins of the early Middle Kingdom (A1C, G1T, T3C). At the end of that publication, I emphasized that its conclusions could only apply to the restricted group there surveyed. The present article concerns a much larger group (see Table I, second half). Although differences between the two groups are legion, the basic similarity of the patterns rendered in their decoration are striking. This opens up interesting perspectives for a reassessment of Egyptian funerary religion in general, in which patterns of kinship and other social relationships play a much more central part than is usually envisaged.

When Herman supervised the progress of my dissertation, he repeatedly offered me the valuable advice to keep my study as brief as possible. This I attempted to do, but I believe I surpassed by far what he considered a tolerable maximum. This article was begun with the intention of bettering my ways. I am afraid I have failed again. The relationship between father and son which is such a basic theme of the above pages is, however, not inappropriate to an article published in a volume dedicated to my *Doktorvater*. I hope, therefore, that reading it will not only give fresh nourishment to his dissatisfaction but also transmit some of the pleasure I had in preparing this feather in his cap (or, rather more in keeping with the topics addressed in this paper, this modern equivalent of a crown on his head).

Fig. 1 The *ḫnm.t-wr* sieve as depicted on coffin CG 28088. After P. Lacau, *Sarcophages antérieures au Nouvel Empire* I (Cairo 1904), Pl. XXXVI (119).

Fig. 2 Purification rite in the tomb of Rekhmire. After N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rēʿ at Thebes* II, MMA Eg. Exped. 11 (New York 1943), Pl. XCIV.

Fig. 3 Purification rite in the tomb of User. After N. de G. Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, EEF Arch. Survey 21 (London 1913), Pl. XXI.

Fig. 4 Coffin Cairo JE 42947, head.

Fig. 5 Coffin Cairo JE 42947, foot.

Fig. 6 *Ankh*-shaped object Cairo JE 32867 found inside coffin Cairo CG 28083.

Fig. 7 Coffin in the shape of a mummification bed with a shrine on top, Cairo 19/11/27/4.

Fig. 8 The hourly vigil in the Osirian Place of Embalming. Relief in the tomb of Shoshenk III at Tanis. After P. Montet, *Les constructions et le tombeau de Chéchanq III à Tanis* (Paris 1960), Pl. 30.

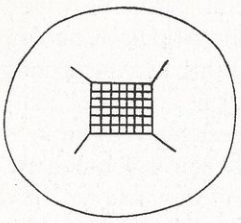


Fig. 1

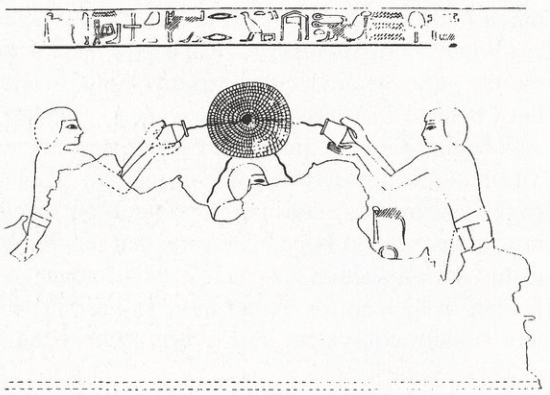


Fig. 2

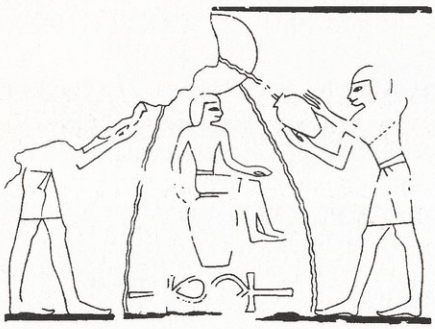


Fig. 3

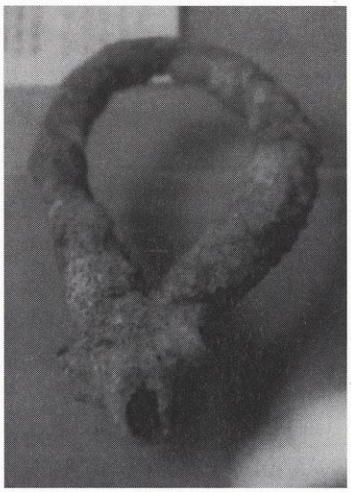


Fig. 4

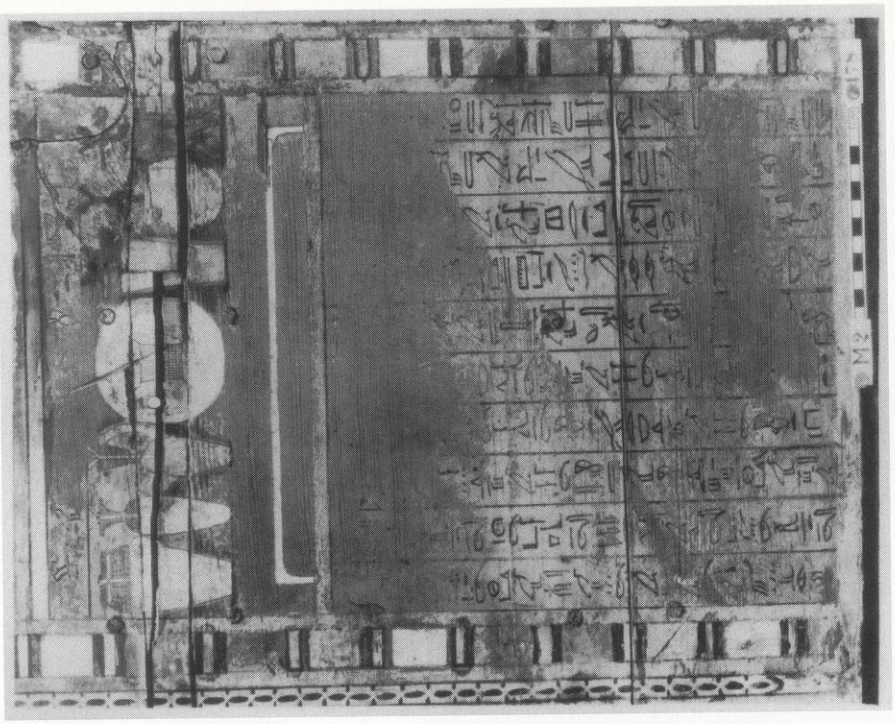


Fig. 6

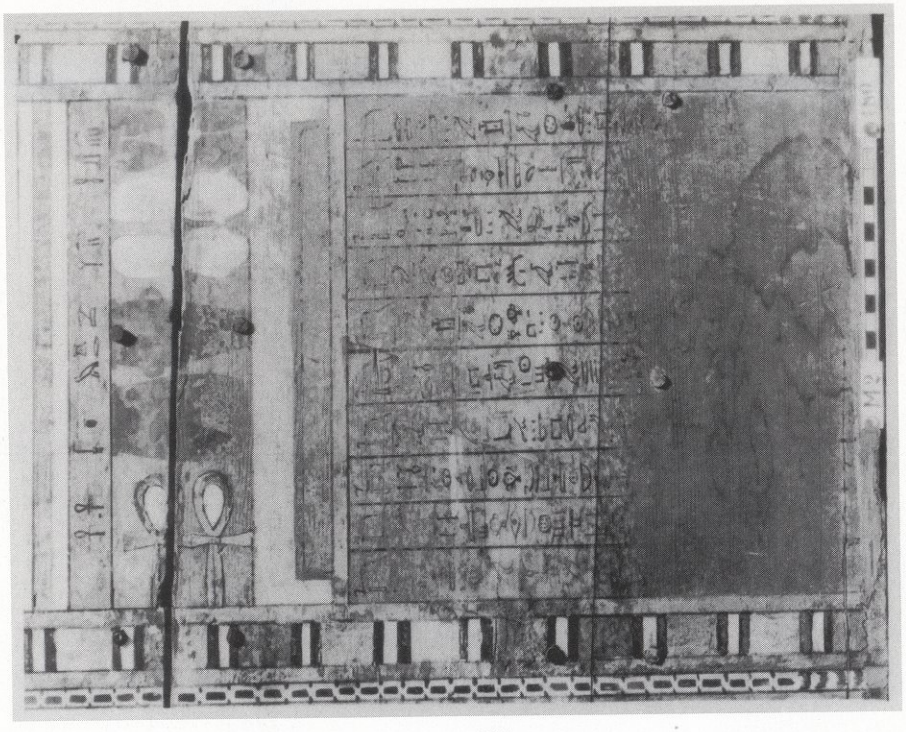


Fig. 5

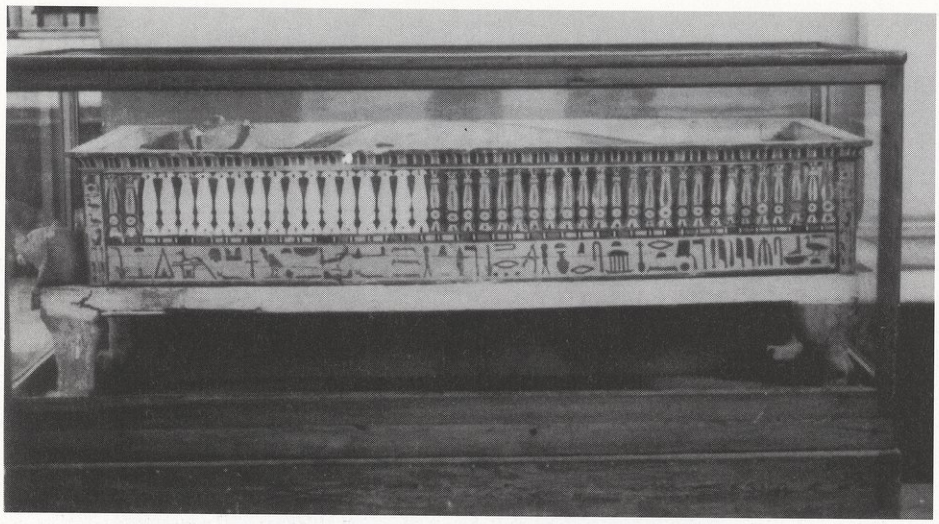


Fig. 7

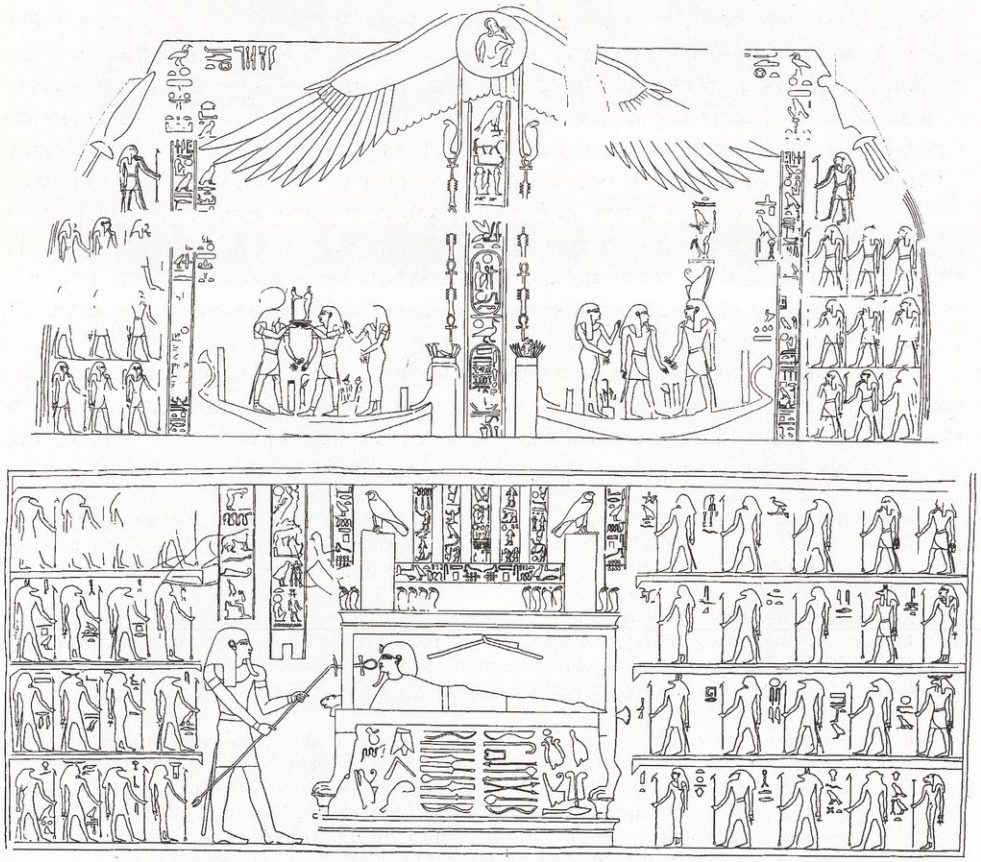


Fig. 8

Seth, échanson royal, et sa tombe de Saqqara

Alain Zivie

Herman te Velde que nous célébrons à travers ce volume de "mélanges" est certainement l'une des plus grandes autorités actuelles en matière de religion égyptienne. Son œuvre est riche et multiple, notamment dans les questions d'anthropologie religieuse et culturelle. Plusieurs divinités ont ainsi bénéficié de sa science et de sa subtilité. La place des animaux dans le monde religieux et mental pharaonique a également été l'objet de ses recherches et apparaît désormais beaucoup plus clairement grâce à elles. Le savant a ainsi consacré au chat et à ses connotations divines une étude qui me paraît essentielle.[1] Au point que j'ai d'abord eu l'intention de dédier à son auteur, à l'occasion de cette publication qui le célèbre, un article consacré au Bubasteion de Saqqara et à sa nécropole de chats où nous fouillons depuis plus de quinze ans avec la Mission Archéologique Française du Bubasteion (MAFB).[2]

Mais les circonstances ont voulu que, lors de notre dernière campagne, à la fin de 1996, nous fissions une découverte qui ne pouvait pas ne pas évoquer presque aussitôt H. te Velde et ce qui demeure l'une de ses "œuvres majeures, à savoir son livre sur le dieu Seth.[3] Car, et sans doute malgré qu'il en ait, H. te Velde est à jamais associé à Seth, cette divinité si importante, à la fois si nécessaire et si gênante, du panthéon égyptien. Or, la dernière campagne de la MAFB, au demeurant particulièrement riche et féconde, a été l'occasion de découvrir plusieurs sépultures nouvelles creusées dans la falaise du Bubasteion et datant du Nouvel Empire; et parmi elles, celle d'un certain *Seth*! Pour plusieurs raisons, et non pas seulement pour le côté anecdotique de la chose, il m'a semblé qu'il serait utile et intéressant de consacrer ce bref article à cette découverte et surtout à ce personnage et à son nom, compte tenu des éléments d'information qu'ils nous apportent.

C'est donc au cours de la dernière campagne (1996–1997) de la Mission Archéologique Française du Bubasteion de Saqqara qu'a eu lieu la découverte de la tombe qui va nous retenir ici.[4] En fait, plusieurs tombes ou entrées de tombes ont été mises au jour au cours de cette saison, car la fouille a porté sur une quarantaine

[1] "The Cat as Sacred Animal of the Goddess Mut", in *Studies in Egyptian Religion Dedicated to Professor Jan Zandee* (Leiden 1982), 127–137. Cf. aussi "A Few Remarks upon the Religious Significance of Animals in Ancient Egypt", in *Numen* 27 (1980), 76–82, et "Towards a Minimal Definition of the Goddess Mut", in *JEOL* 26 (1979–1980), 3–9.

[2] Pour l'organisation et les principaux travaux et résultats de la MAFB (qui relève de la DGRCST du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères et du CNRS) jusqu'en 1990, voir A. Zivie, *Découverte à Saqqarah. Le vizir oublié* (Paris 1990); cf. aussi J. Leclant, *Orientalia* 65 (1996), 269–271 (*j*).

[3] *Seth, God of Confusion* (Leiden 1967; "reprint with some corrections" 1977). Cf. aussi l'article du même auteur, s.v. "Seth", in *LÄ* V, 908–911.

[4] La campagne s'est étalée d'octobre 1996 à la mi-janvier 1997. L'inspecteur qui représentait le Conseil Suprême des Antiquités était M. Kazzafi Abd El-Rahim. Mme. Ana Tavares a porté plus particulièrement ses efforts sur les problèmes relatifs à l'histoire du Bubasteion et de ses catacombes de chats (question de toute façon étroitement liée à celle des tombes du Nouvel Empire), et M. Patrick Chapuis est l'auteur des belles photographies reproduites dans cet article. Je les remercie tous deux, ainsi que tous les autres membres de l'équipe qui travaillait à mes côtés et que je ne peux ici citer nommément.

de mètres de longueur, le long de la falaise du Bubasteion et à l'ouest de la zone déjà dégagée comprenant les sépultures d'ʿAper-El, Resh, Mery-Sekhmet, Nehesy, etc.[5] Deux intentions principales présidaient à la conception et à la réalisation de cette campagne: d'une part mieux comprendre l'histoire du Bubasteion (et en particulier de ses catacombes de chats), et par ailleurs étendre notre connaissance de la nécropole du Nouvel Empire en dégageant de nouvelles entrées de sépultures et en identifiant si possible leurs propriétaires. Les deux objectifs ont été atteints, même si beaucoup reste encore à faire. Le second en particulier a abouti à des résultats spectaculaires. Plusieurs entrées de tombeaux rupestres ont été mises au jour. Si certains de ceux-ci sont dans un état tel qu'on ne peut même pas espérer y entrer, d'autres en revanche offrent un bien meilleur visage et nous avons pu, avec mon équipe, y pénétrer et procéder aux premiers relevés quand la présence de déblais ou de maçonnerie tardive[6] ne l'empêchait pas. Dans un cas, la question de l'exploration préliminaire de la tombe ne s'est même pas posée, non seulement parce que l'accès en était rebouché, mais surtout parce que la partie rupestre du tombeau était précédée d'une vaste chapelle bâtie en beau calcaire dit "de Toura", encore très bien conservée pour une partie, avec des scènes colorées rappelant celles qu'on trouve sur les "tombes-chapelles" construites (par opposition aux "tombes rupestres").[7] Cette tombe s'avère appartenir à un très grand dignitaire de l'époque de Ramsès II.[8]

Mais de part et d'autre de celle-ci, certaines tombes voisines, du moins celles qui présentent quelques inscriptions permettant de les identifier, semblent bien dater de la XVIIIe dynastie (seconde moitié).[9] C'est en particulier le cas de celle dont

---

[5] Cf. A. Zivie, "ʿAper-El et ses voisins: considérations sur les tombes rupestres de la XVIIIe dynastie à Saqqarah", in *Memphis et ses nécropoles au Nouvel Empire*, édité par l'auteur (Paris 1988), 103–112.

[6] Cette maçonnerie est constituée de blocs de calcaire (parfois mêlés de blocs de *gebel*) liés par un mortier très solide, de teinte rosâtre. Elle paraît bien dater de la XXXe dynastie ou plutôt du début de l'Epoque Ptolémaïque et elle devait être destinée non seulement à fermer l'accès de certaines tombes, mais aussi à consolider la falaise en général (en bouchant ses trop nombreuses cavités "artificielles") afin de protéger les constructions du Bubasteion et de gérer au mieux le développement de ses catacombes de chats. Une maçonnerie semblable était présente dans les chapelles d'ʿAper-El et de Mery-Sekhmet, et son extraction, quand elle a été possible, a révélé l'existence d'éléments sculptés, gravés ou peints de ces tombes, fort bien conservés (cf. J. Leclant, *Orientalia*, loc. cit., en attendant les publications à venir) grâce à ce blocage qui les a préservés des atteintes et des dommages survenus ailleurs durant les deux derniers millénaires. On peut espérer qu'on aura aussi à cet égard de bonnes surprises dans cette tombe et dans certaines des tombes voisines découvertes lors de la campagne 1996.

[7] En particulier les "free-standing tomb-chapels" découvertes ou redécouvertes par la Mission EES-Leiden (Horemheb, Maya, Tia...) ou par la Mission de l'Université du Caire au sud de la chaussée d'Ounas. Ou bien encore les tombes du même type, mais souvent de moindre taille, qui se dressaient dans les proches parages de la pyramide de Téti. Cependant, avec la découverte, dont il est question ici, par la MAFB d'une chapelle qui n'est pas sans rappeler celle de Tia par exemple, l'opposition trop simple (voire simpliste) entre tombes construites (les plus importantes ...) et tombes rupestres (de moindre importance ou plus rares ...) n'est désormais plus pertinente. Les tombes rupestres peuvent être mixtes et sans doute beaucoup d'entre-elles l'étaient-elles, mais les éléments édifiés contre la falaise ont souvent disparu.

[8] Il se nommait *Nmty-ms* ou *ʿntywy-ms* (la lecture du signe représentant deux faucons sur un pavois reste problématique) et il était entre autres *ỉ3y-ḫw ḥr wnmy n nsw, mr pr-ḥḏ* et *mr-pr wr n Mnnfr*. Sur ce personnage, connu par un fragment provenant sans doute de sa tombe (PM III/2^2, 592, qui lit le nom *Nemtimosi*), cf. I. Pomorska, *Les flabellifères à la droite du roi en Egypte ancienne* (Varsovie 1987), 177, 79 (le nom du dignitaire y est transcrit *Rḥwy-msyw*).

[9] Cependant une tombe découverte durant cette même campagne (référence: I/18) date visiblement de l'Ancien Empire, tandis qu'une autre (référence: "I supérieur", entre I/18 et I/19) pourrait dater de l'Epoque Tardive ou Ptolémaïque et être le résultat d'une transformation et d'un agrandissement d'une tombe du Nouvel Empire, aménagée afin de devenir un accès aux catacombes de chats.

il est question dans cet article et qui a reçu le numéro d'identification I/13 dans la nomenclature de la mission. En fait, nous avons découvert cette tombe (début novembre 1996) et y avons pénétré en passant par une autre sépulture rupestre avec laquelle elle a été à un certain moment mise en communication.[10] Ce n'est que par la suite que nous avons pu en mettre au jour la porte, alors que nous poursuivions nos fouilles à l'extérieur. Malheureusement cette porte, ainsi que la première chambre à laquelle elle donne accès, sont dans un état lamentable, par suite d'infiltrations d'eau qui ont dû stagner longtemps, et elles menacent de s'écrouler. Aussi avons-nous dû très vite murer l'accès de la tombe qui, par ailleurs, est pleine de fragments de rocher et de déblais divers, sur une très grande hauteur, et n'a pas encore été l'objet de la moindre fouille; seuls des relevés préliminaires ont été opérés.

Le plan du monument est encore difficile à percevoir, dans la mesure où la maçonnerie tardive occupe une grande partie de l'espace sur toute la hauteur des chambres. On note cependant la présence d'une porte en calcaire blanc, fixée sur les parois du gebel, avec restes de décor et inscription. Mais l'état de conservation ou la présence de la maçonnerie tardive empêchent pour l'instant d'y distinguer titres et nom du propriétaire de la tombe. Cette huisserie de calcaire sépare deux chambres dont la seconde est également percée d'un passage, au fond, permettant d'accéder à une nouvelle chambre, fort mal conservée, où se trouve le puits funéraire.[11] Cette seconde chambre, encore largement bouchée par de la maçonnerie tardive, montre cependant des restes de décor sur la paroi du fond, à gauche, et on constate d'autre part que le linteau et les montants rupestres (en partie seulement dégagés) de la porte menant à la dernière chambre sont inscrits (signes gravés et à l'origine peints). On peut y lire des titres et épithètes, ainsi que le nom du propriétaire de la tombe. Sur le linteau, en double inscription symétrique, on peut lire (cf. Fig. 1): *r-pˁt ḥɜty-ˁ smr wˁ*[*ty*] *mr*[...] *wbɜ/wdpw nsw St* (écrit), "le noble et comte, compagnon unique, aimé (?), l'échanson royal,[12] Set(h)". Les montants comportent deux colonnes parallèles d'inscription gravée qui se terminent chaque fois, pour le montant gauche (en principe ouest) par (↳) *n kɜ n wbɜ/wdpw nsw Stš* (écrit ; on verra plus loin si cette lecture du nom est la seule possible), "pour le *kɜ* de l'échanson royal, Set(h)/Setesh". L'autre montant, du fait de son état de conservation et de la présence de la maçonnerie tardive, n'est pas lisible actuellement. On peut cependant supposer, en extrapolant à partir de tant d'inscriptions construites de la même manière, que la seconde colonne de ce montant se terminait par les mêmes mots et que le nom du défunt était écrit de la même manière, à moins qu'une autre graphie (avec les signes) n'ait été préférée, comme cela a été le cas sur une stèle du même personnage (voir plus loin).

[10] Il s'agit de la tombe "I supérieur" mentionnée à la note précédente.

[11] C'est par cette chambre au puits, mise en communication à un moment donné avec la tombe "I supérieur", que nous avons pénétré pour la première fois dans ce tombeau et c'est en empruntant ce passage que nous continuons à y accéder, puisqu'il s'est révélé impossible de passer par la porte véritable et la première chambre, trop dangereuses.

[12] On sait que la lecture de ce titre (*wbɜ* ou bien *wdpw*) n'est pas certaine (B. Schmitz, "Truchseß", *LÄ* VI, 771–772). Je préfère donc ne pas trancher et rendre chaque fois ce titre par *wbɜ/wdpw* (même choix par exemple chez C.M. Zivie, *Giza au deuxième millénaire*, BdE 70 (Le Caire 1976), 167, ou chez J. Malek, "The Royal Butler Hori at North Saqqara", in *JEA* 74, 1988, 125–136, qui s'en justifie p. 134, n. 33). Outre la littérature de base concernant ce titre qu'on pourra trouver dans les études ci-dessus, on peut aussi citer l'approche, centrée sur les échansons divins, de J.-L. Simonet (qui s'en tient à la lecture *wdpw*), "Le Héraut et l'Echanson", in *CdE* 62 no. 123/124 (1987), 53–89 et particulièrement 54–59.

La scène, gravée et peinte, qu'on peut distinguer sur la paroi montre un personnage assis recevant une offrande ou étant l'objet d'un rite de la part d'un autre homme debout lui faisant face. Derrière l'homme assis, on distingue encore (←┤): (lacune) *nb tɜwy wbɜ/wdpw nsw wᶜb ᶜwy St* (écrit) *mɜᶜ-ḫrw*, "[...] du maître du Double Pays, l'échanson royal, pur de mains, Set(h), justifié".

Ces quelques indications permettaient d'emblée d'identifier le propriétaire de la tombe, mais n'étaient pas suffisantes pour le situer plus précisément dans le temps, entre le milieu de la XVIIIe et le milieu de la XIXe dynastie, d'autant plus que les représentations, telles qu'elles subsistaient, ne pouvaient guère nous éclairer à ce sujet, même si le style général de la scène susmentionnée faisait plutôt penser à la XVIIIe dynastie. Quant à retrouver dans la documentation déjà connue un échanson nommé Seth, l'entreprise se révélait négative si l'on se référait aux études essentielles donnant la liste des échansons connus pour la période qui nous occupait, en particulier les articles de Jaromir Malek,[13] d'Alan Schulman[14] et de Beatrix Geßler-Löhr.[15]

Les choses en étaient là quand, quelques semaines après la découverte de la tombe, alors que la fouille se terminait, à la mi-décembre, les nettoyages finals du site, à l'extérieur, provoquèrent le 14 décembre 1996 la mise au jour d'une grande stèle de calcaire (cf. Fig. 2), non loin de l'entrée de ce tombeau de Seth, mais un peu plus à l'ouest. Celle-ci était couchée dans le sable, sa partie décorée et inscrite tournée vers le haut; elle avait été abandonnée là à la suite d'une réutilisation du site, peut-être liée au Bubasteion et à ses catacombes de chats, ou bien à l'occasion d'un pillage. La grande taille et le poids de ce monument expliquent sans doute qu'il ait été ainsi abandonné, peut-être à la suite d'une tentative malheureuse d'enlèvement,[16] et laissent supposer qu'il ne se trouvait pas très loin de l'endroit précis où il se dressait à l'origine.[17]

Il s'agit d'une stèle rectangulaire (référence: MAFB 96/482) de 164 cm de hauteur, de 80 cm (en haut) à 83 cm (en bas) de largeur, et de 37 cm d'épaisseur. Ne prétendant pas la publier en détail et définitivement ici, je me bornerai à la présenter brièvement en insistant sur les informations qu'elle apporte quant au thème qui est au centre de cet article: l'échanson Seth et son nom.

La stèle est monumentale. Elle est rectangulaire et coiffée d'une corniche. Une bordure en relief court tout autour des longs côtés et du côté supérieur. Comme il se doit, ce "linteau" et ces "montants" sont couverts d'une double inscription, symétrique (mais non identique), dont l'axe se situe au milieu du côté supérieur. A l'intérieur, sur un plan situé en retrait se trouve un décor surmonté d'un cintre et comportant deux re-

---

[13] Op. cit. (note précédente).

[14] "The Royal Butler Ramessessamiᶜon", in *CdE* 61 no. 122 (1986), 187–202, et "The Royal Butler Ramessessamiᶜon. An Addendum", in *CdE* 65 no. 129 (1990), 12–20.

[15] "Zur Datierung einige königlicher Truchsesse unter Amenophis III.", in *Festschrift für Jürgen von Beckerath*, HÄB 30 (Hildesheim 1990), 53–73, et "Bemerkungen zu einige *wbɜw njswt* der Nach-Amarnazeit", in *GM* 112 (1989), 27–34.

[16] Malgré son expérience et l'habileté de nos *raïs*, notre équipe a eu du reste beaucoup de mal à haler cette stèle jusqu'au tracteur qui devait la transporter aux magasins de la mission, comme l'avaient demandé les autorités du site.

[17] En fait, on peut encore voir, à gauche (ouest) de la porte de la tombe, une cavité bien taillée dans le rocher, dont les dimensions pourraient permettre de penser que c'est là qu'avait été installée la stèle à l'origine; c'est-à-dire au fond de la cour ou de la chapelle (semi-construite) qui devait s'appuyer à la falaise.

gistres.[18] Le registre supérieur montre deux représentations différentes du défunt, face à Osiris (à droite) et à Rê-Horakhty (à gauche); une double inscription en colonnes, symétrique (mais non identique), se trouve au-dessus des deux représentations. Quant au registre inférieur, il est en très mauvais état et la pierre y a perdu une partie de sa surface. On distingue encore à droite un couple, probablement assis, dont seule subsiste la partie supérieure.[19]

Les inscriptions de la bordure extérieure ("linteau" sous la corniche et montants) consistent en proscynèmes à Osiris et à Rê-Horakhty et correspondent donc au décor. Elles se terminent des deux côtés par la mention du défunt dans les termes suivants.
– A droite (←↓): *n kꜣ n wbꜣ/wdpw nsw wꜤb Ꜥwy ḥsy nb tꜣwy St* (écrit avec l'animal séthien assis et le déterminatif de l'homme à genoux et tenant un fouet, cf. Fig. 4) *wḥm Ꜥnḥ*, "pour le *kꜣ* de l'échanson du roi, pur de mains, favorisé du maître du Double Pays, Set(h), renouvelé de vie".
– A gauche (↓→):[20] *n kꜣ n r-pꜤt ḥꜣty-Ꜥ wbꜣ/wdpw nsw wꜤb Ꜥwy St* (même graphie qu'à droite) *wḥm Ꜥnḥ*, "pour le *kꜣ* du noble et comte, échanson du roi, pur de mains, Set(h), renouvelé de vie". Quant aux colonnes centrales, au-dessus de la scène du premier registre, elles mentionnent elles aussi le défunt (voir Fig. 5). A droite (↓→), on a *n kꜣ n wbꜣ/wdpw nsw* "pour le *kꜣ* de l'échanson royal Set(h)/Setesh". Et à gauche, on lit (↓→): *n kꜣ n* ...[21] *mry nb.f* , "pour le *kꜣ* du ...(?), aimé de son maître, Set(h)".

En ce qui concerne le nom ou plutôt la graphie du nom du défunt, la situation est donc la suivante. Il peut être écrit, dans la tombe comme sur la stèle, de deux manières: soit avec un simple signe-mot (animal séthien assis suivi ou non du personnage agenouillé ou assis), soit avec des signes phonétiques et éventuellement un déterminatif (suivis du personnage agenouillé). Et si cette seconde manière se bornait à la version (plus déterminatif), on lirait *Stš* et il n'y aurait là rien de remarquable, même si on avait par ailleurs une variante avec la version simplifiée *St*. Mais le texte de la stèle (et, on peut le supposer, celui du montant actuellement illisible de la porte située dans la tombe[22]) font suivre cette version courte *St* (écrite) du déterminatif du rouleau de papyrus ( ), souvent en usage avec les termes abstraits, et le fait ne laisse pas d'être remarquable. Comment l'interpréter? En tout cas, il n'est pas attesté dans les dictionnaires et n'est pas relevé dans l'ouvrage de H. te Velde.[23]

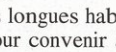
Il y a mieux. La disposition graphique symétrique des versions et donnerait à penser que dans le second cas, le signe *š* ( ), qui entre normalement dans la composition d'une des formes du nom du dieu Seth (lequel se lit alors *Setesh*), n'est pas ici senti comme un signe phonétique (*š*) mais comme un déterminatif des deux signes phonétiques précédents, à l'instar du du premier cas.[24]

---

[18] Les dimensions intérieures (partie en retrait) de la stèle sont de 120 par 62,50 cm.
[19] Il n'est pas impossible que cette scène soit en fait restée inachevée.
[20] Le texte est en partie détruit.
[21] On voit sous le *n* un trait horizontal que je ne peux pour l'instant expliquer.
[22] On observe en effet une grande symétrie dans la disposition des inscriptions de la stèle comme de la porte intérieure de la tombe, et on relève le même genre d'alternances (ou d'hésitations?) entre les graphies possibles du nom du personnage.
[23] *Seth*, 1.
[24] Car sinon, n'aurait-on pu s'attendre à avoir par exemple, dans ce premier cas, un autre signe long à valeur phonétique, en l'occurence un *ḫ* ( )? Il y aurait eu ainsi symétrie parfaite entre les deux

Certes, une telle hypothèse présenterait l'inconvénient de revenir sur la question toujours un peu épineuse de la lecture et du sens (ou de l'un des sens réinterprétés) du nom du dieu Seth et même de revalider éventuellement une interprétation fort ancienne et dépassée.[25] Je me garderai bien de partir dans cette direction sur la base de ce qui n'est peut-être qu'une simple curiosité graphique. En tout cas, je soumets celle-ci et son interprétation à la sagacité du spécialiste de Seth que nous célébrons ici et du lecteur en général.

En passant, on pourra aussi se demander si de toute façon on a affaire à un anthroponyme reprenant textuellement un nom de dieu ou si cette forme n'était pas une abréviation de l'un ou l'autre des nombreux noms composés avec celui de Seth,[26] à moins encore qu'on ait là une version minimale de la forme bien connue *S(w)ty*.

Il reste maintenant à identifier cet échanson Seth et en tout cas à le situer chronologiquement. Des indices concernant son époque nous sont fournis surtout par la stèle, du moins dans notre état actuel de connaissance de la tombe. En effet, d'une part on a une mention dans le texte du montant de gauche, dans le proscynème à Rê-Horakhty, du souhait que celui-ci permette de "voir le disque (*i.tn*) de Rê(-Horakhty?)", ces derniers mots étant écrits (↓→):  (?).[27] Plus explicite encore est le style dans lequel sont rendus les personnages et spécialement leurs visages sur la stèle. La représentation de Seth au crâne rasé (ou coiffé d'un bonnet collant) tourné vers le dieu solaire (cf. Fig. 3a) et plus encore celle de Seth coiffé d'une perruque courte ("nubienne") et tourné vers Osiris (cf. Fig. 3b), montrent un profil et un traitement qui évoquent le style caractéristique de la fin du règne d'Amenhotep III, avec son caractère un peu juvénile. On pourra par exemple les comparer, sur le même site de la falaise d'Ankhtaouy, à des représentations du chancelier et intendant royal Meryrê telles qu'elles figurent sur une paroi de sa tombe[28] et sur un relief et une stèle conservés à Vienne et provenant justement de cette même tombe.[29]

Pour l'instant et tant que sa tombe ne sera pas fouillée, on ne pourra pas dire grand chose de plus sur Seth qui n'était pas connu jusqu'à cette découverte. On ne connaissait pas en effet d'échanson de ce nom à l'époque d'Amenhotep III, ni dans les décennies qui ont suivi.[30] Cependant, il n'est pas interdit de se demander si, compte

---

graphies correspondant aux deux lectures longues habituelles du nom du dieu: *Stš* et *Stḫ*. Le *ḫ* est en tout cas préférable au qui est trop petit pour convenir à la disposition de l'inscription.

[25] Cf. Te Velde, *Seth*, 3. Reste aussi la possibilité que le graveur ait voulu établir une sorte de fausse symétrie en utilisant un signe de remplissage, mais on ne comprend pas pourquoi en ce cas il aurait justement choisi le rouleau de papyrus.

[26] Cf. Te Velde, *Seth*, 135–138.

[27] Dans la première colonne de l'inscription centrale gauche, le nom du dieu solaire est écrit avec un disque nettement séparé de la tête du personnage divin (qui est peut-être muni d'une tête de faucon, auquel cas il s'agirait plutôt de Rê-Horakhty, comme dans la seconde colonne du texte central et sur le "linteau" de la stèle).

[28] Cf. A. Zivie, *Découverte à Saqqarah*, 180, fig. 109 (mais la scène est malheureusement très endommagée).

[29] Ils ont été intégrés à l'exposition consacrée à Amenhotep III il y a quelques années et ont été à cette occasion l'objet d'une nouvelle étude approfondie. Voir A.P. Kozloff et B.M. Bryan (avec L.M. Berman), *Egypt's Dazzling Sun. Amenhotep III and His World* (Cleveland 1992), 292–294 (58–59). Auparavant, Betsy Bryan avait déjà fait paraître une importante étude ("Private Relief Sculpture Outside Thebes and Its Relationship to Theban Relief Sculpture", in *The Art of Amenhotep III: Art Historical Analysis* [Cleveland 1990], 65–80) où l'on trouvera, outre les témoignages provenant de la tombe de Meryrê, d'autres représentations sur lesquelles appuyer la datation proposée ici.

[30] En revanche on connaît un échanson nommé Séthi sous le règne de Ramsès II (cf. A.R. Schulman, *CdE* 65 no. 129 (1990), 13, n° 8).

tenu de l'époque de la tombe qui vient d'être découverte par la MAFB à Saqqara (fin du règne d'Amenhotep III), Seth n'aurait pas pu continuer à vivre et à exercer ses fonctions sous le règne d'Amenhotep IV, quitte à prendre éventuellement un nouveau nom et à renoncer à celui de Seth, si spectaculairement théophore.[31] Encore une fois donc, la falaise du Bubasteion, ou plutôt en l'occurence la falaise d'Ankhtaouy, nous fait connaître un nouveau personnage important dont on ignorait tout.

Une dernière remarque pour terminer. Seth n'est pas le premier échanson du Nouvel Empire qui ait été inhumé à Saqqara. Un certain nombre d'autres détenteurs de cette même fonction qui connut une importance croissante avec la fin de la XVIIIe dynastie, ont eu en effet une tombe dans la nécropole memphite. Souvent même il semble qu'ils aient préféré la zone de Saqqara-nord, comme a voulu le souligner Jaromir Malek dans son article topique.[32] Au point que celui-ci se demande même si on n'aurait pas là un indice de l'existence de regroupements professionnels dans le vaste cimetière memphite du Nouvel Empire, faisant même remarquer au passage qu'on ne connaît pas de tombes d'échanson royal à Thèbes après l'Epoque Amarnienne. Pourtant, on manque encore de données sûres en nombre suffisant pour avancer en terrain ferme dans ce domaine. Du reste, n'oublions pas que le titre d'échanson, à moins qu'il ne soit un peu l'équivalent de ce que l'administration française nomme un "corps d'origine" (un peu comme pour les "enfants du *kȝp*"?), est porté par des hommes qui possèdent le plus souvent d'autres titres et occupent (en même temps?) d'autres fonctions, surtout à l'Epoque Ramesside.[33] La falaise d'Ankhtaouy (le Bubasteion) peut aussi apporter son lot d'informations à cet égard. On y a en effet découvert, durant cette même dernière campagne, une autre tombe appartenant également à un *wbȝ/wdpw nsw wˁb ˁwy* (dont le nom semble être *Pnrnwt*), mais dont la datation à l'intérieur du Nouvel Empire reste à préciser. De plus, il y a tout lieu de penser qu'un autre échanson royal de l'époque d'Amenhotep III, un certain *Snnfr* dont on ne sait pas non plus grand-chose,[34] a aussi eu sa tombe dans cette falaise; en fait même sous celle d'ˁAper-El, à moins qu'il ne soit mentionné là qu'en tant que parent ou proche de Meryrê avec la tombe duquel la sépulture de ce Sennefer semble se confondre.[35] Mais

---

[31] On songe au cas de l'échanson Parennefer qui disposait d'une tombe à Thèbes (n° 188, cf. PM I/1^2, 293–295; la tombe est l'objet d'une étude complète menée par Susan Redford, cf. J. Leclant, *Orientalia* 65 (1996), 305–306, avec bibliographie) et qui s'en est fait aménager une autre à Akhetaton (n° 7, groupe sud, cf. PM IV, 219–221) où il est mentionné qu'il servait déjà le roi quand celui-ci était un enfant, *tì sw m ỉnpw*, cf. M. Sandman, *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten*, BiAe 8 (Bruxelles 1938), 69, 8, ainsi que la présentation et la traduction récentes de W.J. Murnane, *Texts from the Amarna Period in Egypt* (Atlanta 1995), 178 (78, 2).

[32] Cf. *JEA* 74 (1988), 136.

[33] Pour le Seth qui nous occupe en tout cas, nous ne disposons pas (encore) d'informations sur les autres aspects éventuels de ses fonctions et de sa carrière. Cependant, il faut noter que la paroi gauche (ouest) de la première chambre de la tombe comportait peut-être une représentation de soldats en train de défiler; mais le rocher est extrêmement endommagé dans cette zone et il a fallu, au moins provisoirement, boucher cette partie du monument.

[34] Voir à son sujet W. Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs*, PrÄg 3 (Leiden/Köln 1958), 374 et 488 (18), et récemment B. Geßler-Löhr, in *Festschrift J. von Beckerath*, 71–73, qui suggère sur de bonnes bases la datation Amenhotep III, tandis que Helck s'en tenait à "undatiert".

[35] Voir A. Zivie, in *Memphis et ses nécropoles*, 108 et n. 19, à propos du fait que la porte extérieure de la tombe de Meryrê mentionne un certain Sennefer. Depuis cette publication, la MAFB a découvert une chapelle à piliers et à niches avec fausses-portes, juste sous celle d'ˁAper-El, qui doit être le prolongement de la partie connue de la tombe de Meryrê. La présence d'une importante maçonnerie tardive n'a pour l'instant permis que de relever la mention du *mr-pr wr n nsw Snnfr* sur la fausse-porte ouest.

ce Sennefer était également *mr-pr wr n nsw* et détenait d'autres fonctions importantes et il n'est (pour l'instant?) pas fait référence au titre d'échanson royal dans la tombe. A supposer qu'il s'agisse bien du même Sennefer que celui qui, d'après les inscriptions de sa statue,[36] était grand intendant royal *et* échanson royal, comme la chose est tout à fait vraisemblable. On doit en tout cas rester prudent avant de retenir telle fonction plutôt que telle autre pour appuyer l'hypothèse de l'existence d'éventuels regroupements par fonctions dans la nécropole memphite du Nouvel Empire.

Fig. 1 Détail de l'inscription gravée sur le linteau d'une porte (taillée dans le rocher) de la tombe de Seth. Partie droite (est).

Fig. 2 Stèle trouvée à l'extérieur de la tombe le 14 décembre 1996 (N° MAFB 96/482), montrant au niveau supérieur l'échanson Seth face à Osiris et à Rê-Horakhty, et au niveau inférieur un couple, esquissé et laissé inachevé.

Fig. 3 Détails de la stèle MAFB 96/482.
A. L'échanson Seth (crâne rasé ou coiffé d'un bonnet serré) et tourné vers la gauche (vers Rê-Horakhty).
B. L'échanson Seth coiffé d'une perruque et tourné vers la droite (vers Osiris).

Fig. 4 Détail de la stèle MAFB 96/482. Graphie du nom de Seth (animal séthien et déterminatif) figurant sur le montant droit, en bas (analogue à la graphie figurant en bas du montant gauche).

Fig. 5 Détail de la stèle MAFB 96/482. Les deux colonnes d'inscription figurant de part et d'autre de l'axe du monument, sous le motif situé au sommet du cintre. Le nom de Seth y est écrit phonétiquement: les deux premiers signes (*s* et *t*) sont identiques, mais le troisième diffère d'une version à l'autre (rouleau de papyrus et bassin (?) rectangulaire) .

Photos MAFB / P. Chapuis.

[36] Statue conservée au Bodenmuseum Berlin (cf. G. Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften zu Berlin* II, 398, n° 21595, et B. Geßler-Löhr, in *Festschrift J. von Beckerath*, 71–73 et pl. V) et censée provenir de Bubastis du fait qu'elle est dédiée à Bastet dame de Bubastis; mais il me semble qu'une origine memphite n'est pas tout à fait exclue cependant.

Fig. 1

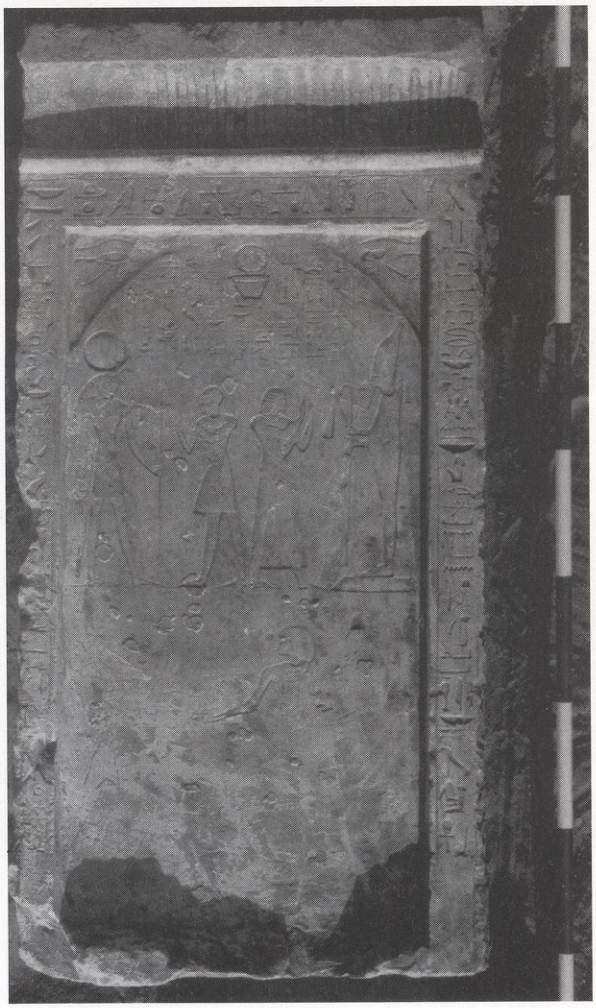


Fig. 2

Fig. 3a

Fig. 3b

Fig. 4

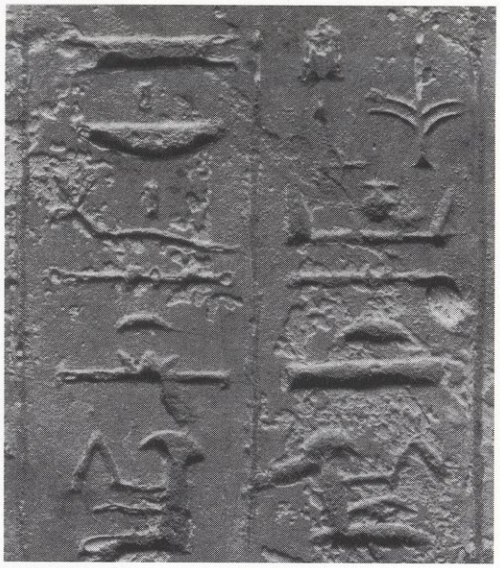


Fig. 5

Studies on the *sḏm.t=f* Verb Form in Classical Egyptian
III: the active *n sḏm.t=f* construction

Louis Zonhoven

In the two preceding studies on the *sḏm.t=f* verb form attention has been focused on the *ḏr sḏm.t=f* and *r sḏm.t=f* constructions.[1] What these constructions have in common is that they are introduced by a preposition/conjunction and are translated, respectively, with the related conjunctions "before" and "until". While there the fundamental problem was to distinguish the form from the feminine infinitive – or even the feminine-neuter Perfective Relative Form with implicit antecedent –, owing to its formal similarity to them, this morphological problem is of no consequence at all with *n sḏm.t=f*. The form can be identified at a glance owing to its combination with the negation *n*, which does not occur in Middle Egyptian in combination with the infinitive.

Now the problem lies with the translation of *n sḏm.t=f* with "not yet", which notion appears to be regarded by several scholars as the usual, but nonetheless optional, meaning of the negation in that *sḏm.t=f* construction, besides the meaning "not" known from the use of the negation in other constructions with finite verb forms, i.e. *n sḏm=f* and *n sḏm.n=f*.[2] A second problem is the relationship of the form in *n sḏm.t=f* to the form in *ḏr sḏm.t=f* and *r sḏm.t=f*.

Putting forward the hypothesis that it concerns one verb form on account of its meaning in its three indubitable uses,[3] an attempt must be made to bring the use of the verb form in *ḏr sḏm.t=f*, *r sḏm.t=f* and *n sḏm.t=f* under one common semantic denominator.

---

[1] See L. Zonhoven, "Studies on the *sḏm.t=f* Verb Form in Classical Egyptian, I. The Construction *ḏr sḏm.t=f*" [abbrev. "Studies *sḏm.t=f* I (*ḏr sḏm.t=f*)"], *BiOr* 53 (1996), 613–644 and "II. The Active *r sḏm.t=f* Construction" [abbrev. "Studies *sḏm.t=f* II (*r sḏm.t=f*)"], *OLP* 28 (1997) [forthcoming].

[2] For "not" or "not (yet)" see, among others, A.H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (Oxford/London 1957) [abbrev. *EG*], 316 (§ 401): "[*sḏmt.f*] after *n* 'not', chiefly with the meaning 'he has (had) not yet heard' "; 317 (§ 402): "lit. 'he has (had) not (yet) ...' "; however, Gardiner has stated that the 'not yet/before' notion is only very rarely absent. G. Lefebvre, *Grammaire de l'égyptien classique* (Le Caire 1955) [abbrev. *GEC*], 212 (§ 421): "la construction négative *n śḏmt.f* signifie, dans une proposition principale: 'il n'a (n'avait) pas (encore) entendu' ". J.B. Callender, *Middle Egyptian*, Afroasiatic Dialects 2 (Malibu 1975), 103 (4.10.1.1): "the main clause is apparently *iw n sḏmt.f* 'he has not yet heard'; the conjoined form in *n sḏm.t=f* 'when/and he had not heard' ". J.F. Borghouts, *Egyptisch. Een inleiding in schrift en taal van het Middenrijk*, MVEOL 30/1–2 (Leiden/Leuven 1993). I, 104 (§ 48.a.1): *n sḏm.t=f* " 'hij heeft nog niet gehoord' (eigl. 'hij zal niet gehoord hebben')" ['he has not yet heard' (strictly speaking 'he will not have heard')]. E. Graefe, *Mittelägyptische Grammatik für Anfänger* (Wiesbaden 1994), 101: " 'ohne dass ...' bzw. 'bevor noch' ". P. Grandet & B. Mathieu, *Cours d'égyptien hiéroglyphique* (Paris 1990–1993) II, 143 (42.4): "on les rend de préférence par 'avant qu'il n'ait mangé' ou 'n'ayant pas encore mangé'...(lit., 'tandis qu'il n'a pas mangé')".

[3] Contra A. Loprieno, "The Form *sḏmt.f*: Verbal Predicate or 'Transposition'?", *GM* 37 (1980), 18 (1.2) and 20 (3); for a further remark see § 4 below, and for further discussion see my "Studies on the *sḏm.t=f* Verb Form in Classical Egyptian, V. The Relative Future Tense *sḏm.t=f*" [abbrev. "Studies *sḏm.t=f* V (*sḏm.t=f*)"], § 7–9 [forthcoming].

§ 1 The absolute time of the reference situation and of the context.

In the following discussion of examples of the use of *n sḏm.t=f* in relation to the three possible reference times I shall consistently use the conjunction "before" + affirmative clause as the translation of the construction. This strategy only serves the purpose of establishing that *n sḏm.t=f* in that translation can be interpreted in terms of relative future time reference.[4] Remarkably, the translation of this construction appears to cause great confusion as regards its relative time reference, since several scholars claim a relative past with respect to the time of the reference situation.[5] One example will suffice to show that this analysis cannot be correct.

Sh. Sailor, 97–98. *sr=sn ḏʿ n ỉy.t=f nšny n ḫpr.t=f* "they foretold a storm before it had come, a tempest before it had happened". One can simply not foretell anything that lies in the past relative to the reference time of foretelling.

The construction *n sḏm.t=f* occurs quite frequently in narrative contexts, where the reference situation may be situated in the absolute past. In the following examples the absolute past reference time is set by *sḏm.n=f* verb forms and their passive counterpart, the Passive *sḏm=f*.

Pyr. [607] § 1701*a-b*/M. *ms.n Nw* N *ḥr ḏrt=f ỉꜣbt nḫn.(w) ny sꜣꜣ.t* N "it is while being a child, before N had become wise that Nun has given birth to N at his left hand".[6]

CT [154] II 280*d-e*/B2Bo. *Rʿ pw ḫp.n sw ỉmy-ỉns=f n ḫn.t=f ʿ=f r=f* "it so happened to

---

[4] Thus W. Westendorf, *Grammatik der medizinischen Texte*, GMAÄ 8 (Berlin 1962) [abbrev. *Gramm. med. T.*], 191 (§ 264). H. Satzinger, *Die negativen Konstruktionen im Alt- und Mittelägyptischen*, MÄS 12 (Berlin 1968) [abbrev. *Neg. Konstr.*], 29 (§ 39). L. Gaskins, *Notes on Middle Egyptian Syntax* (Berkeley 1978), 167. Note that under certain conditions "before" and "while not yet" are not easily interchangeable. Whereas "before" in "John got to safety before the boiler blew up" can be smoothly replaced by "while the boiler had not yet blown up" – where in both translations the implicature is indeed that "the boiler blew up" – this is different in "John got to the safety handle before the boiler blew up": in the latter case, where the blow-up is aborted, "while not yet" cannot replace "before". For the example with "before" see G. Gazdar, *Pragmatics: Implicature, Presuppositions and Logical Form* (New York 1979), 106 in a discussion of the pragmatic definitions of presupposition.

[5] Already pointed out in my "Studies *sḏm.t=f* I (*ḏr sḏm.t=f*)", *BiOr* 53 (1996), 616 (§ 3) and n. 15. Note the remarkable stance taken by Loprieno, *GM* 37, 17, where it is stated that *r sḏm.t=f* "until he hears/ has heard" has a (relative) future time reference, whereas *n sḏm.t=f* "before he has heard" has a (relative) past reference (see also p. 26). Thus also Graefe, *Mitteläg. Grammatik*, 101 on *n sḏm.t=f*: "Bedeutung: relative Vergangenheit, gleichzeitig mit oder vorzeitig zur Handlung des Hauptsatzteils: 'ohne dass ...', bzw. 'bevor noch ...' ". T. Ritter, *Das Verbalsystem der königlichen und privaten Inschriften. XVIII. Dynastie bis einschliesslich Amenophis III*, GOF IV/30 (Wiesbaden 1995) [abbrev. *Verbalsystem*], 211–212 on *n sḏm.t=f*: " 'bevor', anteriore Textrelation". J.P. Allen, *The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts*, Bibliotheca Aegyptia 2 (Malibu 1984), 320 (§ 473): "the basic sense of the negated *sḏm.t.f* is that of action prior to that of the governing clause, whatever the translation"; I assume that Allen's last words mean "whether translated with 'while not yet' or 'before' ". A.-M. Bakir, *An Introduction to the Study of the Egyptian Language. A Semitic Approach,* I: *Middle Egyptian* (Cairo 1978), 121 (§ 329): "it is also noticed that this form is particularly used after the negative particle *n*, which, in this case, would mean 'not yet', 'before'+ a tense anterior to the main tense of the context. In other words, with two events taking place in the past, this form is used for the earlier event." Lefebvre, *GEC*, 212 (§ 419): "et, dans une proposition subordonnée, par un temps de l'indicatif ou subjonctif qui marque clairement que l'action est antérieure à celle du verbe de la proposition principale, à quelque temps que soit ce dernier"; pp. 212–213 (§ 421): translations with "avant que".

[6] Note that R.O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Oxford 1969), 251 translated *ny sꜣꜣ.t* N with "who had no wisdom", with reference to B. Gunn, "A Negative Word in Old Egyptian", *JEA* 34 (1948), 28 (C), where *ny ḫpr.t* is translated with "not" instead of "not yet".

Re that the One-who-is-in-his-red-cloth surprised him, before he [Re] had stretched out his arm against him".[7]

CT [660] VI 282*a*. *ḫpr.n* N *pn n ḫpr.t pt n ḫpr.t tꜣ* "it was before the sky had come into existence, before the earth had come into existence that this N had (already) come into existence".

Kamose Stela II, 26.[8] *snḏ.n=f n=ỉ ỉw=ỉ m ḫd n ꜥḥꜣ.t=n n spr.t=ỉ r=f* "it was while I was sailing north, before we had fought, before I had reached him that he had (already) become afraid of me".

CT [630] VI 251*c-d*/Sq3C. *ỉw rdỉ.(w) n=s mw nw ỉrt n hꜣ.t=s* "the water of the eye was given to her, before she had descended".

CT [640] VI 261*f-h*/T2B[e]. *ỉw ṯs.(w) ṯst ḥꜣ=ỉ ỉn Stš Psḏt m wsr=f tpy n ḫpr.<t> ḫnnw* "a knot was tied around me by Seth, when the Ennead was in its prime power, before the disturbance had come into being".[9]

The particle/auxiliary *ꜥḥꜥ.n* is a certain marker of a narrative context.

Urk. IV 2,12–15. *ꜥḥꜥ.n=ỉ ḥr ỉrt wꜥw r ḏbꜣ=f m pꜣ wỉꜣ n pꜣ smꜣ m hꜣw nb tꜣwy Nb-phty-rꜥ mꜣꜥ-ḫrw ỉw=ỉ m šrỉ n ỉr.t=ỉ ḥmt* "then I served as private soldier to replace him on the Barque of the Wild Bull in the time of the Lord of the Two Lands Neb-pehty-re, justified, when I was a youngster, before I had married".

In Nominal Sentences the reference time may also be apparent from the retrospective viewpoint taken in the text.

CT [660] VI 280*q* – 281*c*. *mswt=f mswt nṯr hrw pw n mswt hdn n ḫpr.t pt tꜣ n ḫpr.t mw n ḫpr.t Nw n ḫpr.t Gb Nwt n ḫpr.t Wsỉr ꜣst n ḫpr.t Stš Nbt-ḥt* "his birth was the birth of a god (already) on this day of the birth of the *heden*-plant, before the sky and the earth had come into existence, before the water had come into existence, before Nun had come into existence, before Geb and Nut had come into existence, before Osiris and Isis had come into existence, before Seth and Nephthys had come into existence".[10]

CT [261] III 389*b-c*/S1C[a]. *nnk tm n ḫpr.t=ṯn nṯrw* "everything belonged (already) to me, before you had come into existence, gods".

The following example is also from CT Spell 261, which is concerned with the primordial role of the god Heka.[11]

CT [261] III 382*e* – 383*a*/S1C[a]. *ỉnk ỉr.n nb-wꜥ n ḫpr.t ỉšty snty m tꜣ pn* "I am one whom the Sole Lord had made (already), before two things had come into existence in this land".[12] In this case the main clause implicitly has present time reference, but

---

[7] For the inadequacy of this translation to render the grammatical structure of Nominal Sentence + Circumstantial *sḏm.n=f* in circumstantial function see H.J. Polotsky's remarks in "Les transpositions du verbe en égyptien classique", *IOS* 6 (1976), 41–42 (3.10.2). For the passage see K. Sethe, "Die Sprüche für das Kennen der Seelen der heiligen Orte (Totb. Kap. 107–109, 111–116) [Göttinger Totenbuchstudien von 1919] [1]", *ZÄS* 57 (1922), 13 (24).

[8] L. Habachi, *The Second Stela of Kamose and his Struggle against the Hyksos Ruler and his Capital*, ADAIK 8 (Glückstadt 1972).

[9] S. Bickel, *La cosmogonie égyptienne. Avant le Nouvel Empire*, OBO 134 (Freiburg/Göttingen 1994) [abbrev. *Cosmogonie*], 226 (ex. 199) reads *ḥꜣ tp=ỉ* instead of *ḥꜣ=ỉ*.

[10] For the *heden*-plant see F. Le Saout, "Une nouvelle fête d'Hathor à Karnak", *CRIPEL* 11 (1989), 69–71.

[11] H. te Velde, "The God Heka in Egyptian Theology", *JEOL* 21 (1969–1970), 180. Bickel, *Cosmogonie*, 152–153 (ex. 141).

[12] For a parallel see *CT* [162] II 396*b*.

the reference time of the *n sḏm.t=f* construction here is the absolute past set by the *sḏm.n=f* Relative Form.

In the next example it is the passive Perfective Participle that sets the absolute past of the reference time.

CT [673] VI 301*j*. *i ỉry rn=f m ḫt nt mwt=f n pr.t=f ḥr tȝ* "O you whose name was made in the womb of his mother, before he had gone forth upon earth".

The absolute present can also function as the reference time for *n sḏm.t=f*.

Dispute of a Man with his Ba, 11–12. *n sḏm.n=ỉ n=f ḥr sṯȝ=ỉ r m(w)t n ỉy.t=(ỉ)/ø(?)n=f* "I do not listen to him whilst dragging me to death, before I have come to it".[13]

The next passage comes from the series of CT Spells 38–41, the general content of which is that a living person is addressing his deceased father, asking him to prevent a premature death.[14]

CT [39] I 167*a* – 168*c*/B12C^{b}. *sḏm.n=f m r n ỉryw wnt ṯs.n wỉ ỉt=ỉ pf ỉmy ỉmnt r ỉnt=<ỉ> sᶜrt=ỉ hrww* N *pn m tȝ pn n ᶜnḫw n šd.t* N *p<n> m ṯȝw=ỉ n sḫn.t=ỉ swḫwt=ỉ n ỉn.t N pn ḥnty=f n wnm.t N pn pnd n mnᶜ.t=(ỉ) n swr.t* N *pn ḥsȝ=ỉ r ḫᶜᶜw=f n ḥbs.<t>* N *pn pr=f n ᶜnḫw m ỉw nsrsr* "he has heard from the mouth of the figures that that father of mine who is in the West has summoned me to fetch me and reduce my days (lit., of this N) in this land of the living, before I (lit., this N) have brought up my fledgelings, before I have deposited my eggs, before I (lit., this N) have attained my (lit., his) lifetime, before I (lit., this N) have eaten the cake of (my) nurse, before I (lit., this N) have drunk my milk according to its measure, before I (lit., this N) have furnished my (lit., his) house of the living on the Island of Fire". The reference time is "my (present) days in the land of the living".[15]

Finally, here are some examples with absolute future reference time.

Eloquent Peasant B1, 183. *m grg.(w) dwȝw n ỉy.t=f* "do not provide for tomorrow, before it has come".[16]

Dispute of a Man with his Ba, 18–19. *ỉhm wỉ r m(w)t n ỉy.t=ỉ n=f* "restrain me from dying, before I have come to it".

CT [982] VII 191*q*. *n dmm=k n pḥ.t=f ṯw* "you will not be named, before he has reached you".

In accordance with the evidence from *r sḏm.t=f* it appears that the *n sḏm.t=f* construction has a relative future time reference with respect to any of the possible reference times of absolute past, present and future.

---

[13] The possible *n ỉy.t=ø* is discussed in § 10 below.

[14] See A. de Buck, "The Fear of Premature Death", in W.J. Kooiman and J.M. van Veen (eds.), *Pro Regno. Pro Sanctuario. Studies G. van der Leeuw* (Nijkerk 1950), 82. A. de Jong, "Coffin Texts Spell 38: The Case of the Father and the Son", *SAK* 21 (1994), 141–142.

[15] P. Barguet, *Les textes des sarcophages égyptiens du Moyen Empire*, LAPO 12 (Paris 1986), 180 translates here – in my opinion, correctly – with a present tense ("avant que j'aie élevé mes petits" etc.), whereas R.O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts* (Warminster 1973–1978). I, 31–32 has "when I had not yet brought up my fledgelings". The latter translation implicates that this action has been completed before the present.

[16] Compare the similar phrasing in the inscr. Hatnub 24, 1–2 (R. Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, UGAÄ 9 (Leipzig 1928) [abbrev. *Hatnub*], 54–56, pl. 24; A. de Buck, *Egyptian Readingbook* (Leiden 1948), 73–74), which, however, has been suggested to read *rḫ dwȝ(w)* [*n*] *ỉw.t=f mȝ n nḥḥ* "who knows the morrow when it has not yet come, who has a view on eternity"; for further comment see my "Studies *sḏm.t=f* V (*sḏm.t=f*)", § 1, n. 7 [forthcoming].

§ 2 Introduction to the analysis of the construction *n sḏm.t=f*.

Now that it has been established that the construction *n sḏm.t=f* can indeed be analysed as having relative future time reference, I will proceed to an analysis of the more literal translation with "while not yet", in which the negation is accounted for. This analysis is not in accordance with the interpretation by others of its verb form as expressing the relative past with respect to the action in the main clause, when the construction is translated with "while he has/had not yet heard". It seems that such an analysis has fallen victim to a translation trap, since it is inconceivable that a construction which has a relative future time with respect to the reference situation in the main clause contains a verb form which at the same time expresses a past relative to that main clause situation. This trap may well be elicited by the elements "while" and "he has/had heard". To put more solid ground under our feet, I shall proceed from the analysis of certain tenses in the Bantu language Luganda as given in Comrie's recent and important work on tense.

§ 3 Comrie's analysis of the 'still', 'no longer' and 'not yet' tenses in Luganda.

Comrie deals with these rare tenses in a section on combinations of absolute tenses.[17] The 'not yet' tense occurs only in the negative, but the affirmative 'still' tense has a negative counterpart in the 'no longer' tense. His analysis of this pair is of great importance for the approach to *n sḏm.t=f* and is therefore quoted in some detail.

"The 'still' tense occupies two continuous segments on the time line including the past and present: *mu-kya-tudde* 'you-still-sit', i.e. 'you are still seated'. Its negative is *te-mu-kya-tudde*, 'neg-you-still-sit', i.e. 'you are no longer seated'. The negation attaches only to the present reference of the 'still' tense, but crucially does not negate its past time reference; whence the name 'no longer' tense. What this clarifies is the distribution of presupposition and assertion in the 'still' tense. Since negation affects only the present time reference part of the overall meaning of the 'still' tense, this indicates that the present time reference is the assertion of this tense, while the past time reference, which remains constant under negation, is a presupposition.[18] Thus a more accurate semantic description of the 'still' tense would be: it is presupposed that a situation held in the past, and asserted that it holds at present. Its negative would

[17] B. Comrie, *Tense*, Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics (Cambridge 1985), 53–55. For a discussion of Comrie's analysis of these tenses see T.C. Schadeberg, "Schon - noch - nicht - mehr. Das Unerwartete als grammatische Kategorie im KiSwahili", *Frankfurter Afrikanistische Blätter* 2 (1990), 1-15.

[18] Pragmatic presuppositions may be defined as propositions whose truth the speaker takes for granted, or seems to take for granted, when making his statement; see L.R. Horn, "Pragmatics, Implicature, and Presupposition", in W. Bright (ed.), *International Encyclopedia of Linguistics* (New York/Oxford 1992). 3, 263. J. Lyons, *Semantics* (Cambridge 1977), 606: "what is presupposed is what the speaker takes for granted and assumes that the addressee will take for granted as part of the contextual background". For another description and definition see Ritter, *Verbalsystem*, 27–30. For the negation test as a means to detect presuppositions see G. Leech, *Semantics. The Study of Meaning*[2] (Harmondsworth 1981), 279: "the blonde he married was an heiress", as well as "the blonde he married was not an heiress" presuppose that "he married a blonde"; see also Lyons, op. cit., 606; Horn, op. cit., 264; P.A.M. Seuren, "Presupposition", in R.A. Asher and J.M.Y. Simpson (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics* (Oxford 1994), 3313.

therefore automatically receive the interpretation: it is presupposed that a situation held in the past and asserted that it does not hold at the present."

Comrie proceeds as follows: "Luganda has one further verb form that fits into this general pattern, namely the 'not yet' tense, as in *te-tu-nna-genda* 'neg-we-not:yet-go', i.e. 'we have not yet gone'.[19] The meaning of this tense is that a certain situation did not hold in the past and does not hold in the present, i.e. that it is still the case that a certain situation does not hold. It may seem that there is an additional semantic component, namely that the situation of 'our going' will hold in the future. However, further investigation shows that this is only a (conversational) implicature,[20] not part of the meaning of the verb form, as is equally the case with the English expression 'not yet'.[21] All that is indicated with regard to the future is the possibility of the situation holding in the future, and this possibility may be demonstrated as unrealisable by the rest of the context" (e.g., by explicitly cancelling the implicature).[22]

What can be inferred from Comrie's discussion of these three tenses is of great relevance to the ensuing discussion of *n sḏm.t=f*. Firstly, conversational implicature is different from assertion as not being part of the meaning of a verb form. Secondly, presupposition can be grammaticized in the meaning of a verb form, and in cooperation with assertion it can partake in the meaning. Thirdly, presupposition is immune to negation, and negation can affect only part of the meaning of a verb form.

There is general agreement that implicatures can be cancelled in the context, whereas this has been argued to be different for presuppositions.[23] Proceeding from this theoretical foundation, the issues in the analysis of *n sḏm.t=f* are the following. Is the reference to a future occurrence in the translation of n *sḏm.t=f* with "(while) he has/had not yet heard" in reality part of the meaning of the verb form in Egyptian, or is it an implicature?[24] Does the negation assert that only part of the meaning of the verb form does not hold?[25] Is a presupposition grammaticized as part of the meaning of the *sḏm.t=f*?[26] If so, what is the nature of this presupposition?[27]

In this contribution I shall only pay attention to presupposition as a phenomenon that can be grammaticized in a verb form; presupposition as related to the speaker will be discussed in the study of the verb form proper.[28]

---

[19] Cf. E.O. Ashton, E.M.K. Mulira, E.G.M. Ndawula, A.N. Tucker, *A Luganda Grammar* (London 1954), 229.

[20] Lyons, *Semantics*, 606: "what is implicated is what the addressee can reasonably infer, but is not necessarily intended to infer, in the context in which the utterance occurs, from what is said or not said"; see also the discussion of the utterance "it is cold in here" on pp. 592–593. See, further, Leech, *Semantics*, 331–334 on conversational implicature.

[21] For my suggestion that the 'not yet' notion in English can also be analysed in terms of a presupposition see my "Studies *sḏm.t=f* V (*sḏm.t=f*)", Appendix C [forthcoming].

[22] Comrie, *Tense*, 23–26 (1.7). Lyons, *Semantics*, 606: "it is generally agreed that implicatures can be cancelled or qualified in particular contexts".

[23] On the subject of conversational implicatures in contrast to discourse presuppositions see Lyons, *Semantics*, 592–606 (see the last page for the conclusion). See also T. Givón, *On Understanding Grammar*, Perspectives in Neurolinguistics and Psycholinguistics (New York 1979), 112–113 (3.2.5).

[24] See § 4 below.

[25] See § 5 below.

[26] See § 6 below.

[27] See § 7 below.

[28] Forthcoming as "Studies *sḏm.t=f* V (*sḏm.t=f*)", § 16 and § 18.

§ 4 The *sḏm.t=f* as a relative future tense and the translation trap in *n sḏm.t=f*.

In the study on *ḏr sḏm.t=f* I have argued that in *ḏr sḏm.t=f* the preposition/conjunction has the same basic meaning "(at) the time that" as in the other uses of *ḏr* where it is translated with "since/from the moment that", and that the translation with a relative future time reference ("before") is due to the verb form as a relative future tense: "he is yet to hear".[29]

Assuming that the verb form in *ḏr/r sḏm.t=f* is the same as that in *n sḏm.t=f*,[30] the latter construction also contains this verb form, with the same relative time reference as part of its meaning. The strongest plea against an assumption of different verb forms or of one verb form with different meanings in the *sḏm.t=f* constructions is that *ḏr sḏm.t=f* and *n sḏm.t=f* can be translated with "before".

Thus, despite the suitable English translation of *n sḏm.t=f* with "(while) he has/had not yet heard" – which can be analysed as involving an implicature – the reference to a relative future time in *n sḏm.t=f* cannot be an implicature and must be part of the meaning of the verb form.

§ 5 The roles of the negation and the verb form in *n sḏm.t=f*.

The passage Sh. Sailor, 30–32. *sr=sn ḏ^{c} n ỉy.t=ø nšny n ḫpr.t=f* "they foretold a storm, when (it) had not yet come, a tempest when it had not yet happened" – the parallel of the passage quoted in § 2 – is directly followed in lines 32–34 by the mention of the actual occurrence of a storm. The prediction has come true. Crucially, the negation in *n ỉy.t=f* does not assert the future nonoccurrence of the storm, but only its nonoccurrence at the time of the main clause.

In the light of my conclusion that the *sḏm.t=f* is a relative future tense, the translation of *n ỉy.t=f* must be rephrased to do justice to the Egyptian. The passage from the Shipwrecked Sailor should then be rendered – admittedly in impossible or very bad English – *"they foretold a storm, while it was not to come yet", which means "(they foretold a storm), while 'it was to come', but not then". "Then" represents the time reference coincidence with the main clause.

Let us now imagine that in the above example *sr=sn* is not a past tense, but rather signifies the present, which yields "they foretell a storm, while it has not yet come". In rephrased rendering it would be "they foretell a storm, while it is not to come yet", which means "they foretell a storm, while 'it is to come', but not (as) yet".

The translation of *n sḏm.t=f* with "while he has/had not yet heard" must contain the word "yet", because omitting it would completely change the meaning into one without reference to the relative future.[31] The addition of "yet" is obligatory for this

[29] See my "Studies *sḏm.t=f* I" (*ḏr sḏm.t=f*), *BiOr* 53, 631–634 (§ 16–17).

[30] See the last paragraph of the introduction above.

[31] It is unclear to me what L. Depuydt, "A History of Research on the Prospective *sḏm=f* Forms in Middle Egyptian", *JARCE* 30 (1993), 14 (F,1) means exactly with his remark that "in the negated verb form *n sḏm.t=f* 'he has not *yet* heard', the signified with which the signifier *t* forms a linguistic sign is the meaning 'yet' ". In this English translation the time adverb "yet" only gives rise to an implicature; see Comrie's analysis given in § 3 above.

time reference and is elicited by the meaning of the verb form. There is no evidence that the negation *n* can mean anything else than plain and simple "not".

The paraphrases "while it was to come, but not then" and "while it is to come, but not (as) yet" form an exact analogy with the meaning of the well-known type of verbal clause with the discontinuous negation *n...is*. The particle *is* functions there as a negative scope/focus specifier, diverting the reach of the negation from the verbal situation ("contradictory negation") to the scope of an adverbial adjunct/circumstantial clause ("contrary negation").[32]

In drawing now a comparison, I would like to point out that in *n sḏm.t=f* the occurrence of the situation in a relative future is not affected by the negation either. However, constructions of *n sḏm.t=f* involving contrary negation by the addition of *is* + a time adverb expressing the coincidence with the reference situation do not occur. Therefore it is the meaning of the verb form that must be held responsible for leaving the relative future occurrence of its Event untouched by the negation.

§ 6 Assertion and presupposition in the meaning of the *sḏm.t=f*.

The concept of the *sḏm.t=f* as a relative future tense offers a solution to the problem of why the negation in *n sḏm.t=f* only asserts that a situation does not occur at reference time, but, crucially, does not deny its occurrence in a future relative to it. The meaning of a relative tense is that it locates a situation in time relative to a reference time, which is given by the context. Thus, of necessity, two time points partake in the meaning of such a verb form.[33]

My explanation of why the negation *n* does not assert that a situation will not hold in a relative future, but in contrast leaves it untouched, is based on the presence of a presupposition in the meaning of the *sḏm.t=f*.[34]

Comrie's analysis of the distribution of presupposition and assertion in the Luganda 'no longer' tense in relation to its affirmative counterpart, the 'still' tense, can also be applied to the verb form as used in *ḏr sḏm.t=f* and *n sḏm.t=f*, where it equally concerns two time situations. Since presuppositions remain constant under negation and the negation leaves the relative future occurrence of the Event in *n sḏm.t=f* untouched, it may be inferred that the relative future occurrence of the Event is a presupposition.

---

[32] A. Loprieno, "Topics in Egyptian Negations", in D. Mendel und U. Claudi (eds.), *Ägypten im Afro-Orientalischen Kontext. Aufsätze zur Archäologie, Geschichte und Sprache eines unbegrenzten Raumes. Gedenkschrift P. Behrens*, Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere Sondernummer (Köln 1991), 214–219; id., *Ancient Egyptian. A Linguistic Introduction* (Cambridge 1995), 209–210 (7.8.1) and 213–214 (7.8.3).

[33] Comrie, *Tense*, 61: "in looking for examples of relative time reference, it is essential to ensure that the relative time reference interpretation is part of the meaning of the form in question". Not fully understanding H. Satzinger's argument in "*sḏmt.f* 'Schliesslich hörte er' ", *JEA* 57 (1971), 67, I surmise that with the formulation "der subjektive Standpunkt ist mittels der Negation vorverlegt" something comparable to my "reference time" is meant. Arguing in favour of a meaning of the *sḏm.t=f* "finally he heard", he formulates as follows: "es wird gleichsam nur das 'schliesslich' negiert, nicht das 'Hören' ", i.e. the final occurrence of the Event is not yet at stake at the time of the "vorverlegte subjektive Standpunkt".

[34] Compare P. Vernus's formulation in "Études de philologie et de linguistique VI", *RdE* 38 (1987), 173: "...la forme *n sḏmt.f*, où *sḏmt.f* est fondamentalement un accompli, avec, de plus, présupposition que l'action dont l'accomplissement est nié a été ensuite accomplie, ou devrait l'être".

Thus, the *sḏm.t=f* verb form can be described as follows: "if the verb form asserts that an Event is located in a future relative to a Reference point, then that Event is, necessarily, presupposed as part of its meaning".

Taking a wider view, I would like to suggest that with finite relative tenses in general, the relating of an Event in time to a Reference point *presupposes* the Event. If there were no Event, no Reference point would be needed; but because a Reference point is grammaticized as part of the meaning, the Event is a presupposition.[35]

§ 7 Assertion and presupposition in the meaning of *n sḏm.t=f*.

The use of the English time adverb "still" to render the meaning of a specific Luganda tense indicates that it asserts that "being still seated" holds at the present. This assertion entails, necessarily, that a "having been seated" holding continuously from some moment in the past until the present moment is presupposed.[36] The grammaticalization of this presupposition in the meaning of the affirmative 'still' tense excludes in its negative the meaning "you are still not seated", since it would then be asserted that "having been seated" in the past has not taken place. This presupposition in the affirmative tense cannot be affected by the negation, whence the meaning can only be that "being *still* seated at present" does not hold. This results in "being *no longer* seated".

Returning to *n sḏm.t=f*, this construction cannot mean: *"relative to a reference point in the context he is/was not going to hear", in which the nonoccurrence of a relative future Event would be asserted. Thus, if the *sḏm.t=f* enters into a syntagmatic relationship with the negation *n*, the semantics of the verb form, i.e. the presupposition contained in its meaning, bar from asserting that the relative future Event of hearing will not hold, and cause it to assert that it is only not holding at the reference time. This is why *n sḏm.t=f* can be translated with "before" + affirmative clause.

On the basis of the distribution of assertion and presupposition in the meaning of the *sḏm.t=f* verb form as described just above,[37] the negative construction *n sḏm.t=f* automatically receives the description: "if in the meaning of the verb form in its affirmative use the future holding of the Event relative to a Reference point is presupposed, then the negative construction can, necessarily, only assert that the relative future Event does not hold at reference time".

For the assessment of the role of negation in Classical Egyptian it is of importance to note that in grammatical studies of this language phase there appears to have been remarkably little interest in the explanation of the problem of how it is possible that in the negative construction *n sḏm.t=f* the negation asserts that the Event has/had not occurred at some point in time and leaves unaffected the relative future occurrence of the Event, with the result being the 'disappearance' of "not" in the adequate affirmative

[35] The "still" and "no longer" presupposition seems to belong to this type of presupposition, for which see Seuren, op. cit. (see my note 18), 3320. Little work seems to have done on the notions "still", "no longer" and, assumedly, "not yet" in connection with presupposition, witness Seuren's remark that "on the whole the literature (on presupposition) is remarkably silent on the question of a 'remainder' category of presuppositions induced by words like 'only', 'no longer', 'still' ".

[36] My formulation is slightly different from that of Comrie (quoted in my § 3 above).

[37] See § 6 above, last but one paragraph.

and commonly used translation with "before". Satzinger is the only one who has taken explicit notice of this phenomenon but, in general, it seems to have been taken for granted under the assumption that the negation in *n sḏm.t=f* means "not (yet)". But all the evidence concerning the construction demonstrates that the time adverb "yet" is a necessary element and cannot be regarded as optional.

To the role of the negation *n* in contradictory negation a refinement must now be added, i.e. that in *n sḏm.t=f* it 'contradicts' only part of the meaning of the verb form, owing to a presupposition that is grammaticized. Only superficially does this type of 'partial' negation resemble in effect contrary negation with *n-ỉs*.[38]

The description of the verb form and its negative construction as given by scholars who do not consider the *sḏm.t=f* to be a finite relative tense runs into a serious problem. For example, Borghouts defines the form as denoting a future result which is completed (a future perfect): *sḏm.t=f* means "he will have heard", and he argues that *n sḏm.t=f* means, strictly speaking, "he will not have heard", but in practice "he has not yet heard".[39] I cannot see how it is possible for a construction which asserts that an Event will not occur – or will not have occurred – to in practice always receive the opposite meaning in which its future occurrence is not affected by the negation.

If the Egyptian construction *n sḏm.t=f* is rendered literally, the translation of the example from the Shipwrecked Sailor quoted above would be: "they foretold a storm, when 'it was yet to come' was not (holding)". From the viewpoint of the relative future tense the meaning of the construction *n sḏm.t=f* is: "at Reference point an Event located in a future relative to it does/did not hold".

There are, however, rare examples of *n sḏm.t=f* denoting in an absolute past context an Event that is irreal, because it has been aborted by the action at the Reference point. Such examples seem to defy the above analysis of the presence of a presupposition of the relative future occurrence of the Event as part of the meaning of the *sḏm.t=f*. Since this phenomenon belongs rather to the domain of the verb form proper, the point will be discussed in the contribution devoted to it.[40]

§ 8 Two passages of *n sḏm.t=f* where the 'not yet' notion seems absent.

In connection with the first example given below Gardiner states that the temporal significance "not yet" is only very rarely absent.[41] In addition to the existential expression *n wnt*, where this is consistently the case,[42] he produces the following example as evidence for this.

Urk. IV 892,8–9. *ḥɜḳ.n=f dmỉ n Ḳdš n tš.t=ỉ r bw ḫr*(*y*)*=f* "it was without my swerving from the place where he was that he sacked the town of Kadesh", according to Gardiner's translation.[43] He translates the passage as if it reads *nn tšt=ỉ* "without

[38] For contradictory and contrary negation see my note 32 above.

[39] Borghouts, *Egyptisch* I, 102 (§ 47.a.1: "hij zal gehoord hebben") and 104 (§ 48.a.1: " 'hij heeft nog niet gehoord', eigl. 'hij zal niet hebben gehoord' "). Possibly in the same sense Graefe, *Mitteläg. Grammatik*, 101: "Bedeutung: abgeschlossene Handlung (zukünftig oder vergangen)". See also my note 2 above.

[40] "Studies *sḏm.t=f* V (*sḏm.t=f*)", § 18 [forthcoming].

[41] Gardiner, *EG*, 317 (§ 402, bottom).

[42] See Appendix A below.

[43] Gardiner, *EG*, 317 (§ 402, n. 10). Since the form *ḥɜḳ.n=f* would now be considered a Substantival

my swerving". This simple translation is so plausible that I suggest the negation *n* is here a mistaken writing for *nn*.[44]

Another example of a translation with only "not" comes from the medical texts.

Pap. (med.) Berlin 3038, 12,8–9.[45] *kt nt dr šnᶜ m ḫt n hɜy.t=f* "another (remedy) to drive off a constipation in the belly which does not go away", according to Westendorf's translation.[46] It is evident that we are here concerned with a remedy for a type of constipation that should have disappeared already at some expected time point, but is obstinate and lingers. Owing to the remedy it is expected to finally disappear, which was not yet the case at the time originally expected. This time point or the general present functions as the implicit reference time. A translation with relative temporal "before" does not fit here at all,[47] but a literal translation "when it has not yet gone away" or German "[eine Verstopfung], wenn diese noch nicht abgegangen ist" suits excellently. Also, the translations "which as yet has still not gone away", or German "der noch immer nicht abgegangen ist" come close to what is meant here.[48]

§ 9 The use of *n sḏm.t=f* in the main clause.

Gardiner has observed that in spite of the common use of *n sḏm.t=f* as a virtual adverb clause, the construction is not to be regarded as essentially subordinate in meaning.[49]

The following examples seem to provide excellent support for this observation. On account of their importance for the issue of main clause use of *n sḏm.t=f*, I would like to present here in advance three passive *n sḏm.t=f* constructions, which will also be dealt with in a forthcoming contribution on the passive *sḏm.t=f*.[50]

The most explicit evidence comes from one of the ferryman spells, where a conversation between the ferryman (F) and the deceased (D) is going on.[51]

CT [398] V 123*d* + 124*b*/G1T. *mḥ r=k wsḫt // n šd.yt=s* (D) "now make the barge ready" // (F) "it has not yet been hollowed out".

---

sḏm.n=f in an Emphatic Sentence, I have adapted Gardiner's translation in this vein.

[44] Gardiner, *EG*, 179 (§ 235); 80 (§ 104).

[45] For the reference see my next note.

[46] Westendorf, *Gramm. med. T.*, 195 (§ 268,2).

[47] Incomprehensible to me is Loprieno's translation, *GM* 37 (1980), 24: "Another (remedy) to keep away from the belly a constipation before it has gone away".

[48] Cf. Satzinger's translation in *Neg. Konstr.*, 30 (§ 40). Note that, although Westendorf drops "noch [immer]" in his translation of the passage, he translates cases of use of *n sḏm.n=f* (*Gramm. med. T.*, 172) with "noch nicht", since they have parallels with *n sḏm.t=f*. I suggest translating both versions literally because there is in practice very little difference in meaning. Case Sm 6 (2,21) *mj ɜht whnn n ḫrd n ᶜḏ.n=f* "like the weak spot of the skull of a child which is not hardened" versus Sm 8 (4,11) *n ṯs.t=f* "which has not yet attached". Case Eb 593 (76,1–4) *sšn snf n ṯs.n=f* "a bloodnest which does not attach" versus H 143 (10,2–4) *n ṯs.t=f* "which has not yet attached". The only difference is the overt presupposition of the *sḏm.t=f* that "attaching will yet occur", which does not underly the formulations with *n sḏm.n=f*.

[49] Gardiner, *EG*, 317 (§ 402): "*n sḏmt.f* is not to be regarded as essentially subordinate in meaning". Satzinger, *Neg. Konstr.*, 29: "*n sḏm.t-f* 'er hatte noch nicht gehört', bzw. im Zustandssatz 'bevor er hörte' ". Satzinger, *JEA* 57, 60. In Late Egyptian *bw ir.t=f sḏm* is an autonomous construction, made circumstantial by the converter *iw*; cf. recently J. Winand, *Études de néo-égyptien, 1. La morphologie verbale*, Aegyptiaca Leodiensia 2 (Liège 1992), 291–292 (§ 462). For a note on *n sḏm.t=f* as a main clause construction see my "Studies *sḏm.t=f* V (*sḏm.t=f*)", § 11 [forthcoming].

[50] "Studies *sḏm.t=f* IV (passive *sḏm.t=f/ms.*(*y*)*t=f*)" [forthcoming].

[51] See now H. Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata (Cairo JdE 36418). A Case Study of Egyptian Funerary Culture of the Early Middle Kingdom*, OLA 70 (Leuven 1996), 415–418 (7.4.3), particularly n. (t).

Ibid./G2T. *mḥ r=k s(y) wḫr.t(i?)* // *n šd.yt=s* (D) "now make it ready, it being thus carpentered(?)" // (F) "it has not yet been hollowed out".

CT [398] V 124*a-b*/M3C.[52] *mk rk sy m wḫrt* //*n šd.yt=s* (D) "now see, it is at the wharf" // (F) "it has not yet been hollowed out".

Less certain, but not improbable examples come from two letters in the Illahun templę archives. The ambivalence of a translation as either a subordinate or as a main clause is caused by the fact that in both examples the reference time is the absolute present of the writing of the letter ("as yet") and not an explicit reference situation in the context.

Pap. Berlin 10016, vo. 4a.[53] *(i)n iw rdi.n=k int iwꜣw(t)* (3?) *n šsp.t=ø* "have you caused the (three?) women workers to be brought? They have not yet been received".[54] However, the omission of the suffix pronoun may point to its use as a virtual relative clause:[55] "the (three) woman workers which have not yet been received".

Pap. Berlin 10025, 6.[56] *//// ntt sw r irt r bꜣk im n rd.yt sḏm bꜣk im irt.n=f* "//// that he will act against the humble servant. The humble servant has not yet been allowed to hear what he has done". In this letter a servant in trouble is writing to his superior.[57] Although it is also possible to translate with "while not yet",[58] I prefer to translate with a main clause because the repetition of the expression "the humble servant" in the main and the subordinate clauses in one sentence is not to be expected on stylistic grounds.

At least the examples of *n sḏm.t=f* in the main clause as used in the context of a speech situation ("as yet") prove that the construction is not exclusively subordinate. On account of the following example with the particle *iw* preceding the construction it has been suggested that this is necessary for conversion of *n sḏm.t=f* into a main clause.[59]

---

[52] = Gardiner, *EG*, 318, ex. 10a (*Coffins* M3C, 137 and G1T, 129).

[53] A. Scharff, "Briefe aus Illahun", *ZÄS* 59 (1924), 24–27 and 2**–3**; photograph in G. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie. Die aegyptische Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der fünften Dynastie bis zur römischen Kaiserzeit* I (Leipzig 1927), pls. 5/2, 6.

[54] For the interpretation as a question I follow D.P. Silverman, *Interrogative Constructions with* jn *and* jn-jw *in Old and Middle Egyptian*, Bibliotheca Aegyptia 1 (Malibu 1980), 12 (ex. 20). For *n sḏm.t=f* as active see Scharff, *ZÄS* 59, 24: "Du ließest 3 Arbeiterinnen bringen, die ich nicht erhalten habe (??)"; note his remark "wie *n šsp.t* am Ende des Antwortsatzes zu fassen ist, vermag ich nicht zu sagen"; so also Silverman ("(For) I have not yet received them") and E.F. Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, Society of Biblical Literature, Writings from the Ancient World 1 (Atlanta 1990), 76 (90): "I have not received any".

[55] See the next section.

[56] = Gardiner, *EG*, 318, n. 19 (*ZÄS* 59, 5, top). Now published by U. Luft, *Das Archiv von Illahun. Briefe 1*, Hieratische Papyri aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin 1 (Berlin 1992); for a photograph and transcription see under its inv. no.

[57] Luft, op. cit., see under translation and commentary of the inv. no.: "//// der gegen den Diener dort handelt. Nicht durfte der Diener dort vernehmen was er gemacht hat". Note that id., "Illahun Studien, II: Ein Verteidigungsbrief aus Illahun. Anmerkungen zu P Berol 10025", *Oikumene* 4 (1983), 149 (fig. 34) has transliterated *n rdj.tw*, despite the clear transcription *n rd.yt* (see pl. between pp. 168–169).

[58] Thus Wente, *Letters from Anc. Eg.*, 77–78 (94): "before I have been permitted".

[59] Satzinger, *Neg. Konstr.*, 29 (§ 40), n. 89: "ein selbständiger Satz, gebildet aus *jw* + Zustandsatz"; this despite the fact that on the same page (§ 39) he translates *n sḏm.t=f* with "'er hatte noch nicht gehört', bzw. im Zustandsatz 'bevor er hörte'". See also P.J. Frandsen, *An Outline of the Late Egyptian Verbal System* (Copenhagen 1974), 40–41 (§ 28,1); Callender, *Middle Egyptian*, 103 (4.10.1.1); Gaskins, *Notes on Middle Egyptian Syntax*, 168.

CT [157] II 344*b* – 345*b*/S2P.[60] *ḫr m wn=f m ḫrd ḫpr ḫrwt=f m šꜣ ỉw n mr.t ỉrt=f* "now when he was a child, his sacrificial animal became a pig. His eye had not yet become ill (then)".[61] This example is particularly good evidence for use as a main clause, because, if *ỉw n mr.t=f ỉrt=f* is taken as a subordinate clause expressing contrast, it would then rather be expected to directly follow *ḫr m wn=f m ḫrd*.

However, in the following example with the particle *ỉsṯ*, translation as a subordinate clause seems preferable.

CT [312] IV 76*a-c*/B6C.[62] N *pn wᶜ m nw n fnṯw Tm ḳmꜣ.n=f m ỉrt=f ỉsṯ n ḫpr.t ꜣst ms=s Ḥr* "this N is one of these serpents of Atum which he has made from his eye, nota bene when Isis had not yet come into existence that she might give birth to Horus".[63]

The interpretation of this clause introduced by *ỉsṯ* as a subordinate one cannot find support in an example from the medical texts containing the variant *sk*, because its exact meaning and grammatical structure are too uncertain to be used as good evidence for the role of *ỉsṯ* and its variants in this connection.

Pap. Ebers, 39,18–19.[64] *hꜣ sp pn m r=f r-pw m pḥwy=fy r-pw mỉ snf n šꜣ m-ḫt ḏꜣf=f sk ỉr.n=k n=f wt ḫr /// r bꜣg=st m-ḫꜣt sk n ỉr.t=k sp pn* "this case [of illness] descends either from his mouth or from his anus like the blood of a pig after its cooking. Nota bene you have then already made for him a bandage upon the ////, so that it [the bloodnest] will have clotted in advance. Nota bene, (that is), when you have not yet applied this treatment".[65]

Only rarely do these particles and the negation *n* occur together in other constructions, presumably to bring about a strong contrast, in translation often "whereas".[66]

Under the assumption that *ỉw n mr.t=f ỉrt=f* is indeed a main clause, the presence of *ỉw* here but not in the three examples of speech situations must be accounted for. These *n sḏm.t=f* constructions can only be interpreted as being used in a main clause, but in the instance with *ỉw* this is not so evident, an interpretation of *n sḏm.t=f* as a subordinate

---

60 = Gardiner, *EG*, 317 (§ 402), n. 5 (*ZÄS* 58, 20*).

61 The example *ibid.*, n. 9 (*Urk.* V, 6) *m wn n ḫpr.t sṯsw Šw*, translated by Gardiner with "when the supports of Shu had not (yet) come into existence" and considered by him to be the subordinated form of *ỉw n sḏm.t=f*, does not explain why *n sḏm.t=f* is not simply used; thus also in L. Gaskins, op. cit., 170. I prefer B. Gunn's solution in *Studies in Egyptian Syntax* (Paris 1924), 180 (7), who takes *m wn* as containing a participle ("as one who existed").

62 = Gardiner, *EG*, 317, n. 6 (Budge, p.167). For a study of Spell [312] see A. de Buck, "The Earliest Version of Book of the Dead 78", *JEA* 35 (1949), 87–97; H. Brunner, "Zum Verständnis des Spruches 312 der Sargtexte", in W. Röllig (ed.), *Das hörende Herz. Kleine Schriften zur Religions- und Geistesgeschichte Ägyptens*, OBO 80 (Freiburg/Göttingen 1988), 308–315 (the article was originally published in *ZDMG* [1961], 439–445).

63 Translated by Gardiner as a subordinate clause. For a translation see De Buck, *JEA* 35, 94; for a partial translation of the passage see Bickel, *Cosmogonie*, 96 (ex. 78).

64 = Eb. 198*c*, H. Grapow, *Die medizinischen Texte in hieroglyphischer Umschreibung autographiert*, GMAÄ 5 (Berlin 1958), 158.

65 This translation follows H. von Deines, H. Grapow, W. Westendorf, *Übersetzung der medizinischen Texte*, GMAÄ 4 (Berlin 1958), 91; see for this difficult passage also the commentary of id., op. cit. *Erläuterungen*, 87 (8). There the meaning "whether // whether" of *sk // sk*, as suggested in Gunn, *Studies in Egyptian Syntax*, 181 (10) and at the time followed by W. Westendorf, *Der Gebrauch des Passivs in der klassischen Literatur der Ägypter*, VIO 18 (Berlin 1953), 111, is strongly doubted. This has resulted in quite different translations.

66 See Gardiner, *EG*, 388, n. 9 (*Urk.* IV 751, 9); see for this example also F. Junge, *"Emphasis" and Sentential Meaning in Middle Egyptian*, GOF IV/31 (Wiesbaden 1995), 106 (E77a). See further Gardiner, *EG*, 313 (§ 394), exs. *Urk.* IV 38, 11; Inscr. Hatnub 11, 9.

clause expressing contrast being also possible. I suggest that the analogy with the particle *iw* marking the main clause in *iw/iṯ sḏm=f/sḏm.n=f* may explain this unusual combination: the particle functions here purely as a syntactic marker of independence, but now exceptionally in front of a construction that is almost exclusively known to exercise circumstantial function instead of fronting a circumstantial verb form.

§ 10 The omission of the suffix pronoun in *n sḏm.t=f* constructions.

Among the occurrences of *n sḏm.t=f* there are a number which may show omission of the suffix pronoun as subject, particularly in relative constructions where the antecedent is coreferential.[68] This phenomenon occurs in both genuine relative clauses with *ntt* and virtual ones with a circumstantial construction. That this is not restricted to *n sḏm.t=f* appears from the following examples with suffix pronoun omission in the verb form in *n sḏm=f*.

Urk. IV 7, 6. *mi ntyw n ḫpr=ø* "like ones who have not come into existence".

Inscr. Hatnub 22, 18.[69] *iw gr<t> ir.n=i ntt n ir.tw=ø in kywy rmṯ* "I now have done what had never been done by other people".[69]

Turning now to the *n sḏm.t=f* constructions, I would like to start with the 'true' relative clause with *nty*.

Eloquent Peasant B1, 271–272. *m wꜣ.(w) n ntt n iy.t=ø m ḥ^{c}.w n ntt n ḫpr.t=ø* "do not brood on what has not yet come, do not rejoice over what has not yet happened".

Contrary to *n sḏm=f* and *n sḏm.n=f* when functioning as virtual relative clauses, the omission of the suffix pronoun as subject also occurs in *n sḏm.t=f* in such a function. I will first refer to the example Pap. Berlin 10016, vo. 4a, which was discussed in the preceding section and which, taken as it stands, contains a unique passive *sḏm.t=f* with suffix pronoun omission.[70] Also, the two following examples have a directly preceding referent/antecedent.

Sh. Sailor, 30–32. *sr=sn ḏ^{c} n iy.t=ø nšny n ḫpr.t=f* "they foretold a storm which (lit., while (it)) had not yet come", and a tempest which (lit., while it) had not yet happened".

Urk. IV 971, 2. *rḫ imyw-ḫt n pr.t=ø ḥr spty mdw* "one who knows the inner things of the body, which (lit., while (they)) have not yet come forth on the lips of the speaker".

An intermediate position is taken by the following instance, where no explicit referent/antecedent is present in the immediately preceding context, but where the verb *ḏd* in the main clause automatically evokes the notion "speech, words".

CT [75] I 383*d* – 384*a*/S1C. *iw ḏd.n n=i ḥꜣtyw=ṯn nṯrw n pr.t=ø m r=ṯn.* "your hearts

---

[68] Gardiner, *EG*, 317 (§ 402): "the omission seen in the last example [Sh. Sailor, 30–32] is found elsewhere in cases where the context makes its expression superfluous".

[69] Anthes, *Hatnub*, 47–52.

[69] Similarly translated by Anthes, *Hatnub*, 49–50; P. Vernus, *Essai sur la conscience de l'histoire dans l'Égypte pharaonique*, BEHE 332 (Paris 1995), 63, n. 150. For a profound approach to this ideological motivation see now Vernus, op. cit., part 2.

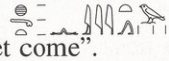
[70] An active translation would require emending the pronouns to express the subject and the object.

have (already) spoken to me (words), gods, which (lit., when (they)) had not yet come forth from your mouth".[71]

In the following instance the implicit referent is a general "something".

Stela Leiden V 7, vert., right, 3.[73] *sr n ỉy.t=ø mɜ n ḫpr.t=ø* "one who announces (something) which (lit., while (it)) has not yet come, who sees (something) which (lit., while (it)) has not yet occurred".

Here is an example in which the structure is identical with the preceding one, but the determinatives suggest a reinterpretation or misunderstanding by the copyist.

Enseignement Loyaliste, § 13,5/Pl.[74] *ḫmt n ỉy.t=ø* () "one who anticipates (something) which (lit., while (it)) has not yet come".

The plural determinative (Z2, vertical) in the verb *ḫmt* "to antipicate" – which is not uncommon there, but is borrowed from the distinct verb *ḫmt* "to do for the third time" – is followed by the negative arms sign (D35). I assume that the latter sign originally represented the negation *n*, but was reinterpreted as the final determinative of the verb *ḫmt* "to anticipate", another borrowing from the compound preposition *m-ḫmt* "in the absence of". This reinterpretation of the negative arms sign as the final determinative of *ḫmt* "to anticipate" may have entailed a further one, namely that of the *sḏm.t=f* verb form *ỉy.t=ø* as the word *ỉyt* "mishap". This subsequent reinterpretation, which breaks up the *n ỉy.t=ø* construction, would explain the presence of the 'bad bird' and plural determinatives (G37+Z2) after the writing *ỉyt*: "one who anticipates mishap".[75] Posener translates the writing *iyt* more neutrally with "ce qui peut arriver".[76]

In particular, the occurrence of *n sḏm.t=ø* in the examples containing 'true' relative clauses and the last three examples with *n sḏm.t=ø*, where no specific referent precedes, suggests that *n sḏm.t=f* in such constructions may, to some extent, no longer have been perceived as a construction with a finite verb form, but rather as an expression with a standard meaning signifying something like "before an Event".[77]

Schenkel and Loprieno have recently pointed out that *n sḏm=f* and *n sḏm.n=f* are verbal patterns with a bound negation, which cannot simply be split up into a negation and a verb form from the affirmative verbal system.[78] With reference to *n sḏm.t=f*, this coalescence may even have been reinforced by the restriction of the verb form to only two common uses with adverbial/circumstantial function: *n sḏm.t=f* being

[71] P. Jürgens, *Grundlinien einer Überlieferungsgeschichte der altägyptischen Sargtexte. Stemmata und Archetypen der Spruchgruppen 30–32 + 33–37, 75–(83), 162+164, 225+226 und 343+345*, GOF IV/31 (Wiesbaden 1995), 173 (104) and n. 35 fills the ellipse with "kein Wunsch". See also Bickel, *Cosmogonie*, 102 (ex. 82).

[73] P.A.A. Boeser, *Beschrijving van de Egyptische verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden. De monumenten van den tijd tusschen het Oude en het Middelrijk en van het Middelrijk. Eerste afdeeling: Stèles* ('s Gravenhage 1909), pl. 7.

[74] G. Posener, *L'enseignement loyaliste. Sagesse égyptienne du Moyen Empire*, CRHP, Hautes Etudes orientales 5 (Genève 1976), 132.

[75] R.O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford 1962), 10.

[76] Posener, *L'enseignement loyaliste*, 46. See R. Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch. Die Sprache der Pharaonen*, Kulturgeschichte der Alten Welt, 64 (Mainz 1995), 28.

[77] Just as the translation of *n sḏm.t=f* with "while not yet" is generally translated with "before". Cf. Gunn, *Studies in Egyptian Syntax*, 181 (C) on the construction *n sḏm.t=f*: "*n* is thus apparently equivalent to a preposition". See also Ritter, *Verbalsystem*, 243 (2–3), where it is remarked that particles, with inclusion of the negations, have prepositional character. For the 'true' relative clause compare the *nty ḥr/m/r sḏm* construction.

[78] W. Schenkel, *Einführung in die altägyptische Sprachwissenschaft*, Orientalistische Einführungen (Darmstadt 1990), 190 (4.5.c). Loprieno, *Ancient Egyptian*, 209 (7.8.1).

roughly equivalent in meaning to the adverbial expression "before an Event" and *r sḏm.t=f* to "until an Event". Though in Late Egyptian *bw ỉr.t=f sḏm* has become a typical main clause pattern,[79] *n sḏm.t=f* in Classical Egyptian almost always functions as a circumstantial construction.[79]

What is interesting with respect to the above phenomenon are two instances from one text, the first without and the second with the suffix pronoun *=ỉ* written out.

Dispute of a Man with his Ba, 11–12. *n sḏm.n=ỉ n=f ḥr sṯɜ=ỉ r m(w)t n ỉy.t=(ỉ?)/ø(?) n=f* "I do not listen to him whilst dragging me to death, while I have not yet come to it".

Ibid., 18–19. *ỉhm wỉ r m(w)t n ỉy.t=ỉ n=f* "restrain me from dying, while I have not yet come to it".

If the writing *n ỉyt n=f* in the first example is taken as it stands, the meaning comes close to "before coming to it".

Appendix A: the negative existential expression *n wnt* and the possible *n wn.t=f* construction.

In Middle Egyptian the negation *n* only precedes suffix conjugation forms, and on that syntactic account the negative existential expression *n wnt* seems to be a *n sḏm.t=f* construction.[80] There are, however, serious semantic and syntactic objections that force it to be set apart from the 'true' *n sḏm.t=f* construction.

The most important is, of course, that the typical 'not yet' notion always seems to be absent. No doubt for this reason grammars may refer to *n wnt* under the *n sḏm.t=f* construction, but will range it under the negative existential expressions, together with *nn wn* which has the same meaning "(while) there is not ...". A second objection is that, in contrast to *n sḏm.t=f* and in accordance with the *nn wn* construction, *n wnt* has no valency for suffix pronouns.

Since there is evidence from *ḏr wn.t=f* and *r wn.t=f* that *wn* is the stem of the *sḏm.t=f* of *wnn*,[81] a writing *n wnt=f*, as in the following example, might in principle qualify as a *n sḏm.t=f* construction.

CT [1042] VII 293*b-c*/B2L. *ɜḫ sfɜ=ỉ n wnt=f* "the *akh*-spirit which I hate, it does not exist".[82] A translation with "not yet" is unsuitable because the deceased gains much better prospects from a claim that a spirit which is hostile to him does not exist than from one saying that it not yet exists. The translation without "yet" is supported by the parallels which have the Nominal Sentence *n ntf wn* here.[83] Therefore, it is

[79] Winand, *Études de néo-égyptien*, 289–292 (§ 458–463).

[79] For the few exceptions see § 10 above.

[80] Thus Gardiner, *EG*, 317 (§ 402, bottom). For a different opinion see Gunn, *Studies in Egyptian Syntax*, 167.

[81] See my "Studies *sḏm.t=f* I (*ḏr sḏm.t=f*)", *BiOr* 53, 629 (§ 13: Pap. BM 10059, 14,7), and op. cit. *II* (*r sḏm.t=f*) in *OLP* 28, § 3 (Ptahhotep, 86–87) [forthcoming].

[82] In A. de Buck's arrangement, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts* VII (Chicago 1961), 293 the antecedent *ɜḫ* is taken to belong to section 293b; for the present arrangement see L. Lesko, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Two Ways*, University of California Publications, Near Eastern Studies 17 (Berkeley 1972), 47. Version B2P also has *n wnt=f*; the other parallels have *n ntf wn*, a Nominal Sentence "he is not an existing one".

[83] Lesko, *Book of Two Ways*, 47 also translates with "not".

improbable that we are dealing here with a *n sḏm.t=f* construction. Rather, this must be an exception to the general rule that the existential expressions have no valency for suffix pronouns.

The same line of argument concerning the deceased weakening his own claim is also valid for the next example, in which the deceased claims to be creator-like.

CT [261] III 384*d* – 385*a*/B1Bo. *ỉr wnnt* N *pn sꜣ pỉ n mst Tm msy n wnt mwt=f* "as for truly this N, he is the son of her who gave birth to Atum, one who was born while there was no mother of him".[84]

Nevertheless, *n sḏm.t=f* constructions of *wnn* may exist. In the following example translations with "while not yet" and with "while not" are both possible.

Urk. I 50, 13–14. *ỉr.n(=ỉ) ỉs pw ḥr rmn ỉmnty m st wꜥbt n{n} wnt/wn.t ỉs ỉm n rmṯ nb n-mrwt mk.t(ỉ) ḫt sbỉ n kꜣ=f* "it was in order that the property of him who had departed to his *ka* might be protected that I have built this tomb on the west side in a pure place, while there was no tomb (yet) of any man".[85] Whether the circumstantial clause with *n wnt/wn.t* is translated with "while not" or with "while not yet", in both instances it is related to *ỉr.n=ỉ*, which has absolute past time reference. However, in the translation with "while not" the clause *n{n} wnt* has relative present time reference in the absolute past, but in that with "while not yet" it has relative future time reference. The difference is that in the latter translation the owner would in his retrospective view explicitly express that by the very building of his tomb at a place where at the time no tomb existed this has now changed into the presence of at least one actual tomb, namely his own, which had been built before the present of the inscription.

None of the above random examples qualifies convincingly for a translation with "not yet". Still, it cannot be excluded that the existential expression *n wnt* is in origin a *n sḏm.t=f* construction. If so, it must then have lost the typical 'not yet' notion at the earliest possible stage, because there is no written evidence supporting a development from "not yet" to simply "not". I have explained above that "not yet" signifies something rather different from "not".[86]

However, *n wnt* could have gone through the following imaginary development: "he is not yet existent" (realisation presupposed) → "he is as yet still not existent" (realisation retarded, but still expected) → "he is ever still not existent" (realisation no longer expected to come about) → "he is not existent" (statement of nonexistence).

To some extent the use of "nog" in Dutch "dat betekent nog niet dat ..." is comparable; so also in German "das heisst ja noch lange nicht, dass ...". This usage is an euphemistic understatement of a speaker toward an (imaginary) addressee, which may well mean "taken at face value your conclusion seems based on argument and logic, but I do not agree (at all) with it".

---

[84] Bickel, *Cosmogonie*, 37 (ex. 9) follows the parallels, which have the better version *ỉnk wnnt sꜣ pw* and *tm* "everything" instead of *Tm* "Atum" (B1Bo with god determinative).

[85] E. Doret, *The Narrative Verbal System of Old and Middle Egyptian*, Cahiers d'Orientalisme 12 (Genève 1986), 28, ex. 12 translates as a main clause: "there was no tomb". He has a different view on the syntax of the sentence, taking *m st wꜥbt ḥr rmn ỉmnty* as the emphasized adverbial adjunct of *ỉr.n=(ỉ)*, and *n{n} wnt* as a main clause, followed by the subordinate clause with *n mrwt* etc.

[86] See § 7 above.

Appendix B: the negative construction *r tm.t=f sḏm.w*.

Strictly speaking, this construction involving the negative verb *tm* belongs with the *r sḏm.t=f* construction, which has already been studied,[87] but there are good reasons for dealing with it here. In the first place, like *n sḏm.t=f* it is a construction involving negation, and second, the problem of its translation is intimately connected with that of *n sḏm.t=f*, as I shall demonstrate.

There are only two examples of this construction that I know of.[88]

Ptahhotep, 465–466/Pr. *ir sp ḥnʿ=f wʿ(.w) r tm.t=k mn(.w) ḫrt=f* "deal with him in private, until you no longer suffer from his situation".

Letter to the Dead Naga ed-Deir, 5–6.[89] *im[=f] sbgs.w sꜣwt(y)=f r tm.t=f m[ꜣꜣ.w bꜣ]k im r nḥḥ* "he [the villain] must not (/never again) harm his guardian(?), until (finally resulting in that) he no longer sees this servant, forever".[90]

It is significant that it is necessary to translate here "no more/no longer".[91] In these passages the obligatory use of "*no more/no longer*" instead of "*not*" refers to a situation where someone is "not troubled anymore", actually a new state succeeding the old one of "being troubled". Though the assertion in these *r tm.t=f sḏm.w* constructions refers to the wish for the non-holding of some present negative situation in the future, the implication is that a new, positive one will prevail: "not being bothered anymore" = "to be left in peace".

It seems to me that here, too, the implied presence of a new situation derives from the presupposition of the existence of a situation which underlies the meaning of the *sḏm.t=f*.[92] Here, too, an Event – here actually the beginning of a new situation – is located in a future relative to a Reference situation and is presupposed.

---

87 "Studies *sḏm.t=f* II (*r sḏm.t=f*)", *OLP* 28 [forthcoming].

88 Cf. Lefebvre, *GEC*, 214 (§ 424, n. 3).

89 W.K. Simpson, "The Letter to the Dead from the Tomb of Meru (N 3737) at Nag'a ed-Deir", *JEA* 52 (1966), 39–52.

90 Translated by Simpson, *JEA* 52, 41: the sender Heni is writing to his deceased father Meru complaining about Seni "do not let [him, Seni] cause his protector(?) to be injured, so that he will not see this [servant] ever <again>"; alternatively (p. 50): "do not let him allow his guardian(?) to be hurt, so that he may never again see this [servant]". In connection with the great interpretation problems I quote G. Fecht's commentary in "Der Totenbrief von Nagʿ ed-Deir", *MDAIK* 24 (1969), 116–117: "*Snj* soll so lange 'bewacht' werden, bis er den *Ḥnj* in Ewigkeit nicht gesehen haben wird. Das heisst, *Mrw* soll nicht nur dafür sorgen, dass *Snj* den Absender (*Ḥnj*) nicht bedrohe, dass er ihn nicht töte (der Traum!); er soll darüber hinaus auch in Ewigkeit verhindern, dass *Snj* seinen [*Mrw*, LZ] Sohn [*Ḥnj*, LZ] 'sehen' und ihm damit – nach seinem, *Ḥnj*'s, natürlichen Tod – im Jenseits anklagend entgegentreten könnte".

91 For this presupposition see § 3 above.

92 See § 6 above.

BOBST LIBRARY
3 1142 02667 2371

New York University
Bobst Library
70 Washington Square South
New York, NY 10012-1091

DUE DATE	DUE DATE	DUE DATE

* ALL LOAN ITEMS ARE SUBJECT TO RECALL *

DUE DATE
AUG 30 2001
RETURNED
OCT 31 2001
Bobst Library
Circulation

DUE DATE
AUG 25 2003
RETURNED
AUG 02 2003
Bobst Library
Circulation

DUE DATE
MAY 22 2006
RETURNED
AUG 04 2008
BOBST LIBRARY
CIRCULATION

DUE DATE
RETURNED
DEC 28 2001
DEC 11 200
Bobst Library
Circulation

DUE DATE
JUL 24 2002
RETURNED
JUL 31 2002
Bobst Library
Circulation

108385