Notes to the catalogue

Major catalogue entries include detailed descriptions as well as annotated transliterations and translations. The text translations have been put into metrical form. The metrical stress groups are indicated in the transliteration by hyphens. Minor entries give short descriptions of text content only.

Since the material could be ordered under a number of different criteria, I have selected a geographical organization, which corresponds, in part, to the organization of the chapters. I have used the administrative divisions of the period, so Elkab is included with Nubia. The material from sites in Lower Egypt also form a single group. Within each site category, the sources are ordered chronologically; minor catalogue entries are grouped together following the major ones.

Unless noted otherwise, the objects are described from personal observation. Where I have measured the dimensions myself, for statues I give height, as well as the width and depth of the base. For stelae I give, where possible, height, width, and depth. Where I have used measurements from other sources, these may be more limited. Under ‘inscriptions’ I give transliterations, translations, and locations of other inscriptions on the object or associated with, but not part of, the main narrative treated in discussion. These are often names and titles inscribed elsewhere on a statue body or captions to scene registers on stelae and tomb walls. Under bibliography, I include Porter and Moss, and Schulz (1992, for statues), and anything more recent than these. Where there is an existing bibliography in Porter and Moss or Schulz this is not repeated. I include older publications where they provide images, details about provenance, or where they have been used in the notes and/or discussions. For the minor entries, I only give as much information as is practically accessible on them.

Transliteration and translation conventions

[ ] – traces or restored
[?] – reading uncertain
[...] – group missing; details of large lacunae are given and rendered in translation by ...
<> – scribal error
{} – superfluous signs
() – supplied for convenience
Nubia and Elkab

Cairo, Egyptian Museum
JdE 41395 (stela),
JdE 41398 (jambs)

Figs. 2–5

**Object type**  rectangular stela with lintel and jambs
**Date**  Ramesses II (cartouches)
**Provenance**  Wadi es-Sebua, north wall of the second court of the temple (Barsanti and Gauthier 1911, 64; Dewachter 1985, 32, n. 33, contra PM VII, 55)
**Dimensions**  Stela H: 1.90m W: 1.05m; Jambs H: 1.90m W: 0.22m
**Material**  sandstone

**Description**
The scene in the upper register depicts Ramesses II on the left kneeling with both arms raised and his palms cupped to offer wine. A globular vessel is visible in one of his hands. He wears the blue crown and a short kilt. Seated before the king are figures of Amun-Re, the deified Ramesses II, Mut, and Maat. Amun holds a w's-sceptre before him in one hand while the other holds an ankh on his lap. He wears a double-plumed crown and his legs are undifferentiated, perhaps because of a garment, in contrast to those of the deified king behind him. The details of much of his face and body are lost. The figure of the king behind wears the atef crown and holds a crook and flail across his chest. A line visible across his knees indicates that he wears a kilt. Mut is seated behind the king. She holds an ankh in her lap in her left hand; her right is raised. She wears the double crown, tripartite wig, and a long robe. The final figure is Maat, whose pose is identical to Mut’s. The lower part of her damaged feather emblem is visible above her head. In the bottom left corner of the stela, adjacent to the last nine lines of text, are traces of a kneeling figure, presumably Setau, raising his arms in adoration. He wears a short kilt and his forward knee is visible.

The stela is framed on either side with jambs bearing large royal cartouches followed by the titles and name of Setau. The top of the stela is missing (Barsanti and Gauthier 1911, 77). The current display in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo joins the stela and jambs with a large lintel (JE 41397) which Kitchen includes as part of the object group (KRI III, 91, 9–11; however, it is the lintel to a temple door (Dewachter 1985, 27, no. 26; 28, no. 35; Raedler 2003, 141, no. 38).

**Inscriptions**
In the scene, above the head of the kneeling king, are four columns giving epithets and cartouches (→): 

\[
\text{Intr-nfr nb-tlwy nb-jrt-ht} \quad \text{(wsr-m^t-r r stp-n-r r)} \quad \text{(r r-ms-sw mry-jmri) \ dj m-jrp n-jt.f-jmn,}
\]

‘Perfect god, lord of the two lands, lord of ritual action, Usermaatre setepenre Ramesses meryamun. Offering wine to his father Amun’. Captions above each deity give name and epithets (→):

\[
\text{jm-nr} \quad \text{nb-nswt-tlwy}, \quad \text{‘Amun-re, Lord of the thrones of the two lands’}, \quad \text{nb-hjw (r-r-[ms-sw] mry-jmnn)}; \quad \text{‘Lord of appearances, Ra[messes] meryamun’}, \quad \text{mwt nbt-pt; ‘Mut, Lady of the sky’}, \quad \text{[mst]} \quad \text{s3-t-r, ‘[Maat], daughter of Re’}. \]

The biographical text below consists of twenty-four lines of horizontal text (→).
The left jamb bears a single column of inscription including the remains of royal cartouches and Setau’s titles: [...] nswt-bjty nb-t3wy (wsr-m3ْt-r r sp.n-r) dj-fnh hsy-c3 mrr-nb.f s3-nswt n-kš jmy-r3-b3swt-nbw n-jmn t3j-hw hr-wnm-nswt jmy-r3-prwy-hd s3m-hb n-jmn sh-nswt st3w m3ْ-hrw, ‘[...] Dual king, lord of the two lands, Usermaatre setepenre, given life; one greatly favoured, beloved of his lord, viceroy of Kush, overseer of the gold lands of Amun, fanbearer on the right of the king, overseer of the double treasury, festival leader for Amun, royal scribe, Setau, true of voice’. The column on the right jamb bears a similar inscription: [...] s3-r nb-hw (r-c-ns-sw-mry-jmnn) dj-fnh hsy-c3 n-ntr-nfr s3-nswt n-kš jmy-r3-b3swt-rsy t3j-hw hr-wnm-nswt jmy-r3-pr-wr n-jmn sh-nswt st3w m3ْ-hrw m-hwp, ‘[...] son of Re, lord of appearances, Ramesses meryamun, given life; one greatly favoured of the perfect god, viceroy of Kush, overseer of the southern lands, fanbearer on the right of the king, high steward of Amun, royal scribe, Setau, true of voice, in peace’.

**Condition**
The stela was found broken into ten fragments (Barsanti and Gauthier 1911, 77) and has been reassembled. The lintel is missing. Four cracks have destroyed significant areas of the surface. A small section is missing from the lower left side. The cracks render large areas virtually illegible. One crack also partially obliterates the figure of Amun in the upper scene. Surface salts, especially down the left side, as well as the effects of weathering, make the remaining sections of text very difficult to read; many signs are very blurred and indistinct. I attempted to check the text in April 2001 and noted that its condition had further deteriorated since Wente’s copy was made in about 1981.

Both jambs are broken into three pieces and have chipped and roughened edges, as well as significant salt damage.

**Bibliography**
Barsanti and Gauthier (1911, 77–81, pl. V)
Gauthier (1912, pl. 66A)
Helck (1975)
Kitchen (1975–6)
KRI III, 91, 6–94, 11
Wente (1985). The condition of the stela is such that a number of readings are very uncertain. My translation largely follows Wente’s reading, restorations, and translation, as his copy text is largely a response to those of Kitchen and Helck. Notes are only given to readings that require further discussion.
Kitchen (2000, 63–5); translation
Raedler (2003, 153–9)

**Translation**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\textsuperscript{1}rnpt-sp\textsuperscript{-4}[4]} & \text{ tpy-prt sw-2} \\
\text{hr-hm-hr k3-nht mry-m3ْt} & \\
\text{nb-hbw-sd mj-jt.f pth-tl-tnn} & \\
\text{nbty mk-kmt w\textsuperscript{f}-b3swt} & \\
\text{r-c ms-nfrw [grg-t3wy]} & \text{Year 4[4], first month of \textit{prt}, day 2:}
\end{align*}
\]

under the Person of Horus, strong bull, beloved of Maat, possessor of sed-festivals like his father Ptah Tatenen, Two Ladies, protector of Egypt, who curbs foreign lands, the Re who fashions the gods [and who founds the two lands],

3
Golden Horus, mighty in years and great of victories,
Dual King, lord of the two lands,
Usermaatre setepenre,
son of Re, lord of appearances, Ramesses meryamun
living forever and ever.

Viceroy of Kush, overseer of the gold lands,
fanbearer on the right of the king, royal scribe,
Setau, true of voice.

He says, in extolling this perfect god,
Horus, beloved of Maat:
[I am a servant?] whom His Person [himself] taught,
in the [... of the king?, repeating what was good?, foster-
child] of the palace,
for I grew up in the palace when I was a youth,
[... ...] speechless in the affairs of the [one who is in the
palace?]

I was provided with [complete] rations from [the king's
meal?],
while I was in the [room of?] writing and in school.
I was recognized [as one who performs beneficent acts
for?] his lord,
and I was appointed as chief scribe of the vizier.

I assessed the entire land with my great pen,
being like a venerated one of the king, truly unique and
assiduous.
Fault [was not] found with me in all that I did,
for I acted in every beneficent way,
for my lord, since he recognised me.

I instituted divine offerings for all the gods,
and I increased the [regular offerings] of every day,
through perfect action.
Their treasuries were overflowing,
filled with produce,
their granaries approached the sky,
with heaps of emmer,
and goods, as apportioned.
They were established as many [... ...] 
grain? being under my control.
My lord recognised me as effective, in delivering [the grain of] the granary —
winnowed grain by the million.
I caused the granary to be pregnant with the harvest, and I measured it? [...] [... in order to nourish] all lands. d
I did not act for this [land] that the growth of any child might be be stunted (?!);
I caused those who are young to extol His Person,
He promoted me to high steward, of Amun in Thebes, and [I performed?] my [offices?] while I was overseer of the treasury, and festival leader for Amun.
The braziers of gold were in my hands, presenting before him, exalting His Person, honouring the Lord of the Two Lands, each time he appeared,
[adoring Amun?] on behalf of [the sovereign?],
that he (Amun) may grant him eternity as King of the Two Lands.
Again my lord recognized my name on account of the greatness of my excellence;
I was appointed as viceroy of [this] land [of Kush], [overseer of the] gold [lands]:
Northerners presented to him, in tens of thousands and thousands, Nubians by the hundreds of thousands without limit.
I brought all the assessments of this land of Kush, in double measure.
I caused [the tribute] of this land of Kush, to be [like] the sand of the shore, for no viceroy of Kush had done it, since the time of the god.
The powerful forearm of Pharaoh, (my) perfect lord, plundered,
the land of the wretched Irem.
[He captured the] chief of Akerty, with his wife, child, and all his staff;
I was the army commander leading the way at the head of his army,
for no viceroy of Kush had trod this path(?)

I went out(?) (with) all those captured through my action, and brought together in one place.
I informed one (the king) of them, and they were taken to Egypt.

Then I built the temple
of Ramesses-meryamun in the domain of Amun,
carved from the western mountain as a construction of eternity,
filled with numerous people of the plundering of His Person,
his storehouses being filled with goods approaching [the sky],
[barley?], emmer, and many grains,
while he is within the shrine of Amun of Ramesses-meryamun,
the lord of the ways, Horus of Quban with him,
great [...] of/from the south.

I built all the temples of this land of Kush,
all of which had previously fallen into ruin,
made anew,
[in the great name of His Person,]
 [...] his [cartouche] being established upon them forever.

My lord favoured me on account of what I had done,
and he made me exalted (?).
He caused that I sit in the court in order to judge the two lands,
I being foremost [... ...], at the head of the courtiers.

My response made the lead for them
when judging cases and they concurred with me,
etirely with my [advice?],
after my speaking Maat without doing anything false,
for I know that His Person loves Maat.

She is the one who [protects?] him,
And I am the servant of Maat, great ...,
mtr[s-nb f] dj.s-gmf-twj
She instructed my lord and she caused him to recognise me,
hr-hhy-jrt-n.f 3hw 23m-jb-mrw
seeking to perform beneficient acts for him with a loving heart.
dj f(wj) m-h3t-$nyt $mn.j-hsyt
He placed (me) at the head of the courtiers, so that I might mingle with the favoured ones.

jmj-jry-sr-nb jn.nj nb.j
Let every noble do what I have done for my lord,
dr-gm.f-hprw 24 j qd.j r-dr.w
since he recognized my form and my character entirely,
gm.tw-wn.w
so that their names (also) be recognized;
n-k3-n-s3-nswt n-k8 jmy-r3-h3swt-nbw
for the ka of the viceroy of Kush, overseer of the gold lands,
ty-hw hr-wnm-nswt sh-nswt
fanbearer on the king’s right, royal scribe,
stlw m3 r-hrw
Setau, true of voice.

Notes
a) This line is now virtually illegible. I accept Wente’s reading (1985, 352–3, b–d) but Helck’s (1975, 86–7) may also be possible: sb3 n hm.f [ds f] m p3 hm n [stp s3].
b) I disagree with Wente’s (1985, 351, 353 n. f) translation of this passage: ‘[being one who was] inept but for the Inhabitant of the Palace’. Comparable statements are perhaps those concerning lowly origin, notably in Amarna biography (Assmann 1980, 12–5). The presence of such a motif in the context of palace upbringing seems unlikely. Helck’s (1975, 87–9) rendering may be more appropriate: ‘Wenn der Beauftragte sprachlos war, eröffnete ich den Befehl’, [jr] [wpwy] dgm wp.j wd-mdw. The motif of the herald also occurs in the biography of Nefersekheru: ‘There was no memorandum concerning me to a herald of the Lord of the Two Lands’, nn-shty j r-whm n-nb-t3wy (7.a, col. 9).

I know of no use of dgm in a biographical or other narrative context. It occurs a number of times to describe unresponsiveness in a patient in P Edwin Smith, where a gloss provides a definition: ‘As for “he is dgm (det. u”)’, it means he is silent in dizziness, without speech, like one with feebleness because of something that has entered from outside’ (Breasted 1930, 296–7). Westendorf (1966, 61) and Bardinet (1995, 506) translate dgm here as ‘senseless’ which may be appropriate to Setau’s text, perhaps applicable to another individual (with Helck), or in reference to Setau himself (e.g. ‘one who is not senseless’). dgm is determined here by $. The feathers, which I have checked on the stela, may be a signal of office. Thus dgm may be meant as a positive quality; the gloss describes someone without speech or motion perhaps referring to Setau as quiet and still with concentration when dealing with palace affairs. The reading cannot, however, be resolved fully and I render ‘speechless’ in my translation to permit both a positive or negative nuance.
c) As discussed by Wente (1985, 253, n. h) this phrase could equally be read ‘qw-s’, ‘large rations’ or even ‘qw-jrtt’, ‘bread and milk’, although the latter seems implausible. Helck (1975, 88–9) read m-sh-`bw-nbw, ‘as scribe of all the horned cattle’ after this. Wente’s reading of `bw as ‘meal’ seems preferable. He states in his note that the vertical line beneath m is too straight to be
considered as part of nswt; on the original + seems possible. A parallel for 'bw(-r3)-nswt in a similar royal context is the biography of Nefere sekheru (7.a, col. 10).

d) I follow Helck here (1975, 88–9). Wente (1985, 355, n. aa) considers the trace of the first sign in the first group on line 9 is too curved to be m and suggests (1985, 351): ‘I cleared all the canals’, [ṣd j?] mrw nb. The fragmentary biographical text on the statue of the overseer of the domain Tu roy may provide a parallel for a reference to canal digging: ‘[I dug?] for them (the gods) a canal, I planted it with trees to supply offerings’ (5.b; KRI III, 463, 14–5). I was not able to see any traces here and Helck’s reading is supported by the overall theme of the stanza which is concerned with grain production.

e) Wente’s reading, which I follow, hinges on reading rd after d3. ḫ seems clear to me on the original. Although this is an unusual image, it seems preferable to Helck’s (1975, 89) rendering: ‘wobei sich mir gegenüber kein Widerspruch erhob’. Striking imagery concerning provision and protection of children is also deployed in the biography of Anhurmose (5.a, e.g. cols. 44–5).

f) The reading of these two verses is uncertain. The shift from the king as the object of praise to the god may allude to a fusion of royal and divine presence. Wente (1985, 351, 356 n. gg) reads ḫin the preceding verse as ‘to cleanse’ (Wb. V, 253, 5–245, 16). This would perhaps be an exceptional statement for a non-royal individual to make, although the offering of braziers does allude to priestly activity. The fragmentary statue of the priest Nebenmaat, from Abydos, includes statements concerning the preparation of a cult statue: ‘I purified my god, and I cleansed […]’, wr’.n(j)-ntr.j twr.j (ивания 4) n [...] (4.d, rear surface, left side). Line 17 makes reference to a statue of the king (see n. h); if twr could be read ‘cleanse’, actions performed by Setau for this statue may be mobilized here. However, the context of praise (sw3$) suggests a more general reading of twr ‘respect, pay honour to’ (Wb. V, 252, 14–17), with Helck (1975, 89) and Kitchen (2000, 64).

g) A number of readings of these verses are possible through the word-play with dgs. Wente translates (1985, 352): ‘whereas no Viceroy of Kush had trodden such a treading as I trod, with all those captured through my action being brought in all together’. He also discusses an alternative reading (1985, 357, n. pp): ‘no Viceroy of Kush has trodden the land which I trod. I trod and captured all of them through my action, they being brought in all together’, restoring t3 after p3, reading the second occurrence of dgs as a relative form, and the third as introducing a new sentence. In my rendering I follow Raedler (2003, 156) with the second occurrence of dgs as a noun introduced by the demonstrative.

h) Helck (1975, 99–100) had a very different reading of this passage, taking the masculine singular third person suffix as referring to the temple itself and sḥ as ‘donated land, domain’. Thus he considered the temple of Wadi es-Sebua (called pr-r’-ms-sw-mrj-jmn m-pr-jmri) to be a small temple under the administration of a larger temple complex dedicated to Amun of Ramesses meryamun, the lord of the ways.

Since hwt-ntr is feminine, I prefer to accept Wente’s plausible suggestion that the suffix refers to a statue of the king which resides in the temple. The king is referred to in the preceding stanza – the temple is ‘filled with people from the plundering of His Person’ and the masculine possessive of nṣy f wd with immediately follows is best understood as ‘his warehouses’. The movement from king as active individual to cult object, perhaps already alluded to in line 10,
seems preferable to a return to the temple as subject. Kitchen (2000, 65) alternatively reads as referring to the grain: 'it being from the land-endowment of Amun-of-Ramesses II, the Lord of the Ways, Horus of Baki being with him as [...] which I received (?) as emmer (?)'. This seems unlikely as grain is not specifically mentioned before.

The reading of slḥ is ambiguous. slḥ is used to designate lands endowed to temples on donation stelae (Wb. IV, 21, 7–11; Meeks 1979, 646, n. 185). Traces of the determinative Ś are visible, implying a more specific reading as an ‘endowed building’ or ‘shrine’. slḥ, [ḥ n] is used in a caption to an image in the tomb of Amenmose in Thebes (TT 19) which depicts a pillared shrine with low screen walls bearing a barque and figure of Thutmose III: pḥ-slḥ-ntr n-hḥ-nswt n-nswt-(mn-hpr-rḥ) dt nḥḥ (Foucart 1935, pl. 13). Yoyotte (1951, 12, n. 22), followed by Kitchen in his earlier study (1975–76, 300, n. 22), considers that the shrines depicted on stelae dedicated with Setau’s in the temple were also slḥ-shrines of this type.

i) The group after the Maat sign is clear, ±±, but its reading is problematic. Neither Wente’s (1985, 358, n. hhh) reading as mwt.fwr†, ‘his great mother’, nor Helck’s (1975, 92–3) as mḥt mrt.fwr†, ‘Maat, who loves him greatly’, seems satisfactory. Neither epithet is included in Leitz (2002, III). I leave the group untranslated.

1.b

**Viceroy of Kush Setau**

*Elkah, small rock-chapel*

Fig. 11

**Location**  
Interior, north wall, right and left sides of the entrance

**Date**  
Ramesses II (cartouches)

**Dimensions**  
unknown

**Description (from Derchain 1971, pls. 29–30)**

Interior wall, left of the entrance, Setau stands, facing right. He wears a short wig and long robe with wide sleeves. His right hand is raised in a gesture of address, his left holds a hw fan, with streamers. He wears sandals. Right of the entrance, Setau stands, facing left. He wears a short wig, with some details visible and a long, elaborate robe. His right arm is raised and his left holds a hw fan across his body.

**Inscriptions**

Nine columns (→) wrap around the figure of Setau in the scene on the left, four in front of him, four above, and one column behind. These include a prayer to Nekhbet on behalf of Ramesses II and some statements of Setau’s relationship with Ramesses II. Five columns of text (←) in front of the figure of Setau on the right and four above, including epithets relating his moral character and relationship with Ramesses II.

**Condition**

Badly damaged. The left scene has lost parts of the inscription, as well as details of Setau’s face, his body, and fan. Three or four groups remain of each of the columns in the scene on the right; Setau’s right hand and lower legs are lost, a gouge runs through his lower face and neck.
**Bibliography**
Derchain (1971, 69–70, pls. 29–30)
Drenkhahn (1975)
KRI III, 84, 8–85,4
Kitchen (2000, 58–9); translation
Raedler (2003, 147–8, fig. 9)

I.c

**Fanbearer [Hor/Mutjemheb**]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Object type</strong></th>
<th>stela fragment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Date</strong></td>
<td>Ramesses II (historical)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Provenance</strong></td>
<td>fortress, level A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dimensions</strong></td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Material</strong></td>
<td>sandstone</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Description (from Vercoutter 1958, pl. 45a)**
Traces of a recumbent animal on a pedestal are visible in the upper register.

**Inscriptions**
Traces of nine columns (→) of text are visible mentioning the Viceroy Setau and different offices held and actions performed under the Viceroy Paser and the Viceroy Huy.

**Condition**
Unknown amount lost; some parts of the remaining columns are legible.

**Bibliography**
Vercoutter (1958, 156–7, pl. 45a)
KRI III, 110, 6–14
Kitchen (2000, 75); translation
2 Thebes

East Bank, Karnak

2.a
High priest of Amun Bakenkhons

Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CGC 42155

Figs. 13–4

Object type block statue
Date Ramesses II (cartouches)
Provenance Karnak cachette (redeposition)
Dimensions H: 1.20m
Material fine limestone

Description
CGC 42155 is a plain block statue, slightly moulded to human form, and seated on a large and clearly defined cushion. There is a wide back pillar. The wig is a short braided double wig with echeloned side panels and partially covered ears. The facial features are carefully carved; the eyes have carved outlines, strongly curved eyebrows, and full lips. The neck is short and largely hidden from the front by a braided beard. The hands are laid flat upon the knees, palm down and are carved in low relief. The feet are covered by the garment. There is a single small base, rounded at the front to fit the body.

Inscriptions
There are four columns of hieroglyphic inscription on the knees (→), six columns on the back pillar (→), and one horizontal line around the base (→). Cartouches are inscribed on both shoulders. Due to the statue's current position in the museum (April 2001), the back pillar and the back of the base are not visible.

Condition
The original nose was broken off and restored in antiquity but this restored nose is now almost broken away and there is damage to the mouth and right cheek area as well. There are other small points of damage on face, body, and base. The statue's left shoulder is broken away as is part of the back left side; the left back corner is missing. Almost the entire sixth column of the back pillar is lost; the damage to this section is visible despite the statue's current position in the museum.

Bibliography
KRI III, 295, 7–297, 3
Kruchten (1989, 179)
Schulz (1992, I, 255–6, cat. 140, II, pl. 58 b–c)
Lichtheim (1997, 47–9)
Saleh (1999, 188–91, cat. 42)
Kitchen (2000, 212–3); translation
An offering which the king gives to Amun-Re, the primordial one of the two lands, noble potentate, who prevails in majestic splendour, great of terror; to Mut, the great one, eye of Re; to Khonsu, perfect of peace, that they may place my name endurably in Thebes, established in Karnak, all that goes forth from their offering tables before my statue,

for the ka of the God’s Father, pure of hands, the third priest of Amun, the second priest of Amun, the overseer of all the priests of all the gods, the high priest of Amun, Bakenkhons, true of voice.

He says: I am the overseer of works, foremost in Thebes in all effective works for I am an effective confidant of his lord guiding all the craftsmanship in every monument which he made for his father Amun.

He says: I am a man of Thebes from my father and my mother, the son of the second priest of Amun in Karnak. I came forth from the room of writing, in the temple of the Mistress of Heaven, as an excellent youngster.  

I was taught to be a wab priest in the domain of Amun, as a son under guidance of his father. He favoured me; he perceived for my character. I followed him in a truthful way.
I was initiated to (the position of) God’s Father and I saw all his manifestations.\(^b\)

I did what is beneficial in his temple, in all effective works.

I did not neglect my duties at his side.

I stepped in humility upon his ground, fearful of his awesomeness.

(I) was not angry with his staff; I was a father to them.

I judged the wretched with the powerful, the strong with the weak.\(^c\)

I gave the possessions of every man to them, (for) greed is my abomination.

I made a burial for the one lacking an heir, a coffin for the one who has none.

I was a defender for the orphan, [who appealed?] to me,\(^d\)

I cared for the widow.

I did not drive a son from the place of his father and I did not take a nursling from his mother.

My arms were open and I gave to the one without, my food offerings (given) to the one who is in need.

[commanding?] the one who came to petition me.\(^e\)

I opened ears to the one who spoke maat.

[... involved] in wrongdoing.

For the ka of the member of the p\(^t\)t, count, [...]

[ ... ]

[Bal]k(en)khons, true of voice.

Member of the p\(^t\)t, count,

God’s Father, beloved of the god, keeper of secrets in the sky, land and netherworld, great of seers of Re in Thebes,

sem priest and chief controller of the craftsmanship of Ptah, overseer of all the priests of all the gods, high priest of Amun,

Bakenkhons, true of voice.
He says: I am a silent one, truly assiduous, the possessor of graciousness among people, who respects [his god?], who magnifies his renown, who trusts himself to his every action, being joined with the crew, a favoured one of the Hidden of Name.

[I made?] […… …… …] [eating?] from his provisions. 1

May I receive an old age bearing the favours which he gives in his temple.

a) The rendering here is uncertain. I take the sdm.n.f in this passage as a second tense, following Kruchten, although he places the emphasis differently; ‘c’est dans le temple de la Maîtresse du ciel que je suis sorti, en enfant accompli, de la salle des écrits’ (1989, 179). The sdm.n.f form has a restricted use in the texts on both statues, occurring as a relative clause or a second tense. I see the focus here as nds jqr rather than the location of the ‘room of writing’. The literariness of the term warrants such a focus. However, strict grammatical readings of the passage may not be helpful in understanding the structures used; its effect may be poetic, emphasizing skill with language and metrical patterning.

nds jqr describes Bakenkhons in his early years on the back pillars of both statues, and is only one of many terms used for childhood in the text. In the Munich statue, the four years Bakenkhons spent as a nds jqr form the first stage in his life that is mentioned, preceding his 11 years as a hwn in the stable of Sety I. The compound which is common in the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom (Janssen 1946, I, 3–4; G 15–26), is rare in the New Kingdom, nds alone having meanings of ‘youth’ or, possibly, ‘poverty’ (see also Loprieno 1996a, 57). It is laden with literary connotations from Middle Egyptian classics but the precise meaning of nds in the Middle Kingdom remains unclear (Parkinson 1996, 142). Doxey observes (1998, 196) that nds is not used to identify the protagonist of biographies until the First Intermediate Period texts at Naga ed-Deir. Through the use of this phrase Bakenkhons demonstrates his literary aspirations.

b) There may be a play between the literal meaning of father in column 1 and the title God’s Father, perhaps contrasting the humanity of one role with the divine associations of the other. On his Munich statue (2.b) the use of hm in ‘I am a servant (jnk-hm)’, in cols. 3–4 on the front, could be a play on the title hm-ntr-tpy n-jmn.

c) The Worterbuch (IV, 13, 17) notes three other attestations of s3-r apart from this text. One is a Middle Kingdom self-presentation from Rifa (Griffith 1889, pl. 19, 19). The word also occurs in the Middle Egyptian literary texts, The Teaching for Merikare and The Prophecies of Neferty (Golènischeff 1913, pl. XIV, 136; pl. XXV, 54). Again Bakenkhons is drawing on archaic literary terminology in his narrative.

d) I have tentatively restored spr ‘appeal’ based on both the surviving determinative 𓊨 and the context. The determinative used is different to that in the writing of spr in col. 6.
e) The writing of the word for ‘without’ here is unusual, especially when contrasted with that in col. 4 where the feminine form of jwty is used (Wb. I, 46). That jwty is also meant here is indicated by the determinative: $\text{ examines }.\\n
f) The reading of wd is based on the parallel in col. 3.

g) $\text{ ‘throw out’ (Wb. III, 227–8) is a tentative reading of }\text{ and seems appropriate in the context. A writing of$}$ with the quail chick is unusual and may be a misreading of $\text{.}

h) The restoration of ntr here is suggested by Kitchen (KRI III, 296, 16a).

srh $\text{ occurs once in this text, twice in the texts on the Munich statue, and in the parallel passage on the base of the naophorous statue of Bakenkhons’ predecessor, Paser: }\text{ (CGC 42156; KRI III 293, 6). In the later transmission of this formula, on the block statue of Roma-Roy and in Amenhotep’s inscription on a jamb in Karnak, the word is written }\text{, ‘plan(s), counsel’ (Roma-Roy: 2.1, KRI IV, 131, 14; Amenhotep: KRI V, 541, 15). Plantikow-Münster cites the Wörterbuch’s rendering ‘Ruhm’ (IV, 200, 1) but the only references given are the two statues of Bakenhons. She concludes (1969, 124) that srh is a miswriting for shr and renders ‘Ratschluß’. However, the salience of the different orthographies is indicated by Assmann (1995a, 131, n. 180) in his discussion of the hymns in the tomb of the High Priest Nebwenenef. In an unpublished text from this tomb Nebwenenef refers to himself as ‘a knowledgable one, who respects god, a leader in magnifying his renown (srhw).’ Assmann translates shrw as ‘commands’, a causative of rh, ‘to know’ and interprets the formula as part of Nebwenenef’s claim to theological knowledge. I am in agreement with Assmann that the word srh must have an alternative nuance and I have acknowledged this in my translation.

i) Kitchen suggested the reading $\text{ (KRI III, 297, 2a). The surviving determinative would be appropriate to this reading. A sign is lost beneath $\text{. A restoration of$ would alter the meaning, although the phraseology of these verses has moved into participial third person constructions.}

2.b
High priest of Amun Bakenkhons
Munich, Staatlicher Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, Gl. WAF. 38

Figs. 15–6

Object type block statue
Date Ramesses II (cartouches)
Provenance temple of Amun, temple of Amun-Re-Harakhty (modern inscription on the base and Rifaud’s notes, as well as internal evidence: 3.2.2)
Dimensions H: 1.38m
Material fine limestone
Description This is a plain block statue, slightly moulded to human form and seated on a large and clearly defined cushion. There is a broad back pillar. The wig is a short braided double wig with echeloned
side panels and partially covered ears. The facial features are carefully carved; the eyes and eyebrows have carved outlines, and the lips are full. The neck is short and hidden from the front by a braided beard. The hands are laid flat upon the knees, palm down, and are carved in low relief. The feet are not sculpted separately but are covered by the garment. The base is large and consists of two stepped layers.

Inscriptions
There are four columns of hieroglyphic inscription on the knees (→), six columns on the back pillar (→), and one horizontal line around each level of the base (→→). There are cartouches on both shoulders.

Condition
The nose was broken away (modern restoration), and there are many small points of damage, especially on the right section of the feet and base. The text on the lower base is almost entirely lost. The excavator carved an inscription dated to 1818 on the left foot of the statue.

Bibliography
Yoyotte (1957)
Plantikow-Münster (1969) provides a full edition of the text and my reading largely follows hers. Notes are given to readings that require further discussion.
KRI III, 297, 4–299, 6
Schoske (1987)
Schulz (1992, I, 428–9, cat. 253, II, pl. 112)
Jansen-Winkeln (1993)
Kitchen (2000, 212–3); translation

Translation and notes
Front

htp-di-nswt (n)-jmn-r’s-jtm-hr-h3ty  An offering which the king gives to Amun-Re-Atum-Harakhty,
b3 n-pt  Ram of heaven
’n3 m-m3’t  who lives on maat,
’tm hry-jb-wj3.f  (divine) image who resides in his barque;
mtw hryt-tp-t3wy  Mut, great one, chief of the two lands;
hnsw nfr-htp  Khonsu, perfect of peace;
dj.sn2-rn.j mn m-w3st  that they may place my name enduringly in Thebes,
’dw-nht nhh  firmly established for eternity,

n-k3-n-jry-p’t h3ty-r  For the ka of the member of the p’t, count,
jm-j3-hnmw-ntr n-ntrw-nbw  overseer of the priests of all the gods,
hm-ntr-tpy n-jmn m-jpt-swt  high priest of Amun in Karnak,
3b3k-n-hnsw [m3*-hjrw]  Bakenkhons, [true of voice].

He says: O priests, god’s fathers,
w*bw nw-pr-jmn  wab priests of the domain of Amun,
jmj-nhw n-hntw.j  give bouquets to my statue,
libations to my form,*

(for) I am a servant, effective for his lord,
one who is silent, truly assiduous,
who is pleased with maat
who hates evil, one who magnifies the renown of his god.
high priest of Amun,
Bakenkhons, [true of voice].

Back Pillar:

Member of the p't, count,
high priest of Amun,
Bakenkhons, true of voice.
He says: I am one truly assiduous, effective for his lord,
who respects the renown of his god, who goes forth upon
his path,
who performs acts of beneficence within his temple,
when I was the chief overseer of works in the domain of
Amon,
as an excellent confidant for his lord.

O all people who are discerning in their hearts,
who exist, who are upon earth,
and who will come after me,
for millions and millions, after venerable old age, b
whose hearts are skilled in recognizing worth,
I will cause you to know my character when (I) was upon
earth,
in every office which I performed since my birth.

I spent 4 years as an excellent youngster.
I spent 11 years as a youth
as a trainee stable-master
for king Men[maat]re.

I was a wab priest of Amun for 4 years.
I was a god's father of Amun
for 12 years.

I was the 3rd priest of Amun
for 15 years.
I was 2nd priest of Amun for 12.

He favoured me; he perceived me for my character.
He placed me as high priest of Amun
for 27 years.
I was a good father to my staff, nurturing their young, giving my hand (to) the one in need, sustaining the one in poverty, and [performing] benefactions within his temple.

I was chief overseer of works, foremost in Thebes, for his son who came forth from his body, the Dual King, Usermaatre setepenre, son of Re, Ramesses meryamun, given life, who makes monuments for his father Amun, who placed him on his throne. Made under the charge of the high priest of Amun, Bakenkhons, true of voice.

He says as follows: I performed benefactions for the domain of Amun, being overseer of works for my lord. I made a temple for him, (called) ‘Ramesses-meryamun-who-hears-prayers’ in the upper portal of the domain of Amun.

And I erected obelisks of granite in it, whose tops approach the sky, a stone terrace before it, in front of Thebes, the b7h-land and gardens planted with trees.

I made great and very mighty doors of electrum, whose tops were united with the sky. I carpentered great and very mighty flagstaffs, and I erected them on the noble court, in front of his temple.

I carpentered great rivergoing barques, for Amun, Mut and Khonsu. By the member of the p't, count high priest of Amun, Bakenkhons.

Member of the p't, count, high priest of Amun, Bakenkhons, true of voice.

He says: I am one truly silent, effective for his god, who trusts himself to his every action.
dj.f-j3mt [...] He placed charm [...] ...

jw[j-j3rf] 'wy.fy-tw t hr-nfr.t

jrt-hmy m-r nh

For [I am a humble man] whose hands are together upon the steering rope, acting as a helmsman in life.

hd-t3 dj.f-h3w hr-nfrw.j For (I am) happier today than yesterday, at dawn he will increase my happiness, 

jw.j-m-wdh r-[hpr]-j3w m-hnw pr-jmn For I have been in the domain of Amun from youth to the onset of old age,2

hr-sm[s.j-sw m-b(w)-m3rt following him in a truthful way,

irt.j hr]-dg3 h-fwty.f my eyes seeing his uraei.

mnq.f-n.j hfw <m>-nfr May he complete a good lifetime for me

hr-s3-rnpt-110 after 110 years.

Lower Base

jr hr^-jry-p^t hlty- Made under the charge of the member of the p^t, count, 

jmy-r3-k3t m-mnw-nb... overseer of works in all monuments... k

a) This word has an unusual orthography: ꜝ. The Wörterbuch (V, 27, 5-6) records the determinative of a man with libation vessel as a determinative for qaḥ in titles attested in the 22nd Dynasty and Late Period.

b) I have translated khkh, 'to grow old' (WB. V, 138), with a positive meaning. In earlier texts, such as P Westcar, it describes a more negative view of aging and decrepitude (Blackman 1927, 187-8). These nuances of meaning were probably carried in Bakenkhons' use of the word as well. Although the word occurs in a positive frame in the post-Ramessid text 'A Tale of Woe', it is determined by ꜝ which is associated with disease and other sinister physical conditions (Caminos 1977, 14, 16). This indicates that the word had retained its negative connotations.

c) There are two possible readings for this section. The jw.j-m ... identifying Bakenkhons as a father to his staff and then as overseer of works could operate as Middle Egyptian independent main clauses, with the particle jw being the independent marker. However, the jw could also function as the Late Egyptian circumstantial converter, producing nested circumstantial clauses which are dependent on the phrase dj.f-wj r-hm-nfr-tpy n-jmn m-27 n-rnpt. Both readings are possible with Bakenkhons either stating his dependence on the god and king for his function in the temple, or reinforcing his independent identity and ability.

d) In the New Kingdom ꜝ was used as a writing for both hwt-nfr, 'temple' and sh-nfr, 'shrine' (Spencer 1984, 117). The use of the feminine pronoun to refer to the structure in the following verses indicates that the word is the feminine hwt-nfr. However, the orthography of the word does seem deliberately distinct from the writing of hwt-nfr in cols. 1 and 6 of the back pillar perhaps for visual variety and to lay particular emphasis on this temple.
e) The range of meanings of $d\delta d$ are much discussed (Cabrol 2001, 565–7 with refs.). In most cases it seems to refer to a large levelled platform and I follow Christiane Wallet-Lebrun (1987) in reading $d\delta d$ here as ‘terrace’; Cabrol (2001, 580) suggests the translation ‘une tribune’ for Bakenkhons’ text implying a colonnade oriented to the city and perhaps symbolically accessible. These constructions are often associated with lakes, as is the $d\delta d$ described by the high priest Amenhotep in one of his building texts (2.h, col. 7). In Bakenkhons’ inscription the $d\delta d$ is associated with the plantations he narrates in the following verses and was probably connected with the canal or waterway that passed near the eastern area of the temple complex (Cabrol 2001, 579–80, 648).

f) Cabrol (2001, 88–91) discusses the chronological development of $hft-hr$ from its root as a preposition describing close proximity to its use to designate the ‘dromos’ of a temple in Late Period sources. As she observes (2001, 90), in the New Kingdom it refers to symbolic proximity as much as geographic, designating spaces that relate particularly closely to a temple or, as here, the city. She translates $hft-hr$ in Bakenkhons’ text as ‘sur le parvis’ (2001, 580), which I render as a prepositional phrase.

g) $b^\prime h$ describe areas of cultivated land that were exposed to the cultivation, distinct from, and perhaps enclosing, the vineyards or orchards designated by $klmw$ (Cabrol 2001, 428–9). The type of tree described by $snw$ has not been identified. Cabrol (2001, 429) tentatively suggests that the determinative in Bakenkhons text may describe some sort of trellised planting or the generalized presence of vegetation. Bakenkhons’ text is the only evidence for plantations and gardens in the eastern area of the temple (Cabrol 2001, 425).

h) Plantikow-Münster (1969, 134) transliterates this word $wd\check{h}$ which may be a typographical error for $md\check{h}$ ‘to carpenter (especially boats)’ (Wb. II, 190). The same word is used by Roma-Roy in his narration of barque building (2.d, left side, col. 5).

i) I have rendered $Srj$ here based on the preserved determinative $\emptyset$. $nds$ is also possible although I consider that the word had a more specialized range of meanings in Bakenkhons’ texts (2.a, n. a).

j) The syntax of this sentence is rather unusual. The convoluted word order here may also be a demonstration of literary skill and play with language.

k) The reference to the manufacture of the statue seems to be a ‘signature’ of sorts, while the use of the same phraseology as in col. 5 of the back pillar aligns the statue work with the production of temple buildings. This is the only occurrence of the title ‘overseer of works’ in a title string on Bakenkhons’ statues, although it does occur in narrative. It is possible that this text recorded the dedication of the statue by Bakenkhons’ son or successor. This would explain the unusual use of a secondary base.
CGC 42185 is a plain block statue, slightly moulded to human form and seated on a cushion. The wig is a braided, short style double wig with echeloned side panels and partially covered ears. The face is treated in the rounded and flat Ramessid style, with sfumato eyes and low modelled mouth. The hands are laid flat upon the knees, palm down and are carved in low relief. The feet are covered by the garment. The base is tall and thick.

Inscriptions
Five columns down the front (→), three columns on the back pillar (→), eight columns down the left side of the body (←), and nine down the right (→). There is one horizontal line around the base.

Condition
The nose is broken off and there are some points of damage to face, back pillar, and base.

Bibliography
Lefebvre (1929, 4–16)
KRI IV, 129,1–131,7
Schulz (1992, I, 278–9, cat. 153, II, pl. 67, a–b)
Kitchen (2003, 98–9); translation

Translation and notes
Front

\[htp-dj-nswt\ (n-))imn-\(r^n\) nswt-ntrw\]
\[jmnt\ hry-jb-jpt-swt\]
\[mwt\ nbt-pt\ hnwt-ntrw\]
\[hnsw\ m-w1st\ nfr-htp\]

\[2dj.sn-hnty.j\ mn\ rwj\]
\[htp\ m-jpt-swt\ r-dt\]
\[n-k3-n\ hm-ntr-tpy\ n-jmn\]
\[ry\ m5-\(r^n\)\]

An offering which the king gives (to) Amun-Re king of the gods,
Amunet who resides in Thebes;
to Mut, lady of the sky, mistress of the gods;
to Khonsu in Thebes, perfect of peace,

that my statue be firmly established, resting in Karnak forever.
For the ka of the high priest of Amun Roy, true of voice.
He says: I have come before you, lord of the gods, Amun, ruler of the Ennead, so that I may praise your perfection everyday, so that I may satisfy your desires.

Give me your perfect face (for) I am your true servant.

May you favour your defender upon earth.
May I follow you in a truthful way, so that I may grow old in your domain in possession of your favours, my eyes seeing your uraeus.

For the ka of the overseer of the priests of all the gods, high priest of Amun, Roma, true of voice.

He says: I am strong, vigilant, one effective for his lord, who made monuments in his domain with a loving heart, my heart assessing every work, seeking out what is beneficial for my august god

He favoured me for what I did, in as much as I am beneficial for him.

He caused me to be the supreme chief, foremost of his domain.

I reached old age in his following, in his favour, my body provided with health, my eyes (far-)seeing, and the provisions of his temple firm in my mouth, the favours of the king in my possession as the gift of Amun.

He placed my children as an entire future generation in my presence, they are priests bearing his image.

I am high priest as the gift of Amun, my son established at my side as second priest, my second son as sem priest in the royal (mortuary) temple on the west of Thebes, the son of my son as fourth priest carrying Amun, king of the gods,
the son of my son as God's Father, and as lector priest, pure of hands, of the Hidden-of-Name.

May he cause my name to be established upon my statue, at the side of this monument which I made in his domain, so that my name will be remembered upon them (both) beyond eternity, so that I may favour the generations who will come, so that they may celebrate my goodness as well as my strength.

High priest of Amun, Roy, true of voice. He says: I am the chief overseer of works in Karnak, who gives every instruction to the craftsmen, who assesses knowledge, who is wise in skills, there is no deed of which he is ignorant, all good qualities are foremost in his heart. One is pleased with the counsels of his mouth, the abundance of Amun is effective for his ka, excellent confidant for His Person, for he knows what is pleasing for his Horus, greatly favoured by his god Amun, one who gives his possessions, who procures offerings, food and provisions (being) upon his every path. whom the people love, who masters the heart, content without a lustful heart, That which is ordered to be done occurs immediately, for he trusted himself to the plan of his god. The length of a lifetime is in the hands of Amun, to bring to its end in perfection, like what is done for one who is truly assiduous, effective in the domain of his lord.

An offering which the king gives to Amun-Re king of the gods; to Mut the great, Mistress of Asheru; to Khonsu in Thebes, perfect of peace;
Thoth, lord of Upper Egyptian Heliopolis; Montu-Re, dwelling in Thebes; Ptah of the perfect face, father of the gods; Hathor, principal lady of Thebes; Rettawy, mistress of the gods; to the gods and goddesses, lords of Thebes, the ennead of Karnak:

that my statue be established on earth, my name carved upon it for eternity, bread, beer and offerings in front of it, from the remainder of every offering service for those who are in Thebes;

that Amun may address him each time he appears. and Mut and Khonsu incline to him as to the great ones, in as much as I performed benefactions with a loving heart in every effective ritual in Karnak, being favoured for what I have done as well as my effectiveness, being established in Karnak for eternity;

for the ka of the pure one in front of Amun, God’s Father of Amun, third priest of Amun, second priest of Amun, overseer of the treasury of Amun, overseer of the granary of Amun, overseer of the priests of all the gods, high priest of Amun, Roma, true of voice.

For the ka of the high priest of Amun, Roma, true of voice, He says [… … … … … …]

Amun favoured me for my beneficient acts. I was given a good lifetime in his temple, the king’s favour before me, being free from terror.
Roy, true of voice.

He says: I am high priest as the gift of Amun.
It was he who chose me himself as the foremost of his
temple.

He gave me a venerable position carrying his image,
all my limbs being strong,
my eyes far-seeing,
the offering provisions in my mouth everyday.

a) Lefebvre (1929, 5 with n. e) reads ‘les deux uraeus’ here following Gardiner’s (1905, 27) tentative reading of the word \( h\text{\textit{twjt}} \) in P Leiden I 350. Such a reading may be too specific despite what appears to be a dual writing so I have translated the term as a singular.

b) The rendering of \( d\text{\textit{3mw}} \) as ‘future generations’ (\( Wb. \ V, 523–4 \)) here is appropriate in the context. Roma-Roy is referring to his children and grandchildren, as elaborated in the following passage, as the generations who will follow him in temple service.

c) The kinship terminology used here is problematic. I have not as yet found any parallels so the rendering remains tentative. An alternative is ‘the son thereof, making two (generations)’.
However, the grandsons mentioned in the following verses would indicate that Lefebvre (1929, 10 with n. j) was correct in reading ‘mon second fils’.

d) For the reading of \( s\text{\textit{Sm}} \) in the context of the provision of offerings see \( Wb. \ IV, 287, 1 \).

e) Lefebvre (1929, 8, n. e) rendered ‘changeant le coeur (qui etait triste), et qui devient ainsi content sans tristesse’. The Worterbuch (IV, 436, 11) interprets \( s\text{\textit{b-h\text{\textit{3ty}}} \) as a compound noun ‘gute Eigenschaft’, but Roma-Roy’s texts are the only examples cited. The phrase also occurs in the biographical text in the Zawyet Sultan tomb of Nefere Sekheru where it has a negative meaning: ‘(As for) the one whose heart is confused (\( s\text{\textit{b-jb-pw}} \), who sees the dead as negligible, and destroys his tomb’ (Osing 1992b, 53; 7.a, col. 23). Here Roma-Roy is asserting a positive quality in contrast to the negative \( h\text{\textit{3dt-\textit{jb}}} \) given in the next clause. In a Third Intermediate period amuletic decree Edwards (1960, 72, n. 60) rendered \( s\text{\textit{b}} \text{\textasciitilde} \text{\textit{3}} \text{\textasciitilde} \text{\textit{h\text{\textit{3ty}}} \) ‘to possess’, following the Worterbuch (IV, 437, 1).

The concept of ‘mastering/possessing’ the heart would be appropriate within the range of qualities available to the elite in their biographies (cf. \( h\text{\textit{rp-jb}}, s\text{\textit{3qw-jb}} \), and see Doxey 1998, 58–62). Roma-Roy’s text may be an earlier example of the word being used with this meaning. The verb \( h\text{\textit{r}} \) that follows occurs in earlier biographical epithets with relation to the heart (Janssen 1946, I, 28, Ak 13–18) and is complementary with \( s\text{\textit{b-h\text{\textit{3ty}}} \) and in contrast to \( h\text{\textit{3dt-jb}} \).

The compound noun \( h\text{\textit{3dt-jb}} \) is also known only in Roma-Roy’s texts (\( Wb. \ III, 36, 11, \) here and in col. 4 of the temple wall text: 2.e). \( h\text{\textit{3d}} \) is a word for sexual desire (\( Wb. \ III, 36, 10 \)) so a rendering as ‘lustful’ seems more appropriate than Lefebvre’s ‘tristesse’.
f) I have rendered *dd.tw* as a passive followed by the infinitive, literally ‘that which is said to be done...’. Lefebvre (1929, 8, n. f) reads *dd.tw* as the participle *ddw*, citing an equivalent occurrence in Bakenkhons' Munich statue (2.b, back pillar, col. 6) and this ending is also noted by Gardiner (1957, 273).

2.d
High priest of Amun Roma-Roy

Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CGC 42186

Fig. 18

Object type  | block statue
---|---
Date  | late 19th Dynasty, probably reign of Amenmesses (erased cartouches, historical evidence)
Provenance  | Karnak cachette (redeposition)
Dimensions  | H: 1.08m; max W of base: 0.44m; max D of base: 0.64m
Material  | granodiorite

Description
CGC 42186 is a plain block statue, slightly moulded to human form and seated on a cushion. The wig is a braided, double wig with echeloned side panels and partially covered ears with drilled earlobes. The face is treated in the rounded and flat Ramessid style, with sfumato eyes. The neck is short and largely hidden from the front by a plain beard. The hands are laid flat upon the knees, palms down, and are carved in low relief. Damage to the base and foot area makes the treatment of this area difficult to determine.

Inscriptions
There are five columns of inscription on the knees (→), three columns on the back pillar (→), and seven columns down the right (→) and left sides of the body (←). There are traces of a single line around the base. Although Kitchen (with Lefebvre 1929, 26) only records the base inscription from the back of the statue, traces of text are visible on both sides. The traces on the right are more substantial and include the phrase: \( jm n m-jb.f-hrw-nb \), ‘... A\[m\]un, in his heart everyday’. Kitchen records one erased cartouche on the left shoulder but Schulz's photograph and my own examination would indicate another on the right.

Condition
The nose and right elbow are broken away, as well as the foot area and front part of base. There are damaged areas throughout face and body. The base, feet and lower sides of the body have suffered considerable loss of the surface of the stone. A large crack also runs through the surface from hand on the right knee through the front text panel; large parts of columns 1–3 are missing as a result as well as part of columns 4–5.

Bibliography
Lefebvre (1929, 18–26)
KRI IV, 208, 3–209, 15
An offering which the king gives (to) Amun-Re-Harakhty-Atum, lord of Karnak, that he may place [the radiance of the sky] and the strength of the earth before Geb, bread, beer, cattle, fowl, libations, [incense, wine, milk and everything good and pure which comes [forth from the offering tables] of Amun in the course of everyday, 

for the ka of the one true of heart, free from evil, [since he came forth from] the womb, 

favoured one, member of the p't, count, God's Father, beloved of the god, 

master of secrets in the sky, earth and underworld. sacrificer of Kamutef, 

overseer of the [treasury] of Amun, overseer of the granaries of Amun, overseer of the priests of all the gods 

high priest of Amun, Roma, true of voice. 

He says: I grew up as a youth in the domain of Amun, as an excellent wab priest, being discerning of heart, and excellent of character, my step at the (right) place, 

I was chosen for my goodness in his temple. I was initiated to (the position of) God's Father, in order to hear the summons of his noble ka, in order to satisfy his wishes. 

He recognized my goodness; he favoured me on account of my character. 

He placed me in the knowledge of the king,
and my name was called out in the presence of the courtiers.

He made a decree concerning my office,

[being distinguished at the side of?] the king himself,

Usermaatre setepenre,

the son of Amun, of his body.

He favoured me again for (my) excellence,

His treasury and his granary

provided everything beneficial and strengthened his temple.

He increased the (number of) good things he did for me.

He placed me as chief in his temple,

as high priest [of Amun].

He says: I am effective, one excellent in the domain of his lord,

intelligent in (the building of) every monument.

I performed benefactions in the domain of Amun,

in the great name of the Lord of the Two Lands,

[erased cartouche] in (the form of) statues of silver and gold,

worked by beating.

I built [……of] granite, and I widened its portico,

bearing the great name of the lord of appearances

[erased cartouche] within it,

his heart rejoicing.

I did not set aside any effective [task] which had not been done for his ka.

May he place [my] statue [enduringly] forever,

resting upon the earth of his domain for eternity.

May Amun address it in his every festival,

my name enduring upon it forever.
Back Pillar

\[ htp-dj-nswt \text{(n)}-jmnn-r^c \]
\[ nb-nst-t^3wy \text{ bnt-jpr-swt} \]
\[ dj-f-\text{rn} j \text{ mn r-nnh} \]
\[ n-hhy.f \text{ dt} \]
\[ n-k3-n-hm-\text{ntn-tpy n-jmn} \]
\[ [\text{ry m}^2-t^-hrw] \]

An offering which the king gives to Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands, foremost in Karnak, that he may place my name enduringly for eternity, (so that) it never has to be sought (in vain), for the ka of the high priest of Amun, [Roy, true of voice.]

\[ ^2dd.f-j-hmwntr jwtntr \text{ w}^b bw \]
\[ ^3yw \text{ nw-pr-} \text{jmn} \]
\[ d3mwn-\text{S}^3yw \text{ntr-r-hpr} \]

He says: O priests, God’s Fathers, wab priests, the great ones of the domain of Amun, the numerous generations who will come to be,

\[ jmn-[\text{r}^n \text{hw n-hnty}.j \]
\[ qbh\text{w}] ^3n-k3.j \]
\[ sb3-\text{rn} j \text{ bnt-hrw} \]
\[ jr-hip-dj-nswt n-hnty.j \]

give [garlands to my statue, libations] for my ka, remember my name daily, perform the offering ritual for my statue,

\[ mj-w3h.j-jb j \text{ r-jrt-} \text{3hw} \]
\[ n-jmnn \text{ mwt} \]
\[ bnswn \text{ m-[w}^3st \text{nfr-h}^tp] \]

in as much as I exerted myself in doing what was beneficial, for Amun, Mut, and Khonsu in [Thebes, perfect of peace.]

Base

(left) \[ mj-m3^2ty-nb nty-hr-\text{hms}\text{f} \]

(right) \[ ^2h^w-nfr... \]

... like all the true ones who follow him ... a good lifetime ...

a) Reading \textit{jrtt} ‘milk’, following Lefebvre’s interpretation of the conflated writing of \textit{jrtt} and \textit{ht} (1929, 19).

b) Lefebvre (1929, 24) translates this passage as: ‘il fit mon écrit (?) pour chacune des hautes (?) dignités (que j’occupai) [après du (?)] roi lui-même’. The reading of this passage as referring to a document approved or issued by Amun is appropriate within the oracular context the narrative seems to create (3.4). However, my reading of \textit{tnj.kw} is uncertain. It does allow for a movement from the divine to royal domain which is required here. Kitchen’s (KRI IV, 209, 7a) suggestion of \textit{r-gs} as the continuation seems appropriate to the context.

c) This phrase seems to have two levels of meaning; that the work was done on the king’s behalf, and that the titulary of the king was inscribed on the monument itself (cf. Lefebvre 1929, 21a). The latter meaning seems particularly appropriate in col. 6 of the left side of this statue.

d) The word \textit{try} confirms that temple structures are described here. The word is first attested in the Ramessid period and is restricted to temple contexts (Spencer 1984, 213).

e) Kitchen’s transcription implies that only the cartouche of the king is missing at the end of col. 6. My checking confirms Lefebvre’s (1929, 21) observation of space for another group here. He translated this passage as: ‘[Il (le dieu) reposa (?)] dedans, son cœur étant dans la joie’. 
f) The *Wörterbuch* gives only three examples, one being Roma-Roy's text, of this specialized passive use of the verb *hhy* 'to seek' (III, 151, 10). Lefebvre rendered 'et quil ne sont pas détruit, jamais' (1929, 25 with n. a). I have followed the *Wörterbuch*’s more literal rendering in order to retain the root meaning of *hhy*.

2.e

**High priest of Amun Roma-Roy**

**Temple Wall**

**Fig. 20**

*Location* temple of Amun, southern approach, east massif, pylon 8 (PM II², 176, (527b))

*Date* Sety II (erasures, historical evidence)

*Dimensions* unknown

*Description*

The inscription is carved in a demarcated rectangular zone to the right of the doorway leading into pylon eight. In the bottom right area of the scene, Roma-Roy stands with both arms raised in adoration. His head is shaved and he wears a long robe and sandals on his feet but he is bare of other ornamentation or regalia. Behind him stands the slightly smaller figure of his elder son Bakenkhons, the face of which was deliberately damaged in antiquity. His head is also bare and he is dressed in a matching plain long robe and sandals; one arm is raised, the other is held at his side.

*Inscriptions*

There are 19 vertical columns of text, the first 10 in front of the figures and the last 9 above them (←). In between the figures a column of text gives Roma-Roy’s names and titles. Before the figure of the son is written *s3f-hmr-ntr-2nw n-jmn [bk-n-hnsr m35-hrw]*, ‘His son, second priest of Amun, [Bakenkhons, true of voice]’. The name was erased in antiquity but the traces can be deciphered (KRI IV, 289, 11).

*Condition*

The face, arms, and name of Roma-Roy’s son were erased in antiquity. There are other points of damage throughout both figures. The removal of parts of blocks, perhaps in later creation of floor levels, has resulted in some loss at the end of the first three columns of the inscription. Further sections are missing from the section of text above the heads of the figures. There is considerable damage along the joins between blocks. Cracks can also be seen through at least two of the blocks.

*Bibliography*

Lefebvre (1929, 32–9)
Porter and Moss (II², 176, (527b))
KRI IV, 287, 10–289, 11
Kitchen (2003, 206–8); translation

*Translation and notes*

*rdrj3w n-jmn-r*’  Giving praise to Amun-Re,
kissing the ground before his perfect face,  
by the high priest of Amun,  
Roma, true of voice.  

He says: I have come before you lord of the gods, Amun,  
who came into being first,  
divine God, creator of what exists,  

lord of the gods and the people, ruler of Heliopolis,  
chief of Thebes,  
great of appearances in hwt-bnbn,  

the eyes of everyone see by means of you,  
breath goes forth from your mouth to every nose,  

great of majesty, [... ...... ...... ...... ......]  
lord of lords, ruler of the Ennead,  

gods and people exalt your ka,  
life is in your hand, health belongs to you,  
Shay and Renenet  
united in your grasp.  

May you guard your son, your beloved, lord of the two  
lands,  

[Userkheperure setepenre (Sety II)]  
in life, stability and dominion [forever].  

May you grant me a long lifetime bearing your image,  
my eyes seeing your uraeus daily,  
my body equipped with health, without being lustful of  
heart,  
free from terror.  

O valiant king of perpetuity,  
(may) your provisions be with me, your favours before  
me,  
your name as protection for me.  

May you lengthen my lifetime as a good life,  
being established in your temple,  
my body [...] serving your ka,  
my eyes far-seeing,  
until I reach the west of Thebes,  
being sated with seeing Amun,
my son in my place,
my office in his hand,
one [son] of the next for eternity,
as is done for one truly assiduous,
effective in the domain of his lord.

For the ka of the excellent individual, truly assiduous,
greatly favoured one of his god Amun,
effective for Mut,
favourite of Khonsu,
confidant of the Lord of the Two Lands,
member of the pꜣ, count,
God’s Father, pure of hands,
keeper of secrets in the sky, earth and underworld,
sacrificer of Kamutef, sm priest of the horizon of
eternity,
chief of seers of Re-Atum in Thebes,
third priest of Amun,
second priest of Amun,
high priest of Amun,
Roy, true of voice.

He says: O wab priests, scribes of the domain of Amun,
good servants of the divine offerings,
butchers, brewers, overseers of confectionery,
bakers of jدت bread, bjt loaves and psn loaves,
who perform [all their ... for their lord],
who will enter this preparation chamber,
which is within the […] […] [Amun]:
[pro]claim [my] name daily as a good memory!
Celebrate me for my goodness as well as my strength!

I found this room entirely ruined,
its walls toppling,
the timbers thereof weakened,
the wooden door-frames decaying,
a smoothness upon the images.
So I embellished it exceedingly throughout,
being made high and broad in excellent workmanship,
and I (re-)built its door-frames in sandstone.
I reestablished the doors within them of real pine,
as a place for the butchers and brewers who are within it.
jr.j-s(t) m-jrt-nfr
r-dtr r-h3t r-hw [...]
11n-ntr j jmn nb-ntrw

Pay attention and listen to what I say. Do not transgress
anything that I did.

swd3-rn.j s3-sp.j
j.dd-n.j hsw(t) m-b3h-jmn
hr-hs.f-tm r3
mj-jr.f [...]
...12-j3w m-pr.f k3w.f-hnfr.tn

May you hand on (your offices) to your children,
one son to the next
in his domain forever.

Place offerings before my statue,
overflowing onto the ground in my name.
Place bouquets before me when you enter.

Say for me: 'May he favour you',
with a loving heart for my god,
Amun, lord of the gods,
so the others who will [come?] will give to you?

Cause the inscriptions to be read (out) [...] in order to act according to my speech which is before
you.

Place my good name in the mouth of the generations,
in as much as I performed benefactions in the temple of
Amun,
in every excellent deed in Karnak.

May Amun favour me for my beneficent acts.
May he give me 110 years bearing his image.
[... ... ... ...]
magnified forever.

I have said in my heart,
[... ... ... ...] his ka.
for the ka of the high priest of Amun, Roy.
a) This text is the only known occurrence of the word *rmn*, meaning ‘toppling, leaning’. ☞ is used in words associated with ‘leaning, tilting’ (Wb. V, 205). In the Speos Artemidos inscription the determinative is used in the context of ‘overthrowing’ (Urk. IV, 390, 8).

b) *ncr* here may refer to the crumbling away of images or an erasure. I have not found any parallels.

c) The reading of this verse remains uncertain. It is unusual for *dj* to function without an object and the intrusive 3 after the verb is problematic.

2.f
High priest of Amun Amenhotep

Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JdE 36348

Fig. 21

Object type scribe statue
Date Ramesses IX–Ramesses XI (?) (internal: name and filiations)
Provenance temple of Amun, south face of pylon seven (Legrain 1904, 17)
Dimensions H: 1.32m; W of base: 0.79m; D of base: 0.76m
Material granodiorite

Description
The figure is seated cross-legged with a papyrus unrolled over the lap (Scott’s (1989) scribal pose A). The well-preserved facial features show eyebrows modelled in relief, and incised lines on the eyelids. The lips are full and the face is round and broad. The ears have drilled holes in the lobes and the wig is a shorter form of the New Kingdom double wig. The torso has two flesh folds delineated beneath the breast. The garment is a simple knee-length kilt. The damage to the right hand makes it impossible to determine whether the statue is reading or writing. The left hand held the rolled end of the papyrus.

Inscriptions
A series of vertical columns once filled the carved papyrus. The remaining traces indicate that the text read from the statue’s right to left and was oriented towards the statue. The front and right side of the base bear the remains of three horizontal lines of inscription (→). Kitchen copied and collated the inscription (KRI VI, 542, 11–543, 3), improving on the copy in Legrain’s preliminary report of 1904.

Condition
The face and wig are well-preserved with some damage to the nose. There is surface damage to the shoulders and the elbows, wrists, and hands of the statue are lost. The lower section of the statue is badly damaged with much of the surface abraded. The right knee and right section of the base is lost. The text on the lap is largely illegible and sections of the text on the base are lost.
Translation and notes

Base

hm-ntr-tpy n-[jmn-r'] nswt-ntrw
jmn-htp] m3'-hrw

He says: O priests, wab priests, 
high priest of [Amenhotep, true of voice],
... [the ...]

Transliteration

dd.f-j-hmw-ntr w'b'w [..... ... ... ... ...]

Translation

He says: I [established] [its] double-leafed door
in real merw-wood

[..... ... ... ... ...]

He says: I [established] [its] double-leafed door
in real merw-wood

[..... ... ... ... ...]

He says: I [established] [its] double-leafed door
in real merw-wood

[..... ... ... ... ...]

He says: I [established] [its] double-leafed door
in real merw-wood

[..... ... ... ... ...]

He says: I [established] [its] double-leafed door
in real merw-wood

[..... ... ... ... ...]

He says: I [established] [its] double-leafed door
in real merw-wood

[..... ... ... ... ...]

He says: I [established] [its] double-leafed door
in real merw-wood

[..... ... ... ... ...]

He says: I [established] [its] double-leafed door
in real merw-wood

[..... ... ... ... ...]

He says: I [established] [its] double-leafed door
in real merw-wood

[..... ... ... ... ...]
and I built it in [addition?], in excellent work...

a) Kitchen follows Legrain for this reading but also offers the alternative: ‘the place of the south (m-st nt-rsy)’ (KRI VI, 542, 14c). This may refer to the ‘t w^bt of the high priests (with Breasted 1906, 238 n. c) which was probably in the southern area of the complex, and whose restoration was also described in another of his building narratives (2.h). This latter text also states that he built its terrace (d3d3) which ‘opened out to the southern lake’ (col. 7), confirming a location in that area. An alternative reading is ‘the place, south of the [lake?]’.

b) I have restored ‘bolts’ qrjw on the parallel with ‘bolts of copper’ in 2.h. The context in the latter text is similar, describing the construction of wooden doorleaves, embellished with ‘images in perfect gold’, hpw m-nbw-nfr (col. 7).

c) Although the first sign in the group is lost, the reading as d3d3 is plausible. As observed by Cabrol (2001, 567), feminine orthographies of d3d3 became increasingly common in the 20th Dynasty. However, dual writings of d3d3 are otherwise almost unattested. Spencer (1984, 130–3) notes one further dual writing but does not discuss it. This example, in a Ramessid graffito at Deir el-Bahri, was discussed by Marek Marciniak (1972), who concluded that it is to be read d3yt, a double colonnade or room near the temple court. The dual determinative here may relate to sign arrangement or may refer to a double enclosure, and my rendering is therefore tentative. The description of the doorway seems to indicate this was an enclosed area; Amer (1999, 3) suggests that the word may refer to the ‘portico’ that Amenhotep built for Ramesses IX before the eighth pylon.

d) The transcription of Kitchen for the first verse is uncertain at this point and my rendering of the passage remains tentative. I am inclined to read jw.j-(hr-)[blk] as a third future construction would not fit the context. The r is questioned by Kitchen and may not be present at all. The reading of the verb blk is also tentative; blk is not normally attested with the ^ determinative (Wb. I, 426–7), and the bird could equally be the si bird.

   This writing of nbt as a carrying pole for a shrine is attested in the late New Kingdom (Wb. II, 243, 7). I, which I read ‘image’ (twt), may refer to a solar form of the god which was to be carried within the shrine. The narration of the construction of carrying poles (jnjw) for portable shrines is also found in the text of the overseer of works, Amenmose, from the late 20th Dynasty where he claims to increase the number of poles used for various shrines (8.c, base, right half, l. 1). An earlier parallel is found in the Restoration Stela of Tutankhamun where the king increases the number of poles for the statues of Amun and Ptah (Urk. IV, 2028, 16–20). This parallel indicates a possible restoration of the text following jw.j-gm-ts. The cola which follow may state that Amenhotep ‘found the image supported by only (for example) 4 poles’.

e) A word referring to buildings, perhaps in ruinous or renewed state, seems to be required here. The remaining signs, m[^A^m], may indicate a rendering of w3sj, ‘ruined, fallen’ (Wb. I, 260–1), although m[^A^m] is not an attested determinative for this word.
High priest of Amun Amenhotep

Temple wall

Fig. 22

Location
temple of Amun, southern approach, rear (east) exterior wall of the Thutmosid shrine, (PM II², 174 (516))

Date
Ramesses IX – XI? (mention of royal mortuary temples, parallels with texts referring to the suppression of the high priest Amenhotep: Wente 1966, 69–70)

Dimensions
H: c. 1.5m; L: c. 2.2m

Description
The relief is accompanied by the figures of two individuals. To the left of the first column of the inscription is a trace of a curved line, interpreted by Wente (1966, 77) as the calf of a figure facing south, away from the inscription, possibly a king. The remains of a figure clad in a leopard skin, also facing south, stand beside col. 29 and probably represent the High Priest.

Inscription
31 columns of inscription remain (→); the final two columns are inscribed behind the figure of the high priest.

Condition
Wente (1966, 77) estimated the original height of the columns to have been about 1.5 m, so only the lower third of the inscription and scene survive. There are significant lacunae throughout the text and only a few signs remain in columns 26–9.

Bibliography
Wente (1966) provides a full edition of the text and my reading largely follows his. Notes are given to readings that require further discussion.
KRI VI, 536, 11–538, 14
Helck (1984)
Morales (2001, 69–70)

Translation and notes

\[\text{[Member of the p't, count, high priest of Amun, Amenhotep, true of voice.}}\]

\[\text{He says: I am one truly assiduous, effective for his lord, who respects the renown of his god, who goes forth upon his pa[th], who performs acts of beneficence within [his temple when I was chief overseer of works in the domain of Amun, an effective confidant for his lord.}}\]
O all people who are discerning of heart, who exist upon earth, and who will come after me, for millions and millions, after venerable old age, whose hearts are skill[ed in recognising worth,]

I will cause you to know my character when I was upon earth, in every office, which I performed since my birth.

I made/perform[ed ...] Amun-Re king of the gods in the court of the temple of millions of years of the Dual King Nebmaatre mery-amun (Ramesses VI), [...]

... [the temple of the Dual King] Usermaatre mery-amun, in the domain of Amun [on the west of Thebes.]

Again ... [...]

... the temple of Nebmaatre mery-amun

Again His Person heard my speech concerning... [...] ... when my father went to rest on the west of Thebes, in [year ...] of pharaoh ...

... within the house with perfect gold, true lapis lazuli, turquoise, [hard stone?] and quartzite.

... [the?] great and costly pectorals which I made for Amun-Re king of the gods, [my lord],

... likewise [the] name of Amun-Re, king of the gods, very exactly, [and I caused...]

... [of] great craftsmanship.

I made their embellishments [for] all time.

38
... I am one who gave barley, emmer, incense, honey, dates, vegetables, bouquets,

12[c. half a col. lost + traces] 
hr-stjt [§ ...] p3y f-m[n r n-hwt]-ntr [...] [...] ... upon an aroura [of inundated land], his [canal of the temple],

13[c. half a col. lost] 
[r-]hm f jw j-γ r.f ... to please him, and I achieved it.
jw j-hm[... ...] ... And I [demolished?]d [...] [...] 

14[c. half a col. lost] 
j[?] r-p3-pr n-nbw ... [introduced?] to the house of gold of Amun-re, king of the gods, n-jmn-r nswt-ntrw r-djt hm[t.tw.f m? ...] to cause him to be given attention?

15[c. half a col. lost] 
jw-j-jr.w ... And I did them.
bpw-n3-hm-ntrw n-jmn Never had the high priests of Amun, j.sSp.j n[3y.w-hrtw] whose duties I received, ...

16[c. half a col. lost] 
[rj] y.j jr n-rnpt-5-gs ... which I spent, making five and a half years.

17[c. half a col. lost] 
[...] n3-[h]w-qnw dnn-qnw j.jr.j-n.f m-[p3y.f-pr] ... in the many benefactions and the many ordeals which I undertook for him in [his domain].

18[c. half a col. lost] 
jf3.s And he spent eight whole months in it, jw f-jr-8-3bd n-hrw-jm.s and I suffered from it [very] exceedingly jw.j and I [...] 

19[c. half a col. lost] 
[p3y.] nb ... [my] lord.
jnk-p3y. k-bik tw j-"h" kw-dnn n.k I am your servant who stood suffering for you, your [...] 

20[c. half a col. lost] 
jmn-rf nswt-ntrw sdm-hrw.j is ... Amun-Re, king of the gods, heard my plea quickly,
for he did not allow delay...

21[c. half a col. lost]
[jw-jmn-r' hrm-ptr].j m-p3y-thj.j
jw-j-(hr)-smj n-pr-c3j p3y.j-nb
[p3]-dj

... [and Amun-re saw] me in this transgression against me, and I appealed to Pharaoh my lord, [the one] who placed/cause...

22[c. half a col. lost]
[t3-hwt-nswt-bjty (wsr-m3t-r' stp.n-r')]
[the temple of the Dual King Usermaatre setepenre (Ramesses II)
m-pr-jmn
in the domain of Amun,
t3-hwt-nswt-bjty (wsr-m3t-r' mry-jmn)
the temple of the Dual King Usermaatre meryamun (Ramesses III)
m-pr-jmn hr-jmnt-w3st r- [t3-st]
in the domain of Amun on the west of Thebes, to [the place]...

23[c. half a col. lost] [...] st
... place,

j-m3-hmw-ntrw-tpy n-jmn
nty-jw-jw-fjy hr-s3.j
m-jr-[nnj]
24[c. half a col. lost]

jry-j-nf jhw
thj.f-p3-thj.j 3s

jw-bwpw.f-[djt wdf]

... I performed benefactions for him, (for) he had suppressed the one who suppressed me quickly,

25[c. half a col. lost]
g3mw-qnw m-p3y-f-pr
mtr-j-st r-fwjr.w
dj-f-f3j[mw ...]
[whole col. lost + traces]
26[c. half a col. lost]

... many youngsters in his domain. I instructed them concerning their offices. He caused (me/them) to control? [...] ...

28[c. half a col. lost]
m-hnw.w qd[j.. 10 + x groups lost] ... within them. I built [...] ...

29[c. half a col. lost]
j? n nfr

Behind the figure of the High Priest
30[c. up to half a col. lost]
m-pr-jmn hr-jmnt-w3st
mry-bstt m3t-hrw
jw [... up to five groups lost]
31 [as in col. 30] hwt-nfr (r'-ms-sw mry-jmn) the temple of Ramesses meryamun, mr-mj-[p]t h-nn-nfr Beloved-like-[Ptah] at Memphis, sh-nswt jmy-r3-pr-wr n-t3-hwt nt-hh[w] the royal scribe and chief steward of the temple of millions ...
[c.5 groups lost] ...

a) Wente deduces the parallel between the fragments of text remaining for columns 1–3, and the text in columns 1–2 on the back pillar of the Munich statue of Bakenkhons (2.b; see 3.1.1).

b) ḫw is missing in Kitchen’s copy text. The group is included by Wente and was visible to me when I checked the text in April 2001.

c) I consider to be functioning as determinatives for sft, supplying a further meaning of ‘inundated land’ to the term. as a determinative for mr may also indicate that a category of (inundated) land is meant here rather than a canal.

d) Wente (1966, 80, n. 13b) tentatively renders this word as hmr ‘to demolish’. I follow this interpretation, which is lent support by another building text of Amenhotep (2.i, col. 5) in which he claims to have ‘loosened’ or ‘freed’ (sfr) the bricks of an older building in order to rebuild it in stone. There is space available for a single clause for the description of rebuilding that, I think, would need to follow. The use of ṛ-r in 2.h (col. 3), where it introduces a description of restoration, suggests that this type of narrative may have come here.

e) Wente (1966, 80, n. 14b) offers two other possible translations for this verse: ‘to cause it (the House of Gold) to be planned for’ and ‘to cause it (gold) to be trebled’.

f) I render dnn as the infinitive here. Wente (1966, 80, n. 19a) translates this verse as ‘I have been engaged in exerting myself for you’, taking ḫw c.kw as an auxiliary.

g) Here and in column 24 the reversed determinative for wdf, probably emphasises ‘delay’, ‘reversal’, or ‘escape’.

h) Kitchen records the text of a loose fragment found before the central scene of the reward tableau (KRI VI, 538, 14–5) which gives the name of this individual: ‘...Upper and Lower Egypt, ...[Amon]-re king of the gods, ...[true] of voice, overseer of the domain, overseer of priests, [Merybastet] [true of voice?]’. This text does not seem to assist in the identification of this individual as the titles could be appropriate for Amenhotep’s grandfather and brother, both of whom served in Theban temples and were named Merybastet (Wente 1966, 81, n. 30a).
High priest of Amun Amenhotep

**Location**

temple of Amun, southern approach, court of pylons 7 and 8, east wall, interior, south of doorway (PM II², 172, (506c))

**Date**

Ramesses XI – XI

**Dimensions**

H: 0.92m W: 1.95m

**Description**

The inscription fills the lower course of the wall between the doorway and the pylon. Directly above the inscription is a large cartouche of Ramesses III. Above the cartouche register is a relief of the king standing before a god. The god is striding right; he wears a short kilt and has bare feet. In his rear hand he holds an ankh and in the foremost hand he holds a sceptre. The figure of the king strides left and wears an elaborate short kilt. The heads and shoulders of both figures are lost. The king is identified by the associated cartouche. The god cannot be identified.

**Inscription**

There are 28 columns of inscription (—).

**Condition**

From column 10 onwards there are significant lacunae; the upper half of each column is lost and col. 23 is now largely illegible. The inscription is generally very worn and difficult to read. My checking of the text in April 2001 confirmed the accuracy of Kitchen’s copy text.

**Bibliography**

Breasted (1906, 238–240, sections 488–90)
KRVI 534, 10–536, 10

**Translation and notes**

1̅ jr-hr-ꜣ-sb1 n-hm.f  
hm-ntr-tpy [n-jmn-r f nswt-nfrw]  
jmn-htp m3ꜣ-hrw

(r-)nty gm.j-tꜣy-ꜣ-wꜣbt  
n-n3-hmw-ntr-2 tpy n-jmn n-hr-h3t  
nty-m-pr-jmn-r f nswt-nfrw  
[j]w.s-[w3.]j r-w3sj

ɔ2 jw.j-ȝr.w jr.s r-h3w-nswt-3 (hpr-k3-rꜣ)  
st-rꜣ (sn-wsrt)  
jw.j-ȝt(rꜣ) jw.j.qd-s(t) m-m3w  
m-ȝr-nfr m-b3k-mn[hr]

4 jw.j-djt-wmt nꜣy.s-jnbwloid.s

Made under the instruction of His Person,  
by the high priest [of Amun-re, king of the gods,]  
Amenhotep, true of voice.

As follows: I found this preparation chamber,  
of the former high priests of Amun,  
which is in the domain of Amun-re, king of the gods,  
fallen into ruin;

it had been made in the time of King Kheperkare,  
son of Re, Senwosret.

And I completed (it), having built it anew  
as a perfect creation in excellent work.

I caused its walls to be strengthened,
from behind it to the front. And I greatly extended it, making its columns and door-frames from great stones of excellent workmanship, and I (re-)established the great doorleaves with pine and meru-wood.

And I greatly enlarged its great doorway of stone, which appeared complete being (made) wide [and high ...] the high priest of Amun, who is in the domain of Amun.

And I assembled its great door of [pine?] bolts of copper, and images of fine gold, upon [... ... its strength?]

And I built its great terrace of stone which opens out onto the southern lake, the pure [lake?] of the domain of Amun.

And I surrounded [it with a wall?] of brick, and I set in place its great stone carvings on the doorframes, the columns and doorleaves being of pine. and I made the [...] of great stones, dragged (into position), carved with ochre within a border and [...] in the titulary bearing the name of pharaoh, [my lord, l.p.h.

I] built a treasury of brick anew in the great court, whose name is ...

... for His Person. It was behind the storehouse for the taxes of the domain of Amun.

the great and noble court to distinguish the high priest of Amun...
everything good and pure.

I placed its superiors and favoured ones

when there was not

feet .. seizing the ...

to him/it.

As for the foremost, Mut, the great ...

pharaoh, my lord

sacrificing for Mut the great, the...

and she receive[d] them in its cour[t]

and she...

as something beneficial for Amun-re, king of the gods, my

lord,

for I know his greatness, his strength(?), his might,
saying, 'you are the lord of every land'.

May he grant life, prosperity and health, a long lifetime

great kingship,
to the Dual King Neferkare setepenre, son of Re,
Ramesses Khaemwaset,

and may he give to me life, prosperity and health,
a long lifetime, a great old age

and favours in the presence of pharaoh, my lord.

Made by the high priest of Amun-re, king of the gods,
Amenhotep, true of voice,
son of the high priest of Amun,
Ramessesnakht, true of voice.

a) This formula is associated with the high priests of Amun in the late 19th Dynasty and the 20th Dynasty (Wb. IV, 84, 17). It seems to be an elaboration of the 'signature' formula seen in col. 5 of
the back pillar and on the secondary base of Bakenkhons' Munich statue (2.b) and earlier (Wb. I, 111, 22). The \textit{Worterbuch} refers to hr-\textsuperscript{-}sb\textit{b} n-hm\textit{f} as a title attested in the Amarna period (III, 393, 12). It occurs in the rock stela of Roma-Roy at West Silsila (KRI IV, 133, 12). It is attested for the high priest of Amun, Ramessesnakht (KRI VI, 90, 2, 5; LD III, 237e) and Amenhotep used it a number of times (KRI VI, 540, 16; 541, 1, 12). The only other attestation given in the \textit{Worterbuch} is on the rock stela of Roma-Roy's contemporary, the vizier Panehsy at West Silsila, which is near Roma-Roy's (PM V, 217–18), and similar to it in style and iconography (LD III, 200 a, c). It was perhaps modelled on the stela of Roma-Roy or was produced by the same sculptors. A comparable dedication also occurs beneath a figure of a Hathor cow on a sledge on a relief fragment from room four of the Khenu chapel at Deir el-Medina: [jr.\textit{n}]-b3k-jm sb\textit{b}.n-nb.f sb-nswt m-st-m\textit{t} hr-jmntt-w3st r\textsuperscript{-}ms m3\textsuperscript{-}hrw, ‘[Made by] this servant, instructed by his lord, the royal scribe of the place of truth on the west of Thebes, Ramose, true of voice’ (Bruyère 1952, II (2), 39, 66–7, pl. xxxvi, upper).

b) I have read the doubled writing of the verb \textit{wsh} as an intensifier and expressed the orthography in transliteration and translation. Such a writing is unattested in the \textit{Worterbuch} (I, 364–5) and may be restricted to Amenhotep’s text.

c) Two statives are possible here; \textit{wsh} and \textit{q3j}, the latter indicated by the surviving determinative \textit{y}. I am not sure how \textit{\textsuperscript{\textcircled{e}}} is to be read.

d) The word to be read here is probably a synonym of ‘lake’.

e) The determinatives here could point to a writing of \textit{hnty}, perhaps referring to an outer chamber.

f) \textit{mn\textsuperscript{s}} \ldots is a type of pigment or ochre with this determinative. The \textit{Worterbuch} (II, 89, 13) suggests that it was yellow, while Harris (1961, 146–7) considered it possibly to be a red pigment. The emphasis on inscription and visual effect, including the specification of pigment, indicates that a yellow colour is meant. Inscriptions are often coloured gold and only rarely in red. The context involves the writing of the royal cartouche, the backgrounds of which were often coloured yellow. \textit{mn\textsuperscript{s}} is also a word for ‘cartouche’ (Wb. II, 89, 2–5) and the connection may be significant.

g) I restore ‘bolts’ \textit{qrjw} here after the parallel of col. 7.

h) The reading of \textit{mw} as ‘raise up, exalt’ (Hannig 1995, 956) seems appropriate as the context involves honours paid to Amenhotep. One could also read a conjunction: ‘each time the High Priest [x]’.

i) The reading of \textit{wsht} is based on the surviving determinative \textit{v}. Writings of this word consisting of only two signs \textit{v} are known (Spencer 1984, 72). The rendering seems appropriate to the context.

j) Kitchen (KRI VI, 536, 7) tentatively writes \textit{sb} with the determinative \textit{q}. This could be a phrase meaning ‘His strength is X’ but the meaning of \textit{sb} is uncertain. It is known as a word for a type of mineral although the writings attested in the \textit{Worterbuch} (IV, 81, 14) are quite different to the writing of \textit{sb} here. It may evoke the brightness/hardness of a mineral as a royal quality. An alternative reading could be \textit{sbq} ‘intelligence, fortune’.

45
2.i
High priest of Amun Amenhotep

Location temple of Amun, northern area (Sauneron 1966, 11)
Date Ramesses IX or XI (internal (name and filiations))
Dimensions not available

Description (from Sauneron 1966, pls. I–II)
The inscription is included on a large sandstone block, inscribed on both sides, that would have formed part of a chapel wall or have been set up in a court, perhaps with other inscriptions belonging to Amenhotep. It is a small section of what was originally a much larger scene and inscription. The front bears the remains of a scene of adoration of the ithyphallic Amun or Min. Before the god’s face are traces of a bouquet offered to him, perhaps by the king. Beneath the scene are the remains of two lines of text and behind the figure of the god are two columns. Eleven partially preserved columns fill the back of the block.

Inscriptions
On the front the line below the scene (†) reads: jury-p’t h3ty-c r m-ntr-tpy n-jmn-r” jmn-h[tp] ..., ‘... member of the p’t, count, high priest of Amun-re, king of the gods, Amenhotep ...’. Only traces remain of the line beneath. Behind the god the columns bear further titles of Amenhotep (†): [...] [wr-m3w n-r’t-jm n-m-wst jny-r’-hmw-ntr n-šm’w] t3-mbw [hm-ntr-]tpy n-jmn-[r’t] nswt-ntrw...[three and a half groups lost] 2 [...].... jury-p’t h3ty-c mh jb n-nb-t3wy hm-ntr-tpy n-jmn-r” nswt-ntrw jmn-h[r]p [m3’]-hrw, ‘... [chief of seers of Re-Atum in Thebes, overseer of the priests of south] and north, high [priest of Amun] king of the gods [three and a half groups lost], ... member of the p’t, count, confidant of the lord of the two lands, high priest of Amun-[re], king of the gods, Amenhotep, [true of voice]’.

Ten columns (†) from the text on the back remain legible. An unknown number of columns are missing from the beginning. The text seems to come to a logical conclusion with the final preserved column.

Condition
A section is missing from the bottom right corner of the front. Only traces remain of the second column of inscription on the right of the front and the second line at the base. The scene itself shows some pitting and wear. The back has two large gouges in the upper half of the block. There is significant damage to the surface of the stone in the lower left corner and the lower parts of columns 7–10 have suffered loss. Areas of text have also been lost along the top edge. An unknown amount is lost from the bottom of each column.

Bibliography
Sauneron (1966) provides a full edition of the text and my reading largely follows his. Notes are given to readings that require further discussion.
KRI VI, 532, 8–533, 16

Translation and notes
... a good burial in as much as we will be buried likewise.

Now as for the one who will distort
the word[s] which I spoke
and who will ignore [what I did], and who comes
[... ... ...]
[He will not perform the] office of high priest of Amun.

His son will not inherit from him.
He will not be buried on the west of Thebes,
among its priests.

For I had stretched out [... ... ...]
[... fallen?] into ruin
since the time of its construction,
the former high priests of Amun
having made it in the time of king Kheperkare,
son of Re, Senwosret,

the one who made [... ... ...]
[... ...] Amun-re, king of the gods.

I came in order to reach out my hand to free it,
for its upper bricks in the chamber were crumbling,
and its wooden joinery, door supports,
frames, and doorleaves...
... making its ... Amun-re, king of the gods.

I am the one who rebuilt it of excellent construction
and I made it greater in size,
with perfect foundations upon its ground.

... and I (re-)made [its former wooden joinery];
door supports and frames
with great hard stones dragged (into position),
and I made its doorleaves ...
 [...] with ivory, [its? base?] [...] with ebony.
And I had my name inscribed upon the bases (?)..
...

As for the one who will remove my name in order to
replace (it) with his (own) name,
Amun will reduce his lifetime on the entire earth, for he (the transgressor?) is ...? impure ...\(^d\)

...since I am the one who (re-)made this portal in stone,

this which I found [fallen into ruin].

[... I am the high priest of] Amun-re, king of the gods, Amenhotep, true of voice,

son of the high priest of Amun-re, king of the gods, Ramessesnakht, [true of voice ...]

a) This is the final verse in a promise, probably directed to those who honour Amenhotep’s memory, in contrast to the threat which follows. The verse refers to the good burial of the High Priests, and is the counterpart of the final verse of the threat (col. 3). The use of the first person plural to refer to Amenhotep himself and the members of his priesthood, these perhaps being family members, is quite distinctive. There does not seem to be a parallel for this (Morschauser 1991).

b) I read ‘\( b^r \)’ as ‘to distort’ following Scott Morschauser’s interpretation of the word in this text (1991, 63–4).

c) \( hry \) takes the root meaning ‘under’ (\( Wb. \) III, 386–8) which may have an appropriate added nuance in a burial context. The unusual writing of \( hmyw \) is discussed by Sauneron (1966, 14), and may be a conflation of the writing of \( hmw \) and \( hsysw \).

d) Sauneron (1966, 13) translated; ‘Amon ne fera pas qu’il ...’. I alternatively read the subject here as the person who transgresses against the monument. \( w^f b \), in this context, would mean its own opposite, one who is ‘impure’ (Blumenthal 1991, 51–3).

Royal scribe Roy

Object type block statue fragment
Date late 18th or early 19th Dynasty (Schulz 1992, I, 217, n. 1)
Provenance temple of Mut, south end, outside the enclosure wall (PM II\(^2\), 262; Benson and Gourlay 1899, 340–3, plan, No. 20)
Dimensions H: 0.46m
Material granodiorite

Description (from Schulz 1992, I, 217, cat. 112)
Block statue with arms folded over the knees, the right hand holds a folded cloth.
Inscriptions
Seven lines of text inscribed on the garment, from the right side of the body, across the front, to the left, incorporating offering formulae, a hymn to Khonsu, and statements of moral character.

Condition
Head, shoulders, and right side of the base lost.

Bibliography
Benson and Gourlay (1899, 340–3, no. 20)
Assmann (1980, esp. 1–9)
Schulz (1992, I, 217, cat. 112)

2.k
Overseer of draughtsmen of Amun Didia

Object type
block statue

Date
Sety I – Ramesses II (titles found on other dated monuments: Lowle 1976)

Provenance
Karnak cachette (redeposition)

Dimensions
H: 0.5m

Material
granite

Description (from Schulz 1992, II, pl. 56 a–c)
Plain block statue with an offering basin set into the space on top of the knees. Single wig with detailed braids and echeloned side panels that leave the lobes of the ears exposed. A beard is visible but there is no neck. The hands are not depicted. There is little indication of body shape beneath the garment; the feet, while indicated, are covered by the garment. The statue sits directly on a tall base.

Inscriptions
The right shoulder bears the names Min, Amun, and the cartouche Djeserkare (Amenhotep I); the left, the cartouche of Menkheperre (Thutmose III) and the name Khonsu. The cartouches are inscribed along the top edge of the offering basin and the names of the gods are in single columns down each side of the basin. Each side of the statue bears eleven columns of inscription; the texts begin on the middle of the front and close before the back pillar. The inscription on the right (→) includes offering formulae, an appeal to the living, and a statement concerning the royal command for Didia to renew monuments in Karnak. That on the left (←) includes offering formulae, an appeal, and a list of temples Didia worked in on the West Bank. Two columns (→) on the back pillar give Didia’s titles. His name and titles are also inscribed in a single line on the top of the base, around each side of which is a single line of offering formulae.

Condition
The nose is broken away and there are various points of damage to the front and base.

Bibliography
KRI VII, 24–6
Schulz (1992, I, 249–50, cat. 136, II, pl. 56a–c)
Lowle (1976, 96–8)
2.1

High priest of Amun Roma-Roy

Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JdE 37874

Fig. 19a–b

Object type block statue
Date Merneptah (cartouche)
Provenance Thebes, Karnak cachette (redepot)
Dimensions H: 0.47m
Material granodiorite

Description (from Schulz 1992, II, pl. 71)
Plain block statue on a small base that is curved at the back; no back pillar. Except at the front, the body is clearly modelled beneath the garment. The wig is single, plain, and smooth with echeloned side panels that leave the ears exposed. The face is rounded and flat with incised eyes and eyebrows. Large, clearly delineated ears; very small, plain beard; no neck. Hands large and prominent, the right is clenched on the knee and the left flat at an angle to the knees, with the fingers pointing toward the shoulder and the inscribed name of Amun. Feet bare, with finely modelled details of toes and toenails.

Inscriptions
Six lines (→) fill the front of the garment, relating his loyalty to the king; cartouche of Merneptah across the knees. The names of Amun-Re and Mut, Lady of heaven are inscribed on the right and left shoulders respectively.

Condition
Complete. Schulz (1992, I, 291) reports some cracking down the left side.

Bibliography
Lefebvre (1929, 133–4)
KRI IV, 131, 8–15
Schulz (1992, I, 291–2, cat. 161)
Kitchen (2003, 99)
West Bank

Vizier Paser

Theban tomb 106 (Qurna)

Figs. 31–4

Texts 1 and 2

Date Sety I – Ramesses II (cartouches)

Location in tomb

The two texts are located on the east sides of pillars B and G in the transverse hall (the second pillar from each end of the hall; I follow the labels of PM II², 1, 222–4)

Description

The tomb is unpublished. The following descriptions are based on black and white photos generously provided by James Allen at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Text 1, on pillar B, is inscribed beneath a raised relief scene of Paser standing before a seated figure identified as Sety I by the cartouches above his head. Paser’s head is shaved and he wears a long vizieral robe with straps around the neck. His right arm is outstretched in a gesture of address, interrupting the two columns of inscription that separate the two figures. His left arm is held across his torso and he holds a crook and fan; the ends of a ribbon hang down the front of his robe. He wears sandals. The head and torso of the figure of Sety are lost. The tops of the double plumed crown are visible beneath a pt sign. The figure is wearing a long pleated robe and sandals, and holds a long staff in his left hand. The top of a mace is visible held in front of the body. Traces of painted patterning are visible on the throne, which is set on a plinth. Both figures appear to be painted but details of colour are not available.

Text 2 fills ten lines beneath an erased scene.

Inscriptions

Text 1 consists of fifteen lines (<>). Ten lines of Text 2 remain (→). It may be that no lines of Text 2 are lost, because the traces in line 10 largely correspond with line 15 of Text 1 in my translation. I follow Kitchen’s restorations of Text 2, which are based on Text 1.

In the scene above Text 1, eight columns of inscription (←) begin before the seated figure and continue over the figure of Paser; columns 2 and 3 come down between the two figures: ¹⟨⟨t‘y-hw hr-[wnm-nswt] jmy-r3-njwt tšt ty [s]šmr-nb n-jmn pš-sr mr hrs-hrw dd.f-jnd-hr.k k nr-nfr hr-hc m-w3st m- [8 groups] ³dw-f-pw n- nh m-jry-hm.k pš ty f- h w dj.k- htp-bk-jm m- hnw.f m nj-hm-3h n-nb f jmj-dq-3 srm srw w3 n- wy hjr-n-f sp-nfr n- sms-hm.k w3 jk.k-pj jm- mnt-w3st m j-hsy.k-nb n-kš-n-pš-3-njw tšt ty pš- sr m hrs-hrw, ‘Fanbearer on the right of the king, city governor, vizier, festival leader of Amun, Paser, true of voice: Greetings to you, perfect god, Horus who appears in Thebes in […], this his mountain of life being (where) His Person will spend his lifetime (in the next world). May you may cause that this servant rest there within it like a servant who is effective for his lord. Let the courtiers and companions say: “How fortunate is that which has happened to him” – a good occasion for the one who follows Your Person as you commanded for me. May you cause me to reach the west of Thebes like any of your favourites, for the ka of the governor of the city, vizier Paser, true of voice’. The cartouche of ([mnl]-mrhrs-r³) is visible as is the location of the nomen, but
the surface there is lost. There are traces of $s3-r^{c}$ and $dj-^n nh mj-r^{c}$. The inscriptions of the king are in raised relief while those of Paser are incised.

**Condition**

Large areas of the scene on pillar B are missing, including most of the king’s figure, and there are chips and gouges through the figure of Paser. Part of the second column of inscription is lost and there are chips through other parts of the scene. A large crack, beginning in the scene, runs through the centre of the inscription, resulting in the loss of some text. There is also damage to the edges of the pillar and the base.

The scene of pillar G appears to have been hacked away. The inscription below is also badly damaged.

**Bibliography**

MMA T 2937, T2961
KRI I, 299, 1–16
KRI III, 8, 14–9, 8
Kitchen (1993b, 243–4)
Kitchen (1993a, 197–8)
Kitchen (2000, 7–8); translation
Seyfried (1990)

**Text 1 translation and notes**

1

Given as a favour of the palace,
he says: Greetings to you King of Egypt,

2 $n-jry-p^{t}$ $hity-^{c}$
to the member of the $p^{t}$, count,

3 $sib?$ $i3tyj$ $r3-nhn$
d[ignitary?], judge, mouth of Nekhen,

4 $hm-n/r-m3^{t}$ $ti3y$-$hw$ hr-$wnm$-$nswt$
priest of Maat, fanbearer on the right of the king,

5 $jmy-r3-njwt$ $ti3ty$
overseer of the city, vizier,

6 $p3$-$sr$ $m3^{t}$-$hrw$
Paser, true of voice;

7 $dd.f$-$jn$-$d$-$hr.k$ $n$-$swt$ $n$-$km$ $r$-$n$-$p$-$dt$-$9$
he says: Greetings to you King of Egypt,

8 $ntk-[$$n$] $n$+$h$ $m$-$m3^{t}$
You are a god who lives on Maat,

9 $sj3$ $jmy$-$h3tjw$
who perceives what is in hearts,

10 $wd^{t}$-$hw3$ $r3$-$jmyt$.s$(n)$
who judges bodies, who knows what is in them,

11 $s3$-$hr$ $m$-$n$-$b$-$hm$-$w$ $m$-$r$-$m$-$s$-$b$-$f$
clever like the lord of Hermopolis,

12 $[\ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots]$ $r$-$rh$
[\ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots] in order to know,

13 $mj$-$p$-$h$ $m$-$s$-$hm$-$w$ $w$ $h$ $m$-$r$ $f$ $j$-$b$
like Ptah, who created workshops.

14 $jst$-$4$-$hm$-$f$ $j$-$b$-$f$-$3$-$w$
Now His Person, his heart happy,

15 $h$-$m$-$n$.-$f$.-$r$-$swt$ $t$-$h$-$w$ $w$ $[\ldots ]$
was suffused with joy and exultation,

16 $m$-$f$.-$h$ $n$-$n$-$d$-$m$-$j$ $b$
in his palace of delectation,

17 $m$-$r$-$r$ $m$-$3$-$sw$-$3$-$f$
like Re within his horizon.

18 $m$-$w$-$w$ $m$-$3$-$4$ $h$-$w$.

19 $r$.$t$ $m$-$w$-$r$-$t$-$h$-$k$.$3$ $w$
his mother Maat being the protection of his body,

20 $[j$-$r$.$s$] $s$-$t$.$s$ $r$-$j$-$m$-$y$-$j$-$n$-$h$ $f$
having appeared as Great-of-Magic,

21 $m$-$m$-$h$ $n$ $k$ $h$-$r$-$t$-$p$ $f$
[taking] her place between his eyebrows,

52
Karnak is exalting and Amun-[Re] very [greatly],
when he saw his son upon his throne.

He (Amun?) places him before him,
happy to perform wonders for His Person.
He has made to flourish the south, north, west and east, [this] entire land;
Dual king Menmaatre, image of Re, son of Re, Sety Merneptah, given life.

My lord commanded that this servant be promoted
to first companion of the palace;
he appointed him to be chief overseer,
and high priest of Great-of-Magic.

Then again he placed him as overseer of the city,
and vizier who judges truth,
who is charged to receive tribute,
of the foreign lands of south and north,
for the treasury of the victorious king.

He was sent [...] from it on account of his efficiency,
to calculate the revenue of the two lands throughout the
districts of Upper and Lower Egypt.

By the true royal scribe whom he loves,
greatly favoured of the perfect god,
overseer of works in the great monuments,
overseer of the overseers of all royal workshops,
festival leader of Amun,
overseer of the city, vizier,
Pasé, true of voice.

He says: [(O) ... ...] companions and great ones of the palace,
entourage who are in the king’s house,
[...] of your faces,
to the counsels of the perfect god.
ordained? [...] [...] a good old age.
I have reached this by performing maat for my god,  
[......]
May he give (me) a place on the west side,  
the West, [the necropolis?] a
[..... .... ....]
under the command of Amun-Re,  
the god who ordains [..... ......]
attaining veneration, judging? [..... ......].

Text 2 translation and notes

1[ djw m-hst] nt-pr-nswt  
n-wsjr jry-p< t h3ty-c  
sb ttyjt [r3-nhn  
hm-ntr-m$ t t3y-lw hr-wnm-nswt]
2[jmy-r3-njwt t t3y]  
p3-sr m$ lhrw

[Given as a favour] of the palace,  
to the Osiris, member of the p$t, count,  
dignitary, judge, [mouth of Nekhen,  
priest of Maat, fanbearer on the right of the king,]  
[overseer of the city, vizier,]
Paser, true of voice;  
he says: Greetings to you King of [Egypt,  
Re of the nine bows.]  

Horus, beloved of Maat.
You are a god who lives on Maat  
who perceives what is in hearts,  
a god ...

[...?] through his ka.
Now His Person, [his heart happy,  
was suffused with joy and exaltation,  
in his palace of delectation,  
like] Re within his [horizon.
his mother Maat being the protection for his body,  
having appeared as Great-of-Magic,  
taking her place [between his eyebrows,  
as] the coiled one upon his head,

[jst-hm.f [jbf f-sf  
hnm.n f-rsw] t thhwt  
[m$ h.f n-ndm-jb  
mj]$ $ tr m-lnw-[zlf.f  
mwt.f m$ t ms$ s3-h w.f  
h$ tjt m-wrt-hkw  
jry.s-st.s [r-jmy-jnh.f  
m]-mhn hrt-tp.f

[stp.n.f hq$ nhhw  
j$t n-jt f-gf]  
nswt-bjty (wsr-m$ t-r$ stp.n-r$)

Dual King Usermaatre-setepenre,
My lord commanded that this servant be [promoted],
to first companion of the palace;
he appointed him to be chief overseer,
and high priest of Great-of-Magic.

Then again [he] placed him as overseer of [the city
who judges truth],
who is charged [to receive the tribute],
for the treasury of the victorious king.

He was sent forth ... from it on account of] his
efficiency.

May he give (me) [a place on the West,
in] the necropolis, in the endowed land of [...],
[Amun]-re [the] god [who ordains] ...

Text 3
Location
West wall of the southern half of the transverse hall, next to the tomb entrance

Description (from Wilkinson 1878, III, pl. 64)
The scene shows Sety I seated in a baldachin. He wears a detailed atef crown and nemes, with
horns of Amun and falcon above. His false beard is fronted by a uraeus. His body is effigy form
and he holds a crook and flail across his chest. Behind him stands the figure of Maat, with feather
headdress, tripartite wig and long patterned robe. On two register lines facing the king are
miniature groups of the souls of Pe (above) and Nekhen (below), in gestures of acclamation.

The columns of the baldachin are papyri form with multiple capitals, and are decorated with
streamers, pairs of uraei, and plaques bearing the king’s cartouches. The roof of the baldachin bears
a winged disc, directly above the king, with captions on either side. Above is a uraeus frieze and pt
sign.

In front of the baldachin is a table bearing two sjbw collars. A second table, bearing another
collar, stands beside Paser. Paser stands before the kiosk with his arms raised in acclamation. His
head is shaved and he wears a long, plain, vizieral robe and sandals (restored by Wilkinson?). In
his raised left hand he holds a hw fan, crook, and a length of cloth that wraps around his wrist.

Wilkinson’s drawing shows an attendant on either side of Paser. Kitchen’s copy text indicates
the presence of three named men. Those depicted by Wilkinson have shaved heads and wear long,
pleated kilts. The attendant in front of Paser is tying a broad collar around Paser’s neck, which is
already adorned with a number of them. The attendant shown behind has his arms around Paser.
Inscriptions
The main text, in twelve columns (—), begins in front of the kiosk and continues over the figures of Paser and his attendants.

The captions on either side of the winged disc read: *bhdt ntr- 3 nb-pt nb-msn dj-"nh w3s, 'Behdetite, great god, lord of the sky, lord of Mesen, (may he) give life and dominion', bhdt ntr- 3 s3b-"swt dj-"nh w3s mj-r, 'Behdetite, great god, of dappled plumage, may he give life and dominion like Re'.* The cartouches of the king are set in a plaque in the baldachin: *[nswt-bjty (mn-mr-t-"r) ]s3-r]‘d3-n3h mj-r] 4 mry-jmn-r] nb-nswt-t3wy nb-pt, 'Dual king Menmaatre son of Re, Sety Merneptah, given life like Re, beloved of Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands, lord of the sky'. The same cartouches and epithets are inscribed in the plaques on the columns of the baldachin. A speech of Maat, begins behind the king’s head and continues above hers: *[ldd-mdwjn-ml rt [sJt-r] [rwy-h3[k] 2m-cnh w3s dj-j]-... ] 3sw-jb.k hr-st-4wrt dt-sp-sn, 'Words spoken by Maat, [daughter of Re]: "(My) [arms] are around [you] with life and dominion. I will cause that [...] you be happy on the great throne forever and ever". A single column behind the king’s chair reads: *[’nh dd] w3s-nb snb-nb hl.k-nb mj-r] [dt, 'all [life, stability], and dominion, all health, all around him, like Re [forever]'*. Above the figures of the souls of Pe and Nekhen are the captions: *jrt-hnw jn-b3w-p 2 bsw-n3h, 'making jubilation by the souls of Pe and Nekhen'.

Seven columns above Paser’s head, and beneath the fan, give his titles: *[jry-p-t h3ty-3 s3b 3 t3yj r3-n3h hm-ntr-tpy(1)] 3jmy-r3-njwt t3ty n-njwt 4 p3-sr m3-r-hrw 5 hr-jmnty-w3st 6 hsy ’n-ntr-jmy.s, 'member of the p3-t3, count, dignitary, judge, mouth of Nekhen, (high!) priest (of Maat) or Great of Magic?), overseer of the city, vizier of the city, Paser, true of voice on the west of Thebes, favoured one of the god who is in it'. Kitchen records captions giving the names and titles of three attendants (not in Wilkinson): *[jmy-hnt p3-tw-mr] 3 jmy-hnt [p]h-n[3]'y 3 jmy-hnt mry-r 4 dd.n.f [hl?].n-r3, 'chamberlain, Patjuma; [chamber]lain [Pta]hm[ay]; chamberlain, Meryre, who is called [HL?jrenre']

Condition
Wilkinson’s drawing and Kitchen’s copy text indicate significant loss to both the scene and inscription. Kitchen collated cols. 13–27 from the original. Wilkinson’s drawing indicates that the lower sections of the scene were lost including the feet of the standing figures and the king’s throne base. Sety’s throne, part of his lower body, and his rear shoulder were lost, as are the face and arms of Maat. There are significant lacunae throughout the text, particularly the upper sections of the first six columns. Columns 13–8 are almost entirely lost and traces only remain of column 20.

Bibliography
Wilkinson (1878, III, pl. 64)
Redford (1970, 220–2) with partial translation
KRI I, 291, 11–293, 6
Schulman (1988, n. 223–4)
Lichtheim (1992, 66) with partial translation
Kitchen (1993b, 238–9); translation
Kitchen (1993a, 193–4)
He says: Greetings to you [lord?] of Egypt, Re of the nine bows, Dual king, Menmaatre, Horus, who appears in Thebes, [who penetrates hearts?], who perceives hearts, who knows what is in bodies, He is a Khnum [for people], who builds up the humble, who raises up the wretched, who [the high-ranking], the Nile-flood [for] the [entire?] land, [the sun?] for the one who places him in his heart. b

May you cause that I pass by the council, [... ...] the ancestors, that I may be told what is in the heart. There is no [... ...] my [...] you/this? in the presence of the sovereign in order to see His Person in the sanctuary, c [...] [guardians?] of the hidden doors.

The officials and companions were at the double gate, [but I entered?] in the presence without being announced. There [was not] one who did (this?) before me. d

The favours of the king are suffused with my flesh, because of my [character?]. He chose me ahead of millions, for he comprehended my perfection in his heart. I am a Companion, whom he raised, his teaching is in my body, all counsels are discerned in my heart, (for) I am wise through these things he did for me, taken to [his presence in order to? ...]...

... of his two uraei,
sw3$jt.f[four groups]  His father [Amun?] extols …
21st-r[f sthy-mr.n-pth]  son of Re, Sety Mernepthah,
spd-hr m33-hlt  alert, who sees bodies,
s33-[hr] n-[b522k]-jm  wise [in the concerns] of this [servant]e

dj.f-jry.j-esw.w j m-wsr-hrw  May he cause that I spent my lifetime, rich in days(?)
[... 23 [...]  ... to perfection,
[...]r-nfr  in the district [of the necropolis]
[...]w[...][hb] 24[...]  ...
[m-hrt-nfr r-gs[k] [r^?nb]  in the necropolis at [your] side [everyday],

$bn.j-wrw 25tpw-c 3hw-jqwr  that I may mingle with the great ones, the ancestors, and the
effective spirits,
k3-qq-n.j jmyw-26dw3t  and then those who are in the underworld will say to me:
fy-wy sp-sn m-htp  ‘Welcome, welcome in peace!
jwt.n.k-m3t n-nb-w3st  You have done right for the lord of Thebes;
wd.f-n.k 27jmnt  May he assign the West to you’.

n-k3-n-wsir s3b t3tyj  For the ka of the Osiris, dignitary, judge,
r3-nhn hm-nfr-m3t  mouth of Nekhen, priest of Maat,
jmy-r3-njit t3ty  overseer of the city, vizier,
p3-sr m35-hrw  Paser, true of voice.

a) Kitchen (KRI I, 292, 6) begins the text with qd mdw jn, based on his collation of traces. This
would be an exceptional introduction to a non-royal inscription. The text could begin with a more
conventional title string (Redford 1970, 220); I do not render this hypothetical group in my
translation.

b) These restorations are suggested by Assmann (1980, 6–7, n. 22) who bases them on parallels in
a hymn to Khonsu on the 19th Dynasty statue of the royal scribe Roy (2.j).

c) The c^ determinative of dsr designated this as a zone of palace space, comparable to the
‘seclusion of the palace (dsrw-eh)’ in which 18th Dynasty officials received royal audience and
promotion (for which see 4.2.1).

d) Kitchen (1993a, 194) proposes to emend nn wn jm at the end of column 8. My translation of this
verse is tentative. The motif of privileged and exclusive entry through the palace gates is found in
18th Dynasty biographies such as Rekhmire (Davies 1943, I, 80, II, pls. XI–XII): ‘I reached the
door of the palace gate; the courtiers bowed, the elders of the forecourt clearing the way for me
...’.

e) Following Kitchen’s suggested restoration (1993a, 194).
High priest of Amun Nebwenenef  

Theban tomb 157 (Dra Abu el-Naga)

Figs. 36–7

Date  
Ramesses II (cartouches)

Location in tomb  
South wall of the transverse hall, east end of west half, next to the entrance into the tomb (PM I², 1, 267, (8))

Description  
This tomb is not published. The description here is based on the description and photographs published by Borchardt (1931, pls. I–II) and Bell (1969, 32 upper) and a line drawing of the scene published by Kitchen (1982, 47, fig. 16). The scene is carved in raised relief and shows Ramesses II standing at the window of appearances, his right arm outstretched toward the figure of Nebwenenef, his left resting on a cushion on the windowsill. He wears a blue crown. Behind him are traces of a figure of Nefertari. The outline of her face and the uraei of her crown are visible as is the hand which curls around the body of Ramesses. Borchardt (1931, 31) also recorded details of a Hathor crown.

The area beneath the window bears a uraeus frieze and serekh pattern with heraldic plants on either side, topped by a uraeus on the left side. The left side of the building is decorated with a uraeus frieze, cartouches, a sphinx overwhelming an enemy figure, a rhyt bird in adoration of a cartouche, and papyrus plants. The right side is now lost; Borchardt (1931, 30, n. 3) recorded that there is space for this between the scene and the edge of the door.

Nebwenenef stands below the window in a court of slender columns with papyrus capitals. His head is bare and he wears a robe with full, pleated sleeves and a long pleated kilt, tied at the waist. His right arm is outstretched toward the king and his left hand is lowered to his side. He wears sandals. Borchardt (1931, 30, with n. 1) recorded traces of the heads and upper bodies of four figures behind Nebwenenef. He considered the first two to be viziers on the basis of the fan and crook visible in the hand of the frontmost. The robe of the frontmost figure is plain. I suggest, on the basis of examination of Bell’s photograph, a further row of three men behind the viziers, the remains of their garments indicating they were dressed similarly to Nebwenenef.

Borchardt (1931, 31) recorded traces of red paint on the body of the king and in the background of the scene and blue-green on the columns.

Inscriptions  
The text consists of twenty-three columns (→), the first seven of which are inscribed between the architectural columns of the hall. The text begins between the palace wall and the first column. The cartouche of Nefertari begins this column. Columns 2 and 3 fill the space between the first and second pillar and are topped with the cartouches of Ramesses II. Pairs of columns then fill the following intercolumnar spaces. In Borchardt’s photograph (1931, pl. 1), the beginning of column 8 is visible above the roof-line of the hall. Beyond this point the text continues in regular columns.
Condition
The published photographs and line drawing show considerable damage to the scene. The figure of the queen behind Ramesses II is largely lost. Bell's photograph also shows that the heads and upper bodies the two rows of figures behind Nebwenenef are also lost. Sethe's copy (1907, pls. I–III) indicates loss to the latter part of the inscription in particular, while Kitchen's copy and Bell's photograph indicates further subsequent loss throughout. Kitchen restores these areas either from Sethe's text or from photographs.

Bibliography
Sethe (1907, pls. I–III)
Borchardt (1931)
KR III, 282, 13–285, 3
Kitchen (1982, 46–7, fig. 16)
Bell (1969, 32–3)
Kitchen (2000, 201–3)

Translation and notes

\[\begin{align*}
1^{\text{r}}hptsp-l & \ 3bd-3 \ \ hbt-[ ] \\
m-ht-hd-hm.f \ m-njwt-rsy & \\
hr-jrt-hsst-jt.f & \\
jmn-r^{r} \ nb-nswt-t3wy & \\
k3-wr \ hry-tp-psdt & \\
mwt-wrt \ nbt-j$tw & \\
^2\text{hnsw} \ m-w3r \ nfr-htp & \\
psdt \ jmy(i)-w3st & \\
m-hb.f-nfr \ n-jpt & \\
\end{align*}\]

Year one, 3rd month of Akhet [ ],

after His Person travelled north from Thebes,

having performed what his father favours,

Amun-re, lord of the thrones of the two lands,

great bull, chief of the ennead,

for Mut the great, lady of Asheru,

for Khonsu in Thebes, perfect of peace,

and the Ennead who are in Thebes,

in his perfect festival of Opet.

\[\begin{align*}
jy-jm \ m-hst & \\
ssp.tw-hswt \ hr-tp-"nht-wd3-sn b & \\
n-nswt-bjty \ (\text{wr}-m3-r^{r} \ \ stp.n-r^{r}) & \\
c\^{n}h \ dt & \\
^3djw-r-t\beta \ r-t\beta-\text{wr} & \\
st\beta \ hm-ntr-tpy \ n-jmn & \\
nb-wnn.f \ m3\^{r}-\text{hrw} \ m-b3h-hm.f & \\
\end{align*}\]

Returning from there in favour,

when favours had been received on behalf of the life,

prosperity, and health,

of the dual king, Usermaatre setepenre,

may he live forever.

\[\begin{align*}
^3djw-r-t\beta \ r-t\beta-\text{wr} & \\
st\beta \ hm-ntr-tpy \ n-jmn & \\
nb-wnn.f \ m3\^{r}-\text{hrw} \ m-b3h-hm.f & \\
\end{align*}\]

Landing was made at Tawer,

And the high priest of Amun

Nebwenenef, true of voice, was ushered into the presence

of His Person.

\[\begin{align*}
^3djw-r-t\beta \ r-t\beta-\text{wr} & \\
st\beta \ hm-ntr-tpy \ n-jmn & \\
nb-wnn.f \ m3\^{r}-\text{hrw} \ m-b3h-hm.f & \\
\end{align*}\]

Now he was (then) high priest of Onuris,

and high priest of Hathor, lady of Dendera,

and [overseer] of priests of all the gods,

to his south as far as Heriheramun,

and his north as far as Thinis.

\[\begin{align*}
^3djw-r-t\beta \ r-t\beta-\text{wr} & \\
st\beta \ hm-ntr-tpy \ n-jmn & \\
nb-wnn.f \ m3\^{r}-\text{hrw} \ m-b3h-hm.f & \\
\end{align*}\]

Then His Person said to him:
You are high priest of Amun;
His treasury and his granary are under your seal.
You are chief spokesperson for his temple;
all his endowments are under your authority.

The domain of Hathor, lady of Dendera, will be under the
authority of [your son?]
the proper [heir?] of the offices of your fathers,
the seat which you used to occupy.

As Re lives for me and loves me,
and as my father Amun favours me,
I presented to him the [whole] entourage,
and the chief spokesman of the [troops].
The priests of the gods,
and the officials of his domain [who were before him,]
were proclaimed for him,
He was not content [with] one among them,
except when I spoke [your] name to him.

[Perform beneficent acts for him] inasmuch as he
desired you.
I know your excellence;
do more and his ka will favour you,
and my ka will do so too.

He will cause you to endure at the head of his estate,
he will give to you old age within it,
and he will bring you to mooring upon the soil of his city.
He will give (you) the prow-rope and the stern-rope,
for he himself desired you,
and no other who was suggested to him.

He will give the West to you,
because, as for my father Amun,
(extra) a great god, [without equal],
[who investigates] bodies, who reveals hearts,
(extra) Perception, who knows the interior of bodies.

[No god has power over what he has done,
His plans cannot be thwarted;
One depends] on what goes forth from his mouth.
He, the lord of the Ennead,
is the one who chose [you, on account of your character?]
he [advanced?] you on account of your excellence'.
Then the courtiers and the Council of 30 [together, praised the perfection of His Person, kissing the ground profusely] in the presence of this perfect god, making adorations and propitiating [...] paying honour before him, magnifying his qualities to the height of the sky.

They said: ‘O ruler for Amun, who will be forever, whom he brought up from extreme youth, may you perform sed-festivals [...] your [...] like sand, may you be reborn every dawn, rejuvenate for us like the sun, may you be youthful like the moon, as the child of ...

... you [rule?] as king of the two banks, the nine bows at your command, your boundary is set to the limits of this sky, its every circuit being beneath you, that which the sun encircles is under your charge, and what [the ocean] washes [is under your control],

while you are upon earth, on the Horus throne, having appeared as ruler of the living. You marshal the troops of Egypt, yet you kill as a lord, one enduring of kingship upon earth.

... may(?) you rule as he did, while you are upon earth, (as) the sun-disc in the sky, your lifetime as his lifetime.

May he give to you eternity and forever united, joined in life and power. O perfect ruler, beloved of Amun, He [will [...]?

[Then] His Person [gave to him] his two seals of gold, and his staff of electrum, being appointed as high priest of Amun, [overseer] of the double treasury,
overseer of the granary, overseer of works, and overseer of all the craftsmen throughout Thebes.

A royal message was sent out, [to inform the entire land?], that the domain of Amun, all his property [was assigned to him?], all his staff, ...

[by the favour of?] the ruler of Amun who will be forever.

a) Sethe (1907, 30 n. 1) considered that the sun determinative indicated that ‘day 1’ was to be read here. However, it seems more likely that space was left for the day which was never carved (so KRI III, 283 n. 2a).

b) Following Sethe’s (1907, 33) suggested restoration.

2.0 Overseer of field-workers of the domain of Amun Djehutyemheb

Theban tomb 194 (Asassif)

Figs. 40–2

Date Ramesses II; textual and architectural parallels with TT 189 (2.p); the biographical text in this tomb includes the year dates 55 and 58. Kampp-Seyfried (1996, 483) and Seyfried (1995, 107–8) suggest that the design of Djehutyemheb’s tomb may date it a little earlier than TT 189.

Location in tomb
Shrine, north wall, over the entrance to the sloping passage. Text 1 continues onto the west wall, beside the entrance to the shrine (PM I 2, 1, 296, 301 (14); Seyfried 1995, pis. 35–6).

Description (from Seyfried 1995, pls. XXXV–VI)
Text 1 begins above centre of the entrance to the sloping passage. Nine columns run over the top of the doorway and continue down the right side of the entrance above the figure of Djehutyemheb, who stands, facing the entrance, with both arms raised in adoration. His head is bald and he has a broad collar around his throat. His ear is pierced. He wears a long robe with wide sleeves, apron, and sash. His feet are bare.

The text continues onto the west wall of the shrine, above the figure of Djehutyemheb’s wife, to finish by the entrance into the shrine. She wears a long tripartite wig with incense cone and lotus bloom. With her right hand, she raises a sistrum before her; her left hand is raised in adoration. She wears a collar and long, knotted robe with wide sleeves. The outline of her body is indicated through the garment. Her feet are bare.

Text 2, included here because of its close associations with Text 1, begins above centre of the entrance to the sloping passage and continues to the left; the lower parts of the columns to the left side of the entrance are lost. The symmetrical arrangement of scenes and texts on this wall
indicates that there was a figure of a goddess engraved to the left of the entrance, probably Hathor or Mut (Seyfried 1995, 70, 73-4 [scene 54]).

Traces of blue paint are noted by Seyfried in some signs in Text 1 and 2. The skin colour of both Djehutyemheb and his wife is light red to pink. The collar around Djehutyemheb’s throat is blue. His wife’s sistrum is light red and her collar, wig, and lotus blossom bear traces of blue-black paint (Seyfried 1995, 82).

Inscriptions
Text 1 consists of eighteen columns of text; fourteen are inscribed on the north wall of the shrine (→). The final four columns are inscribed above the figure of Djehutyemheb’s wife on the west wall. There are remains of fifteen columns of Text 2 (←). This text seems to have finished on this wall, because the adjacent space on the east wall bears the remains of a Hathor-headed column (Seyfried 1995, pl. 38).

The lintel and jambs of the entrance to the sloping passage bear the remains of offering formulae and titles of Djehutyemheb. The lintel bore images of Djehutyemheb kneeling in adoration of Anubis on the right, and a now lost deity on the left, possibly Osiris (Seyfried 1995, 73, scene 52.1, pl. 35). The muzzle and ears of Anubis remain visible, as do the lines of the back of the head and shoulder of the tomb owner on the left. The remaining inscription above the traces of the figure on the left reads: \(^{54}dj.k.qprt m-[hrt-ntr] \times^{13}jmy-r3-shty n-{^t}pr-jmn dhwty-\times^{15}m-hb m3^-brw\), ‘that you may give entry and exit from the necropolis, for the ka of the overseer of the fields of the domain of Amun, Djehutyemheb, true of voice’. The remains of the far left column of the jamb read: \(\ldots\) nb-m [or nb-m3^-t-n (Seyfried 1995, 74, Text 125)] \(hrt-ntr \ldots sh-hwt-ntr n-pr-jmn [dhwty-m-hb m3^-brw]\), ‘... every ... in (or, possessor of Maat in) the necropolis [...]’ (the seated deity determinative suggests that a god’s name is to be restored here), scribe of the temple of the domain of Amun [Djehutyemheb, true of voice]. Fragments of two columns above the head of Anubis give his name and epithets: \(^{1}[j]npw\ ^{2}hnty-sh-ntr\), ‘[A]nubis, foremost of the god’s shrine’. In his transliteration of this group, Seyfried (1995, 73, text 123) gives the epithet \(^{1}jmj-wt\) but this is not included in the line drawing.

Condition
Lower sections of parts of columns 1–4 are lost, and there are lacunae and areas of damage in the remaining columns on the north wall. On the west wall, the lower/mid sections of each column have significant lacunae. Text 2 is badly damaged: the entire area to the left of the entrance to the sloping passage is lost; the surviving columns above the entrance and continuing to the left along the top of the wall are also affected.

Bibliography
Assmann (1978). Assmann provides transliteration, translation, and commentary. My reading largely follows his. I review Assmann’s arguments for points where Seyfried has revised the readings of the signs. I also note possible multiple readings and those that remain particularly problematic.
KRI VII, 153, 6–154, 7.
Assmann (1999a); translation.
Szpakowska (2003); especially Chapter 5, 138–41. With translation of text 1.
Adoring Gold, the eye of Re,  
kissing the ground for [her] ka,  
[A pray]er for her perfect face,  
paying her honour [everyday],  

(by) the Osiris, overseer of fieldworkers of the domain of  
Amun,  
Djehutyem[heb, true of voice.  

He says: I have come] before you, O lady of the two lands,  
Hathor, great of love.  
Look, I am in adoration of your perfect face;  
I kissed the ground for your ka.  

I am your true servant;  
I am [upon] the water of your command.  
I have not rejected what your mouth spoke, I am not  
ignorant of your teaching.  
I am upon the path which you yourself set,  
upon the road which you made.  

How fortunate is the occasion for the one who knows you,  
everyone who sees you is favoured.  
How joyful it is to rest by your side,  
(for) the one who enters your shade.  

You are the one who foretold my tomb in the beginning,  
as it was ordained to be.  
That which you said happened,  
your plan is [established?],  
[sanctified?] is the place for my corpse.  

You will give to me old age,  
that I may rest, being wh[ole],  
and sated with life;  
my eyes seeing  
and all my limbs complete.  

You are the one who said to me with your own mouth:  
'I am the perfect hly, my form is [the form?] of Mut,  
one who comes to instruct you.'  
See your place, fill yourself with it,  
without going north, without going [sou]th'.
while I was in a dream\(^8\) and the earth was in silence, in the depths of night.

At dawn, my heart rejoiced, I was in joy, and I set (my) face to the West, in order to do as you said.

You are the goddess who does what she says, a noble to whom one must listen.

I have not disregarded your speech nor transgressed your counsel.

I act according to what you say.

Set your face in order to allow me to worship it, bestow your perfection that I may perceive your form in my tomb,\(^h\)

in order to recount your strength, in order to cause the generations to understand

For the ka of the Osiris, scribe of the offerings of the domain of Amun, overseer of field-workers of the domain of Amun, royal scribe, […… … …]

djehutyemheb, true of voice, in peace, his beloved sister […],

mutnejdmet, [true of voice], on the west of Thebes.\(^i\)

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a) I follow the restorations suggested by Assmann for columns 3 and 4 (1978, 29, nn. a, b). Seyfried notes what appears to be a "" beneath the traces of "", but he too follows Assmann in transliteration and translation (1995, 71, n. a).

b) Both Assmann (1978, 29 d) and Seyfried (1995, 72 b) note the form of "" with an unusually long neck, which they read as sr. Despite Seyfried’s comment that only the neck is disproportionate for \(\text{\textcopyright}\), the sign appears canine in form. Angela McDonald (2002, 183-7) discusses occurrences of sr written with a dog determinative or with an animal resembling the Seth animal. Among her examples is sr on a 12th Dynasty stela of Sarenput in the Heqaib sanctuary at Aswan, in a dedicatory context comparable to Djehutyemheb’s: ‘I proclaimed that which is ahead (sr.n(j) hr hnt) and I enhanced (it) for what is to come’ (McDonald 2002, 185). Here, sr is clearly written with a dog determinative (Habachi 1985b, 36, No. 9, l. 12). McDonald (2002, 186) considers that where a canine or Seth determinative is used, the connotation of noise is stressed, sr is thus characterized as a loud announcement, preceding the event itself. Although I follow Assmann and Seyfried in translating sr as ‘foretold’, ‘announced’ is also possible. The sign’s indeterminate form may lay further stress on the spoken character of the message dream, complementing the powerful visual aspect of the self-presentation of the goddess and the hymn.
Loprieno (1996a, 48) notes the word-play here between \textit{m-š3} ‘in the beginning’ and \textit{m-š3w} ‘as ordained’ as signalling the literary character of the text.

c) I follow Seyfried here (1995, 71, 72, n. c). Assmann reads: \textit{j.ddt.t hpr.s-hr t [grg]-st n-dt.j} ‘Was du gesagt hast, hat sich werwirklicht durch dich, [gegründet ist] eine Stadt für meinen Mumienlieb’ (1978, 25, 28, ns. e and r). Assmann acknowledged the alternative of \textit{shrw.t mn} for \textit{hr t} which is supported by the traces (Seyfried 1995, pl. 35). Seyfried (1995, 72, n. c) does not consider it necessary to restore a \textit{sdm(w)} passive in the lacuna and suggests \textit{dsr} on the basis of the parallel phrase in Text 2 (col. 6) (also Assmann 1978, 29, n. e).

d) Read \textit{r rdjt n.j} here, with Assmann (1978, 30, n. f) and Seyfried (1995, 71).

e) Assmann cites an example of \textit{hly} used as a personal name in order to indicate that it was a term of endearment for the goddess, emphasizing the intimacy of Djehutyemheb’s relationship with her (1978, 32, n. t). I know of no other occurrence of this name.

The rendering of the second clause is uncertain; Seyfried tentatively suggests restoring \textit{jt} in the lacuna, although I offer \textit{jrw} as an alternative that may work as a parallelism and given its repetition in the thematically related context of col. 15. The traces of \textit{mwt} can be read both as the name of the goddess and as ‘(my) mother’. Thus the aspect of Hathor evoked here is both divine and maternal, and establishes a connection with the goddess Mut (Szpakowska 2003a, 229–31). Seyfried (1995, 73) considers the possibility that the lost image of the goddess beneath Text 2, showed Mut rather than Hathor.

f) Assmann (1978, 30, n. f) emends \textit{\textcircled{\textsuperscript{3}}} to the second tense \textit{\textcircled{\textsuperscript{3}}}: ‘I have come in order to instruct you’. I suggest rendering as a participle, literally ‘one who does a coming’, as an extension of Hathor’s characterization.

g) Both Assmann (1978, 28) and Seyfried (1995, 71) render \textit{qd} ‘sleep’. Szpakowska (2003, 16–7) has studied the occurrence of this word, suggesting that in the late New Kingdom it acquired the alternative meaning ‘dream’ which is an appropriate rendering here. She cites as evidence a letter from Deir el-Medina (P DM 6, vso 1–3) in which a woman reported ‘a dream which she had seen \textit{(w r qd (j)ptr.s)}’, as well as the oracular amuletic decrees of the Third Intermediate Period, in which there are at least ten references to seeing a \textit{qd}.

h) I follow Assmann (1978, 28) in reading with the \textit{\textcircled{\textsuperscript{c}}} determinative of \textit{ht}, a rare verb meaning ‘perceive, catch sight of’ (\textit{Wb. III}, 348, 16–7). He also notes the alternative rendering ‘engrave’, which would refer to the images of the goddess in Djehutyemheb’s tomb, including the image that may have been inscribed opposite and within ‘sight’ of his own image on the north wall of the shrine. The verb also occurs in Edfu and Dendara texts with reference to seeing divine images carved on the temple walls; Wilson (1997, 753) considers that this may be a usage restricted to such contexts.

A comparable play with meaning may be evoked in the previous verse. Assmann (1978, 33, n. x) observes that the transitive use of \textit{\textcircled{\textsuperscript{c}}} is related to concepts of ownership in the examples given in the \textit{Wörterbuch} (III, 231, 8–10; see also \textit{\textcircled{\textsuperscript{g}}}, KRI IV, 342, 11–2; 343, 3). Assmann’s rendering ‘worship’, proposed by analogy with the intransitive use ‘to bow to’ (\textit{Wb. III}, 231, 3–11), is
appropriate to the hymn context, although concepts of ‘possession, ownership’ may also be evoked in a space where Hathor and her cult objects are so visibly present (2.2.2).

i) There is an uninscribed space beneath the $mwt$ hieroglyph in col. 18, perhaps indicating incomplete planning of the end of the inscription (Seyfried 1995, 72, n. j). Seyfried (1995, 72, n. h) also notes that the $m$ in Djehutyemheb’s name was not inscribed in column 17.

Text 2 translation and notes

1$dd-mdw$ $jn$hwt-hrw $hryt$-$tp$-$w3st$
   jrt-r$^r$ $hryt$-$jb$-$[d]sr$ $t$

Welcome in peace,
Djehutyemheb, true of voice, the accurate,
the cool, [silent one of K]arnak,
the discrete mouth of The[bes],

$[... ... ...]$ $hr$ $[... ]$

My heart mingles with your form,
I [have] made [a shrine?] for your mummy,
and I have consecrated a place for your body.

... $n$-$ntr$-$r$? 2
$dd.f$-$n.k$ $jw$ $m$-$htp$

I will [announce you] to the great god,
that he may say to you: ‘Welcome in peace’.

$jw.j$-$r$-[whm$.$k] $^3n$-$ntr$-$r$?
$gd.f$-$n.k$ $jw$ $m$-$htp$

I will commend [you] to Horakhty,
that he may place you among his adorers.
I will hand you over to the lord of Heliopolis
that he may cause your offerings to endure.

$[... ... ]$ $jw$. $j$-$r$. $h$-$n$. $k$. $n$-[rest of col. lost]

$[sw3d.j$-$tw$?] $^{10}n$-$nfr$ $tm$

[I will hand you over] to Sokar and the Henu barque,
that you may enter the $Stjt$-shrine.

$sw3d$-$j$-$tw$ $n$-$nfr$-$tm$
$phr.k$-$j$-$n$-$w$ $hn$?$f$

I will hand you over to Nefertem,
that you may go around Memphis with him.
I will commend [you to] Neferher,$^d$
[that he may place you among his?] favoured ones.

$[dj.f$-$tw$ $m$-$n$-$y.f$?]$-$hsyw$

I will commend you to Penpen,$^e$
that he may bring together your offerings.
I will commend you to ...
[... like] when you were upon earth.

$[...]$ $mj$-$[j$n$]$$^{12}wn.k$-$tp$-$t3$

May he favour you a million times
that he may [...]
13[... ... ...]-rn.k 3t r-3t
[... ... ...] your name, moment after moment
[...].k-mn r-n[hh]
[... ... ...] you established forever.

14[... ... ...] b'h-n.k pt m-[3pdw?]
[rmw?] pr hr-jtrw n-[k3.k?][rest lost]
[... ... ...] the sky overflows for you [with birds?]
[fish?] coming from the river for [your ka?] ...

a) The reading of dsrt here is supported by the traces (Seyfried 1995, 72-73, n. a). For epithets of Hathor relating her to dsrw or dsrt, the designation for the Deir el-Bahri temple area, see (Pinch 1993, 3).

b) As noted by Assmann (1978, 36-7, n. b), these epithets have parallels in the appeal to the living inscribed on the façade of the tomb (Seyfried 1995, 29-30, Text 17, n. d, pl. 25; 2.2.2) and in the 20th Dynasty tomb of Paenkhemenu (2.z; Seyfried 1991, 60-5, 128-9, text 55, fig. 10, pls. IX–XI).

c) Assmann (1978, 37, n. e) suggested reading sh or sh-nfr in the lacuna. Compare the parallel phrase in the tomb of Nakhtdjehuty: ‘I have made broad the place for your corpse, I have consecrated the place for your body (swsh.j-st (n-)s'h.k (n) dsr.j-st n-dt.k)’ (Assmann 1978, 39–40, and see 2.2.2).

d) I follow Seyfried here (1995, 72–3, n. g). Assmann (1978, 35–6) suggested reading ‘der Heil erwacht?’ (rs-hr?). Seyfried notes that hr is certain but the preceding sign is less so. He considers nfr more consistent with the traces and cites occurrences of nfr-hr as an epithet of Hathor and of Ptah.

e) Leitz (2002, III, 37) lists four attestations of the god Penpen, all of which are in Ramessid non-royal tombs. Two of these are from Djehutyemheb’s (Seyfried 1995, 63–4, pl. 32, col. 6); in both cases and in the tomb of Anhurmose at el-Mashayikh, he is associated with offerings. In the tomb of Paenkhemenu (TT 68), he is connected with writing. Assmann (1978, 37, n. 1 with refs.) records that the occurrence in this tomb has a parallel in the tomb of Tjay (TT 23).

2.p
Overseer of craftsmen, chief of
gold-workers in the domain of Amun
Nakhtdjehuty

Theban tomb 189 (Asassif)

Fig. 51

Date  Ramesses II (high year counts of 55 and 58 in Text 1 (cols. 20–1)). Kampp-Seyfried (1996, I, 478) considers that work on the tomb could have continued into the reign of Merenptah.

Location in tomb
Text 1 begins on the northern half of the rear (east) wall of the transverse hall and continues onto the eastern half of the north side wall, east end of the hall (PM 12,1, 295 (5–6)). The description in
Porter and Moss indicates that the text is in the same registers as underworld scenes (their Book of Gates); the spatial relationship of these scenes to the text has not been published. Text 2 is inscribed on the southern half of the tomb façade (PM I², 1, 295 (2)).

Description (from Kitchen 1974)
Text 1 is incised and filled with blue paint upon a red background. The last three surviving columns on the north wall are filled with blue on a white background, with red dividing lines. Kitchen does not discuss any associated images or scenes.

Text 2 consists of a series of captions for images of barques and doors that are inscribed on the façade. The two lower registers (I–II) depict a series of temple doorways, painted yellow. The lowest register (I) bears traces of probably thirteen doorways. Of those depicted in register II, only four survive. Each register has a pt sign running along the top; that in register I bears traces of blue paint, as do some hieroglyphs in the captions to register II. The doorways vary in form.

The upper two registers present two series of portable barques on stands 'with obscure traces of further cult apparatus (?) above both rows at the right' (Kitchen 1974, 169); these latter objects are not shown in Kitchen’s schematic drawing. The forms of the barques also vary; they were too poorly preserved for Kitchen to present them more than diagrammatically.

Inscriptions
Text 1 originally consisted of 23 columns of text (→). Text 2 consists of four registers of captions to the images. These are written horizontally above the doorways in registers I and II. A single column of text runs down beside the far right end of registers I and II. In register III the labels run beside the barque stands. On the far left of register IV, traces of text are inscribed above the image of the barque.

Condition
A quarter to one third of Text I survives; c. ten columns in the middle of the inscription (cols. 9–18) are completely lost, as are the final two columns (23–4). Kitchen determined the presence of these latter two columns through traces of colour on the wall.

Eleven doorways and traces of two others are visible in Register I (Text 2). Captions or traces thereof are visible above eight of these doors. In register II, four doorways remain, with captions above them. Kitchen notes traces of at least five doors in the middle area of the register. The rest of the register is lost. Only the upper half of the column to the right of these registers survives.

Three barques are visible in Register III and in Register IV. Only small parts of the inscription that ran beside the barques in register III survive. There are traces of a line of inscription above the barque to the far left of Register IV.

Bibliography
Kitchen (1974)
KRI III, 350–2, 12
Kitchen (2000, 252–4); translation.
Barthelmess (in press)

Text 1 translation and notes

\(^1\text{n-k3-n-wsfr w'b}\) For the Osiris, wab priest,
lector priest [of A]mun,

They will come in order to walk about, ...

I was appointed] as overseer of craftsmen, chief of goldworkers,

(for) I had understanding (as) one who is skilled.

No [craftsman was ignorant?] concerning my speech ...

of gold,

great doors in [the] [...] of Karnak,

making perfect craftsmanship as one devoted to his [skills],

[... ...] of his causing me to flourish on earth,

as one favoured ...

for his lord.

I am skilled in craftsmanship, without their giving (me)

instruction,

[I guided [work?] ... their [...] in gold, silver,

real lapis lazuli, turquoise ...

[I performed [service] for the barque of Isis ... of Isis? ] of [Isis?, lady of A]bydos ...

[I performed service for the barque] of [Isis?, lady of A]bydos ...

I performed service for the barque of Khnum in Esna in year 55.

I performed service for the barque of Neb<]>w ...

I performed service for the barque of Seth ... [of Upper Egypt?] in year 58.

I performed service for the barque of Geb ...

...
a) Kitchen (1974, 169–70) considered that these titles belonged to a son of Nakhtdjehuty, Amenemwia, who held the title of priest of Mut, because neither Nakhtdjehuty nor his principal son bears priestly titles elsewhere in the tomb. I propose that the titles belonged to Nakhtdjehuty and are appropriate to narrating artistic creation, drawing on the parallel of the biography of Userhat (4.a) in which the sculpting of cult statues is aligned with priestly activity (4.2.1).

b) I follow Kitchen’s reading of the stative of *whr* and participle of *spd* (1974, 170).

c) I tentatively read *sSmw-hw* here on the basis of the full writing given in the later columns, although only the barque sign is written here (with traces of a second). The writings of this determinative later in the text show the barques on raised stands (cols. 19–21). Kitchen’s copy indicates some variation in the forms of the barques, perhaps corresponding to variation in the depictions accompanying Text 2, registers III–IV.

The word *sSm-hw* is first attested on Block 284 of the Red Chapel of Hatshepsut (*sSm-Sps-hw*). Wilson (1997, 928) suggests that the term, especially when determined with a barque as in the examples here, refers to the cult image as a god with shrine. Among the texts in my corpus, the word also occurs in line 1 of the left half of the base of the statue of Amenmose (8.b). There and here I translate barque although the more inclusive meaning of *sSm-hw* should probably be understood.

d) Again following Kitchen (1974, 170), who tentatively suggests *jry-hnt* as a compound with the meaning ‘one related to his craft’.

e) The seated woman determinative is visible after *sSm-hw*. Kitchen (1974, 170) suggests reading ‘Isis’ here on the basis of the mention of Abydos.

Text 2 translation and notes
Register I (lowest register): 13 doorways with segmented lines of text above them

1 *tr* n-nbw n-*šn*r-[pr*?-jmn] Door of gold for the workshop of the [domain? of Amun.]
[Captions 2–3 are lost] ...
4... n ...
5[*trw*?] [...] n-pr-n-nbw n-j*[mn] [Door?] [...] for the house of gold of Amun.
[Caption 7 is lost] ...
8... mhwy? ...
[Caption 9 is lost]
10[*trw-*[pr*?] n ?*jrr* ... ...
11[*trw* n-nbw-mh-2 n-*p*-wb3 n-jmn] Second door of gold for the forecourt of Amun.
12 tryw n-nbw-mh-[?] n-p3-wb3 n-jmn [Third?] door of gold for the forecourt of Amun.
13 p3-tryw-[?] [n? ...] The great door of ...

Register II (lower middle): [x doorways, + 5 doorways, +] 4 doorways with text above them
"[23 + ?] tryw] [n?] nbw n t3 [hwt? ... ...] Great [door] [of] gold in the [temple? ... ...]

19 + [?] hnsw m-wist nfr-htp [...] Khonsu in Thebes, Neferhotep.
20 + [r]\ wyt n-nbw n mw? Double portal of gold of Mut
21 + tryw n-nbw n mw? Door of gold of Mut
22 + tryw n-nbw n mw? Door of gold of Mut

Column at right of registers I and II (continuation from Register III?):
w'b sh-qd n-hwt-nbw-jmn wab priest and draughtsman of the Mansions of Gold of Amun

Register III (upper middle): Series of portable sacred barques (all names lost) and texts below
Below first barque at right
[section lost] s3.s t3ty nb-wt ... her son, the sculptor Nebwa

Between last two barques at left
n-k3-n-wt n-hnsw sd-sw-hnsw For the ka of the wab priest of Khonsu, Shedsukhons.

Behind last barque at left
sh-qd n-pr-jmn swty m3]-hrw n-wist Draughtsman of the domain of Amun, Suty of Thebes, true of voice.

Register IV (at top): Series of portable sacred barques (nearly all texts lost)
Over first preserved barque (at left)
[...] nhw? [...] of victory?

2.q
Assessor of cattle for the estate of Amun Samut
Theban tomb 409 (Assasif)

Figs. 52-5

Date Ramesses II (cartouches)

Location in tomb
Text 1 begins in the upper register of the south wall of the east half of the transverse hall (Negm’s ‘first chamber’), beside the tomb entrance. It continues onto the west and north wall of the hall and ends before a figure of Mut on the north wall. Text 2 begins in the same place in the register below Text 1 and ends on the right half of the west wall; damage makes the exact endpoint difficult to establish.
**Description**

The two texts are carved in sunk relief and painted blue, except for the upper third of cols. 29–63 of Text 1, which had been outlined in red but never carved (Wilson 1970, 187, n. 3). The colours in Samut's tomb are generally well preserved but Negm does not record them in detail. In the following description I have used slides published by Goyon, Kurz, Livet, and Soliman (1993).

The figure of Samut stands before the first column of Text 1 with both arms raised in adoration. His head is shaved. He wears a collar and a long, white robe with flared sleeves and a full apron tied at the waist. The lower area of his legs and feet is lost.

On the north wall, facing the final columns of Text 1, is a figure of Mut seated in a shrine. The shrine has a roof patterned in bands of red and yellow, above which is a frieze of yellow uraei. A darker band of red, striped with dark blue or green, hangs beneath the roof and may represent fabric. The papyrus columns of the shrine are painted green and have additional sistrum capitals with white painted naoi above. The doors of the shrine are red. A sash tied between the columns runs behind the figure of Mut, with its red ties hanging on the outside of the columns; it is patterned with horizontal and vertical bands of red, yellow, and green.

Mut is seated on a throne, outlined in yellow with red and green bands, and a red cushion folded over the back. She wears a tripartite wig, double crown, and yellow vulture headdress. A broad collar around her neck bears traces of red, and she wears a long green robe. She wears armlets and wristlets, and holds a wls sceptre in her outstretched right hand and an ankh in her left.

The images of Samut and Mut associated with Text 2 are parallel to those of Text 1; I note some key differences. Only the lower part of Samut's body survives here; his feet are bare. In front of him is a brazier. In the right half of the middle register of the west wall, Negm records traces of jars, lotus blooms, and offerings before the figure of Mut (Negm 1997, pls. LI, LXIII; confirmed by Goyon et. al. 1993). The figure of Mut is on the left end of the north wall. Her pose and accoutrements match those in the register above, but the shrine is plainer with a simple sloping roof, undecorated columns, and no frieze of uraei.

**Inscriptions**

Both texts (→) have hieroglyphs written in retrograde to face toward the goddess. The signs are painted blue on a white background with red column lines. Text 1 consists of c. 75 columns, c. 36 columns on the north wall, 22 on the west, and 9 on the north. Text 2 has c. 59 columns, 37 on the north, and c. 22 on the west.

Mut's caption in the scene associated with Text 1 reads: mwt nb tet hnwt ntrw nbw 'Mut, lady of the sky, Mistress of all the gods'. That to Text 2 is identical except that it omits the final nbw.

**Condition**

The figure of Samut in the upper register has suffered damage to the lower part of the body. The head, shoulders, and hands of his figure in the middle register are lost.

Columns 30–7 of text 1 on the south wall are very damaged, as are large areas of the text on the west wall; only fragments and traces of many columns remain. The columns on the north wall are mostly intact. Sections of the upper areas of text 2 on the south wall are lost; only traces remain in the lowest parts of the columns on the west wall. Columns 55–c.59 are lost. Both images of Mut are mainly intact, with some damage and colour loss.
Text I translation and notes

There was a man of Southern Heliopolis,
a true scribe in Thebes,
Samut was his name by his mother,
called Kyky, true of voice.

Now his God instructed him,
he taught him according to his teaching.³
He placed him upon the path of life,
in order to protect his body.

God knew him as a youth,
decreeing for him rich provisions.
Then he sought within himself,²
in order to find a protector for himself,
and he found Mut at the head of the gods,
Shay and Renenet with her,
a lifetime of life and breath under her authority,
and all that occurs under her command.

He said: Look, I give to her
my property and all that (I) accrued,
for I know that she is effective on my behalf,
that she is uniquely excellent.

She removed anguish for me;
she left me in a painful moment,⁶
(but) she came, the north wind before her,
after I called upon her by name.
I was a poor man of her town,
a vagrant in the vicinity of her city.\textsuperscript{d}
I entered into her power on account of my property,
in exchange for the breath of life.
Not one of (my) family shall divide it;\textsuperscript{e}
they are for her ka as offerings.

As for the one who despoils,
the one who stands up to him will be under her authority.
I speaking about an official in his moment (of success),
(for although) he is strong he will not attack, for that is
with Sekhmet,\textsuperscript{f}
the great one whose sphere of action is not known;\textsuperscript{g}
There is no servant of hers who will fall into turmoil
forever and ever.\textsuperscript{h}

O Mut, mistress of the gods, hear my prayers,
(if) a servant testifies to the efficacy of his lord,
then [his lord? rewards] him with a (long) lifetime.
I do not make a protector for myself among men,
I [do not attach] myself to the powerful, not even my son,
for I found that she [will take care of] the funeral.\textsuperscript{i}
Burial, it is in your hands, unique one,
you are the Meskhenet\textsuperscript{j} [.... ....]
that I may be assembled as an effective mummy,
they will enter to her (power) on account of their property.

May you keep me whole, until my end, from every evil.
Set my eyes to see the rays for you are the (female) sun-disc,
that (my) ears hear without deafness,
that my nose breathes the breezes,
the ways of life flowing without weariness,\textsuperscript{l}

while my throat breathes, [my mouth] functions,
my lips are ready, my tongue distinguishes [taste?],\textsuperscript{m}
all my [limbs?] being complete as (in) life,
without a departure (= loss of function) of my body,
and no [tongue?] having power over me, or people harming me.

O Mut the great [who made me?] act as protection (for me), unique one, until your perpetual protection of me be acknowledged, my name enduring in [...]

[...] to me protection in [seeing?] (when) I [saw?] that he is powerful?

[... the sun-disc] encircles [... earth, seeing

[...] space for a col., no traces remain]

West wall [c. 7 cols.]

[...] would that? [......] evening in [...]

... descending from the sky,

... in the [...] Thebes(?)...

... to Mut,

that she may enable me to walk freely [with]in [...]

[......] of her provisions

that I may act ...

... love,

... appeared ...

... my [...] in her presence.

It is good to be protected [from?] ...

Mut (?) ...

perfection, (for I) know that [you are?] powerful,

... foremost of Memphis,

Sekhmet, beloved of Ptah, ...

... in the sky,

... appearing [... at] the beginning of the year,
the king, established [upon his head], as Neith (?) the great ...

... acclamations [.....?] in every first of the year festival, appearing ...

[.....] (?) from within it, living on [....]

[....] Mistress of [.....] the west (?) [....]

[....] as Mut [.....] burial, breathing [of?] your mouth ...

you make it, every [nose?] under your authority, you open eyes ...

your rays illuminate every path [of the sky?]

[....]

its [.....?], which your eye encircles(?)

I rejoice for [.....] your power, inasmuch as you are greater than any god.

My heart is filled with my Mistress.

I will not fear a man when I lie down for when I sleep, I have a protector.

As for the one who makes Mut a protector, no god is able to harm him, being favoured by the king of his time, as one who passes into veneration.

As for the one who makes Mut a protector, evil will not assail him, he will be protected everyday until he joins the necropolis,

As for the one who makes Mut a protector, how perfect is his lifetime, royal favour suffuses his body,

for the one who places her in his heart.

As for the one who makes Mut a protector, [he] came forth from the womb favoured, perfection destined for him, on the birthing brick, he will achieve veneration.
As for the one who makes Mut a [protector],
how fortunate is the one who longs for her,
the god will not overthrow him, as one ignorant of
(proper) speech.°

a) " is omitted from Negm’s copy-text, but is clear on his photograph (1997, pls. XLIV, XLV).

b) wsw jb carries the sense of careful thought or deliberation; Vernus (1978, 120) renders this:
‘alors il médita sur lui même’. Morenz (2000, 316, n. 11) builds on Vernus’ observation that dsw, in
preference to standard phrasing with jb, heightens the formulation, emphasizing Samut’s active
search within his self. I reflect this emphasis in my translation.

c) Vernus (1978, 121–2) takes as a writing of nh ‘to protect’ and ws as the personal pronoun
(w)j, rendering ‘elle m’a protégé au moment difficile’, which is a convincing reading. My
translation is a tentative alternative, based on thematic parallels in penitential hymns from Deir el-
Medina. In these texts the individual suffers in isolation before experiencing divine intervention: ‘I
committed the transgression against the Peak, and she taught me a lesson … I called to the wind,
but it did not come to me, I libated to the Peak of the West, great of strength … I called upon my
Mistress and I found her coming to me as a sweet breeze’ (Neferabu, Turin N 50058: KRI III 772–
773, 5). Such a contrast of isolation and ordeal with divine protection may be alluded to both in the
present verse and in the following stanza. Samut, however, does not concede any wrongdoing. In
this his text may be closer to motifs of ordeal and aid in the biography of the high priest of Amun,
Amenhotep (4.b) and the Qadesh poem of Ramesses II (see 3.4).

d) In his translation, Assmann (1999a, 402) renders qbr positively as ‘pilgrim’. However, qbr has
a strong negative connotation in the tale of Horus and Seth, in which Isis alludes to Seth as a stranger
who robbed her son of his inheritance (Gardiner 1932, 46, 6; 11–12). This parallel may underly
qbr more neutrally as a preposition, reinforcing the movement from isolation to proximity and
protection.

e) Compare the phrasing of the Bilgai endowment stela: jw-bn-mdw-sn snt w-nb-h3w. j-[m.s-di],
‘no sibling nor one of my people shall claim [against it for ever]’ (8.g; KRI IV, 342, 4).

f) These verses are difficult to translate, although the meaning seems clear. They concern the
removal of Samut and his possessions from human responsibility, both on an informal level,
through reference to robbery, and on the formal and official level of legal action. The protection of
Samut’s possessions and punishment for any attempt to overturn his decision lie with the goddess,
surpassing any potential human intervention.

g) I follow Vernus (1978, 144) in the nuance of this verse in preference to Negm (1997, 40): ‘one is
not able to take liberties with her (wstn sw)’.

h) Vernus (1978, 126–7) renders a legal tone here because of the omission of n of [n]sny which he
considers an allusion to an archaic word for legal disputes, sny: ‘Il n’est pas de sien serviteur qui
puisse tomber dans la chicane'. Writings of nsny which omit the initial n, or write as rs, are known from elsewhere (Vernus 1978, 126 n. 67; McDonald 2002, 171-2, 217-8). The word here, with its Seth determinative (McDonald 2002, 196-7), may refer to the emotional anguish from which servants of Mut are protected.

i) The rendering of these verses is uncertain. The restoration of sbn, suggested by Vernus (1978, 130), is based on a parallel in a hymn to Amun.

Assmann (1999a, 403), followed by Morenz (2000, 318), connects gm.j st (=sw) with n3 s3 js pw to render: 'kein Sohn von mir ist es, den ich gefunden habe, um [mir] das Begräbnis zu [veranstalten]'. Vernus (1978, 130) argues that a resumptive is not necessary here and instead suggests that st refers to Mut: 'ce n’a pas (même) été mon fils; j’ai constaté qu’elle [avait le pouvoir (?)]. Les funérailles [t’appartiennent (?)]'. I accept Vernus’ interpretation, but I consider that this verse may refer more specifically to Mut’s responsibility for burial. Gnirs (2003, 182) renders as: ‘(Ebenso) wird es nicht ‘mein Sohn’ sein. Ich fand sie (gemeint ist Mut), um [Sorge zu tragen o.ä. für] das Begräbnis’, which seems a convincing resolution.

j) The loss of the determinative leaves the reading of mshnt open. I follow Morenz (2000, 318, n. 29) in his rendering as the birth goddess, which is appropriate to the different aspects of Mut mobilized throughout the text. It is also possible that mshnt is a euphemism for the necropolis (Gnirs 2003, 182).

k) Vernus (1978, 144) restores this passage as: ‘[(D’autres ?) t’]ont apporté (leurs) biens comme moi’. but, as Negm notes (1997, 38, n. 7), the writing of Qx iTi at the top of col. 21 makes the reading as ht unlikely. I leave this passage unresolved.

l) Although I render this verse literally, Gnirs’ reading, ‘die Lebensadern pulsieren und nicht erschlaffen’ (2003, 183), is a persuasive alternative in light of the emphasis on physical wholeness throughout this passage. w3w n-’nh may also refer to nostrils.

m) Negm (1997, 38, 40) renders these verses as: ‘my lips are effective, my tongue is sharp in judging testimony’, based on a tentative reading of the final group in the column as mty. I follow Vernus’ suggestion of ‘taste’ (1978, 143), which seems more appropriate to the context.

n) I tentatively follow Negm (1997, pl. 46, 41), reading j/jr wj as j.jrr wj. Although I know no parallel for such an epithet, this meaning seems appropriate to the context.

o) Vernus (1978, 145) translates the final two verses ‘un dieu ne l’abattrait pas en tant qu’il est quelqu’un qui ignore la mort’. Negm (1997, 42 with pl. 52) collates the final group kît, and translates ‘one who does not know the word (?)’. As Morenz (2000, 320-1) suggests, this may allude to the divine ‘teaching’ mentioned in cols. 2–3.
Text 2 translation and notes

The text is largely lost from col. 12 and the extent of the lacunae are not indicated specifically.

First month of Akhet, day 19, under the Person of the Dual King, lord of the two lands, Usermaatre setepenre, son of Re [Ramesses meryamun], given life, forever and ever.

On this day spoke the account scribe of the cattle Samut, [called Kyky, true of voice], of the domain of Amun-re, king of the gods, thus: I give all my property and [...] (to) Mut and to the temple of Mut the great, lady of Asheru,

See I have established it as an income for [...] my old age as my contract, without a son, or daughter, brother] or sister, for I entrust myself to Mut, the [mistress who has given] breath (of life) that she may ordain the west for me at old age, [...] of the king.

As for the servants brought … to Mut in the domain of administration? and they … temple of Mut, and they … songstress of Amun, with the servants… for Amun, in order to carry … … every […] of the army… who build? … they … domain of Mut… under the authority of … life … Mut …
a) Bernadette Menu (1980, 143-4) suggests that hbs here is the equivalent of the demotic term ‘q-hbs, which refers to a supplementary maintenance income. Thus, Samut’s donation to the temple not only ensures his burial and cult, but also a pension for his old age.

b) The meaning of this passage is disputed and has juridical implications for the whole text. Vernus (1978, 135-7) proposes that the passage represents a ‘clause of exclusion’: Samut denies the existence of heirs to his property in order to exclude them from inheritance. Menu (1980, 142) argues instead that jw.f hr hn.j is a concomitant temporal clause which explains that Samut left his property to Mut because he had no heirs. She argues that other ‘clauses of exclusion’ cited by Vernus are guarantees against eviction and are not comparable with the present text. Vernus (1980,
145–6) responds in support of his original position by citing cols. 11–2 of text 1, where Samut states: ‘Not one of my family shall divide it’. I am not sure this can be resolved and I consider that these clauses may be more concerned with binding Samut more closely to Mut at the general expense of the human sphere.

2.r

Army commander Ameneminet

Luxor, Luxor Museum, J 141

Figs. 60–1

Object type sistrophorous ‘begging’ statue

Date Ramesses II (cartouches)

Provenance Deir el-Bahri, temple of Thutmose III, north-east area of the columned forecourt, sector J/8–9 (Lipińska 1984, 22). The statue was found during the 1961–2 season (Lipińska 1966). The original excavation report records the finds more generally: ‘Among the collapsed blocks of the temple, and in particular on the south-east side, a number of votive statues was discovered. Their origin can be traced back to the Ramsis II reign’ (Dabrowski 1964, 47).

Dimensions H: 0.69m; W of front of base: 0.27m

Material limestone

Description Luxor J. 141 is a sistrophorous statue in the begging pose. The figure is seated on a cushion with the body clearly delineated. The top of the head is smooth, representing baldness, with flaring tufts of hair, indicated by incised lines, at the sides. The left hand lies across the knees; the cuticles of the nails are finely modelled. The right hand is held to the mouth, probably in a cupped position, that placed the elbow at an angle to the top of the knees; the hand and face are now lost.

A Hathor-headed naos sistrum stands in front of the legs; a single column of inscription runs down the centre of the handle. On the front of the naos is a uraeus, carved in raised relief, flanked by the cartouches of Ramesses II. The top of the naos bears an image of a striding cow, in raised relief, wearing a mnjt collar with counterpoise, and a Hathoric crown with sun-disc, twin plumes, and uraeus. The plumes of the crown break the line of the naos roof and curve onto Ameneminet’s arm. A figure of a king kneels beneath the muzzle of the cow, wearing a uraeus. The figure, the lower part of whose body is lost, holds an ankh sign in one hand and a crook and flail in the other.

The feet of the statue are undifferentiated. The base is uninscribed. The back pillar of the statue ends just before the top of the head; its rough surface suggests it was unfinished (Lipińska 1984, 22).

Inscriptions

Cartouches of Ramesses II are inscribed on the shoulders and sides of the uraeus on the façade of the naos; (wsr-mš3't-r' mry-jmn) only is inscribed on the top of the naos in front of the Hathor cow and king. A single column runs down the handle of the sistrum: hwt-hr nbt-dsrt hwet-jmnt, ‘Hathor, lady of Djesret, mistress of the west’. The two main texts each begin on the front of the knees on either side of the sistrum and continue round the sides of the statue body in 10 columns.
each. The first and last verses of the first columns of each text are almost identical textually and visually.

**Condition**
The statue was found broken in two pieces and has been restored. Large areas of the left side of the base are lost, with areas of chipping along the front of the base and the toes. The face and right hand are broken away and the right forearm and left elbow are chipped. Small areas of the surface are lost from the back area, particularly the final two columns on the left and the last column on the right.

**Bibliography**
Lipińska (1966, 67 pl. I)
Lipińska (1969); right side
Lipińska (1970); right side
Valloggia (1976, 134)
Romano (1979, 149, cat. 227)
KRI III, 274–5, right side; KRI VII, 128, left side
Lipińska (1984, 21–4, no. 18)
Schulz (1992, I, 360–1, no. 207, II, pl. 93a)
Pinch (1993, 334); left side only
Trapani (1995, 52–3, 56–8, fig 2); right side
Kitchen (2000, 195); right side
Ullmann (2002, 365–69, 7.28)

**Translation and notes**

**Right side**

\[\text{Greatly favoured of the perfect god,} \]
\[\text{a confidant, one effective for his lord,} \]
\[\text{commander of the numerous army,} \]
\[\text{Ameneminet, true of voice,} \]
\[\text{son of the dignitary, high priest of Amun,} \]
\[\text{Wenennefer, true of voice.} \]

He says as follows: I was a follower of His Person, when he was a child.
He appointed me charioteer and overseer of horses, when he was lord.
My lord favoured me for my excellence, and he appointed me commander of his army.
My lord favoured me for my intelligence,
and he sent me as a royal messenger to all the foreign lands, (I) reported to him concerning the lands in their every aspect.

He favoured me again for my excellence, and he appointed me overseer of works in all his monuments.

He favoured me again for my effectiveness, and he appointed me as overseer of works, in his temple of millions of years, of the dual king Usermaatre setepenre in the estate of Amun.

I am one unique, excellent, effective for his lord; he appointed me ka priest for his statue. He made my property in all felicity.

Commander of the numerous army, Ameneminet, true of voice, born of [the great one of the harem of] Amun-Re in Karnak, Ese, true of voice.

Greatly favoured of the perfect god, royal messenger to every foreign land, commander of the numerous army, Ameneminet, true of voice.

son of the dignitary, the high priest of Amun, Wenennefer, true of voice.

He says: I am [the] js of the goddess, mediator for his mistress.

Anyone with petitions with him, speak [them to] my ear, so that I may repeat them to my mistress in her hour of indulgence.

Give to me beer upon my hand,
srmt r-3.j
srmt-beer to my mouth,

6sgnn-ndm r-t3y.j-js
sweet ointment for my bald head,

m3h-w3d r-h3h.j
fresh garlands for my throat,

wdh-3n.j m-jrp hr-hnqt
pour out for me wine and beer,

(jnk-js n-nbw)
(for) I am an js of Gold.

jr-wn-nfr n-hnqt
If there is no beer,

jmj-n.j qbhw
give to me libations,

hr-nty-rf mr-hnwt js-s3w
because the mistress desires an js who is satisfied.

ttt-n.j mw 9hr-s3tw
Pour out water for me onto the ground,

(jnk-wd3 tp-[t3])
for I was one prosperous on [earth],

bw-dd.j-grg m-rh.j bw-jr(j)10-sp-snw
I did not knowingly speak falsehood, (I) did not act
dupliciously.

ph.nj-nn [m-]jr-m3?t
I reached this place as one who acts truthfully,

tw-j-m-st n-m3?t
I am in the place of truth.

know of no comparable use of this standard epistolary formula in self-presentation. Its selection
may artfully create an informality of tone perhaps connected with the statue’s display in accessible
temple space, as well as its intermediary function which centres on the spoken word (e.g. left, 3–4:
‘speak them to my ear and I will repeat them to my mistress’; compare with the emphasis on his
role as messenger and reporter in col. 6, right side).

b) The title of Ameneminet’s mother is restored from his family monument in Naples (Lipińska
1969, 46).

c) js and whmw here are associated with the statue’s intermediary function in the temple rather than
being titles held during life (Clère 1995, especially 12–4). js in particular indicates an intimate
relationship with Hathor and corresponds to the iconography of baldness (Clère 1995, 21–31).

d) I follow Clère (1995, 91). Pinch (1993, 334) offers an alternative rendering, reading against the
determinative of wnwt: ‘I will repeat them to my Mistress in exchange for offerings (lit. as the price
of; m t3 swnt)’. Both readings are appropriate to the context and this may be a deliberate word-play.

to me cool water because the mistress loves an js. Be prudent (or ‘Satisfy (me)’), pour out freely
for me onto the ground’. Both readings are possible.

86
God's Father Neferhotep

Date
Horemheb (cartouches)

Location in tomb
south wall of the transverse hall, upper register

Description (from Hari 1985, pls. VI, LVI)
The king stands to the right of the scene, his right arm rests on a pedestal and his left holds a crook and flail across his body. He wears the blue crown, long robe with decorated kilt, and sandals. Two figures in long full robes are depicted behind him; the frontmost holds a lotus bloom standard. In front of the king is a table bearing four collars. Beside the table stands a man, identified as the overseer of the treasury Maya, with his right arm raised in a gesture of address. He wears a wig, full robe, and sandals and holds a hw fan and a length of cloth in his left hand. Behind him are two figures, bowing, with shaved heads, vizieral robes, and sandals. Neferhotep stands behind with both arms raised in a gesture of acclaim. There is a table beside him. His head is shaved; he wears sbjw collars, long kilt, and sandals. One attendant ties a collar to his neck and the other holds his arms to Neferhotep's body. The continuation of the scene behind shows two men, both wearing sbjw collars, facing left. The frontmost, Neferhotep, is greeted by a third man who has his right arm raised in a gesture of address.

Inscriptions
The main text is inscribed in 17 columns (→) beginning above the head of Maya and continuing over the scene behind. It narrates, in the third person, Neferhotep's reward and closes with his speech of praise to the king.

The cartouches above the king are carved in raised relief, as are the two columns behind him, the first of which is a statement of protection, the second gives the titles of the two men standing behind him. The frontmost figure in the group before the king has a caption giving his name and titles. Vizieral titles are also captioned for the two men behind. The names and titles of the three men in the final group are given in the columns above their heads; the first is the God's Father Parennefer, Neferhotep, and the God's Father Ameneminet; with caption summarizing the reward.

Condition
Excellent (as indicated by Hari's copy).

Bibliography
PM I, 1, 95 (2)
Hari (1985, 16–9, pls. VI, LVI)
2.t

**Overseer of works in the Ramesseum Penre**

Object type: block statue
Date: Ramesses II (titles known from other monuments)
Provenance: temple of Wadjmose, second court (Ullmann 2002, 363–4; PM II², 444)
Dimensions: unknown
Material: limestone

Description
None available.

Inscriptions
The remains of two columns/lines of inscription on the knees (←) give Penre's titles and the location of his chapel (js) as beside the Ramesseum. A line of inscription around the base (←) includes epithets and statements concerning his work in the temple and royal reward.

Condition
According to Daressy (1900, 101), the statue was extensively damaged when he found it.

Bibliography
Daressy (1900, 101)
KRI III, 269, 13–270, 1
Goyon (1990)
Loyrette (1990, 121)
Kitchen (2000, 192); translation
Ullmann (2002, 363–5, no. 7.27)

2.u

**Overseer of works, overseer of Medjay Penre**

Object type: round-topped stela
Date: Ramesses II (cartouche)
Provenance: West Bank (dealer's statement, internal)
Dimensions: H: 0.83m; W: 0.53m
Material: limestone

Description (from Nims 1956, pl. 9)
The upper register depicts Ramesses II standing facing left, censing and libating before the cult image of Amenhotep I, which is seated in a portable shrine with a striding lion at the side. There are two vase-stands in front of the king. In the register below is a figure of Penre, standing with his arms raised in adoration.
Inscriptions
Traces of the cartouches of Amenhotep I and Ramesses II are visible. Nine columns of text in the lower register (—) include a prayer to Amenhotep I on behalf of Ramesses II and short statements concerning Penre's relationship to Ramesses II. His titles and name are in the final three columns.

Condition
The upper part of the stela is very worn. The text is legible although some signs are damaged.

Bibliography
Nims (1956)
KRI III, 268, 12–269, 6
Kitchen (2000, 191); translation.
Ullmann (2002, 365)

2.v
Vizier Paser

Object type
standing statue

Date
Ramesses II (cartouches)

Provenance
Deir el-Bahri, temple of Montuhotep, west end (Naville 1907, 33; PM II2, 395)

Dimensions
H: c. 1.3m

Material
sandstone

Description
No full description or photograph is available. Naville (1913, 6) recorded that it holds a sceptre. The statue was found with a smaller statue of Paser (British Museum EA 687). Naville (1907, 33) noted that both were brightly painted in black, red, yellow, and white.

Inscriptions
A single line on the front gives Paser's titles (—). The back pillar bears five columns (—) beginning with an offering formula addressed to Amun-Re and probably other gods whose names are now lost. The text continues with an address to the god that includes a statement concerning Paser's birth in the temple and ends with funerary wishes and an extended title and epithet string of Paser. The right side of the statue bears an appeal to the living (—) and the left a prayer to a deity (—). The Horus name and cartouches of Ramesses II are inscribed beneath the sceptre. Naville (1907, 33) recorded that the inscriptions were painted blue.

Condition
Broken into at least two pieces: the head and right shoulder are in Frankfurt-am-Main. Nothing further is known about its condition.
2.w

Royal scribe of the dispatches of the lord of the two lands Tjay

Theban tomb 23 (Qurna)

Date  Merneptah (cartouches)

Location in tomb

‘Niche’ at the west end of the south wall of the court, within the columned portico (PM, I\(^2\), 1, 39 (11); KRI IV, 109, 10). Porter and Moss (PM I\(^2\), 1, 39 (14)) also recorded a ‘long hieratic text of self-praise’ in the upper register of the north half of the east wall of the portico; this text was not copied by Kitchen.

Description

This tomb is not published. The description here is based on Kitchen (KRI III, 109, 10) and Porter and Moss (PM, I\(^2\), 1, 39). The remaining columns in the niche are associated with a standing figure of Tjay. The hieratic text is accompanied by a figure (Tjay?) adoring. The register below depicts scribes and priests seated with offerings, a man before three priests, and the preparation of mummies. Four scenes of a man offering to statues of Tjay are depicted in the lowest register.

Inscriptions

Kitchen records twelve columns (→) in the niche, of which only ten bear legible text. These narrate royal favour and reward as well as Tjay’s performance of office. The length of the hieratic inscription is not given in available sources.

Condition

The hieroglyphic text is badly damaged; Kitchen states that up to three-quarters of inscription at the beginning of every column is lost. Traces and some readable signs remain in columns 1–2. Columns 11–2 are entirely lost. The condition of the hieratic inscription is not stated.

Bibliography

PM I\(^2\), 1, 39
KRI IV, 109, 10–110, 4.
Kitchen (2003, 84–5); translation.
2.x

Chancellor Bay

Date: Siptah (cartouche)
Location: Deir el-Bahri, temple of Montuhotep, casing of west face of 'pyramid' base (Naville 1907, 33, pl. II; PM II^2, 386)
Dimensions: L: c. 1.8m
Material: limestone

Description
In the far right corner of the face is the figure of a king kneeling on a geometrically patterned base. He wears the atef crown, a false beard and holds a crook and flail in his visible right hand. His left arm and knee are lost. He wears a short pleated kilt and bull's tail. His feet are bare. In the far left corner is the lower part of a standing figure, wearing a long robe and sandals.

Inscriptions
Behind the king is a caption in two columns (→) giving his cartouche and the epithet 'whom Atum himself chose'. A further fourteen columns between the figures (→) include funerary wishes, biographical epithets and statements concerning Bay's strength and his defence of 'your (the king's?) people'.

Condition
The section with the king's head and shoulders is now in the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh (1907.712.6). The location of the rest is unknown and may be destroyed. Kitchen (KRI IV, 370) estimates that five groups of inscription are lost from the beginning of each column, probably based on the estimated height of the standing figure of Bay. The line drawing in Naville (1910, pl. X, K) indicates that the surviving section was in good condition when it was found.

Bibliography
Naville (1907, 33, pl. II)
Naville (1910, 12, pl. X, K)
PM II^2, 386
KRI IV, 370, 4–15
Kitchen (2003, 268–9); translation.

2.y

Third priest of Amun Tjanefer

Theban tomb 158 (Dra Abu el-Naga)

Date: Sety II – Ramesses III (family relationships)

Location in tomb
Entrance to the long hall, north jamb, west face (PM I^3, 1, 270 (19))
Description
Three columns of inscription fill the face of the jamb, above a scene of Tjanefer squatting on a pedestal before a mound of offerings. He wears a short wig, fillet, and a small beard. He is wrapped in a robe with traces of insignia. The arms are held to his chest and his hands appear to be clenched.

Inscriptions
The three columns (→) describe aspects of Tjanefer’s character and refer to his childhood. Three columns above the lower scene give his titles.

Condition
Points of damage throughout the inscription, some loss to the scene.

Bibliography
Seele (1959, pl. 29A)
PM I², 1, 270.
KRI V, 410, 10–411, 1

2.z
Great wab-priest with entry to Amun of Karnak Paenkhemenu
Theban tomb 68 (Qurna)

Date
20th Dynasty (stylistic, 2nd reuse: Seyfried 1991, 119)

Location in tomb
Northern half of the transverse hall, west wall.

Description
The text begins above a table laden with offerings set before the figures of Osiris and Isis who are depicted within a shrine. The text continues over the heads of Paenkhemenu, his wife, and the seven family members who stand behind them. Paenkhemenu’s head is shaved and he wears a long robe and stdjw collar. His hands are outstretched holding offerings, including jars. His wife wears a long tripartite wig with a lotus bloom over her head, a long robe, and decorated collar. She holds a sistrum and a lotus bloom in one hand. The other hand is held to her side and holds a vessel. The relatives behind are shown in similar costumes; the men have their arms raised in adoration and the women carry lotus blooms and sistra. The last man from the back also carries a bloom in one hand while raising the other in adoration.

Inscriptions
76 columns (→) beginning as a hymn to Osiris which ends with a two stanza characterization of Paenkhemenu and his relationship to Karnak and Thebes, followed by a long list of his relatives. The texts associated with the gods in the shrine include their names and epithets, and an offering formula addressed to Osiris (Seyfried 1991, 60–1, texts 52–4).
Condition
Chips throughout the scene. The figure of Isis behind Osiris is lost except for the top section of her crown. The figures of the relatives at the right end of the wall are also badly damaged. Traces only remain in columns 2–3, and from column 18 onwards there are lacunae.

Bibliography
PM I², 1, 133–4.
Seyfried (1991, 60–5, 128–9, text 55, fig. 10, pls. IX–XI)

2.aa
Chief of works, high steward Amenmose

Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 1221

Object type
scribe statue

Date
20th Dynasty (internal)

Provenance
temple of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari, Qurna, Theban west bank (PM II², 423)

Dimensions
H: 0.82m

Material
granodiorite

Description from photograph (Borchardt 1911–36, IV, pl. 170)
The figure is cross-legged with a papyrus over the lap (Scott’s scribal pose A). Head missing; the remains of two long wig lappets visible at the shoulders. Pleated sleeves cover the upper arms; breasts and rolls of fat visible beneath the garment. The left hand holds a papyrus roll; the damaged right hand was poised to write. Right leg in front of the left with two toes visible. The statue sits directly on the base.

Inscriptions
12 columns of inscription on the lap (←), oriented to face the viewer, traces of which record building works; a single line along the top of the base, in front of the feet, (→). Kitchen records a further line at the back of the top of the base. The texts on the base concern a legal deposition.

Condition
Head is missing; forearms and hands damaged; edge of kilt chipped away and text on the lap worn away in places; small areas of damage to the base.

Bibliography
Borchardt, (1911–36, IV, 116–7, pl. 170)
Hamada (1947, 20–1)
KRI V, 416, 12–417, 9

1 Borchardt (1911–36, IV, 116) read the name of the owner as Ramose. The correspondence in titles and names on this statue with those of JdE 87194 (8.b) indicate strongly that they belonged to the same man (Hamada 1947, 20).
3 Coptos

3.a Overseer of Works [Penre]

Oversee of Works [Penre]

Fig. 62

Object type round-topped stela fragment
Date Ramesses II (cartouches)
Provenance Coptos, found at the rear of the temple of Thutmose III, ‘a little east’ of a lintel of Senwosret I. Petrie concluded (1896, 16; PM V, 129) that the stela had been moved during Ptolemaic remodelling of the site and was dumped in clean sand at the back of the temple.

Dimensions max H: 0.94m; W: 0.87m; max D: 0.12m
Material limestone

Description
At the right in the lunette stands a figure of the king wearing the blue crown and long, full robe with undergarment, wide sleeves, and decorated sash. The contours of his body are visible beneath the robe. He wears sandals. He holds a censer in his right hand; pellets of incense form a line above the censer and emanate from the king’s upraised left hand. Above the king is a hawk with outspread wings with a sed-festival symbol grasped in its claws.

The king stands before a barque held aloft by twelve priests. At both the prow and stern of the barque is a figurehead of a goddess wearing the Hathoric crown and a broad collar with pectoral. The barque bears standard figures of the King of Upper Egypt and the King of Lower Egypt offering to the shrine. The side panel of the shrine is covered by a cloth; only the lines delineating the upper area of the panel are visible. The figure of the deity kneeling before the shrine is visible through the covering, as is a jar held by a kneeling king. Fans are set on either side of the shrine and across the front and rear sections of the barque. The shafts of the fans extend below the hull. The oars at the rear of the barque are held by a figure wearing a uraeus and holding ropes terminating with uraei.

The priests carrying the barque all have shaved heads and wear long full robes that are tied with a sash. The second priest from the rear wears sandals; all the others appear to have bare feet. The ankle of the priest at the rear breaks through the border of the stela. In the centre of the barque carriers, beneath the shrine, is the striding figure of a shaven-headed priest wearing a long robe with fringed sash and panther skin, who raises one arm in adoration and holds the other to his side. Above the barque is a vulture with wings outstretched and a shen ring grasped in its claws.

Inscriptions
The main text (-) consists of 18 columns, of which only the upper third remains.

Three columns (-) above the figure of the king read: 1 jrkt-nmr n-mw.t f-3st jn-s3.s 2 nswt-bity nb-bwy wrsr-m30t-r 3 stp n-r 3 s3-r nb-h sw r 3 ms-swn mry-jmn ‘Presenting incense to his mother Isis,

2 The assignment of this stela to Penre is based on the correspondence of the titles on the stela with other objects belonging to an individual with this name (Nims 1956). For a list of the objects assigned to Penre, see Ullmann (2002, 365).
by her son, the Dual King, Lord of the Two Lands, Usermaatre setepenre, son of Re, lord of appearances, Ramesses meryamun’. A further two columns (←) beneath the wings of the falcon read: djf-nhh m-hb-sd, ‘May he give an eternity of jubilees’. The column (→) at the centre of the lunette, above the prow of the barque, gives the name and epithets of the goddess: st-wrt mwt-ntr, ‘Isis the great, the mother of the god’. In front of the figure of the king is a column with a speech of the goddess (←): dj n-j-n k nwpw-ḥr m-hqɜ t n-ḥ3t-nb, ‘I give to you the years of Horus as ruler of every land’. Behind the king is a column of text: stw nḥ-nb h3f mj-r’t-dt, ‘All protection and life around him like Re forever’.

Condition
The remaining portion of the stela is broken in half, resulting in loss of areas from the image of the barque and the priests, as well as the loss of parts of cols. 7 and 8 of the text. There are small patches of damage to the images of the priests and to the shrine.

Bibliography
Petrie (1896, 15–6, pl. XIX upper)
Nims (1956, 147–8, checked by Barns)
Černý (1962, 35, 40)
Valloggia (1976, no. 84, 136–7)
KRI III, 270, 10–271, 14
Goyon (1990)
Römer (1994, 480–1; 1.19.c)
Kitchen (2000, 192–3); translation.

Translation and notes
Ijmy-r3-k3t m-tl-hwt
wsr-mst-r∞ [stp.n-r£] [m-pr-Ḥmn?]
[c. 4–6 groups lost]
[ms.n?]² shmt m³t-hrw
dj f-jnd-ḥr t 3st
[c. 4–6 groups lost]
[...] [w£]² t.f
nfrt-ḥr m-mfndt
’3t-[nrw] (m?)[msktt?]
[c. 4–6 groups]
[msddt]-dwt drt-nšny shr-[…]
[c. 4–6 groups]
’nhm-bsy m-pr-[£]
[c. 4–6 groups]
[...] hr-stsw-njw.t.£?
ʃs [c. 4–6 groups]
’[nn]-wlt [r.]f
[c. 4–6 groups]
[...] [w.]j hr-kmt
[...] kw m-

Overseer of works in the temple of
Usermaatre setepenre, [in the domain of Amun?] ...
[born of?] Sakhmet, true of voice.
He says: Greetings to you Isis, ...
... his unique one,² perfect of face in the morning barque,
great of [terror] [in the evening barque?],b ...
... [who abhors?] evil, who drives out uproar, who removes
... who rescues the weak from the aggressive (?) ...
... upon the ground of your(?) city,c calling/invoking ...
[(so) you will not be] far [from me?]d
... me(?) in Egypt.
I stood as/in ...

95
Then she stopped before this chief of Medjay, and she bowed to him, and she placed me at his side, and I...

[She said:] 'What I have done for Bunakhtef, I will do for you. I will place ...'

saying: 'yes!' very strongly, I made a stela like it/complete ...

of her utterance, all her counsels enduring and effective; her action cannot be opposed.

How fortunate is the one who [places you/her in his heart?]

So there will happen to him, what happened to me.

I acted as overseer of the foreign lands in the Northern lands,

I acted as [chief of] Medjay likewise, charioteer of His Person, royal messenger to every land, overseer of work[s in the] temple of Usermaatre-setepenre, in the domain of Amun, as an effective servant like me, Isis gave to me ...

a) Following Goyon (1990, 59, n. 32) who proposes the restoration of w rt as an abbreviation of the epithet w rt n r 3 , 'sole one of Re'.

b) I propose to read msktt here, with Goyon (1990, 59). Kitchen records traces of a bird in the lacuna which could support this reading.
c) I read the cobra after the writing of njwt as the second person suffix of the goddess. Alternatively the cobra could be a determinative. The reedleaf of jšt could be ditography of the first person suffix pronoun, ‘my city’. Both options are given by Nims (1956, 147) and Kitchen (2000, 193). Goyon (1990, 59 with n. 34) renders these verses differently: ‘l’Uraeus (?) [à qui il est] fait appel (?) au moment du malheur (?)’. He also suggests that the cobra could be a reading of the name of the goddess Renenet.

d) Following Goyon (1990, 59, n. 35) who suggests nn is plausible from the traces.

e) Although my translation of these verses is literal, Goyon (1990, 59) offers a plausible rendering and restoration: ‘m’en revenant vers l’Egypte, me trouvant dans l’état de [commandant ... la décision de m’éloire (?) parmi les] notables en tant que Doyen du corps des (policiers)-Medjayou me fut communiquée’.

f) For smn and hn(n) as elements of the phraseology of oracular texts and decrees see Černý (1962, 40 (this text), 43); Römer (1994, 229).

g) Nims offered no reading of this passage. I follow Goyon (1990, 60, n. 39) and Römer (1994, 481, n. 5), who suggest tjw-wr-sp-sn here, based on the interpretation in the Wörterbuch (V, 242, 7, this text). Römer translates as ‘mit den Worten: “Jawohl, <ich> mache ein Stele... “’, as Penre’s jubilant response to the oracle.

h) Both Kitchen (2000, 193) and Römer (1995, 481) suggest reading w3d.wy here, against Nims’ tentative ‘the decrees (?)’. I follow Römer’s suggested restoration of the rest of line. Goyon (1990, 60, n. 40) alternatively suggests w3d.wy p3 nty hr mw.s.

i) I follow Römer here (1995, 481). Nims (1956, 148) rendered ‘what happened to him, happened to me’, referring to the position of Bunakhtef, which was transferred to Penre. Römer translates ‘dann geschieht ihm das, was mir geschehen ist’, so that the verse will be a general statement of divine power: the one who follows the goddess, placing her in his heart, will be promoted, just as Penre was promoted.
4 Abydos

4.a
Chief sculptor Userhat-hatiay

Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, V. 1

Fig. 64

Object type: round-topped stela
Date: late 18th or early 19th Dynasty (historical: 4.2)
Provenance: probably Abydos (internal: 4.2)
Dimensions: H: 1.02m W: 0.67m
Material: limestone. Van Dijk (1995, 33) states that the inscription on the stela, as well as those on the accompanying lintel and jambs, were once covered with gold leaf.

Description (from Boeser 1913, pl. 1)
The stela is carved in sunk relief, with an incised border, and is divided into three registers. The lunette depicts two recumbent jackals facing one another, their hanging tails framing two wedjat eyes. Behind each figure is an offering stand bearing an incense pot. The name of the god is written in large hieroglyphs in each corner of the lunette: wp-wl\vt-$m\ cw\ nb-3bdw, 'Wepwawet of Upper Egypt, lord of Abydos' on the left and wp-wl\vt-mhw\ nb-3bdw, 'Wepwawet of Lower Egypt, lord of Abydos' on the right.

On the left side of the stela, beneath the first seven lines of text, is a figure of the owner. He is seated on a lion-footed chair, facing a further ten lines of text. His wig is shoulder-length with tight, echeloned curls and he has a small false beard. He wears a long kilt; a sash at the waist is just visible on the photograph. He holds a lotus bloom to his nose in his forward hand; the other arm is extended, palm down, over his lap. His feet are bare with visible toenails. Beneath the chair is a squatting figure of one of Userhat's kinsmen, as stated in the accompanying caption: sn.f-mr.f\ jty\ mF-hrw, 'His brother beloved of him, Yay, true of voice'. He is depicted with shaved head; the exaggerated line of the skull is evocative of Amarna style and is more marked here than with the shaven heads of figures in the lower register. Ya wears a short kilt and holds to his nose a lotus bloom; the other arm is extended across his raised knee.

Beneath the large seated figure are three 'boxes' containing four figures, facing the last four lines of the main text. The box on the left contains a man and woman, both seated on lion-footed chairs. The woman sits behind the man and wears a long, enveloping striated wig with a lotus bud and incense cone upon her head. She holds a lotus bloom in her right hand, while her left hand runs behind his shoulder. The man has a false beard short wig with echeloned curls, and wears a long robe. He holds a lotus bloom to his nose and a folded cloth upon his lap. These figures are identified as Userhat's father and mother: jt.f\ hry-3ly-md3t\ y3\ m3$^{c}$-hrw\ mwt.f\ w3y, 'His father, the chief sculptor, Ya, true of voice; his mother Wesey'. The two boxes in front of the seated figures also contain kneeling figures of Userhat's kin: sn.f\ sfnw\ h3tj3y, 'his brother, the royal scribe Hatiay' and snt.f\ jwy\ m3$^{c}$-hrw, 'his sister, Iwy, true of voice'. Both hold lotus blooms to their noses with one hand; the other hand is outstretched across the thigh. The woman wears a non-striated tripartite wig and the brother a shoulder length echeloned wig.

The lower register contains two lines divided into ten boxes, each containing a kneeling figure. The first four figures on each line face right. The other six figures face left. The figures alternate between men and women. The women all wear non-striated tripartite wigs. The men
either have shaved heads or wear shoulder-length, striated or echeloned wigs. The lower hand of each figure is extended palm-down across the knee. The other hand is then raised across the chest. In this hand male figures are depicted holding lotus blooms to their noses or a folded cloth while women hold either the spear of a lotus bud or have an empty hand. These are not all likely to be brothers and sisters. They probably represent broader kin, but a genealogy cannot be established.

Inscriptions

The main text on the stela consists of 21 lines of horizontal inscription (⟩). The captions to the paired figure of the god in the lunette, the figure under chair (Kitchen’s no. 1), the seated figures of the father and mother (Kitchen’s nos. 4–5), and the kinspeople in front (Kitchen’s 2–3) are given above. Captions to the figures of kneeling family members are written in one vertical column and one horizontal line above the head. The table below is based on that of Kitchen (KRI VII, 28) and I follow his numbering.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4 + 5</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>couple</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td>man</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|   | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 |
| 6 | 9 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 |
|   | woman | man | woman | man | woman | man | woman | man | woman | man | woman | man | woman | man | woman | man | woman | man |

6 1_sn_f hry-t3y-md3t y m3^2-hrw, ‘his brother, chief sculptor Se, true of voice’
7 1_sn_f mrt.f t3l, ‘his sister, whom he loves, Tel’
8 1_sn_f hry-t3y-md3t y m3^2-hrw, ‘his brother, chief sculptor [?], true of voice’
9 1_sn_f mrt.f n-st-jb.f nbt-pr y mwny, ‘his sister, whom he loves, as the seat of his heart, the lady of the house, Quny’
10 1_sn_f y3^2-srj, ‘his brother, Ya, the younger’
11 1_sn_f hwr y m3^2-hrw, ‘his sister, Huy, true of voice’
12 1_sn_f r^2 y m3^2-hrw, ‘his brother, Ray, true of voice’
13 1_sn_f t3^2-nftr m3^2-hrw, ‘his sister, Tanefret, true of voice’
14 1_sn_f sh^2 hr-m-hb y m3^2-hrw, ‘his brother, scribe Horemheb, true of voice’
15 1_sn_f s3tnj y m3^2-hrw, ‘his sister, Saty, true of voice’
16 1_sn_f nfr^2-rnpt, ‘his brother, Neferrenpet’
17 1_sn_f mwmt-m^2-wj3, ‘his sister, Mutemwia’
18 1_sn_f m3^2 y3, ‘his brother, Maya’
19 1_sn_f s3tnj m3^2-hrw, ‘his sister, Eseneset’
20 1_sn_f r^2 ms, ‘his brother, Ramose’
21 1_sn_f yy y m3^2-hrw, ‘his sister, Yy, true of voice’
22 1_sn_f y3^2-srj, ‘his brother, Ya, the younger’
23 1_sn_f yy-srj y m3^2-hrw, ‘his sister, Yy, the younger, true of voice’
Condition
Boeser’s photograph indicates that the stela was in generally good condition in the early 20th century. A few chips to the stone are visible around the edge and in the lunette, but the text is largely intact. Two of the kneeling figures in the centre of the first line of the lower register have suffered damage to face and body.

Bibliography
Boeser (1913, 1–2, pl. I)
Gardiner (1947, I, 51–3)
Guksch (1983)
KRI VII, 26, 14–29, 13
Kruchten (1992). Kruchten provides a translation, with commentary, that differs in part from that of Gardiner. My reading largely follows Kruchten’s. I only elaborate his arguments at points in the text where the orthographies and readings remain problematic and for points of interpretation that are significant for the discussion in Chapter 4.
van Dijk (1995)
Willems (1998)

Translation and notes

Ij2w-n.k wsjr hnty-jmntt
\( \text{dhwty nb-} \text{bmnw} \)
\( \text{nt} \text{r-}^3 \text{hnty-hsr} \text{t hry-jb-hwt-jbtj} \)
\( \text{hrp-ntr} \text{y pr f} (m)-jst-r^e \)
\( \text{mtr} \text{y sh} \text{t nbwy sn}^3 \text{wy} \)

Praise to you Osiris, foremost of the West,
Thoth, lord of Hermopolis,
great god, foremost of Hesret, who is in Hut-yebet;
divine leader when he appears in the crew of Re,
one who is assiduous, who propitiates the two lords, the brothers,\(^8\)
who gives the wedjat eye to its lord,
possessor of splendour in (the presence of) the Ennead,
who makes marvels in the secret shrine,
great of travels in the evening barque,
glorious of appearances in the day barque,
great one in Busiris,
who descends (the river) as a living ba,
guide of Re for his travels.

Greetings to you in all your (!) names,
O Thoth, the deputy of Re,
by the chief sculptor for the Lord of the Two Lands,
Hatay, true of voice,
son of the chief sculptor, Yaa, true of voice.

\(^{24}-sn\text{ f hwy-}^2srj\), ‘his brother, Huy, the younger’
\(^{25} -sn\text{ f k3k3j3 m3-r hrw\) ‘his sister, Kakaya, true of voice’

\(^{8}\text{r}^e\)”
He says: O nobles, great and small, all the elite, all people, all sun-folk, I will tell you (about) what has happened to me – (for) I was distinguished above others – so that you may report it from generation to generation, the elders teaching the young.

I was a minor one of his family, a lesser one in his town. The Lord of the Two Lands knew me, and I was greatly esteemed in his heart when I saw the king in his aspect of Re (and) in the seclusion of his palace so that he exalted me above the courtiers and I mixed with the great ones of the palace.

My lord was pleased with my solutions, ignoring those greater than me. Hidden things of the heart were told to me, while I was in the place of silence.

He appointed me as director of works when I was a humble man, for he found me estimable in his heart.

I was initiated into the Mansion of Gold, in order to fashion the forms and images of all the gods, none of them being hidden from me.

I was a keeper of secrets, who sees Re in his transformations, and Atum in his manifestations.

Osiris, lord of Abydos, foremost of the lords of the holy land, and Thoth, lord of Hermopolis, who is in Kheritjehenu,

I saw Shepses in his hidden sacredness, and Wenut in her manifestations.

Min who flaunts his potency, and Horus residing in Hesret.
Nekhemawy, daughter of Re, Sakhmet, beloved of Ptah, the Ogdoad who are in Hermopolis, before Hutyebet.

Khnum, lord of Herwer, and the ruler-goddess Hathor,

Amun-re who resides in Wenu, Hathor of Cusae, daughter of Pre-who-protects-the-effective-One,

the Ennead who are in ḫgnw, Haroeris, who is in Hut-Snefru, Hemen, lord of Hefat.

Montu who resides in Tod, Anubis, lord of ḫt3-hd.

and Horus foremost in Hebenu, Pakhet, mistress of Set,

Thoth, bull in ḫr3-jnt, Nemty in the district of Nemty,

Amun who foretells victories, the bull, lord of Saka, the ruler-goddess, mistress of Qus, and the hrtj goddesses.

I was one who caused them to rest in their shrines perpetually, and I carried them as leader of the royal festival, being the one charged with sailing the king in his barque; I am in its prow, one who trod upon the place of electrum in order to report on the state of the two lands, one who eats bread from the royal meal, who is quenched with his beer; the gold of favour was given to me by the king himself.

I do not speak falsehood concerning these things, the two lands are my witnesses. As Ptah, lord of truth, lord of Memphis, lives, I have spoken these things truthfully.
He did it for me, for the sake of this, for one who is loyal to him —
with a duration of perfect life.

This servant is one bearing his lord, until the completion of (his) lifetime,
until the receipt of the prow-rope of his mooring, passing into veneration.

a) Here I follow Kruchten’s rendering (1992, 112–3). Gardiner (1947, I, 51) translated the passage as ‘the divine power that came forth from Re, who discriminated (?) between the two witnesses’. This translation requires reading as $shm$ and taking the flesh sign that follows $pr$ as a writing of $m$. The problematic group that follows, $\text{iIii}$, was tentatively read $\text{wd r}$ by Gardiner. Kruchten convincingly refutes these readings. He reads $pr$ with the suffix pronoun $f$ rendered by the flesh sign and takes the final problematic group to be a writing of $jst$. He reads $\text{mtry}$ as a separate epithet, $\text{mtry}$, the double reed leaf being rendered by the double stroke.

b) Van Dijk (1995, 32) considers this emphasis on a humble background, a motif understood as distinctive of Amarna biography, as a signal for the early date of the text. This motif continued, however, to be employed later in the Ramessid period, for example in the biography of Samut kyky: ‘I was a poor man in his town, a vagrant in the vicinity of her city’. In Samut’s text the motif is transformed through centring on divine rather than royal intervention (2.3.2). Although a derogatory meaning attached to $\text{hwrw}$ is indicated by the adjectival use of the term in Miscellany texts (Caminos 1954, 568, 397), in biographical contexts it may be associated with comparatively low status due to age or stage of life, rather than poverty. In the biographical text of Anhurmose (5.a, cols. 11–3) it describes the status of the protagonist at the end of his childhood but before he begins his education. $\text{hwrw}$ may have this connotation in earlier biographical statements such as the chapel of Ramose at Amarna (‘I was a humble man ($\text{hwrw}$), but Re, the perfect god, perceives hearts’: Seidlmayer 1983, 196–7; Guksch 1994, 107, 112) and declarations of innocence (‘I did not evict the humble man ($\text{hwrw}$) from his property’: Davies 1932, pl. 39; see also Urk. IV 510, 11; 1199, 10).

c) The beginning of the line here marks a change in narrative focus with the movement into royal space. Userhat’s text seems somewhat unusually laid out on the stela in that the line-breaks often occur in the middle of words and pronouns, particularly towards the end of the text when the carver may have been running out of space. Where line breaks do occur at the beginning of new stanzas they seem to mark narrative or thematic shifts. Thus line 11 moves to the list-like presentation of deities, introduced by $\text{wsjr pw}$, and line 20 begins his truth declaration.

d) Kruchten renders the second tense explicitly in his translation, but the implications are probably the same: ‘c’est avec le Double Pays disant de moi ‘Comme est grande sa faveur l’qu’on (en) revenait au monde profane’ (1992, 110), evoking the idea of Userhat’s return to the ordinary realm after his introduction to the temple (4.2.1). A comparable statement is in the biography of Neferesekheru: ‘When I went forth from the gates of the palace, all my people were joyful to the
height of the sky, everyone who saw me (said): “It is fitting for him, Neferekhheru, whose heart is true” (7.a, cols. 13–4).

e) The nature of the list and the occurrence of pw (for which see Willems 1998) is discussed in 4.2.2.

f) Kessler (1981, 145–6, doc. 23) considers that this verse refers to two separate goddesses who are attested in this region, Heqet (of Herwer) and Hathor, whom he presumes, on the basis of parallels, to be associated with Neferusy although this place is not named on Userhat’s stela. Although hqyjrt is relatively unusual as an epithet of Hathor (Leitz 2002, V, 536), I suggest that this reading may be preferable. All the other deities in the list are given an epithet, and Hathor bears a comparably distinctive epithet in the following stanza.

g) Kruchten (1992, 114–5; 4.2.1) interprets this verse as referring to Userhat’s participation in an oracular event, based on the parallel phraseology in the 21st Dynasty oracular text of Djehutymose.

h) Kruchten’s (1992, 115–6) reading of mnj, ‘son abordage’, seems certain both from context and from the form of the sign which could be a malformed ∫.

4.b
High priest of Osiris Wenennefer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object type</th>
<th>standing column statue with standard</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Ramesses II (cartouches)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance</td>
<td>Abydos (internal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions</td>
<td>H: 1.86m; W of shoulder: c. 0.50m; D of shoulder: 0.21m; W of base: c. 0.45m; D of base: 0.32m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material</td>
<td>granodiorite</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Description
The standing figure of Wenennefer emerges frontally from a rectangular pillar of stone. He holds the Abydos standard in his left hand, the handle of which terminates at the bottom edge of the kilt. The fetish, beside Wenennefer’s head, is topped by three uraei in a pyramidal arrangement and double plumes. The tops of the plumes of the standard would have extended above the top of the pillar, but are now broken away. The pillar extends above the priest’s head, framing it in stone. On the left side of the block around the head is a figure of the king with arm raised toward the Abydos standard. Wenennefer wears a double layer wig without detail. The wig does not come forward on the shoulders. His eyebrows and eyes are incised and the face is rounded and flat. He wears a schematic šbjw around his throat and a panther skin across his left shoulder. The panther’s head rests just above the navel and the left paw fades into the body. The priest wears a long flared kilt, tied at the waist with loop, a complex knot, and a sash which drops from the waistband. The sash is inscribed with three small panther heads and schematised animal pelts, below which are
geometric panels with cartouches of Ramesses II. Wenennefer's right hand is placed palm down on the front of his kilt; the fingernails are not depicted. On the right wrist is a raised cylinder-shaped bracelet. The left hand lies in a parallel position to the right, palm down, and outstretched around the pole of the Abydos standard. A flat band of text covers the front of Wenennefer's ankles. Beneath this his nail-less toes are visible. The sides of his ankles and feet are schematically rendered on the sides of the block. He stands on a small high base.

**Inscriptions**
The main text is arranged in four columns on the back pillar of the statue (→).

A cartouche of Ramesses II is inscribed on the right side of the block which encases the head: nb-t3wy (wsr-m3't-r' stp.n-r'). Above the figure of Ramesses on the left side are his two cartouches. A barely legible column (←) running down the shaft of the Abydos standard gives cartouches and the titles of Wenennefer: (wsr-m3't-r' stp.n-r') [s3-r'?] (r'=ms-sw mry-imonym) [hm-ntr tpy?] (break for arm) wsjr wnn-nfr m3'-hrw [... ... mry]. On the right breast wnn-nfr is inscribed without a determinative. Down the right arm is a further column (→): hm-ntr-tpy n-wsjr wnn-nfr m3'-hrw, 'high priest of Amun, Wenennefer, true of voice' (these elements are not transcribed by Kitchen). Two columns of large hieroglyphs are inscribed on the front of the kilt (→): 1hm-ntr-tpy n-wsjr wnn-nfr m3'-hrw 's3-hm-ntr-tpy n-wsjr mry m3'-hrw, 'high priest of Osiris, Wenennefer, true of voice, son of the high priest of Osiris, Mery, true of voice'. The band of text across the ankles also gives Wenennefer's title as high priest and his name (→). This inscription is repeated immediately below, in a single line (→) across the front of the base: hm-ntr-tpy n-wsjr wnn-nfr m3'-hrw, 'high priest of Osiris, Wenennefer, true of voice'. On the left side of the base are two lines (←) giving the names of Wenennefer's mother and his wife: 1mwt.f Smjjt n-wsjr mj3ny 2 nbtrpr f Smjt n-wsjr tjy m3'-hrw, 'his mother, the songstress of Osiris, Maiany true of voice, the lady of his house, songstress of Osiris, Tiy, true of voice'. On the right are also two lines of inscription (→), setting out further kin relationships: Sn.f jmytri-r3-njwt Blty p3-r3-htp m3'-hrw Sn.f hm-ntr-tpy n-jn-hr mn-nsiw m3'-hrw, 'his kinsman, overseer of the city, vizier, Prahotep true of voice, his kinsman, high priest of Onuris, Minmose, true of voice.' Down the sides of the statue where the kilt merges with the back-pillar are large columns of inscription giving cartouches of Ramesses II and Wenennefer's name and title as high priest: hm-ntr-tpy n-wsjr wnn-nfr m3'-hrw, 'high priest of Osiris, Wenennefer, true of voice'.

**Condition**
Excellent, apart from the loss of the tops of the plumes and some minor damage to the uraei on the Abydos standard. There is also some chipping to the base.

**Bibliography**
Vigneau (1935, 95 B); photo.
Anthes (1974, 41–3) includes transcription, translation and commentary for stanzas two and three.
KRI III, 452, 4–453, 5
Chadefaud (1982, 100, cat. PE E. 1)
Kitchen (2000, 322–3); translation.

**Translation and notes**
Back pillar
hm-ntr-tpy n-wsjr

High priest of Osiris,
He says: Welcome, welcome, O victorious king, who cleaves the sky with his plumes,

You are welcome, being peaceful, coming in peace, your coming being for the span of eternity.

For the ka of the high priest of Osiris, Wenennefer, true of voice,

and his sister, the lady of the house, Tiy, true of voice, who is called Nefertari, true of voice.

High priest of Osiris, Wenennefer, true of voice.

I brought the wreath of triumph, and transfigured the god with it,

reciting acclamation at Ro-Poquer, his effective place of the first time.

For the ka of the high priest of Osiris, Wenennefer, true of voice,

son of the dignitary, high priest of Osiris, Mery, true of voice.

High priest of Osiris, Wenennefer, true of voice.

He says: I am a great priest for the one who is in Abydos, the whe-servant of Wenennefer, firm of fingers in binding the diadem, who adorns the god; who ferries the god to Ro-Poquer, who overthrows the one who rebels against the neshmet barque.

For the ka of the high priest of Osiris,
Wenennefer, true of voice, born of Maiany, true of voice.

High priest of Osiris, Wenennefer, true of voice.

He says: I ascended to Ro-setjau
I was adorned, bound in red linen,
the 3ms-club in my hand (to) smite the disaffected,
the j3bt-weapon to smite the rebel.
I read out the transformation spells performed for Isis.
I deposited offerings in the sacred land.

a) These epithets for Osiris are distinctive. According to Leitz (2002, IV, 332) nswt nht is only attested on two other New Kingdom sources, as an epithet of Re-Harakhty on a stela from the tomb of Horemheb and of a god, possibly [Min?] Kamutef, on a stela of Sety I dedicated in Buhen. It is otherwise known from Graeco-Roman sources as an epithet for gods in ritual scenes. Although ntr-dm-pt m $wtj.f was the second Horus name of Mentuhotep II (Clère 1950), Userhat's text is the only example of its use as a divine epithet before the Graeco-Roman period (Leitz 2002, VII, 536–7).

b) This sequence of titles also occurs in the first column of the back pillar of the double statue of Wenennefer and his father Mery also from Abydos (KRI III, 448, 14) and in a line of text from a wall-fragment or stela from Wenennefer's Abydene tomb (KRI III, 459, 7). In both these cases the title groups are part of a larger complex of priestly titles.

c) For discussion of the 'wreath of triumph' see 4.3.1.1 follow Anthes (1974, 41) in reading s3h as a sdm.n.f.

d) Kitchen (l. 10) transcribes a stroke before the determinative for njs which could function as the first person suffix, 'I recited' (Kitchen 2000, 322). Anthes (1974, 41) translated as 'Ich war der Lobeshymne rezitierte am Eingang zu Peker' but says in his note c (1974, 43) that he takes the form as a participle. Strokes are also visible after the writing of $d and shr in col. 3 which Kitchen (2000, 322) reads as first person pronouns, contrary to Anthes (1974, 43, n. g) who understood these as participles.

e) An alternative rendering of this clause is: 'I am the priest of the great one in Abydos' (Anthes 1974, 43). As noted by Anthes (1974, 45), a similar dual reading is also possible in the statement 'I am a greatly favoured one in Abydos' in the inscription of Kha (4.c, col. 2).

g) Anthes (1974, 42, with 43, n. f) tentatively read the sign following ts as mdh, giving the translation: ‘Der mit festen Fingerne beim Anlegen (des mdh-Stirnbandes und?) des nfr-h3t-Kopfschmuckes’. I prefer to read as a determinative for ts based on the occurrence of the same sign in col. 4. Here the sign is followed by the first person stative ending and refers to ritual/mortuary wrappings. nfr-h3t appears not to occur elsewhere in association with Osiris (Wb. II, 256).

h) This phrase is close to Middle Kingdom narratives of the Osiris mysteries: ‘I adorned (db3.n.f) the god with his insignia’ (e.g. Sehetepibre: Sethe 1928, 68, 8). An alternative rendering is: ‘I was rewarded’ (Kitchen 2000, 322).

i) The weapon here is written _, j’t. A parallel for these verses is the ritual instruction in the 21st Dynasty papyrus of Nedjmet, as discussed by Derchain (1955, 236) and in 4.3.1. In this text the weapon is written _, j3q. Neither j3t or j3q is known from other contexts. I follow Derchain’s (1955, 236, n. 3) suggestion that in both texts the word should be rendered j3t, a type of staff associated with ritual action in the Coffin Texts, see 4.3.1. The determinative in Wenennefer’s text is distinctive.

4.c
Royal table scribe Kha

Object type naophorous block statue
Date Ramesses II (cartouches)
Provenance Abydos (internal)
Dimensions H: 0.64m; L: 0.24m
Material sandstone

Description
A65 is a naophorous block statue with the shape of the body clearly delineated and seated on a cushion. The wig is a braided, short double wig with echeloned side panels and largely visible ears. The face is treated in the flat, rounded Ramessid style, with incised eyes and low modelled mouth. The arms are folded across the knees; the left hand is open, palm down, and the right holds a lettuce. The feet are bare. In front of the knees is a naos containing a figure of Thoth as a baboon in raised relief; this figure has a lunar disc upon its head and an amulet hanging around the neck. Beneath the figure of Thoth is a laden offering table in raised relief.

Inscriptions
Three columns of inscription run down the back pillar (→). Cartouches of Ramesses II on both right and left shoulders are omitted in Kitchen’s publication.

The frame of the naos bears two inscriptions that fan out from the centre of the top of the naos frame, sharing the opening word prrt, and continuing down each side. The inscription on the right of the frame (→) reads: prrt-nb hr-wdhw-wsjr nb-3bdw n-k3-n-sh-wdhw n-nb-twy hj m3-hrw s3-s3b mntw-m-mn [m3-hrw?], ‘(may) all that goes forth from the offering table of Osiris, lord of
Abydos, be for the ka of the table scribe of the lord of the two lands, Kha, true of voice, son of the dignitary, Montuemmin, [true of voice?]'. That on the left (—) reads: prrt-nb hr-wdhw-jnpw nb-t3-dsr n-k3-n-sh-wdhw n-nb-t3wy h' m3'-hrw jr n-3st-m-hb m3'-hrw, '(may) all that goes forth from the offering table of Anubis, lord of the sacred land be for the ka of the offering table scribe of the lord of the two lands, Kha, true of voice, born of Eseemheb, true of voice'. There is a single line of inscription beneath the depiction of the offering table: n-k3-n-wsir sh-nsrw-wdhw n-nb-t3wy h' m3'-hrw, 'for the ka of the Osiris, royal offering table scribe of the lord of the two lands, Kha, true of voice'.

A single line of offering formulae also runs around the base of the statue, htp being shared by both texts. That on the left («—) reads: htp-dj-nswt (n-)jnpw hnty-s'hr-ntr ntrj3 nb-t3-dsr dj.sn-wdjr tp-t3 hr-hsw-nsrw 3h m-pt wsir m-t3 n-k3-n sh-nsrw-wdhw n-nb-t3wy [rest lost], 'an offering which the king gives to Anubis, foremost of the divine booth, great god, lord of the sacred land, that they may give prosperity upon earth in the favour of the king, to be a transfigured one in the sky, and powerful in the earth, for the ka of the royal offering table scribe of the lord of the two lands, [...]'. That on the right (—>) reads: htp-dj-nswt (ri)-wsjr hnty-jmntw ntrj3 dj.jf-wdj3 tp-t3 hr-3ms-nsrw [rest lost], 'an offering which the king gives to Osiris, foremost of the Westerners, that he may give prosperity upon earth following the king [...]'.

Condition
From the photograph there appears to be some chipping to the face and head and small areas of surface damage over the body and shrine. The copy-texts indicate that there is some damage or wear to the text on the back pillar and significant loss to the back area of the base.

Bibliography
Anthes (1974, 45–6), with partial translation and commentary. I use his transcription in preference to that of Kitchen. Kitchen appears to have used Pierret’s publication (1874–78, II, 7) for his copy. Anthes stated that his text was collated by Barguet from a copy by Lefebvre. My translation of the text largely follows Anthes.
KRI III, 224, 1–14
Schulz (1992, I, 469–70, cat. 281)
Kitchen (2000, 157–8); translation.
Delange (2001, 126–7, cat. 41)

Translation and notes
Back pillar
1. sh-nsrw-wdhw n-nb-t3wy h' m3'-hrw
Royal offering table scribe for the lord of the two lands, Kha, true of voice.

dj.k-n j jsw-nqmr jmy-jndk
He says: O my lord Osiris,
dj.k-n j jsw-nqmr jmy-jndk
may you give to me the sweet breath which is in your nostrils,

hr-nnt jnk-hsy-'3 m-3bdw
because I am a greatly favoured one in Abydos,
2. w3'3 m-jmnt smn-3m-wr
great wab priest in the Tjenenet shrine, who established
3. dj.n(j)-nms n-jmn-rn.f
the d3m-sceptre of the great one,

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I caused the twin plumes to appear on the Abydos fetish, in the depths of the sarcophagus.\textsuperscript{f}

I fastened bindings upon the disaffected at (your) feet.\textsuperscript{g}

I ferried the neshmet barque to Ro-Poqer.\textsuperscript{h}

I brought it to the place-which-protects-its-lord,\textsuperscript{i}

I appeased those in the underworld.\textsuperscript{j}

I inundated the sacred land with libations;\textsuperscript{k}

the return thereof being the stability of my corpse, as one speaks to another (?) in perpetuity.\textsuperscript{l}

\textsuperscript{a) } $\text{ nb tlwy }$ is a cryptographic writing of $nb \ t\swty$ (with Schulz 1992, I, 469, n. 4).

\textsuperscript{b) For the dual levels of meaning possible in this verse see 4.b, n. e.}

\textsuperscript{c) The writing of w'rb seems quite distinctive: $\text{ wrb }$. The \textit{Wörterbuch} designates the Tjenenet as a Memphite shrine although a number of the references given are from Abydos (V, 382, 2–3). It is also used to designate the tomb of Osiris in Book of the Dead spell 1B (V, 382, 4).

\textsuperscript{d) I read } dq'm \text{ here based on the parallel in the Litany of Re (Hornung 1975, II, 233–4, 91): } jw.j \text{ smn}n \text{ dj}n \text{ gj}m \text{ (} n \text{ s}3h \text{ dj}j \text{ nms n jmn-rn}f, \text{ ‘I established the } dq'm \text{-sceptre of } \text{Orion, I gave the nemes to the Hidden-of-Name’ (Goebes 1995, 170; 4.2.2). } wr \text{ as an epithet of Osiris is known from the hymn to Abydos (Clère 1959, 93; also Leitz 2002, II, 420–1) and I consider this preferable to an adjectival rendering. However, Anthes (1974, 45, n. c) dismissed this reading of } wr \text{ as he considered that an indirect genitive would be required. He offered the tentative translation: ‘Ich befestigte das } w3s-wr \text{ (?)’ (1974, 45), leaving the meaning of } wr \text{ unresolved. He read } 1 \text{ as } w3s \text{ on the basis of the association of this sceptre with Osiris in Pyramid text spells 967d and 1980b (van der Molen 2000, 84), although he also acknowledged the alternative reading as } dq'm.}

\textsuperscript{e) Kitchen (2000, 157) does not read the sign after } dj.n \text{ (or he follows Pierret) and thus rendered this verse as ‘I gave praise to Hidden-of Name’. Anthes’ (1974, fig. 5) transcription shows a headdress, $\overset{\wedge}{\text{\textcircled{\text{	extsc{h}}}}}$, which he identified as a nemes. This reading is supported by the parallel in the Litany of Re, where nemes is fully written: $\overset{\text{\textcircled{\text{	extsc{h}}}}}{\text{\textcircled{\text{	extsc{h}}}}}$ (n. e above), and on a votive shabti belonging to prince Khaemwaset, found in the Serapeum: $dj \text{ nms n jm}n-rn.f$ (KRI II, 375, 15). For discussion of these examples and the association of the nemes with Osiris in New Kingdom texts, see Goebes (1995, 169–71; 4.3.1).

\textsuperscript{f) The writing of } ht \text{ with the house determinative is cited in } Wb. \text{ III, 358, 12–4, as a Graeco-Roman variant for } hwt, \text{ especially with the meaning ‘shrine’, followed by Kitchen (2000, 157). Here the meaning ‘depths’ seems required by the context. The rendering of this verse in Siess’s text (6.a, col. 3) also supports this meaning: } smn.n(j)-\swty \text{ hr-3bdw m-hnw n-nb-}rnh, \text{ ‘I established the twin plumes on the Abydos emblem, within the sarcophagus’. The attaching of plumes to the head of the god is known from the daily ritual scenes in the temple of Sety I at Abydos: } smn \text{ \swty m } tp, \text{ ‘Fixing the two plumes upon the head’ (Calverley and Broome 1933–59, II, pl. 18). Here the}
act closes with the statement: 'The two plumes are upon your head, having appeared upon your forehead (šfwt mwpty k).'

g) ₯ is restored here from the parallel in Siese’s inscription (2.g, col. 3).

h) Kitchen (KRI, III, 224, 6, n. a) reads either ₯ or ₯ while Anthes (1974, fig. 5) transcribed ₯ without a query. The ferrying of the god as a component of the Osiris mysteries is well known from such texts as the Middle Kingdom stela of Ikhernofret (Sethe 1928, no. 14, 71, 18–9). This variant writing of Ro-Poqer is not given in the Wörterbuch (I, 561).

i) Kitchen (2000, 157) renders this verse as ‘I brought srt(?)(of) the Lord of the Two Lands’ (jn j srt nb twy). Anthes (1974, fig. 5) transcribed: $, which fits better. Thematic parallels are found in the Book of the Dead, for example spell 85: ‘I am one who caused the transfigurations of Osiris and propitiated (shtp-jb) those who are in (his) entourage’ (Naville 1886, I, pl. XCVII).

j) Kitchen transcribes this verse $ and tentatively renders ‘I caused(?) … the denizens of the Netherworld to rest’. Anthes transcribed (1974, fig. 5): $, which fits better. Thematic parallels are found in the Book of the Dead, for example spell 85: ‘I am one who caused the transfigurations of Osiris and propitiated (shtp-jb) those who are in (his) entourage’ (Naville 1886, I, pl. XCVII).

k) A parallel for this verse is the stela of the high priest of Isis, Wenennefer (4.e, II. 8–9; n. m): ‘He is effective for those who are within it (Tawer), its Ennead being content with his plan, his efficacy suffusing it (bih.s)’.

l) Kitchen (following Pierret) may have omitted some signs here. Anthes transcribed (1974, fig. 5): $, and offered the tentative translation (1974, 45): ‘Der Lohn dafür sei, dass mein Leib bestehen bleibt von einem Spruch zum anderen (?) ewiglich’. Until the text can be checked, the reading of this line cannot be resolved.

4.d
Priest of Osiris Nebenmaat

Manchester, University Museum, 2699

Figs. 72–4

Object type statue fragment
Date Ramesses II (cartouche)
Provenance Abydos, in or near the enclosure of the Osiris temple (Petrie 1903, 36; PM V, 47).
Dimensions H: 0.35m; W: 0.28m
Material granodiorite

Description
The fragment consists of the head, shoulders, and upper section of the back pillar. The wig is striated, tripartite, and leaves the large ears exposed. The face is round and flat and traces of
cosmetic lines are visible around both eyes. The chin and neck are damaged; there is no trace of a false beard. A incised horizontal line across the chest may indicate the neckline of a garment.

Below this line, and between the lappets of the wig, are incised figures of three seated figures (—) — beards and crowns are visible on the first two — followed by the illegible traces of possibly two further signs or images. Over the left shoulder is an incised representation of a staff or pole, bound with streamers (4.2.3). The cartouche (wsr-m-t-r’ stp-n-r’) on the right shoulder is topped with double plumes. The upper thickness of the back pillar is inscribed with figures of two recumbent jackals on shrines on either side of an jmjrwt fetish.

Inscriptions
The back pillar is inscribed with four columns (—); each side thickness of the pillar bears a single further column. Beneath the right lappet of the wig are traces of the upper parts of at least three signs, perhaps the first group of a column.

Condition
Much of the surface of the right side of the face is lost, as is the nose, mouth, and left eye. There are several large cracks through the fragment and surface chips and wear to much of the body area. Apart from a large chip from the left side, the inscriptions on the back pillar are in excellent condition.

Bibliography
Petrie (1903, 36, 45 [by Griffith], pl. xxxvii [upper])

Translation and notes
Rear surface

Translation and notes
Rear surface

Great administrator for the god of Thinite Abydos,

Great administrator for the god of Thinite Abydos,

Great administrator for the god of Thinite Abydos,

Great administrator for the god of Thinite Abydos,

Great administrator for the god of Thinite Abydos,

god’s sealbearer, of great returns (?),

god’s sealbearer, of great returns (?),

god’s sealbearer, of great returns (?),

god’s sealbearer, of great returns (?),

god’s sealbearer, of great returns (?),

subordinate, who conducts the ritual in [the mound of ?]a

... what he knew, being [foremost of the necropolis?],

... a priest of Osiris,

... Nebenmaat, [true of voice?]

... He says: I am a priest of Abydos,

... He says: I am a priest of Abydos,

... He says: I am a priest of Abydos,

... He says: I am a priest of Abydos,

... He says: I am a priest of Abydos,

who embellishes gold for (his) lord.

who embellishes gold for (his) lord.

who embellishes gold for (his) lord.

who embellishes gold for (his) lord.

who embellishes gold for (his) lord.

I established the god upon his standard,

I established the god upon his standard,

I established the god upon his standard,

I established the god upon his standard,

I established the god upon his standard,

I raised it upon its side [?]?c

I raised it upon its side [?]?c

I raised it upon its side [?]?c

I raised it upon its side [?]?c

I raised it upon its side [?]?c

... Priest, Nebenmaat, true of voice,

... Priest, Nebenmaat, true of voice,

... Priest, Nebenmaat, true of voice,

... Priest, Nebenmaat, true of voice,

... Priest, Nebenmaat, true of voice,

he says: I am a great wab priest in Tawer,

he says: I am a great wab priest in Tawer,

he says: I am a great wab priest in Tawer,

he says: I am a great wab priest in Tawer,

he says: I am a great wab priest in Tawer,
He says: [...?]
performing what is effective and favoured,
I purified my god,
and I cleansed [...]

a) The traces here are problematic. I tentatively suggest reading ‘jtr-X', in reference perhaps to the god’s tomb or more generally to ‘the West'. A thematic parallel may be the description of the preparation of Osiris, which refers to the tomb, on the statue of Kha: 'I caused the twin plumes to appear on the Abydos fetish, in the depths of the sarcophagus (m-ht nb-‘nh’t)' (cf. 4.e, col. 3).

b) Griffith (in Petrie 1903, 45) had no reading for these signs. I suggest jmi-hnt; the parallel of jmy-st- in the preceding column suggests a priestly title. I read the following sign as ‘—', smjt, or possibly h3st, as a reference to the West is appropriate to the context.

c) Griffith read: ‘I established the god upon his sacred stand and I raised that up upon the scaffolding of the barge (?). A parallel is the tomb stela of the vizier of Thutmose III, Weser, as part of a description of his involvement in the preparation of Min-Amun in the temple of Amun: ‘I applied oil to the god’s body, I adorned Min-Amun, I bore Amun in his festival, I raised Min upon his platform (ts.n(j) mn r htjw.f: )’ (Urk. IV, 1031, 2–6; Lichtheim 1992, 113–4; Kruchten 1989, 188). In Nebenmaat’s text, a reference to cult equipment, and perhaps to some sort of portable shrine or barque, seems appropriate. I know of no occurrence of sht with this meaning, if this is the correct reading.

d) The upper part of is visible here, perhaps as the object, referring to Tawer.

e) jr wn seems clear here. The first sign in the next group is largely lost although the line of the back of a bird is visible, perhaps or . The of the rest of the group is clear but I am unable to resolve the reading, as was Griffith.

4.e
High priest of Isis Wenennefer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object type</th>
<th>round-topped stela</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Sety II (filiation; the same title and name occur on a statue head bearing the cartouche of Sety II, 4.3.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance</td>
<td>Abydos (internal: PM V, 99 assigned to Wenennefer’s father Yuyu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions</td>
<td>H: 1.0m; W: 0.70m; D: 0.10m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material</td>
<td>limestone</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Paris, Musée du Louvre, C 219

Fig. 75

113
Description
This stela is arranged in three registers. The uppermost register depicts Osiris and Horus adored by Wenennefer. Osiris is seated on a throne which is placed upon a pedestal. He holds a crook and flail and wears a simplified aṭef-crown. In front of him the four sons of Horus stand on a schematic lotus. Horus is seated behind Osiris, his throne resting on the register line. He holds a was-sceptre, combined with an ankh. Behind him is a lotus flower arched over a pedestal. Facing Osiris, Wenennefer kneels with both arms raised in adoration. His head is bald and he wears a panther skin and a large, voluminous robe (for a parallel for this robe see Gaballa 1973, 109, fig. 1; my thanks to Angela McDonald for this reference). His feet seem to be bare.

The second register depicts Wenennefer kneeling in a similar pose and costume before four standing goddesses: Isis, Heqet, Nut, and Shenpet. The outlines of Wenennefer’s panther skin are faded but identifiable. The goddesses hold was-sceptres and ankh signs. They wear long dresses and tripartite wigs, the only features distinguishing one from another being the captions above their heads. Between the first goddess and Wenennefer is a laden offering table with a vessel beneath.

In the bottom right of the stela stands a figure of Wenennefer. He wears a plain long robe and panther skin. One arm hangs at his side. The other is raised high and crosses the register line.

Inscriptions
Nine lines of hieroglyphic text fill the lowest register, (←; not Kitchen’s →) In front of the standing figure of Wenennefer is a column of inscription (←): n-k3-n hm-ntr-tpy n-īst wnn-nfr mšrw, ‘for the ka of the high priest of Isis, Wenennefer, true of voice’. Kitchen gives this column as a continuation of the final line (KRI IV, 297, 13–4) which may suit the sense of the text.

In the uppermost register there are captions (→) above the heads of both deities. Above Horus is a horizontal line reading from right to left: hr sš-īst, ‘Horus, son of Isis’. Above the head of Osiris is a column: wšjr nb-nhh, ‘Osiris, lord of eternity’. Above the head of Wenennefer are five columns (→), as well as a further two columns continuing the text behind his figure. The second and third columns, which probably gave Wenennefer’s title, name and filiation, seem to have been deliberately cut out of the stone: *rdjt-j3w n-2[ywyw 3 ḫrw 4 n-pr-ms sn-tl 5 pḥt 6 ḫrw mšrw, ‘Giving praise to [the high priest of Isis, Wenennefer true of voice, son of] Yuyu, true of voice, (grand)son of the high priest of Osiris, Wenennefer, true of voice’.

In the second register the captions to the goddesses (→) read: 3st n-pr-ms ‘Isis of the birth house’, hqt nb(t)-pt, ‘Heqet, lady of the sky, nt sšt mš(t)-ntrw, ‘Nut, the beneficent one who bore the gods’, šnpt nb(t)-pt, ‘Shenpt, (lady) of the sky’. Seven columns of text (←) begin above the offering table and finish behind Wenennefer’s head: *rdjt-j3 n-3št 2 n-pr-ms sn-tš 3 n-psdt 4 nb(t)-pt 5 n-kš-nš 6 ḫrw mšrw, ‘Giving praise to Isis of the birth house, kissing the ground for the great Ennead, for the ka of the High Priest of Isis, Wenennefer, true of voice’.

Condition
Kitchen was able to collate as far as line 5 for his publication of the text. The stela was undergoing restoration in the Louvre in December 2001. I was able to see the entire text but salt was lifting the surface and many signs in the lower half of the stela remain unclear. Kitchen’s reading of the stela, which is based on Pierret (1874–78, II, 54) for lines 5–9, appeared largely accurate and will be
followed below. Signs and readings that I am unsure about will be indicated in the notes to the translation. An improved reading may be possible after the restoration work is completed.

Bibliography
KRI IV, 296, 13–297, 13
Forgeau (1984, 178, doc. 14b)
Kruchten (1989, 180–81); transcription (based on Kitchen) and translation. My reading largely follows Kruchten’s. He mistakenly refers to C 219 as a statue.
Kitchen (2003, 214–6); translation.

Translation and notes

The high priest of Isis,
Wenennefer, true of voice,
son of the high priest of Osiris,
Yuyu, true of voice,
born of [ ... ... y] true of voice.a

He says: O people of Tawer, I will cause you to hear something good,
concerning the plan of the god which he carried out for the servant of his domain,
who brought his offerings into being.b

The (high) priest of Horus and Isis,
Wenennefer, son of Yuyu,c
began to carry this god while he was a fortunate youth,d
made stronger and more flourishing day by day,
like Ihy in the marsh,e
until the day of his favour came,f
the god promoting his beloved (?).g

[The musicians]h of Tawer
see him like those who are children,
the youths [playing sistrum] as (his) companions,i
the youngsters draw near to him.
The others turn their faces to him,
facing him in order to [play sistra?]j

The god(dess) who brought herself(?) into being [ordered]
that his form be revealed immediately.k
He became great as a royal acquaintance,
so that he mingled with the great ones of the palace,l
his heart discerning the essence of Tawer.

He is effective for those who are within it,
psdt.s-³hrw hr-shr.f
nty.f-3hw hr-b³h(s)
b³[y] m-[rh]n hr.f
r-sr n.f nfrw

its Ennead being content with his plan
— his efficacy suffusing (it) —
having appeared, [relying] on him,
in order to fortell perfection for him."

a) Traces of a double reed-leaf, a seated female figure, and m³-³hrw are visible at the end of this line and the missing text would be the name of Wenennefer's mother. Genealogies of this family name a woman called Mut-nofret as the mother of Wenennefer (Kees 1953, 150; Raue 1998, 345, fig. 1). This would not seem to correspond to the traces.

b) The formulation of this verse is grammatically odd, with the inclusion of an n before the object. This also occurs in a parallel to this line in an address to Osiris on Wenennefer's pair stela to C 219 (Louvre C 98; 4.i): jnk-shpr n-hwt-ntr.k m-df³w-nb r-s³nh.j mnq.n.j-n³-jrw.k n-jt.j m-hnw-njwt.k-t³-wr, 'I am one who sustained your temple with all provisions to cause that I may live. I completed what you did for my father within your town of Tawer' (KRI IV, 296, 9–10).

c) Here the title and filiation are incorporated into the narrative rather than marking its beginning, as in the standard formula: 'N, true of voice, son of N, true of voice, he says'. This marks the point at which the narrative shifts into the third person (4.3.3).

d) Although sbq is used as an epithet in the Middle Kingdom (Janssen 1946, I, 32 As; Doxey 1998, 368), the only New Kingdom example given in the Wörterbuch in reference to a non-royal person is this text (IV, 94, 2).

e) I follow Kruchten (1989, 180) in reading the god's name, Ihy. The determinatives used indicate that the simile is operating through the imagery of plant life, literally 'like swamp-plants in the marsh'. The idea of fertile growth is mobilized initially through the verbs srwd and 3b³h. For the association of plant life with youth, see Grapow (1924, 99–100). The reference to the sistrum-playing god Ihy seems part of a play on words associated with music and sistrum-players in the text; however, as discussed below (ns. h and k), the orthographies of these words are problematic.

f) I follow Kruchten (1989, 180) in rendering jw-hrw jw-hswt.f-ntr here as the r-ṣdmt.f form.

g) There is space for one tall narrow sign after the god determinative here. I propose hr. Kruchten instead reads: 'Sa personne chére fut (alors) placée [...] (dj.t(w) mrvt.f[...])'.

h) As indicated by Kitchen, the lower half of the group is missing beneath the tw.f of mrvt.f (?). There is enough room for one or two low broad signs. The nature of this gap may not support the reading of jhy proposed by Kruchten (1989, 180), but I have not found any other word that fits this orthography and the context.

i) mss has no determinative here. Kruchten renders 'children' although the reduplication of the s may make this reading problematic.

116
My translation departs from Kruchten's here (Kruchten 1989, 180): 'Les joueurs de sistre (?) de Ta-our le voyaient comme eux-même, les enfants des générations montantes jouaient du sistre et (l') accompagnaient amicalement (mss n dlmw hr jhy (hr) hnm). In my collation of the stela what is given as — in Kitchen's text (IV, 297, 8) and therefore read by Kruchten as the indirect genitive forms one group: —. The plural definite article does not support the reading of a genitival relationship between mss and dlmw. My suggestion may also be appropriate to the context, emphasizing Wenennefer's youthful stage of being before his transformation.

j) Kruchten (1989, 180) renders 3 jhy; 'pour jouer du sistre'. A number of actions could be implied by these signs although the figure appeared to me to have an outstretched arm and raised hand that may be compatible with the holding of a sistrum, although such an object was not visible to me. This group is very worn. — may also have been confused with —*, which is a musical determinative (Hannig and Vomberg 1999, 444–8).

The repetition of hr and the possible shifting usage of the third person plural suffix from .w to .sn make the translation of these verses uncertain.

k) My rendering follows Kruchten's restoration of [w]dd from the traces, although the reduplicated form is problematic. Perhaps the word has been written as the passive participle wddt.

The meaning of this passage seems to hinge on the reading of 2, which Kruchten corrected to ds.f. This would correspond with the masculine suffix of jrw.f. In my translation I retain the feminine suffix as other aspects of the stela may permit a reference to Isis. This possibility is discussed in 4.3.4.

l) 3h here probably refers to part of the temple precinct (with Kruchten 1989, 173, 181, n. 1; and see 4.2.1).

m) These last three verses are problematic and my translation is tentative. I render 'efficacy' against the seated god determinative of ḫw, because 'his ḫw-spirits' does not seem to fit the context.

It may be possible to restore [.s] beneath ḫh: the reading of the standard as the foreign land determinative may indicate that an additional sign made the group difficult to design. The idea that Wenennefer's efficacy suffuses tla-wr would seem appropriate to the context.

Although Pierret's copy of the text (1874–78, II, 54) (which is followed by Kitchen from line 5 of the stela) tentatively transcribed 3h, it seem more likely, on the basis of the determinative and my collation of the text, that ḫh, rhn is to be read here. This would be appropriate to the context, but the sense of the verse as a whole remains uncertain. rmn, 'carrying him', is also possible.

Pierret's reading of the jackal, stb, with the indirect genitive is possible: 'to (become) a dignitary of perfect acts'. However, the sign here is taller than a normal jackal and I incline to read it sr, 'to foretell'. This corresponds with the transcription of the text held in the Louvre (my thanks to Mme Delange for providing me with this). The sign beneath the n could also be the curve of a °, giving either a fully phonetic writing of nfrw or the dative n.f.
4.f

Treasury scribe of the temple of Sety I

Huyskery

Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet, Inv. No. 25

Object type: round-topped stela
Date: Sety I (cartouche)
Provenance: possibly Abydos (internal)
Dimensions: H: 0.90m; W: 0.63m
Material: limestone

Description
No photograph or detailed description is available. Mogenson (1919, 64) described a round-topped stela with a winged disc with uraei in the lunette.

Inscriptions
The lunette bears the cartouche of Sety I and the disc’s caption. The register below is inscribed with ten lines (—), including offering formulae addressed to Osiris, Isis, Wepwawet, and Anubis, and an appeal to the living which incorporates statements of moral character. The lower register consists of six columns (—) with epithets and a statement of his relationship to the king and five short lines (—) with traces of inscription.

Condition
Mogenson (1919, 64) stated that the stela was badly damaged; his sketch and copy-text indicate that the sides and much of the base has been lost.

Bibliography
Mogensen (1919, 64–6)
KRI I, 332, 8–333, 9
Kitchen (1993a, 226–7)
Kitchen (1993b, 270–1); translation
Lichtheim (1992, 66–7)

4.g

High priest of Osiris Wenennefer

Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 34505

Object type: round-topped stela
Date: Ramesses II (cartouches)
Provenance: Mariette’s small temple (Mariette 1869, II, 36–7; PM V, 70)
Dimensions: H: 1.45m; W: 0.75m
Material: limestone
Description
At the top of the stela, outside the incised border, is head of a hawk in raised relief. The scene in
the lunette shows the king, wearing the white crown offering incense and pouring a libation before
Osiris, Isis, and Horus. In front of him is a table of offerings. Osiris stands on a pedestal, the four
sons of Horus on a lotus before him, uraei at his feet. Isis stands behind, one arm raised to Osiris’
shoulder; the other hand is held at the front of her body; she wears a tripartite wig, sun-disc with
cow horns, and a long robe. Behind her, with his arms in a matching pose, is a striding Horus.

The middle register has a figure of Wenennefer in the centre. He wears a short wig, long robe,
and panther skin. Behind him stands the smaller figure of a woman in tripartite wig and long robe,
with one arm raised. Wenennefer’s arms are raised in adoration of an iconographic representation
of Abydos, set on a gdw sign. A shrine rests on a lionfooted chair which rests on a sledge with
uraeus. Behind the shrine, in an enclosed space, a figure of a woman kneels holding the Abydos
emblem. Above her head a hawk embraces the standard. On top of the enclosure sits another
hawk.

Inscriptions
The main inscription is in three lines in the lower register (←), giving name and titles of
Wenennefer and recording his participation in an event involving Horus.

The inscriptions in the lunette include captions of the gods and king. Behind the figure of the
king is a single column dating the text to regnal year 42. In the middle register, columns (←) wrap
around both human figures and the top and base of the emblem. Seven columns above and behind
the figures of Wenennefer and his wife give their titles, names, and filiations. Four columns
beneath the emblem and in front of Wenennefer include a short hymn to Osiris.

Condition
Excellent; when I checked the stela in April 2001 I saw only minor chips and wear to the surface
particularly down the left side and in the bottom right corner. There are also small patches of wear
above the king’s censer and in front of Wenennefer’s face.

Bibliography
Mariette, (1869, I, 4–5, II, 36–7, pl. 41 (reversed))
Loukianoff (1956 (1937), 768, 772, fig. 3)
KRI III, 453, 6–454, 6
Kitchen (2000, 323); translation.

Object type block statue

3 I know of one parallel for this feature, that of Wenennefer’s son, Hori, also in the Cairo Museum (no
visible catalogue number; KRI III, 461, 14–6). The scene shows Hori adoring Osiris, Isis, and Horus and the
inscriptions consist of captions of and the titles and filiations of Hori.
**Date** Ramesses II (cartouche)

**Provenance** Osiris temple (Petrie 1903, 36, 45; PM V, 43)

**Dimensions** H: 0.68m

**Material** granodiorite

**Description (from Schulz 1992, II, pl. 10)**
A plain block figure seated on a cushion on a small base that is curved at the back; no back pillar. Except at the front, the body is clearly modelled beneath the garment. Single wig, finely braided and modelled, with echeloned side panels that leave the ear lobes exposed. The face is rounded and flat with incised eyes and eyebrows; very small, plain beard; no neck; arms folded over the knees. The right hand is laid flat, the left holds a fan. A pectoral bearing an image of Ptah in a shrine and a cartouche incised between the hands is depicted as hanging from the neck. Feet are bare, with details of toes and toenails finely modelled.

**Inscriptions**
The upper right arm bears one column with Rahotep’s titles and name (→), the left two columns of cryptographic writing including titles and name (←). A single column of titles (→) runs down the middle front of the knees, separating two sets of funerary wishes in six lines on either side. Four columns (→) of biographical statements describing his upbringing in the temple fill the front of the flat of the base, on either side of and between the feet. A single line (→) runs across the front of the base.

**Condition**
Excellent condition; nose broken away and elbows and front corners of the base chipped.

**Bibliography**
Petrie (1903, 36, 42, pl. 35, no. 2, pl. 37 lower)
KRI III, 63, 13–64, 7
Schulz (1992, 90–1, cat. 026, II, pl. 10)
Kitchen (2000, 44); translation.

4.i

*High priest of Isis Wenennefer*  
*Paris, Musée du Louvre, C 98*

Fig. 76

**Object type** round-topped stela

**Date** Sety II (see 4.e)

**Provenance** Abydos (internal: PM V, 99)

**Dimensions** H: 0.85m; W: 0.485m

**Material** limestone

**Description**
The scene in the upper register shows Wenennefer kneeling with his hands in adoration before Osiris, Horus, and a goddess. His head is shaved; he wears a long, full robe with wide sleeves; his feet are bare. Osiris, in effigy-form, stands on a low base; he wears a simplified atef-crown and holds a \( w\hat{s} s \) sceptre. Horus stands behind him wearing the double crown and a short kilt. His right arm is raised to Osiris and his left holds an ankh to his side. A figure of a goddess, probably Isis, stands in a matching pose behind him. She wears a tripartite wig and long robe.

The lower register shows Wenennefer kneeling in adoration before Wepwawet. His pose and costume matches that in the upper register. Before him is an offering table and lotus flower. Wepwawet is seated on a chair, which is set on a low platform. In his left hand he holds a \( w\hat{s} s \) sceptre, his right holds an ankh.

**Inscriptions**

The main text, inscribed in five lines (→) in the middle register, is a hymn addressed to an unnamed god, although the epithets indicate it is Osiris. Lines three and four include statements concerning Wenennefer’s actions within the temple.

Captions in the upper register give the name and epithet of Osiris and the title, name, and filiation of Wenennefer. The captions to the lower register include the name and epithet of Wepwawet and the title and name of Wenennefer.

**Condition**

There are points of damage across the stela’s surface and on the edges. A horizontal line of chipping is visible through the lower scene and this part of the stela is more badly damaged.

**Bibliography**

KRI IV, 296, 4-12

Kitchen (2003, 214); translation.

4.f

**Royal scribe Hori**

*Berlin, Staatliche Museum, 2081*

**Object type**

round-topped stela

**Date**

reign of Ramesses VIII (cartouche)

**Provenance**

probably Abydos (internal: PM V, 98)

**Dimensions**

H: 0.97m

**Material**

unknown

**Description (from a photograph kindly provided by Ingeborg Müller and Dietrich Wildung)**

The upper register depicts the king standing, facing left, presenting Maat to five deities: Onuris with double-plumed crown and long robe; effigy form Osiris; anthropomorphic Osiris with atef crown; Horus with white crown; Isis with throne emblem. The king wears the blue crown, a short, flared kilt, and bull’s tail; his feet are bare; his hands are disproportionately large. The three foremost gods hold \( w\hat{s} s \) sceptres; the right arms of Horus and Isis are raised.
The lower register shows four men and three women, facing left, kneeling and adoring. The men have shaved heads and wear long robes with pleated sleeves. The women wear tripartite wigs and long robes. The feet of all the figures are bare.

The photograph indicates traces of paint, especially on the figure of the king and Onuris, and some of the figures in the lower register.

Inscriptions
The main text (→) is in 10 lines in the middle register and reports Hori's mission to Abydos from Djedu in order to pray for the king. Three columns above the king give cartouches and titles, and there are captions above each god (←). The seven figures in the lower register are captioned with titles and names, including those of Hori at the far left.

Condition
Excellent (from photograph).

Bibliography
Breasted, (1906, 236, sections 484–5); description and partial translation.
KRI VI, 439, 4–440,10
5 el-Mashayikh

5.a
High priest of Onuris Anhurmose

Figs. 77–8

Date Merneptah (cartouches)

Location in tomb
East half of the south wall of the transverse hall (Ockinga and al-Masri's 'columned hall'), to the left of the door frame of the tomb entrance. The inscription continues onto the east wall of the hall, filling the space on either side of a niche containing statues of Anhurmose flanked by his wives.

Description (from Ockinga and al-Masri 1988, pls 18–31)
The first part of the text on the east half of the south wall wraps around a scene of Anhurmose and his wife, Sekhmetnefret. Anhurmose stands facing left. He wears a double-layered wig and long robe with flared sleeves. His right arm is stretched out toward the figure of his wife. In his hand he grasps a bouquet of flowers by the stem. His left hand is clasped to his chest and holds a staff at an angle across his body. The end of the staff rests on the tip of his sandal. The sandals have visible straps and a curved forward projection. Sekhmetnefret stands facing him with both arms outstretched toward the bouquet. Her left hand curves beneath the bouquet while the right hand is held up before it. She wears a long tripartite wig and has a lotus bloom over her head. The loop or disc of an earring is visible as are folds of flesh at her neck. She wears a long robe, knotted beneath the breasts, with wide sleeves. The outline of her body is indicated through the garment. Her feet are bare.

Most of the original paint in the tomb is now lost. Ockinga and al-Masri (1988, 9–10) record that traces of colour are visible in the upper sections of the first 18 columns of the text; the background is yellow and the hieroglyphs are painted in a range of colours; Ockinga and Al-Masri give a list of signs ordered according to Gardiner's Sign List with the colours of each sign.

Inscriptions
The biographical inscription consists of 71 columns (→). The text begins in a column behind the figure of Anhurmose and continues in 15 columns over Anhurmose and Sekhmetnefret. A further 11 columns fill the remaining space on the wall behind the figures. 24 columns cover the east wall to the right of the niche; there are 19 columns on the left.

Six columns of inscription fill the space between the figures of Anhurmose and Sekhmetnefret. Five of these (←) give Anhurmose's titles: 1wsjtr jry-p' t ḥ3ty- c jt-ntr mry-(ntr) w'b-
'wy hr-[dw3]-ṣḥt f shtp-²šw hn'-tfnt m-prrw n-tp-r f f[s]-wd3w hr-m'nh[t] hr-$nb t n-$w smn-jn hr-
tp n-tfnt wr-m3w n-$w 4 m-tny hm-ntr-tpy n-jnhr jnhr-ms m3c- hrw m-ḥtp 5hr-jmnnr-bḥd n, 'Osiris, member of the p't, count, God's Father, beloved (of the god), pure of hands in [adoring] his horizon, who propitiates Shu and Tefnut with what comes forth as his speech, who binds the amulet beneath the counterpoise upon the breast of Shu, who establishes the disc upon the head of Tefnut, chief of seers of Shu in Thinis, high priest of Onuris, Anhurmose, true of voice, in peace on the west of Behdet'. One column (→) gives the titles of Anhurmose's wife: snt fnb-pr s'm'y t n-
Royal scribe, scribe of the elite troops of the Lord of the Two Lands,
greatest of the seers of Re of Thinis,
councillor of Shu and Tefnut,
high priest of Onuris,
Anhurmose, true of voice.
One who prays for heb-sed festivals and health
for his lord, Lord of the Two Lands,
Baenre meryamun,
lord of appearances, Merenptah Hetephermaat, given life like Re forever.a

He said: I am one who was excellent as a weanling, clever as a child, intelligent as a boy, clever as a humble youth.b

I was a humble youth who sat upright in the school room, unwavering in it, who saw and found it,c

I am one beloved of his lord, effective for his god, without my heart being slack, being effective for their kas.

I am one wakeful in the boat, without slumber, the crew of sleepers could rely on me.

I am one strong upon land, without fatigue, who saw many expeditions like the turning of a potter’s wheel.d

I am a scribe of the army and the chariotry, numerous, and great without limit, an interpreter for every foreign land in the presence of his lord.e

I am a strong scribe in his residence; My lord praised me in the presence of everyone.

I am the possessor of favour in the presence of the king, because of (my) counsels everyday, because of the praise of me, all the companions saying: ‘How greatly is he favoured!’

I am a dancer for his people,f the protector of his servants since the king strengthened (his) place as a Companion.

I am a priest of Maat, whom Shu chose,g who filled his treasury and his granaries, (until) they overflowed.b

I am effective in the temple, strong in the field, I increased the number of workers who accrued to Shu, my heart leading (me) every day, following my lord; I am effective for the gods of [the two lands], at the head of the south[en Co]uncil.

I am one who goes forth upon the path of god, without transgressing the steps which he ordained,
I am one who bowed when he passed by the shrine,
in order to magnify god a million [times].

I am a pure one with covered hands,1
and clean [fingers?], who propitiated the gods.

I am one who gave [.....] daily.

I am one who gives praise according to what is desired,
valiant in paying honour to the goddess.

I am one who performs great things for [everyone?]

I am one [bestows] his delight upon the offerings for the
spirits [.....] in? all the [monuments?] of the city.

I am one who contents Shu, who does what is favoured
for the gods, the lords, of his city.

I am one who [worships?] Re every day
when he shines and sets in the horizon of the sky.

I am one who calls upon all the names
of Amun-Re, king of the gods.

I am one who gives praises to Ptah,
who performed jubilations for Sekhmet the Great.

I am one who administers offerings for the ka-chapel of
Thi[nis],
[.....] which is in it.

I am one knowledgable in propitiating the god,
at the courtyard of the sun-disc of Re.

I am one who offers many acclamations,
who kisses the ground in the stations of the Great Temple.
I am one who [serves?] [.....] [the temple?],
[paying honour?] to the lords of Thinis.

I am that man without fault,
without wrongdoing in the Council of Thirty.
I am one who [.....] [passing upon?] his path.

I am one who ... 
who loves his people [and dependants?],k
a companion who worships his god,
I am excellent, free from [...] of his voice(?);
vigorous words are an abomination (to me).

I am one who ...

I am one accurate of [heart] [...] [of truthful speech?],
without inclining to words of evil.
I am a silent one, perfect of character, patient,
who loves ...

... who associated with the one who had nothing
I am one who is friendly to the one of calm nature,
who hated the possessor of angry speech from a hot mouth.

I am one who expels wrongdoing and [drives out] sorrow,
who pay[s attention to] the voice of the widow.

I am one who rescues the one who is drowning,
gave sustenance [to those who] are lacking.
I was the protector of the indigent of arm,
I answered for the widow,
robbed of her possessons.

I am a father for the one without [a father],
a mother for children, a champion for the small.
I am a nurse for his family,
who places them on a good path.

I am a shepherd for his followers,
who defends them against every misfortune.
I am a captain for his dependants,
attentive and caring for their affairs.

I am one who rejoices in [maat],
[... ...] in appeasing disputants.
I am one who is in the heart of the citizens,
who [lo]oks after the complaints of [people].

I am one who pays) heed to the poor,
who acts (according to) what comes forth from his mouth.
I am one who rejoices at true speech;
to listen to falsehood is (my) abomination.
I am one who performs maat upon earth, more times than there are hairs on a head.

I am one true of voice in all my places, on the day of judging matters.

I am a scribe to be boasted of, an official to be vaunted about.

I am effective, the possessor of a good name, without fault in the palace.

I am one beloved of the subjects; people delight over (his?) speech.

I am one open armed to the one who has nothing in order to nourish the mourner.

I am one who weeps over a case of misfortune, takes thought for the one with downcast face.

I am one attentive to the cry of an orphan girl, who does all that is in her heart.

I was the possessor of a place in the west, and in the [pillared hall?] while I was in the womb.

I am the possessor of old age because of my character, who provided an example when I was among those greater than me.

I am one who is accurate, free from base action...
I am one who appeases kinsmen who are disputing, who drives out their anger through my advice.

I am one who drives out lack from the hearts of others, who makes joyful the heart of one in suffering.

I am a guardian who weans the poor, until the day of his flying off comes.

I am one who raises up the one who is downcast of kas, my sustenance is what the king gives.

I am one who shelters the old woman in order to warm her limbs by the fire.

I am a possessor of sustenance, who pours forth with provisions, who satisfies the one who wishes to eat.

I am the lord of the harvest in the field, who nourishes his workers as he desires.

I am an official of trusted words, free from indiscretion.

I am one who performs invocations first without [there being?] their libations, so that they relied upon me.

I was their support (?) [.....] who drove out ... effective of heart, whose voice is free from fault.

I am a Companion who has this burial, a possessor of an interment within [...]

I am one who trusts [in] the path of my god.

I am one who goes in the service of his god;
without transgressing his [command?].
I am ...
... the ordinary like the powerful.

I am one who trusted in Shu, son of Re,
without distancing [my]self from another god.
[... ...]
[... ...] without any evil coming against me.²

All these things,
they are what (my) lord gave to me since my birth.
I sought [for?] my [heart?] so that [...] its time.
He achieved for it excellence.

It is he who is the lord of every heart,
gods as well as men.
My local [go]d [car]es for them in the West.

[I prayed to Amun-re, king of the?] gods
for the health of Horus, the strong bull, who brought me
into being;
he is his protection until the time of rest in his sh[rine].

He caused me to follow him to ...
... a good burial.
I proceed in peace to my domain.
his favours being established in me.

My lord says: ‘You will remain forever in Behedet.’
[May he cause] my name to be [established] like the
horizon;
it is day like the night of the divine children,
my name is born when the children of Nut retreat.⁸

[... ...]
the shetayt of the temple of [Sok]ar,
that I may follow my lord in the great neshmet barque
which was rescued from the reeds (?)
that my name may remain like the [...] mountain of
Behedet,
that [it] might rest [there] for the future,
my statue in the following of my god,
as one who is upon earth.

May he double the benefits for me,
that he might make for me offerings, 
which come forth from before the following of my lord, 
when it (the statue?) comes out from the tomb in all his 
perfect festivals.¹

May I step in his presence as a living ba, 
that I may receive offerings […] from what goes for it? 
[which come forth] [from all] his [altars?]² 
[…] the cast-offs of his clothing.

May he apportion [cakes?, libations?], breath, 
that I may join the underworld which is in the necropolis; 
that I may follow Osiris in [his […] festival, 
[in […] w[ith] the ancestors; 
that one might say in my city after (many) years: 
‘How for[tuna]te he is!’

For the ka of the one favoured by his god, 
beloved of his lord, effective for his [god?], 
[…] who prays for the health of his lord,

one truly assiduous, complete on every side, 
exceedingly [kind?] to people, 
[for whom] his lord rejoices …

 overseer of the cities of the North and South, 
of the great double gate [of the temple] of Shu [son of Re], 
[…] his […] in his office, 
…

 of Shu and Tefnut, 
high priest of Onuris, 
Anhurmose true of voice, 
…

a) Kees (1937, 84–5) noted parallels for the act of prayer on behalf of the king from biographies of 
22nd Dynasty high priests of Amun, to which Ockinga and Al-Masri (1988, 32, n. 122) add a 
passage from a song sung to the vizier Paser in his Theban tomb: ‘he (Paser) has kept healthy 
(ṣṣnb.n.f) the king Menmaatre. Give him perpetuity in sed-festivals and eternity as a testament’ 
(KRIII, 296, 11). A further parallel is 4j, in which Hori is brought to Abydos to request sed-
festivals for Ramesses VIII. Anhurmose’s role as intermediary between god and king recurs near 
the end of the text (cols. 60–1, 69); the passages therefore frame the biographical section.
b) The artfully varied writings of Si in cols. 10 and 11 don’t necessarily indicate a distinction in meaning (contra Vernus 1978, 120). Examples given in the Wörterbuch (IV, 543–4) confirm their interchangeability.

There are a number of similar visual plays in the text. The determinative of Anhurmose’s name in col. 3, although damaged, is a man standing holding a staff, mirroring the figure of Anhurmose in the scene directly below. There is a striking symmetry in col. 6 where the falcon on standard (reading ‘his lord’) is eye to eye with the figure of Anhurmose (see n. k below). These visual plays contrast with the onomatopoeic quality linking some verses (e.g. col. 36: nhp-hrw-šnty jnk-ṣd nty-hrp) and the repetitions of certain words (e.g. hn, dr) which are also components of clever composition (2.3.1).

The striking vocabulary of childhood in this stanza seems to present a process of development through childhood to early adulthood, moving from wdh to hw to nhn, and ending with hwrw, which is repeated in the following stanza in reference to being in school. hwrw here refers to a young adult with little status; see 4.a, n. b, for discussion.

c) Ockinga and Al-Masri (1988, 32, n. 123) read tjs as ‘to sit’, a meaning attested from post-New Kingdom texts (Wb. V, 242, 12–8). As noted by Kees (1937, 81), the word occurs earlier as a technical term meaning ‘to set, bind’ (Wb. V, 243, 2–3). In the Nauri decree of Sety I, doorleaves are described as being ‘strengthened (tjs) with copper on their reverse’ (KRI I, 47, 11). A similar meaning is found in the description of precious stones ‘set’ in gold in P Harris I (Grandet 1994, I, 315; II, 207, n. 854, with refs.). I suggest that this is the nuance in Anhurmose’s text, describing the student who is attentive and ‘upright’, close to Gardiner’s rendering ‘well-grounded’ (1938a, 125). The same image of being ‘fixed’ in place may also govern the use of tjs ‘to sit’ in Graeco-Roman texts (Wilson 1997, 1124).

jtjjnj is frequent idiom that originally described physical movement back and forth. It is also used in an ethical sense, usually with a negative connotation, to describe disorderly or irregular movement or behaviour (Gardiner 1938a; Clère 1968, 140–1, esp. n. 3). Ockinga and Al-Masri (1988, 32, n. 124) translate the passage as ‘without fidgeting’. My rendering as ‘unwavering’ follows Gardiner (1938a, 125) and allows for both physical and mental vacillation.

The elliptical phrase ptr gm st was freely rendered by Gardiner (1938a, 125) as ‘who only had to look for a thing in order to find it’, an evocation of quick intelligence and understanding.

d) This may be a reference to the Admonitions of Ipuur: ‘the earth is spinning as does a potter’s wheel’, t3 hr-msnh mj-IRR-nhp (Gardiner 1909, 27). msnh is not otherwise used in reference to potters’ wheels. Dorman (1999, 86–8 with n. 19; 2002b, 123) suggests that the phrase wbl nhp may describe this movement. Where msnh does occur, it seems to refer to turning right round, as when a face is turned to see the sun and enemies faces are averted (Federn 1966; Dorman 2002b, 113).

e) "w3m" in New Kingdom texts describes the ability to speak in a foreign tongue, for example in P Anastasi I, 28, 6 and P Sallier I, 8, 1 (Wb. I, 3, 1–2; Fischer-Elfert 1992, 242, n. p; Caminos 1954, 85). However, I know of no example where it is used as a title or epithet, in contrast to its frequent occurrence in Old and Middle Kingdom titles (Jones 2000, I, 73–6, 352; Žaba 1974, 121–3).

f) Ockinga and Al-Masri (1988) read ‘I was the joy of his people’, following the general meaning of jby(w) in Miscellany texts, of pleasures that the scribe must abjure. A parallel for self-
presentation as one who is joyous is found in a short passage in the 20th Dynasty Theban tomb of Paenkhemenu who is stated to be ‘a man of jubilation (s n-jhy)’ among epithets of character within the Amun domain (Seyfried 1991, 63, text 55, cols. 21–2). I prefer to read the current occurrence of jb3 as ‘dancer’, which allows wider nuances of meaning, including joy, and corresponds to statements of role in the preceding and following verses. The activity of dancing or presentation as a dancer is rare in biography. It does, however, form the central motif in a graffito from Hatnub:

\[ jnk-jb3\text{(?)} jnk-hbw n-mrt \]
\[ jnk-sbt n-ts\text{wt.f} \]
\[ mrrw-njwt.f-dmd \text{nn-hr-hn-jm.sn} \]

I am a dancer, I am a dancing who is loved (lit. ‘of loveable-ness’),

I am a laughing one for his troops;

one beloved of his entire town, there was not a downcast face among them.

(Anthes 1928, 72, Gr. 39, pl. 25)

In the biography in the tomb of Sarenput I at Qubbet el-Hawa, the protagonist describes himself as dancing ‘with planets (in the sky)’ as part of the experience of religious ecstasy (Urk. VII, 3, 15–6; Franke 1994a, 193, n. 14). The religious, ritual, and festival associations of dancing are appropriate to the theme of priestly activity and role developed in the verses that follow. Joy and dance are contrasted with the powerful image of a protector (mkw), reinforced (snht) by the king, in the next verse.

g) As observed by Ockinga and Al-Masri (1988, 34, n. 134), being chosen by the god (‘stp.n DN’) is a frequent royal epithet. Although stp is not used to describe the selection of a non-royal individual to office by a deity, there are thematic parallels in the oracular motifs of Nebwenenef (2.n) and Penre (3.a), as well as more oblique references to oracular action in the texts of Bakenkhons (2.a, back pillar, col. 2; 2.b, back pillar col. 3) and Roma-Roy (e.g. 2.c, right side, cols. 5–6; ‘I am high priest through the gift (dd) of Amun’) (Römer 1994, 479–81). This verse in Anhurmose’s text may also refer to an oracle.

h) Ockinga and Al-Masri (1988, 34, 135) proposed that the reference to filling the treasuries and granaries of a temple to overflowing (ngsgs) is a further example of Anhurmose’s claim to royal prerogative, citing texts from the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos and from Medinet Habu. A non-royal parallel for this motif is the stela of Setau, the viceroy of Kush under Ramesses II, at Wadi es-Sebua where, in his role as scribe of the vizier, he claims to have increased the offerings of all the gods: ‘Their treasuries were overflowing, filled with produce (n+jy.sn-prw-hd hr-[n]gsgs mh n-hr), their granaries approached the sky, with heaps of emmer and goods as apportioned ... I caused the granary to be pregnant with the harvest (1.a, ll. 7–8). I argue that Setau’s text is centred on the presentation of self in a royal role (5.4.1), and this claim may be a component of the development of this theme. A further, more generally thematic comparison can be made with the Bilgai stela (8.g; KRI IV, 343, 7–13) where the protagonist quantifies his increase in harvest and taxes collected, again possibly modelling royal action.

i) wnh-drt is a distinctive epithet. A thematic parallel may be the Middle Kingdom stela of Wepwawetaa ‘who clothes the arm (hbs-) in the hidden places’ (Sethe 1928, 72, ll. 6–7) which is only attested in this text (Doxey 1998, 343). Both seem elaborations of the epithet ‘pure of hands’ (Wb. I, 281, 15–6; 4.b) characteristic of priestly biographies, particularly those associated with the Osiris mysteries.
j) Ockinga and Al-Masri (1988, 34 5) render this verse as: ‘I was one who raised his arms in praise over the offering loaves’, suggesting the restoration of jrj for the gap at the top of the column. I follow Kitchen (KRI VII, 227, 15) who suggests restoration of rdj based on the examples of rdj hrw given in the Wörterbuch (III, 41, 3).

ṣhw is written with the variant determinative I (not included in the Wörterbuch I, 15–6).

k) I tentatively suggest mrt ‘dependants, servant’ as a possible reading in the gap; both ṣ and ṣ seem clear but the lack of space for determinatives makes the reading very uncertain (compare with the writing of mrt in col. 8).

The writing of tr nfr in the following verse is a further example of visual play in the text:

1) khb is closely related in use to kḥḥ and kḥḥ/kḥḥ, both of which are also determined with Seth. All three words are generally used to describe violent or disturbed behaviour (Wb. V, 137, 2–20; McDonald 2002, 142–3, 206–7). I know of no pre-Late period example where khb is used of speech outside Anhurmose’s text. In Ptolemaic temple texts, khb is often used to describe a battle cry and the roaring of a lion as a royal manifestation (Wilson 1997, 1088). This passage may be an early example of this extension of meaning.

m) Ockinga and Al-Masri (1988, 31, n. 161) read: ‘I was a father to him without a father or mother’, noting that although ḫ after mwt is certain, they are unable to explain its occurrence. My reading offers a possible solution. I know of no parallel metaphorical uses of mwt in biography, but a similar concept occurs in a hymn to Amun: ‘Do not the widows say “you are our husband”, while others say, “our father and our mother”’ (Gardiner 1935, II, pl. 15, ro7, 13–8, 1). In his inscription at Kanais, Sety I is described as: ‘the good shepherd who keeps his army alive, a father and mother to everyone’ (KRI I, 65, 6).

n) Contra Ockinga and Al-Masri’s reading as a rare pre-Late period transitive use of ḫntʕ (1988, 40, n. 172): ‘who made joyful the hearts of people with things’.

o) I tentatively suggest gšš here (Wb. I, 156, 1) which may be appropriate in light of the verses thematizing weeping and grief which follow. Ockinga and Al-Masri (1988, 40, n. 173) read gšš, ‘to be weary’, with the š the result of conflation with gšš, ‘to tilt, sink’.

p) This verse is distinctive and I know of no parallels. Ockinga and Al-Masri have no suggestion for the following verse. Kitchen (KRI VII, 230, 4) tentatively suggests ḫšš, which would seem to entail a different break down of the verses – ‘I am one who raises up the downcast, my sustenance is what the king gives’ – which is less satisfactory.

q) The role as, alternatively, ‘lord of provisions’ nb kšw may allude to the divine epithet ‘lord of kas’ (Leitz 2002, III, 762), especially as it is written here without a determinative. However, the damaged end of dšw may have provided a determinative for both words and the meaning is clear from the context.
r) This stanza is the final and culminating passage of the biography and it closes with a quintessential statement of relationship with one deity (2.4). A summation and series of afterlife wishes follows. The latter mobilizes narrative mythic elements in cols. 63–4, see also n. s below.

s) This passage is a striking description of the birth of Anhurmose's name at sunrise; Leitz (2002, III, 423) gives no parallel.

t) I follow Ockinga and Al-Masri (1988, 46) in their tentative suggestion that this passage refers to a statue of Anhurmose. It could also evoke the mysteries during which Osiris emerges transformed from his tomb.

u) Kitchen (KRI VII, 231, 11) suggests the restoration of [hkr] in place of [nb]: 'I was adorned with [hkr.kw] the cast-offs'.

5.b
Steward of the domain of Osiris Turoy

Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 1141

Object type double naophorous statue
Date Ramesses II (cartouche)
Provenance el-Mashayikh (PM V, 29)
Dimensions H: 0.84m
Material limestone

Description (from Schulz 1992, II, pl. 53c)
The man is seated on the right and the woman on the left. Both figures wear wigs, the woman's being tripartite, with a lotus bloom over the head. The arms are held across the knees. The man holds a lettuce in his clenched right hand. There are remains of a naos in front of the knees of each figure. Although the figures of the deities cannot be identified, enough remains to distinguish a goddess in front of the woman and a god in front of the man (Schulz 1992, I, 234, ns. 2–3).

Inscriptions
The garment of the man bears the prenomen of Ramesses II. A single line (—>) on his naos gives his name and titles. The titles of the woman are visible on her naos. Six columns (—>) on the back pillar include an offering formula, funerary wishes, and statements concerning services performed for a temple.

Condition
Badly damaged; details of form largely lost, together with much of the text.

Bibliography
KRI III, 463, 9–464, 1
el-Damaty (1990, 7, pl. 7c)
Schulz (1992, 234–5, cat. 126, II, pl. 53c)
6 Asyut

6. a
Granary chief Siese

New York, Museum of Modern Art, 17.2.5

Figs. 85–6

Object type statue dyad of Wepwawet and Isis-Hathor
Date Ramesses II (cartouches)
Provenance Asyut, possibly from Siese’s tomb. According to Hayes (1959, 349), the statue was found during the 1913 excavation in tombs near ‘Deir Durunka’ conducted by Ahmed bey Kamal on behalf of Sayed Pasha Khashaba. The Deir Durunka excavated by Kamal was later determined to be Asyut by Henri Wild (1971). I have found no mention of the statue in Kamal’s report on the excavation (1916). Wild (1971, 308 n. 1) observed that other objects found during the excavation were not enumerated by Kamal.

Dimensions H: 1.29m
Material limestone

Description (from Hayes 1959, fig. 218)
This statue presents two striding figures of divinities set against a broad pillar. The canid-headed Wepwawet stands on the group’s left, wearing a long wig, collar and short kilt. He wears armlets and wristlets. He holds a w3s sceptre in his left hand and an unidentified object in the other, perhaps an ankh. His feet are bare. The figure of the goddess wears a sun-disc on a circlet on top of her wig, a uraeus at her forehead, and a long wig. She is clothed in a long, fitted robe with a broad collar. Over her dress she wears a belt and a pair of streamers tied around the waist. She holds a long papyrus sceptre in her left hand and an ankh sign in her right. Like Wepwawet, she wears armlets and wristlets, and her feet are bare. The figures stand on a thick base.

Inscriptions
The main text is inscribed on the rear surface of the dyad in 6 columns of text (—).
A brief titulary of Ramesses II is inscribed between the heads of the two figures. A column of inscription between them reads: wp-w3wt nb-ti-dsr 3st mwt-ntr hwt-hr nb(t)-m3dtt nb-pt hmwt-t3wy, ‘Wepwawet, lord of the sacred land, Isis, God’s mother, Hathor, lady of Medjedet, lady of the sky, mistress of the two lands’. On the right front and side of the base is an offering formula addressed to Isis-Hathor: htp-dj-nswt 3st wr(t) nb(t)-m3dtt dj.s-pr-hrw-t hnaqt jhw=3pdw n-k3-(n) sh-nsw jmy-r3-snwy t3-t3 m3-t3-hrw, ‘An offering which the king gives to Isis the great, lady of Medjedet, that she may give a voice-offering of bread and beer, cattle and fowl for the ka of the royal scribe, overseer of the double granary, Siese, true of voice’. The left front and side is addressed to Wepwawet: htp-dj-nswt wp-w3wt-smw [... ...]-hswt m3w n-k3-(n) sh-nswt jmy-r3 snwy (s3-)3st m3-t3-hrw, ‘An offering which the king gives to the Upper Egyptian Wepwawet [controller of the two lands that he may give [...]], favours, and love, for the ka of the royal scribe, overseer of the double granary, Siese, true of voice’. On the top of the base are three columns of text, one in front of Isis-Hathor’s rear foot and two between the figures. The order of the columns is not clear from the photograph published by Hayes (1959, fig. 218): hm n-k3-f sh-nswt jmy-r3-snwy t3-t3 m3-t3-hrw
s3-s3b sh-nswt jmy-rt3-snwt s3-3st m3$-hrw, 'the servant of his ka, royal scribe, overseer of the double granary, Siese, true of voice, (grand)son of the dignitary, royal scribe, overseer of the double granary, Siese, true of voice'.

Condition
The photograph published by Hayes (1959, fig. 218) shows that the dyad was broken in three pieces and has been restored. Other damage to the surface of the stone is minimal but includes the loss of Wepwawet's muzzle and some text from the left corner of the base. A photo of the rear surface, kindly supplied by Dr James Allen at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, shows that a group is lost from the top of columns 2 and 3 and the tops of columns 1 and 4 have also sustained some damage. A large crack runs through the upper third of the pillar. The lower area of the inscription is worn and the uninscribed base has suffered some damage.

Bibliography
Anthes (1974, 45-7); partial transcription, translation, and commentary
KRI III, 151, 10-152, 10
Hayes (1959, 348-9, fig. 218)
Satzinger (1978, 17-22)
Kitchen (2000, 102-3); translation.

Translation and notes
Rear surface
Royal scribe, overseer of the two granaries, of Upper and Lower Egypt,
Siese, true of voice,

He says: O Osiris, Wenennefer, united ba,ª
lord of [...], great of majesty,

may you cause my ba to become divine in the necropolis,
being divine in the land of the justified,

because I am a servant of Abydos,
great [wab] priest in Tjenen,

I established the twin plumes on the Abydos emblem,
within the sarcophagus
I fastened bindings upon the disaffected beneath your feet

so that my ba may go forth to have its pleasure upon earth,
in any form that it desires,

that I may go forth in the sky 
and descend to the earth,
without my way being hindered.
For the ka of the royal scribe, overseer of the granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt, Siese, true of voice,

son of the royal scribe, overseer of the granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt, Qeny, true of voice,

(grand)son of the royal scribe, overseer of the granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt, Siese, true of voice.

a) *bl dmd* is well-attested in mortuary texts, but unusual in non-royal monumental inscriptions (Leitz 2002, II, 708). In a harper's song in the tomb of Djehutymose (TT 32) the tomb owner is described as having recited 'the ritual for *bl-dmdm* on this day' as part of rituals for Sokar, perhaps providing a comparable performative context for the use of the epithet in Siese's text (Kákosy and Fabian 1995, 221, 224 col. 23).
7 Zawyet Sultan

7.a High steward Nefersekheru

Figs. 87–8

Date
Early 19th dynasty, reign of Sety I or early Ramesses II (internal; decorative programme and linguistic criteria: Osing 1992b, 32).

Location in tomb
West wall of the southern half of the transverse hall, next to the tomb entrance.

Description (from Osing 1992b, pl. 35)
The first column of the biography begins next to the four columns of text that frame the tomb entrance; this side of the text and the top are framed by a striped band. A raised relief figure of Nefersekheru stands in the bottom left corner of the inscription, facing right. Columns 19–24 wrap over the top of the figure and the final column of text fills the space behind him. Nefersekheru's right hand is raised and breaks into column 20; the tip of his sleeve and his lowered left hand also break into this column. His shoulder breaks into column 25, while the ibis in the writing of gm, belonging to the text in column 19, stands on his forward toe.

Nefersekheru wears a long wig with moulded strands and has an incense cone on his head. He wears two or three Sbjw collars around his neck, a long robe with pleated wide sleeves, and a pleated skirt. The outline of his legs is visible beneath the garment. He wears sandals.

The inscription bears traces of red and blue paint (Osing 1992b, 37–8).

Inscription
The text consists of 25 columns (←).

Condition
Most of columns 1–12 are lost (Osing 1992b, pl. 9a). Smaller areas of columns 11–9 have also sustained damage, as have the upper sections of columns 21–2. Details of Nefersekheru's face are lost and there are points of damage on the hands, torso, legs, and back foot.

Bibliography
Osing (1992b, 43–53, pl. 35). Osing restores some of the text in the now missing columns from the copy-text made by Charles Edwin Wilbour in 1887 (Osing 1992b, 44–5, pl. 35). He suggests further restorations in his translation and commentary, largely based on 18th Dynasty and Third Intermediate Period parallels. My readings generally follow his.

Fischer-Elfert (1994, 45–7)

Translation and notes
1 himty-hjty jmy-r3-snwt Royal sealbearer, overseer of the granaries, m-smw t3-mhw of Lower and Upper Egypt, jmy-r3-pr-wr m-pr-ns wt high steward in the palace,
who is silent at the [right] time …
he is one who guards his heart,
all of whose words are exact,
balance... ...
[...]|sr hr-mdw.f

[who reckoned?] an official on account of his speech.

He is benevolent without fault,
Neferekheru, true of voice.

He says: I will speak to you,
who exist upon earth, who will come to be,
priests, royal nobles,
[who clarify writing] in my tomb which is in the Oryx nome,

that your hearts may seek in accordance with this writing,
so that you may say with certainty(?)
in performing(?) before ...^b
... that the ignorant may know as well as the skilled,
all(!) that I say in my chapel.

I will speak of my character, my nature, and my ways,
so that my concerns and my [... are before you:

After this, because of my wisdom,
I was (so) skilled that [I] went forth [from school?] to the Mansion of life.
I purified myself there in order to serve His Person.
I wrote in the audience chamber,
the place where His Person was.d

I was enclosed in the protected chamber of the outer palace,e
being a youth whom the palace staff love,
because of the silence of my mouth;
There was no memorandum concerning me to a herald
of the lord of the Two Lands.\textsuperscript{f}

It was my good character which promoted me,
I was initiated into the [preparation chamber] in the
hidden [horizon],\textsuperscript{g}
beginning with the invocation of my name by His Person,
to be the royal scribe of the meal for king in his following.

He recognised that I was effective,
my hand was firm because of [\ldots],
[the actions?] of (my) office are appropriate for a man,
who does not stray;\textsuperscript{h}
years passed by me in this commission.\textsuperscript{i}

I was promoted to overseer of the great house by the king,
being alert and not neglectful
concerning what was placed before me,
[\ldots my [services?] for my Horus,\textsuperscript{j}

I was favoured without ceasing everyday.

I was rewarded very often for every task:
the gold thereof at my throat,
the myrrh upon my head,
real jbr-balm from the beginning of the [land]
[an]jointing my [limbs].

When I went forth from the gates of the palace,
all my people were joyful
to the height of the sky.
Everyone who saw me said: 'It is fitting for him, Neferekhenu, whose heart is
true,

... Look, I have reached old age without a falsehood within me,
there is no one who will report a misdeed of mine to Him.
I did not push aside the wretch who has nothing in
favour of one greater than him.

My abomination is one who receives offerings, in order to
be partial.
[I did not \ldots concerning my possessions] truly;
I did not think about an overflow of millions of things.
Beware lest you say about it that it is not the case:

'Who saw it?'

[Be indulgent] when he says it to us,
for every man boasts about himself in his own writing'.

Believe my words; there is no falsehood therein –
a witness for the truthful one is his august tomb.

As the king of eternity lives, foremost of the Thinite
nome,
the one to whom all people come without exception,
everything which I said of my character,
my nature, and every plan,
I carried (it) out when I was upon earth.

Bend the arm to me, invoke my name,
so you may act (in your time) upon earth without loss of
strength,
and pass a lifetime in peace without the disfavour of the
king,
a son-who-loves as the heir of every man among [you.

May you say an offering which the king gives to Osiris,]
the lord of Busiris, who is in Abydos,
Horus, foremost of \( \text{hbnw}, \)
Sokar, lord of Shetayt,
Anubis, foremost of the god's shrine,

that they may give [a thousand of bread and beer
cattle and fowl,
and all good and pure things,
of alabaster and linen,
and the sweet breeze of the?] north wind,

drinking at the eddy of the river,
[receiving the offerings which have come from the
offering table? of W\( \text{nenenfen}, \)
bread and provisions of Memphis,
libations and offerings in Heliopolis,

going forth as a living ba,
in every form he desires,
going around beside Orion, among the imperishable stars,
to see Re when he rises everyday,
the great sun-disc which is in the zenith,
hnw-st m-dpt-ntr y m-shnt-jst-hsw

Taking up (my) place in the divine barque, in the command of the rejoicing crew.

njs.tw-rn.j gm.tw.j

May my name be invoked and may I be found, in the w3g festival and the Thoth festival,

[315x950]

May my name be invoked and may I be found,

May my name be invoked and may I be found,

Netersekheru, true of [voice].

qd.f-sw3.j-b-pw nty-hpr-22jm.tn

He says: The one who occurs among you is happy,

ft-nn-3d.j [hr-3n-h.j tp-t]3

joyfully receiving what I have said [concerning my life on earth,

twt m-qd-w6

all together.

wnn-w23 st-f-mw

If one pours water,

n-s'hw-ky mj-c-wn

for the honour of another, in accordance with the state of one who was there?

nn-f 3y

he has no (evil) fate.

sb-jb-pw dg.f-24 sw m-hsj

(As for) the one whose heart is confused,1 who sees the dead as negligible,

shn.f-js.f

and destroys his tomb:

hr.tw nty-m-<hn-t-b(w)-pn> tkn.k rn.j

Stop yourself, you who are <before this place>, when you approach my name.

jn-jw-25 tr-wnn.k 63

If you are here,

sw.tj m-mnt.s

free from the like,

sh3-n.k jw-k-n.j

bear in mind that you have come to me

n-hhw m-rnpwt

for millions of years,

wp.tw.(j)-hs-n".k m-hrt-ntr

so that I may be judged with you in the necropolis,

m-b3h-b3t nbw-m3t

in the presence of the council, the lords of Maat,

hft-jry-mh3t jmj-m3ty

before the Keeper of the Balance who is in the (hall of) two truths.

dd.j dj.j-rh.tn nfr-sdm.tn

I speak in order to let you know. It is good to listen.

a) Anhurmose's biography (5.a) provides parallels for this phraseology, further supporting Osing's separation of the clauses (1992b, 46, 48 n. b with refs.). The passage is partly lost in Anhurmose's text (col. 54) so that the ordering of the verses is not certain: ... m-mdw.f tp-hsb n-shw nw-t8, '... all his words, the standard for the scribes of the land'. The metaphor of the individual as balance also occurs in Anhurmose's text: [jn-k]-jwsw n-nb-tdw, '[I] am the balance for the lord of Busiris' (cols. 46–7). Fischer-Effert (1994, 45–6) considers this verse to be an allusion to the Teaching of Pahhotep which begins by stating the intention for the words 'to be the standard of perfect speech (r-tp-hsb n-mdt-nfrt)'. He also suggests that jwsw may evoke the Eloquent Peasant: 'it is the standard of God's word. If it is scales, it tilts not (tp-hsb-pw n-mdw-ntr jwsw-pw n-gst.n.f)' (Parkinson 1997, 73).
b) Osing (1992b, 46, 48 n. f) has no suggestion for the sense of the phrases following \textit{dd.tn}. My proposed translation is very tentative and I know of no parallel. Wilbour's copy here is, however, very clear.

c) Osing (1992b, 49 n. j) compares this image of parental care with the dedicatory inscription of Ramesses II at Abydos: 'When my father appeared to the populace, when I was just a youth in his embrace (\textit{jw.j-m-sfj jmytvw-qnj[f]}), he spoke concerning me...' (KRI II, 327, 15). The biography of the high priest of Amun, Bakenkhons, on the back pillar of his Cairo statue also provides a thematic parallel: 'I was taught to be a wab priest in the domain of Amun, as a son under the guidance (lit. hand) of his father (\textit{m-si hr-drt-jt.f})' (2.a, col. 2). A fragmentary biographical statement in the Memphite tomb of Pabes may be close in both theme and phraseology to Neferekhenu's text (reading of the traces is not completely certain): 'I grew up as a young man [acting under the guidance of my father] (\textit{[Jr(w) hr-\textasciitilde{n-jt.j]}})' (8.h; Martin, Frazer and Bomhof 2001, 20 with n. 3).

d) This phrase is perhaps evocative of biographical statements that present the individual's upbringing at the feet of the king, compare: 'I am at his (the king's) feet daily, I am a servant whom he brought up' (2.u, KRI III, 269, 4–5, and see 3.3.1 for earlier examples). This phrase emphasizes both the physical presence of the king in the \textit{rhnwty} and his role in fostering Neferekhenu.

e) Osing (1992b, 49 n. o) suggests reading \textit{nhn}, with a schematized \textit{d} determinative and translates as 'versetzen', an otherwise unattested nuance, although he also suggests 'absondern zu'. I consider the more literal sense of 'enclosing, secreting away' appropriate to the context (5.3.1). The palace areas to which Neferekhenu is admitted are treated in 5.3.1.

f) For the sense of this phrase, Osing (1992b, 50 n. q) notes the parallel in the Tale of Sinuhe: 'my name had not been heard in the herald's mouth' (B 41–2).

g) As discussed by Osing (1992b, 50 n. s), the restoration of both \textit{wrbt} and \textit{3ht} are not certain. \textit{wrbt} would fit the rough traces given in Wilbour's copy text (Osing 1992b, 45) and Osing restores \textit{3ht} on the basis of a fragment found in the tomb shaft; Wilbour read \textit{whrt}, 'dockyard, workshop' here. Osing's restorations (1992b, 46) fit the context and he renders this verse: 'Ich wurde eingeführt in die Fleischküche (?) als Geheimnis des (kgl.) Schlachthauses'. Parallels are discussed in 5.3.1.

h) Osing (1992b, 50 n. t) restores these verses on the basis of a close parallel in the biography on the Third Intermediate Period statue CG 39217. A number of other passages in this biography parallel Neferekhenu's text, including the description of childhood and the celebratory exit from the palace (Osing 1992b, 48 n. I; 51, ab). These connections point to the transmission of stock biographical phraseology rather than use of Neferekhenu's text as a model.

i) The motif of the passing of time is comparable to the enumeration of years in office on the Munich statue of Bakenkhons (2.b, back pillar, cols. 2–3) and the narration of years performing different priestly duties in the biography of the 18th Dynasty high priest of Osiris, Nebawy (Frood 2003, 65–6, 75–8 with refs.). However, in Neferekhenu's text the time is generalized and
evokes the common locution in the Late Egyptian stories for the passage of indefinite periods of
time.

j) I read hr.j ‘my Horus’ rather than ‘my lord’ although both readings are possible (Osing 1992b,
69 n.d). This orthography refers to the king as well as alluding to Horus of Hebenu, the local god
with whom Neferekeru mobilizes a connection elsewhere in the tomb (Osing 1992b, 9), and
may be part of the fusion of divine and royal that is a feature of Neferekeru’s text and perhaps
his tomb (5.3). The king becomes Osiris in Neferekeru’s oath in columns 16–7 (Osing 1992b,
51 n. am).

k) I follow here Osing (1992b, 53 n. bd), who reads ỉwy as s3y ‘fate’. As he observes, this writing
is attested in Graeco-Roman texts and is appropriate to the context of Neferekeru’s speech. A
reading as hfbw might also be possible: ‘there will be no snake (hfbw) for (i.e. against) him’. A
comparable concept is found in Old Kingdom threat-formulae: ‘May the crocodile be against him
in water, the snake (hfbw) against him on land – (i.e.) the one who will do anything against this
tomb’ (Ur. I, 23, 11–13; 226, 12–5). Neferekeru may be alluding to the language of these
ancient curses.

l) For sb-h3ty designating a positive quality, see 2.c n. e.

m) As observed by Osing (1992b, 53, n. bh), this could also read tkn.k r(n)j, ‘when you attack
me’. This reading is appropriate in the context of a curse formula, but the statement doesn’t seem
to assert any concrete threat or punishment, apart from the figure of the snake (ỉwy) in the previous
column and the concept of judgement which follows. The more restrained reading of ỉn may
therefore be preferable.
8. Lower Egypt, including Saqqara

8.a
Overseer of the treasury Maya

Figs. 95–6

Date
Tutankhamun. Inscriptions on blocks from the tomb suggest it was built in this reign. Maya is last attested in year 8 or 9 of Horemheb (van Dijk 1993, 77–9).

Location
pylon gateway, south reveal

Description
The tomb of Maya is not yet published. The descriptions here are based on preliminary reports (Martin et al. 1988, 11–2; Martin 1991, 172–4) and materials kindly supplied to me by Jacobus van Dijk.

The inscription wraps around the figures of Maya’s father’s wife, Henutiunu (for the relationship, see van Dijk 1993, 67–8), his wife, Maya, and Maya’s brother, Nehuher. The text begins above the figure of Henutiunu, who stands behind Merit. Both women have their hands raised in adoration, greeting Maya who stands before them with a figure of his brother behind him. Maya wears numerous gold collars and holds a fan in his right hand. Nehuher is depicted at a much smaller scale than Maya; his head reaches to the middle of Maya’s calf. The register beneath shows nine men with shaved heads carrying portable tables, most of which bear different types of gold collars. Two tables bear pairs of gloves, one of which is detailed with fingernails.

Inscriptions
The main text is inscribed in thirty-one columns beginning above the figure of Henutiunu and Merit. In front of both Merit and Henutiunu are columns inscribed with speeches of welcome (not yet published). Van Dijk (in Martin et al. 1988, 11) provides a translation of the text in front of Merit: ‘Welcome, you who are adorned with the favours of Ptah South-of-his-Wall!! How well you deserve them, oh praised one who comes forth in front of the praised ones, for you remain leader of the festival of the Lord of the Gods’. The text of Henutiunu is largely lost.

Condition
Martin (1991, 170–1) records that the relief blocks of the southern reveal ‘had been partly eased out of position in antiquity so that they could be taken away for reuse. More blocks clearly belonging to the series were lying higgledy-piggledy in the debris’. Van Dijk (in Martin et al. 1988, 11) records that a large block containing approximately one-third of the inscription is missing. The copy-text shows lacunae at both the beginning and end of the text. Columns 19–27 are entirely lost, as are the first quarters of columns 28–31.
Bibliography
The copy-text included here was provided by Jacobus van Dijk, who is preparing the inscriptions for publication.
Martin et al. (1988, 11-2)
Martin (1991, 170-4)
vан Dijk (1995, 33)

Translation
1 jry-p't' hhty-s Member of the p't, count,
hmtj-bjty smr-2w5ty royal sealbearer, sole companion,
t3y-hw hr-wnm n-nswt fanbearer on the right of the king,
ssm-hb n-jmn festival leader of Amun,
3 sh-nswt-m3mrj true royal scribe beloved of him,
jmy-r3-pr-lq n-nb-t3wy overseer of the treasury for the Lord of the Two Lands,
m'y3 m33-hrw Maya, true of voice.

dd.f 5 hr-rmtw jw(.ty).sn He says to the people who come,
3bb'ý-sd3-hr hr-jmnt and who wish to take recreation on the West,
stwt m-sp3t-nhh to walk about in the district of eternity,
[... ... ...] js j m-[...]
[...] my tomb in [...],

[...] 8[tg] hr-jr n-[...] m dtj-pn [and?] you make [...] this speech of mine,
[...] js sn rejoice [...] among them,
[...] jm-wsj my name upon my monument,
[...] js j m-[...]
which [...] made for me.
[cols. 12–3 traces only]

14[... ...] shrw hrj-hj the state of affairs which came into being through
m-jr.n j15ntr.j dr-nbnj j me,
hr.j j bw-16 hry-hmj jw j m-wdh being what my god did for me since my youth.
I grew up in the place where His Person is, while I was a
child.

ssp.j17nfryt m-3w-jb I reached the end in happiness,
hr-hswt-nb-t3wy 18nn-[mnw].sn in the favour of the lord of the two lands [count]less times.

jnk [p?] jnr m19[cols. 19-27 lost] I am one who [went forth?] [...] [c. 7 groups] 28 r-cwy j jr-mn
[cols. 19-27 lost] [...] my actions? (in) making monuments? [...] [c. 7 groups] 29 m-d5m

jnk-nfr-h3t hd-phwy I am one who was good in the beginning, bright at the
nb-jm3h m-htp m-hwt-pitl end,
jw-jr.n j-shrw-nswt jmy-h3w.j a possessor of veneration in peace in the temple of Ptah.
I am one who carried out the plans of the king of my time,
and did not neglect what he had commanded.

... making splendid] the temples,
in fashioning the images of the gods,*
their rituals being under my care.

I entered before the [august] image.
It was (my) eldest son who […]

[...] in prosperity and health,
commanding a [perfect] burial [in Memphis],

[for the Osiris, ...?]
true royal scribe beloved of him,
[overseer of the treasury] for the lord of the two lands,
Maya, true of voice.

a) Comparable phraseology is found in another scene from the south side of the columned hall recorded by Lepsius (for which see Graefe 1975, fig. 3, 210):

jnk-r3 n-nswt r-sjqr-hwt r-ms-hmw
nw-ntrw jnk-tq prt-hwt-nbw r-shpt stsmw.sn-j(m), 'I am the mouth of the king, in order to make splendid the temples, to fashion the cult images of the gods, I am one who enters and sees the Mansion of Gold, in order to propitiate their statues' (Van Dijk 1995, 33). These verses are included in a column behind standing figures of Maya and his wife. Maya’s brother, Nehuher stands before them, censing.

8.b
Overseer of the treasury of Amun, Cairo, Egyptian Museum,
high steward of the Western River JdE 87194
overseer of works Amenmose

Fig. 98

Object type fragment of scribe statue
Date late 20th Dynasty1 (internal; mention of Medinet Habu (base, left, l. 1) dates the text to Ramesses III or later)
Provenance Lower Egypt (internal). Hamada (1947, 15) stated that he first noticed the statue in a dealer’s shop near Mena House at Giza.
Dimensions H: 0.53m; Base W: 0.58m; Base D: 0.62m

1 Neal Spencer (2001, 133) considers that the statue may date to the late 20th Dynasty or early Dynasty 21. I think a Ramessid date more likely (with Scott 1989, 490 n. 1; KRI V, 415) on the basis of the statue’s form, the language, and the themes of the text.
Material

granodiorite

Description

The figure is seated cross-legged with text inscribed over his kilt (Scott’s scribe pose A). Of the body only the lower area of the torso and legs remain; the navel and the band of the kilt are visible. An area where the left arm attached to the side of the body also survives. Although both hands are largely lost, their shape remains discernable on the lap; the area of the left hand indicates that it held the roll of papyrus, while the right hand was poised to write. The shape of a shell palette is also visible on the left knee, although it has been worn down and the text on the lap is inscribed over it. This erasure of an iconographic element may indicate that the statue was reused.

The knees and shins are finely modelled and the toe, toenail, and cuticle of the left foot are visible. The figure sits directly upon an inscribed base.

Inscriptions

The text on the lap consists of nine lines (→), oriented to face the viewer. This inscription fills the area where a papyrus roll was traditionally laid out but breaks the boundaries of the roll, coming out to the edge of the kilt and running over both thighs and the shell palette on the knee.

Two lines of inscription run around each side of the base. The two inscriptions are separated from each other by a single large ankh sign in the front centre; two smaller ankhs separate the lines of inscription at the back centre.

Condition

I examined the statue in April 2001. The surface has suffered wear, although the text is quite legible in most places. The edge of the kilt is extensively chipped.

Bibliography

Hamada (1947)
Gardiner (1948), with a full translation and commentary; my readings largely follow his.
KRI V, 415, 6–416, 11
Scott (1989, III, 489–90, cat. 174)
Spencer (2001, 133–4, cat. E.1)

Translation and notes

Text over lap

\[\begin{align*}
1\text{ghty-lw-nswt} & \text{ hr-wnm n-nswt} & \text{Fanbearer on the right of the king,} \\
\text{sh-t\text{\textsuperscript{3}}} & \text{n-nb-t\text{\textsuperscript{3}}} & \text{document scribe of the lord of the two lands,} \\
jmy-r\text{\textsuperscript{3}}-pr-hd & \text{n-jmn} & \text{overseer of the treasury of Amun,} \\
jmy-r\text{\textsuperscript{3}}-pr-wr & \text{m-jtrw-jmnty} & \text{high steward of the Western river,} \\
dj-hf & \text{n-jmn-r\text{\textsuperscript{3}}} & \text{nswt-ntrw} & \text{who gave his property to Amun-re, king of the gods,} \\
jmn-msw & \text{3\textsuperscript{3} s\textsuperscript{3} p\textsuperscript{3} wj\textsuperscript{3}} & \text{Amunmose, son of the dignitary Pawia,}^a \\
ms.n-nbt-jwnt & \text{nsw-jmn-r\text{\textsuperscript{3}}} & \text{born to Nebetiunet, of Na-Amun-re} \\
m-jtrw-jmnty & \text{of the Western river.}^b
\end{align*}\]

149
He says: I was overseer of works in the domain of Amun-Re, king of the gods, in all the monuments of his domain, and in his house of gold;

its ceiling and its walls of gold, its floor of pure silver, doorleaves therein of hammered copper, figures in fine gold.

I performed service for the divine figures of the great seat, being likewise of fine gold, shades, standards and udjat-eyes [in] gold.

I widened your great doorways of gold, in the entrance of your great portable shrine with 7 carrying poles.

I was overseer of works for your Ogdoad of baboons, which are in your forecourt.

I was overseer of works for your wooden columns (covered with) gold, which used to be painted blue.

I was overseer of works in your portable shrine; I placed it upon 5 carrying poles, when it had been on 3. I made it again on 7, established forever.

I was overseer of works for your Ram sphinx, Great Protector of Thebes, who is established in your open court, forever and ever.

May you assent to him very greatly from your great portable shrine, with your ennead; you favoured me for it in the presence of the entire land.

May you cause me to be sated with [speech? ... ... ...] established upon it forever upon the west of Thebes, Mut, Khonsu, and Hathor being satisfied there.
I was the overseer of works for the noble staff, of Amun-re, king of the gods;
I placed it upon a portable shrine with 2 poles, for the first time,
for it used to be (upon) the shoulder of one wab priest.

I was overseer of works of Na-Amun-Re on the Western River.
It had been a pool;
I made it into chapels and shrines, on its foundation in the domain of Amun.

I was overseer of works in the Temple of Millions of Years,
Imbued-with-Perpetuity (Medinet Habu complex) in the domain of Amun, on the west of Thebes,
with its tabernacles and its ennead resting, within until eternity.

I gave all my property to Amun-re, king of the gods,
consisting of male and female servants, houses, vineyards,
cattle, (consisting) of all that I had amassed.
It is established in every record office as a document,
of the palace and the domain of Amun likewise.

a) On Amenmose’s scribe statue found in Thebes (2.aa), the name of his father is written $\text{_partner}$. There is no suitable sign here but the image of the barque may encapsulate this reading.

b) Gardiner (1948, 20) suggested, on the basis of the the waterlogged character of the area Amenmose claims to have reclaimed (base, right half, line 2) and the designation Western River, that Na-Amun-Re was somewhere in the extreme north-west of the delta. He also noted that Na-Amun is named as the location of vineyards on wine-jars from the Ramesseum.

c) When I checked the text in April 2001, $\text{hpw}$ was clear to me.

d) The reading $n$-\text{htt} baboons was suggested by Gardiner (1948, 21, n.7). It is unusual for the determinative to precede the word, but the reading seems preferable to Spencer’s hypostyle hall (\text{ws\text{h}\text{t}}) (2001, 133).
e) For parallels for increasing the numbers of carrying poles for portable barques, see 2.f (base, l. 3). Nothing is missing in the gap recorded by Kitchen after jr; this is the space for the right hand of the statue.

f) The recumbent ram figure that determines rhn has a solar disc on its head, a detail not recorded by Hamada or Kitchen.

g) hn refers generally to oracular action in statue procession. Here it seems to mean the action of the statue in acknowledging other divine manifestations during a procession.

h) Gardiner (1948, 21) considered that the text was left unfinished at this point: ‘Mut, Chons and Hathor being satisfied at …’. I follow Kitchen’s more satisfactory solution, restoring jm, (RI V, 416, 4a).

i) I follow Gardiner (1948, 22) in the free rendering of what is literally: ‘at the beginning of an example of making’.

j) Parallel phraseology is found on Amenmose’s Theban statue: ‘the numbers (?: p3-tnw), which I give to the domain of Amun-re, king of the gods, it being established in [the office of every domain] as a document in the palace and of the domain of Amun (st-mn.tj (?)) m-[h3-pr-nb] n-sh n-pr-nswt n-pr-jmn rdj r-pr-jmn-r nswt-ntrw). I secured it for […] under the authority of the priest, Sa-[… … …]’ (2.aa; KRI V, 417, 6–7).

8.c  
Overseer of the enclosure of the king Horimin

Paris, Musée du Louvre, C 213

Date  Sety I (cartouches)

Location in tomb
Unknown. Although often referred to as a stela (Gaballa 1976, 130; Schulman 1988, 119–22; Vigneau 1935, 90–1), this relief fragment was found by Mariette in the Serapeum at Saqqara (PM III², 2, 664) and is assumed to come from Horimin’s tomb from which other relief fragments are known (KRI I, 312, 9–313, 5; 315, 4–319, 15).

Description (from Vigneau 1935, 90–1)
The scene depicts the king standing at a window of appearances. A falcon with outstretched wings and a fan in its claws is inscribed over his head. He wears a short braided wig and uraeus, a robe with pleated sleeves and bracelets. His left hand leans on a cushion and he gestures towards a table beneath the window which bears two sbjw collars and a rectangular object. The figure of Horimin stands before the table with his arms raised in jubilation. He wears a long braided wig and a long robe with a wide apron. An attendant in a long pleated kilt stands in front of Horimin adjusting the sbjw collars around his neck. A second attendant stands behind, perhaps adjusting Horimin’s garments.
Inscriptions
Ten columns inscribed above the above Horimin and his attendants record the king’s speech and Horimin’s reply, into which is incorporated a short statement of dependence on the king. Beneath the scene are four lines (—) including an offering formula and funerary wishes. The king’s cartouches are inscribed in a single column behind his figure.

Condition
Excellent.

Bibliography
KRI I, 309, 2–16
Vigneau (1935, 90–1)
Gaballa (1976, 130)
Schulman (1988, 119–22)
PM III², 2, 664
Kitchen (1993, 251–2); translation.

8.d
Vizier Prehotep  
Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 48845

Object type  square-topped stela
Date  Ramesses II (historical)
Provenance  Saqqara, chapel (PM III², 1, 226; Raue 1998, 343)
Dimensions  H: 1.58m; W: c.0.82m at the base; D: c.0.33m at the base
Material  pink granite

Description
The stela is inscribed on both faces and edges. The scene on the upper register of Kitchen’s face I depicts Prahotep on the left, with his right arm raised towards Osiris and Apis. His head is shaved and he wears a sḫwjw collar, long vizieral robe, and sandals. In his left hand he holds a fan. The effigy form Osiris stands on a low pedestal. He wears the atef crown and holds a composite wsển, ḏḏ, and ḥḏẖ sceptre in his hands. The figure of Apis behind has a bull’s head. He wears a solar disc, tripartite wig, and a short kilt. In his left hand he holds a crook and his right holds an ankh to his side. His feet are bare.

Face II shows Rahotep in matching costume to that on face I; his pose may be the same although the figure is damaged. He stands before figures of an effigy form Ptah, whose accoutrements that match Osiris on face I, and Anubis.

Inscriptions
The captions to the scenes on both faces give the titles and name of Rahotep and the names and epithets of the deities depicted. The main text on face I is inscribed in 10 lines (→) and gives Rahotep’s titles followed by a statement of moral character. The main text on face II, also in 10 lines (←), is an elaborate title string and set of epithets. It closes with an appeal to the living. Edge A (to the left of face I) sets out Rahotep’s titles and epithets in three columns (→). Edge B
is also inscribed with three columns of complementary titles and epithets (→). I observed an inscription on the top of the stela when I checked it in April 2001. Kitchen does not record an inscription for the top edge and, due to its height, I was not able to record it.

**Condition**
Face I is in excellent condition with only minor chipping to the edges of the face. The scene on face II has suffered considerable wear. The text on face II is intact, as are the inscriptions on the edges.

**Bibliography**
KRI III, 53, 7–55, 16
Raue (1998, 343)
Kitchen (2000, 36–8); translation.

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8.e

**God's father of Ptah Ptahmose**

*Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, AST 23 (D. 45)*

Fig. 99

**Object type** block statue
**Date** Ramesses II (cartouche)
**Provenance** Saqqara (PM III², 728); not found in controlled excavation. Malek (1987, 122–3) suggests that block statues with a likely Saqqara provenance are to be associated with tomb chapels. Schulz (1992, 351 n. 2) considers that a findspot within a temple is also possible. Her view may be supported by the appeal to the living inscribed on the right side: ‘O high priests of Ptah, sem-priests of walls avoid saying, “we will remove this statue from seeing the the lord of eternity”’.

**Dimensions** H: 0.40m
**Material** basalt

**Description (from Schulz 1992, pl. 90)**
Block statue with face lost. On the front is a figure of an effigy-form deity (Ptah?), of which only the feet and lower section of the sceptre remain. Single wig with horizontal detail. The figure is seated on a cushion and the body is modelled beneath the garment. Hands on the lap, the right clenched and the left outstretched. Sunk relief images of gods are inscribed on either side of the body. The right figure is an effigy-form Osiris wearing the atef crown and holding the crook and flail. Behind him stands Anubis holding a w3s-sceptre and ankh sign. On the left side is Horus holding an ankh sign in his left hand (right hand lost). Nefertem stands behind, holding a lotus-bloom sceptre and an ankh sign. A lioness-headed goddess (Sekhmet) is depicted on the left shoulder. Twelve figures representing members of Ptahmose’s family are visible in low relief around the base, the rear sections of which are lost. The figures all kneel with one hand held to the breast and the other outstretched. The female figures wear long tripartite wigs. The men either wear short wigs or are bald. The feet of the statue are covered by the garment.
Inscriptions
The images of the gods the sides are framed by two columns of inscription on each side, two lines beneath, and one line above. These texts include offering formulae, funerary wishes, a dedicatory inscription of Ptahmose's son, and biographical phrases including the provision of bread and clothes to dependants. The images of the gods each bear captions with names and epithets. The family members around the base also have individual captions with names, filiation, and titles. The back pillar is inscribed with a single line at the top and two columns of offering formulae.

Condition
Face of the statue and part of the back of the head broken away. A large area of the front is lost, including most of the knees and the figure of the god. The back corners of the base are broken away and areas along its lower front section are lost. There are other minor chips to the surface.

Bibliography
KRI III, 416-17, 6
Schulz (1992, I, 351–2, cat. 201, II, pl. 90)
Kitchen (2000, 301–2); translation.

8.f
Mayor of Memphis Huy

Object type fragment of standing statue
Date Ramesses II (cartouches)
Provenance Memphis, temple ruins, western area (Badawi 1944, 181, 202)
Dimensions H: 0.70m
Material quartzite (Badawi 1944, 203)

Description (from Badawi 1944, pl. 22)
Mid-section of a standing figure with back pillar, wearing a long, flared, and pleated robe that covers the body, with a vertical band through the centre front, beneath the hands, detailed with fingernails, which are are placed face down on the front of the robe; the fingernails appear to be visible from the photograph. The highly modelled legs are visible at the sides.

Inscriptions
Three columns (→) on the rear surface of the back pillar begin with an appeal to the living, followed by details of a temple built by Huy for the king. The narrative continues in columns on either side of the pillar; one down the left (←), two on the right (→). A single column running down the middle of the front of the robe gives Huy's titles and name (→).

Condition
Some chipping to the hands and the front and sides of the robe. The remaining section of the back pillar is in good condition.
8.g. Bīlgāi endowment stela

*Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 43341*

**Object type**  stela fragment

**Date** reigns of Siptah–Tawosret (references to a female pharaoh)

**Provenance** Bīlgāi, North delta, central part (findspot, villager's home: Gardiner 1912, 49)

**Dimensions** max H: 1.12m; max W: 1.07m; max D: c.0.31m

**Material** sandstone

**Description**

Only one side of the stela fragment was visible when I checked it in April 2001. This side is termed the verso by Gardiner (1912). The sides of the stela bear traces of paint and inscription that were not included in Gardiner's publication; the right side has a series of horizontal painted lines running across the breadth of the stone; left bears remains of a column of inscription enclosed in a frame along the top and right side, the uppermost curve of a disc is visible and a column of text reading m ħtp to the right of the disc.

My description of the recto is based on that of Gardiner. The scene at the top of the stela is partially destroyed; Gardiner (1912, 49) recorded that it represented: 'the king standing with his face toward the left and offering [wine?] to a Triad consisting of god, goddess, and another god, obviously Amun, Mut, and Khons. Behind the king stood a goddess, probably Seshat, holding out the palm-leaf on which the annals of the king are to be recorded.

**Inscriptions**

Between the king and the goddess behind are traces of columns recording part of the goddess' speech and her epithets. Gardiner recorded traces of 14 or more lines (→) beneath the scene on the recto, which include royal (?) epithets, the name of a temple, and statements concerning 'this servant'. The inscription on the verso consists of 22 lines (→). The text begins with extended threat formulae concerning the temple of Usermaatre setepenre addressed to future overseers of the fortress of the sea and continues with a speech to a royal scribe Pabes concerning the owner's fulfilment of tax and harvest obligations and his construction of the temple.

**Condition**

On the recto, Gardiner (1912, 49) observed a hole in the centre of the stone and circular wear patterns indicating use as a mill-stone. He was only able to discern a few signs from the ends of the surviving lines on this side. The rounding off of the top and bottom of the stela has resulted in the loss of most of the scene on the recto and an unknown amount of text from both sides of the stela, including the beginning of every line of the text on the verso.
8.h

Troop commander of traders Pabes

Saqqara

Date  second half of the 19th or early 20th Dynasty (location in necropolis and palaeographic evidence: Martin, Frazer and Bomhof 2001, 25)

Location in tomb
Central chapel, north wall, lower register

Description (from Martin et al. 2001, pls 17, 64)
The biographical text fills a single line beneath a scene depicting, in two sub-registers, the unloading of ships and the weighing of goods. The upper subregister shows the damaged figures of four striding men, of whom the first is carrying an ingot. In front of these figures a further man is setting the weight on a pair of scales. The lower subregister shows three layered ships with lowered masts. Three men are shown on board, one seated on the cabin and engaged in an activity involving pulling. The two others are perhaps unloading. Piles of produce and traces of other objects are depicted on the far left. Only a single block remains of the upper register of this wall, bearing a figure of a standing god.

Inscriptions
The biographical statement that characterizes Pabes and refers to his childhood fills one line beneath the scene in the lower register (→). Some traces of blue paint remain in the signs. A single line of inscription also separates the upper register from the lower but only traces remain (→). These traces may also be biographical.

Condition
The inscription is damaged but largely legible. The associated scenes are fragmentary.

Bibliography
Martin et al. (2001, 19–20, pls. 17, 64)
9 Provenance unknown

9.a

Marine Standard Bearer Khetef

Object type: stela (now destroyed)
Date: Ramesses II (cartouche)
Provenance: unknown
Dimensions: unknown
Material: unknown

Description
Kitchen’s entry (KRI III, 265, 3–10), based on Pierret (1874–78, II, 1–2), indicates that the upper register bore figures of Khetef and his wife.

Inscriptions
The inscription in the upper register gives the name and titles of Khetef and his wife (—). That in the lower register (—) begins with an offering formula, followed by statements concerning Khetef’s role in the royal ship and his loyalty to Ramesses II.

Condition
Destroyed.

Bibliography
KRI III, 265, 3–10
Kitchen (2000, 188–9); translation.

9.b

Overseer of the treasury of Ramesses II in the domain of Amun Tjay

Object type: block stela
Date: Ramesses II (cartouches)
Provenance: unknown
Dimensions: H: 1.07m; W of each face: 0.45m
Material: limestone

Description
This is a freestanding block stela, inscribed on all four sides and on the top. The scene on each face shows Tjia standing with his arms raised in adoration before a god, with an offering stand with jar and lotus bloom between the figures. In each scene he wears a short wig, $sbyw$ collar, long pleated robe. On face 1 (before Re-Harakhty) he his robe has a full, pleated apron and on both face 1 and face 4 (before Sokar) he wears bracelets. On face 4 his feet appear to be bare; in the other three scenes he wears sandals. In each scene the details of the wig also vary.
On face 1, falcon-headed Re-Harakhty stands before Tjay. He wears the sun-disc, patterned corselet, short, pleated kilt, and bull’s tail. He holds a wıs-sceptre in his right hand and the ankh in his left. His feet are bare. On face 2 Atum stands in human form. His costume is similar to that of Re-Harakhty’s although the kilt has an extra panel. Osiris is shown in human-form on face 3. He wears a double-plumed crown and plain corselet with short pleated kilt and no bull’s tail. He holds the wıs sceptre in his left hand and the ankh and flail in his right. Face 4 shows falcon-headed Sokar wearing the white crown with double plumes and costume and regalia similar to those of Re-Harakhty and Atum.

Inscriptions
The top of the block bears three columns of inscription. The central column is the cartouche of Ramesses II. Those on either side give Tjia’s title and name. Columns of inscription above each scene give the name and epithets of the god and a short statement of praise followed by Tjia’s title and name, although on Face 4 the name and titles have been erased. Eight lines of inscription fill the lower register of each face (Face 1: —>; Faces 2–4: —). The texts begin as hymns or prayers to the deity depicted, followed by funerary wishes and, on Face 2 and 4, statements of moral character, including the provision of bread, water, and clothing.

Condition
There are general chips and areas of wear across the surface. Some signs are lost from the final two lines of the text on face 4.

Bibliography
Zayed (1964)
KRI III, 366–7
Kitchen (2000, 264–6); translation.

9.c
Processional priest Yufankh
Formerly in Michaelides collection, location unknown

Fig. 99

Object type naophorous block statuette
Date Drioton (1944, 91) dated the statue to the 19th Dynasty on stylistic and orthographic grounds.
Provenance unknown (PM VIII, 2, 625, 801-643-770)
Dimensions H: 0.175m
Material limestone

Description (from Drioton 1944, pl. XII)
Naophorous statue with only the rectangular shape of the naos remaining visible below the knees. Smooth, plain single wig with echeloned side panels that leave the ears exposed. Face is rounded and flat; ears clearly delineated with pierced lobes; a large, plain beard; visible neck. Hands
crossed on knees, the right hand clasping a djed and the left an Isis knot. Figure seated on a cushion on a small base; body clearly modelled beneath the garment.

Inscriptions
Three columns (→) fill the back pillar, relating Yufankh’s role as a processional priest. Single line around the base.

Condition
Naos at the front lost along with the front of the base; part of the left of the base also appears to be missing. Only traces of inscription around the base. Large crack through the back of the head; areas of damage on face and wig.

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