

SELF-PRESENTATION IN RAMESSID EGYPT

Volume Two: Catalogue and figures

Elizabeth Frood
The Queen's College

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
at the University of Oxford
Trinity 2004



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

1 Nubia and Elkab

1.a

Viceory of Kush Setau

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

Figs. 2–5

<i>Object type</i>	rectangular stela with lintel and jambs
<i>Date</i>	Ramesses II (cartouches)
<i>Provenance</i>	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)
<i>Dimensions</i>	Stela H: 1.90m W: 1.05m; Jambs H: 1.90m W: 0.22m
<i>Material</i>	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 *wꜣs*-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 (→): ¹*nṯr-nfr nb-tꜣwy nb-jrt-ḥt* ²(*wsr-mꜣt-rꜥ stp.n-rꜥ*) ³(*rꜥ-ms-sw mry-jmn*) ⁴*dj m-jrp n-jt.f-jmn*, 'Perfect god, lord of the two lands, lord of ritual action, Usermaatse setepenre Ramesses meryamun. Offering wine to his father Amun'. Captions above each deity give name and epithets (←): ¹*jmn-rꜥ nb-nswt-tꜣwy*, 'Amun-re, Lord of the thrones of the two lands', ²*nb-ḥꜣw (rꜥ-[ms-sw] mry-jmn)*; 'Lord of appearances, Ra[messes] meryamun', ³*mwt nbt-pt*; 'Mut, Lady of the sky', ⁴*[mꜣt] sꜣt-rꜥ*, '[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-m3^ct-r^c stp.n-r^c) dj-^cnh^c hsy-^c3 mrr-nb.f s3-nswt n-kš jmy-r3-h3swt-nbw n-jmn t3j-hw hr-wnm-nswt jmy-r3-prwy-hd sšm-hb n-jmn sh-nswt st3w m3^c-hrw*, '[...] Dual king, lord of the two lands, Usermaatse 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^c nb-h^cw (r^c-ms-sw-mry-jmn) dj-^cnh^c hsy-^c3 n-ntr-nfr s3-nswt n-kš jmy-r3-h3swt-rsy t3j-hw hr-wnm-nswt jmy-r3-pr-wr n-jmn sh-nswt st3w m3^c-hrw m-htp*, '[...] 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

*¹rnpt-sp-4[4] tpy-prt sw-2
hr-hm-hr k3-nht mry-m3^ct
nb-hbw-sd mj-jt.f pth-t3-tnn
nbty mk-kmt w^cf-h3swt
r^c ms-ntrw [grg-t3wy]*

Year 4[4], first month of *prt*, day 2:
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],

² <i>hr-nbw wsr-rnpt ʕ3-nḥwt nswt-bjty nb-t3wy (wsr-m3ʕt-rʕ stp.n-rʕ) s3-rʕ nb-ḥʕw (rʕ-ms-sw mry-jmn) ʕnh dt nhḥ</i>	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.
<i>s3-nswt n-kš jmy-r3-ḥ3swt-nbw t3j-ḥw hr-wnm-nswt ʕsh-nswt st3w m3ʕ-hrw</i>	Viceroy of Kush, overseer of the gold lands, fanbearer on the right of the king, royal scribe, Setau, true of voice.
<i>dd.f m-sw3š-ntr-nfr-pn hr mry-m3ʕt [jnk-b3kʔ] sb3.n-ḥm.f [ds.f] m-[...-nswtʔ whm-nfrtʔ sdty]-ʕḥ hpr.n.j m-pr-nswt jw.j-m-ḥwn [... ...]⁴-dgm wpw-[jmy-ʕḥʔ]</i>	He says, in extolling this perfect god, Horus, beloved of Maat: [I am a servantʔ] whom His Person [himself] taught, in the [... of the kingʔ, repeating what was goodʔ, foster- child] of the palace, ^a for I grew up in the palace when I was a youth, [... ...] speechless in the affairs of the [one who is in the palaceʔ] ^b
<i>jw.j-ḥtr.kw hr-ʕqw-[nfr] m-[ʕbw-nswt] jw.j-[m-js nʔ]-shw m-ʕt-sb3yt jr.tw-gm.j [m-jr-3ḥw n-ʔ]nb.f jw.j-[m-...] ⁵[-ʕ3ʔ] n-ḥm.f</i>	I was provided with [complete] rations from [the king's mealʔ], ^c while I was in the [room ofʔ] writing and in school. I was recognized [as one who performs beneficent acts forʔ] his lord, while I was a [greatʔ ...] for His Person.
<i>gm.n.tw(.j) jw.j-m-ḥwn dj.kw r-sh-wr n-t3ty ḥtr.j-t3 r-dr.f m-ʕr.j-wr jw.j-mj-jm3ḥy-nswt wʕ-m3ʕ-mtr [jw-bw-ʔ]⁶ gm.tw-n.j t3y m-jr.n.j-nb jw.j-jr(.j) m-3ḥt-nb n-nb.j dr-gm.f-[w]j</i>	I was recognized while I was a youth, 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>w3ḥ.j-ḥtpw-ntr n-ntrw-nbw dj.j-ḥ3w hr-jmn[yt nt-]⁷rʕ-nb m-jrt-nfr(t) n3y.sn-prw-ḥd hr-[n]gs⁸gs mh m-ḥt n3y.sn-šnwt hr-tk(n) r-ḥrt m-ʕḥʕw n-bty ḥt m-mn mn.tw mj-ʕ3[.sn] ⁸[btyʔ] jw.w-r-ḥt.j</i>	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 [... ...] [grainʔ] being under my control.

gm-[w]j nb.j mnḥ.kw
 (hr)-f3t-nfr[t nw]-šnwt
 d3ḥw m-ḥḥ
 dj.j-wn-šnwt bk3 hr-nprj
 ḥ3.j-s[t] [...]
 [...] ⁹[r-snm]-t3w-nbw
 bw-jr.j-[t3]-pn d3 rd-ḥrd-nb

dj.j-ntyw-šrj hr-sw3š-ḥm.f

[dj.f]-wj r-jmy-r3-pr-wr
 n-jmn m-njwt-rsy
 jw[j-ḥr-jrt-j3wt?] ¹⁰.j jw.j-m-
 jmy-r3-prw-ḥd
 sšm-ḥb n-jmn

jw-ḥw n-nbw m-drt.j
 hr-ḥrp n-ḥ3t.f hr-sw3š-ḥm.f
 hr-[t]wr-nb-t3wy tnw-ḥ^c.f

[hr-dw3-jmn?] ¹¹n-[jty?]
 p3y.j-ntr-j.qd-(w)j [m-sš]mw.f
 dj.f-n.f nhḥ m-nswt-t3wy

whm-nb.j gm-rn.j hr-wr-mnḥ.j

dj.kw r-s3-nswt
 m-t3-[pn n-kš] ¹²[jmy-r3-ḥ3swt]-nbw
 ḥrp-n.f mḥtyw
 m-dḥ^c ḥ3w
 nhšyw m-ḥfnw nn-r3-^c.sn

jn.j-ḥtrj-nb n-t3-pn
 n-kš m-q3b
 dj.j-wn-[jnw] n-t3-pn n-kš
¹³[mj]-š^cy-wdbw
 jw-bw-jr-st s3-nswt-nb n-kš
 dr-rk-ntr

ḥ3q-p3-ḥpš-tl n-pr-^c3 p3y(.j)-nb-nfr

p3-t3 n-jrm-ḥsy
 [kf^c.f-p3]-¹⁴wr n-jkytj
 ḥn^c-ḥmt.f ḥrd.f jst.f-nb

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? [...] ^d
 [... in order to nourish] all lands.
 I did not act for this [land] that the growth of any child
 might be be stunted (?), ^e
 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?] ^f
 my god who built me up through his [guid]ance?,
 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>jw.j-m-ts-pdt m-sšm-w3t hr-h3t-mš^c.f</i>	I was the army commander leading the way at the head of his army,
<i>jw-bw-dgs-[s3-nswt n?-]¹⁵kš p3[y]-dgs</i>	for no viceroy of Kush had trod this path(?)
<i>dgs.j-h3q r-dr.w hr-^c.j</i> <i>jn.<t>w m-bw-w^c</i> <i>dj.n.j-^cm.tw-jm.sn jw.w-jt3 r-kmt</i>	I went out(?) (with) all those captured through my action, ^g and brought together in one place. I informed one (the king) of them, and they were taken to Egypt.
<i>h^c-jr.n.j hw[t]-ntr</i> <i>¹⁶(r^c-ms-sw mry-jmn) m-pr-jmn</i> <i>m-šd m-p3-dw-jmnt m-k3t-nhh</i> <i>mh m-rmt-^cš3 m-h3q-hm.f</i> <i>n3y.f-wd3-mh m-ht hr-tk(n)-[hrt]</i> <i>¹⁷[...] bty nprj-qnw</i> <i>jw.f-m-s3h-n-jmn n-</i> <i>(r^c-ms-sw mry-jmn)</i> <i>p3-nb n3-mtnw</i> <i>hr nb-b3ky-m-dj.f</i> <i>[... ...]</i> <i>...]-^c3 m-rsy</i>	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, ^h the lord of the ways, Horus of Quban with him, [... ...] great [...] of/from the south.
<i>qd.j-r3-prw-nbw n-t3-pn n-kš</i> <i>wnw-w3s hr-h3t r-dr.w</i> <i>jr.w m-m3w</i> <i>[hr-rn-wr n-hm.f]</i> <i>[... ¹⁹mnš].f-mn hr.st n-dt</i>	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.
<i>hs-(w)j nb.j hr-jr.n.j</i> <i>jry.f-wj s^c3</i> <i>dj.f-hms.j m-qnbt r-wd^c-t3wy</i> <i>jw.j-m-tpy [...] ²⁰[...] m-h3t-šnyt</i>	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.
<i>wšb.j jry.s-n.w h3ty</i> <i>hft-wd^c-mdt hnn.w m-s3.j</i> <i>r-drw hft- ²¹[...]j</i> <i>m-s3-p3y.j-dd-m3^ct jw-bn-jrt-grg</i> <i>jw.j-rh.kw mr-hm.f m3^ct</i>	My response made the lead for them when judging cases and they concurred with me, entirely with my [advice?], after my speaking Maat without doing anything false, for I know that His Person loves Maat.
<i>nts-²²[...]-sw</i> <i>hr-jnk-hm n-m3^ct [?]-wrt</i>	She is the one who [protects?] him, And I am the servant of Maat, great ..., ⁱ

<i>mtr[.s-nb.j] dj.s-gm.f-twj</i>	She instructed my lord and she caused him to recognise me,
<i>hr-hhy-jrt-n.f 3hw²³ m-jb-mrw</i>	seeking to perform beneficent acts for him with a loving heart.
<i>dj.f-(wj) m-h3t-snyt šbn.j-hsyw</i>	He placed (me) at the head of the courtiers, so that I might mingle with the favoured ones.
<i>jmj-jry-sr-nb jr.n.j n-nb.j</i> <i>dr-gm.f-hprw²⁴ j qd.j r-dr.w</i> <i>gm.tw-rn.w</i>	Let every noble do what I have done for my lord, since he recognized my form and my character entirely, so that their names (also) be recognized;
<i>n-k3-n-s3-nswt n-kš jmy-r3-h3swt-nbw</i>	for the ka of the viceroy of Kush, overseer of the gold lands,
<i>t3y-hw hr-wnm-nswt sh-nswt</i> <i>st3w m3^c-hrw</i>	fanbearer on the king's right, royal scribe, 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*] [*wpwty*] *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-sh3y.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. 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 *q^cw-3*, 'large rations' or even *q^cw-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 $\frac{1}{2}$ seems possible. A parallel for *bw(-r3)-nswt* in a similar royal context is the biography of Nefersekheru (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’, [*šd.j?*] *mrw nb*. The fragmentary biographical text on the statue of the overseer of the domain Turoy 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*. $\frac{1}{2}$ 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 Anhurmoose (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 $\frac{1}{2}$ in 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 [...]’, *w^cb.n(.j)-ntr.j twr.j* ($\frac{1}{2}$) *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 (*sw3š*) 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 Vi[ceroy of] Kush had trodden su[ch 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 *s3h* as ‘donated land, domain’. Thus he considered the temple of Wadi es-Sebua (called *pr-r^c-ms-sw-mrj-jmn m-pr-jmn*) 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 *n3y.f wd3* that 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 *f* 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 *s3h* is ambiguous. *s3h* 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 $\square$ are visible, implying a more specific reading as an ‘endowed building’ or ‘shrine’. *s3h*, 𓂏𓂛𓂏 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: *p3-s3h-ntr n-hc-nswt n-nswt-(mn-hpr-r)* *dt nhh* (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 *s3h*-shrines of this type.

i) The group after the Maat sign is clear, $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$, but its reading is problematic. Neither Wente’s (1985, 358, n. hhh) reading as *mwt.f wrt*, ‘his great mother’, nor Helck’s (1975, 92–3) as *m3t mrt.f wrt*, ‘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

Elkab, 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)

1.c

Fanbearer [Hor/Mut]emheb

Sai Island, S. 103

Object type stela fragment

Date Ramesses II (historical)

Provenance fortress, level A

Dimensions unknown

Material sandstone

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

<i>Object type</i>	block statue
<i>Date</i>	Ramesses II (cartouches)
<i>Provenance</i>	Karnak cachette (rededication)
<i>Dimensions</i>	H: 1.20m
<i>Material</i>	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

Translation and notes

Front

*h̄tp-dj-nswt (n-)jmn-r̄
p3w(tj)-t3wy sh̄m-šps
sh̄m-f3w šfjtj ʕ3-nrw
mwt-wrt jrt-r̄
h̄nsw² nfr-h̄tp
dj.sn-rn.j sddw m-w3st
mn m-jpt-swt
prrt-nbt hr-wd̄h̄w.sn m-b3h³-h̄nty.j*

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 enduringly in Thebes,
established in Karnak,
all that goes forth from their offering tables before my
statue,

*n-k3-n-jt-n̄tr w̄b-ʕwy
h̄m-n̄tr-3nw n-jmn
h̄m-n̄tr-2nw n-jmn
jmy-r3-h̄mw-n̄tr n-n̄trw-nbw
h̄m-n̄tr-tpy n-jmn
b3k-n-h̄nsw m3̄-ḥrw*

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.

*⁴dd.f-jnk-jmy-r3-k3t h̄nt-w3st
m-k3wt-nb mn̄ht
jw.j-m-mh-jb-mn̄h n-nb.f
hr-s̄sm-h̄mwt-nb m-mnw-nb
jr.n.f n-jt.f-jmn*

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.

Back Pillar

*jt-n̄tr n-jmn
h̄m-n̄tr-3-nw n-jmn
h̄m-n̄tr 2-nw n-jmn
jmy-r3-h̄mw-n̄tr n-n̄trw-nbw-w3st
h̄m-n̄tr-tpy n-jmn
b3k-n-h̄nsw m3̄-ḥrw*

God's Father of Amun,
third priest of Amun,
second priest of Amun,
overseer of the priests of all the gods of Thebes,
high priest of Amun,
Bakenkhons, true of voice.

*dd.f-jnk-s-n-w3st hr-jt.j mwt.j
s3-h̄m-n̄tr-2-nw n-jmn m-jpt-swt
pr.n.j m-js-n-sh̄
m-nd̄s²-jqr m-h̄wt-n̄tr n-nbt-pt*

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.^a

*sb3.j r-w̄b m-pr-jmn
m-s3 hr-d̄rt-jt.f
hsy.f-(w)j sj3.f-(w)j hr-bj3t.j
šms.j-sw m-b(w)-m3̄*

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.

tw.j-bs.kw r-jt-ntr m3.j-hprw.f³-nb

I was initiated to (the position of) God's Father and I saw all his manifestations.^b

*jry.j-3hw m-r3-pr.f
m-k3wt-nbt mnht
bw-jr.j-jsft m-pr.f
bw-nhd.j-wd.j r-gs.f
hnd.j-h3b.kw hr-s3tw.f
snd.kw n-nr.f*

I did what is beneficial in his temple,
in all effective works.
I did not commit evil in his domain.
I did not neglect my duties at his side.
I stepped in humility upon his ground,
fearful of his awesomeness.

*bw-h3s(.j) hr-m-smdt.f
tw.j-n.sn⁴ jt
wd^c.n.j-m3jr hn^c-wsr
qn mj-s3-^c*

(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

*djw.j-ht n-s-nb n.sn
bwt.j-pw wn-jb
jry.j-sm3-t3 n-s^w m-jw^c
wt n-jwtt.f*

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.

*nd.n.j-hr-nmh⁵ [spr?] n.j
jry.j-ht n-h3rt
bw-n3.j-s3 hr-st nt-jt.f
bw-nhm.j-t3 r-mwt.f*

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.

*pg3.j-^cwy.j dj.j (n-)jwty
sbw.j hr-nty-<m>-g3.f
^ch^c.j⁶ [... ..]
[wd?]-jy r-spr.j*

My arms were open and I gave to the one without,^e
my food offerings (given) to the one who is in need.
I stood [... ..]
[commanding?] the one who came to petition me.^f

*wn.j-^cnhwy n-ddw-m3^ct...
h3[^c... ..] hr-jsft
n-k3-n-jry-p^ct h3ty-^c [...]
[... 1-2 verses lost ...]
[b3]k-(n)-hns^w m3^c-hrw*

I opened ears to the one who spoke maat.
[I cast out^g involved] in wrongdoing.
For the ka of the member of the p^ct, count, [...]
[...]
[Ba]k(en)khons, true of voice.

Base

*jry-p^ct h3ty-^c
jt-ntr mrjj ntr
hry-s3t3 m-pt-t3-dw3t
wr-m3w n-r^c m-w3st*

Member of the p^ct, count,
God's Father, beloved of the god,
keeper of secrets in the sky, land and netherworld,
great of seers of Re in Thebes,

*sm-wr hrp-hmwt n-pt^h
jmy-r3-hmw-ntr n-ntrw-nbw
hm-ntr-tpy n-jmn
b3k-n-hns^w m3^c-hrw*

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.

<i>dd.f-jnk-gr mtr-m3^c</i>	He says: I am a silent one, truly assiduous,
<i>nb-j3mt m-rmt</i>	the possessor of graciousness among people,
<i>tr-[ntr.f?] s3-srh.f</i>	who respects [his god?], who magnifies his renown, ^h
<i>hn-sw hr-sp.f-nb</i>	who trusts himself to his every action,
<i>3bh.kw m-jst</i>	being joined with the crew,
<i>hsy n-p3-jmn-rn.f</i>	a favoured one of the Hidden of Name.
[...] <i>jry.n</i> [... ..]	[I made?] [... ..]
[<i>wnm?</i>] <i>m-df3w.f</i>	[eating?] from his provisions. ⁱ
<i>šsp.j-j3wt hr-hsw(t)</i>	May I receive an old age bearing the favours
<i>dd.f m-hnw-r-pr.f</i>	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; ‘cest 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 *Wörterbuch* (IV, 13, 17) notes three other attestations of *s3-^c* 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 (Golénischeff 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  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 *jwtj* is used (*Wb.* I, 46). That *jwtj* is also meant here is indicated by the determinative: .

f) The reading of *wḏ* is based on the parallel in col. 3.

g) *ḥ3ʿ* ‘to throw out’ (*Wb.* III, 227–8) is a tentative reading of  and seems appropriate in the context. A writing of *ḥ3ʿ* with the quail chick is unusual and may be a misreading of .

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

srḥ  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: *jnk-tr-ntr.f s3ʿ-srḥ.f* (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 *shr(w)*, ‘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 Bakenkhons. She concludes (1969, 124) that *srḥ* 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 knowledgeable one, who respects god, a leader in magnifying his renown (*srḥw*)’. Assmann translates *srḥw* 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 *srḥ* must have an alternative nuance and I have acknowledged this in my translation.

i) Kitchen suggested the reading  (KRI III, 297, 2a). The surviving determinative would be appropriate to this reading. A sign is lost beneath . 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

<i>Object type</i>	block statue
<i>Date</i>	Ramesses II (cartouches)
<i>Provenance</i>	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)
<i>Dimensions</i>	H: 1.38m
<i>Material</i>	fine limestone
<i>Description</i>	

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-Winkel (1993)

Kitchen (2000, 212–3); translation

Translation and notes

Front

<i>ḥtp-dj-nswt (n)-jmn-rꜥ-jtm-ḥr-3ḥty</i>	An offering which the king gives to Amun-Re-Atum-Harakhty,
<i>b3 n-pt</i>	Ram of heaven
<i>ꜥnh m-m3ꜥt</i>	who lives on maat,
<i>ꜥhm ḥry-jb-wj3.f</i>	(divine) image who resides in his barque;
<i>mwt wrt ḥryt-tp-t3wy</i>	Mut, great one, chief of the two lands;
<i>ḥnsw nfr-ḥtp</i>	Khonsu, perfect of peace;
<i>dj.sn²-rn.j mn m-w3st</i>	that they may place my name enduringly in Thebes,
<i>ḏdw-nḥt nḥḥ</i>	firmly established for eternity,

<i>n-k3-n-jry-pꜥt ḥ3ty-ꜥ</i>	For the ka of the member of the pꜥt, count,
<i>jmy-r3-ḥmw-ntr n-ntrw-nbw</i>	overseer of the priests of all the gods,
<i>ḥm-ntr-tpy n-jmn m-jpt-swt</i>	high priest of Amun in Karnak,
<i>³b3k-n-ḥnsw [m3ꜥ-ḥrw]</i>	Bakenkhons, [true of voice].

<i>ḏd.f-j-ḥmw-ntr jtjw-ntr</i>	He says: O priests, god's fathers,
<i>wꜥbw nw-pr-jmn</i>	wab priests of the domain of Amun,
<i>jmj-ꜥnhw n-ḥntw.j</i>	give bouquets to my statue,

qbhw n-dt.j

jnk-⁴hm 3h n-nb.f
gr mtr-m3^c
hr hr-m3^ct
msdd-jsfwt s^c3-srh-ntr.f
hm-ntr-tpy n-jmn
b3k-n-hnsw [m3^c-hrw]

Back Pillar:

jry-p^ct h3ty-^c
hm-ntr-tpy n-jmn
b3k-n-hnsw m3^c-hrw
dd.f-jnk-mtr-m3^c 3hw n-nb.f
tr-srh-ntr.f sm hr-mtn.f

jr-spw n-3hw m-hnw-hwt-ntr.f
jw.j-jmy-r3-k3t-wr m-pr-jmn

mh-jb-mnh n-nb.f

j-rmt-nb jp m-²jb.sn
wnnw nty-tp-t3
jy hr-s3.j
n-hh n-hhw m-ht-j3w-khk
nty-jb.sn-^cr q m-m33-3hw
dj.j-rh.tn-qj.j wn(.j)-tp-t3

m-j3t-nbt jry.n.j n-dr-msy.j

jry.j-4-rnpt m-nds-jqr
jry.j-11 n-rnpt m-³hwn
jw.j-m-hry-jh n-shpr
n-nswt mn-[m3^ct]-r^c

jry.j-w^cb n-jmn m-4-rnpt
jry.j-jt-ntr n-jmn
m-12 n-rnpt

jry.j-hm-ntr-3nw n-jmn
m-15 n-rnpt
jry.j-hm-ntr-2nw n-jmn m-12

hsy.f-wj sj3.f-wj hr-bj3t.j
dj.f-wj r-hm-ntr-tpy n-jmn
m-27 n-rnpt

libations to my form,^a

(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].

Member of the p^ct, 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
Amun,
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.

jw.j-⁴m-jt-nfr n-smdt.j
hr-shpr-d3mw.sn hr-djt-drt.j
 (n)-nty-h3w
hr-s^cnh nty-m-kt
hr-[jr]-3hw m-r3-pr.f

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.

jw.j-(m)-jmy-r3-k3t-wr hnt-w3st
n-s3.f-pr m-h^c.f
nswt-bjty (wsr-m3^ct-r^c stp-n-r^c) s3-r^c
(r^c-ms-sw mry-jmn) dj-^cnh
jr-mnw n-jt.f-jmn
⁵*dj-sw hr-nst.f*
jr hr-^c-hm-ntr-tpy n-jmn
b3k-n-hnsw m3^c-hrw

I was chief overseer of works, foremost in Thebes,^c
 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.

dd.f-(r)-nty jry.j-3hw n-pr-jmn

He says as follows: I performed benefactions for the domain
 of Amun,

jw.j-(m)-jmy-r3-k3t n-nb.j
jry.j-n.f hwt-ntr
(r^c-ms-sw mry-jmn) sdm-nht
m-p3-sb3-hry n-pr-jmn

being overseer of works for my lord.
 I made a temple for him,^d
 (called) ‘Ramesses-meryamun-who-hears-prayers’
 in the upper portal of the domain of Amun.

s^ch^c.n.j-thnw-jm.s m-jnr n-m3t
nfrw.sn hr-tkn-hrt
⁶*d3d3 m-b3h.s m-jnr*
m-hft-hr n-w3st
b^ch-k3mw srd m-snw

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

jry.j-try-^c3w wr-wr m-d^cm
nfrw.sn hr-hnm-pt
mdh.j-snw-^c3 wr-wr
s^ch^c.j-sn m-wb3-sps
m-hft-hr n-hwt-ntr.f

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

mdh.j-wj3w-^c3w n-tp-jtrw
n-jmn mwt hnsw
jn-jry-p^ct h3ty-^c
hm-ntr-tpy n-jmn b3k-n-hnsw

I carpentered great rivergoing barques,
 for Amun, Mut and Khonsu.
 By the member of the p^ct, count
 high priest of Amun, Bakenkhons.

Upper Base

jry-p^ct h3ty-^c
hm-ntr-tpy (n)-jmn
b3k-n-hnsw m3^c-hrw

Member of the p^ct, count,
 high priest of Amun,
 Bakenkhons, true of voice.

dd.f-jnk-gr-m3^c 3h n-ntr.f
hn-sw hr-sp.f-nb

He says: I am one truly silent, effective for his god,
 who trusts himself to his every action.

<i>dj.f-j3mt</i> [... ..]	He placed charm [... ..]
<i>jw[.j-šrj] ʿwy.fy-twt hr-nfryt</i> <i>jrt-hmy m-ʿnh</i>	For [I am a humble man] ⁱ whose hands are together upon the steering rope, acting as a helmsman in life.
<i>jw(.j)-nfr.kw m-hrw-pn r-sf</i> <i>hḏ-t3 dj.f-h3w hr-nfrw.j</i> <i>jw.j-m-wḏh r-[hpr]-j3w m-hnw pr-jmn</i>	For (I am) happier today than yesterday, at dawn he will increase my happiness, for I have been in the domain of Amun from youth to the onset of old age, ^j
<i>hr-šm[s.j-sw m-b(w)-m3ʿt</i> <i>irty.j hr]-dg3 hʿwty.f</i> <i>mnq.f-n.j ʿhʿw <m>-nfr</i> <i>hr-s3-rnpt-110</i>	following him in a truthful way, my eyes seeing his uraei. May he complete a good lifetime for me after 110 years.
Lower Base <i>jr hr-ʿ-jry-pʿt h3ty-ʿ</i> <i>jmy-r3-k3t m-mnw-nb...</i>	Made under the charge of the member of the <i>pʿt</i> , count, overseer of works in all monuments... ^k

a) This word has an unusual orthography: . The *Wörterbuch* (V, 27, 5–6) records the determinative of a man with libation vessel as a determinative for *qbh* 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  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-ntr-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  was used as a writing for both *hwt-ntr*, ‘temple’ and *sh-ntr*, ‘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-ntr*. However, the orthography of the word does seem deliberately distinct from the writing of *hwt-ntr* 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 *d3d3* 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 *d3d3* 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 *d3d3* described by the high priest Amenhotep in one of his building texts (2.h, col. 7). In Bakenkhons’ inscription the *d3d3* 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’h* describe areas of cultivated land that were exposed to the cultivation, distinct from, and perhaps enclosing, the vineyards or orchards designated by *k3mw* (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 *wḏh* which may be a typographical error for *mḏh* ‘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 . *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.

2.c
High priest of Amun Roma-Roy

Cairo, Egyptian Museum,
CGC 42185

Fig. 17

<i>Object type</i>	block statue
<i>Date</i>	Merenptah – Sety II (internal: name and filiation)
<i>Provenance</i>	Karnak cachette (rededication)
<i>Dimensions</i>	H: 1.05m; W of base: 0.47m; D of base: 0.63m
<i>Material</i>	fine limestone

Description

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

<i>htp-dj-nswt (n-)jmn-r^c nswt-ntrw</i>	An offering which the king gives (to) Amun-Re king of the gods,
<i>jmnt hry-jb-jpt-swt</i>	Amunet who resides in Thebes;
<i>mwt nbt-pt hnwt-ntrw</i>	to Mut, lady of the sky, mistress of the gods;
<i>hnsu m-w3st nfr-htp</i>	to Khonsu in Thebes, perfect of peace,
<i>²dj.sn-hnty.j mn rwd</i>	that my statue be firmly established,
<i>htp m-jpt-swt r-dt</i>	resting in Karnak forever.
<i>n-k3-n hm-ntr-tpy n-jmn</i>	For the ka of the high priest of Amun
<i>ry m3^c-hrw</i>	Roy, true of voice.

³dd.f-jy.n.j hr.k nb-ntrw
jmn hq3-psdt
dw3.j-nfrw.k hrt-hrw shtp.j-mrwt.k

jmj-⁴n.j hr.k-nfr jnk-hm.k-m3^c

hsy.k-hwy.k tp-t3
šms.j-tw m-b(w)-m3^c
khkh.j m-pr.k ⁶hr-hswt.k

jrty.j hr-m33-h3ty.k

n-k3-n jmy-r3-hmw-ntr n-ntrw-nbw
hm-ntr-tpy n-jmn
rm^c m3^c-hrw

Right side

dd.f-jnk-tl rs-tp
3h n-nb.f
jr-mnw m-pr.f m-jb-mry
jb.j-jp ²m-k3t-nb
hr-hhy-3hw n-ntr.j-šps

hsy.f-(w)j hr-jr.n.j mj-3h.j-n.f

³dj.f-wj m-r3-hry-wr hnt-pr.f

šsp.j-j3w hr-šmsw.f hr-hswt.f
h^cw.j-^cpr m-⁴snb
jrt.j hr-gmh
k3w-n-r-pr.f mn m-r.j
hsw-nswt hr.j m-dd-jmn

⁵dj.f-msw.j m-d3mw-twt m-b3h.j

tj-sn-m-hmw-ntr hr-rmn-sšm.f

jnk-⁶hm-ntr-tpy m-dd-jmn
s3.j-mn r-gs.j m-hm-ntr-2nw
s3.j-jry r-mh-2 m-sm
m-hwt-nswt hr-jmnt-w3st

⁷s3-n-s3.j m-hm-ntr-4nw
hr-rmn-jmn nb-ntrw

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.^a

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,^b
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^c 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,

s3-n-s3.j m-jt-ntr
m-hry-hbt w^cb-^cwy n-⁸jmn-rn.f

dj.f-mn-rn.j hr-hnty.j
r-gs-mnw-pn jr.n.j m-pr.f
sh3.tw-⁹rn.j hr.sn n-m-ht-nhh

hsy.j-d3mw nty-r-hpr
swh3.sn hr-nfrw.j mj-tl.j

Left side

hm-ntr-tpy n-jmn
ry m3^c-hrw
dd.f-jnk-jmy-r3-k3t-wr m-jpt-swt
²dd-tp-rd-nb n-hmww
jp m-rh
s3r m-^crq

³n-wn-sp <hr>-hm.n.f
nfr-nb hnt-jb.f
hr.tw hr-ndt-r3.f
⁴h^cw-jmn 3h n-k3.f

mh-jb-mnh n-hm.f
jw(f)-rh ⁵sbq n-hr.f
hsy-^c3 n-ntr.f-jmn

dd-ht.f s3m.f-sbw
⁶k3w-df3w hr-w3t.f-nb
mrr-rmt sb-h3ty
hry jwty-⁷h3dt-jb

dd.tw-jrw hpr.sn hr-^c
jw-hn.n.f-sw hr-shr-⁸ntr.f
q3-^ch^cw hr-^cwy-jmn
r-jn(t) n-phwy.f m-nfr
mj-jrrt n-mtr-m3^c
3h m-pr-nb.f

Back Pillar

htp-dj-nswt (n)-jmn-r^c nswt-ntrw

mwt-wrt nbt-j3rw
hnsu m-w3st nfr-htp

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,^d
food and provisions (being) upon his every path.
whom the people love, who masters the heart,
content without a lustful heart,^e

That which is ordered to be done occurs immediately,^f
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;

dḥwty nb-jwnw-šmꜥj
mntw-rꜥ ḥry-jb-w3st
ptḥ-nfr-ḥr jt-ntrw
ḥwt-ḥr ḥryt-tp-w3st

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;

rꜥt-t3wy ḥnwt-ntrw
m3ꜥt s3t-rꜥ
2ntrw ntry-nbw-w3st
psdt n-jpt-swt

Rettawy, mistress of the gods;
Maat, daughter of Re;
to the gods and goddesses, lords of Thebes,
the ennead of Karnak:

dj.sn-ḥnty.j mn ḥr-tp-t3
rn.j-ḥt-ḥr.f r-dt
t-ḥnqt ḥr-ḥtpw r-ḥft-ḥr.f
m-spy-ḥnt-nb n-jmy-w3st

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;

3wšd-sw-jmn tnw ḥꜥ.f
hn-mwt ḥnsw-n.f r-wrw
mj-jr.j-3ḥw m-jb-mry
m-sp-nb-mnh m-jpt-swt
ḥs.kw ḥr-jr.n.j mj-3ḥ.j

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,

mn.kw m-jpt-swt r-dt

being established in Karnak for eternity;

n-k3-n-wꜥb n-ḥ3t-jmn
jt-ntr-jmn ḥm-ntr-3nw n-jmn
ḥm-ntr-2nw n-jmn

for the ka of the pure one in front of Amun,
God's Father of Amun, third priest of Amun,
second priest of Amun,

jmy-r3-pr-ḥd n-jmn
jmy-r3-šnwt n-jmn
jmy-r3-ḥmw-ntr n-ntrw-nb

overseer of the treasury of Amun,
overseer of the granary of Amun,
overseer of the priests of all the gods,

ḥm-ntr-tpy n-jmn
rmꜥ m3ꜥ-ḥrw

high priest of Amun,
Roma, true of voice.

Base (right half)
n-k3-n ḥm-ntr-tpy n-jmn
rmꜥ m3ꜥ-ḥrw
dd.f [... ..] ḥr?

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

ḥsy-(w)j jmn ḥr-n3y.j-3ḥw
djw.n.j ꜥḥw-nfr m-r3-pr.f
ḥswt-nswt-ḥr.j šw.kw m-ḥryt

Amun favoured me for my beneficent acts.
I was given a good lifetime in his temple,
the king's favour before me, being free from terror.

Base (left half)
n-k3-n ḥm-ntr-tpy n-jmn

For the ka of the high priest of Amun,

ry m³^c-hrw

Roy, true of voice.

dd.f-jnk-hm-ntr-tpy m-dd-jmn
ntf-stp-(w)j ds.f hnt-pr.f

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

dj.f-n.j jm³h hr-rmn-smš.f
t.j-nb rwd
jrt.j hr-gmh
k³w-df³w m-r³.j n-r^c-nb

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 uræus’ here following Gardiner’s (1905, 27) tentative reading of the word *h³wtj* 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 *d³mw* 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 *sšm* in the context of the provision of offerings see *Wb.* IV, 287, 1.

e) Lefebvre (1929, 8, n. e) rendered ‘changeant le coeur (qui était triste), et qui devient ainsi content sans tristesse’. The *Wörterbuch* (IV, 436, 11) interprets *šb-h³ty* 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 Nefersekheru where it has a negative meaning: ‘(As for) the one whose heart is confused (*šb-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 *h³dt-jb* given in the next clause. In a Third Intermediate period amuletic decree Edwards (1960, 72, n. 60) rendered *šb* =  ^x ‘to possess’, following the *Wörterbuch* (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. *hrp-jb*, *s³qw-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 *hr* that follows occurs in earlier biographical epithets with relation to the heart (Janssen 1946, I, 28, Ak 13–18) and is complementary with *šb-h³ty* and in contrast to *h³dt-jb*.

The compound noun *h³dt-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). *h³d* 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

<i>Object type</i>	block statue
<i>Date</i>	late 19th Dynasty, probably reign of Amenmesses (erased cartouches, historical evidence)
<i>Provenance</i>	Karnak cachette (rededication)
<i>Dimensions</i>	H: 1.08m; max W of base: 0.44m; max D of base: 0.64m
<i>Material</i>	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: *j[m]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

Kruchten (1989, 179–80)
 Schulz (1992, I, 280–1, cat. 154, II, pl. 67, d–e)
 Kitchen (2003, 150 –1); translation

Translation and notes

Front

*h̥tp-dj-nswt (n-)jmn-r^c-h̥r-3h̥ty-tm
 nb-jpt-swt*

dj.f-[3h̥w m-pt] ws[r m-t3] ²h̥r-gb

t-h̥nqt jh̥w 3pd

qbh̥w sn̥tr

jrp-jrtt h̥t-nbt-nf̥rt w^cbt

*pr[rt h̥r-wd̥h̥w] ³n-jmn m-h̥rt-hrw
 nt-r^c-nb*

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 streng[th
 of the earth] before Geb,
 bread, beer, cattle, fowl,
 libations, [incense,
 wine, mi]lk^a and everything good and pure
 which comes [forth from the offering tables] of Amun
 in the course of everyday,

n-k3-n-m3^c-jb šw m-jsft

[d̥r-pr.f m-]⁴h̥t

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

h̥s jry-p^ct h̥3ty-^c

jt-n̥tr mr-n̥tr

favoured one, member of the p^ct, count,
 God's Father, beloved of the god,

h̥ry-sšt3 m-pt-t3-dw3t

sm3ty n-k3-mwt.f

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

jmy-r3-pr-[h̥d]⁵n-jmn

jmy-r3-šnwty n-jmn

jmy-r3-h̥mw-n̥tr n-n̥trw-nbw

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

h̥m-n̥tr-tpy n-jmn

rm^c m3^c-h̥rw

high priest of Amun,
 Roma, true of voice.

Right side

d̥d.f-h̥pr.n.j m-h̥wn m-pr-jmn

jw.j-m-w^cb-[jq̥r jp.kw]²m-h̥3ty

n̥fr m-bj3t

nmtt.j r-st

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,

stp.kw h̥r-n̥frw.j m-h̥wt-n̥tr.f

³bs.kw r-jt-n̥tr

r-sd̥m-^cš n-k3.f-šps r-sh̥tp-mrwt.f

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.

gm.f-⁴n̥frw.j h̥sy.f-wj h̥r-bj3t.j

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

dj.f-(w)j m-rh̥ n-nswt

He placed me in the knowledge of the king,

⁵š[.tw]-⁵rn.j m-b3h-šnyt
 jr.f-šh hr-j3t.j
 [tnj.kw r-gs-]⁶nswt-ds.f
 (wsr-m3^ct-r^c stp-n-r^c)
 s3-jmn n-ht.f

whm.f-hst.j hr-3hw
 [... ...] ⁷hm-ntr-2nw
 pr-hd.f šnwt.f
 hr-hrp-3h-nb hr-rwd-r3-pr.f
 dj.f-[h3w hr]-⁸jrt n.j nfrw
 dj.f-(w)j m-r3-hry m-r3-pr.f
 m-hm-ntr-tpy [n-jmn]

Left side

hm-ntr-tpy n-jmn
 ry m3^c-hrw
 dd.f-jnk-3h mnḥ m-pr-nb.f

²spd-hr m-mnw-nb

jry.j-3hw m-pr-jmn
 hr-rn-wr n-nb-t3wy
 [()]
³m-twt n-hd-nbw
^ch3 m-qm3

[...] šps [m-]⁴c3t-nb-m3^c
 try-^c3 n-nbw
 s[hr m-]^c3t-nb-[m3^c]
 [mdh.j]-dpt n-tp-jtrw
 n-jmn mwt ḥnsw

qd.j-[... ... m-]⁶m3t swsh.n.j-sbht.f
 hr-rn-wr n-nb-h^cw
 [()]
 [...] ⁷m-hnw.f
 jb.f hr-ršrš
 bw-w3h.j-[sp]-nb-mnḥ tm-jrw n-k3.f

dj.f-ḥnty[.j mn] ⁸r-nḥḥ
 ḥtp hr-t3-n-pr.f r-dt
 wšd-sw jmn m-hb.f-nb
 rn.j mn-hr.f r-dt

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?]^b the king himself,
 Usermaatre setepenre,
 the son of Amun, of his body.

He favoured me again for (my) excellence,
 [... ...] 2nd priest.
 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].

High priest of Amun,
 Roy, true of voice,
 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]^c
 in (the form of) statues of silver and gold,
 worked by beating.

[...] noble [...] [in] every precious stone,
 great doors of gold,^d
 [adorned] with every [precious] stone.
 [I carpentered] rivergoing boats
 for Amun, Mut and Khonsu.

I built [.....of] granite, and I widened its portico,
 bearing the great name of the lord of appearances
 [erased cartouche]
 [resides?] within it,^e
 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

*h̄tp-dj-nswt (n)-jmn-r^c
nb-nst-t3wy h̄nt-jpt-swt
dj.f-rn.j mn r-nh̄h
n-h̄hy.f dt
n-k3-n-h̄m-ntr-tpy n-jmn
[ry m3^c-h̄rw]*

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),^f
for the ka of the high priest of Amun,
[Roy, true of voice.]

*²dd.f-j-h̄mw-ntr jwt-ntr w^cbw
3yw nw-pr-jmn
d3mw-33yw nty-r-h̄pr*

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,

*jmj-[^cnh̄w n-h̄ntyw.j
qb̄hw] ³n-k3.j
sh3-rn.j h̄rt-h̄rw
jr-h̄tp-dj-nswt n-h̄nty.j*

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

*mj-w3h̄.j-jb.j r-jrt-3h̄w
n-jmn mwt
h̄nsw m-[w3st nfr-h̄tp]*

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^cty-nb nty-h̄r-šms.f*
(right) ...*^ch^cw-nfr...*

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

a) Reading *jr̄tt* 'milk', following Lefebvre's interpretation of the conflated writing of *jr̄tt* and *h̄t* (1929, 19).

b) Lefebvre (1929, 24) translates this passage as: 'il fit mon écrit (?) pour chacune des hautes (?) dignités (que j'occupai) [auprès 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 *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 *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 *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

<i>Location</i>	temple of Amun, southern approach, east massif, pylon 8 (PM II ² , 176, (527b))
<i>Date</i>	Sety II (erasures, historical evidence)
<i>Dimensions</i>	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 *s3.f-ḥm-nṯr-2nw n-jmn* [*b3k-n-ḥnsw m3Ꞁ-ḥrw*], ‘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

rdt-j3w n-jmn-rꞀ

Giving praise to Amun-Re,

<i>snt-t3 n-hr.f-nfr</i> <i>jn-hm-ntr-tpy n-jmn</i> <i>rm^c m3^c-hrw</i>	kissing the ground before his perfect face, by the high priest of Amun, Roma, true of voice.
<i>dd.f-jy.n.j-hr.k nb-ntrw jmn</i> <i>hpr m-h3t</i> <i>ntr-ntry jr-wnnt</i>	He says: I have come before you lord of the gods, Amun, who came into being first, divine God, creator of what exists,
<i>nb-ntrw rm[t]² hq3-jwnw</i> <i>sr m-w3st</i> <i>3-h^cw m-hwt-bnbn</i>	lord of the gods and the people, ruler of Heliopolis, chief of Thebes, great of appearances in <i>hwt-bnbn</i> ,
<i>jrty n-tmm m3.sn-jm.k</i> <i>pr-t3w m-r3.k r-fnd-nb</i>	the eyes of everyone see by means of you, breath goes forth from your mouth to every nose,
<i>wr-sfyf [... ..nb mh]</i> <i>3nb-nbw hq3-psdt</i>	great of majesty, [... ..]
<i>ntrw rmt hr-sw3s-k3.k</i> <i>nh m-^c.k snb-hr.k</i> <i>s3y rnnt</i> <i>dmd m-hf^c.k</i>	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.
<i>hwy.k-s3.k mr.k nb-t3wy</i> <i>([wsr-hprw]-r^c stp.n-r^c)</i> <i>m-^cnh-dd-w3s [r-dt]</i>	May you guard your son, your beloved, lord of the two lands, [Userkheperu]re setepenre (Sety II) in life, stability and dominion [forever].
<i>4dj.k-n.j h^cw-q3 hr-rmn-s3m.k</i> <i>jrt.j-hr-m33-h3ty.k m-hrt-hrw</i> <i>h^c.j-^cpr m-snb n-h3dt-jb</i> <i>s3wy.kw m-hryt</i>	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.
<i>nswt-nht (n)-nhh</i> <i>k3w.k-hn^c.j 5hswt.k hr.j</i> <i>rn.k-n.j m-s3w</i>	O valiant king of perpetuity, (may) your provisions be with me, your favours before me, your name as protection for me.
<i>sq3.k-h^cw.j m-^cnh-nfr</i> <i>mn.kw m-r3-pr.k</i> <i>h^c.j-[..] hr-sms-k3.k</i> <i>jrt.j hr-gmh w3w</i> <i>r-ph.j r-jmnt-w3st</i> <i>s3j.kw m-m33-jmn</i>	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,

*s3.j m-st.j
j3t.j m-^c.f
⁶w^c [s3]-w^c r-nhh
mj-jrrt n-mtr-m3^c
3h m-pr-nb.f*

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.

*n-k3-n w^c-jq^r mtr-m3^c
hsy-^c3 n-ntr.f-jmn
3h n-mwt
mrwtj n-hnsw*

For the ka of the excellent individual, truly assiduous,
greatly favoured one of his god Amun,
effective for Mut,
favourite of Khonsu,

*mh-jb n-nb-t3wy
⁷jry-p^ct h3ty-^c
jt-ntr w^cb-^cwy
hry-s3t3 m-pt-t3-dw3t
sm3ty n-k3-mwt.f sm-3ht-nhh*

confidant of the Lord of the Two Lands,
member of the p^ct, count,
God's Father, pure of hands,
keeper of secrets in the sky, earth and underworld,
sacrificer of Kamutef, sem priest of the horizon of
eternity,
chief of seers of Re-Atum in Thebes,

wr-m33 n-r^c-jtm m-w3st

third priest of Amun,
second priest of Amun,
high priest of Amun,
Roy, true of voice.

*hm-ntr-3nw n-jmn
hm-ntr-2nw n-jmn
hm-ntr-tpy n-jmn
ry m3^c-hrw*

*dd.f-⁸j-w^cbw shw n-pr-jmn
sdmw-^c3-nfrw n-htpw-ntr
sm3tyw ^cthw jry-bnjw
jrw-q3w-jdnt bit psn
jrrw [... sn-nb n-nb.sn]*

He says: O wab priests, scribes of the domain of Amun,
good servants of the divine offerings,
butchers, brewers, overseers of confectionery,
bakers of *jdnt* bread, *bjt* loaves and *psn* loaves,
who perform [all their ... for their lord],

*nty-jw.sn r-^cq r-w^cbt-pn
nty-m-hnw [... ...] ⁹[jmn]
[d]m-rn[.j m]-hrt-hrw m-sh3-nfr
s[w]h-n.j hr-nfrw.j mj-tl.j*

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!

*gm.j-t3y-^ct w3sy.tj-dr.s
jnbw.s rmn
ht-[jr]w hsy
htrj m-ht why
n^c hr-tjt*

I found this room entirely ruined,
its walls toppling,^a
the timbers thereof weakened,
the wooden door-frames decaying,
a smoothness upon the images.^b

*jw.j-hr-s[mnh.s]¹⁰m-h3w r-dr.s
sq3 wsh.tj m-k3t-mnh
jw.j-hr-jrt n3y.s-htrj m-jnr n-rwdt
smn.j-sb3w-hr.sn m-^c3-m3^c
st-sm3tyw ^cthw nty-m-hnw.s*

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.

<i>jr.j-s(t) m-jrt-nfr</i> <i>r-dr r-h3t r-hw [... ...]</i> ¹¹ <i>n-ntr.j jmn nb-ntrw</i>	I made it of perfect construction from the back to the front for the protection of [.....] for my god Amun, lord of the gods.
<i>jmj-hr.tn sdm-j.ddt.j m-jr-thj-j.jrt.j-nb</i> <i>swd3-rn.j s3-sp.j</i> <i>j.dd-n.j hsw(t) m-b3h-jmn</i> <i>hr-hs.f-tn 3</i> <i>mj-jr.f [...</i> <i>...]</i> ¹² <i>j3w m-pr.f k3w.f-hn3.tn</i>	Pay attention and listen to what I say. Do not transgress anything that I did. Cause my name to prosper, magnify my deed. Speak favours for me in the presence of Amun, for he will favour you greatly as he does (for) [... reach?] old age in his temple, his provisions with you,
<i>sw3d.tn n-msw.tn</i> <i>w3 s3-w3</i> <i>m-pr.f r-dt</i>	May you hand on (your offices) to your children, one son to the next in his domain forever.
<i>jmj-htpw</i> ¹³ <i>m-b3h-hnty.j</i> <i>ttf hr-t3 n-rn.j</i> <i>jmj-3nhw m-b3h.j hft-3q.tn</i>	Place offerings before my statue, overflowing onto the ground in my name. Place bouquets before me when you enter.
¹⁴ <i>j.dd-n.j hs.f tw</i> <i>m-jb-mry n-ntr.j</i> <i>jmn nb-ntrw</i> <i>hr-dj-n.tn</i> ¹⁵ <i>kt3w nty-r [...]</i>	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?°
<i>jmj-3d-sh [...]</i> <i>r-jrt mj-ddt.j</i> ¹⁶ <i>nty-m-b3h.tn</i>	Cause the inscriptions to be read (out) [...] in order to act according to my speech which is before you.
<i>jmj-rn.j-nfr m-r3 n-d3mw</i> <i>mj-jr.j-3hw m-pr-jmn</i> ¹⁷ <i>m-sp-nb-mnh m-jpt-swt</i>	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.
<i>hsy-(w)j jmn hr-n3y.j-3hw</i> <i>dj.f-n.j rnpt-110 hr-rmn-s3m.f</i> <i>[... ... tm]</i> <i>s3wy r-nhh</i>	May Amun favour me for my beneficent acts. May he give me 110 years bearing his image. [...] magnified forever.
<i>dd.n.j</i> ¹⁹ <i>m-jb.j</i> <i>[...] k3.f</i> <i>n-k3-n-hm-ntr-tpy n-jmn ry</i>	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) *n^c* 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

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

Bibliography

Legrain (1904, 17, 21)
Breasted (1906, 238–40, section 488–9)
Porter and Moss (II², 171)
KRI VI, 542, 11–543, 3
Scott (1989, III, 477–9, cat. 171)

Translation and notes

Base

^{1 front} [...] jry-p ^c t h3ty- ^c hm-ntr-tpy n-[jmn-r ^c nswt-ntrw jmn-htp] m3 ^c -hrw ^{right} dd.f-j-hmw-ntr w ^c bw [... ..] dj.j-[... .. c. 7 groups lost] [.s htpw?] hr-sšm-hmww m-k3t-nb r-djt-qd.j-t3-st- ^c 3t rsy p[3] [rest of line lost]	[...] member of the p ^c t, count, high priest of [Amun-Re, king of the gods, Amenhotep], true of voice. He says: O priests, wab priests, [.....] I placed ... [offerings?] guiding the craftsmanship in every work, so that I could (?) build the great southern place, ^a the ...
^{2 front} jt-ntr w ^c b- ^c wy hm-ntr-tpy n-jmn-r ^c nswt-ntrw [jmn-htp m3 ^c -hrw]	God's Father, pure of hands, high priest of Amun-Re, king of the gods, [Amenhotep, true of voice],
dd.f- ^{right} jw.j-sm[n] p3y[.s]- ^c 3wy-r3 m-mrw-m3 ^c [qrjw?] m-hmt hpw m-nbw-nfr hr-[rn-wr] n-nb-t3wy	He says: I [established] [its] double-leafed door in real <i>meru</i> -wood [bolts?] ^b in copper and images in fine gold, bearing the [great name] of the lord of the two lands,
qd.j-t3y-[d3]d3 n-pr-jmn m-m3 ^c jry.j-p3y.s- ^c 3wy-r3 m-mrw hpw-m-nbw-nfr hr-rn-wr n-h[m.f] [rest of line lost]	I built this [double] terrace for the temple of Amun anew. ^c I made its double-leafed door in <i>meru</i> -wood, images in fine gold bearing the great name of [His P]erson ...
^{3 front} [nswt]-ntrw jmn-htp m3 ^c -hrw	... [king] of the gods, Amenhotep, true of voice,
s3-hm-ntr-tpy n-jmn r ^c -mss-nht m3 ^c -hrw	son of the high priest of Amun Ramessesnakht, true of voice.
^{right} dd.f-[jw.j-r..]-b3[k?] n-6-nb3 [f33]-tw t n-jmn	He says: [I worked?] 6 poles [which carried] the image of Amun. ^d
jw.j-gm-t3- ^c [...] wy [... ..] [...]m r-gs-[p3?]-j[... ..]	I found the [... ..] [...] at the side of [the?] [... ..] ^e

jw.j-qd.s m-[r-^c] m-b3k-mnh
[jr..] [end lost]

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 *ṯ w^cbt* 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-)[b3k]* 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 *b3k* is also tentative; *b3k* is not normally attested with the ^Λ determinative (*Wb.* I, 426–7), and the bird could equally be the *s3* bird.

This writing of *nb3* as a carrying pole for a shrine is attested in the late New Kingdom (*Wb.* II, 243, 7). ¹, 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-t3*. 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, ² ³, may indicate a rendering of *w3sj*, ‘ruined, fallen’ (*Wb.* I, 260–1), although ³ is not an attested determinative for this word.

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

¹[jry-p^ct ḥ3ty-^c

ḥm-nṯr-tpy n-jmn

jmn-ḥtp m3^c-ḥrw

[Member^a of the p^ct, count,

high priest of Amun,

Amenhotep, true of voice.

ḏd.f-jnk-mtr-m3^c 3ḥ n-nb.f

tr-srḥ-nṯr.f šm ḥr-mt]n.f

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],

jr-spw n-3ḥw m-ḥnw-[ḥwt-nṯr.f

jw.j²-(m)-jmy-r3-k3t-wr m-pr-jmn

who performs acts of beneficence^b within [his temple

when I was chief overseer of works in the domain of

Amun,

mḥ-jb-mnḥ n-nb.f

an effective confidant for his lord.

<i>j-rmt-nb jp m-jb.sn</i> <i>wnnnyw nty-tp-t3</i> <i>gy hr-s3.j</i> <i>n-hh n-] [hhw] m-ht-j3w-khk</i> <i>nty-jb.sn [rq m-m33³-3hw</i>	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 ski[lled in recognising worth,
<i>dj.j-rh.tn-qj.j wn.j-tp-t3 m-j3wt-nb</i> <i>jr.n.j n-dr-msy.j</i>	I will cause you to know my character when I was upon earth, in every office, which I performed since my birth.
<i>jry.j ...] jmn-r^c nswt-ntrw</i> <i>m-wsh^t n-t3-hwt nt-hh m-rnpt</i> <i>nswt-bjty (nb-m3^ct-r^c mry-[jmn])</i> ⁴ [c. two thirds of a column lost]	I made/performed ...] Amun-Re king of the gods in the court of the temple of millions of years of the Dual King Nebmaat[re] meri[amun] (Ramesses VI), [...]
<i>[t3-hwt-nswt-bjty]</i> <i>(wsr-m3^ct-r^c mry-jmn)</i> <i>m pr-jmn [hr-jmnt-w3st]</i>	... [the temple of the Dual King] Usermaatre meryamun, in the domain of Amun [on the west of Thebes.]
<i>whm</i> ⁵ [c. two thirds of a col. lost] <i>[hwt (nb-m3^ct-r^c mry-jmn)]</i>	Again ... [...] ... the temple of Nebmaatre meryamun
<i>whm-hm.f [hr]-sdm-mdw.j r-</i> ⁶ [c. two thirds of a col. lost] <i>m-p3-htp j.jr-jt.j hr-jmnt-w3st</i> <i>m-[rnpt...] n-pr-3</i>	Again His Person heard my speech concerning... [...] ... when my father went to rest on the west of Thebes, in [year ...] of pharaoh ...
⁷ [c. two thirds of a col. lost] <i>[m-hn]w-pr m-nbw-nfr hsb^d-m3^c</i> <i>mfkt [rwdt] bj3t</i>	 within the house with perfect gold, true lapis lazuli, turquoise, [hard stone?] and quartzite.
⁸ [c. two thirds of a col. lost] <i>[n3?]-wd3w-3 šps j.jr.j</i> <i>n-jmn-r^c nswt-ntrw p3⁹[y.j-nb]</i>	 [the?] great and costly pectorals which I made for Amun-Re king of the gods, [my lord],
[c. two thirds of a col. lost] <i>mjt-[p3?]-rn n-jmn-r^c nswt-ntrw</i> ^c<i>q3y-sp-sn</i> <i>[jw.j]-dj^t</i>	 likewise [the] name of Amun-Re, king of the gods, very exactly. [and I] caused...
¹⁰ [c. two thirds of a col. lost] <i>[n]-hmww-wr</i> <i>jry.j-smnh.w hr-[r3-^c]-dt</i>	 [of] great craftsmanship. I made their embellishments [for] all time.
¹¹ [c. two thirds of a col. lost]	...

<i>[jn]k-j.dd-jt [bd]t</i> <i>sntr bjt</i> <i>b[nrj] [w3d] h3w</i>	... I am one who gave barley, emmer, incense, honey, dates, vegetables, bouquets,
¹² [c. half a col. lost + traces] <i>hr-st3t [š ...] p3y.f-m[r n-hwt]-ntr [... ...]</i>	 upon an aroura [of inundated land], his [canal of the temple], ^c
¹³ [c. half a col. lost] [... ...] <i>r-hnm.f jw.j-^cr^cr.f</i> <i>jw.j-hm[^c... ...]</i>	 to please him, and I achieved it. ... And I [demolished?] ^d [... ...]
¹⁴ [c. half a col. lost] <i>j[?] r-p3-pr n-nbw</i> <i>n-jmn-r^c nswt-ntrw</i> <i>r-djt hm[t.tw.f m? ...]</i>	 [introduced?] to the house of gold of Amun-re, king of the gods, to cause him to be given attention? ^e
¹⁵ [c. half a col. lost] <i>jw.j-jr.w</i> <i>bwpw-n3-hm-ntrw n-jmn</i> <i>j.sšp.j n[3y.w-hrtw]</i>	 And I did them. Never had the high priests of Amun, whose duties I received, ...
¹⁶ [c. half a col. lost] <i>[jr] y.j jr n-rnpt-5-gs</i>	 which I spent, making five and a half years.
<i>jr-jmn-r^c nswt-ntrw p3y.j-nb</i> <i>dj-n.j ^cnh-wd3-snb</i> <i>^ch^cw-q3 j3w-nfr [...]</i>	May Amun-re, king of the gods, my lord, give to me life, prosperity, health, a long lifetime and a good old age [...]
¹⁷ [c. half a col. lost] [.] <i>m-n3-3hw-qnw dnn-qnw</i> <i>j.jr.j-n.f m-[p3y.f-pr]</i>	 in the many benefactions and the many ordeals which I undertook for him in [his domain].
¹⁸ [c. half a col. lost] <i>jt3.s</i> <i>jw.f-jr-8-3bd n-hrw-jm.s</i> <i>jw.j-šnn hr.f r-jqr-[sp-sn</i> <i>jw.j]</i>	 seized it. And he spent eight whole months in it, and I suffered from it [very] exceedingly [and I]...
¹⁹ [c. half a col. lost] <i>[p3y.j] nb</i> <i>jnk-p3y.k-b3k tw.j-^ch^c.kw-dnn n.k</i> <i>[... ...]w.k</i>	 [my] lord. I am your servant who stood suffering for you, ^f your ...
²⁰ [c. half a col. lost] <i>jmn-r^c nswt-ntrw sdm-hrw.j 3s</i>	 Amun-Re, king of the gods, heard my plea quickly,

<i>jw-bwpw.f-djt wdf [...] [m] r</i>	for he did not allow delay... ^g
²¹ [c. half a col. lost] <i>[jw-jmn-r^c hr-^cm/ptr].j m-p3y-thj.j</i> <i>jw.j-(hr)-smj n-pr-^c3 p3y.j-nb</i> <i>[p3]-dj</i>	 [and Amun-re saw] me in this transgression against me, and I appealed to Pharaoh my lord, [the one] who placed/caused ...
²² [c. half a col. lost] <i>[t3-hwt-nswt-bjty (wsr-m3^ct-r^c) stp.n-r^c]</i> <i>m-pr-jmn</i> <i>t3-hwt-nswt-bjty (wsr-m3^ct-r^c mry-jmn)</i> <i>m-pr-jmn hr-jmnt-w3st r-[t3-st]</i>	... [the temple of the Dual King Usermaatre] setepenre (Ramesses II) in the domain of Amun, the temple of the Dual King Usermaatre meryamun (Ramesses III) in the domain of Amun on the west of Thebes, to [the place]...
²³ [c. half a col. lost] [...] <i>st</i>	 place,
<i>j-n3-hmw-ntrw-tpy n-jmn</i> <i>nty-jw.w-jy hr-s3.j</i> <i>m-jr-[nnj]</i> ²⁴ [c. half a col. lost]	O high priests of Amun who will come after me, do not [neglect]... ...
<i>jry.j-n.f3hw</i> <i>thj.f-p3-thj.j 3s</i> <i>jw-bwpw.f-[djt wdf]</i>	... I performed benefactions for him, (for) he had suppressed the one who suppressed me quickly, not having [allowed delay.]
²⁵ [c. half a col. lost] <i>d3mw-qnw m-p3y.f-pr</i> <i>mtr.j-st r-j3wt.w</i> <i>dj.f-h3[mw ...]</i> ²⁶ [whole col. lost + traces] ²⁷ [c. half a col. lost] <i>[srd.j-k3]mw-qn[w] [c.10 groups lost]</i> ²⁸ [c. half a col. lost] <i>m-hnw.w qd[.j.. 10 + x groups lost]</i> ²⁹ [c. half a col. lost] <i>.j? n nfr</i>	 many youngsters in his domain. I instructed them concerning their offices. He caused (me/them) to control? [...] [I planted] many gardens [...] within them. I built [...] ? successfully/of perfection.
Behind the figure of the High Priest ³⁰ [up to half a col. lost] <i>m-pr-jmn hr-jmnt-w3st</i> <i>mry-bstt m3^c-hrw</i> <i>jw [... up to five groups lost]</i>	... in the domain of Amun, Merybastet, true of voice. ^h ...

³¹ [as in col. 30]	...
<i>hwt-ntr (r^c-ms-sw mry-jmn) </i>	the temple of Ramesses meryamun,
<i>mr-mj-[pth] r-mn-nfr</i>	Beloved-like-[Ptah] at Memphis,
<i>sh-nswt jmy-r3-pr-wr n-t3-hwt nt-hh[w]</i>	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) *3hw* 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 *st3t*, 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 *hm^c* ‘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’ (*sfh*) 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 *r^cr* 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 *h^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, ...[Amun]-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).

Fig. 23

Location

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

Date

Ramesses IX – 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 *w3s* 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)
KRI VI 534, 10–536, 10

Translation and notes

¹ <i>jr-ḥr-ꜥ-sb3 n-ḥm.f</i> <i>ḥm-ntr-tpy [n-jmn-rꜥ nswt-ntrw]</i> <i>jmn-ḥtp m3ꜥ-ḥrw</i>	Made under the instruction of His Person, by the high priest [of Amun-re, king of the gods,] Amenhotep, true of voice. ^a
<i>(r-)nty gm.j-t3y-ꜥt-wꜥbt</i> <i>n-n3-ḥmw-ntr-²tpy n-jmn n-ḥr-ḥ3t</i> <i>nty-m-pr-jmn-rꜥ nswt-ntrw</i> <i>[j]w.s-[w3.]tj r-w3sj</i>	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;
<i>jw-j.jr.w jr.s r-ḥ3w-nswt-³(ḥpr-k3-rꜥ)</i> <i>s3-rꜥ (sn-wsrt)</i> <i>j[w].j-ꜥ[rꜥ] jw-j.qd-s(t) m-m3w</i> <i>m-jr-nfr m-b3k-mn[ḥt]</i>	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.
⁴ <i>jw.j-djt-wmt n3y.s-jnbw{.s}</i>	I caused its walls to be strengthened,

<i>m-h3.s r-hr-h3t</i> <i>jw.j-wshwsh-n.s jw.j-jr(t)-</i> <i>n3y.s-wh3w htr[w]</i> <i>⁵m-jnrw-³w m-k3wt-mnh3t</i>	from behind it to the front. And I greatly extended it, making its columns and door-frames from great stones of excellent workmanship,
<i>jw.j-smn-sb3w-³w m-³s m-mrw</i>	and I (re-)established the great doorleaves with pine and <i>meru</i> -wood.
<i>jw.j-wshwsh m-p3y.s ⁶-wmt-³t n-jnr</i> <i>nty-nw r-twt</i> <i>wsh [q3j m3tt]</i> <i>hm-ntr-tpy n-jmn nty-m-pr-jmn</i>	And I greatly enlarged its great doorway of stone, ^b which appeared complete being (made) wide [and high ...] ^c the high priest of Amun, who is in the domain of Amun.
<i>jw.j-shw p3y.s-sb3-³ m-³s?</i> <i>⁷qrjw m-hmt</i> <i>hpw m-nbw-nfr</i> <i>hr-[... ..tl.s?]</i>	And I assembled its great door of [pine?] bolts of copper, and images of fine gold, upon [... .. its strength?]
<i>jw.j-qd-p3y.s-d3d3-³ m-jnr</i> <i>nty-wn r-s-rsy</i> <i>p3-[mr?]⁸-w³b n-pr-jmn</i>	and I built its great terrace of stone which opens out onto the southern lake, the pure [lake?] ^d of the domain of Amun.
<i>jw.j-jnh [... ..] m-dbt</i> <i>jw.j-djt-³h³-n3y.f-htyw-³w m-jnr</i> <i>m-htrj</i> <i>wh3w ⁹sb3w-m-³s</i>	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.
<i>jw.j-jr-p3-[... ..]-hnt?</i> <i>m-jnrw-³w n-jthy</i> <i>ht m-mn3 m-smd</i> <i>[...] m-¹⁰n3bt</i> <i>hr-rn-wr n-pr-³ p3y[j-nb ³. w.s</i>	and I made the [... ..] ^e of great stones, dragged (into position), carved with ochre within a border ^f and [...] in the titulary bearing the name of pharaoh, [my lord, l.p.h.
<i>jw.j]-qd-w³-pr-hd m-dbt m-m3³</i> <i>m-t3-wsh3-³t nty-rn.s</i> <i>[... .. ¹¹... 7/8 groups lost]</i>	I] built a treasury of brick anew in the great court, whose name is
<i>[qrjw m-?]hmt wh3 m-jnr</i> <i>sb3 m-³s sh m-smd</i> <i>[... .. ¹² half a col. lost]</i> <i>...m-hm.f</i> <i>jw.f-m-s3 n-wd3</i> <i>n-t3-s3y n-pr-jmn</i>	[bolts of?] copper, ^g columns of stone, doorleaves of pine, inscribed in the borders for His Person. It was behind the storehouse for the taxes of the domain of Amun.
<i>[... .. ¹³ half a col. lost]</i> <i>wb3-³3ps</i> <i>r-tnw hm-ntr-tpy n-jmn</i>	... the great and noble court to distinguish the high priest of Amun... ^h

[... ..¹⁴ half a col. lost]
...*ht-nb nfr w^cb*

dj.j-n3y.f-hryw hs[w]...
[... ..¹⁵ half a col. lost]
pr n.. js .. jw-wn-bw
[... ..¹⁶ half a col. lost]
rdwy .. jt-p3 [c. 7 groups lost]
[cols. 17–20 wholly lost]
²¹[almost half a col. lost]
[m-jnr sb3w] m-^cs
jw.j
²²[almost half a col. lost]
[j3rw jw.w-srd?]-mnw t3
²³[almost half a col. lost and tr.]
... *n.f*

jr-r-h3t mwt-wrt
²⁴[c. 5 groups lost] *t3y.s jrr [??...]*
pr-^c3 p3y.j-nb
djt-m3^cw n-mwt-wrt t3-[... ..]
mtw.s-s[s[p].w m-wsh[t].f?
mtw.s [...] ²⁵[c. half a col. lost]

m-3h n-jmn-r^c nswt-ntrw p3y.j nb
jw.j-rh.kw-^c3.f sb.f phty.f
r-²⁶dd ntk-p3-nb n-t3-nb

dj.f-^cnh-wd3-snb ^ch^cw-q3 nsyt-^c3t
n-nswt-bjty (nfr-k3-r^c stp-n-r^c) s3-r^c
(r^c-ms-sw ^ch^cj-m-w3st)

mtw.f-djt-n.j ^cnh-wd3-snb
^ch^cw-q3 ²⁷j3w-^c3
hsw m-b3h-pr-^c3 p3y.j-nb

jr.n-hm-ntr-tpy n-jmn-r^c-nswt-ntrw
jmn-htp m3^c-hrw
s3-²⁸hm-ntr-tpy n-jmn
r^c-ms-sw-nht m3^c-hrw

...
everything good and pure.

I placed its superiors and favoured ones
...
... .. when there was not
...
feet .. seizing the ...
...
...
[of stone, doorleaves] of pine,
and I ...
...
[Asheru, and they planted?] trees [?]
...
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]ⁱ
and she...

as something beneficial for Amun-re, king of the gods, my
lord,
for I know his greatness, his strength(?)^j, his might,
saying, 'you are the lord of every land'.

May he grant life, prosperity and health, a long lifetime
and a 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 *Wörterbuch* refers to *hr^c-sb3 n-hm.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 *Wörterbuch* 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.n]-b3k-jm sb3.n-nb.f sh-nswt m-st-m3^ct hr-jmntt-w3st r^c-ms m3^c-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 *wsh* as an intensifier and expressed the orthography in transliteration and translation. Such a writing is unattested in the *Wörterbuch* (I, 364–5) and may be restricted to Amenhotep's text.

c) Two statives are possible here; *wsh* and *q3j*, the latter indicated by the surviving determinative . I am not sure how  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 *hnty*, perhaps referring to an outer chamber.

f) *mnš*  is a type of pigment or ochre with this determinative. The *Wörterbuch* (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. *mnš* is also a word for 'cartouche' (*Wb.* II, 89, 2–5) and the connection may be significant.

g) I restore 'bolts' *qrjw* here after the parallel of col. 7.

h) The reading of *tnw* 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 *wsh^t* is based on the surviving determinative . Writings of this word consisting of only two signs  are known (Spencer 1984, 72). The rendering seems appropriate to the context.

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

2.i

High priest of Amun Amenhotep

Temple wall (block)

Figs. 24-5

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: *jry-p^t h3ty-^c hm-ntr-tpy n-jmn-r^c 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-m33w n-r^c-jtm m-w3st jmy-r3-hmw-ntr n-sm^cw*] *t3-mhw [hm-ntr-]tpy n-jmn[-r^c] nswt-ntrw*...[three and a half groups lost] ² [...]... *jry-p^t h3ty-^c mh-jb n-nb-t3wy hm-ntr-tpy n-jmn-r^c nswt-ntrw jmn-h[tp] [m3^c]-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

Back

[x columns lost]

¹[traces only]

²[loss] *q[rs]-nfr mj-qrs.tw.n m-mjtt*

... a good burial in as much as we will be buried likewise.^a

hr-jr p3-nty-jw.f-(r)-^cb^c

n3-md[wt]-j.dd.j

mtw.f-hm-[jrw.j] mtw.f-jy

[...] ³[...]

[bn-jr.f-t3y]-j3wt hm-ntr-tpy n-jmn

bn-šsp-n.f s3.f

bn-qrs.tw.f hr-jmnt-w3st

hry.tw-n[3]y.s-hmyw

Now as for the one who will distort^b

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.^c

jy3 j.j[r].j-3w [... ...]

⁴[... w3?] *r-w3sj*

m-tr n-qd.s

jw-j.jr-n3-hmw-ntr-tpy n-jmn n-hr-h3t

jr-s[t] r-h3w-nswt (hpr-k3-r^c)

s3-r^c (sn-wsrt)

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,

p3-j[r] [...]

⁵[... ...] *jmn-r^c nswt-ntrw*

the one who made [...]

[... ...] Amun-re, king of the gods.

tw.j-jy r-3w-drt.j r-sfh.s

jw-t3y.s-dbt-h3y m-^crrt tt.w

jw-n3y.s-hty wh3

htr[j sb3] [...]

⁶[...] *[j]r-p3y.s-[r]*

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 [entrance].

jnk-j.qd.s m-qd-nfr

jw-j-djt-n.s h3w m-^c3

m-snn-nfrw hr-p3y.s-jwtm

I am the one who rebuilt it of excellent construction

and I made it greater in size,

with perfect foundations upon its ground.

[...] ⁷[... ...]

jw-j.jr-[n3y.s-hty n-hr-h3t]

wh3w htrj

m-jnr-^c3 n-rwd m-jth

...

and I (re-)made [its former wooden joinery];

door supports and frames

with great hard stones dragged (into position),

jw-j.jr-n3y.s-sb3[w] [...]

⁸[...] *m-3bw [nfrw] [... ... m-h]bny*

jw-j.jr.j-mtn-rn.j hr-n3-nfr[w]

[...] ⁹[...]

and I made its doorleaves [...]

[...] with ivory, [its? base?] [...] with ebony.

And I had my name inscribed upon the bases (?).

...

jr-p3-nty-jw.f(r)-rw[j-rn].j r-djt-rn.f

As for the one who will remove my name in order to
replace (it) with his (own) name,

<i>hbt-jmn ḥꜥw.f ḥr-tp-t3-tm</i>	Amun will reduce his lifetime on the entire earth,
<i>[jw.f-m ... f wꜥb...?]</i>	[for he (the transgressor?) is ...? impure ...] ^d
<i>[...] ¹⁰ [... ḏr-ntt-jnk]-j.jr t3y-sbḥt</i>	[... ..since I am] the one who (re-)made this portal in
<i>n-jnr</i>	stone,
<i>t3y-gm.j jw.s-[w3 r-w3sj]</i>	this which I found [fallen into ruin].
<i>[...] ¹¹ [...]</i>	...
<i>[jnk-ḥm-nṯr-tpy n]-jmn-rꜥ nswt-nṯrw</i>	[I am the high priest of] Amun-re, king of the gods,
<i>jmn-ḥtp m3ꜥ-ḥrw</i>	Amenhotep, true of voice,
<i>s3 ḥm-nṯr-tpy n-jmn-rꜥ nswt-nṯrw</i>	son of the high priest of Amun-re, king of the gods,
<i>rꜥ-ms-mw-nḥt [m3ꜥ-ḥrw ...]</i>	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 ‘bꜥ’ as ‘to distort’ following Scott Morschauser’s interpretation of the word in this text (1991, 63–4).

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

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

2.j

Royal scribe Roy

Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 917

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

Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 42122

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

<i>Object type</i>	block statue
<i>Date</i>	Merneptah (cartouche)
<i>Provenance</i>	Thebes, Karnak cachette (rededication)
<i>Dimensions</i>	H: 0.47m
<i>Material</i>	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

2.m

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, I, 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: ¹ḥy-ḥw ḥr-[wnm-nswt] jmy-r3-njwt t3ty [s]šm²-ḥb n-jmn p3-sr m3^c-ḥrw dd.f-jnd-ḥr.k ntr-nfr ḥr-ḥ^c m-w3st m-[8 groups] ³dḡ.f-pw n-^cnh m-jry-ḥm.k p3y.f-^cḥ^cw dj.k-ḥtp-b3k-jm m-ḥnw.f mj-ḥm-3ḥ n-nb.f jmj-dd-⁴srw smrw w3d.wy-ḥpr-n.f ⁵sp-nfr n-šms-ḥm.k wd.k-n.j dj.k-ph.j-jmnt-w3st mj-ḥsy.k-nb n-k3-n-jmy-r3-njwt t3ty p3-sr m3^c-ḥrw, '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 ([mn]-m3^ct-r^c) is visible as is the location of the nomen, but

the surface there is lost. There are traces of *s3-r* and *dj-^cnh mj-r*. 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*djw m-hswt nt-pr-nswt*
n-jry-p^ct h3ty-^c
[s3b?] t3ytj r3-nhn
hm-ntr-m3^ct t3y-hw hr-wnm-nswt
jmy-r3-njwt t3ty
p3-sr m3^c-hrw

Given as a favour of the palace,
to the member of the *p^ct*, 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;

²*dd.f-jnd-hr.k nswt n-kmt*
r^c n-pdt-9
ntk-[ntr] ^cnh m-m3^ct
sj3 jmy-h3tjw
wd^c-hwt ³rh-jmyt.s(n)
sš3-hr mj-nb-hnmw
[... ...] r-rh
mj-pt^h ms-hmww

he says: Greetings to you King of Egypt,
Re of the nine bows.
You are a god who lives on Maat,
who perceives what is in hearts,
who judges bodies, who knows what is in them,
clever like the lord of Hermopolis,
[... ...] in order to know,
like Ptah, who created workshops.

jst-⁴hm.f jb.f-3w
hnm.n.f-ršwt thhwt [...]
m-^ch.f n-nḏm-jb
mj-r^c m-hnw-3ht.f

Now His Person, his heart happy,
was suffused with joy and exultation,
in his palace of delectation,
like Re within his horizon.

⁵*mwt.f m3^ct m-s3-h^cw.f*
h^c.tj m-wrt-hk3w
[jry.s]-st.s r-jmy-jnh.f
m-mhn ⁶hrt-tp.f

his mother Maat being the protection of his body,
having appeared as Great-of-Magic,
[taking] her place between his eyebrows,
as the coiled one upon his head,

sšp.n.f-hq3 nhhw
j3t n-jt.f-gb
 [... ...] *hr-nhm m-pt*
hwt-sr m-hb
nbw⁷-jwnw hr-ršrš
jpt-swt m-h^cwt jmn-[r^c 3]-wr
m3.n.f-s3.f hr-nst.f

having taken up the crook and flail,
 and the office of his father Geb,
 [gods] jubilating in the sky,
 the mansion of the official being in festival,
 the lords of Heliopolis rejoicing.
 Karnak is exalting and Amun-[Re] very [greatly],
 when he saw his son upon his throne.

dj.f-sw r-h3t.f
jb.f-⁸w hr-jrt-bj3t n-hm.f
sw3d.n.f-šm^cw t3-mhw
jmntt j3btt [...] t3-dmd
nswt-bjty (mn-m3^ct-r^c tjt-r^c)
s3-r^c (sthy mr.n-pth) dj-^cnh

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.

⁹*jw-wd.n-nb.j tsw-b3k-jm*
r-smr-tpy n-^ch
dhn.n.f-sw r-jmy-r3 jmj-hnt
hm-ntr-tpy n-wrt-hk3w

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.

¹⁰*whm.n.f-rdjt.f r-jmy-r3-njwt*
t3ty wp-m3^ct
djw m-hr.f r-sšp-jnw
n-h3swt-rswt mht
r-pr-hd n-nswt-nht

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.

h3b.tw.f-[...]-¹¹jmf n-^c3w-n-mnh.f
r-hsb-b3kw-t3wy m-h^ct-sp3wt-šm^cw
t3-mhw

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.

jn-sh-nswt-m3^c-mr.f
hsy-^c3 ¹²n-ntr-nfr
jmy-r3-k3wt m-mnw-wrw
jmy-r3-jmy-r3-hmwt-nb(w) n-nswt
sšm-hb n-jmn
jmy-r3-njwt t3ty
p3-sr m3^c-hrw

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,
 Paser, true of voice.

dd.f-¹³[... ...]
smrw wrw-^ch
šnywt jmyt-pr-nswt
[...].n.tn m-hr.tn
m-shrw n-ntr-nfr
w3d ¹⁴[... ...] j3w-nfr

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>ph.n(.j)-nn hr-jrt-m3^ct n-ntr.j</i>	I have reached this by performing maat for my god,
[... ...]	[.....]
<i>dj.f-n(.j) st hr-jmy-wrt</i>	May he give (me) a place on the west side,
<i>jmntt hf[t hr-¹⁵nb.s?]</i>	the West, [the necropolis?] ^a
[... ...] <i>hr-wd-jmn-r^c</i>	[... ...] under the command of Amun-Re,
<i>p3-ntr wd</i> [... ...]	the god who ordains [... ...]
<i>ph-jm3hy wpt</i>	attaining veneration, judging? [... ...].

a) I suggest the restoration of *hft-hr nb.s* here on the basis of Text 2. Text 2 continues with *m s3h n* [... ..] [*jmn*]-*r^c* [*p3*] *ntr* [*wd*] which may also be appropriate for Text 1. The remaining traces of this line in each text are too fragmentary for any restoration to be certain.

Text 2 translation and notes

¹ [<i>djw m-hst</i>] <i>nt-pr-nswt</i>	[Given as a favour] of the palace,
<i>n-wsjr jry-p^ct h3ty-^c</i>	to the Osiris, member of the <i>p^ct</i> , count,
<i>s3b t3ytj [r3-nhn</i>	dignitary, judge, [mouth of Nekhen,
<i>hm-ntr-m3^ct t3y-hw hr-wnm-nswt]</i>	priest of Maat, fanbearer on the right of the king,
² [<i>jmy-r3-njw t3ty</i>]	[overseer of the city, vizier,]
<i>p3-sr m3^c-hrw</i>	Paser, true of voice;

² <i>dd.f-jnd-hr.k nswt n-[kmt</i>	he says: Greetings to you King of [Egypt,
<i>r^c n-pdt-9</i>	Re of the nine bows.]
³ [... ..]	...
<i>hr mry-m3^ct</i>	Horus, beloved of Maat.

<i>ntk-ntr ^cnh m-m3^ct</i>	You are a god who lives on Maat
<i>sj3 jmy-h3tjw</i>	who perceives what is in hearts,
⁴ <i>ntr</i> [... ..]	a god ...
[<i>sr?</i>] <i>m-k3.f</i>	[...?] through his ka.

<i>jst-hm.f [jb.f-3w</i>	Now His Person, [his heart happy,
<i>hnm.n.f-r3w] ⁵t3hwt</i>	was suffused with joy] and exaltation,
[<i>m-^ch.f n-ndm-jb</i>	[in his palace of delectation,
<i>mj]-r^c m-hnw-[3ht.f</i>	like] Re within his [horizon.

<i>mwt.f m3^ct m-s3-h^cw.f</i>	his mother Maat being the protection for his body,
<i>h^c.tj m-wrt-hk3w]</i>	having appeared as Great-of-Magic],
⁶ <i>jry.s-st.s [r-jmy-jnh.f</i>	taking her place [between his eyebrows,
<i>m]-mhn hrt-tp.f</i>	as] the coiled one upon his head,

[<i>s3p.n.f hq3 nhhw</i>	[having taken up the crook and flail
<i>j3t n-jt.f-gb]</i>	and the office of his father Geb;]
<i>nswt-bjty (wsr-m3^ct-r^c stp.n-r^c)</i>	Dual King Usermaatse-setepenre,

[..] <i>nb</i> [... ...]	[...]
<i>jw-wd.n-[nb.j tsw] b3[k-jm r-smr-tpy] ⁸n-^ch dhn[.n.f]-sw r-jmy-r3 jmj-hnt hm-ntr-tpy n-wrt-hk3</i>	[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.
<i>w hm[.n.f]-rdjt[.f] r-jmy-r3-[njwt wp-m3^ct] djw [m-hr.f r-sšp-jnw] ⁹n-h3swt-rsjw mhtjw r-pr-hd n-nswt-nht h[3b.tw.f ...-jm.f n-^c3-n-m]nh.f</i>	Then again [he] placed him as overseer of [the city who judges truth], who is charged [to receive the tribute], of the foreign lands of south and north, for the treasury of the victorious king. [He was sent forth ... from it on account of] his efficiency.
<i>dj.f-n(.j) [st hr-jmnt n]-¹⁰hft-hr-nb.s m-s3h n-[...] [jmn]-r^c [p3]-ntr-[wd] [6 groups]</i>	May he give (me) [a place on the West, ^a in] the necropolis, in the endowed land of [...], [Amun]-re [the] god [who ordains] ...

a) Kitchen (KRI, I, 9, 8) restores *jmnt n* here. *jmy-wrt* would also be possible, as in Text 1.

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 *šbjw* 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: *bḥdt nṯr-ʿ3 nb-pt nb-msn dj-ḥnh w3s*, ‘Behdetite, great god, lord of the sky, lord of Mesen, (may he) give life and dominion’, *bḥdt nṯr-ʿ3 s3b-šwt dj.f-ḥnh w3s mj-rʿ*, ‘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: *1nswt-bjty (mn-m3ʿt-rʿ) 2s3-rʿ [(sthy mr-n)-pth] 3dj-ḥnh mj-rʿ 4mry-jmn-rʿ 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: *1dd-mdw jn-m3ʿt [s3t-rʿ] [ʿwy]-ḥ3[k] 2m-ḥnh w3s dj.j-[...] 33w-jb.k ḥr-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: *[ḥnh dd] w3s-nb snb-nb ḥ3.k-nb mj-rʿ-[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: *1jrt-hnw jn-b3w-p 2b3w-nhn*, ‘making jubilation by the souls of Pe and Nekhen’.

Seven columns above Paser’s head, and beneath the fan, give his titles: *1jry-pʿt ḥ3ty-ʿ s3b 2t3ytj r3-nhn hm-nṯr-tpy(!) 3jmy-r3-njwt t3ty n-njwt 4p3-sr m3ʿ-ḥrw 5ḥr-jmnty-w3st 6ḥsy 7n-nṯr-jmy.s*, ‘member of the *pʿt*, count, diginitary, 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): *1jmy-hnt p3-tw-mʿ 2[jmy]-hnt [pt]ḥ-m[ʿy] 3jmy-hnt mry-rʿ 4dd.n.f [hl?].n-r3*, ‘chamberlain, Patjuma; [chamber]lain [Pta]hm[ay]; chamberlain, Meryre, who is called [Hl?]enre’.

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)

Principal text, translation and notes

¹[... ...-jry-p^ct h³ty-^c
jmy]-r³-njwt t³ty
p³-sr m³-hrw

[... ...^a the member of the p^ct, count,
over]seer of the city, vizier,
Paser, true of voice.

dd.f-jnd-hr.k-[nb?] n-kmt
r^c n-pdt-9
nswt-bjty (mn-m³-t-r^c)
hr h^cw m-w³st

He says: Greetings to you [lord?] of Egypt,
Re of the nine bows,
Dual king, Menmaatre,
Horus, who appears in Thebes,

²[... ...] sj³-h³tywt
rh nty-m-h^t
hnmw-pw [n?-rm]t
qd-nmh tsw-m³jrw ³[...?]-bw³w

[who penetrates hearts?], who perceives hearts,
who knows what is in bodies,
He is a Khnum [for peo]ple,
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

p³-h^cpy [n?]-[t³]⁴[-tmm?]
[p³-šw?] n-dj-sw m-jb.f

dj.k-sny.j-d³d³t ⁵[... ...] tpyw-^c

May you cause that I pass by the council, [... ...] the
ancestors,

dd.tw-n.j nty-m-jb
nn-wn-[...] ⁶[...]
[... ...].j tw m-b³h-jty
r-m³-hm.f⁷m-dsr [...] ⁷
[...] [s³w?]-^cšw-št³w

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.

jw-srw ⁸smrw r-rwty
[... ...] m-b³h n-smj.tw
nn-[wn jm?] ⁹jr hr-h³t.j

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

hswt-nswt-hnm m-h^cw.j n-^cšw-[...]j

The favours of the king are suffused with my flesh, because
of my [character?].

¹⁰stp.n.f-wj m-hnt-hhw
jw.f-rh(.w) nfrw.j hry-jb.f

He chose me ahead of millions,
for he comprehended my perfection in his heart.

¹¹jnk-smr n-shpr.n.f
sb³yt.f m-h^t.j
shrw-nb-jp hr-¹²jb.j
sš³.kw m-nn jr.n.f-n.j
st³ r-[...]

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? ...]

¹³[cols. 13–9 largely lost with trs]

...

²⁰n-wdty.f

... of his two uraei,

<i>sw3š jt.f</i> [four groups] ²¹ <i>s3-r^c (sthy-mr.n-ptḥ)</i> <i>spd-ḥr m33-ḥt</i> <i>sš3-[ḥrt] n-[b3²²k]-jm</i>	His father [Amun?] extols ... son of Re, Sety Merneptah, alert, who sees bodies, wise [in the concerns] of this [servant] ^e
<i>dj.f-jry.j-^cḥ^cw.j m-wsr-hrw</i> [... ... ²³] [... ...] <i>r-nfr</i> <i>ḥr-sp3t [n]-ḥft-ḥr[-nb.s?]</i> [...w] [...] [<i>ḥb</i>] ²⁴ [...] <i>m-ḥrt-ntr r-gs[.k] [r^c?-nb]</i>	May he cause that I spent my lifetime, rich in days(?) to perfection, in the district [of the necropolis] ... in the necropolis at [your] side [everyday],
<i>šbn.j-wrw ²⁵tpw-^c 3ḥw-jqrw</i> <i>k3-dd-n.j jmyw-²⁶dw3t</i> <i>jy-wy sp-sn m-ḥtp</i> <i>jw-jr.n.k-m3^ct n-nb-w3st</i> <i>wḏ.f-n.k ²⁷jmnt</i>	that I may mingle with the great ones, the ancestors, and the effective spirits, and then those who are in the underworld will say to me: ‘Welcome, welcome in peace! You have done right for the lord of Thebes; May he assign the West to you’.
<i>n-k3-n-wsjr s3b t3ytj</i> <i>r3-nḥn ḥm-ntr-m3^ct</i> <i>jmy-r3-njwṯ t3ty</i> <i>p3-sr m3^c-ḥrw</i>	For the ka of the Osiris, dignitary, judge, mouth of Nekhen, priest of Maat, overseer of the city, vizier, Paser, true of voice.

a) Kitchen (KRI I, 292, 6) begins the text with *ḏd 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 $\square$ determinative of *ḏsr* designated this as a zone of palace space, comparable to the ‘seclusion of the palace (*ḏsrw-^cḥ*)’ 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).

2.n

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. I), 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)
KRI III, 282, 13–285, 3
Kitchen (1982, 46–7, fig. 16)
Bell (1969, 32–3)
Kitchen (2000, 201–3)

Translation and notes

¹*rnpt-sp-1 3bd-3 3ht-[]*
m-ht-ḥd-ḥm.f m-njwt-rsy
ḥr-jrt-ḥsst-jt.f
jmn-r^c nb-nswt-t3wy
k3-wr ḥry-tp-psdt
mwt-wrt nbt-jšrw
²*ḥnsw m-w3st nfr-ḥtp*
psdt jmy(t)-w3st
m-ḥb.f-nfr n-jpt

Year one, 3rd month of Akhet [],^a
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.

jy-jm m-ḥst
šsp.tw-ḥswt ḥr-tp-^cnh-wd3-snb
n-nswt-bjty (wsr-m3^ct-r^c stp.n-r^c)
^cnh dt

Returning from there in favour,
when favours had been received on behalf of the life,
prosperity, and health,
of the dual king, Usermaatse setepenre,
may he live forever.

³*djw-r-t3 r-t3-wr*
st3 ḥm-ntr-tpy n-jmn
nb-wnn.f m3^c-ḥrw m-b3ḥ-ḥm.f

Landing was made at Tawer,
And the high priest of Amun
Nebwenenef, true of voice, was ushered into the presence
of His Person.

jst-sw-m-ḥm-ntr-tpy n-jn-ḥrt
m-ḥm-ntr-tpy n-ḥwt-ḥr nbt-jwnt
⁴*[jmy-r3]-ḥmw-ntr n-ntrw-nbw*
rsy.f r-ḥr.j-ḥr-jmn
mḥtj.f r-tnw

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.

⁵*dd.jn-n.f ḥm.f*

Then His Person said to him:

tw.k-m-ḥm-ntr-tpy n-jmn
pr-ḥd.f šnwt.f ḥr-dḅ^ct⁶.k
tw.k-m-r3-ḥry n-r3-pr.f
sd(f)3.f-nb m-r-ḥt.k

pr-ḥwt-ḥr nb⁷t-jwnt r-ḥt-...]

[... -mtj-]j3wt n-jtjw.k
st wn.n.k

⁸ḥn-ḥ-n.j mr-wj r^c
ḥs-wj jt.j-jmn
wts.j-n.f šnyt [(r-)3w.s]
⁹r3-ḥry n-mn[fyt]
wḥm-n.f ḥmw-ntr-ntrw
srw n-pr.f [jw.w-ḥft-ḥr.f]

¹⁰bw-ḥr.n.f [ḥr]-w^c-jm.sn
wpw-ḥr-dd.j-n.f rn.[k

jr-n.f 3ḥw] ¹¹mj-3by.f-tw

tw.j-rḥ.kw mnḥ.k
jmj-ḥ3[w] [ḥsy-tw k3]¹².f
wḥm-tw k3.j

sw3ḥ.f-tw ḥnty-pr.f
dj.f-n.k j3w [m-ḥnw.f
mn]¹³.f-tw ḥr-s3tw-njwt.f
dj.f-ḥ3tt pḥwy
3by.f-tw [ds.f
nn-ky]¹⁴ dd-n.f

jw.f-r-djt-n.k jmnt
ḥr-nty jr-jt.j-jmn
ntr-wr [nn-mjtt.f
d^c]¹⁵r n-ḥt wb3-ḥ3tjw
sj3 rḥ-ḥnw-ḥt

[n-šm ntr m-jrt.n.f
n-khb.n.tw šhrw.f
rhn.tw] ḥr-prw n-r3.f
ntf p3-nb-psdt
stp-¹⁶[... ..]
[dhn?].n.f tw ḥr-mnḥ.k

‘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,^b
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 mor[e 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,
(he is) a great god, [without equal],
[who investigates] bodies, who reveals hearts,
(he is) 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’.

ḥ^c.n-šnyt mb^c[yt-twt.tj
 ḥr-dw3 nfrw-ḥm.f
 ḥr-sn-t3-ḥ3-wrt] m-b3ḥ-ntr-pn-nfr

ḥr-jr(t)-j3w ḥr-šhtp-¹⁷[... ..]
 [ḥr-]sw3ḥ n-ḥr.f
 ḥr-sq3-k3w f r-q3 n-[p]t

dd.sn-p3-ḥq3 n-jmn
 jw f-r-nḥḥ ḥpr.f m-] [d3]mw-(sp-sn)

jry.k-ḥbw-sd ¹⁸[... ..]
 [...]k mj-ḥ^cy
 msy.tw.k tnw-[dw]3yt
 rnpy-n.n [m]j- [j]tn
 ḥwn.k mj-j^ch
 m-ḥrd n-¹⁹[... ..]

...].k m-nswt n-jdbwy
 pdt-9 ḥr-wd.k
 rdj(w)-t3ḥ.k r-drw pt-tn
 šnw.s-nb ḥr.k
 šnn.n-jtn ḥr-st-ḥr.k
 j^cw-[... ..]

jw.k-tp-t3 ḥr-st-ḥr
 ḥ^c.tj m-ḥq3-ḥ^cnw
 tsy.k-d3mw nw-t3-mrj
 ḥdb.k-swt m-nb
 dd-nsyt tp-t3

²¹[... ..]
 ḥq3.k mj-jr.n.f
 wnn.k m-t3
 jtn m-pt
 ḥ^cw.k mj-ḥ^cw.f

dj.f-n.k nḥḥ dt-dmd
 sm3 m-ḥ^ch w3s
 p3-ḥq3-nfr mry-jmn
 jw f-²²[... ..]

[dj-n.f]-ḥm.f ḥtmty.f m-nbw
 twrt.f m-d^cm
 dh n r-ḥm-ntr-tpy n-jmn
 [jmy-r3]-prwy ḥd-nbw

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,]^b

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,

<i>jmy-r3-šnty jmy-r3-k3wt</i> <i>jmy-r3-ḥmww-nb ḥnt-w3st</i>	overseer of the granary, overseer of works, and overseer of all the craftsmen throughout Thebes.
<i>rdj(w)-šm-wpwt-nswt</i> ²³ [...] [...] <i>n.f pr-jmn ḥt.f-nb</i>	A royal message was sent out, [to inform the entire land?], that the domain of Amun, all his property [was assigned to him?],
<i>smdt.f nb</i> [c. 11 groups] [...] <i>-p3-ḥq3 jmn jw.f-r-nḥḥ</i>	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 I², 1, 296, 301 (14); Seyfried 1995, pls. 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: ^{x+1}*dj.k-ꜥq prt m-[hrt-nꜥr]* ^{x+2}*n-k3 n-wsjr* ^{x+3}*jmy-r3-shꜥty n-* ^{x+4}*pr-jmn dhꜥwtj-* ^{x+5}*m-hb m3ꜥ-hrw*, '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: ... *nb-m* [or *nb-m3ꜥt-n* (Seyfried 1995, 74, Text 125)] *hrt-nꜥr* ... *sh-hwt-nꜥr n-pr-jmn [dhꜥwtj-m-hb m3ꜥ-hrw]*, '... 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-nꜥr*, '[A]nubis, foremost of the god's shrine'. In his transliteration of this group, Seyfried (1995, 73, text 123) gives the epithet *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.

Seyfried (1995, 69–73, text 119–120, pl. 35–6).

Assmann (1999a); translation.

Szpakowska (2003); especially Chapter 5, 138–41. With translation of text 1.

Text 1 translation and notes

¹*dw3-nbwt jrt-r^c*

sn-t3 n-k3-[.s]

[rdjt]-²j3w n-hr.s-nfr

sw3š.s [r^c-nb]

Adoring Gold, the eye of Re,
kissing the ground for [her] ka,
[A pray]er for her perfect face,
paying her honour [everyday],

[jn]-ws[jr] ³jmy-r3-sh_{ty} n-pr-jmn

dhwty-m-[hb m3^c-hrw

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

dd.f-jj.n.j]-⁴hr.t t3-nbt-t3wy

hwt-hr wrt-mrwt

mk-[wj m-j3w] ⁵n-hr.t-nfr

sn.j-t3 n-k3.t

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;^a
I kissed the ground for your ka.

jnk-hm.t n-wn-m3^c

tw.j-[hr]-⁶mw n-wd.t

bw-h3^c.j-j.dd-r3.t bw-hm⁷.j-sb3y(t).t

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.

tw.j-hr-w3t n-dd.t ds.t

hr-mtn ⁸n-jr.n.t

I am upon the path which you yourself set,
upon the road which you made.

hy-p3-sp-nfr n-nty-m-rh.t

p3-⁹ptr.t-nb hsj(w)

rš.wy htpw r-gs.t

p3-^cq(w) n-šwt.t

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.

¹⁰*ntt-sr-m^ch^ct.j m-š3^c*

jw.s m-š3w r-hpr

j.ddt.t hpr

shrw.t [mn?]

[dsr?]-st n-dt.j

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

jw.t-r-dd-n.j {n} j3w

htp.j jw.j-w[d3.kw]

s33.k(w) m-^cnh

jrt.j hr-gmh

¹¹*wt.j-nbt tm(.tj)*

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

ntt.j.dd-n.j m-r3.t ds.t

jnk-hly-nfrt jrj.j-[jrj?] n-mwt

j.jrt-¹²jj r-mtr.k

ptr-st.k j.mh-tw-jm.s

n-hdj n-[hn]tj

You are the one who said to me with your own mouth:
'I am the perfect *hly*, my form is [the form?] of Mut,^e
one who comes to instruct you.^f
See your place, fill yourself with it,
without going north, without going [sou]th',

<i>jw.j-m-qd jw-t3 m-¹³sgr</i> <i>m-nfrw-grh</i> <i>hd-t3 jb.j-h^cwy tw.j-m-ršrš</i> <i>dj.n.j-hr(.j r-)jmy-wrt</i> <i>r-jrt mj-dd.t</i>	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.
¹⁴ <i>ntt-ntrt n-jrt-j.ddt.s</i> <i>špst n-sdm-n.s</i> <i>bw-wn.j-r3.t bw-sn.j-shrw.t</i> <i>j.jr.j mj-j.dd.t</i> ^[end of text on north wall]	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.
¹⁵ <i>jmj-hr.t r-djt-h3mw.j-sw</i> <i>mnq-n3y.t-nfrw ht.j-jrw.t m-hnw-js.j</i>	Set your face in order to allow me to worship it, bestow your perfection that I may perceive your form in my tomb, ^h
¹⁶ <i>r-sdd-phty.t r-djt-^cm3-d3mw[...</i> <i>[... ..]nw</i>	in order to recount your strength, in order to cause the generations to understand]
<i>n-k3-n-wsjr</i> ¹⁷ <i>sh-htp-ntr n-pr-jmn</i> <i>jmy-r3-shty n-pr-jmn</i> <i>sh-nswt [... ..]</i> <i>dhwty-m-hb m3^c-hrw m-htp</i> ¹⁸ <i>snt.f-mrt</i> [c. 10 groups lost] <i>mwt-[ndmt][...] [m3^c-hrw] jmnt-w3st</i>	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 [...], Mutnedjmet, [true of voice], on the west of Thebes. ⁱ

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 , 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 *m-š3ʿ* ‘in the beginning’ and *m-š3w* ‘as ordained’ as signalling the literary character of the text.

c) I follow Seyfried here (1995, 71, 72, n. c). Assmann reads: *j.ḏdt.t ḥpr.s-ḥr.t [grg]-st n-ḏt.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 *šhrw.t mn* for *ḥr.t* which is supported by the traces (Seyfried 1995, pl. 35). Seyfried (1995, 72, n. c) does not consider it necessary to restore a *sdm(w)* passive in the lacuna and suggests *ḏsr* on the basis of the parallel phrase in Text 2 (col. 6) (also Assmann 1978, 29, n. e).

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

e) Assmann cites an example of *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 *tjt* in the lacuna, although I offer *jr w* as an alternative that may work as a parallelism and given its repetition in the thematically related context of col. 15. The traces of *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  to the second tense *j.jrj.j*: ‘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 *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 (*wʿ 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 *qd*.

h) I follow Assmann (1978, 28) in reading with the  determinative of *ht*, a rare verb meaning ‘perceive, catch sight of’ (*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 *h3m* is related to concepts of ownership in the examples given in the *Wörterbuch* (III, 231, 8–10; see also 8.g, KRI IV, 342, 11–2; 343, 3). Assmann’s rendering ‘worship’, proposed by analogy with the intransitive use ‘to bow to’ (*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 <i>dd-mdw jn-ḥwt-ḥrw ḥryt-tp-w3st jrt-rᶜ ḥryt-jb-[dsrt]</i>	Words spoken by Hathor, Mistress of Thebes, Eye of Re, who resides in [Djesret]: ^a
² <i>j3w-tw m-ḥtp ḏḥwty-m-ḥb m3ᶜ-ḥrw p33-ᶜq3-ḥ3ty p3-qb [gr(w) n-]j[p]t-swt ⁴<i>tmm-r3 n-w3[st]</i></i>	Welcome in peace, Djehutyemheb, true of voice, the accurate, the cool, [silent one of K]arnak, the discrete mouth of The[bes], ^b
[... ..] <i>ḥr [...]</i> ⁵ <i>ḥ3ty.j-3bh(.w) m-qj.k jr[.n].j [...]</i> ⁶ <i>n-sᶜḥ.k ḏsr.j-st n-ḏt.k</i>	... My heart mingles with your form, I [have] made [a shrine?] for your mummy, ^c and I have consecrated a place for your body.
<i>jw.j-r-[wḥm.k]</i> ⁷ <i>n-ntr-ᶜ3 ḏd.f-n.k jw m-ḥtp</i>	I will [announce you] to the great god, that he may say to you: ‘Welcome in peace’.
<i>jw.j-r-ḥn[.k]</i> ⁸ <i>n-ḥr-3ḥty dj.f-tw m-n3y.f-dw3w swḏ.j-tw</i> ⁹ <i>n-nb-ḥmnw dj.f-mn p3wt.k</i>	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.
<i>jw.j-r-ḥn.k n-[rest of col. lost]</i> <i>[sw3ḏ.j-tw?]</i> ¹⁰ <i>n-skr ḥnw ᶜq.k r-ṣtjt</i>	I will commend you to ... [I will hand you over] to Sokar and the Henu barque, that you may enter the <i>ṣtjt</i> -shrine.
<i>sw3ḏ(.j)-tw n-nfr-tm pḥr.k-jnbw ḥnᶜ.f jw.j-r-ḥn[.k n-]nfr-ḥr ¹¹<i>[dj.f-tw m-n3y.f?]-ḥsyw</i></i>	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.
<i>jw.j-r-ḥn.k n-pnpn jᶜb.f ḥtpt.k jw[.j]-r-ḥ[n.k] [... .mj-]</i> ¹² <i>wn.k-tp-t3</i>	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.
<i>ḥsy.f-tw ḥḥw n-sp dj[.f] [rest of col. lost]</i>	May he favour you a million times that he may [...]

¹³ [... ..]- <i>rn.k 3t r-3t</i>	[... ..] your name, moment after moment
[...]. <i>k-mn r-n[hh]</i>	[...] you established forever.

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

¹⁵ [rest lost]	...
---------------------------	-----

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 Paenkhmenu (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-ntr* 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^ch.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 Anhurmoose at el-Mashayikh, he is associated with offerings. In the tomb of Paenkhmenu (TT 68), he is connected with writing. Assmann (1978, 37, n. l 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 I², 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*n-k3-n-wsjr w^cb*

For the Osiris, wab priest,

<i>hry-hbt</i> [<i>n?</i>]-[<i>j</i>] <i>mn</i> [over ¾ of the col. lost]	lector priest [of A]mun, ^a ...
² <i>jw.sn-r-jy r-swtwt</i> ... [over ¾ of the col. lost]	They will come in order to walk about,
[<i>dhn.kw</i>] ³ <i>m-jmy-r3-hmww hry-nbw</i> <i>wh^c.k[w?] spd?</i> <i>n-h[m?-hmww] r-r3.j</i>	[I was appointed] as overseer of craftsmen, chief of goldworkers, (for) I had understanding (as) one who is skilled. ^b No [craftsman was ignorant?] concerning my speech ...
[c. ¾ of the col. lost] ⁴ <i>n-nbw</i> <i>tryw-^c3 m-[p3] [...]-jpt-swt</i> <i>sšmw-hw?</i> [c. ¾ of the col. lost] ⁵ <i>jrw-hmwwt-nfr n-jry-[hnt].f</i>	... of gold, great doors in [the] [...] of Karnak, barques? ^c ... making perfect craftsmanship as one devoted to his [skills], ^d
[... ...] <i>n-sw^d3.f-[w]j tp-t3</i> <i>hsy</i> [c. ¾ of the col. lost] ⁶ <i>n-nb.f</i>	[... ...] of his causing me to flourish on earth, as one favoured ... for his lord.
<i>sš3.kw m-hmwwt nn.w-hr-dj(t) tp-rd</i> <i>sšm</i> [c. ¾ of the col. lost] [...] ⁷ <i>.sn m-nbw h^d</i> <i>hsbd-m3^ct m^cfkt</i> ... [c. ¾ of the col. lost]	I am skilled in craftsmanship, without their giving (me) instruction, [I] guided [work?] ... their [...] in gold, silver, real lapis lazuli, turquoise
⁸ <i>j[w]-s^dm.j-^cš n-p3-sšm-hw</i> <i>n-3st</i> ... [c. ¾ of the col. lost] [cols. 9–18 lost] ¹⁹ <i>[jw-s^dm.j-^cš n-p3-sšm-hw]</i> [<i>n-... nbt 3</i>] <i>b[^dw] jmnt</i> [...] [over ½ a col. lost]	[I] performed [service] for the barque ^e of Isis [I performed service for the barque] of [Isis?, lady of A]b[ydos] West [...] ^f ...
²⁰ <i>s^dm.j-^cš n-[p3-] [s]šm-hw</i> <i>n-hnmw m-jwny m-rnpt-sp-55</i> <i>jw-s^dm.j-^cš n-[p3-] [sšm-hw]</i> <i>n-nb<t>-w..</i> [6–7 groups lost]	I performed service for [the] barque of Khnum in Esna in year 55. I performed service for the barque of Neb<t>-w ...
²¹ <i>jw-s^dm.j-^cš n-p3-sšm-hw</i> <i>n-sth</i> [...] [<i>šm^c?</i>] <i>m-rnpt-sp-58</i> <i>jw-s^dm.j-[^cš n-] [p3-]šsm-hw</i> <i>n-gb</i> [...] [...] [c. 5 groups lost] ²² <i>n[...]</i>	I performed service for the barque of Seth ... [of Upper Egypt?] in year 58. I performed service for the barque of Geb

<i>jw-[sdm.j-] [ʔ]š n-p3-sšm-ḥw</i>	[I performed service] for the barque
[<i>n</i>] [c. 5 groups lost]	[of] ...
<i>[jw-]sdm[.j-]ʔš n-p3-sšm-ḥw</i>	[I] performed service for the barque
<i>n-[ḥr?]-m3ʕty</i> ... [c. 5 groups lost]	of [Horus] of Maaty ...
^{23?} [possibly two cols. lost]	...

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 *whʕ* and participle of *spd* (1974, 170).

c) I tentatively read *sšmw-ḥw* 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 *sšm-ḥw* is first attested on Block 284 of the Red Chapel of Hatshepsut (*sšm-šps-ḥw*). 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 *sšm-ḥw* should probably be understood.

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

e) The seated woman determinative is visible after *sšm-ḥw*. 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 <i>tr? n-nbw n-šnʕ-[pr?-jmn]</i>	Door of gold for the workshop of the [domain? of Amun.]
[captions 2–3 are lost]	...
⁴ ... <i>n</i> ...	...
⁵ <i>[tryw?] [...] n-pr-n-nbw n-j[mn]</i>	[Door?] [...] for the house of gold of Amun.
⁶ ... [...] <i>jmn-rʕ</i>	[Door?] ... Amun-re
[caption 7 is lost]	...
⁸ ... <i>mḥwy?</i> ...	Second [door?] ...
[caption 9 is lost]	...
¹⁰ <i>tryw-[tp?] n ? ... jrr</i> ...	[First?] door of?
¹¹ <i>tryw n-nbw-mḥ-2 n-p3-wb3 n-jmn</i>	Second door of gold for the forecourt of Amun.

¹²*tryw n-nbw-mh-[3?] n-p3-wb3 n-jmn* [Third?] door of gold for the forecourt of Amun.
¹³*p3-tryw-3 [n? ...]* The great door of ...

Register II (lower middle): [x doorways, + 5 doorways, +] 4 doorways with text above them
^{23+x} [*tryw*] *3 [n] nbw n t3 [hwt?]* Great [door] [of] gold in the [temple?]

^{19+x} [...] *hnsu m-w3st nfr-htp* [...] Khonsu in Thebes, Neferhotep.
^{20+x} [*r*] *wyt n-nbw n mwt?* Double portal of gold of Mut
^{21+x} *tryw n-nbw n-mwt* Door of gold of Mut
^{22+x} *tryw n-nbw n-mwt* Door of gold of Mut

Column at right of registers I and II (continuation from Register III?):
w3b sh-qd n-hwt-nbw-jmn [rest lost] 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-w3* ... her son, the sculptor Nebwa

Between last two barques at left
n-k3-n-w3b n-hnsu sd-sw-hnsu For the ka of the wab priest of Khonsu, Shedsukhons.

Behind last barque at left
sh-qd n-pr-jmn swty m33-hrw n-w3st 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)
 [...] *nhtw?* [...] 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 *w3d* 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, plss. 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 nbt pt 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.

Bibliography

- Muhammed (1966b, pls. 39–41, 47–51)
 Wilson (1970)
 Vernus (1978). Vernus gives a detailed commentary on both texts; my translation largely follows his.
 KRI III, 336, 4–339, 12
 Menu (1980)
 Vernus (1980)
 Goyon et. al. (1993)
 Negm (1997, 37–46, pls. XLIV–LXIII)
 Morenz (1998)
 Assmann (1999a, 401–6, No. 173); translation of Text 1 only.
 Kitchen (2000, 243–7); translation.
 Morenz (2000)
 Assmann (2002 (1996), 234–7) with partial translation.
 Gnirs (2003)

Text 1 translation and notes

¹ <i>s-pw-wn n-jwnw-šm^c</i> <i>sh-m3^c m-w3st</i> <i>s3-mwt-rn.f n-mwt.f</i> ² <i>dd-n.f kyky m3^c-hrw</i>	There was a man of Southern Heliopolis, a true scribe in Thebes, Samut was his name by his mother, called Kyky, true of voice.
<i>jst-rf-mtr-sw ntr.f</i> <i>šs3.f-sw r-sb3yt.f</i> <i>rdj.n.f-sw hr-mjt n-^cnh</i> <i>n-mry-mk-h^cw.f</i>	Now his God instructed him, he taught him according to his teaching. ^a He placed him upon the path of life, in order to protect his body.
⁴ <i>rh-sw ntr m-nhn</i> <i>wdd-n.f k3w-šps</i> <i>wn.jn.f-hr-w3w3.f⁵ ds.f</i> <i>r-gm-n.f nby</i>	God knew him as a youth, decreeing for him rich provisions. Then he sought within himself, ^b in order to find a protector for himself,
<i>gm.n.f-mwt m-h3t-ntrw</i> <i>š3y⁶ rnn(t) m-^c.s</i> <i>^ch^cw-n-^cnh t3w r-ht.s</i> <i>hprw-nb(w) hr-wd.s</i>	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.
⁷ <i>jw-dd.n.f mk-wj-hr-djt n.s</i> <i>ht.j shprwt-nbt</i> <i>jw(.j)-rh.k⁸w 3h-s(y) m-hr.j</i> <i>mnh-sw w^c.tj</i>	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.
<i>jry.s-n.j wš (n)-hr-⁹n-hr</i> <i>nh.s-wj m-3t-dwt</i>	She removed anguish for me; she left me in a painful moment, ^c

st-jy.tj mh(w)t r-h3t.s
dr-j3¹⁰š.j hr-rn.s

(but) she came, the north wind before her,
after I called upon her by name.

jnk-s3 n-dmj.s
šw3w q3¹¹ry n-njwt.s
c q.j hr-ht.j n-wsr.s
r-db3-tc w n-cnh
bn-¹²psš-st w^c n-h3w
jw.w n-k3.s m-htp

I was a poor man of her town,
a vagrant in the vicinity of her city.^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;^e
they are for her ka as offerings.

hy-r3-c-wn hr-hw¹³r^c
p3-c h^c-n.f r-ht.s

As for the one who despoils,
the one who stands up to him will be under her authority.

tw.j-hr-dd r-sr m-3t.f
sw-nht bn-¹⁴tk.f hr-n3-jrm-shmt
wrt bw-rh.tw wstn.s
¹⁵nn-hm.s w3y.f r-(n)šny
r-nhh n-dt

I speaking about an official in his moment (of
success),
(for although) he is strong he will not attack, for that is
with Sekhmet,^f
the great one whose sphere of action is not known;^g
There is no servant of hers who will fall into turmoil
forever and ever.^h

j-mwt [h]nwt-¹⁶ntrw sdm-sprw.j
mtr-b3k hr-3h n-nb.f
k3-[nb.f? m]¹⁷tn.f-sw m-c h^cw

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.

bw-jr.j-n.j nhw m-rmt
[bw-šbn]¹⁸.j m-wrw nn-s3.j-js-pw
gm.j-st [n... ..]¹⁹sm3-t3
qrs sw-h[r]-c.t w^cty
ntt-t3-mshnt [..]
²⁰nw.j m-s^ch-jqr
hft-wd3.n-cnh st3yw [...]
[...²¹th] mj-qd.j
c q.w-n.t hr-ht.w

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.ⁱ
Burial, it is in your hands, unique one,
you are the Meskhenet^j [..]
that I may be assembled as an effective mummy,
after life has proceeded (to its end), being dragged [...] [
... ...?] like me,^k
they will enter to her (power) on account of their property.

jh-jry.t-swd3.²²j r-kmt.j m-dwt-nbt
jmj-jrty.j hr-m33-stwt n-ntt-jtn²³yt

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,

cnhwy-hr-sdm nn-jd
fnd.j-hr-nšp t3ww
[w3w n-]cnh²⁴hr-s^cq nn-wrd

that (my) ears hear without deafness,
that my nose breathes the breezes,
the ways of life flowing without weariness,^l

jw-htyt.j-hr-tp [r3.j]-²⁵3h
spt.j-spdd ns.j-hr-wd^c-[dpt?]
[...?]²⁶.j-nbt-tm n-cnh
nn-wd3 n-dt.j

while my throat breathes, [my mouth] functions,
my lips are ready, my tongue distinguishes [taste?],^m
all my [limbs?] being complete as (in) life,
without a departure (= loss of function) of my body,

<i>nn-shm</i> [<i>ns?</i>]- <i>nb-jm.j</i> ²⁷ <i>nn-khb-wj rmt</i>	and no [tongue?] having power over me, or people harming me.
<i>mwt-wrt</i> [<i>j.jr-wj?</i>] <i>jr-nhw-jm</i> ²⁸ <i>w^ctj</i> <i>r-[sj?</i>] <i>t-p³y.t-šd.j m-mnt</i> <i>rn.j-mn m-</i> ²⁹ [...?]	O Mut the great [who made me?] act as protection (for me), unique one, ⁿ until your perpetual protection of me be acknowledged, my name enduring in [...]
[...] <i>r.j nhw m-jrt</i> [<i>ptr?</i>]. <i>j wsr-sw</i> <i>phr</i> ³⁰ [<i>jtn? r?</i>] [c. 7 groups] [...] <i>-t³ hr-m³</i> [cols. 31 to 33 lost]	[...] to me protection in [seeing?] (when) I [saw?] that he is powerful? [in what? the sun-disc] encircles ... [...] earth, seeing ...
³⁴ <i>m</i> [... ...] [<i>r^c? ...</i>] <i>t³ nty</i> ³⁵ [c. 5 groups] <i>hr</i> [... ...] <i>r-wp-mtr</i> ³⁶ [c. 7 groups] <i>pr</i> [... ...] [^{37?} space for a col., no traces remain]	[... ...] [Re?...] the one who upon [... ...] to judge testimony
West wall [c. 7 cols.] ⁴⁵ [.] <i>h³</i> [...] <i>rwh m</i> -[rest of col. lost] ⁴⁶ [tr.] <i>h³y m-pt</i> [.....] <i>m-p³</i> [...] <i>w³st?</i> [rest of col. lost] ⁴⁷ [...] <i>n-mwt</i> <i>dj.s-wstn</i> [<i>j?</i>] [<i>m-</i>] <i>hnw</i> [rest of col. lost] ⁴⁸ [...]] <i>m-df³w.s</i> <i>jr.j</i> [...] ⁴⁹ [...] <i>mrwt</i> <i>jw</i> [... <i>htpyt?</i> ...] ⁵⁰ [...] <i>nšny.f</i> <i>htpyt</i> [rest lost] ⁵¹ [...]. <i>j m-hr.s</i> <i>nfr-hwj</i> [<i>r?</i> ...] [rest lost] ⁵² [<i>m?</i>] <i>mwt h³y.tw dm.kw</i> [rest lost] ⁵³ <i>nfrw (t)w.j-rh.kw-wsr</i> ... [rest lost] ⁵⁴ [<i>3t? tj ... s? m jr?</i> ...] ⁵⁵ [... tr.] <i>mt wr m-</i> ... [rest lost] ⁵⁶ [tr.] <i>hn</i> [<i>t</i>] <i>y-jnbw-hd</i> . <i>shmt mr-pt^h</i> [rest lost] ⁵⁷ <i>m-pt</i> <i>h^c</i> [<i>tj</i>] [... ...] <i>m-h³t-rnpt</i> .	... [.] 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, while [... appeased/offerings(?) (against) his raging, appeased my [...] in her presence. It is good to be protected [from?] Mut (?) ... perfection, (for I) know that [you are?] powerful, [...] great in foremost of Memphis, Sekhmet, beloved of Ptah, in the sky, ... appearing [... ...] at the beginning of the year,

[rest lost]	...
⁵⁸ .. nswt	the king,
mn.tj [hr-tp.f?] m-nt(?)-wr(t)	established [upon? his head?], as Neith (?) the great ...
[rest lost]	...
⁵⁹ [nt?] j3? [hh n hm?]	... acclamations [... ...?]
m-tp-rnpt-nbt h ^c [rest lost]	in every first of the year festival, appearing ...
[w?] ⁶⁰ bn [jr?] mt.s m-jmy.s ^c nh-m [...]	[... ...] (?) from within it, living on [...]
[rest lost]	...
⁶¹ [...] hnwt h3yt?[... ...] jmnt?[^c q3/db ^c]	[...] Mistress of [... ...] the west (?) [...]
[rest lost]	...
⁶² [pt] m-mwt [... ...] qrs	[...] as Mut [... ...] burial,
t3w [n?-r3.t] [rest lost]	breath [of?] your mouth ...
⁶³ jry.t-st [fnd?]-nb hr-ht.t	you make it, every [nose?] under your authority,
wn.t-jrwt [rest lost]	you open eyes ...
⁶⁴ šw-stwt.t w3t-nbt [n-hry?]	your rays illuminate every path [of the sky?]
[tr. and rest lost]	...
⁶⁵ [dbh].f šnw.n-3ht.t	its [...?], which your eye encircles(?)
tw.j-rš.kw n-[...] ⁶⁶ wsrt.t	I rejoice for [...] your power,
mj- ^c 3.t r-ntr-nb	inasmuch as you are greater than any god.
jb.j-mh m-t3y.j- ^{North wall} ⁶⁷ hnwt	My heart is filled with my Mistress.
nn-snd.j n-rmt sdr.kw	I will not fear a man when I lie down
n- ⁶⁸ šsp.n.j-qdt wn m-dj.j nby	for when I sleep, I have a protector.
jr-p3-jr-mwt ⁶⁹ m-nhw	As for the one who makes Mut a protector,
bw-rh-ntr tkw.f	no god is able to harm him,
hsy n-nswt n-rk.f	being favoured by the king of his time,
⁷⁰ m-sbj r-jm3h	as one who passes into veneration.
jr-p3-jr-mwt m-(n)hw	As for the one who makes Mut a protector,
n(n)-h3y-sw dwt	evil will not assail him,
wnn.f-hwy r ^c -nb r-hnm.f-hrt-ntr	he will be protected everyday until he joins the necropolis,
jr-p3-jr- ⁷² mwt m-(n)hw	As for the one who makes Mut a protector,
nfr-wy- ^c h ^c w.f hsw-nswt-hnm (m-)h ^c w.f	how perfect is his lifetime, royal favour suffuses his body,
n-p3- ⁷³ dj-sw m-jb.f	for the one who places her in his heart.
jr-p3-jr-mwt m-(n)hw	As for the one who makes Mut a protector,
pr[.f] (m)-ht hsy	[he] came forth from the womb favoured,
š3y-n.f nfrw	perfection destined for him,
hr-dbt jw.f-r-jm3h	on the birthing brick, he will achieve veneration.

<i>jr-p3-jr-mwt m-[(n)hw]</i>	As for the one who makes Mut a [protector],
⁷⁵ <i>w3d.wy 3b-st</i>	how fortunate is the one who longs for her,
<i>nn-hdb-sw ntr m-hmy-t3-mdt</i>	the god will not overthrow him, as one ignorant of
	(proper) speech. ^o

a) $\ominus$ is omitted from Negm's copy-text, but is clear on his photograph (1997, pls. XLIV, XLV).

b) *w3w3 jb* carries the sense of careful thought or deliberation; Vernus (1978, 120) renders this: 'alors il médita sûr lui même'. Morenz (2000, 316, n. 11) builds on Vernus' observation that *ds.f*, 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 $\overline{\square} \text{ } \overline{\text{f}}$ as a writing of *nh* 'to protect' and $\overline{\text{w}}$ 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 *q3r* positively as 'pilgrim'. However, *q3r* 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 Vernus' rendering (1978, 144) 'un indigent vagabond'. I follow Negm (1997, 40) in reading *q3r* 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^c-nb-h3w.j-j[m.s-dt]*, '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*)'.

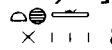
h) Vernus (1978, 126–7) renders a legal tone here because of the omission of *n* of [*n*]*šny* which he considers an allusion to an archaic word for legal disputes, *šny*: 'Il n'est pas de sien serviteur qui

puisse tomber dans la chicane'. Writings of *nšny* which omit the initial *n*, or write as *rš*, 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 *šbn*, 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  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-ḥ* 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  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'abattra pas en tant qu'il est quelqu'un qui ignore la mort'. Negm (1997, 42 with pl. 52) collates the final group , 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.

¹[*rnpt*] *tpy-3ht sw-19*
hr-hm-nswt-bjty nb-t3wy
(wsr-m3^ct-r^c stp.n-r^c)
s3-r^c ²[(r^c-ms-sw mry-jmn)]
dj-^cnh dt nhh

[Year] 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.

hrw-pn dd-sh-hsb-jhw
s3-mwt [dd-n.f-kyky m3^c-hrw]
n-pr-jmn-r^c nswt-ntrw
r-nty-djw.j ht.j-nb hn^c- ⁴[...]
[... ...]-mwt
r-pr-mwt-wrt nbt-jšrw

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,

⁵[... ...]

...

ptr-(tw).j-hr-smnt.f m-hbs m-⁶[...]
[... ... p3y?] j-j3w n-htmt.j
nn-wn-⁷š[rj šr]j[t
sn] snt
jw.j-hr-hn.j n-mwt
⁸*t3-[... ...] p3-t3w*
wd.s-n.j jmnt n-j3w
⁹*jw-.[... ... ?]-nswt*

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

jr-n3-b3kw ¹⁰jn [... ...]
n-mwt m-pr n-hrp
jw.w-¹¹hr [... ...]
r-pr-mwt
jw.w- ¹²[... ...]
[...t] šm^cyt n-jmn
¹³*[... ...] hn^c-n3-b3kw*
¹⁴*[... ...] [n-]jmn r-f3*
¹⁵*[... ...] r.f r-jw-m*
¹⁶*[... ...]-nb n-mš^c*
¹⁷*[... ...]-jqd?*
¹⁸*[... ...] jw.sn*
¹⁹*[... ...] p3*
²⁰*[... ...] pr-mwt*
²¹*[... ...] r-ht*
²²*[... ...] n-^cnh*
²³*[... ...] mwt*
²⁴*[... ...] p3*

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 ...
...

25[... ..]	...
26[... ..]	...
27[... ..] <i>mwt jw p3</i>	... Mut, while the ...
28[... ..]	... who ...
29[... ..]- <i>nb n-p3</i>	... every [...] of the ...
30[... ..]- <i>hr</i> [... ..]	...
31[... ..] <i>p3-jrw-nb n-mwt</i>	... all that I have done for Mut ...
32[... ..] <i>hr-s3 htp</i>	... after resting?
33[... ..] <i>j3w</i> [... ..]	... old age ...
34[... ..] <i>mwt</i> [... ..]	... Mut ...
35[... ..] <i>f t3</i> -[... ..]	...
... ..] <i>pr-mwt</i>	[... ..] domain of Mut ...
36[... ..] <i>nt jr.s r</i> -[... ..]	... she acted/will act for ...
37[... ..] <i>hnty</i> [... ..]	...
West wall 38[... ..] <i>hnty</i> [... ..] <i>p3?</i>]	...
39[... ..] [<i>mwt ... jw t3</i>] <i>hr</i>	... [Mut ... while the] upon ...
40[... ..] [<i>ft n s?</i> ... <i>p?r</i>]	...
41[... ..] [<i>w s3 jry</i>]	...
42[... ..] <i>p3y.j m3</i>	... my ...
43[... ..] <i>.sn hms m p3y.j</i>	... their [...] dwelling in my ...
44[... ..] <i>nty-jw.[f r-hh r-r3</i> [...]	...[As for] anyone who will interfere with the speech ...
45[... ..] <i>tm nht j.jrw.j-n.j</i>	... the strong, which I made for myself ...
46[... ..] <i>hrp</i> (?)	...
<i>jr.n-sh-hsb-jhw kyky m3^c-hrw</i>	made by the assessor of cattle, Kyky, true of voice.
47[... ..] <i>nty-jw.s-r-f3y</i>	... which they will carry ...
48[... ..] <i>hrtw(?) hnt-ntrw-nbw</i>	... [...?], mistress of all the gods ...
49[... ..] <i>n3</i> [... ..]	...
50[... ..] <i>y mwt</i> [... ..]	... Mut
51[... ..] .. <i>hnsyt?</i>	...
52[... ..] <i>nb</i> [... ..]	...
53[... ..] <i>msw</i> [...]	... presented ...
54[... ..] <i>hnty-n</i>	... in front of ...
[cols. 55–9 are lost, with traces at the end of col. 59. No more columns are visible.]	

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

<i>Object type</i>	sistrophorous ‘begging’ statue
<i>Date</i>	Ramesses II (cartouches)
<i>Provenance</i>	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).
<i>Dimensions</i>	H: 0.69m; W of front of base: 0.27m
<i>Material</i>	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-m3^ct-r^c 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 hnwt-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
 Clère (1995, 87–92, pls. VI–VII, Document B). Clère provided a full edition of both texts; my reading largely follows his.
 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

¹ḥsy-ꜥ3 n-ntr-nfr
 mh-jb mnḥ n-nb.f

Greatly favoured of the perfect god,
 a confidant, one effective for his lord,

ḥry-pdt m-mšꜥ-ꜥš3
²jmn-m-jnt m3ꜥ-ḥrw

commander of the numerous army,
 Ameneminet, true of voice,

s3-s3b ḥm-ntr-tpy n-jmn
 wnn-nfr m3ꜥ-ḥrw

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

dd.f-r-nty ³jnk-šmsw n-ḥm.f
 jw.f-m-ḥrdw
 rdj.n.f-wj r-kdn ⁴ḥry-ssmt jw.f-m-nb

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.

ḥs.n-wj nb.j ḥr-mnḥ.j
 rdj⁵.n.f-wj r-ḥry-pdt n-p3y.f-mšꜥ

My lord favoured me for my excellence,
 and he appointed me commander of his army.

ḥs.n-wj nb.j ḥr-jp.j

My lord favoured me for my intelligence,

⁶*h3b.n.f-wj r-wpwtj-nswt r-h3swt-nbw* and he sent me as a royal messenger to all the foreign lands,
wḥm.n(.j)-n.f h3swt m-qj.s(n)-nb (I) reported to him concerning the lands in their every
 aspect.

⁷*wḥm.n.f hst.j hr-mnh.j* He favoured me again for my excellence,
rdj.n.f-wj r-jmy-r3-k3t m-mnw.f-nb and he appointed me overseer of works in all his
 monuments.

wḥm.n.f-hst.j ⁸*hr-3h.j* He favoured me again for my effectiveness,
rdj.n.f-wj r-jmy-r3-k3t and he appointed me as overseer of works,
m-hwt.f nt-hh m-rnpwt in his temple of millions of years,
nswt-bity (wsr-m3^ct-r^c stp.n-r^c) of the dual king Usermaatre setepenre
⁹*m-pr-jmn* in the estate of Amun.

jnk-w^c mnḥ I am one unique, excellent,
3h n-nb.f effective for his lord;

rdj.n.j-wj (r-)ḥm-k3 n-twt.f he appointed me ka priest for his statue.
¹⁰*jr.n.f-hwt.j m-šsr-nb* He made my property in all felicity,^a
 [...] [...]

hry-pdt m-mš^c-š3 Commander of the numerous army,
jmn-m-jnt m3^c-hrw Ameneminet, true of voice.
ms.n [wr-hnrt n-]jmn-r^c m-jpt-swt born of [the great one of the harem of] Amun-Re in
 Karnak,^b
3st m3^c-hrw Ese, true of voice.

Left side
¹*ḥsy-š3 n-ntr-nfr* Greatly favoured of the perfect god,
wpwtj-nswt r-h3swt-nbw royal messenger to every foreign land,

hry-pdt m-mš^c-š3 commander of the numerous army,
²*jmn-m-jnt m3^c-hrw* Ameneminet, true of voice.

s3-s3b ḥm-ntr-tpy n-jmn son of the dignitary, the high priest of Amun,
wnn-nfr m3^c-hrw Wenennefer, true of voice.

dd.f-jnk-³[p3]-js n-p3-ntrt He says: I am [the] *js* of the goddess,
wḥmw n-hnwt.f mediator for his mistress.^c

nty-nb sprwt m-^cf Anyone with petitions with him,
⁴*dd-[sw r-] msdr.j* speak [them to] my ear,
k3-wḥm.j-sn n-t3y.j-hnwt so that I may repeat them to my mistress in her hour of
⁵*m-t3y.s-wnwt-htpw* indulgence.^d

jmj-n.j hnqt hr-drt.j Give to me beer upon my hand,

<i>srmt r-r3.j</i>	<i>srmt</i> -beer to my mouth,
⁶ <i>sgnn-ndm r-t3y.j-js</i> <i>m3h-w3d r-hh.j</i>	sweet ointment for my bald head, fresh garlands for my throat,
<i>wdh-7n.j m-jrp hr-hnqt</i> <i>jnk-js n-nbw</i>	pour out for me wine and beer, (for) I am an <i>js</i> of Gold.
<i>jr-wn-nfr n-hnqt</i> ⁸ <i>jmj-n.j qbhw</i> <i>hr-nty-rf mr-hnwt js-s3w</i>	If there is no beer, give to me libations, because the mistress desires an <i>js</i> who is satisfied. ⁹
<i>ttt-n.j mw</i> ⁹ <i>hr-s3tw</i> <i>jnk-wd3 tp-[t3]</i> <i>bw-dd.j-grg m-rh.j bw-jr(.j)</i> ¹⁰ <i>-sp-snw</i>	Pour out water for me onto the ground, for I was one prosperous on [earth], I did not knowingly speak falsehood, (I) did not act duplicitously.
<i>ph.n.j-nn [m-]jr-m3ct</i> <i>tw.j-m-st n-m3ct</i>	I reached this place as one who acts truthfully, I am in the place of truth.

a) I follow Lipińska (1969, 46). Clère (1995, 91) renders more freely: ‘Il m’enrichit beaucoup’. I 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.

e) I follow Lipińska (1984, 22) and Clère (1995, 91–2). Pinch (1993, 334) also suggests: ‘... give 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.

2.s

God's Father Neferhotep

Theban tomb 50 (Qurna)

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 I², 1, 95 (2)

Hari (1985, 16–9, pls. VI, LVI)

2.t

Overseer of works in the Ramesseum Penre

temple of Wadjmose, left at site

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***

Chicago, Oriental Institute Museum, 10494

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, censuring 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

*Philadelphia, Pennsylvania University Museum, E534
and Frankfurt-am-Main, Liebieghaus, 271*

<i>Object type</i>	standing statue
<i>Date</i>	Ramesses II (cartouches)
<i>Provenance</i>	Deir el-Bahri, temple of Montuhotep, west end (Neville 1907, 33; PM II ² , 395)
<i>Dimensions</i>	H: c. 1.3m
<i>Material</i>	sandstone

Description

No full description or photograph is available. Neville (1913, 6) recorded that it holds a sceptre. The statue was found with a smaller statue of Paser (British Museum EA 687). Neville (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. Neville (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.

Bibliography

Naville (1907, 33)

Naville (1913, 5–6, pl. X, Ba–e)

KRI III, 17, 8–18, 11

Kitchen (2000, 14–15); translation.

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, I², 1, 39 (11); KRI IV, 109, 10). Porter and Moss (PM I², 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, I², 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 I², 1, 39

KRI IV, 109, 10–110, 4.

Kitchen (2003, 84–5); translation.

2.x

Chancellor Bay

location unknown

<i>Date</i>	Siptah (cartouche)
<i>Location</i>	Deir el-Bahri, temple of Montuhotep, casing of west face of 'pyramid' base (Neville 1907, 33, pl. II; PM II ² , 386)
<i>Dimensions</i>	L: c. 1.8m
<i>Material</i>	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 Neville (1910, pl. X, K) indicates that the surviving section was in good condition when it was found.

Bibliography

Neville (1907, 33, pl. II)
Neville (1910, 12, pl. X, K)
PM II², 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 I², 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 šbjw 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 Amenmose¹

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

Scott (1989, III, 485–7, cat. 173)

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]²

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1894. 106d

Fig. 62

<i>Object type</i>	round-topped stela fragment
<i>Date</i>	Ramesses II (cartouches)
<i>Provenance</i>	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.
<i>Dimensions</i>	max H: 0.94m; W: 0.87m; max D: 0.12m
<i>Material</i>	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*jrt-sntr n-mwt.f-3st jn-s3.s* ²*nswt-bity nb-t3wy wsr-m3t-r r stp.n-r 3s3-r nb-hw r ms-sw 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: ¹*dj.f-nḥḥ* ²*m-ḥb-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: *3st-wrt mwt-nṯr*, '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 rnpwt-ḥr m-ḥq3 n-t3-nb*, 'I give to you the years of Horus as ruler of every land'. Behind the king is a column of text: *s3w ḥn-nb ḥ3.f mj-rḥ-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

¹ <i>jmy-r3-k3t m-t3-ḥwt</i>	Overseer of works in the temple of
<i>wsr-m3ḥt-rḥ [stp.n-rḥ] [m-pr-jmn?]</i>	Usermaatre setepenre, [in the domain of Amun?] ...
[c. 4–6 groups lost]	...
[<i>ms.n?</i>]- ² <i>shmt m3ḥ-ḥrw</i>	[born of?] Sakhmet, true of voice.
<i>dd.f-jnd-ḥr.t 3st</i>	He says: Greetings to you Isis, ...
[c. 4–6 groups lost]	...
[...] [<i>wḥt</i>] ³ <i>t.f</i>	... his unique one, ^a
<i>nfrt-ḥr m-mḥndt</i>	perfect of face in the morning barque,
<i>ḥ3t-[nrw] (m?)-[mskt?]</i>	great of [terror] [in the evening barque?], ^b
[c. 4–6 groups]	...
⁴ [<i>msddt</i>]- <i>dwt drt-nšny šhr</i> -[...]	[who abhors?] evil, who drives out uproar, who removes
[c. 4–6 groups]	...
⁵ <i>nḥm-ḥsy m-pr</i> -[ḥ]	who rescues the weak from the aggressive (?) ...
[c. 4–6 groups]	...
[...] <i>ḥr-s3tw-njw.t.t?</i>	upon the ground of your(?) city, ^c
<i>jḥḥ</i> [c. 4–6 groups]	calling/invoking ...
⁷ [<i>nn</i>]- <i>w3t [r.j]</i>	[(so) you will not be] far [from me?] ^d
[c. 4–6 groups]	...
⁸ [... ..] <i>wj ḥr-kmt</i>	... me(?) in Egypt.
<i>ḥḥ.kw m-</i>	I stood as/in ...

[c. 4–6 groups] ⁹ <i>smrw m-wr n-md3y</i> <i>rdj m-[hr.j]</i> [c. 4–6 groups] ¹⁰ <i>b3k-jm-hr-ph r-njwt.f</i> <i>r-rdj t j3w n-3st</i> <i>r-[jʕ?] [c. 4–6 groups]</i> [... ..] ¹¹ <i>rʕ-nb</i>	 the Companions as chief of the Medjay, being assigned [to me?] ... ^e ... this servant reached his city, in order to give praise to Isis, in order [to honour?] ... every day.
<i>wn.jn.s-hr-smn hr-wr-n-md3y-pn</i> [c. 4–6 groups] ¹² <i>jw.s-hr-hn-n.f jw.s-hr-djt.j r-gs.f</i> <i>jw.j-hr-[...]</i> [c. 4–6 groups] [...] ¹³ <i>jr.n.j n-bw-nht.f</i> <i>jw.j-r-jr.w-n.k</i> <i>jw.j-r-dj[t?]</i> [c. 4–6 groups] ¹⁴ <i>hr-dd-tjw wr-sp-sn</i> <i>mk-(wj)-hr-jrt-wd mj-qd.f</i> [c. 4–6 groups] [...] ¹⁵ <i>n-r3.s</i> <i>shr.s-nb-mn mnḥ n-ḥsfw-ʕ.s</i>	Then she stopped before this chief of Medjay, ... and she bowed to him, ^f 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, ^g I made a stela like it/complete of her utterance, all her counsels enduring and effective; her action cannot be opposed.
<i>w3d.wy p3[-dj-t/s m-jb.f?]</i> [c. 4–6 groups] ¹⁶ <i>k3-hpr-n.f hpr-n.j</i>	How fortunate is the one who [places you/her in his heart?] ^h ... So there will happen to him, what happened to me. ⁱ
<i>jry.j-jmy-r3-h3swt hr-h3st-mḥt</i> <i>jry.j-[wr n-] ¹⁷md3y m-mjtt</i> <i>kdn n-ḥm.f</i> <i>wpwty-nswt r-t3-nb</i> <i>jmy-r3-k3[t m-t3-] ¹⁸hwt</i> <i>wsr-m3ʕt-rʕ stp.n-rʕ m-pr-jmn</i> <i>mj-ḥm-3ḥ mj-qd.j</i> <i>dj-n.j 3st [... ..]</i>	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 Usermaatse-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 *wʕt* as an abbreviation of the epithet *wʕt n rʕ*, ‘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 *jʿš* could be dittography 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’élire (?) 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

<i>Object type</i>	round-topped stela
<i>Date</i>	late 18th or early 19th Dynasty (historical: 4.2)
<i>Provenance</i>	probably Abydos (internal: 4.2)
<i>Dimensions</i>	H: 1.02m W: 0.67m
<i>Material</i>	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. I)

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-w3wt-šm^cw nb-3bdw*, 'Wepwawet of Upper Egypt, lord of Abydos' on the left and *wp-w3wt-mḥw 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 j3y m3^c-ḥrw*, '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 ḥry-ṯy-md3t y3 m3^c-ḥrw mwt.f wsy*, '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 šḥ-nswt ḥ3tj3y*, 'his brother, the royal scribe Hatiay' and *snt.f jwy m3^c-ḥrw*, '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.

4 + 5 couple →		3 woman →	2 man →						
9 woman →	8 man →	7 woman →	6 man →	14 man ←	15 woman ←	16 man ←	17 woman ←	18 man ←	19 woman ←
13 woman →	12 man →	11 woman →	10 man →	20 man ←	21 woman ←	22 man ←	23 woman ←	24 man ←	25 woman ←

- 6 ¹*sn.f hry-t3y-md3t* ²*s m3c-hrw*, ‘his brother, chief sculptor Se, true of voice’
- 7 ¹*snt mrt.f* ²*tl*, ‘his sister, whom he loves, Tel’
- 8 ¹*sn.f hry-t3y-md3t* ²[...?] *m3c-hrw*, ‘his brother, chief sculptor [?], true of voice’
- 9 ¹*snt mrt.f n-st-jb.f nbt-pr* ²[q?] *wny*, ‘his sister, whom he loves, as the seat of his heart, the lady of the house, Quny’
- 10 ¹*sn.f y23-srj*, ‘his brother, Ya, the younger’
- 11 ¹*snt.f hw* ²*y m3c-hrw*, ‘his sister, Huy, true of voice’
- 12 ¹*sn.f r* ²*y m3c-hrw*, ‘his brother, Ray, true of voice’
- 13 ¹*snt.f t3-2nfrt* *m3c-hrw*, ‘his sister, Tanefret, true of voice’
- 14 ¹*sn.f sh* ²*hr-m-hb* ³*m3c-hrw*, ‘his brother, scribe Horemheb, true of voice’
- 15 ¹*snt.f s3tj* ²*m3c-hrw*, ‘his sister, Saty, true of voice’
- 16 ¹*sn.f nfr-2rnpt*, ‘his brother, Neferrenpet’
- 17 ¹*snt.f mwt-m-2wj3*, ‘his sister, Mutemwia’
- 18 ¹*sn.f m* ²*y23*, ‘his brother, Maya’
- 19 ¹*snt.f 3st-2nfrt*, ‘his sister, Esenefret’
- 20 ¹*sn.f r* ²*ms*, ‘his brother, Ramose’
- 21 ¹*snt.f yy* ²*m3c-hrw*, ‘his sister, Yy, true of voice’
- 22 ¹*sn.f y3-2srj*, ‘his brother, Ya, the younger’
- 23 ¹*snt.f yy-srj* ²*m3c-hrw*, ‘his sister, Yy, the younger, true of voice’

- 24 ¹*sn.f hwy-²šrj*, ‘his brother, Huy, the younger’
 25 ¹*snt.f k3k3²j3 m3^c-hrw*, ‘his sister, Kakaya, 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

¹ <i>j3w-n.k wsjr hnty-jmntt</i> <i>dhwtj nb-hmnw</i> <i>ntr-^c3 hnty-hsrt hry-jb-hwt-jbtj</i>	Praise to you Osiris, foremost of the West, Thoth, lord of Hermopolis, great god, foremost of Hesret, who is in Hut-yebet;
<i>hrp-ntry pr.f (m)-jst-r^c</i> <i>mtry shtp-nbwy sn²wy</i>	divine leader when he appears in the crew of Re, one who is assiduous, who propitiates the two lords, the brothers, ^a
<i>rdj-wd3t n-nb.s</i> <i>nb-f3w m-hnw-psdt</i> <i>bj3j m-k3r-št3</i>	who gives the wedjat eye to its lord, possessor of splendour in (the presence of) the Ennead, who makes marvels in the secret shrine,
<i>^c3-nmtt m-msktt</i> <i>h^c-h^cw m-³m^cndt</i>	great of travels in the evening barque, glorious of appearances in the day barque,
<i>^c3 m-ddw</i> <i>hdd (m)-b3-^cnh</i> <i>šsmw-r^c r-nmtt.f</i>	great one in Busiris, who descends (the river) as a living ba, guide of Re for his travels.
<i>jnd-hr.k m-rn.f-nbw</i> <i>dhwtj sty-r^c</i>	Greetings to you in all your (!) names, O Thoth, the deputy of Re,
<i>jn-hry-t3y-md3t n-nb-t3wy</i> <i>h3tj3y m3^c-hrw</i> ⁴ <i>s3-hry-t3y-md3t y3 m3^c-hrw</i>	by the chief sculptor for the Lord of the Two Lands, Hatiay, true of voice, son of the chief sculptor, Yaa, true of voice.

dd.f-j-srw wrw ktjw
p^ct-nb rhyt-nb hnmmt-nb
dd.j-n.tn hpr(t)-hr.j
tw.j-stn.kw ⁵r-k3wt
sdd.tn-s(t) n-ht n-ht
j3ww hr-sb3-nhnw

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.

jnk-pw-hwrw n-h3y.f
ktj n-dmj.f
⁶rh.n-wj nb-t3wy
jp.kw wr hr-jb.f
m33.j-nswt m-qm3.f
n-r^c m-dsrw-^ch.f
s^c3.n.f-(w)j r-smrw šbn.j-⁷wrw-^ch

I was a minor one of his family,
a lesser one in his town.^b
The Lord of the Two Lands knew me,^c
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.

hr.n-nb.j hr-tsw.j mkh3.f-wrw-r.j
j.dd.tw-n.j jmnt nt-jb
tj-wj m-st-sgr

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.

pr⁸.n.t(w) r-rwty
t3wy-hr-dd r.j ^c3-wj-sj hswt.f

When one returned outside,
the two lands said of me: ‘How great are his favours!’^d

dhn.n.f-wj r-hrp-k3wt jst-wj-⁹m-nmh
gm.n.f-wj jp.kw hr-jb.f

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

bs.kw r-hwt-nbw
r-ms-sšmw ^chmw ¹⁰nw-ntrw-nb
n-jmnw-jm.sn r.j

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.

jnk-hry-sšt3 m33-r^c m-hprw.f
jtm m-mswt.f

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

¹¹wsjr-pw nb-3bdw hnty-nbw-t3-dsr
dhwtj-pw nb-hmnw nty-(m)-hry-t3nw

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

m33.j-špss m-dsr.f-št3
wnwt m-hprw.s

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

¹²mn-pw ^cb m-nfrw.f
hr hry-jb-hsrt

Min who flaunts his potency,
and Horus residing in Hesret.

*nhm-^cw3y s3t-r^c
shmt mryt-ptḥ
hmnw jmy-hmnw hnt-hw¹³t-jbtj*

Nekhemawy, daughter of Re,
Sakhmet, beloved of Ptah,
the Ogdoad who are in Hermopolis, before Hutyebet.

*hnm-pw nb-hr-wrt
hq3jt hwt-hr*

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

*jmn-r^c hry-jb-wnw
hwt-hr m-qsy
s3t-p3-¹⁴r^c hw.f-jqr*

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

*psdt jmy-^cgnw
hr-wr m-hwt-snfrw
hmn nb-hf3w*

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

*mntw-pw hry-jb-drty
jnpw¹⁵ nb-t3-hd*

Montu who resides in Tod,
Anubis, lord of t3-hd.

*hr-pw hnty-hbnw
pht nbt-st*

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

*dhwty k3 m-r3-jnt
nmty m-w-nmty*

Thoth, bull in r3-jnt,
Nemty in the district of Nemty,

*jmn n-sr-nhtw
k3 nb-s3k3
hq3jt nbt-gsy hrtj*

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

jnk-pw-dd htp.s¹⁷n m-hmw.sn-nhh

I was one who caused them to rest in their shrines
perpetually,

*jw.j-hr.sn m-sšmw-hb-nswt
djw-m-hr.j sqd-nswt m-w¹⁸j3.f
jw.j-m-h3t.f hnd hr-st-n-d^cm
r-nd-hrt-t3wy*

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,⁸

*wnm-¹⁹t m-^cb-r3-nswt
s^cmw m-dsrw.f
dj.tw-n.j nbw n-hsw
jn-nswt ds.f*

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.

*²⁰n-dd.n(.j)-grg m-nn
t3wy m-mtrw.j
^cnh-ptḥ nb-m3^ct nb-jnb-hd
dd.n.j-nn m-m3^ct*

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.

jr.n.f-n.j sw²¹sb.t(w)-jry
n-jr hr-mw.f
h^cw m-^cnh-nfr

He did it for me, for the sake of this,
 – for one who is loyal to him –
 with a duration of perfect life.

jw-b3k-jm hry-nb.f r-km-h^cw(.f)
r-šsp-h3t(t) nt-mnj(.t).f
sb r-jm3hw

This servant is one bearing his lord, until the completion of
 (his) lifetime,
 until the receipt of the prow-rope of his mooring,^h
 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, *pr* *h^cw*, was tentatively read *w^d* 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 *h^cw* as a separate epithet, *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’, *jnk-s3 n-dmj.s šw3w q3ry n-njwt.s* (2.q, cols. 10–1). 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 *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 Anhurmoose (5.a, cols. 11–3) it describes the status of the protagonist at the end of his childhood but before he begins his education. *hwrw* may have this connotation in earlier biographical statements such as the chapel of Ramose at Amarna (‘I was a humble man (*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 (*hwrw*) from his property’: Davies 1932, pl. 39; see also *Urk.* IV 510, 13; 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 *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 Nefersekeru: ‘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, Nefersekheru, 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 *hq3yt* 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 *l*.

4.b

High priest of Osiris Wenennefer

Paris, Musée du Louvre, A 66

Fig. 67

<i>Object type</i>	standing column statue with standard
<i>Date</i>	Ramesses II (cartouches)
<i>Provenance</i>	Abydos (internal)
<i>Dimensions</i>	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
<i>Material</i>	granodiorite

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^ct-r^c stp.n-r^c)*. 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^ct-r^c stp.n-r^c) [s3-r^c?] (r^c-ms-sw mry-jmn) [hm-ntr tpy?]* (break for arm) *wsjr wnn-nfr m3^c-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^c-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^c-hrw ²s3-hm-ntr-tpy n-wsjr mry m3^c-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^c-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 šm^cjt n-wsjr mj3ny ²nbt-pr.f šm^cjt n-wsjr tjy m3^ct-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 jmy-r3-njwt t3ty p3-r^c-htp m3^c-hrw sn.f hm-ntr-tpy n-jn-hr mn-msw m3^c-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^c-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,

<i>wnn-nfr m3^c-hrw</i>	Wenennefer, true of voice.
<i>dd.f-jy.wy-tw-sp-sn p3-nswt-nht dm-pt m-šwtj.f</i>	He says: Welcome, welcome, O victorious king, who cleaves the sky with his plumes, ^a
<i>jy.wy-tw htp.t(w) jy.t(w) m-htp jwt.k m-tr n-dt</i>	You are welcome, being peaceful, coming in peace, your coming being for the span of eternity.
<i>n-k3-n-hm-ntr-tpy n-wsjr wnn-nfr m3^c-hrw</i>	For the ka of the high priest of Osiris, Wenennefer, true of voice,
<i>snt.f nbt-pr tjy m3^ct-hrw dd-n.s nfr-trj m3^ct-hrw</i>	and his sister, the lady of the house, Tiy, true of voice, who is called Nefertari, true of voice.
<i>²hm-ntr-tpy n-wsjr wnn-nfr m3^c-hrw</i>	High priest of Osiris, Wenennefer, true of voice.
<i>dd.f-jnk-htmtj-ntr jmy-h3t hm-ntr hr-nd-hr-jt.f</i>	He says: I am the sealbearer of the god, foremost one, the priest of Horus-who-protects-his-father, ^b
<i>jn.n.j-mhw n-m3^c-hrw s3h.n(j)-ntr-jm</i>	I brought the wreath of triumph, and transfigured the god with it, ^c
<i>njs(j)-hknw m-r3-pqr st.f-3h(t) n-sp-tp</i>	reciting acclamation at Ro-Poqer, ^d his effective place of the first time.
<i>n-k3-n hm-ntr-tpy n wsjr wnn-nfr m3^c-hrw</i>	For the ka of the high priest of Osiris, Wenennefer, true of voice,
<i>s3-s3b hm-ntr-tpy n-wsjr mry m3^c-hrw</i>	son of the dignitary, high priest of Osiris, Mery, true of voice.
<i>³hm-ntr-tpy n-wsjr wnn-nfr m3^c-hrw</i>	High priest of Osiris, Wenennefer, true of voice.
<i>dd.f-jnk-hm-ntr-^c3 m-3bdw wb3-pw n-wnn-nfr mn-dbw hr-ts-nfr-h3t shkr-ntr</i>	He says: I am a great priest for the one who is in Abydos, ^e the wb3-servant of Wenennefer, ^f firm of fingers in binding the diadem, who adorns the god; ^g
<i>d3-ntr r-r3-pqr shr-sbj hr-nšmt</i>	who ferries the god to Ro-Poqer, who overthrows the one who rebels against the neshmet barque.
<i>n-k3-n hm-ntr-tpy n-wsjr</i>	For the ka of the high priest of Osiris,

<i>wnn-nfr m3^c-hrw</i> <i>ms n-mj3ny m3^c-hrw</i>	Wenennefer, true of voice, born of Maiany, true of voice.
⁴ <i>hm-ntr-tpy n-wsjr</i> <i>wnn-nfr m3^c-hrw</i>	High priest of Osiris, Wenennefer, true of voice.
<i>dd.f-jw(.j)-ts.kw r-r3-st3w</i> <i>db3.kw ts.kw m-jns</i>	He says: I ascended to Ro-setjau I was adorned, ^h bound in red linen,
<i>3ms m-^c.j hw-h3kw-jb</i> <i>j33t hw-sbj</i>	the <i>3ms</i> -club in my hand (to) smite the disaffected, the <i>j33t</i> -weapon to smite the rebel. ⁱ
<i>sd.j-s3hw jr n-3st</i> <i>w3h(.j) ht m-t3-dsr</i>	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-šwtj.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. I 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 *d3* 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).

f) *wb3* is attested as a priestly title in New Kingdom texts (*Wb*. I, 292, 2). Kitchen alternatively translates: 'yon (*wb3 pw*) precinct of Wenennefer' (2000, 322).

g) Anthes (1974, 42, with 43, n. f) tentatively read the sign following *ts* as *mdh*, giving the translation: ‘Der mit festen Fingern beim Anlegen (des *mdh*-Stirnbandes und?) des *nfr-h3t*-Kopfschmuckes’. I prefer to read $\overleftarrow{\text{E}}$ 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.j*) 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 $\overleftarrow{\text{E}}$, *jt3*. 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 $\overleftarrow{\text{E}}$, *j33q*. Neither *jt3* or *j33q* is known from other contexts. I follow Derchain’s (1955, 236, n. 3) suggestion that in both texts the word should be rendered *j33t*, 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

Paris, Musée du Louvre, A. 65

Fig. 71

<i>Object type</i>	naophorous block statue
<i>Date</i>	Ramesses II (cartouches)
<i>Provenance</i>	Abydos (internal)
<i>Dimensions</i>	H: 0.64m; L: 0.24m
<i>Material</i>	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-t3wy h^c m3^c-hrw s3-s3b mntw-m-mn [m3^c-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^c m3^c-hrw jr.n-3st-m-hb m3^c-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-wsjr sh-nsw-wdhw n-nb-t3wy h^c m3^c-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^ch-ntr^{corner} ntr-^c3 nb-t3-dsr dj.sn-wd3 tp-t3 hr-hsw-nswt 3h m-pt wsr m-t3 n-k3-n sh-nsw-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 (n)-wsjr hnty-jmntyw^{corner} dj.f-wd3 tp-t3 hr-šms-nswt* [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-nswt-wdhw n-nb-t3wy
h^c m3^c-hrw*

Royal offering table scribe for the lord of the two lands,^a
Kha, true of voice.

*dd.f-j-nb.j wsjr
dj.k-n.j t3w-nḏm jmy-fnd.k*

He says: O my lord Osiris,
may you give to me the sweet breath which is in your
nostrils,

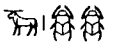
*hr-ntt jnk-hsy-^c3 m-3bdw
²w^cb-^c3 m-tnnt smn-ḏ^cm-wr*

because I am a greatly favoured one in Abydos,^b
great wab priest in the Tjenenet shrine,^c who established
the ḏ^cm-sceptre of the great one,^d

dj.n(.j)-nms n-jmn-rn.f

I gave the nemes to the Hidden-of-Name.^e

<i>sh^c.n(.j)-šwty hr-3bdw</i>	I caused the twin plumes to appear on the Abydos fetish,
<i>m-ht nb-^cnh</i>	in the depths of the sarcophagus. ^f
<i>ts.n(.j)-wnh hr-h3k-jb hr-³rdwy(.k)</i>	I fastened bindings upon the disaffected at (your) feet. ^g
<i>d3.n(.j)-nšmt r-r3-pqr</i>	I ferried the neshmet barque to Ro-Poqer. ^h
<i>jn.j-s(t) hw-nb.s</i>	I brought it to the place-which-protects-its-lord, ⁱ
<i>shtp.n(.j) d3wtyw</i>	I appeased those in the underworld. ^j
<i>b^ch.n(.j)-t3-dsr m-qbb</i>	I inundated the sacred land with libations; ^k
<i>jsw-jry m-dd n-h3t</i>	the return thereof being the stability of my corpse,
<i>r3 n-r3-dt</i>	as one speaks to another (?) in perpetuity. ^l

a)  is a cryptographic writing of *nb t3wy* (with Schulz 1992, I, 469, n. 4).

b) For the dual levels of meaning possible in this verse see 4.b, n. e.

c) The writing of *w^cb* seems quite distinctive: . The *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).

d) I read *d^cm* here based on the parallel in the Litany of Re (Hornung 1975, II, 233–4, 91): *jw.j smn.j d^cm* (†) *n s3h dj.j nms n jmn-rn.f*, ‘I established the *d^cm*-sceptre of Orion, I gave the nemes to the Hidden-of-Name’ (Goebis 1995, 170; 4.2.2). *wr* 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* as he considered that an indirect genitive would be required. He offered the tentative translation: ‘Ich befestigte das *w3s-wr* (?)’ (1974, 45), leaving the meaning of *wr* unresolved. He read  as *w3s* 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 *d^cm*.

e) Kitchen (2000, 157) does not read the sign after *dj.n* (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, , which he identified as a nemes. This reading is supported by the parallel in the Litany of Re, where nemes is fully written:  (n. e above), and on a votive shabti belonging to prince Khaemwaset, found in the Serapeum: *dj nms n jmn-rn.f* (KRI II, 375, 15). For discussion of these examples and the association of the nemes with Osiris in New Kingdom texts, see Goebis (1995, 169–71; 4.3.1).

f) The writing of *ht* with the house determinative is cited in *Wb.* III, 358, 12–4, as a Graeco-Roman variant for *hwt*, 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 Siese’s text (6.a, col. 3) also supports this meaning: *smn.n(.j)-šwty hr-3bdw m-hnw n-nb-^cnh*, ‘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 šwty m tp*, ‘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 (*h^cw m-wpt.k*)’.

g) *.k* 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 Ikhnofret (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 t3wy*). Anthes (1974, fig. 5) transcribed:      and translates this as: ‘und brachte sie so zu der Stätte, die ihren Herrn schützt’ (1974, 45). The writing of *hw* here is problematic, but Anthes’ rendering seems appropriate to the context. Perhaps the house determinative at the end of the phrase categorizes this as a temple/chapel structure. I have found no parallel.

j) Kitchen transcribes this verse    and tentatively renders ‘I caused(?) ... the denizens of the Netherworld to rest’. Anthes transcribed (1974, fig. 5):                          

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-m3^ct-r^c stp.n-r^c*) 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 *jmjw*t 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

¹*3tw-3-ntr n-t3-wr 3bdw*

htmty-ntr m-db3w-3w

jmy-st-^c ssm-ht m-[j3t-?]

[rest of col. lost]

²*rht.n.f jmy-[hnt-smjt?]*

hm-ntr n-wsjr

nb-n-m3^ct [m3^c-hrw?]

[rest of col. lost]

³*dd.f-jnk-hm-ntr n-3bdw*

smnh-nbw n-nb

[rest of col. lost]

⁴*smn.n(.j)-ntr hr-j3t.f*

ts.n(.j)-sj hr-gs? f [sh?]

[rest of col. lost]

Great administrator for the god of Thinite Abydos,
god's sealbearer, of great returns (?),
subordinate, who conducts the ritual in [the mound of ?]^a

...

what he knew, being [foremost of the necropolis?],^b

priest of Osiris,

Nebenmaat, [true of voice?]

...

He says: I am a priest of Abydos,
who embellishes gold for (his) lord.

...

I established the god upon his standard,

I raised it upon its side [?]^c

...

Right side

hm-ntr nb-n-m3^ct m3^c-hrw

dd.f-jnk-w^cb-3 n-t3-wr

hry-hb jmy.s

[rest of col. lost]

Priest, Nebenmaat, true of voice,
he says: I am a great wab priest in Tawer,
lector priest for the One who is in it,^d

...

Left side	
<i>dd.f</i> [?]	He says: [...]°
<i>jrt-3ht hsswt</i>	performing what is effective and favoured,
<i>w^cb.n(.j) ntr.j</i>	I purified my god,
<i>twr.j n</i> [...]	and I cleansed [...]
[rest of col. lost]	...

a) The traces here are problematic. I tentatively suggest reading $\curvearrowright$ ‘*j3t-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-^cnht*)’ (cf. 4.c, col. 3).

b) Griffith (in Petrie 1903, 45) had no reading for these signs. I suggest *jmj-ht*; the parallel of *jmy-st-^c* in the preceding column suggests a priestly title. I read the following sign as 𓂏 , *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*: 𓂏)’ (*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 *sh*t with this meaning, if this is the correct reading.

d) The upper part of 𓂏 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 𓂏 or 𓂏 . The 𓂏 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

Paris, Musée du Louvre, C 219

Fig. 75

Object type	round-topped stela
Date	Sety II (filiation; the same title and name occur on a statue head bearing the cartouche of Sety II, 4.3.3)
Provenance	Abydos (internal: PM V, 99 assigned to Wenennefer’s father Yuyu)
Dimensions	H: 1.0m; W: 0.70m; D: 0.10m
Material	limestone

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 *atef*-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-3st wnn-nfr m3c-hrw*, '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 s3-3st*, 'Horus, son of Isis'. Above the head of Osiris is a column: *wsjr 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: ¹*rdjt-j3w n-2*[... ... ³...] ⁴*ywyw* ⁵*m3c-hrw* ⁶*s3-hm-ntr-tpy n-wsjr wnn-7nfr m3c-hrw*, '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 3ht ms(t)-ntrw*, 'Nut, the beneficent one who bore the gods', *snpt nb(t)-pt*, 'Shenpt, (lady) of the sky'. Seven columns of text (←) begin above the offering table and finish behind Wenennefer's head: ¹*rdjt-j3 n-3st* ²*n-pr-ms sn-t3* ³*n-psdt-c3* *n-k3-n-4hm-ntr-tpy n-53st* ⁶*wnn-7nfr m3c-hrw*, '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

¹*hm-ntr-tpy n-3st*

wnn-nfr m3^c-hrw

s3-hm-ntr-tpy n-wsjr

ywyw m3^c-hrw

ms [... ... y] m3^c-hrw

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

²*dd.f-rmtw-t3wr dj.j-sdm.tn-nfr*

m-shr-ntr jr.n.f

n-hm n-pr.f

shpr n-df3w.f

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

³*hm-ntr(-tpy) n-hr 3st*

wnn-nfr s3-ywyw

s3^c.n.f-rmn ntr-pn jw.f-m-hwn-sb⁴q

srwd 3h3h m-mnt

mj-jhy m-jdh

(r)-jw(t)-hrw-jw(t) hswt.f

ntr [hr?-]⁵djt-mrwt.f

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

[jh?]yw n-t3-wr

hr-m3.f mj-ntyw mss(w)

n3-d3mw hr-[jh]y⁶ hnms

qrj-n.f n3-nhnw

dj-kjwj hr.w hr.f

hr.sn⁷-n.f r-[?]

[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

[w]dd(?)-ntr(t?) hpr(t)-ds.s

bsy-jrw.f hr-^c

sw-hpr-3y⁸ m-rh-nswt

sbn.f (m-)wrw-^ch

jb.f-jp m-qj n-t3-wr

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.

sw-3hw n-jmyw.s

He is effective for those who are within it,

psdt.s-⁹hrw hr-shr.f
 n3y.f-3hw hr-b^ch(.s)
 h^c[y] m-[rhn] 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.^m

a) Traces of a double reed-leaf, a seated female figure, and *m3^c-hrw* 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-s^cnh.j mnq.n.j-n3-jrw.k n-jt.j m-hnw-njw.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 *3h3h*. 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-sdmt.f* form.

g) There is space for one tall narrow sign after the god determinative here. I propose *hr*. Kruchten instead reads: 'Sa personne chérie fut (alors) placée [... (dj.t(w) mrwt.f [...])]'.

h) As indicated by Kitchen, the lower half of the group is missing beneath the *tw.f* of *mrwt.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.

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 generations montantes jouaient du sister et (l') accompagnaient amicalement (*mss n d3mw hr jhy (hr) hnms*). 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 *d3mw*. My suggestion may also be appropriate to the context, emphasizing Wenennefer's youthful stage of being before his transformation.

j) Kruchten (1989, 180) renders  *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 , which Kruchten corrected to *ds.f*. This would correspond with the masculine suffix of *jr.w.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) *h* 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 *3hw*, because 'his *3hw*-spirits' does not seem to fit the context.

It may be possible to restore *[.s]* beneath *b'h*: 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 *t3-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 , it seems more likely, on the basis of the determinative and my collation of the text, that , *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, *s3b*, 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
Huysbery***

***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.³ 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 *dw* 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.

4.h

Vizier Prehotep

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 03.1891

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 *w3s* 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 *w3s* 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

<i>Object type</i>	round-topped stela
<i>Date</i>	reign of Ramesses VIII (cartouche)
<i>Provenance</i>	probably Abydos (internal: PM V, 98)
<i>Dimensions</i>	H: 0.97m
<i>Material</i>	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 *w3s* 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 Anhurmosé

el-Mashayikh

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 Anhurmosé 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 Anhurmosé and his wife, Sekhmetnefret. Anhurmosé 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 Anhurmosé and continues in 15 columns over Anhurmosé 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 Anhurmosé and Sekhmetnefret. Five of these (←) give Anhurmosé's titles: ¹*wsjr jry-p^ct h3ty-^c jt-ntr mry-(ntr) w^cb-^cwy hr-[dw3]-3ht.f sh^ctp-²šw hn^c-tfnt m-prrw n-tp-r3.f t[s]-wd3w hr-m^cnh³t hr-šnbt n-šw smn-jtn hr-tp n-tfnt wr-m3w n-šw ⁴m-tny hm-ntr-tpy n-jnh^cr jnh^cr-ms m3^c-hrw m-h^ctp ⁵hr-jmntt-bhdt*, 'Osiris, member of the p^ct, 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, Anhurmosé, true of voice, in peace on the west of Behdet'. One column (→) gives the titles of Anhurmosé's wife: *snt.f nbt-pr šm^cyt n-*

jmn-r^c nb-nswt-t3wy shmt-nfrt m3^c(t)-hrw m-htp ‘His sister, lady of the house, songstress of Amun-re, lord of the thrones of the two lands, Sekhmetnefret, true of voice, in peace’.

Next to the first column of the biography is a wide column of larger hieroglyphs oriented to the door (→) giving the titles of Anhurrose (the column width is roughly equivalent to two columns of the biographical text, and the glyphs are proportionately larger): *wsjr jmy-r3-hmw-ntr wr-m3w n-r^c m-tny jnhr-ms m3^c-hrw* ‘Osiris, overseer of priests, chief of seers for Re of Thinis, Anhurrose, true of voice’. This column demarcates the biographical text from the texts of the inner frame of the doorway; such columns are a feature of the design of the tomb.

Similar columns frame either side of the niche of the east wall and present Anhurrose’s titles. The text on the left of the frame reads: *jt-ntr w^cb-^cwy shkr-q3j-šwtj* [the rest of the col. is lost] ‘God’s Father, pure of hands, who adorns the one high of plumes ...’. The column on the right reads: *jt-ntr w^cb-^cwy smn-jtn n-jt.f hm-ntr-tpy n-jnhr jnhr-ms* ‘God’s Father, pure of hands, who establishes the disc for his father, high priest of Onuris, Anhurrose’. The inscriptions at the bottom of the niche frame are badly damaged but traces, as well as parallels with the niche on the west wall, indicate that they included the name and titles of Anhurrose. The texts within the niche also give the name and titles of Anhurrose as well as those of his wives (Ockinga and Al-Masri 1988, 49–51).

Condition

There are a number of significant points of damage throughout the text and its associated scene. A long deep fissure runs through the centre of the figure of Anhurrose and there are areas of damage in the lower part of the body of Sekhmetnefret. A crack runs through columns 26 and 27 and a large area of text is missing from the lower sections of columns 31 to 35. A square area of text has been cut from the lower sections of columns 52 to 56 and sections of the final three columns are also lost. There are other minor areas of damage throughout the inscription.

Bibliography

Kees (1937)

KRI VII, 226–32

Ockinga and Al-Masri (1988, 31–47, pls. 18–31). Ockinga and Al-Masri provide full translation and commentary of the text. My readings largely follow theirs. Kitchen’s copy is based on Ockinga and Al-Masri, but his readings occasionally differ and he also suggests some restorations. These instances are presented in my notes.

Kitchen (2003, 108–9); translation.

Translation and notes

¹ <i>sh-nswt sh-nfrw n-nb-t3wy</i>	Royal scribe, scribe of the elite troops of the Lord of the
	Two Lands,
<i>wr-m3w n-r^c m-tny</i>	greatest of the seers of Re of Thinis
<i>jmy-jst n-šw tfnt</i>	councillor of Shu and Tefnut,
² <i>hm-ntr-tpy n-jnhr</i>	high priest of Onuris,
³ <i>jnhr-msw</i> ⁴ <i>m3^c-h[rw]</i>	Anhurrose, true of vo[ice].
<i>[n]h⁵y⁶-hbw-sd-snb</i>	One who [pr]ays for heb-sed festivals and health
<i>n-nb.f⁷nb-t3wy</i>	for his lord, Lord of the Two Lands,
<i>(b3-n-r^c mry-jmn)</i>	Baenre meryamun,

*nb-ḥw⁸ (mry-n-ptḥ ḥtp-ḥr-m^c3t)
dj-^cnḥ mj-r^c dt*

lord of appearances, Merenptah Hetephermaat,
given life like Re forever.^a

*⁹dd.f-jnk-jqr m-wdḥ
¹⁰sš3 m-ḥw
jp-jb¹¹ m-nḥn
sš3 m-ḥwr¹²w*

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

*jnk-ḥwrw tjs¹³ m-^ct-sb3t
nn-¹⁴jṯt-jnj-jm.s pt¹⁵r-gm-st
jnk-¹⁶mr-nb.f 3ḥ n-nṯr.f
nn-ft-¹⁷jb.j 3ḥ n-k3.sn*

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.

*jnk-rs m-dpt nn-n.j-^cwy
jst n-qdw h[n].sn-ḥr.j
jnk-tl¹⁸ m-ḥrt-t3 nn-wrd-n.j
ptr-mš^cw-qnw mj-msnḥ n-nḥp*

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

*jnk-sh n-¹⁹mš^c nt-ḥtrjw-^cš3w
wr nn-r-^c.sn
3^c n-ḥ3st-nb m-b3ḥ-nb.f*

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

*jnk-sh-tl m-ḥnw-²⁰jry.f
swh3.n-wj nb.j m-b3ḥ-t3-tmmw*

I am a strong scribe in his residence;
My lord praised me in the presence of everyone.

*jnk-nb-ḥswt m-b3ḥ-nswt
ḥr-ndnd r^c-nb ḥr-²¹swh3-jm.j
jryw-nb-ḥr-dd wr-ḥswt.f*

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!'

*jnk-jb3 n-rmt.f
²²mkw-ḥrw.f n-dr-snḥt.n-nswt
st m-smr
jnk-ḥm-nṯr-m3^ct stp.n-šw
mh-pr-ḥd.f šnwt.²³f s[t-ḥ]r-ngsgs*

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.^h

*jnk-3ḥ m-ḥwt-nṯr tl-m-sḥt
djw.j-ḥ3w-[ḥr]-mrwt ḥpr n-²⁴šw
jb.j-ḥr-ḥrp r^c-nb ḥr-šms-nb.j
jnk-3ḥ-jb n-nṯrw-[t3wy]
ḥn[ty-d3]d3t-rsw*

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 southe[rn Co]uncil.

*jnk-š²⁵m ḥr-w3t-nṯr
nn-th3-nmtt rdjt.n.f*

I am one who goes forth upon the path of god,
without transgressing the steps which he ordained,

<i>jnk-h3m-sw sw3.f hr-hm</i> <i>r-s3-ntr hh-²⁶[...]</i>	I am one who bowed when he passed by the shrine, in order to magnify god a million [times].
<i>jnk-[w^c]b wnh-drt</i> <i>twr-[db^cw?] sh[t]p-ntrw</i> <i>jnk-dd [... ...]</i> <i>[... ...]²⁷[...] r^c-nb</i>	I am a pure one with covered hands, ⁱ and clean [fingers?], who propitiated the gods. I am one who gave [... ...] [... ...] daily.
<i>jnk-rdj-j3 r-mr(y)</i> <i>qn-sw3s n-ntryt</i> <i>jnk-jr-ht-wrt r-[...?] [hr?]- nb</i>	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>jnk-²⁸[dj]-h^cf hr-p3wt n-3hw[... ...]</i> <i>jnk-jr-pr-hrw.f hr-hnf [...</i> <i>...] [mnw]-nbw (n-)njwt</i>	I am one [bestows] his delight upon the offerings for the spirits [... ...] ^j I am one who performs his voice offering over the offering loaves [... ...in?] all the [monuments?] of the city.
<i>jnk-hr-[šw²⁹] jr-hssw(t)</i> <i>n-ntrw nbw (n-)nj[wt].f</i> <i>jnk-[trj?]-r^c r^c-nb</i> <i>psd.f htp.f [m-3ht]-pt</i>	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>jnk-nj(s) h[r]-rnw-nbw</i> <i>n-jmn-r^c ³⁰nswt-ntrw</i> <i>jnk-di-hknw n-ptḥ</i> <i>jr-hy n-shmt-wrt</i>	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>jnk-rwd-htpwt n-hwt-k3 n-tn[y]</i> <i>[...] jm.s</i> <i>[jnk]-jrḥ ³¹m-shtp-ntr</i> <i>r-wb3 n-jtn n-r^c</i>	I am one who administers offerings for the ka-chapel of Thi[nis], [...] which is in it. I am one knowledgeable in propitiating the god, at the courtyard of the sun-disc of Re.
<i>jnk-dd hnk-w^cs3</i> <i>sn-t3 m-swt-hwt-^c3t</i> <i>jnk-[phr?] [... ...] [hwt?]</i> <i>hr-[sw3s?] n-nbw-³²tny</i>	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>jnk-s-[p]fy jwty-wn.f</i> <i>n(n)-sdḥ m-^cb3yt</i> <i>jnk [... ...]</i> <i>[sw3 hr?]-w3t.f</i>	I am that man without fault, without wrongdoing in the Council of Thirty. I am one who [... ...] [passing upon?] his path.
<i>jnk [... ...]</i> <i>³³mrr-rmt!.f [mrt?]</i>	I am one who ... who loves his people [and dependants?], ^k

⁴¹*jnk-jr-m3^ct hr-tp-t3*
r-tnw [f]^c nw-tp
jnk-m3^c-hrw m-swt.j-nb
hft-hrw n-wd^c-mdwt

I am one who performs maat upon earth,
more times than there are [ha]irs on a head.
I am one true of voice in all my places,
on the day of judging matters.

jnk-sh n-swh3-⁴²n.f
sr n-^cb^c-jm.f
jnk-mnh nb-rn-nfr
jwty-bt3.f m-pr-nswt

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.

jnk-mrj n-rhyt
hntš-jb-rmt⁴³hr-mdwt
jnk-3w-^cwy n-jwty-n.f
r-s^cnh nty-m-g3s-jb

I am one beloved of the subjects;
people delight over (his?) speech.ⁿ
I am one open armed to the one who has nothing
in order to nourish the mourner.^o

jnk-rmy hr-sp n-d3w
mhy n-nty-m-hr m-⁴⁴hry
jnk-rs-tp hr-sbh n-nmh(t)
jrr-nty-m-jb.s (r)-dr.f

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.

jnk-sts-hy hry-jw
s^crq[...] ⁴⁵jhw-rmw.f
jnk-rdj-nhwt r-t3
n-st-pw s^cš3t-dnjw

I am one who raises up the grieving child,
who puts a stop to [...] and wipes away his tears.
I am one who puts an end to lamentation,
for that woman who is profuse in grief.

jnk-nb-st m-jmy-wr[t]
[w3dyt?] [...] ⁴⁶jw.j-m-ht

I was the possessor of a place in the west,
and in the [pillared hall?] [...] while I was in the
womb.

jnk-nb-j3w hr-bj3t.j
dj-qd hnm.j-wr.w r.j

I am the possessor of old age because of my character,
who provided an example when I was among those greater
than me.

jnk-^crq-jb šw m-sp-h[sy]
[rest of col. lost]

I am one who is accurate, free from base action
...

[jnk]⁴⁷-jwsw n-nb-ddt
3bwt.j tjt-mhy
jnk-sm3^c-jhw n-tm
šdh-[h]nkw n-k3.f

I am the balance of the lord of Busiris;
for my desire is (to be) the example of the Filler.
I am one who presents cattle to Atum,
pomegranate wine being offered to his ka.

jnk-[... ...] r [...]m-m3^ct ⁴⁸nn-m-jwms
jnk-wrh-h3ry wš.tj
dd-hbsw n-nty-h3w

I am one [...] who spoke?] in truth, and not in falsehood.
I am one who anoints the widow who is destitute,
who gives clothing to the one who is naked.

jnk-wpt s-2-nšnw

I am one who separates two men in a rage,

*r-[pr]⁴⁹y.s(n) m-htpw
jnk-shrr-snw hr-hrw
dr-hww.sn m-tp-r3.j*

in order to cause them to [go forth] in peace.
I am one who appeases kinsmen who are disputing,
who drives out their anger through my advice.

*jnk-dr-mnt n-jbw-kjwy
swnf-jb⁵⁰[n-nty-n]qm
jnk-šd wdḥ-tw3
r-jw-hrw n-sp3.f*

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.

*jnk-ts nty-h3w m-k3w
k3w[-pw dj?] n-nswt
jnk⁵¹[...]-m3rj
r-sšmm-hḥw.s m-rkḥw*

I am one who raises up the one who is downcast of kas,^p
my sustenance is what the king gives.
I am one who [shelters?] the old woman
in order to warm her limbs by the fire.

jnk-nb-k3w ttf-df[3w]

I am a possessor of sustenance,^q who pours forth with
provi[sions],
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.

*shṭp-mr wnm
⁵²jnk-nb-w3ḥt m-shṭ
sḥnḥ-dt.f r-mrr.f*

I am one who ...
...
I am an official of trusted words,
free from indiscretion.

*jnk [rest of col. lost]
⁵³...w.j
jnk-sr n-mḥ-jb m-m[d]wt
šw m-r3-wḥm*

I am one who takes [his?] share in [silence?],
...
... in all his words,
the standard for the scribes of the land.

*jnk-jtt psš[.] m-gr[...
[rest of col. lost]
...⁵⁴m-mdw.f-nb
tp-ḥsb n-shw nw-t3*

I am one who performs invocations first
without [there being?] ...
...
their li[bations], so that they relied upon me.

*jn[k]-jr-w-njs m-ḥ3t
nn-wn [rest of col. lost]
...
...⁵⁵q[bḥw].sn r-hn.sn hr.j*

I was their support (?) [... ..]
who drove out ...
...
effective of heart, whose voice is free from fault.

*jnk-rk.sn [n ...r...]
dr [s...rest of col. lost]
...
⁵⁶jqr-jb šw m-ḥnbt-hrw.f*

I am a Companion who has this burial,
a possessor of an interment within [...]
...
who trusts [in] the path of my god.

*jnk-smr hry-qrs-pw
nb-sm3-t3 m-ḥnw [...]
[rest of col. lost]
⁵⁷hn [hr]-w3t-nṯr.j*

jnk-šm hr-smdt n-nṯr.f

I am one who goes in the service of his god;

n-thj[.n] f r-[ht] f
jnk [rest of col. lost]
... ⁵⁸*nmhy mj-wsr*

jnk-hn-sw n-šw s3-r
n-t[f].n.j-[w]j n-ky-[n]tr
[tr.... ...]
[hh ...] ⁵⁹*n[n]-jwt-dwt-nb-r.j*

swt-pw nn r-3w
sw-m-dd-n.j nb(.j) n-dr-ms.tj
d^cr.j n-[.jb].j r-[... ...] ⁶⁰nw.f
dmj.f-n.f bw-jqr

ntf-pw-nb n-h3ty-nb
ntr[w] mj-rmt
[nh]p-n.w [nt]r-njwt.j m-jmj-wr(t)

[rest of col. lost] ⁶¹*-ntrw*
m-ssnb-hr k3-nht rdj-wn.j

[s]w-m-hwt.f r-htp m-hnw-w[nt].f

dj.f-šms.j-sw r-[rest of col. lost]
⁶²*sm3-t3-nfr*
sby.j{f} m-htp r-hwt.j
hswt.f mn.tj jm.j

dd-nb.j jw.k-r-jrt-š3^c-nhh m-bhdt
[dj.f mn?]-rn.j ⁶³*mj-t3-3ht*

hrw-pw mjtt-grh-mswt-ntry
msy r[n].j h[tw] msw-nwt

wn [... ...]
⁶⁴*št3yt m-hwt n-[sk]r*
šms.j-nb.j m-nšmt-wr
nty-šd m-k3k3w

mn-rn.j mj-dw-[...] n-bhdt

htp[f] ⁶⁵[... n]-m-ht-hprw
hnty.j m-sšmw-ntr.j
mj-wnn hr-tp-t3

q3b.f-n.j 3hw

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.^r

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.^s

[... ...]
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,

*jr.f-n.j m-snw [...
pr] m-b3h-⁶⁶šms-nb.j
pr.f r-h3t m-hbw.f-nbw-nfrw*

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.^t

*tjtj.j m-b3h.f m-b3-^cnh
šsp.j-sn[w][... m-sj-n.s?]
pr [hr-h3ywt?].f-[nbw?]
⁶⁷...] m-sfh n-mnh.f*

May I may 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?].^u
[...] the cast-offs of his clothing.

*htr.f [hrt? hrw?] t3w
hnm.j-dw3t jmy-t3-dsr
šms.j-wsjr m-hb[f ...]
[m] ⁶⁸h[n^c] tpyw-^cw
dd.tw m-njw.t j m-ht-rnpwt
h[s-w]y-sw tr*

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!'

*n-k3-n-hsy n-ntr.f
mr-nb.f 3h n-[ntr?].f
[...] ⁶⁹[n]hy-snb n-nb.f*

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,

*mtr-m3^c tmm hr-gs-nb
j[m3?] m-h3w r-rmt
h^c-nb.f [... .f]*

one truly assiduous, complete on every side,
exceedingly [kind?] to people,
[for whom] his lord rejoices ...

[rest of col. lost] ⁷⁰[..]
*jmy-r3-njw.t-šm^cw t3-mhw
r-rwty-wr[tj] [...] n-šw [s3-r^c]
[... ..]f m-j3t.f
[rest of col. lost]
⁷¹n-šw tfnt
hm-ntr-tpy n-jnh.r
jnh.r-[ms m3^c-hrw]
[rest of col. lost]*

...
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,
Anhuriose 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 (*ssnb.n.f*) the king Menmaatere. Give him perpetuity in sed-festivals and eternity as a testament' (KRI II, 296, 11). A further parallel is 4.j, in which Hori is brought to Abydos to request sed-festivals for Ramesses VIII. Anhuriose'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 *šš* 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 Anhur-mose's name in col. 3, although damaged, is a man standing holding a staff, mirroring the figure of Anhur-mose 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 Anhur-mose (see n. k below). These visual plays contrast with the onomatopoeic quality linking some verses (e.g. col. 36: *nḥp-ḥrw-šnty jnk-šd nty-ḥrp*) 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 *wḏḥ* to *ḥw* to *nḥn*, and ending with *ḥwrrw*, which is repeated in the following stanza in reference to being in school. *ḥwrrw* 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 Anhur-mose'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).

jṯj jnj 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 ḥr-msnḥ mj-jrr-nḥp* (Gardiner 1909, 27). *msnḥ* is not otherwise used in reference to potters' wheels. Dorman (1999, 86–8 with n. 19; 2002b, 123) suggests that the phrase *wb3 nḥp* may describe this movement. Where *msnḥ* 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) 'w/3' 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; Žába 1974, 121–3).

f) Ockinga and Al-Masri (1988) read 'I was the joy of his people', following the general meaning of *jb3(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-jb3w (?^W) *jnk-hbw n-mrt* I am a dancer, I am a dancer who is loved (lit. ‘of loveable-ness’),
jnk-sbt n-tswt.f I am a laughing one for his troops;
mrrw-njw.t.f-dmḏ nn-hr-hn-jm.sn 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 in the biographies 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 Anhurmo’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 Anhurmo’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 (*n3y.sn-prw-hḏ hr-[n]sgsgs mh m-ht*), 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-ṛ*) 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 h^cw* given in the *Wörterbuch* (III, 41, 3).

3hw is written with the variant determinative 𓆎 (not included in the *Wörterbuch* I, 15–6).

k) I tentatively suggest *mrt* ‘dependants, servant’ as a possible reading in the gap; both 𓄠 and 𓄡 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 ntr* in the following verse is a further example of visual play in the text:
𓄠 𓄡.

l) *knb* is closely related in use to *kh3* and *khs/k3hs*, 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 *knb* is used of speech outside Anhur’s text. In Ptolemaic temple texts, *knb* 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 𓄠 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, rto 7, 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 *hnt3* (1988, 40, n. 172): ‘who made joyful the hearts of people with things’.

o) I tentatively suggest *g3s* 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 *g3h*, ‘to be weary’, with the *s* the result of conflation with *gs3*, ‘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 𓄠 𓄡 𓄢 𓄣, 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 k3w* 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 *df3w* 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 Anhurrose'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 Anhurrose. 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

<i>Object type</i>	double naophorous statue
<i>Date</i>	Ramesses II (cartouche)
<i>Provenance</i>	el-Mashayikh (PM V, 29)
<i>Dimensions</i>	H: 0.84m
<i>Material</i>	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)
Kitchen (2000, 329–30); translation.

6 Asyut

6.a

Granary chief Siese

New York, Museum of Modern Art, 17.2.5

Figs. 85–6

<i>Object type</i>	statue dyad of Wepwawet and Isis-Hathor
<i>Date</i>	Ramesses II (cartouches)
<i>Provenance</i>	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.
<i>Dimensions</i>	H: 1.29m
<i>Material</i>	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 between cow-horns 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-t3-dsr 3st mwt-ntr hwt-hr nb(t)-mddt nbt-pt hnwt-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)-mddt dj.s-pr-hrw-t hnqt jhw-3pdw n-k3-(n) sh-nsw jmy-r3-snwt s3-3st m3c-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 mrw n-k3-(n) sh-nswt jmy-r3 snwt (s3-)3st m3c-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-snwt s3-3st m3c-hrw*

s3-s3b sh-nswt jmy-r3-šnwty s3-3st m3^c-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

<i>¹sh-nswt jmy-r3-šnwty</i>	Royal scribe, overseer of the two granaries,
<i>n-šm^cw t3-mḥw</i>	of Upper and Lower Egypt,
<i>s3-3st m3^c-hrw</i>	Siese, true of voice,
<i>dd.f-j-wsjr wnn-nfr b3-dmd</i>	He says: O Osiris, Wenennefer, united ba, ^a
<i>nb-²[...] ʿ3-šfy</i>	lord of [...], great of majesty,
<i>dj.k-ntrj-b3.j m-hrt-ntr</i>	may you cause my ba to become divine in the necropolis,
<i>ntrj.kw m-t3-m3^cty</i>	being divine in the land of the justified,
<i>hr-ntt-jnk-ḥm n-3bdw</i>	because I am a servant of Abydos,
<i>³[w^cb]-ʿ3 m-ṯnnt</i>	great [wab] priest in Tjenenet,
<i>smn.n(.j)-šwty hr-3bdw</i>	I established the twin plumes on the Abydos emblem,
<i>m-ḥnw n-nb-ʿnh</i>	within the sarcophagus
<i>ṯs.j-wnḥ tp-⁴ḥ3kw-jb hr-rdwy.k</i>	I fastened bindings upon the disaffected beneath your feet
<i>pr-b3(.j) ḥntš.f tp-t3</i>	so that my ba may go forth to have its pleasure upon earth,
<i>m-ḥprw-nb mry.f</i>	in any form that it desires,
<i>pr.j ⁵m-pt</i>	that I may go forth in the sky
<i>h3y(.j) r-t3</i>	and descend to the earth,
<i>nn-šn^c.tw(.j) hr-w3t</i>	without my way being hindered.

<i>n-k3-n sh-nswt</i> <i>jmy-r3-šnwty n-šmꜥw t3-mḥw</i> <i>s3-3st m3ꜥ-ḥrw</i>	For the ka of the royal scribe, overseer of the granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt, Siese, true of voice,
<i>°s3-s3b sh-nswt</i> <i>jmy-r3-šnwty n-šmꜥw t3-mḥw</i> <i>qny m3ꜥ-ḥrw</i>	son of the royal scribe, overseer of the granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt, Qeny, true of voice,
<i>s3-s3b sh-nswt</i> <i>jmy-r3-šnwty n-šmꜥw t3-mḥw</i> <i>s3-3st m3ꜥ-ḥrw</i>	(grand)son of the royal scribe, overseer of the granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt, Siese, true of voice.

a) *b3 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 *b3-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 *šbjw* 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*ḥtmty-bjty jmy-r3-šnwtj*
m-šmꜥw t3-mḥw
jmy-r3-pr-wr m-pr-nswt

Royal sealbearer, overseer of the granaries,
of Lower and Upper Egypt,
high steward in the palace,

gr r-tr-[rest of col. lost]

...

²s33-jb.f-pw

mdw.f-nb r-tp-hsb

jwsw [rest of col. lost]

...

[...]-³sr hr-mdw.f

w3h-jb-pw jwty-wn.f

[c. 9 groups]

nfr-shrw m3^c-hrw

dd.f-dd.j n.tn⁴

wnnyw tp-t3 nty-r-hpr

w^cbw špsw-nswt

[c. 8 groups]

[wh^c-d]rf m-js.j jmy-m3-hd

hhw-jb⁵w.tn hft-sh-pn

dd.tn m-ddwy

m-jr-hr-n-[c. 7 groups]

[m-]rh-wh3 mj-hmww

d[dt]⁶.j-nb(!) hr-hwt.j

dd.j-bj3t.j qd.j shrw.j

jw-hrw(t).j [...]w.j m-b3h.tn

jnk-gr dr-h3.j⁷ m-ht

jy m-nhn hr-qj-nfr

jw-[jr.n.j-nhnw.j r-?]rnpt-10

jw.j-m-hw tp-^c-jt.j

sb3.n.tw.j r-sh

hr-s3-nn ⁸m-ht-s3r.j

wb3.n-hr.j pr[j m-^ct-sb3t?] r-hwt-^cnh

w^cb.n(.j)-wj-jm r-šms-hm.f

sh.n.j m-^chnwty

bw hr-hm.f

⁹hn(r).kw r-k3p n-hnty

tj-wj m-nfrw mrw-(n)swt-^ch

who is silent at the [right] time ...

...

he is one who guards his heart,

all of whose words are exact,

balance^a ...

...

[who reckoned?] an official on account of his speech.

He is benevolent without fault,

...

Nefersekheru, 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:

I was a silent one since I descended from the womb,

who came as a child in perfect form.

I [spent my youth of?] ten years,

as a child upon the arm of my father,^c

and I was taught to write.

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,

hr-gr n-r3.j
nn-sh3y.j r-whm n-nb-t3wy

because of the silence of my mouth;
There was no memorandum concerning me to a herald
of the lord of the Two Lands.^f

jn-¹⁰ qd.j-nfr s^cr.f-wj
bs.kw hr-[w^cbt] m-št3-[3ht]

It was my good character which promoted me,
I was initiated into the [preparation chamber] in the
hidden [horizon],^g
beginning with the invocation of my name by His Person,
to be the royal scribe of the meal for king in his following.

š3^c-m-njs hr-rn.j jn-hm.f
r-sh-nswt-^cbw r-nswt m-šmswt.f

gm.n.f-¹¹wj 3h.kw
drt.j-wd3 hr-[...]
[nmtt?]-st(.j) r-s n-tš.n.f

He recognised that I was effective,
my hand was firm because of [...],
[the actions?] of (my) office are appropriate for a man,
who does not stray;^h
years passed by me in this commission.ⁱ

rnpwt-sw3-hr.j m-sšm-pw

dhn.kw r-jmy-r3-pr-wr n-nswt
srs.kw ¹²n-mh.n.j
hr-ddt m-hr.j
[hft-jr.j hnt?].j n-hr.j

I was promoted to overseer of the great house by the king,
being alert and not neglectful
concerning what was placed before me,
[when I performed?] my [services?] for my Horus,^j

hs.kw nn-3b hrt-hrw
fq3.kw-^cš3 wr m-šsr-nb
nbw-jry r-hh.j
^cntyw¹³ hr-tp.j
jbr-m3^c n-hnt-[t3?]
[w]rh^w r-[h^c]w.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]ointing my [limbs].

pr^r.j hr-sb3w nw-pr-nswt
jw-h3w.j-nb m-ršwt
r-q3 n-pt
nty-nb m3.f-wj
¹⁴hr-twt-n.f-st nfr-shrw m3^c-jb.f

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, Neferekheru, whose heart is
true,

[c. 3 groups]
[m]k-ph.n.j-j3w nn-gr(g)-jm.j

...
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.

nn-nty-r-sddt sp.j-r.f
bw-gs(3).j-m3jr jwty n.f n-wr r.f

¹⁵bwt.j-šsp-shw [r-]dj[t] hr-[gs]

My abomination is one who receives offerings, in order to
be partial.

[nj hr ^ch^cw].j n-wn-m3^c
n-k3y.j-prw n-hh m-ht

[I did not ... concerning my possessions] truly;
I did not think about an overflow of millions of things.

s3w-dd.tn-r.s jwt-nt-js(?)
m m3-st
s[f?]-dd.f n.n¹⁶ st
‘b^c-n.f s-nb m-sh-ds.f

nh[tj]-mdw.j nn-gr(g)-jm
mtr n-m3^cty js.f-šps

‘nh-nswt-nh^h hnt-t3-wr

p3-jw-n.f tmw nn-nh¹⁷.sn
jr-ddt.n.j-nb bj3t.j
qd.j [s]hr-nb
jr[.n].j dr-wn.j-tp-t3

q^chw-n.j-drt nj(s)w-rn.j
jr.tn tp-t3.tn n-hd-ph^y

sb.tn-‘h^c m-htp n-3t-¹⁸nswt

s3-mr.f m-jw^c n-s-nb-jm[.tn

dd.tn-htp-dj-nswt (n-)wsjr]
nb-ddw jmy-3bdw
hr hnt-hbnw
skr nb-št
jnpw hnt-sh-ntr

dj.sn-[h3 m-t hnqt
jhw 3pdw
ht-nb-nfr w^cb
n-šs n-mnh^t
t3w-ndm n?]-¹⁹mhy(t)

šwrj hr-bbt-jtr[w]
[šsp-snw pr hr-wdhw?-w]nn-nfr

t df3w n-hwt-k3-pt^h
qbhw htp m-jwnw

p^rt m-b3-‘nhy
m-hprw-nb mr.f
n-qd r-gs-²⁰s3h m-‘b-jwhmw-sk
m3-r^c dj.f-s(w) r^c-nb
jtn-wr jmy-wpt

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 *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]jennenfer,
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,

<i>hnm-st m-dpt-ntry m-shnt-jst-hsw</i>	taking up (my) place in the divine barque, in the command of the rejoicing crew.
<i>njs.tw-rn.j gm.tw.j</i> ²¹ <i>m-hb-w3g dhwtj</i> <i>[n-k3 n-sh-]nswt</i> <i>nfr-shrw m3[-hrw]</i>	May my name be invoked and may I be found, in the w3g festival and the Thoth festival, [for the ka of the] royal [scribe], Nefersekheru, true of [voice].
<i>dd.f-sw-d3-jb-pw nty-hpr-²²jm.tn</i> <i>ft-nn-dd.j [hr-^cnh.j tp-]t3</i> <i>tw m-qd-w^c</i>	He says: The one who occurs among you is happy, joyfully receiving what I have said [concerning my life on] earth, all together.
<i>wnn-w^{c23} st.f-mw</i> <i>n-s^chw-ky mj-^c-wn</i> <i>nn-n.f š3y</i>	If one pours water, for the honour of another, in accordance with the state of one who was there? he has no (evil) fate. ^k
<i>šb-jb-pw dg.f-²⁴3w m-hsj</i> <i>shn.f-js.f</i> <i>hr.tw nty-m-<hnt-b(w)-pn> tkn.k rn.j</i>	(As for) the one whose heart is confused, ^l who sees the dead as negligible, and destroys his tomb: Stop yourself, you who are <before this place>, when you approach my name. ^m
<i>jn-jw-²⁵tr-wnn.k 3</i> <i>šw.tj m-mnt.s</i> <i>sh3-n.k jw.k-n.j</i> <i>n-hhw m-rnpwt</i> <i>wp.tw(.j)-js-hn^c.k m-hrt-ntr</i> <i>m-b3h-d3d3t nbw-m3^ct</i> <i>hft-jry-mh3t jmj-m3^cty</i>	If you are here, free from the like, bear in mind that you have come to me for millions of years, so that I may be judged with you in the necropolis, in the presence of the council, the lords of Maat, before the Keeper of the Balance who is in the (hall of) two truths.
<i>dd.j dj.j-rh.tn nfr-sdm.tn</i>	I speak in order to let you know. It is good to listen.

a) Anhurmo'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 Anhurmo's text (col. 54) so that the ordering of the verses is not certain: ... *m-mdw.f tp-hsb n-shw nw-t3*, '... all his words, the standard for the scribes of the land'. The metaphor of the individual as balance also occurs in Anhurmo's text: [*jnk*]-*jwsw n-nb-ddw*, '[I] am the balance for the lord of Busiris' (cols. 46–7). Fischer-Elfert (1994, 45–6) considers this verse to be an allusion to the Teaching of Ptahhotep 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-gs3.n.f*)' (Parkinson 1997, 73).

b) Osing (1992b, 46, 48 n. f) has no suggestion for the sense of the phrases following *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 (*jw.j-m-sff jmytw-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 (*m-s3 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 Nefersekheru's text (reading of the traces is not completely certain): 'I grew up as a young man [acting under the guidance of my father] (*[jr(w) hr-^c 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 *hnwty* and his role in fostering Nefersekheru.

e) Osing (1992b, 49 n. o) suggests reading  as *hnr*, with a schematized  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 Nefersekheru 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 *w^cbt* and *3ht* are not certain. *w^cbt* would fit the rough traces given in Wilbour's copy text (Osing 1992b, 45) and Osing restores *3ht* on the basis of a fragment found in the tomb shaft; Wilbour read *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 Nefersekheru'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 Nefersekheru'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, Nebwawy (Frood 2003, 65–6, 75–8 with refs.). However, in Nefersekheru'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 Nefersekheru 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 Nefersekheru’s text and perhaps his tomb (5.3). The king becomes Osiris in Nefersekheru’s oath in columns 16–7 (Osing 1992b, 51 n. am).

k) I follow here Osing (1992b, 53 n. bd), who reads 𓂏 as *š3y* ‘fate’. As he observes, this writing is attested in Graeco-Roman texts and is appropriate to the context of Nefersekheru’s speech. A reading as *hf3w* might also be possible: ‘there will be no snake (*hf3w*) 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 (*hf3w*) against him on land – (i.e.) the one who will do anything against this tomb’ (*Urk.* I, 23, 11–13; 226, 12–5). Nefersekheru may be alluding to the language of these ancient curses.

l) For *šb-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 (𓂏) in the previous column and the concept of judgement which follows. The more restrained reading of *rn* may therefore be preferable.

8. Lower Egypt, including Saqqara

8.a

Overseer of the treasury Maya

Saqqara

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)

van Dijk (1995, 33)

Translation

¹*jry-p^ct h3ty-^c*

htmty-bjty smr-²w^cty

t3y-hw hr-wnm n-nswt

sšm-hb n-jmn

³*sh-nswt-m3^c mr.f*

jmy-r3-pr-hd n-nb-t3wy

⁴*m^cy3 m3^c-hrw*

Member of the *p^ct*, count,

royal sealbearer, sole companion,

fanbearer on the right of the king,

festival leader of Amun,

true royal scribe beloved of him,

overseer of the treasury for the Lord of the Two Lands,

Maya, true of voice.

dd.f⁵ hr-rmtw jw(.ty).sn

3bb⁶y-sd3-hr hr-jmnt

stwt m-sp3t-nhh

⁷[... ...] *js.j m-[...]*

He says to the people who come,

and who wish to take recreation on the West,

to walk about in the district of eternity,

[... ...] my tomb in [...],

[*jw?*]⁸[*.tn*] *hr-jr n-[...]m mdt.j-pn*

h^cy⁹[...] jm.sn

[...]¹⁰*rn.j hr-mnw.j*

¹¹*jr.n-n.j [...]*

[... ...]

[cols. 12–3 traces only]

[and?] you make [...] this speech of mine,

rejoice [...] among them,

[...] my name upon my monument,

which [...] made for me.

¹⁴[... ...] *shrw hpr-hr.j*

m-jr.n n.j¹⁵ ntr.j dr-nhn.j

hpr.n.j bw-¹⁶hry-hm.f jw.j-m-wdh

[... ...] the state of affairs which came into being through me,

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.

šsp.j-¹⁷nfryt m-3w-jb

hr-hswt-nb-t3wy¹⁸ nn-[tnw].sn

I reached the end in happiness,

in the favour of the lord of the two lands [count]less times.

jnk [p?]r m¹⁹ [cols. 19–27 lost]

[c. 7 groups]²⁸*r-^cwy.j jr-mn*

[c. 7 groups]²⁹*m-d^cm*

I am one who [went forth?] [...]

[...] my actions? (in) making monuments? [...]

[...] in electrum.

jnk-nfr-h3t hd-phwy

nb-jm3h m-htp m-hwt-ptḥ

I am one who was good in the beginning, bright at the end,

a possessor of veneration in peace in the temple of Ptah.

jw-jr.n.j-shrw-nswt jmy-h3w.j

I am one who carried out the plans of the king of my time,

<i>n-hd.n (.j) wd.n.f</i>	and did not neglect what he had commanded.
³⁰ [c. 7 cols.] [<i>sjqr?</i>]- <i>hwt</i> <i>m-mst-^chmw nw-ntrw</i> <i>n[t]-^cw.sn hr-shrw.j</i>	[... making splendid] the temples, in fashioning the images of the gods, ^a their rituals being under my care.
<i>^cq.kw hr-tjt[-špst]</i> <i>jn-s3-sm^csw</i> ³¹ [c. 7 groups]	I entered before the [august] image. It was (my) eldest son who [...]
<i>m-wd3 snb</i> <i>m-wd-qrst-[nfrt m-^cnh-t3wy]</i>	[...] in prosperity and health, commanding a [perfect] burial [in Memphis],
[<i>n-wsjr...?</i>] <i>sh-nswt-m3^c mr.f</i> [<i>jmy-r3-pr-hd</i>] <i>n-nb-t3wy</i> <i>m^cy3 m3^c-hrw</i>	[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-^chmw nw-ntrw jnk-^cq ptr-hwt-nbw r-shtp sšmw.sn-j(m)y*, ‘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, censuring.

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

<i>Object type</i>	fragment of scribe statue
<i>Date</i>	late 20th Dynasty ³ (internal; mention of Medinet Habu (base, left, l. 1) dates the text to Ramesses III or later)
<i>Provenance</i>	Lower Egypt (internal). Hamada (1947, 15) stated that he first noticed the statue in a dealer’s shop near Mena House at Giza.
<i>Dimensions</i>	H: 0.53m; Base W: 0.58m; Base D: 0.62m

³ 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

¹*t3y-ḥw-nswt ḥr-wnm n-nswt*

sh-š^ct n-nb-t3wy

jmy-r3-pr-ḥd n-jmn

jmy-r3-pr-wr m-jtrw-jmnty

Fanbearer on the right of the king,
document scribe of the lord of the two lands,
overseer of the treasury of Amun,
high steward of the Western river,

dj-ḥt.f n-jmn-r^c nswt-ntrw

jmn-msw ²s3-s3b p3-wj3

ms.n-nbt-jwnt n3w-jmn-r^c

m-jtrw-jmnty

who gave his property to Amun-re, king of the gods,
Amunmose, son of the dignitary Pawia,^a
born to Nebetiunet, of Na-Amun-re
of the Western river.^b

*dd.f-jnk-jmy-r3-k3t n-pr-jmn-r^c
nswt-ntrw
m-mnw-nb n-pr.f
m-p3y.f-³pr n-nbw*

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;

*h3wt.f jnbw.f m-nbw
s3tw.f m-hd-w^cb
^c3w-jry m-hmt m-qm3
h³pw m-nbw-nfr*

its ceiling and its walls of gold,
its floor of pure silver,
doorleaves therein of hammered copper,^c
figures in fine gold.

*⁴sdm.j-^cs n-n3-rh.nf st-wrt
m-mjtt m-nbw-nfr
bhwt hww
wd3t [m]-nbw*

I performed service for the divine figures of the great
seat,
being likewise of fine gold,
shades, standards
and udjat-eyes [in] gold.

*jr.j-swsh-n3y.k-⁵trjw-^c3w n-nbw
m-^cq t3y.k-f3yt-^c3t n-7-jnjw*

I widened your great doorways of gold,
in the entrance of your great portable shrine with 7
carrying poles.

*jnk-jmy-r3-k3t n-n3y.k-hmnyw n-htt
nty-m-p3y.k-wb3*

I was overseer of works for your Ogdoad of baboons,^d
which are in your forecourt.

*jnk-jmy-r3-k3t n-n3y.k w3dw n-nbw
wn m-hsbd n-sh*

I was overseer of works for your wooden columns
(covered with) gold,
which used to be painted blue.

*jnk-jmy-r3-k3t n-t3y.k-⁷f3yt
djw.j-sw hr-5-jnjw
wnn hr-3
whm.j-jr-st hr-7
mn.tj nhh*

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.^e

*⁸jnk-jmy-r3-k3t n-p3y.k-rhn
hpšy-^c3 n-w3st
nty-mn m-p3y.k-wb3
r-nhh dt*

I was overseer of works for your Ram sphinx,^f
Great Protector of Thebes,
who is established in your open court,
forever and ever.

*hn.k-n.f wr-sp-sn
hr-t3y.k-f3yt-^c3t hn^c-⁹psdt.k
hsy.k-wj hr.f m-b3h-t3-tm*

May you assent to him very greatly
from your great portable shrine, with your ennead;^g
you favoured me for it in the presence of the entire land.

*dj.k-s3.j m-r3 [...]
n-mn-hr.f nhh hr-jmntt-w3st
mwt hnsu hwt-hr-htp-<j>m*

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.^h

Base, right half

¹*jnk-jmy-r3-k3t n-p3-mdt-špsy*
n-jmn-r^c nswt-ntrw
^{right}*jw.j-(hr)-djt.f hr-f3y n-jnjw-2*
m-š3^c-tp n-jrt
wn.f (hr-)^{back} nhbt-w^cb s-l

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,ⁱ
for it used to be (upon) the shoulder of one wab priest.

²*jnk-jmy-r3-k3t n3-jmn-r^c*
m-jtrw-^{right} jmnty
jw-wn.f m-brkt
jw.j-hr-j.jr.f r3w-prw k3y^{back}t
hr-spd.f n-pr-jmn

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.

Base, left half

¹*jnk-jmy-r3-k3t n-t3-hwt*
nt-hh-m-^{left} rnpt
hnmm-nhh m-pr-jmn hr-jmntt-w3st

m-p3y.f-šsm-hww psdt.f htp
m-hn^{back} w r-š3^c-nhh

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.

²*djw.j-ht.j-nb n-jmn-r^c nswt-ntrw*
^{left}*m-hmw hmwt*
prw k3myw
j3wt m-shpr.j-nb
st-mn m-h3-nb^{back} n-sh
nw-pr-nswt-pr-jmn m-mjtt

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.^j

a) On Amenmose's scribe statue found in Thebes (2.aa), the name of his father is written , *p3-wj3-r^c* (KRI V, 416, 14). 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,   *hpw* was clear to me.

d) The reading *n-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 (*wsh*) (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^c 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 *šbjw* 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 *šbjw* 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

<i>Object type</i>	square-topped stela
<i>Date</i>	Ramesses II (historical)
<i>Provenance</i>	Saqqara, chapel (PM III ² , 1, 226; Raue 1998, 343)
<i>Dimensions</i>	H: 1.58m; W: c.0.82m at the base; D: c.0.33m at the base
<i>Material</i>	pink granite

Description

The stela is inscribed on both faces and edges. The scene on the upper register of Kitchen's face I depicts Prahotept on the left, with his right arm raised towards Osiris and Apis. His head is shaved and he wears a *šbjw* 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 *wꜣs*, *ḏd*, and *ꜥnh* 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.

8.e

God’s father of Ptah Ptahmose

*Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden,
AST 23 (D. 45)*

Fig. 99

<i>Object type</i>	block statue
<i>Date</i>	Ramesses II (cartouche)
<i>Provenance</i>	Saqqara (PM III ² , 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”’.
<i>Dimensions</i>	H: 0.40m
<i>Material</i>	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 was-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

location unknown

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 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.

Bibliography

Badawi (1944, 202–4, pl. 22)

KRI III, 169, 1–13

Kitchen (2000, 114)

8.g

Bilgai endowment stela

Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 43341

<i>Object type</i>	stela fragment
<i>Date</i>	reigns of Siptah–Tawosret (references to a female pharaoh)
<i>Provenance</i>	Bilgai, North delta, central part (findspot, villager's home: Gardiner 1912, 49)
<i>Dimensions</i>	max H: 1.12m; max W: 1.07m; max D: c.0.31m
<i>Material</i>	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 htp* 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 Usermaatse 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.

Bibliography

Porter and Moss (IV, 40)

Gardiner (1912)

Römer (1994); discussions of vocabulary throughout.

Haring (1997, 152 –3)

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

Paris, Musée du Louvre, C. 95

<i>Object type</i>	stela (now destroyed)
<i>Date</i>	Ramesses II (cartouche)
<i>Provenance</i>	unknown
<i>Dimensions</i>	unknown
<i>Material</i>	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

***Cairo, Egyptian Museum,
JdE 89624***

<i>Object type</i>	block stela
<i>Date</i>	Ramesses II (cartouches)
<i>Provenance</i>	unknown
<i>Dimensions</i>	H: 1.07m; W of each face: 0.45m
<i>Material</i>	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, *šbjw* 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 *w3s*-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 *w3s* 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

<i>Object type</i>	naophorous block statuette
<i>Date</i>	Drioton (1944, 91) dated the statue to the 19th Dynasty on stylistic and orthographic grounds.
<i>Provenance</i>	unknown (PM VIII, 2, 625, 801-643-770)
<i>Dimensions</i>	H: 0.175m
<i>Material</i>	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

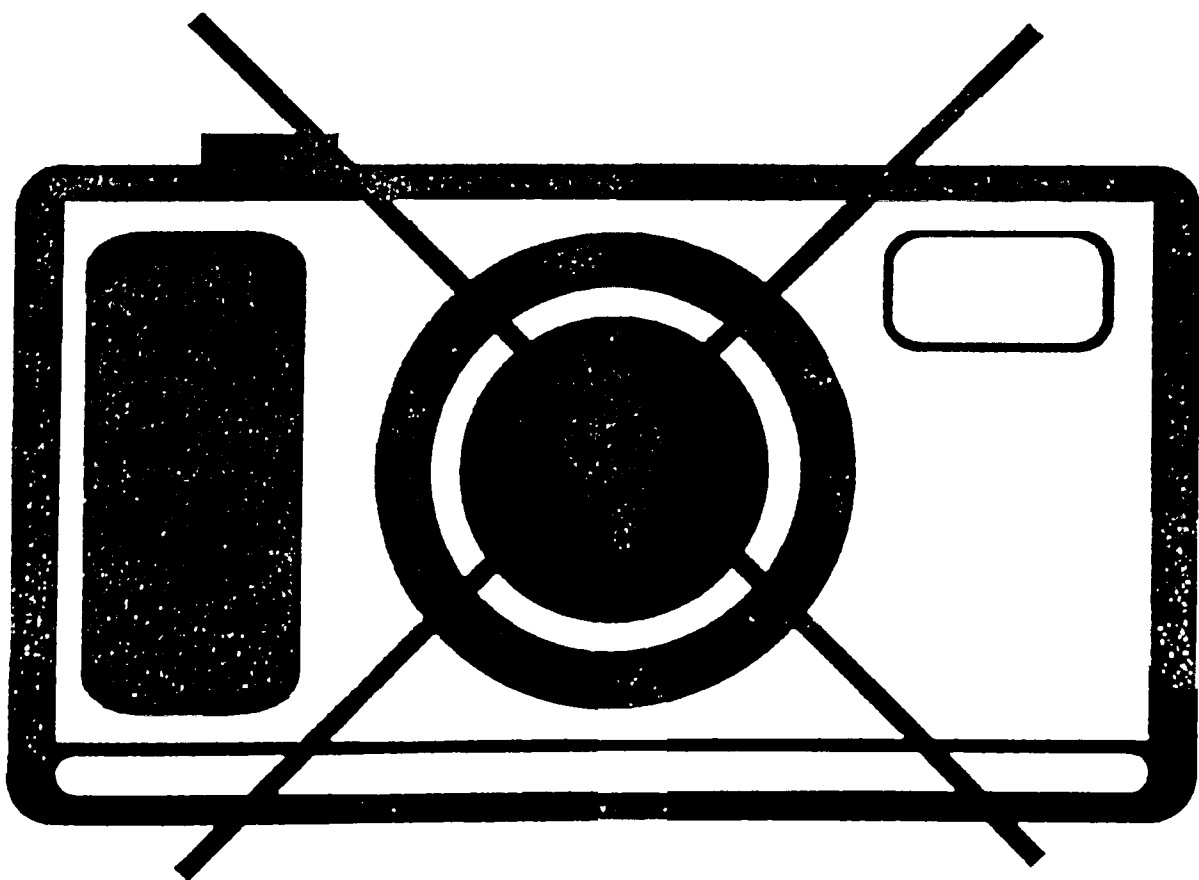
Naos at the front lost along with the front of the base; part of the left of the base also appears to be missing. Only traces of inscription around the base. Large crack through the back of the head; areas of damage on face and wig.

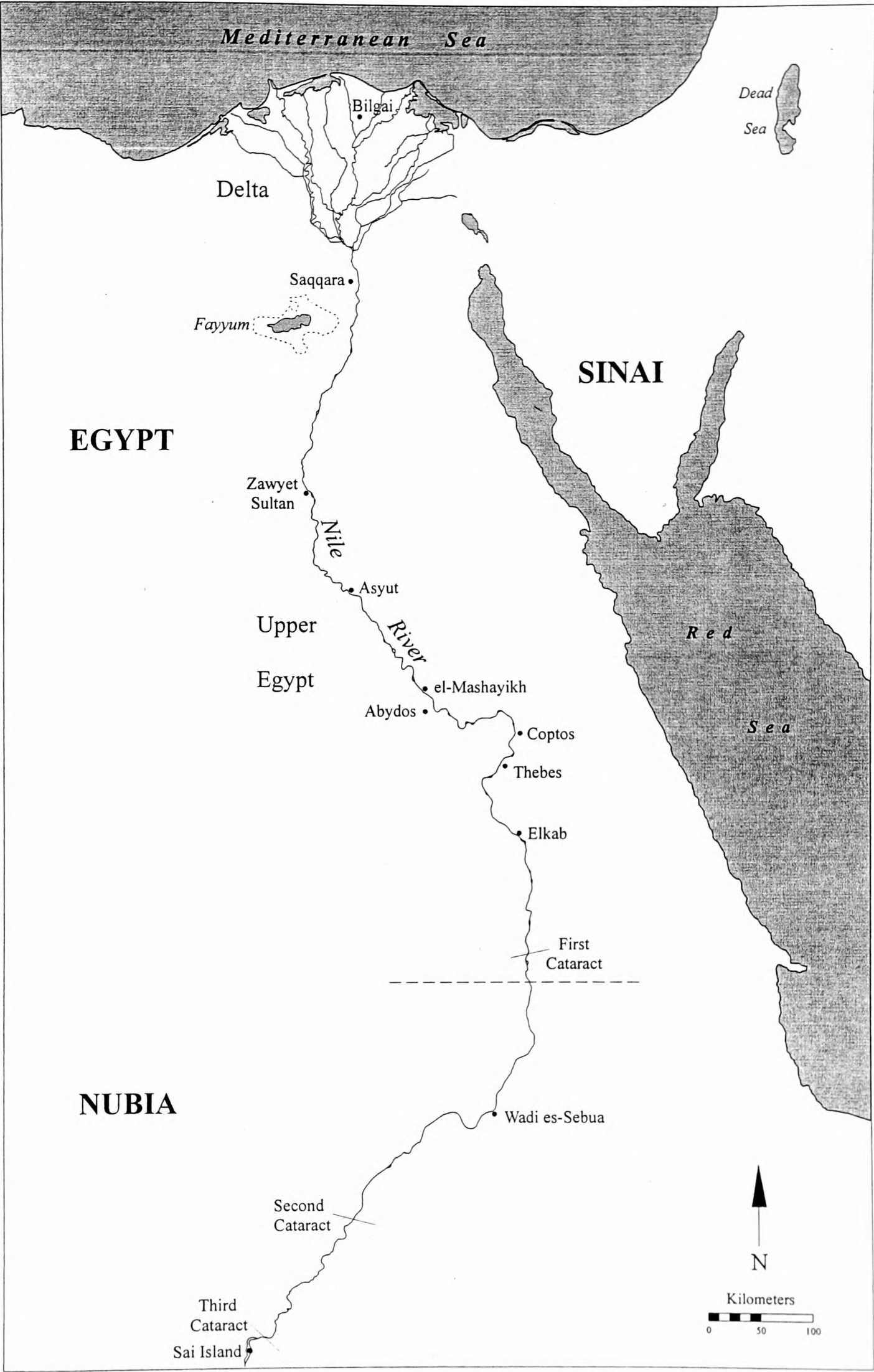
Bibliography

Drioton (1944)

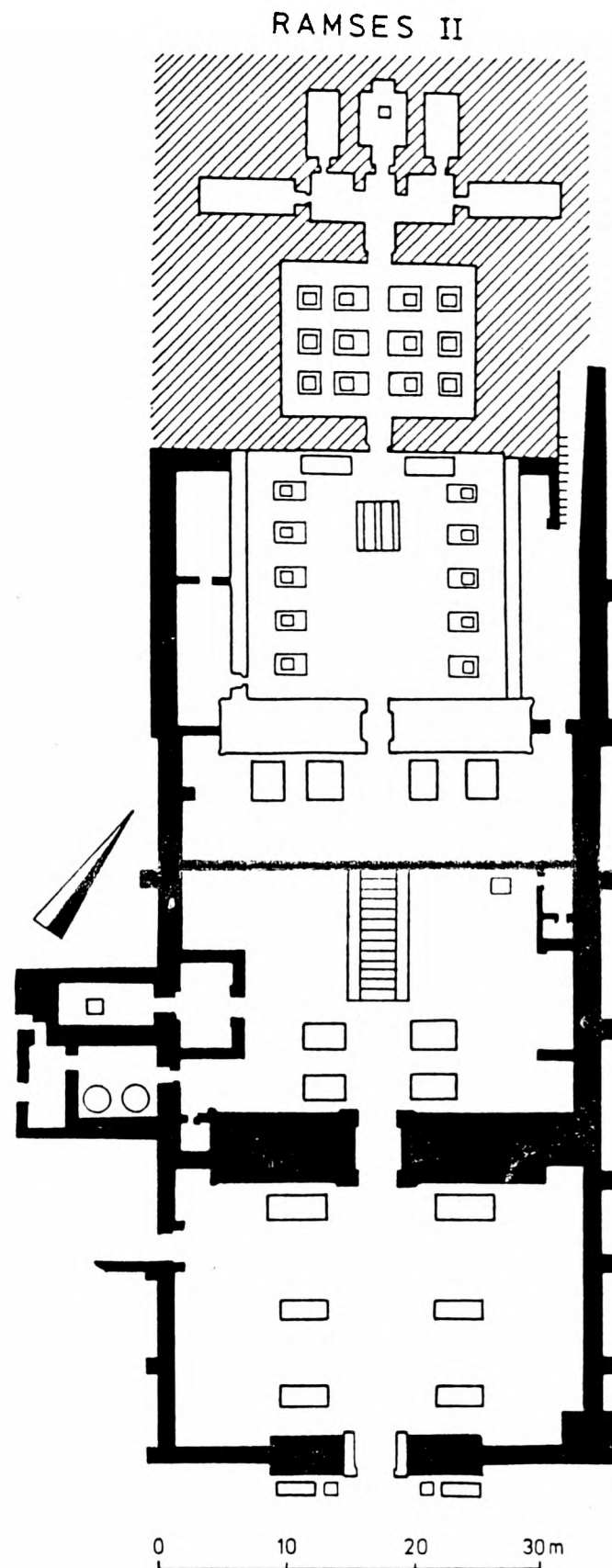
(PM VIII, 2, 625, 801-643-770)

Published
Papers
Not filmed
for Copyright
reasons

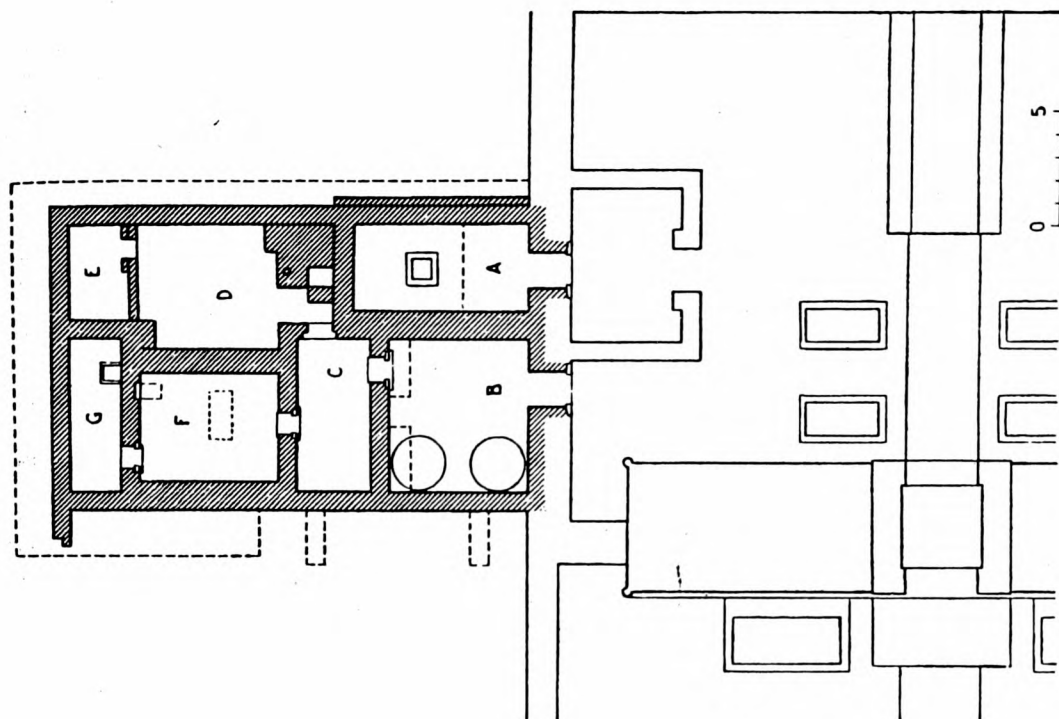




1. Map of Egypt with sites represented in the catalogue; drawn by JJ Shirley.



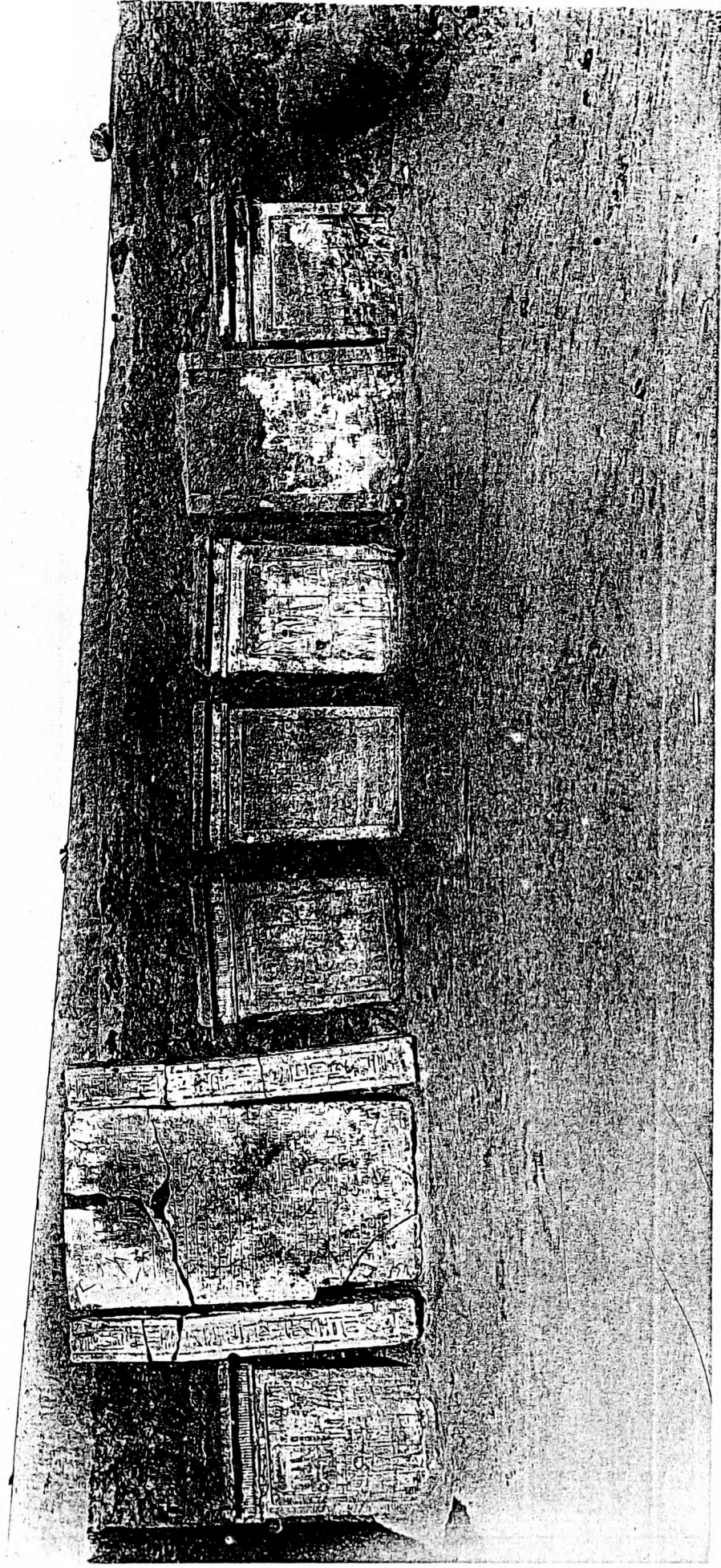
2. Plan of the temple of Ramesses II at Wadi es-Sebua; Hein 1991, pl. 7.



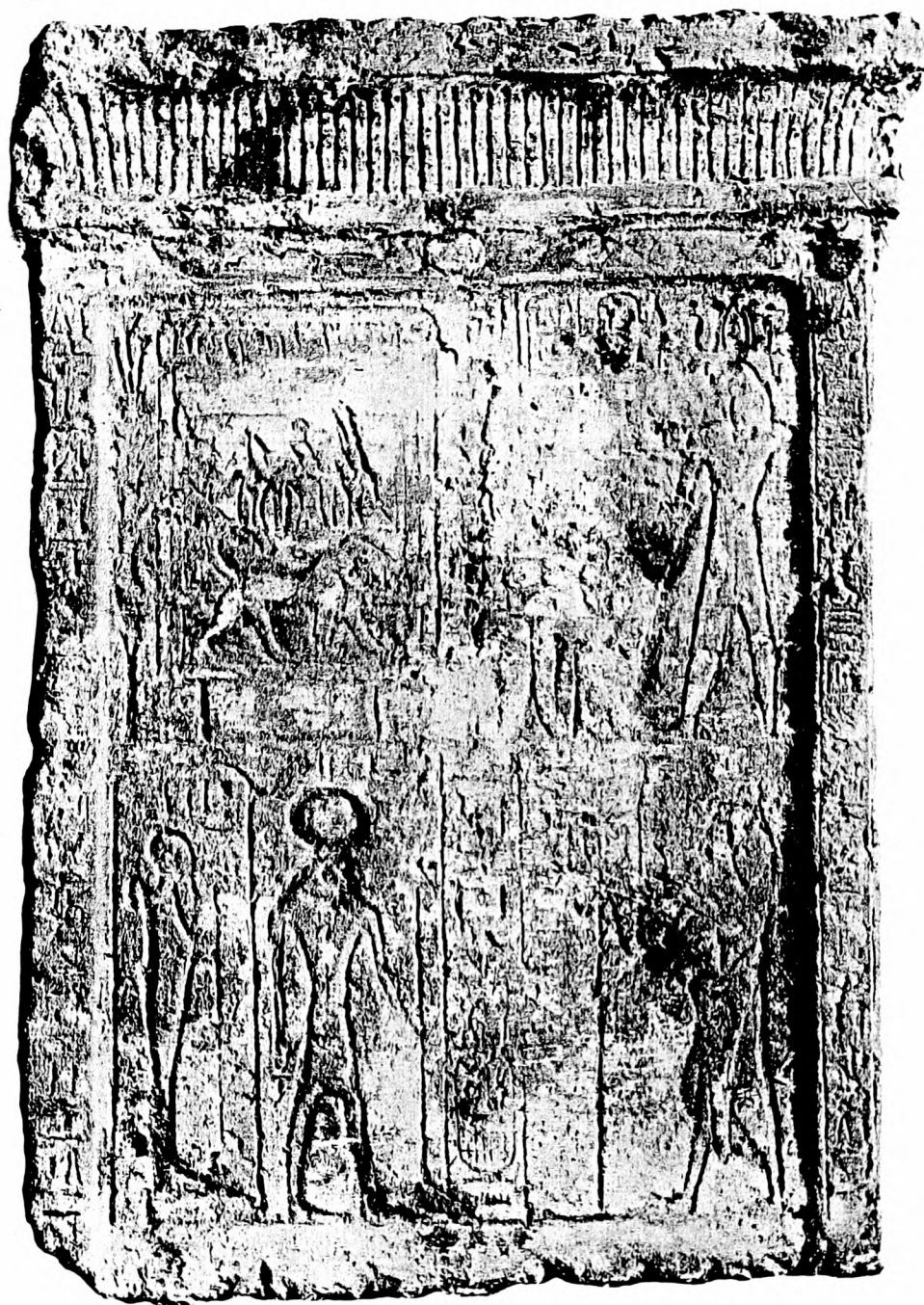
3. Wadi es-Sebua: plan of the buildings south of the second court of the temple; Dewachter 1985, fig. 1.



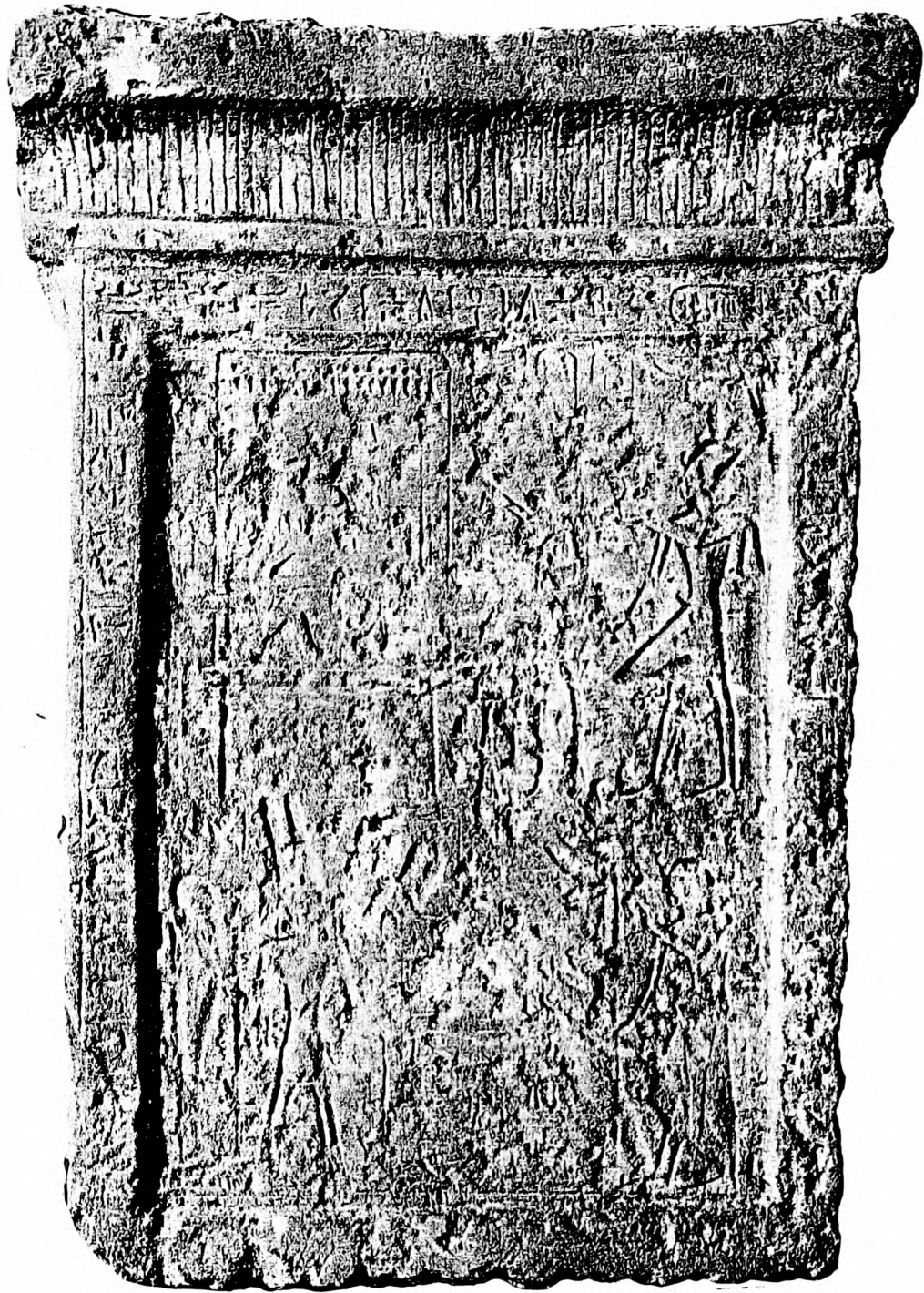
4. Stela of the viceroy Setau, from Wadi es-Sebua (1.a); Gauthier 1912, pl. LXV A.



5. In situ view of the stela of the viceroy Setau and six of the 'client' stelae, second court, temple of Wadi es-Sebua; Barsanti and Gauthier 1911, pl. V.



6. Stela of the standard bearer, Huy (I); Barsanti and Gauthier 1911, pl. I.



7. Stela of a standard bearer (II); Barsanti and Gauthier 1911, pl. II.



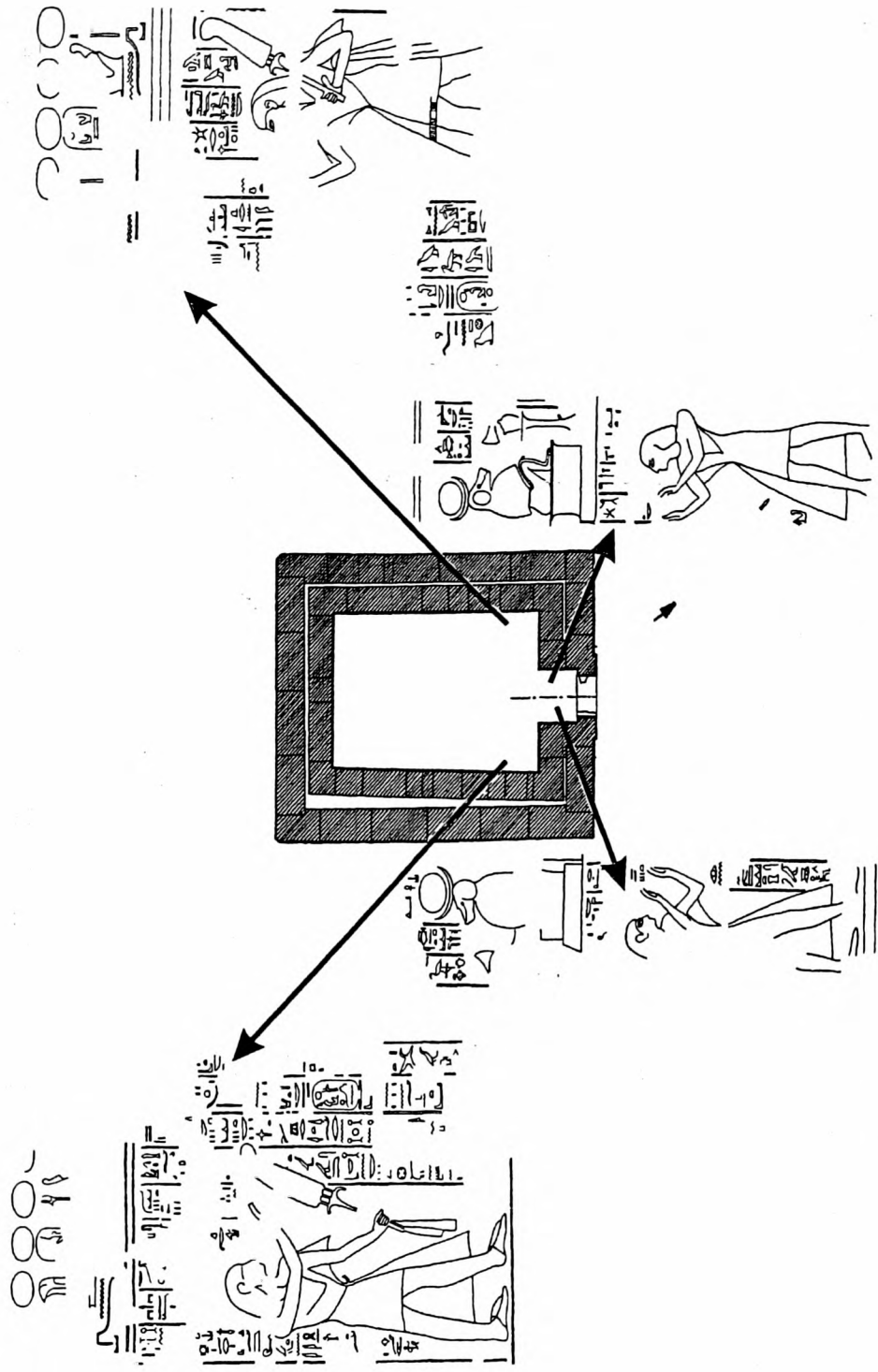
8. Stela of the viceroy Setau (VI); Barsanti and Gauthier 1911, pl. III.



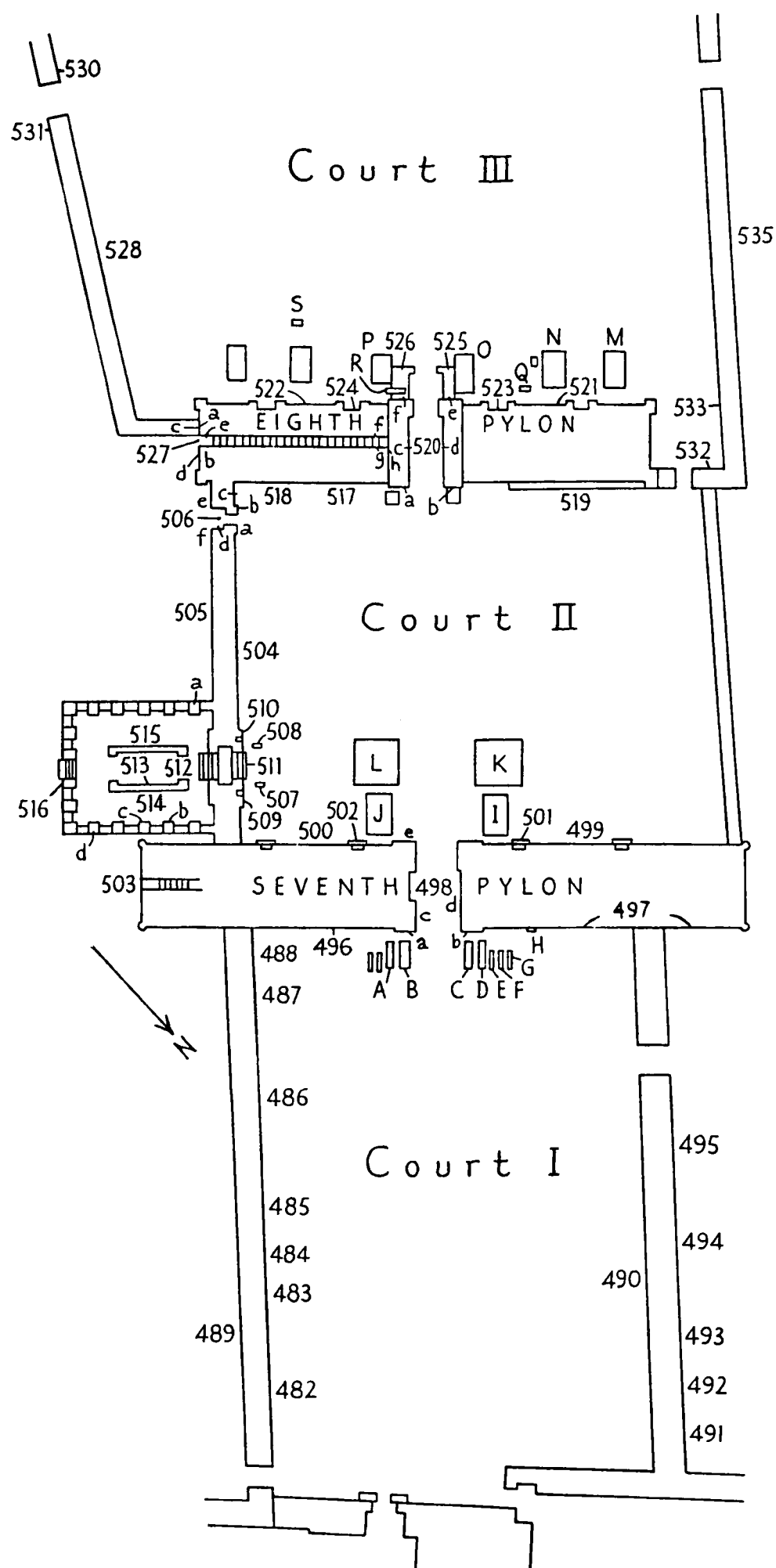
9. Stela of the *sk*-officer Ramose (IX); Barsanti and Gauthier 1911, pl. IV.



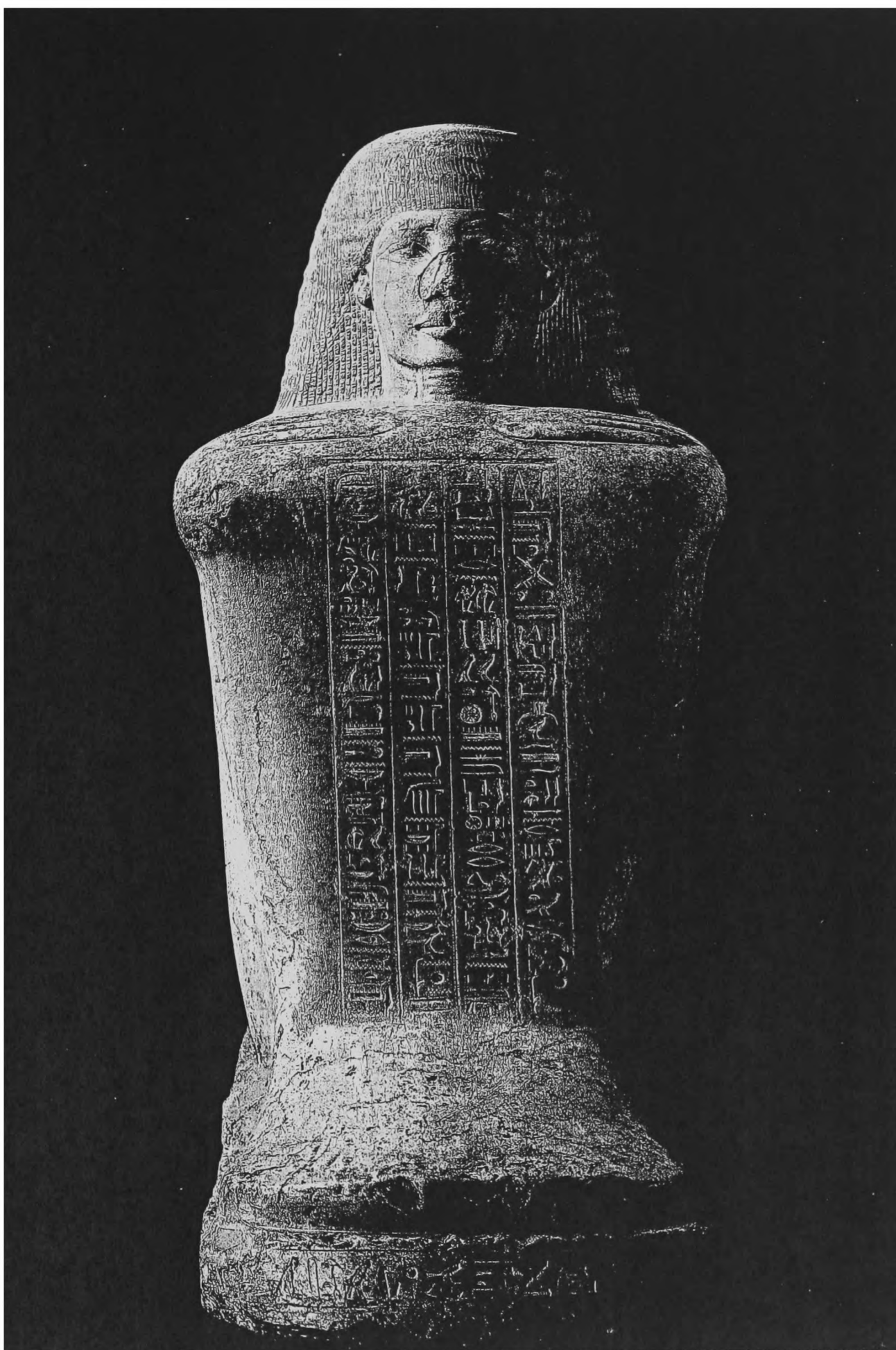
10. Stela of the overseer of priests Mernudjem (VIII); Gauthier 1912, pl. LXVI B.



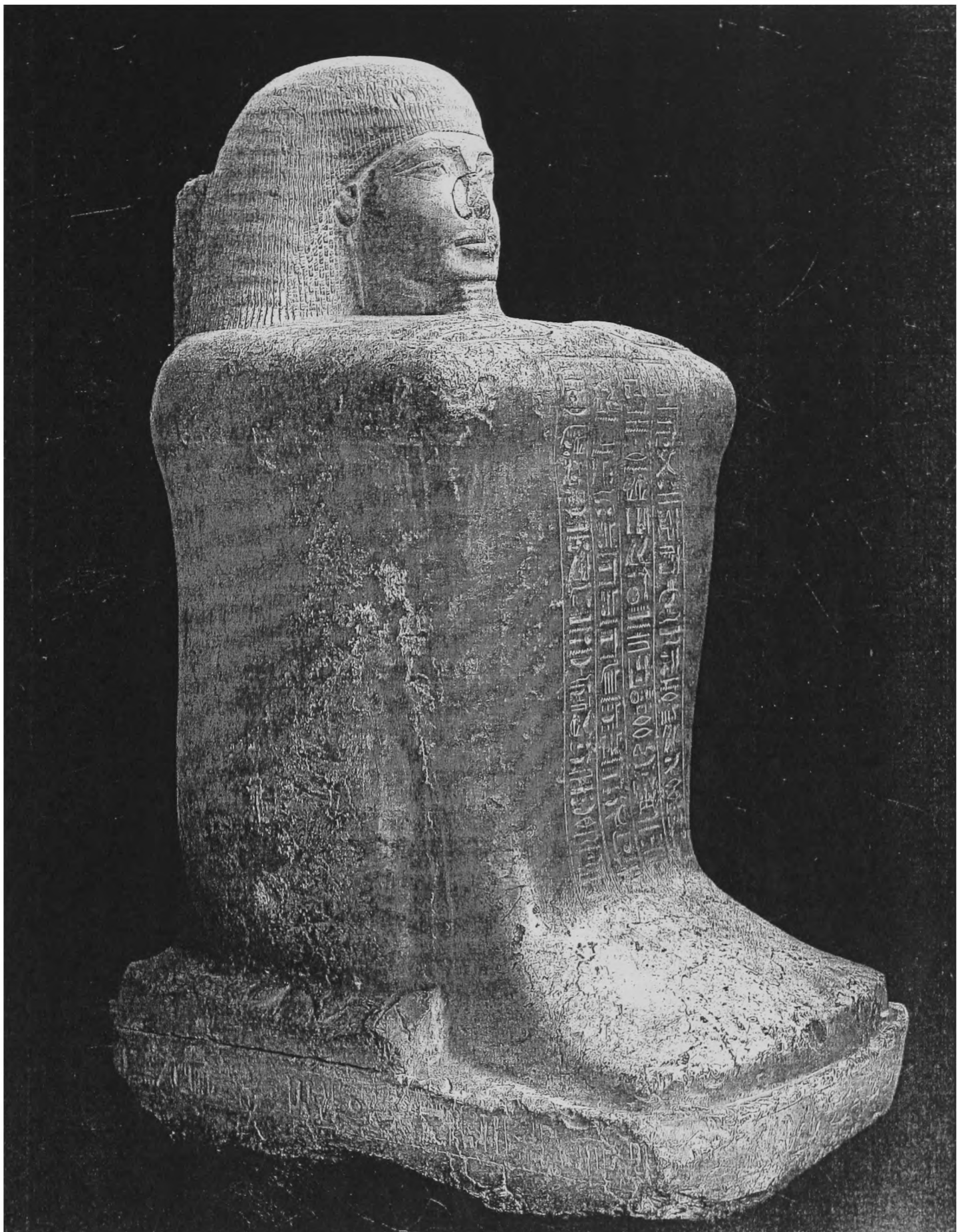
11. Setau in the entrance of the 'Thoth shrine' at Elkab (1.b); Raedler 2003, fig. 9.



12. Plan of the seventh and eighth pylons of the temple of Amun, Karnak; PM II², plan XIV.



13. Cairo statue of the high priest of Amun Bakenkhons, front view (2.a);
Saleh 1999, 189.



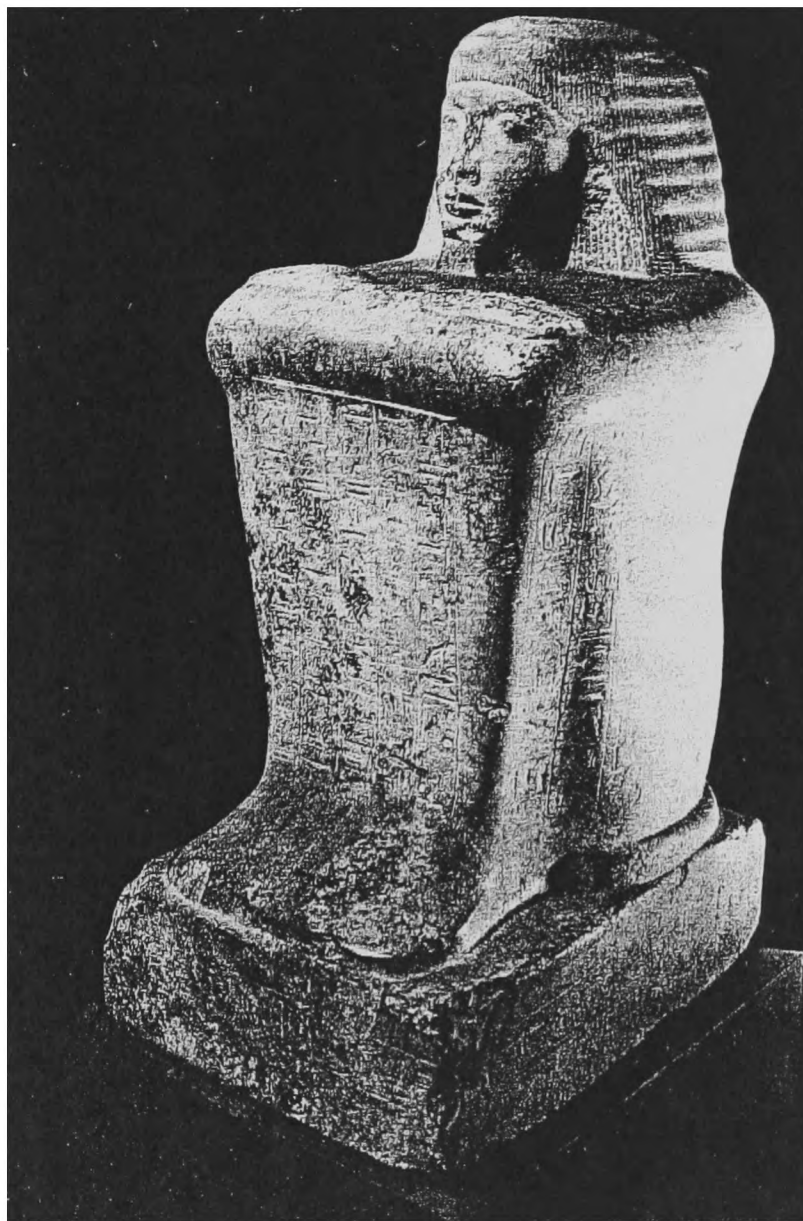
14. Cairo statue of the high priest of Amun Bakenkhons, side view (2.a); Saleh 1999, 191.



15. Munich statue of the high priest of Amun Bakenkhons (2.b); Schulz 1992, II, pl. 112.



16. Munich statue of the high priest of Amun Bakenkhons, back pillar (2.b); courtesy of Richard Parkinson.



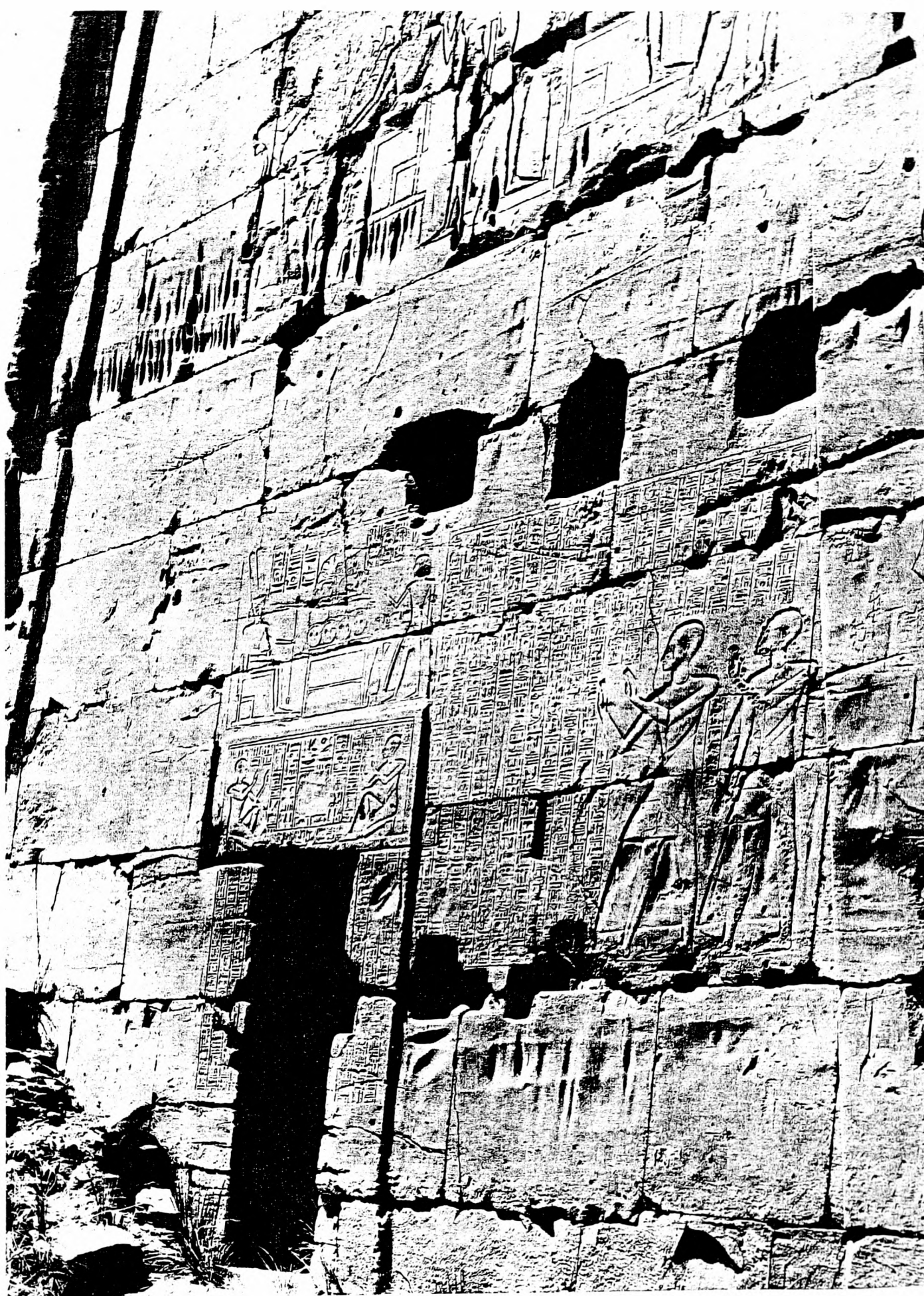
17. Cairo statue of the high priest of Amun Roma-Roy (2.c); Schulz 1992, II, pl. 67a.



18. Cairo statue of the high priest of Amun Roma-Roy, (2.d); Schulz 1992. II, pl. 67d.



19a-b. Cairo statue of the high priest of Amun Roma-Roy, top and front views (2.1); Schulz 1992, II, pl. 71a, b.



20. Inscription of the high priest of Amun Roma-Roy, east massif, eighth pylon, southern approach, temple of Amun, Karnak (2.e); Schwaller de Lubicz 1999, pl. 378.



21. Cairo statue of the high priest of Amun, Amenhotep (2.f); photograph by Elizabeth Froid.



22. View of the inscription of the high priest of Amun, Amenhotep, rear exterior wall of the Thutmosid barque shrine, southern approach, temple of Amun, Karnak (2.g); photograph by Elizabeth Froid.



23. View of the inscription of the high priest of Amun Amenhotep, interior east wall, court between pylons seven and eight, southern approach, temple of Amun, Karnak (2.h); photograph by Elizabeth Froid.



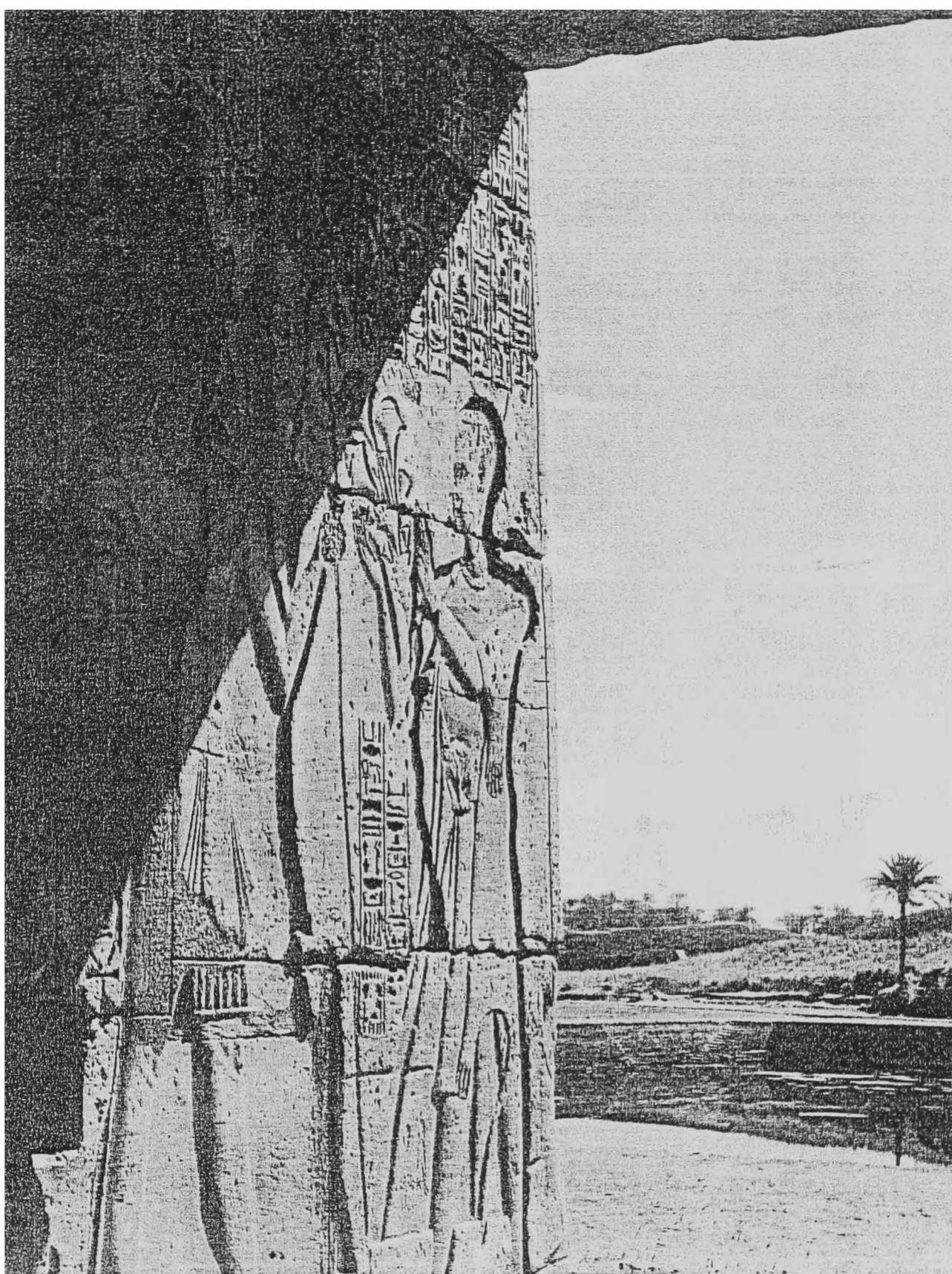
24. Block of the high priest of Amun Amenhotep, from Karnak north, 'front' surface (2.i); Sauneron 1966, pl. I.



25. Block of the high priest of Amun Amenhotep, from Karnak north, 'rear' surface with inscription (2.i); Sauneron 1966, pl. II.



26. Interior jambs and lintel of the doorway at the southern end of the court between pylons seven and eight, southern approach, temple of Amun, Karnak, showing the inscription of Amenhotep (2.h); courtesy of Tom Hardwick.



27. Reliefs and inscriptions of the high priest of Amun Amenhotep, doorway thickness, southern end of the court between pylons seven and eight, southern approach, temple of Amun, Karnak; Schwaller de Lubicz 1999, pl. 374.



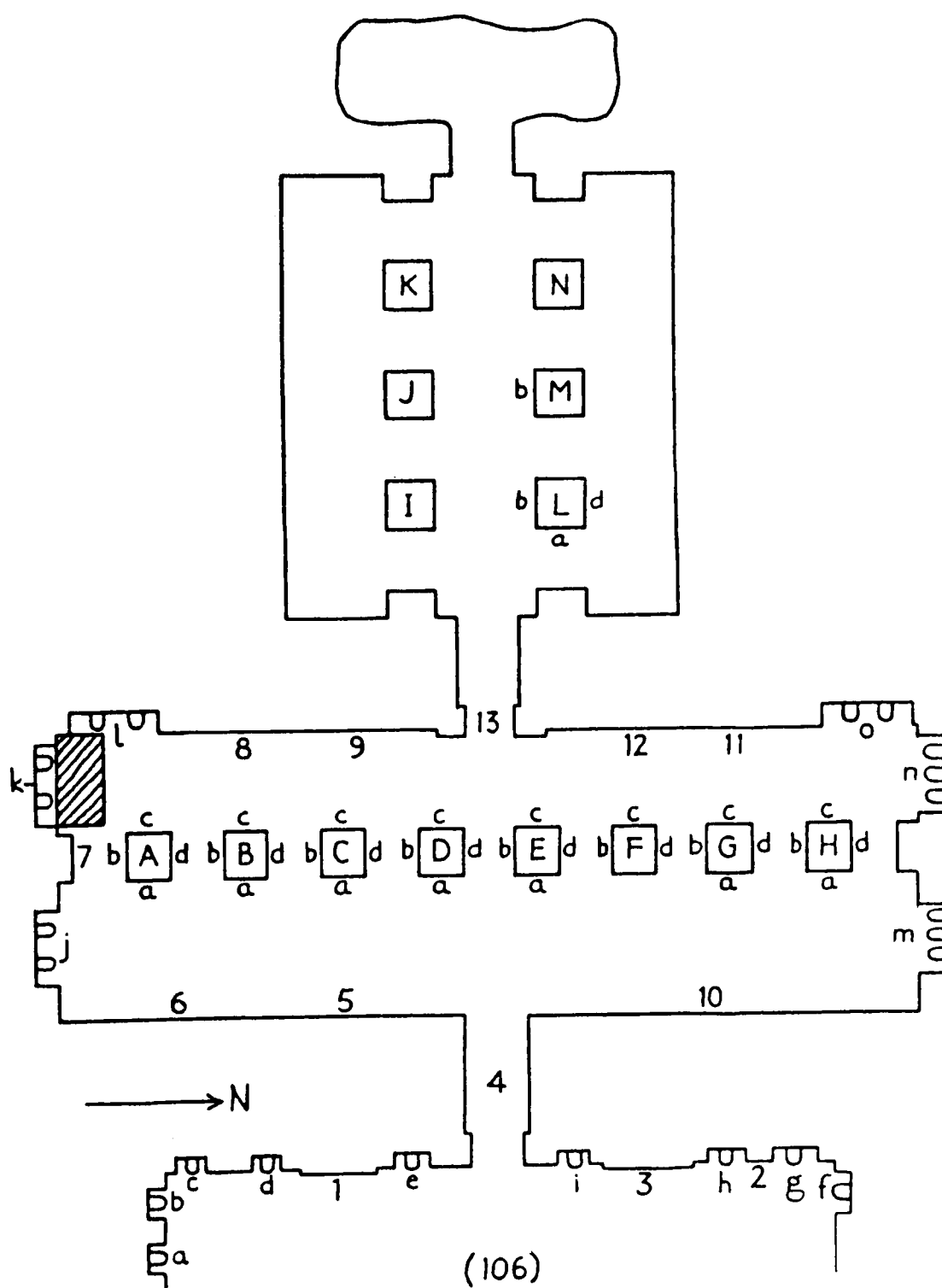
28. Reliefs and inscriptions of the high priest of Amun Amenhotep, on the exterior lintel and jamb of the doorway, southern end of the court of pylons seven and eight, southern approach, temple of Amun, Karnak; photograph by Elizabeth Froid.



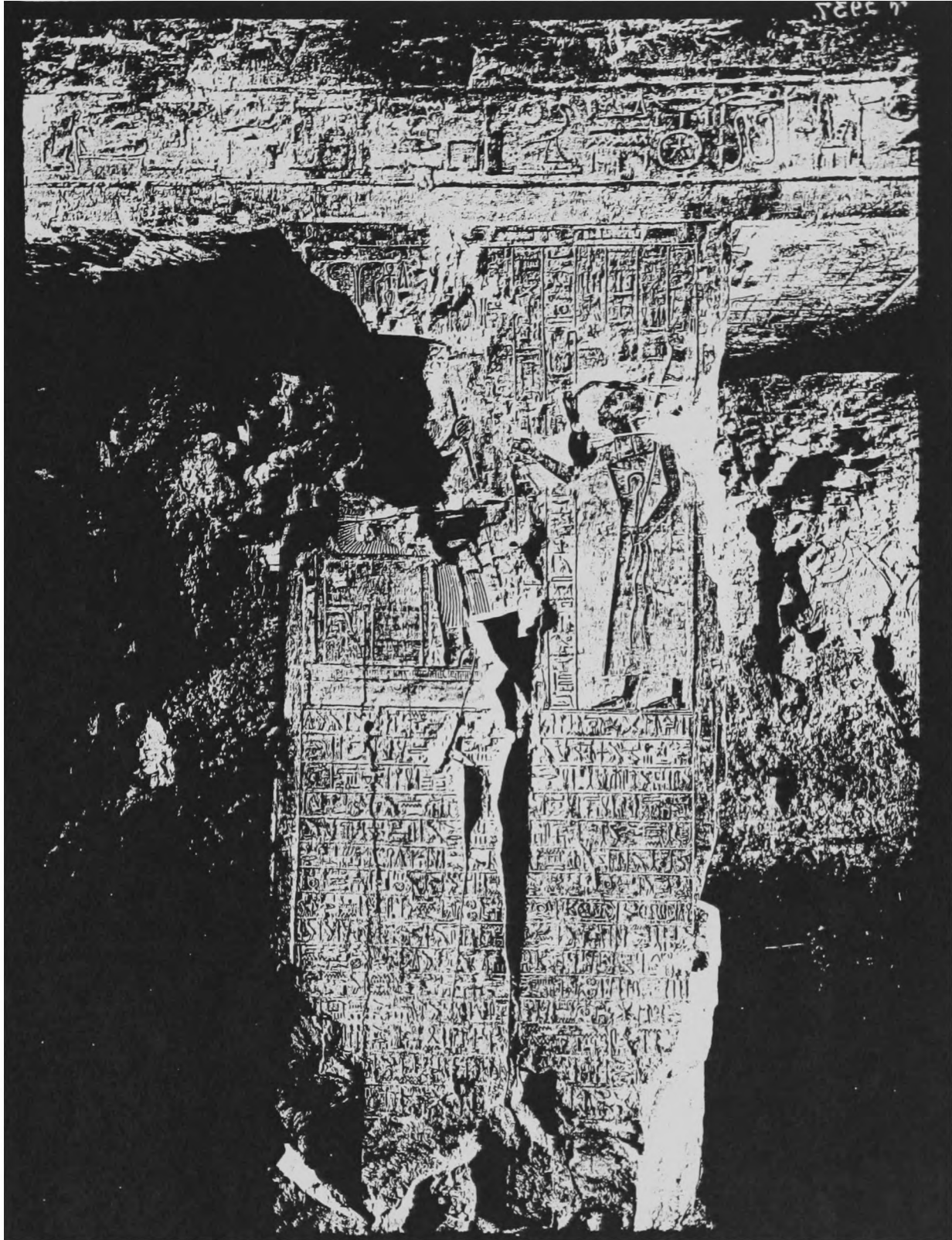
29. Left reward scene and central tableau of the high priest of Amun Amenhotep, exterior wall of the court between pylons seven and eight, southern approach, temple of Amun, Karnak; Schwaller de Lubicz 1999, pl. 377.



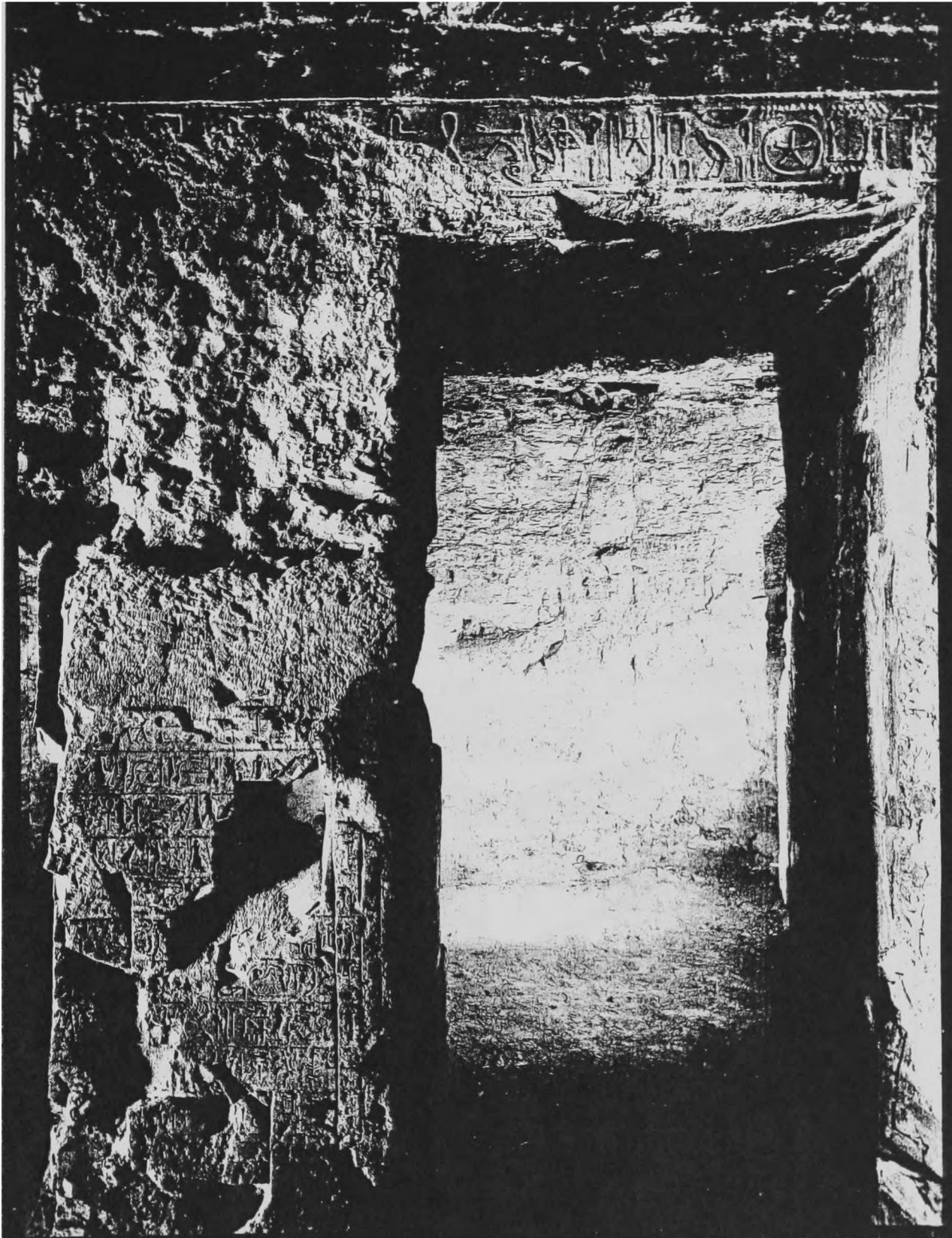
30. Right reward scene of the high priest of Amun Amenhotep, exterior wall of the court between pylons seven and eight, southern approach, temple of Amun, Karnak; Schwaller de Lubicz 1999, pl. 376.



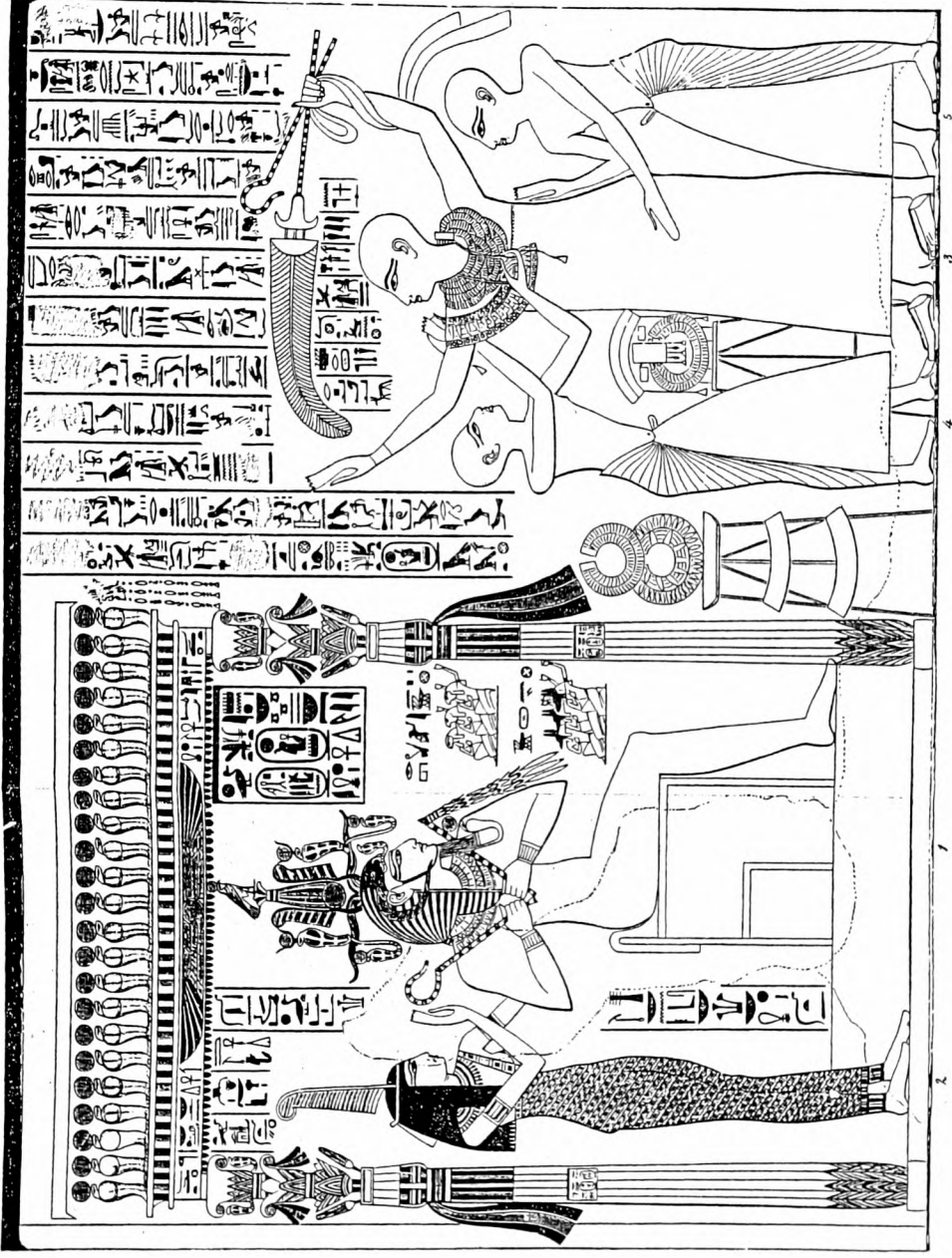
31. Plan of the tomb of the vizier Paser (TT 106); PM I², 1, 220.



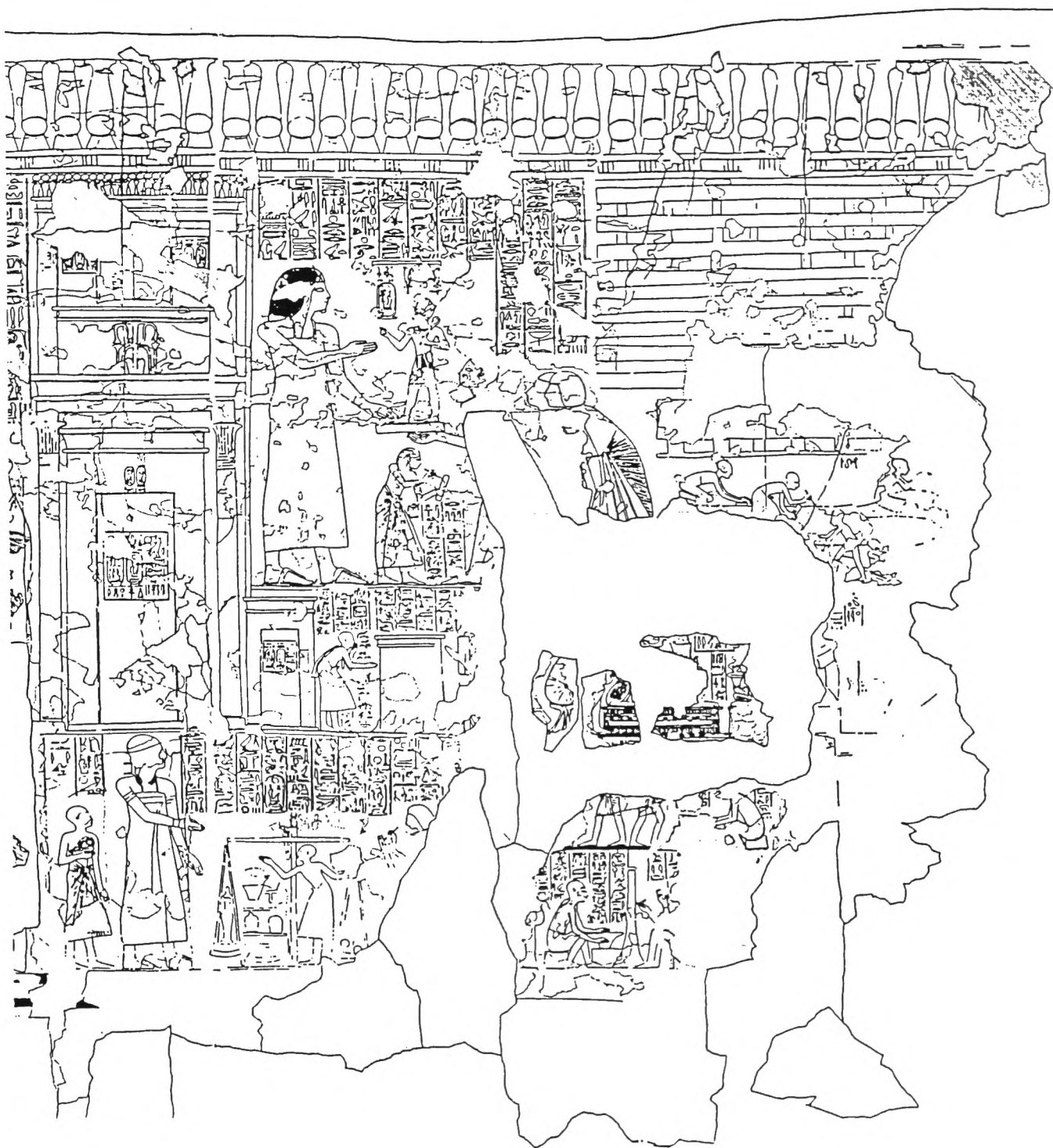
32. Biography of the vizier Paser on pillar B, face a in his tomb (2.m, text 1, TT 106); MMA photograph T 2937.



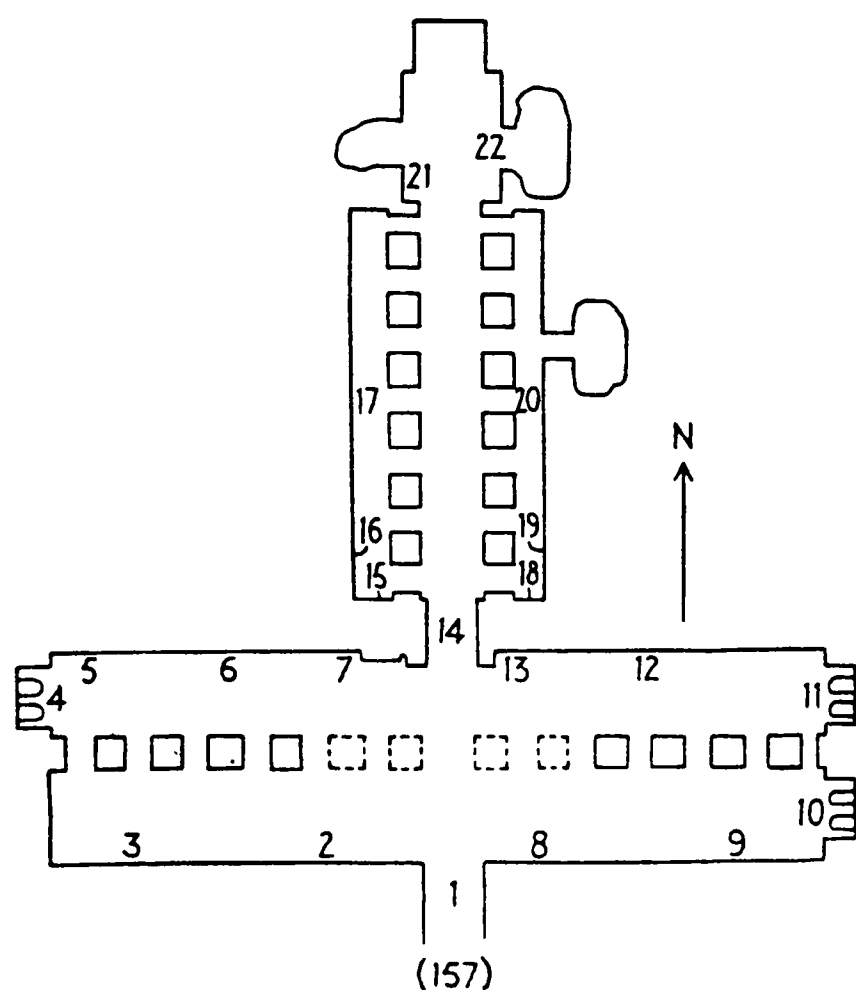
33. Biography of the vizier Paser on pillar G, face a in his tomb (2.m. text 2. TT 106); MMA photograph T 2961.



34. Reward scene of the vizier Paser, north half of the east wall of the transverse hall in his tomb
2.m, text 3, TT 106); Wilkinson 1878, III, pl. LXIV.



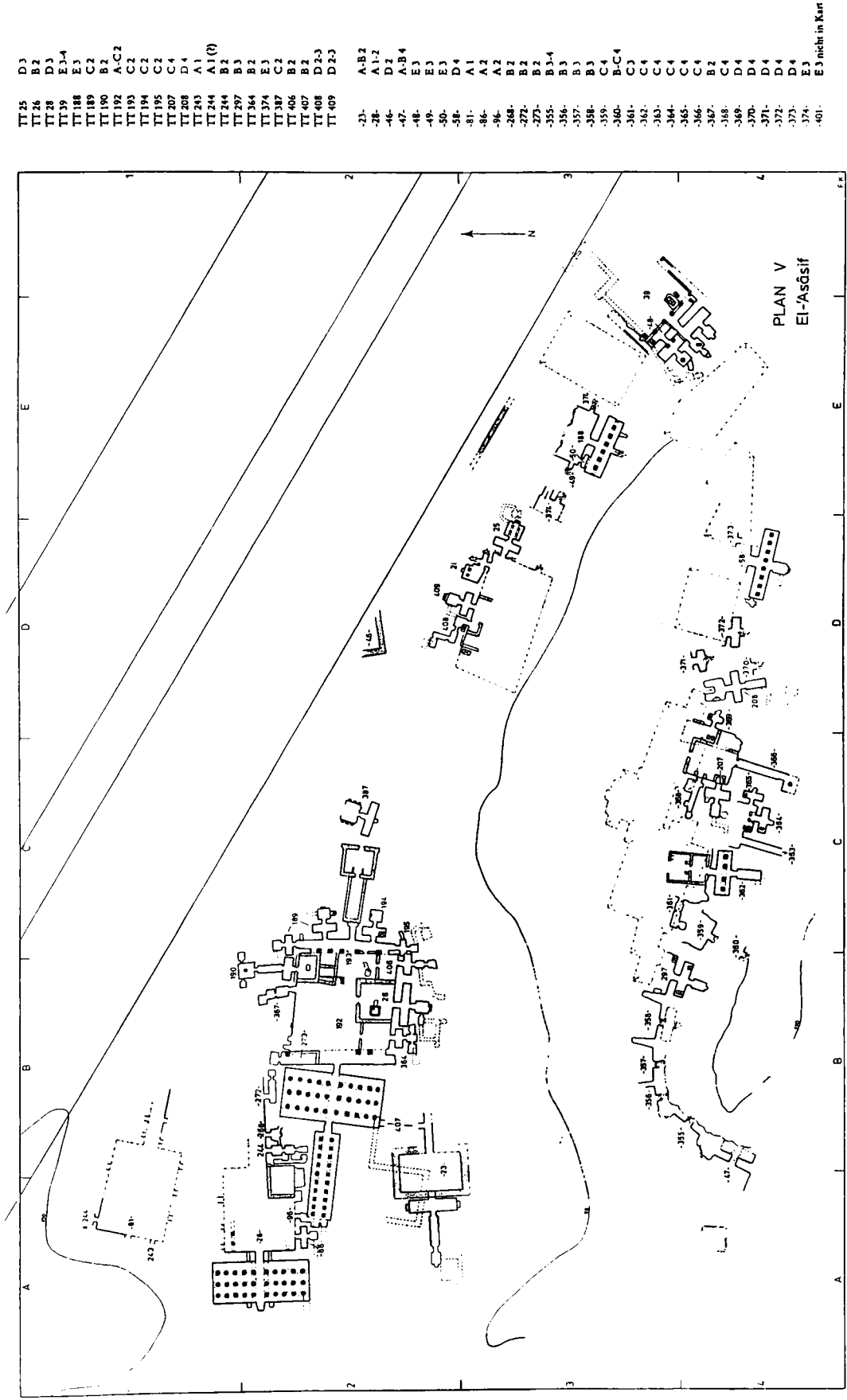
35. Temple workshop scene of the vizier Paser, south half of the east wall, transverse hall in his tomb (TT 106); Assmann 1992, 45.



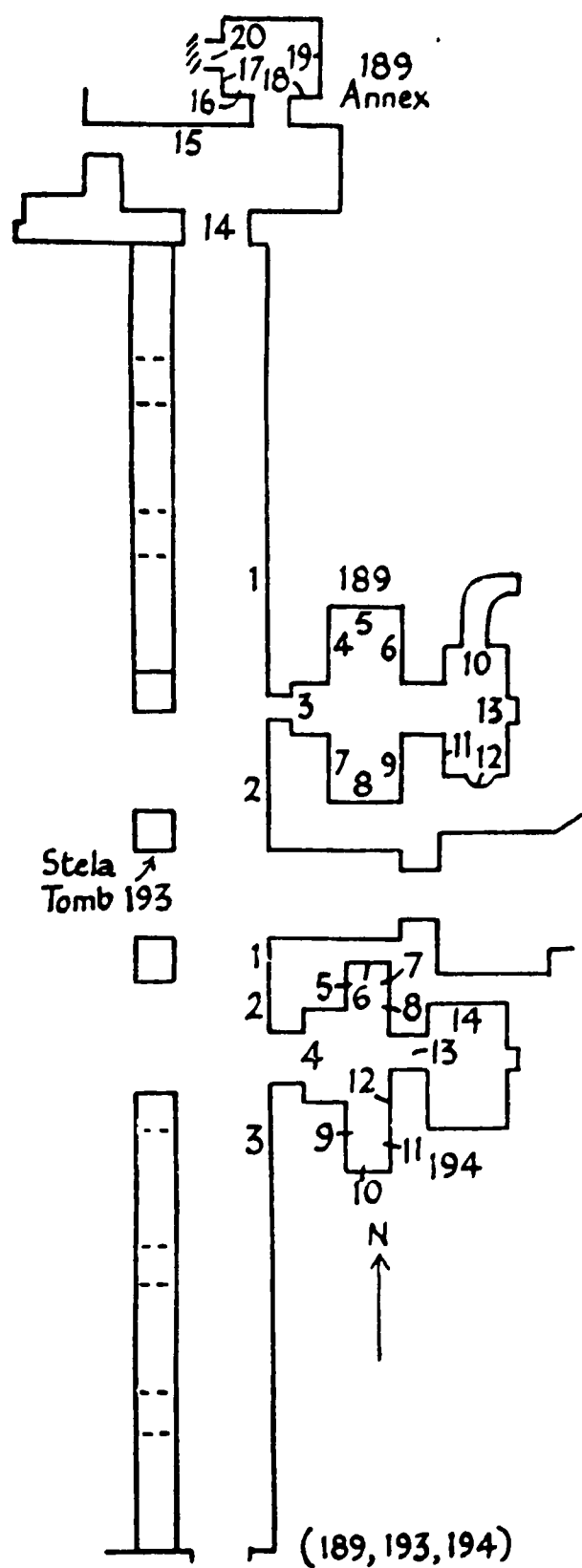
36. Plan of the tomb of the high priest of Amun Nebwenenef (TT 157); PM I², 1, 264.



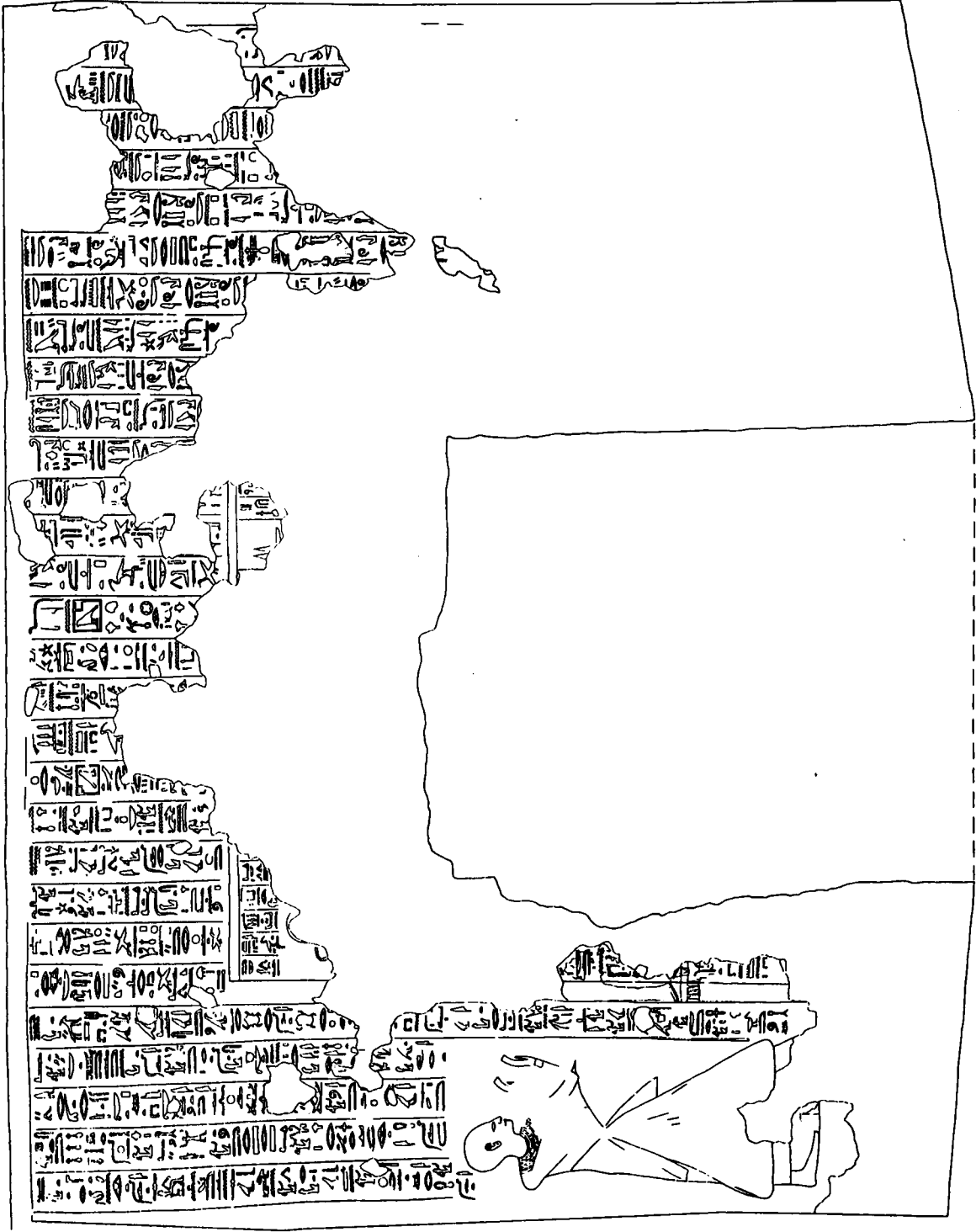
37. Installation scene of the high priest of Amun Nebwenenef in his tomb (2.n, TT 157);
Bell 1969, 32, upper.



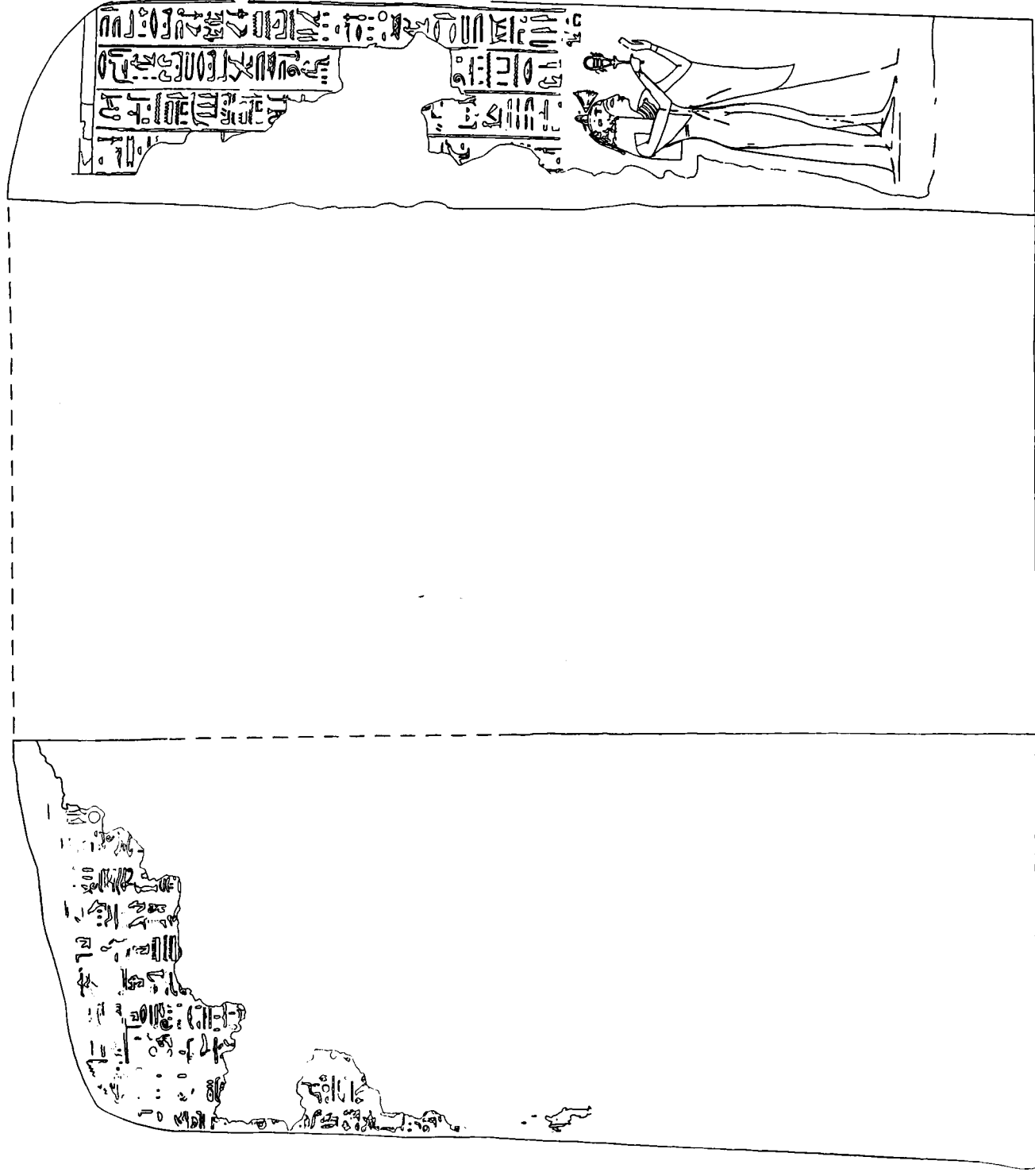
38. Map of the Assasif area of the Theban necropolis; Kampp 1996, plan V.



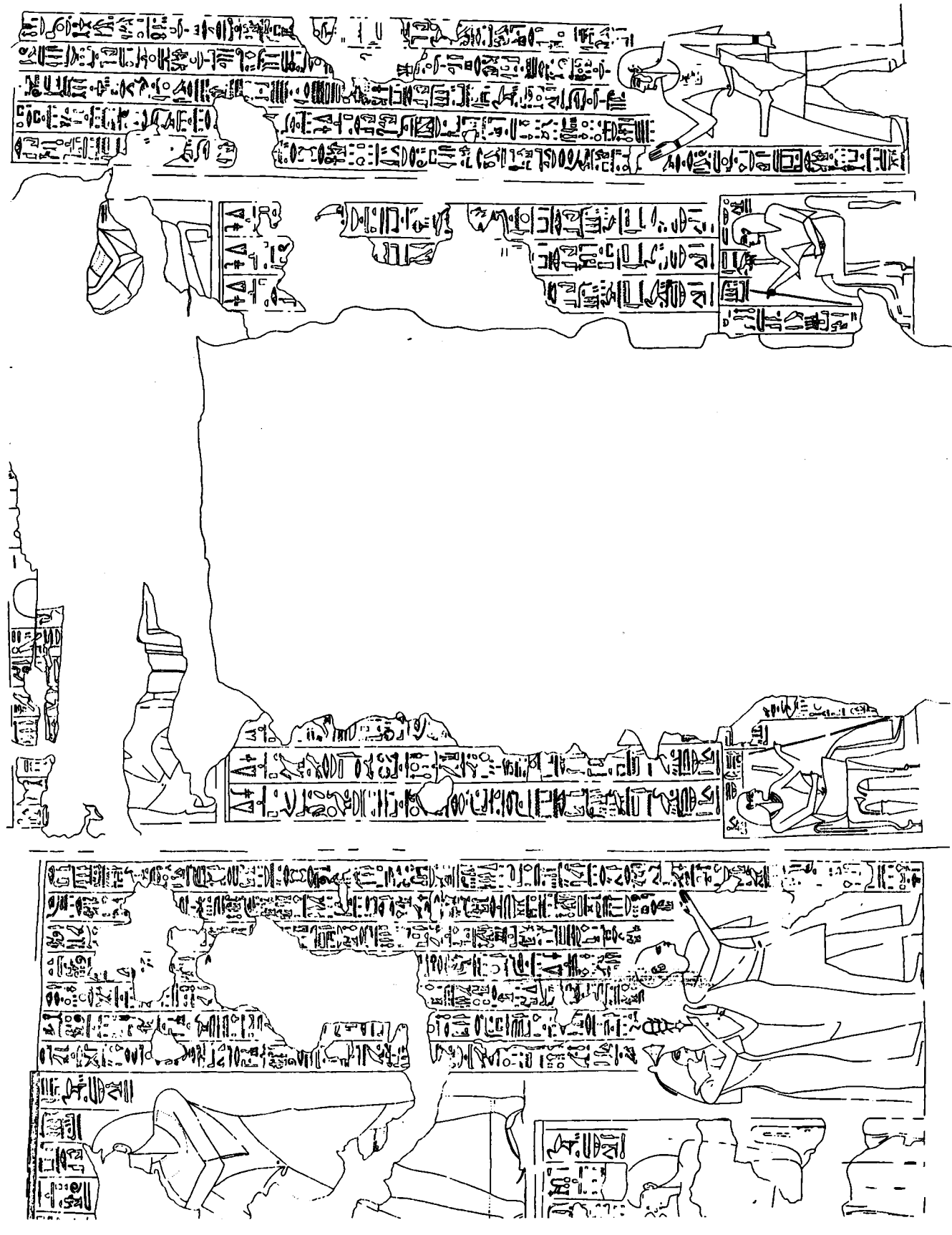
40. Plan of the tombs of the overseer of fieldworkers for the domain of Amun Djehutyemheb (TT 194) and the overseer of craftsmen Nakhtdjehuty (TT 189); PM I², 1, 290.



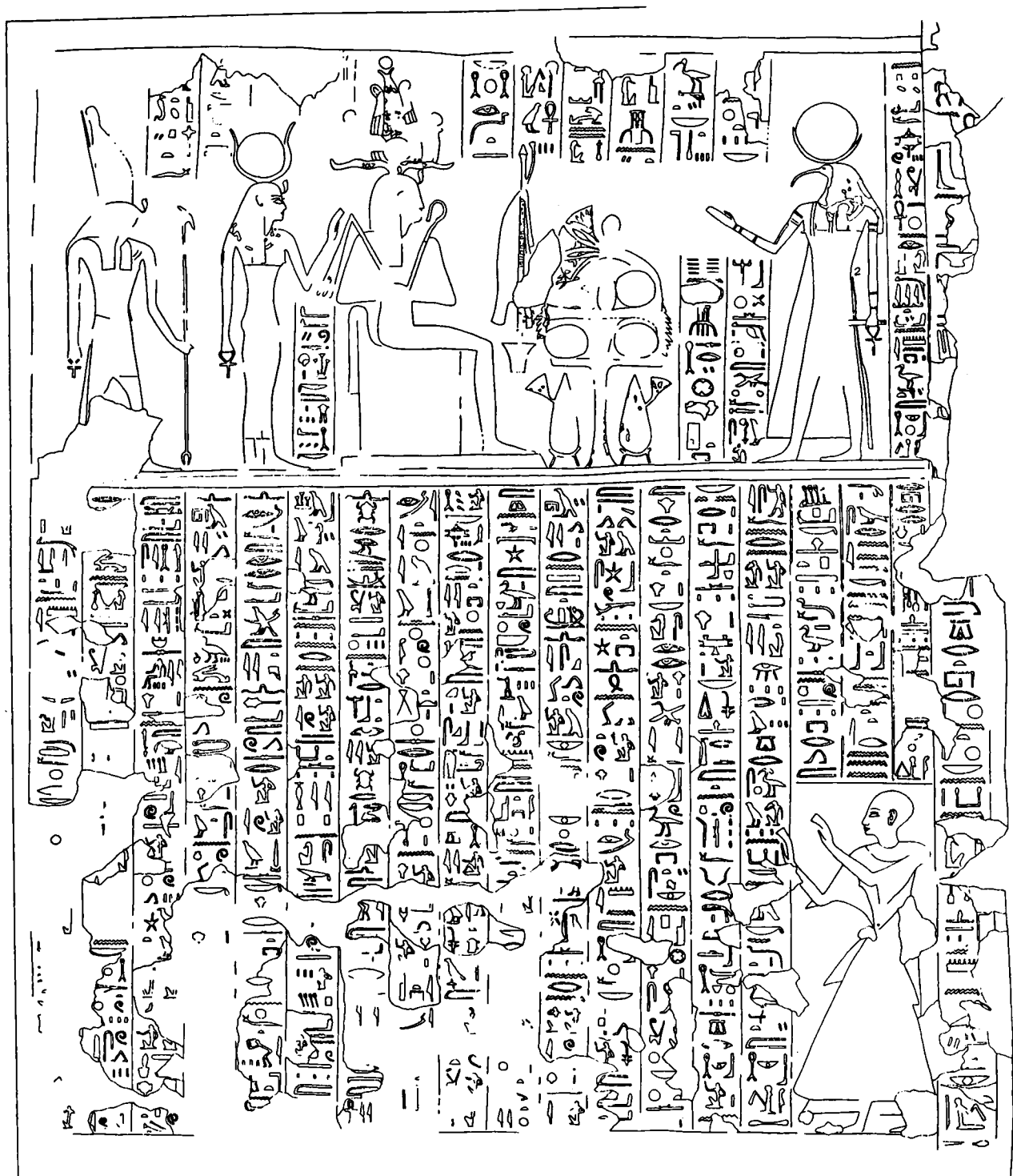
41. North wall of the shrine, tomb of the overseer of fieldworkers for the domain of Amun Djehutyemheb (2.o, texts 1 and 2, TT 194); Seyfried 1995, pl. XXXV.



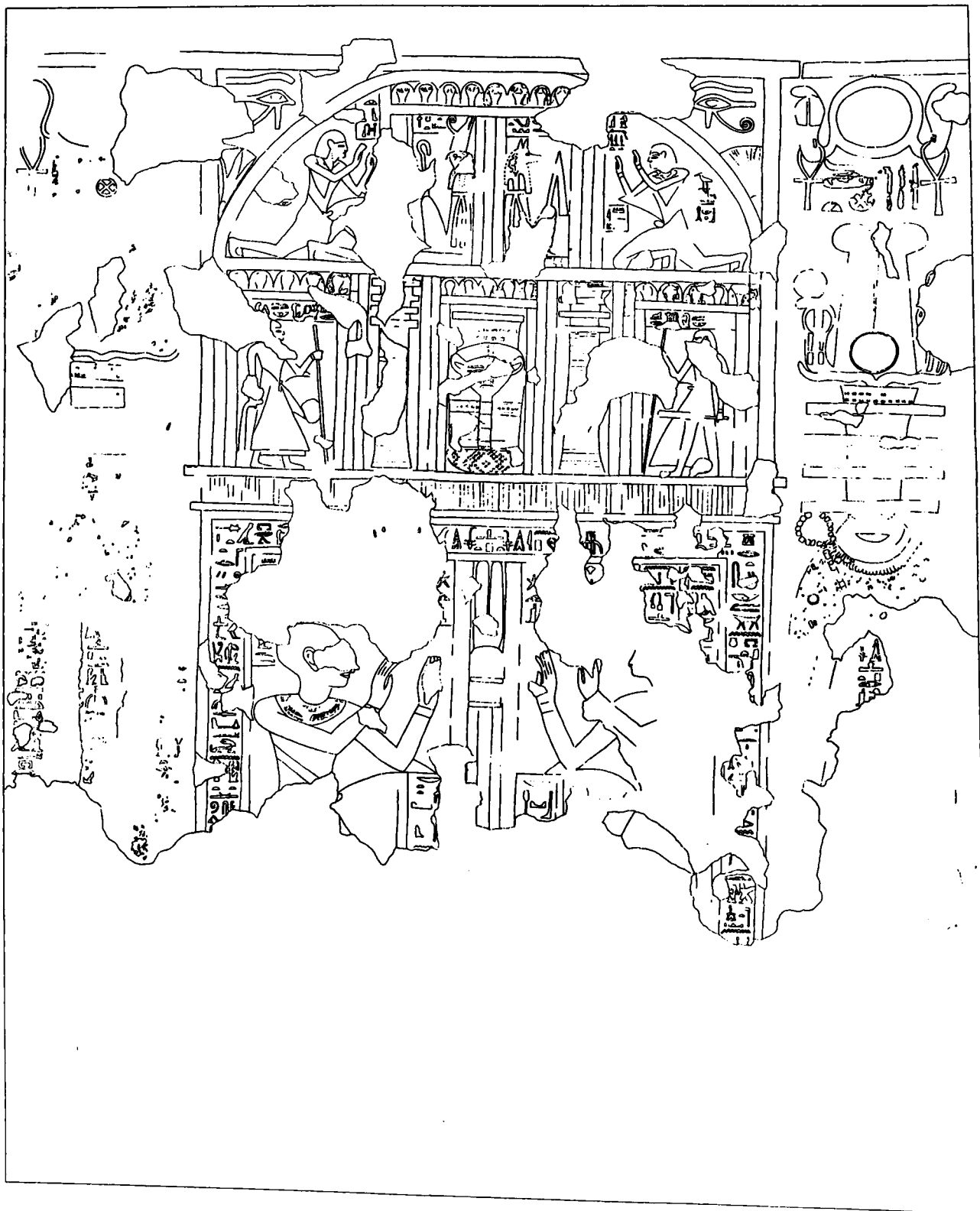
42. West wall of the shrine, tomb of the overseer of fieldworkers for the domain of Amun
Djehutyemheb (2.o, end of text 1, TT 194); Seyfried 1995, pl. XXXVI.



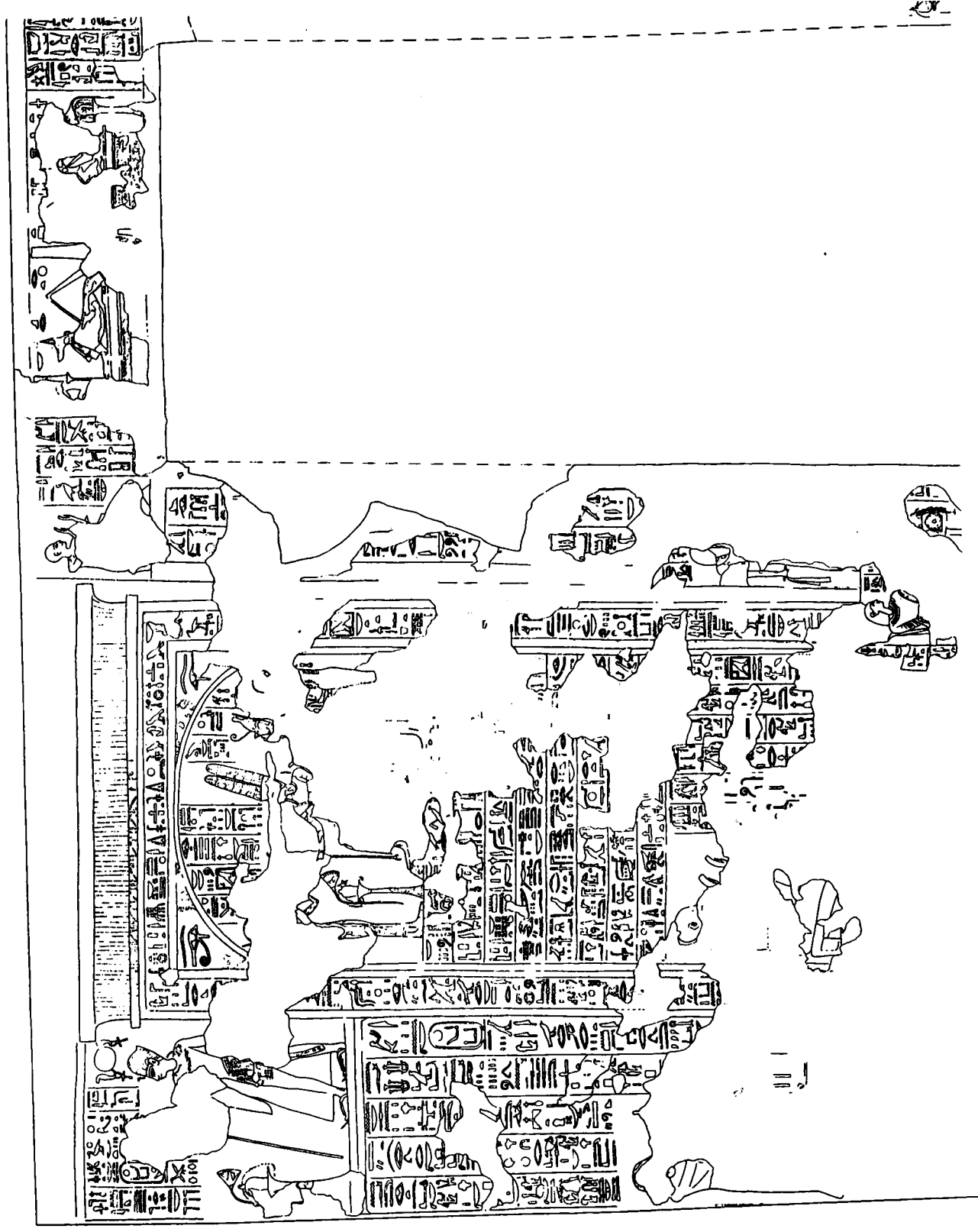
43. Façade, tomb of the overseer of fieldworkers for the domain of Amun Djehutyemheb, detail of entrance area (TT 194); Seyfried 1995, pl. XXV, centre.



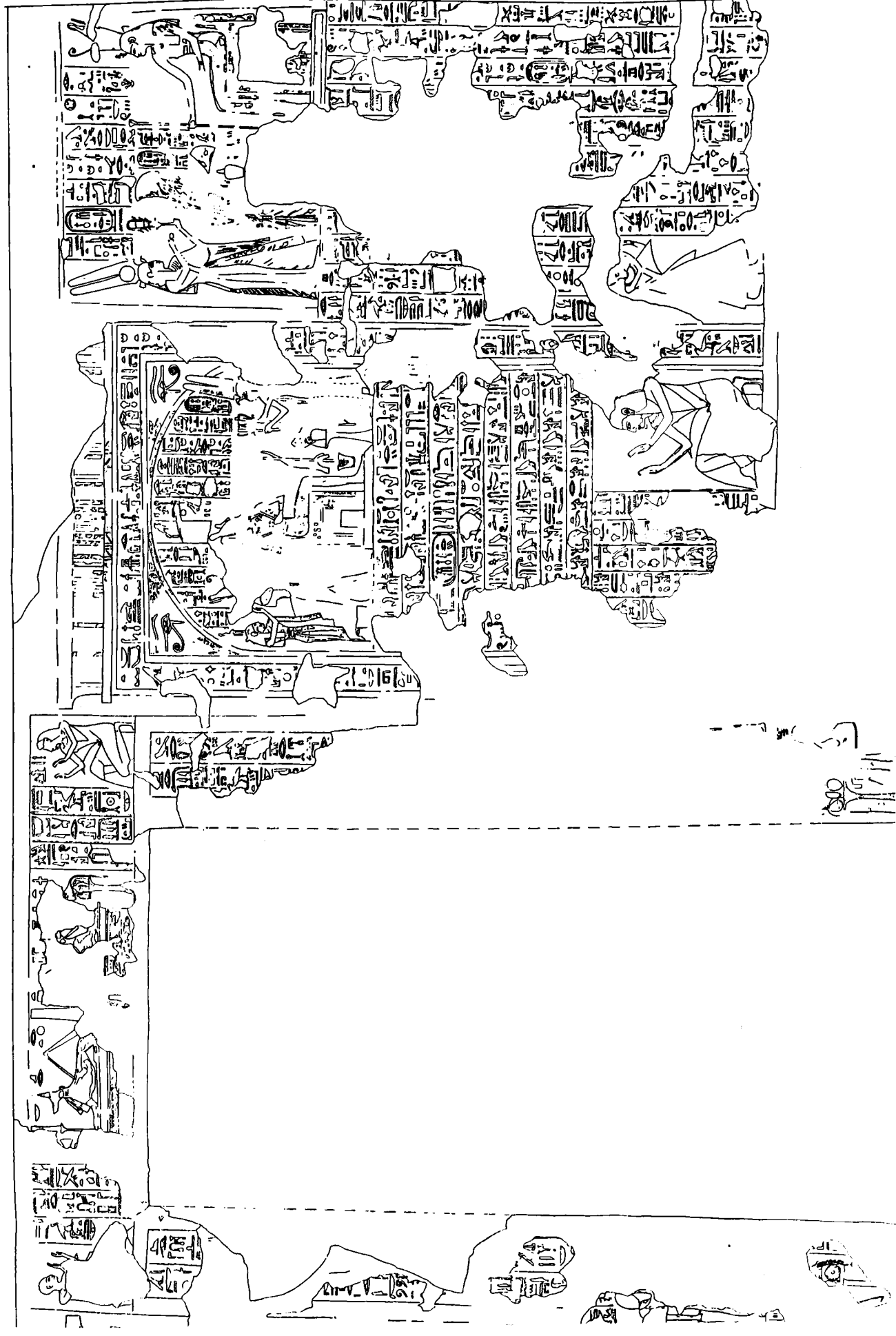
44. Thoth scene, south half of west wall, transverse hall, tomb of the overseer of fieldworkers for the domain of Amun Djehutyemheb (TT 194); Seyfried 1995, pl. XXXII.



45. Stela, north wall of transverse hall, tomb of the overseer of fieldworkers for the domain of Amun Djehutyemheb (TT 194); Seyfried 1995, pl. XXIX.



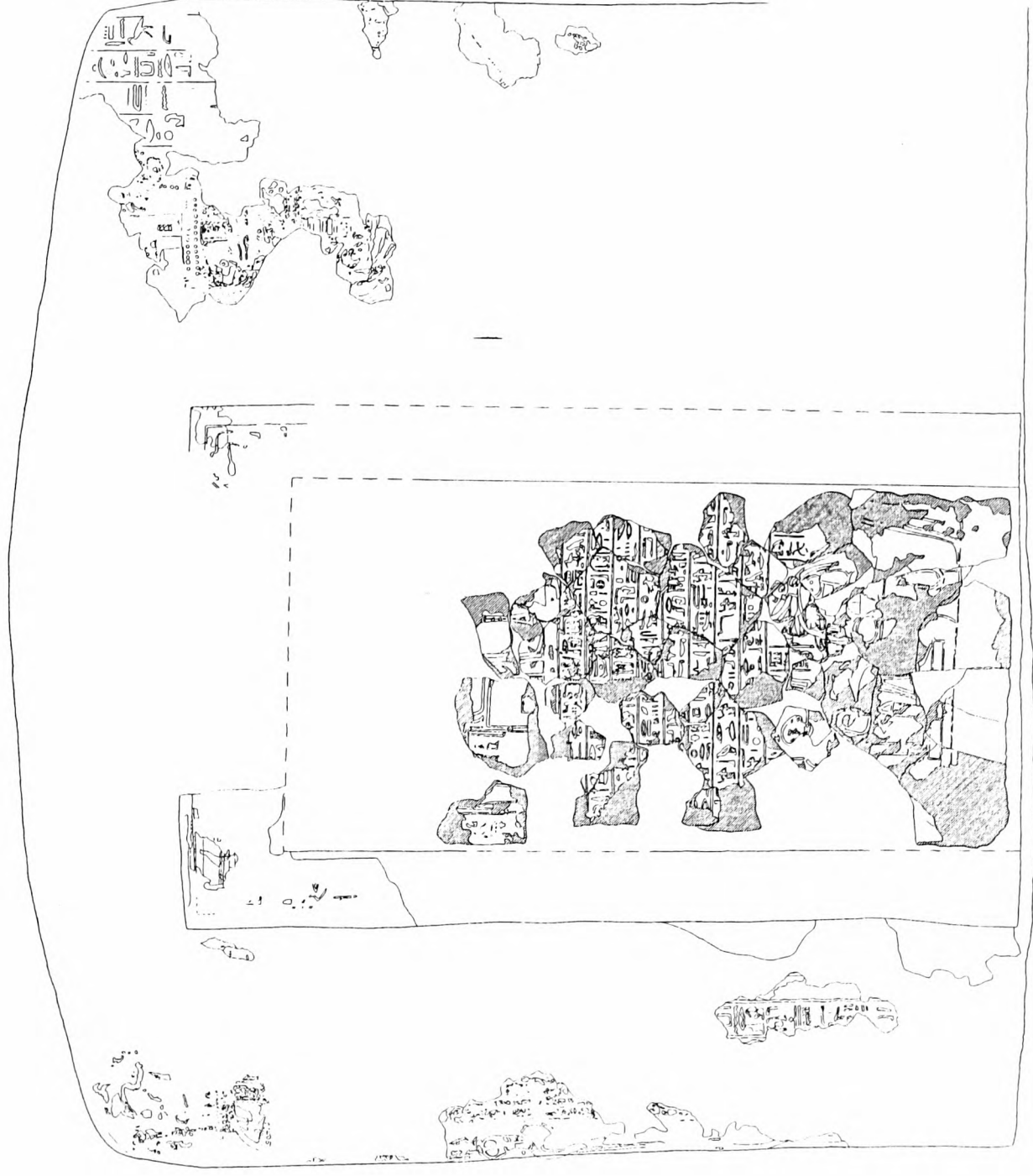
46. South half of east wall of transverse hall, tomb of the overseer of fieldworkers for the domain of Amun Djehutyemheb (TT 194); Seyfried 1995, pl. XXX, left.



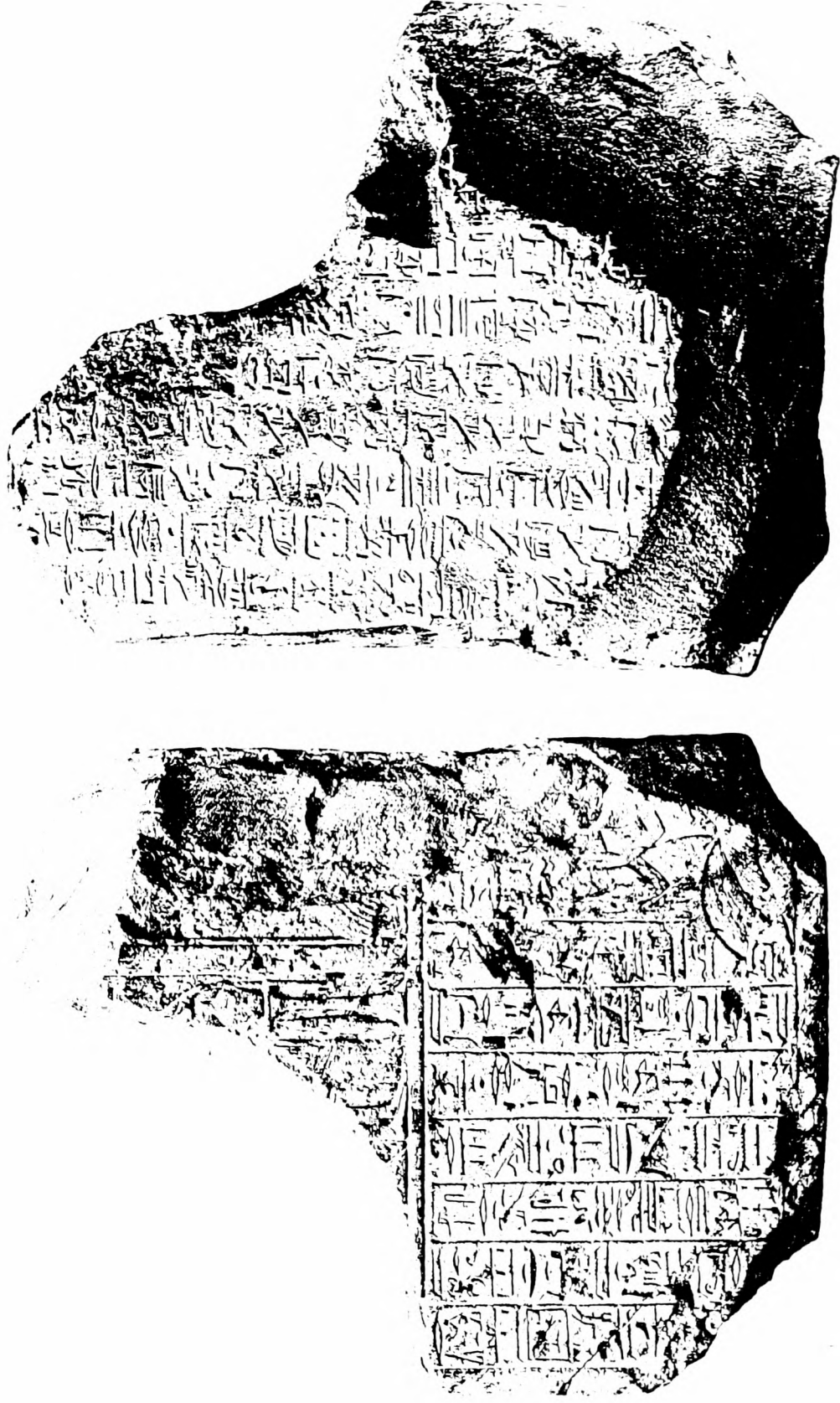
47. North half of east wall of transverse hall, tomb of the overseer of fieldworkers for the domain of Amun Djehutyemheb (TT 194); from Seyfried 1995, pl. XXX, right.



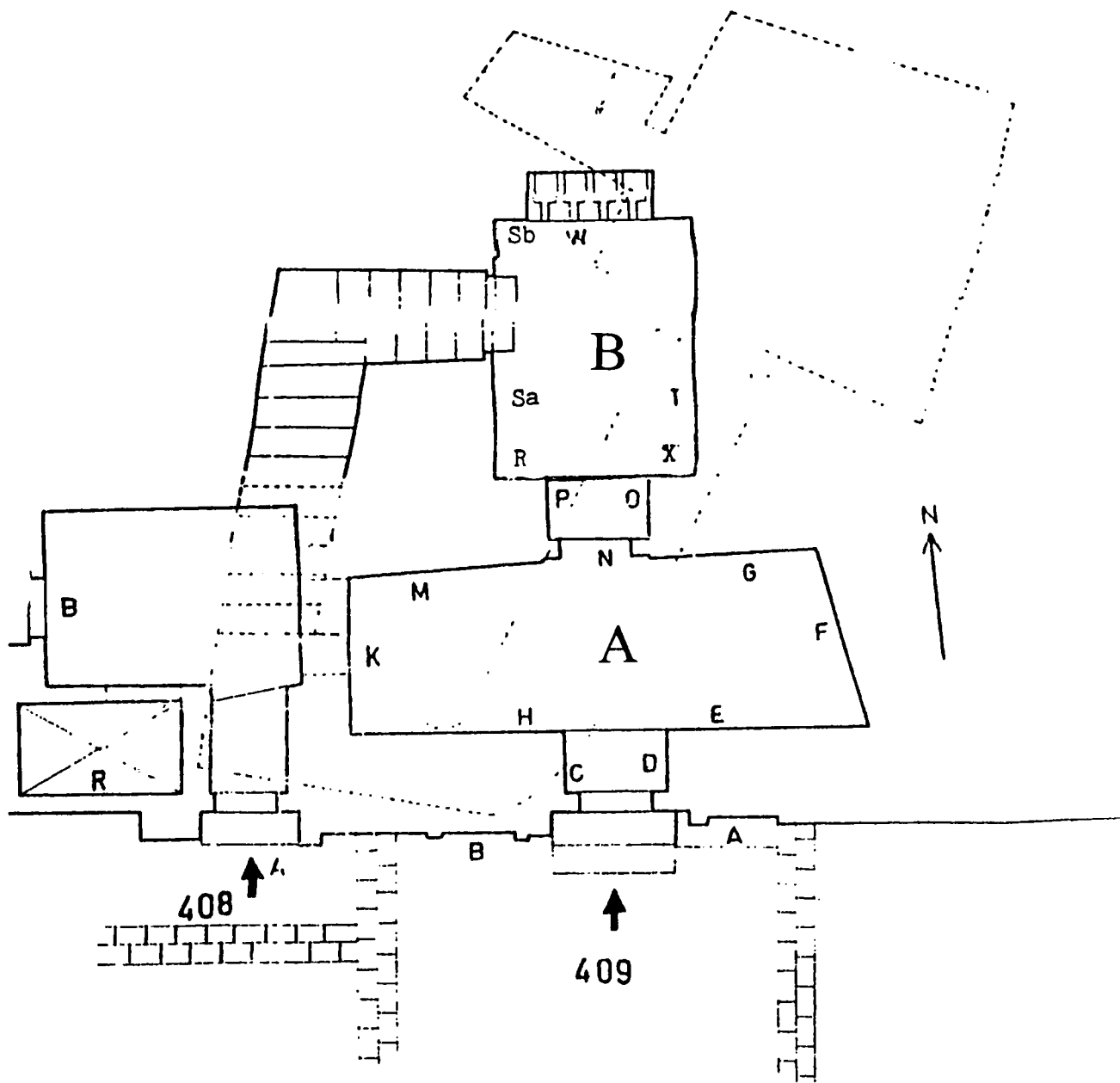
48. Entrance to the shrine, north thickness, tomb of the overseer of fieldworkers for the domain of Amun Djehutyemheb (TT 194); Seyfried 1995, pl. XXXIII.



49. East wall of the shrine, tomb of the overseer of fieldworkers for the domain of Amun Djehutyemheb (TT 194); Seyfried 1995, pl. XXXVI.



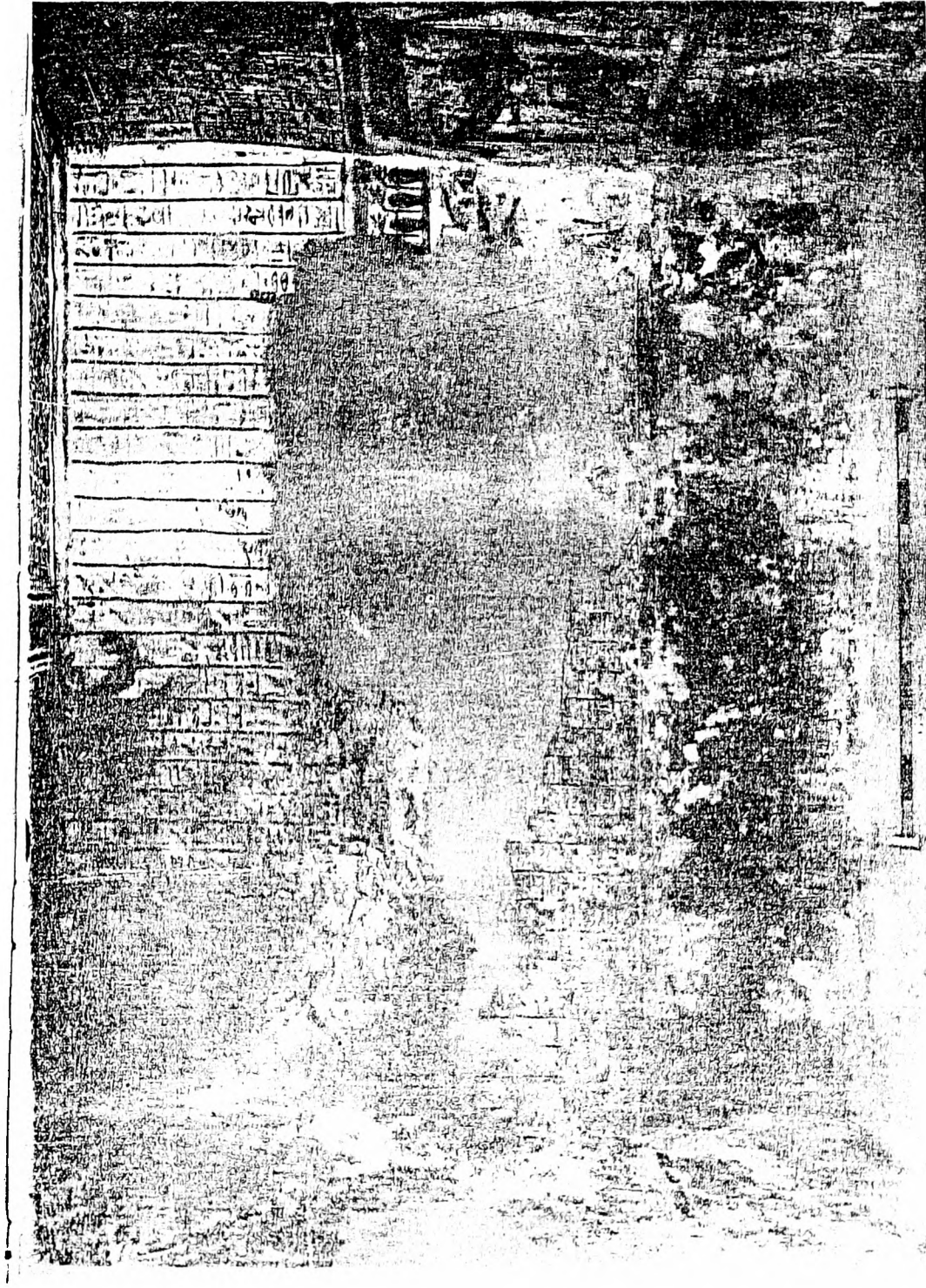
50. Vienna stela of the servant in the place of Truth Ipuy (Inv. Nr. 8390);
Satzinger 1985, pl. I.



52. Plan of the tomb of the assessor of cattle for the estate of Amun Samut (TT 409); Negm 1997, pl. I.



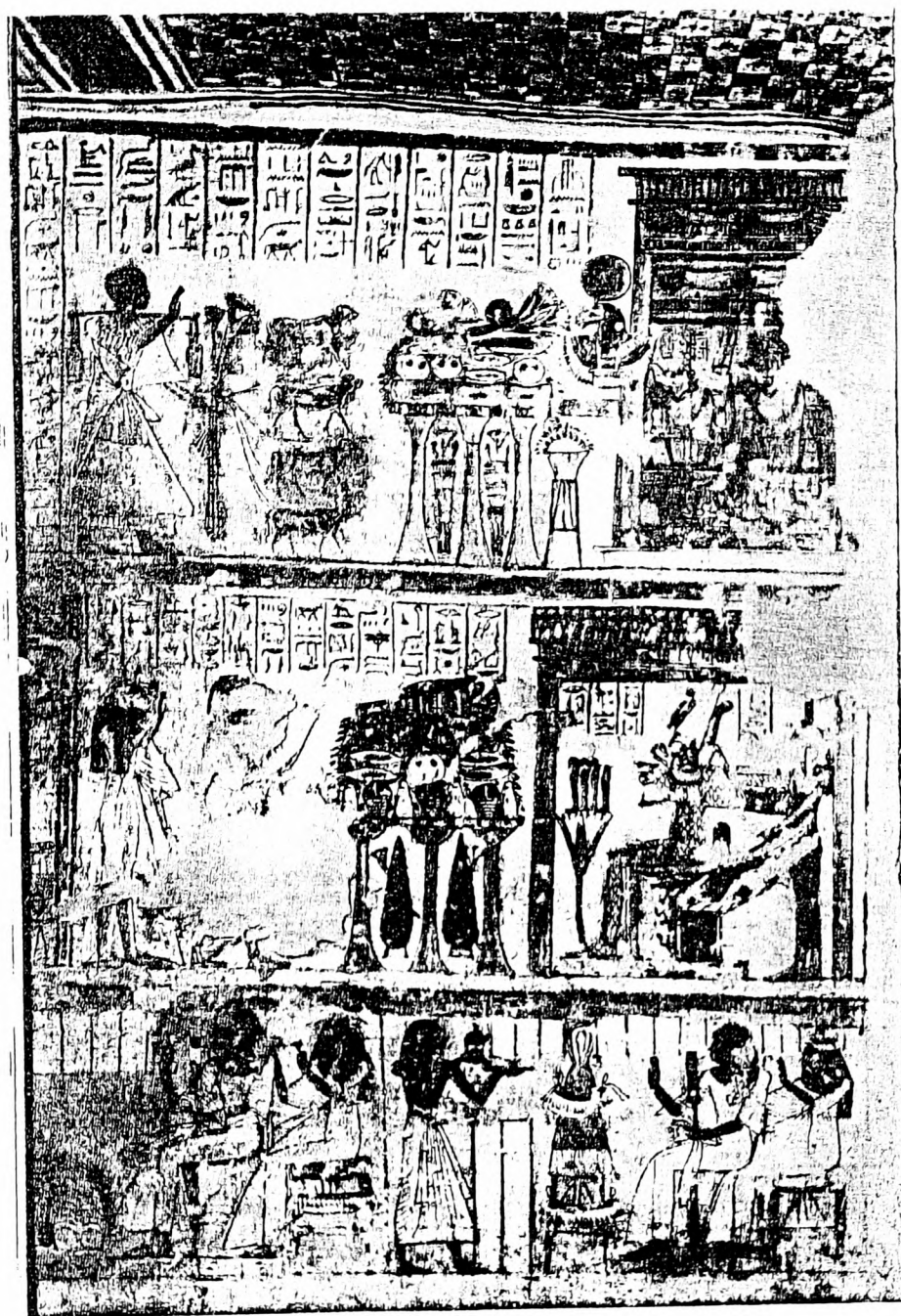
53. West half of south wall of transverse hall, tomb of the assessor of cattle for the estate of Amun Samut (2.q, texts 1 and 2); Muhammed 1966, pl. XXXIX.



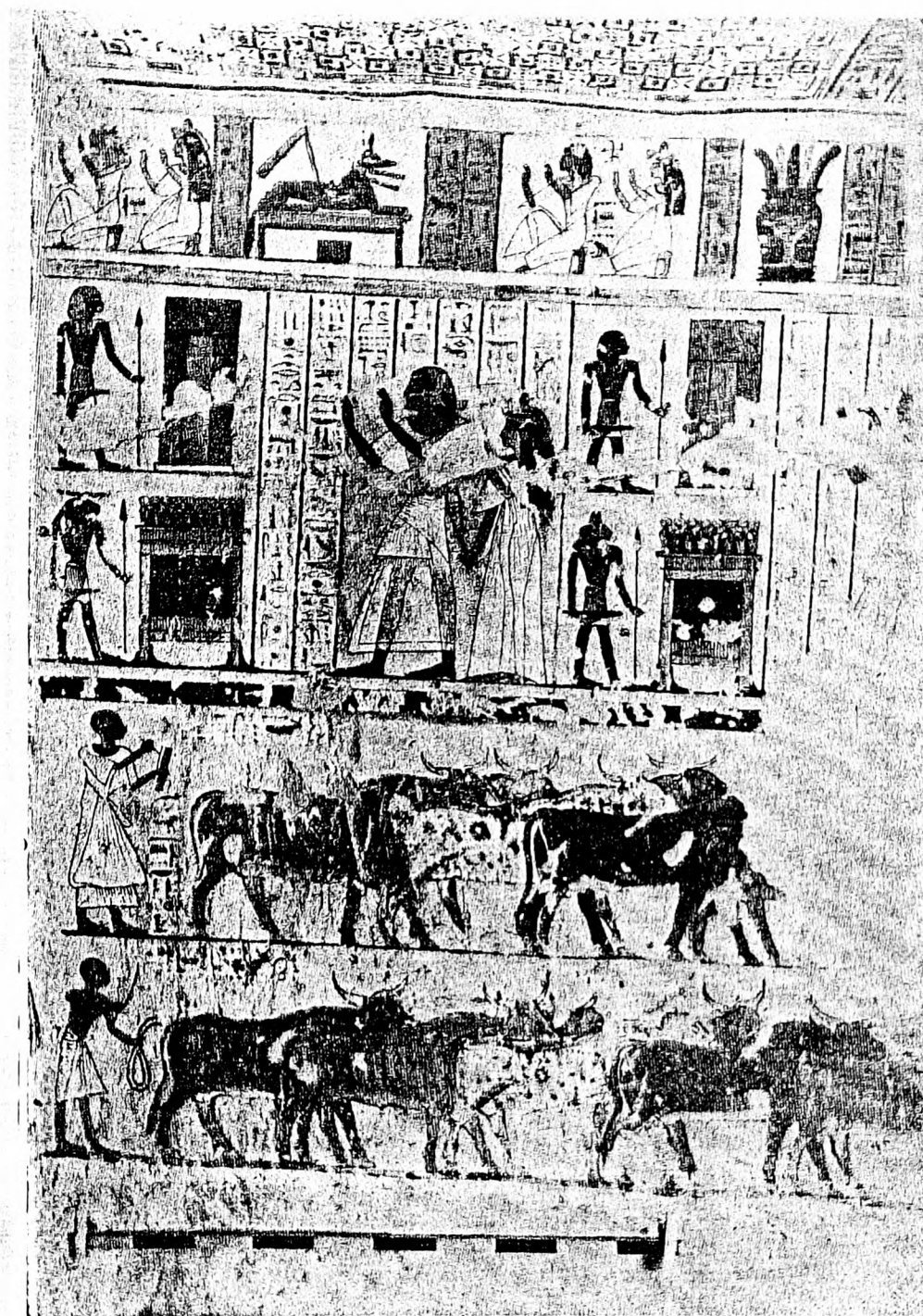
54. West wall of transverse hall, tomb of the assessor of cattle for the estate of Amun Samut (**2.q**, texts 1 and 2); Muhammed 1966, pl. XLVI.



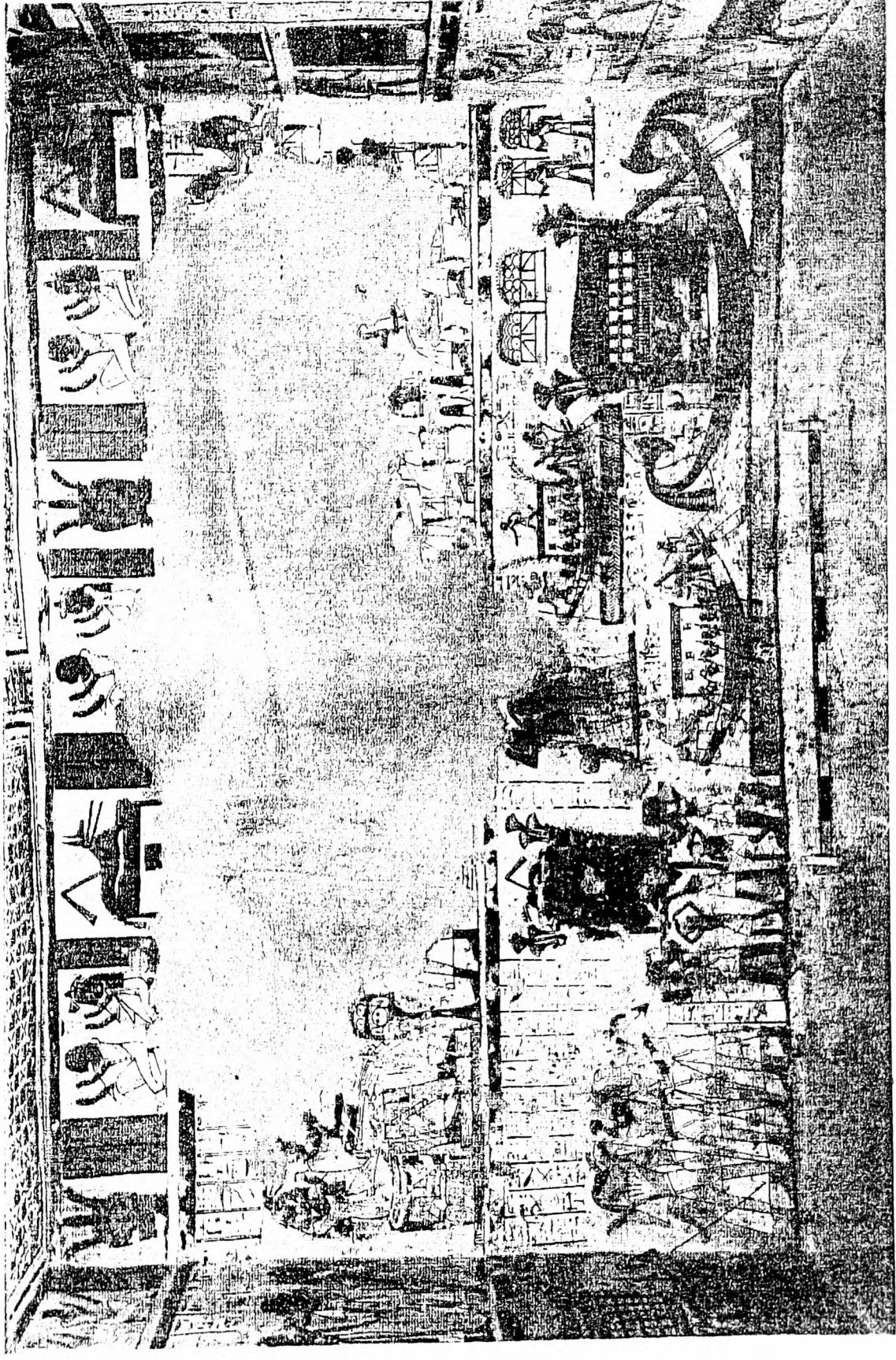
55. West half of north wall of transverse hall, left half, tomb of the assessor of cattle for the estate of Amun Samut (with 2.q, text 1 end, TT 409; Muhammed 1966, pl. XLVII.



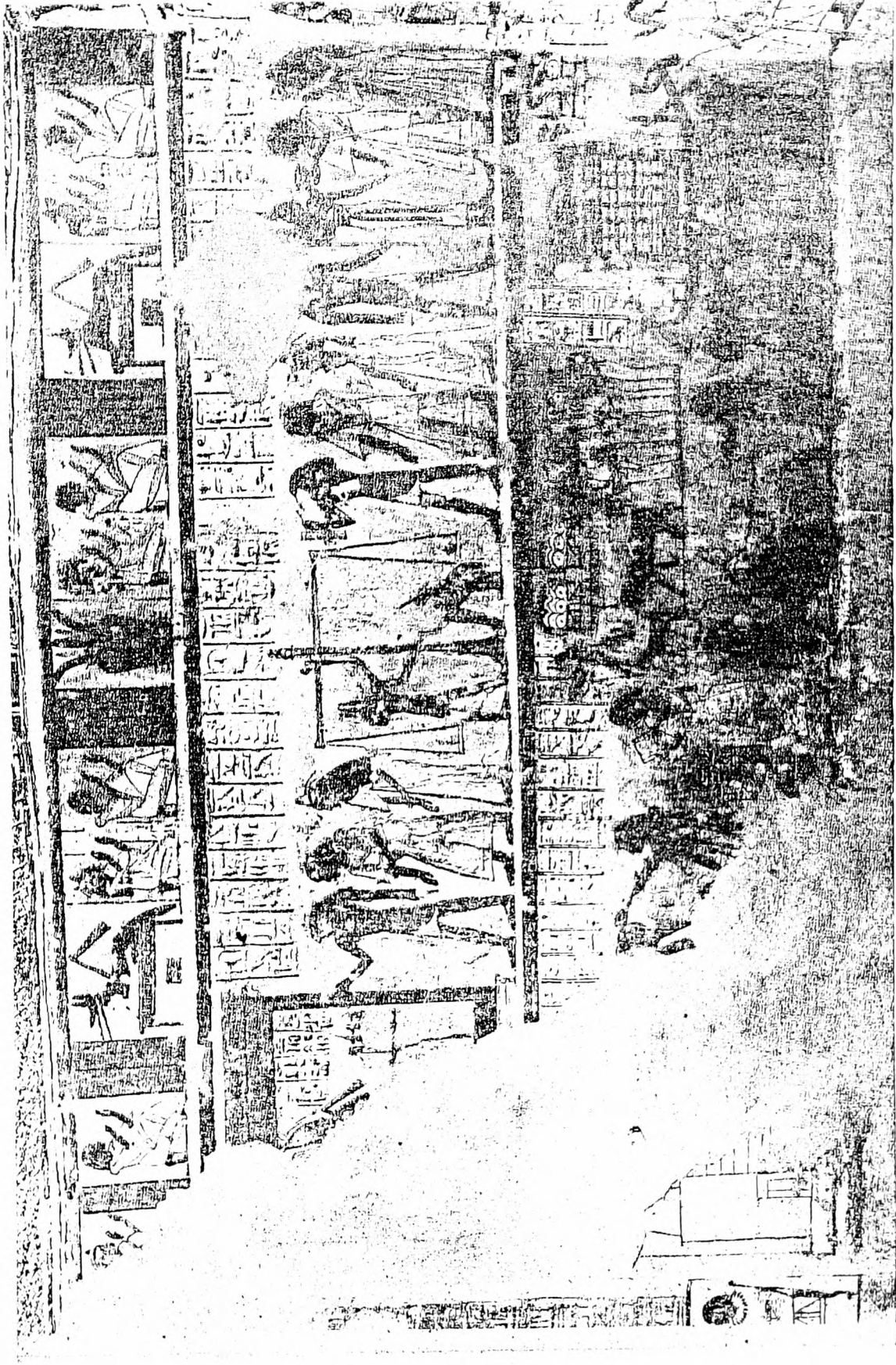
56. West half of north wall of transverse hall, right half, tomb of the assessor of cattle for the estate of Amun Samut (TT 409); Muhammed 1966, pl. LV.



57. East half of south wall of transverse hall, tomb of the assessor of cattle for the estate of Amun Samut, left half (TT 409); Muhammed 1966, pl. XVI.



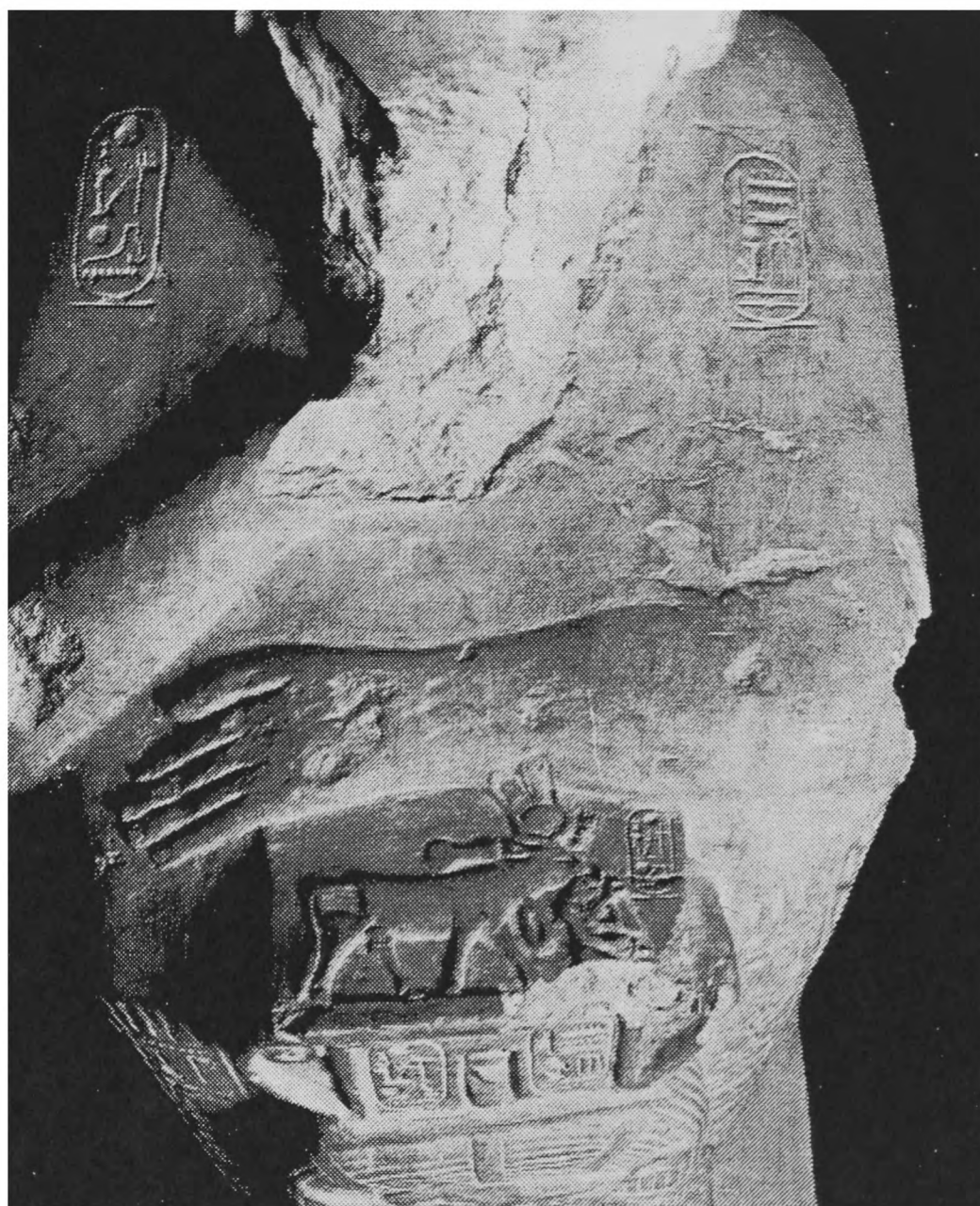
58. East wall of transverse hall, tomb of the assessor of cattle for the estate of Amun Samut (TT 409); Muhammed 1966, pl. XXII.



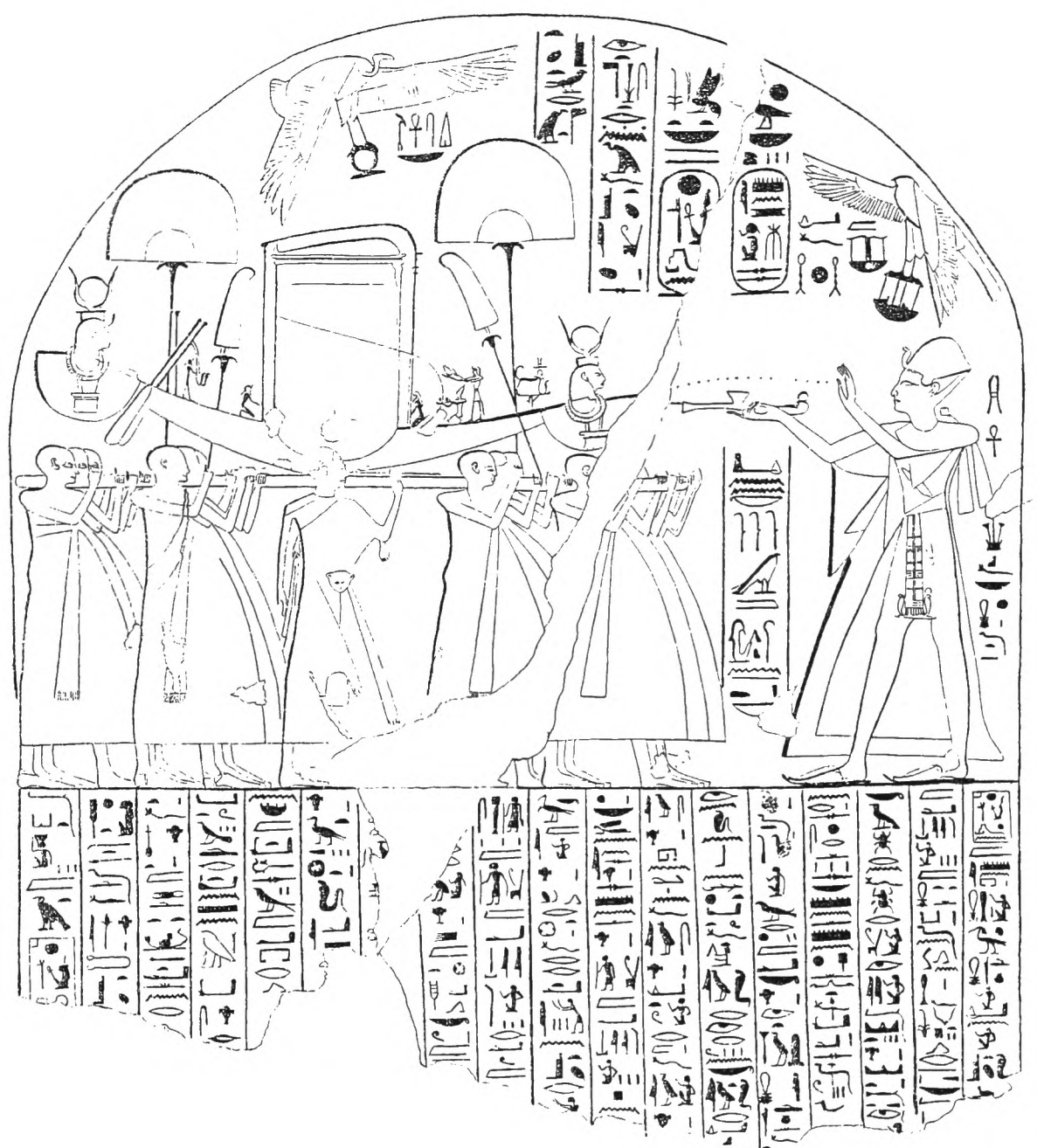
59. East half of north wall of transverse hall, tomb of the assessor of cattle for the estate of Amun Samut (TT 409); Muhammed 1966, pl. XXVIII.



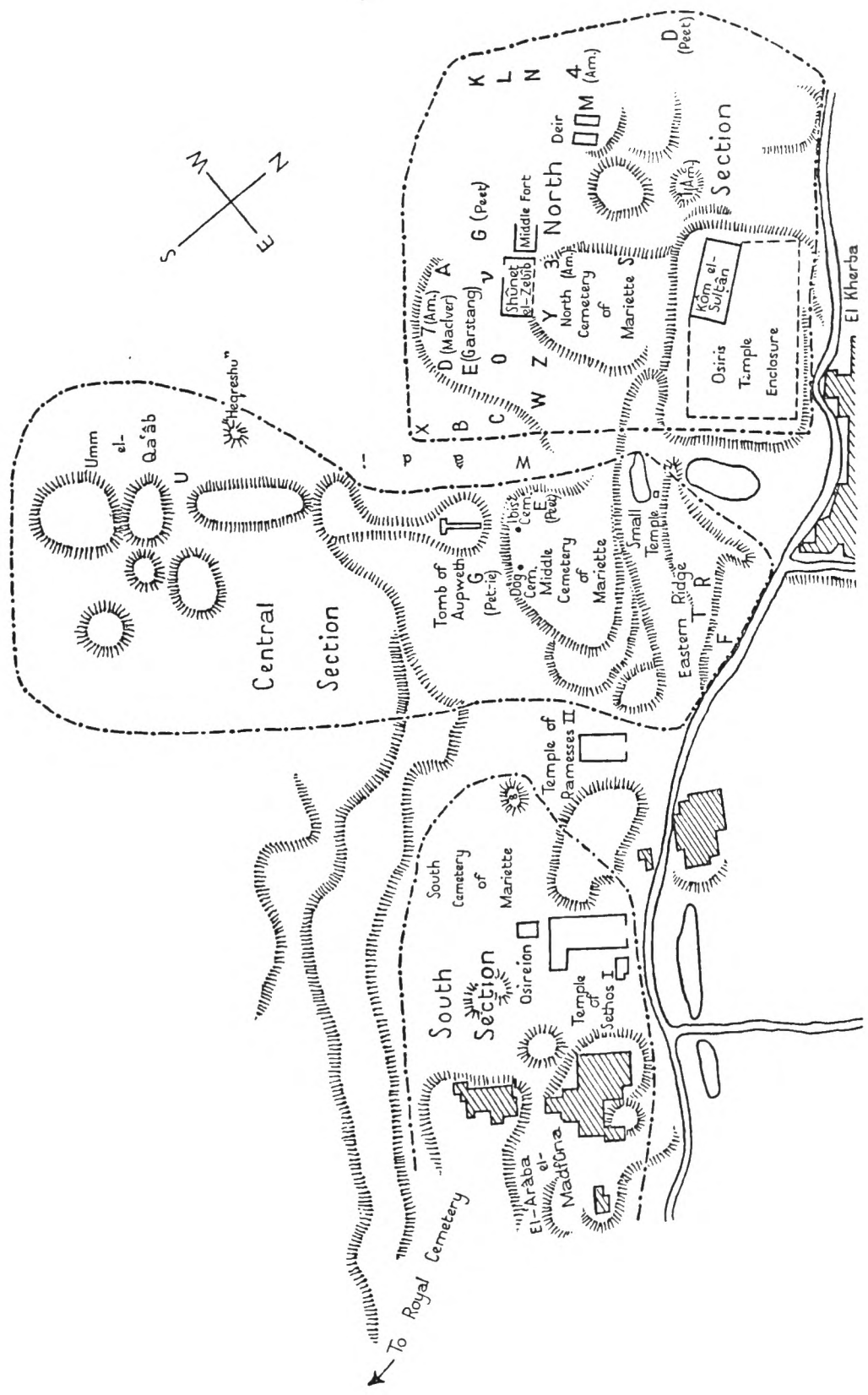
60. Luxor statue of the army commander Ameneminet (2.r); Romano 1979, fig. 120.



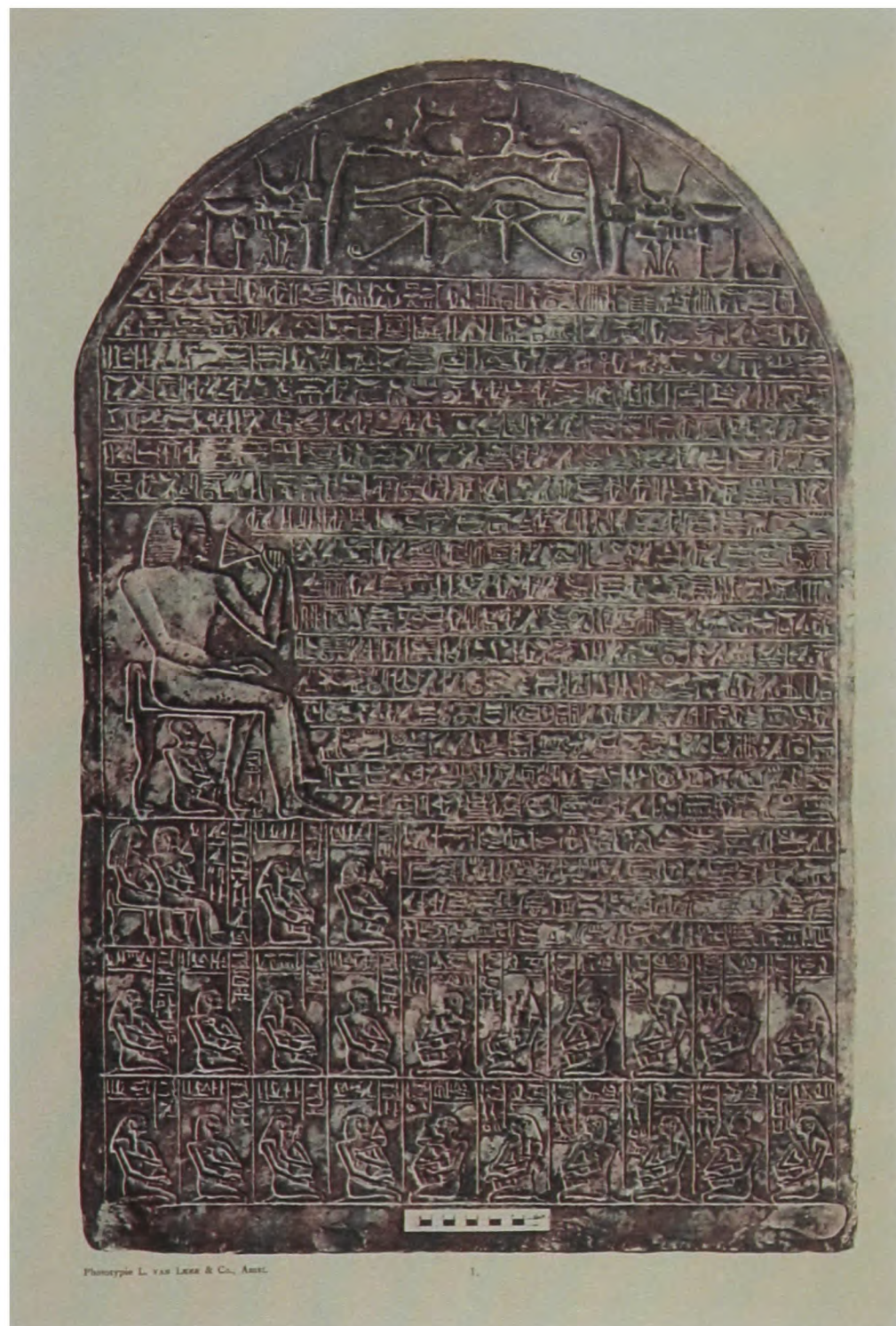
61. Luxor statue of the army commander Ameneminet, detail of top of sistrum naos (2.r); Romano 1979, fig. 121.



62. Oxford stela of the overseer of works [Penre] (3.a); Petrie 1896, pl. XIX upper.



63. Map of Abydos; PM V, 38.



64. Leiden stela of the chief sculptor Userhat (4.a); Boeser 1913, pl. I.



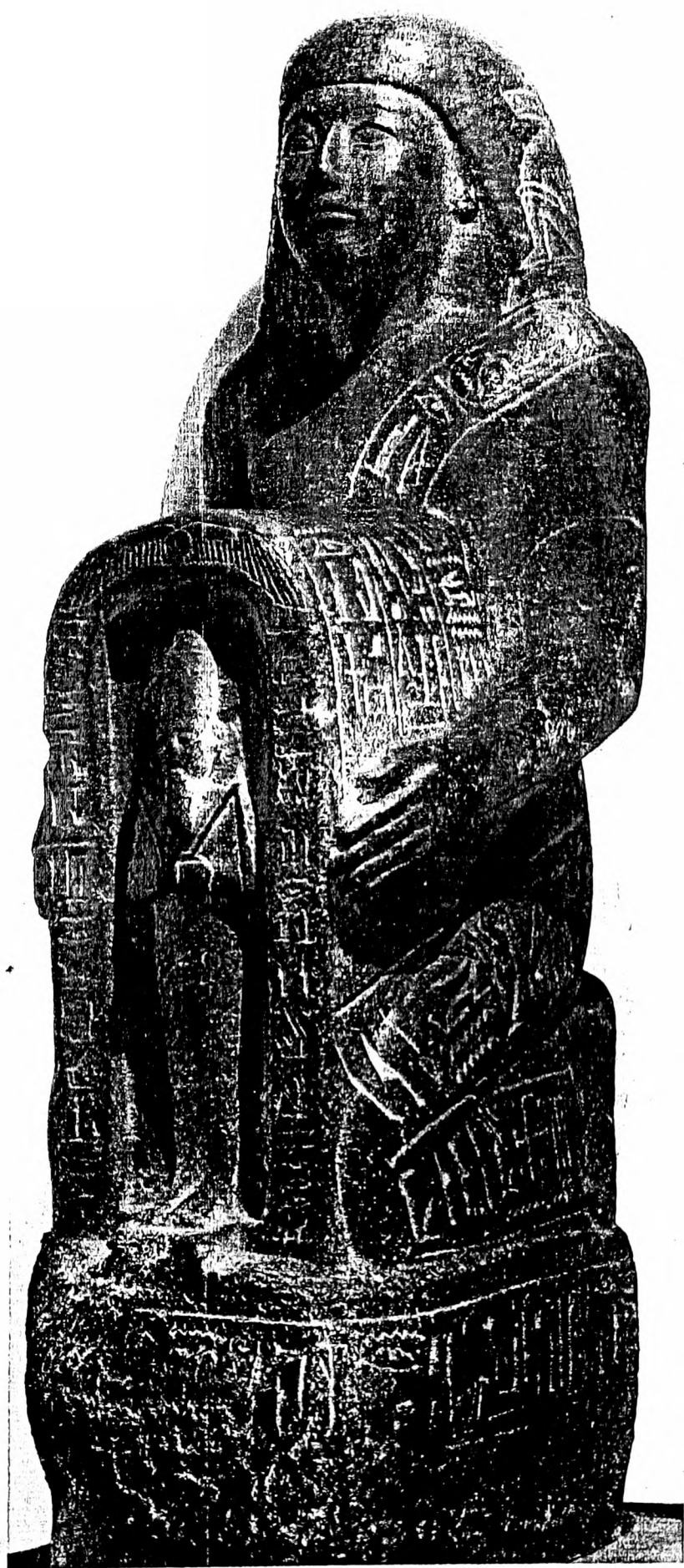
65. Leiden lintel and jambs of the chief sculptor Userhat; Boeser 1911, pl. XXXIII.



66. Leiden lintel of the chief sculptor Userhat; Boeser 1911, pl. XXXIV.



67. Louvre statue of the high priest of Osiris Wenennefer (4.b); Vigneau 1935, 95 B.





69. Athens statue of the high priest of Osiris Wennefer (Eg. 106);
Loukianoff 1956 (1937), fig. 1.



70. Cairo pillar of the high priest of Osiris Wenennefer; photograph by Elizabeth Froid.



71. Louvre statue of the royal table scribe Kha (4.c); Delange 2001, 127.



72. Manchester statue of the priest of Osiris Nebenmaat, front view
(4.d); photograph by Elizabeth Froid.



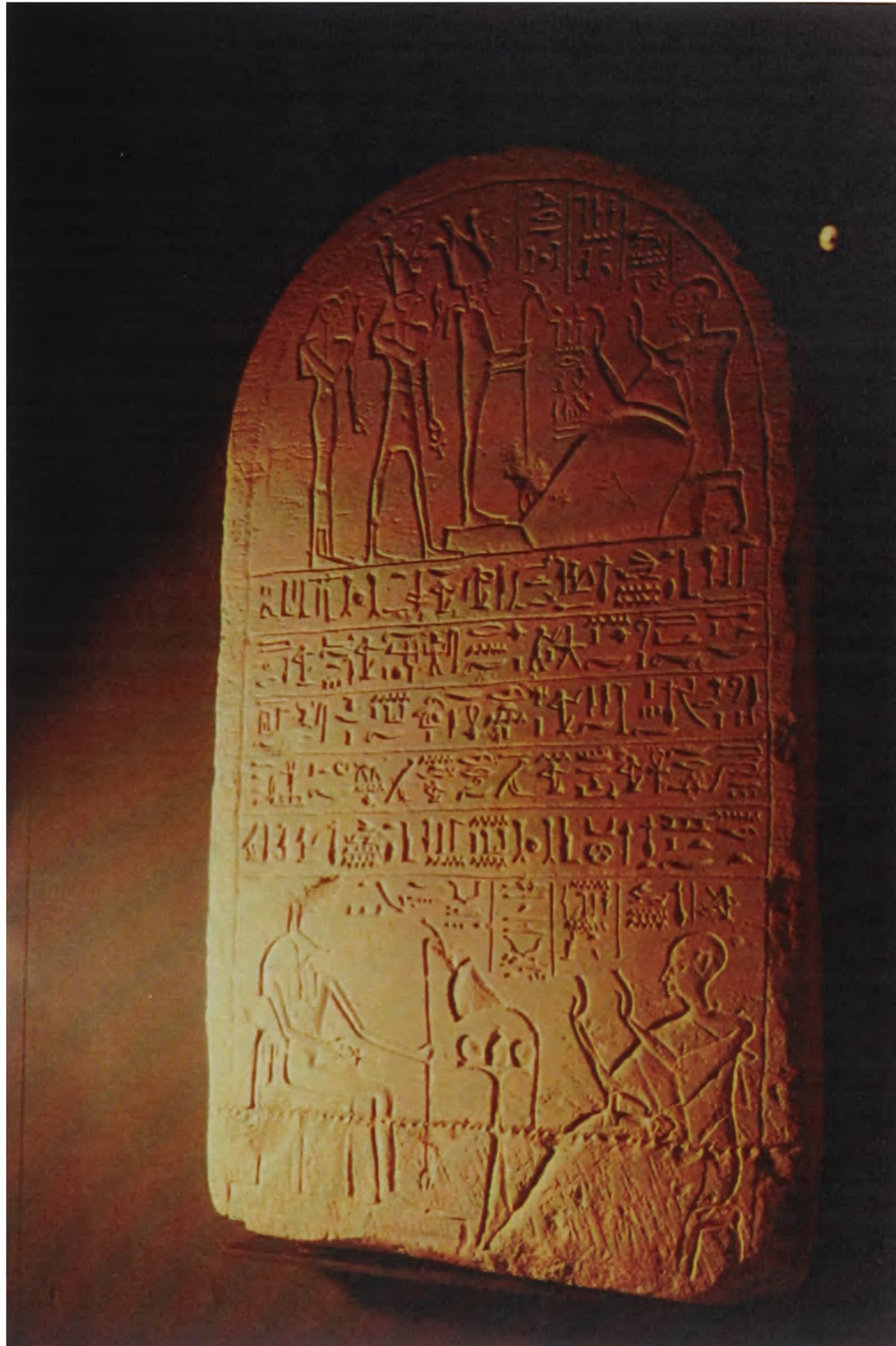
73. Manchester statue of the priest of Osiris Nebenmaat, top of back pillar (4.d); photograph by Elizabeth Froid.



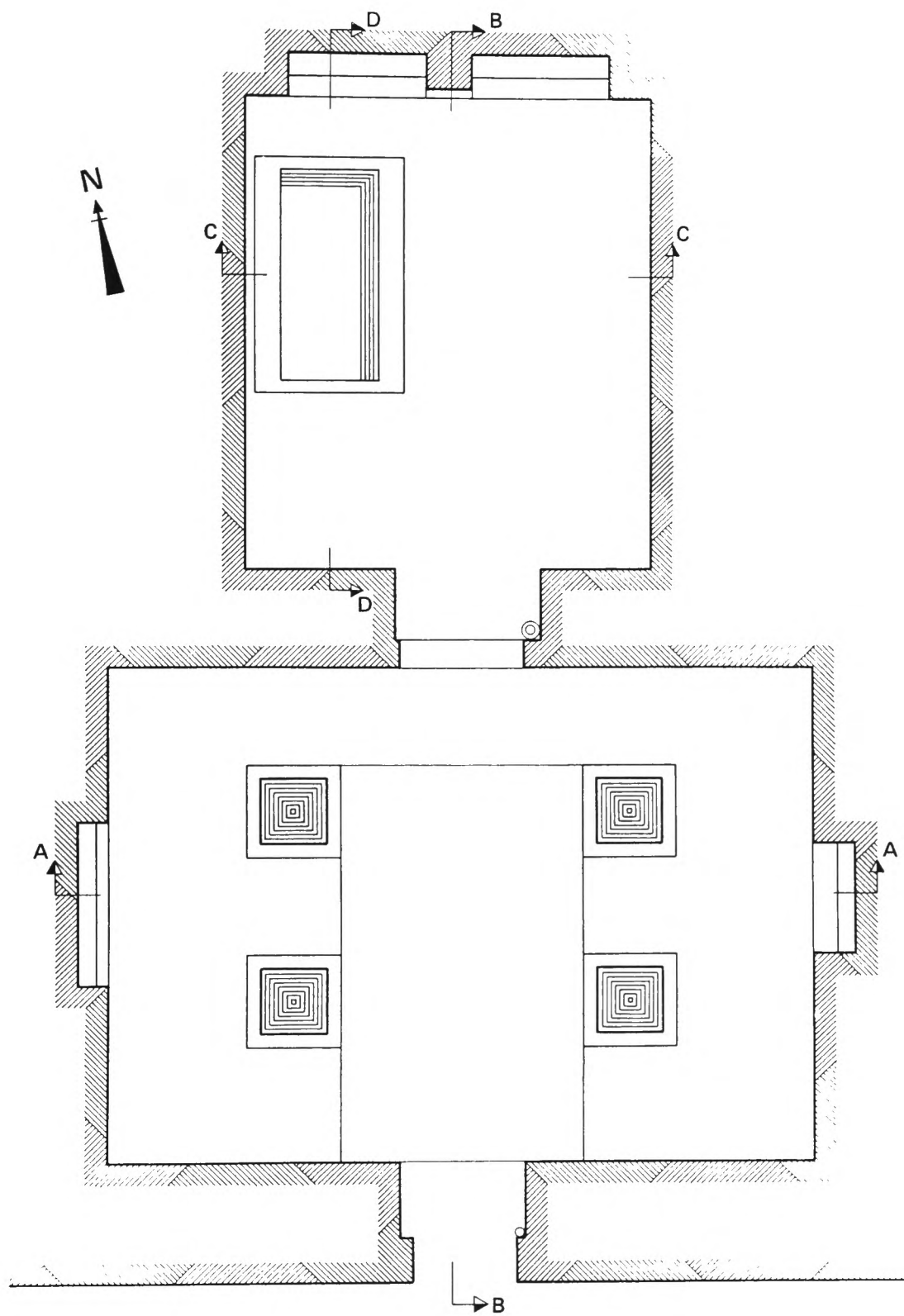
74. Manchester statue of the priest of Osiris Nebenmaat, detail of left shoulder (4.d); photograph by Elizabeth Froid.



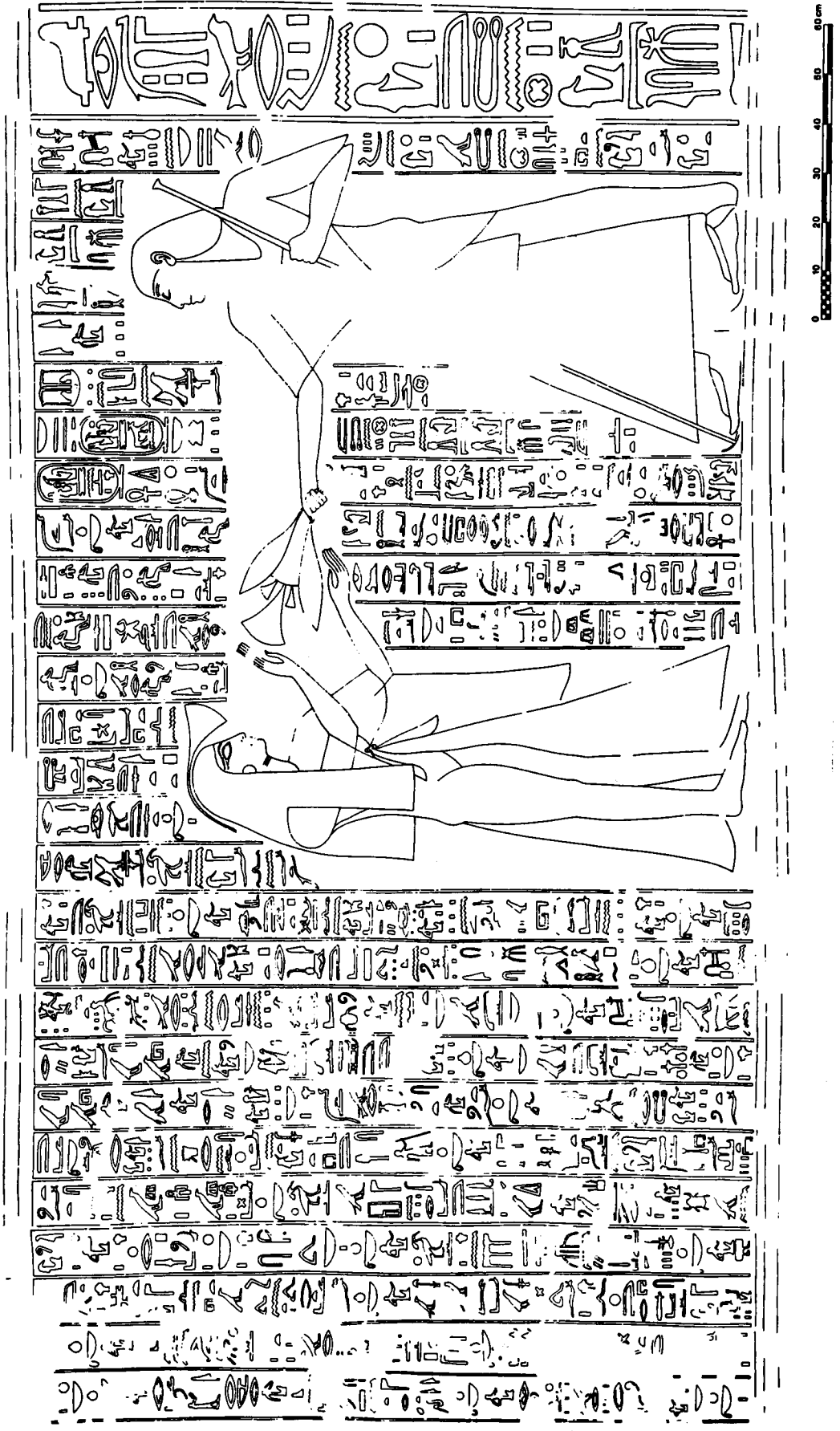
75. Louvre stela of the high priest of Isis Wenennefer (4.e); photograph by Elizabeth Froid.



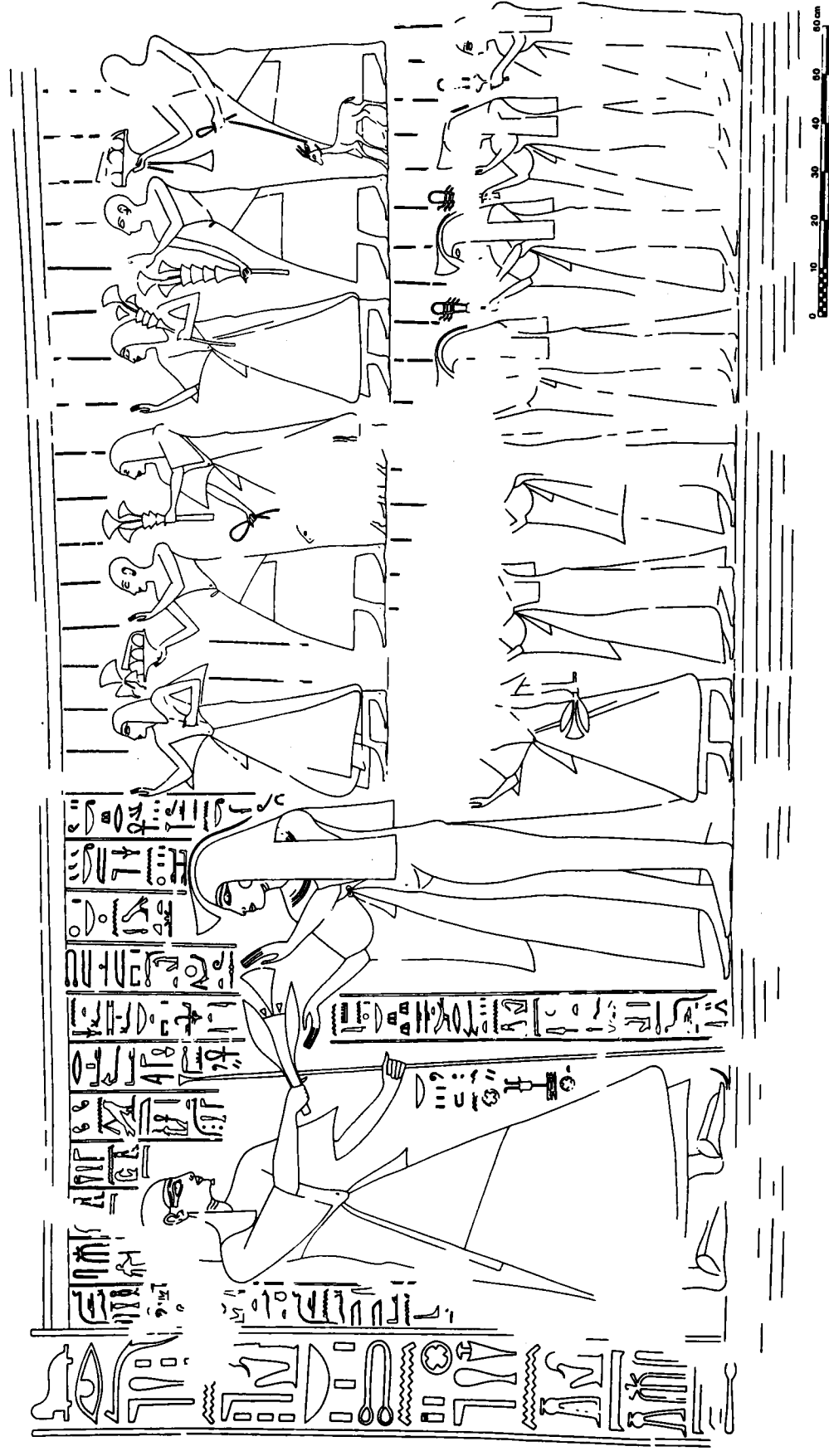
76. Louvre stela of the high priest of Isis Wenennefer (4.i); photograph by Elizabeth Froid.



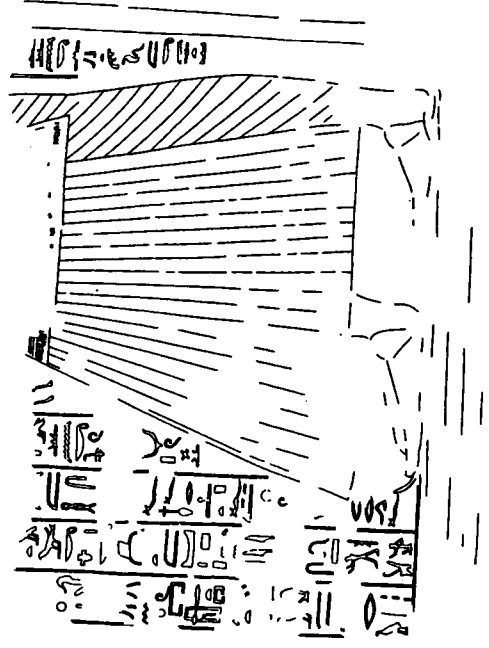
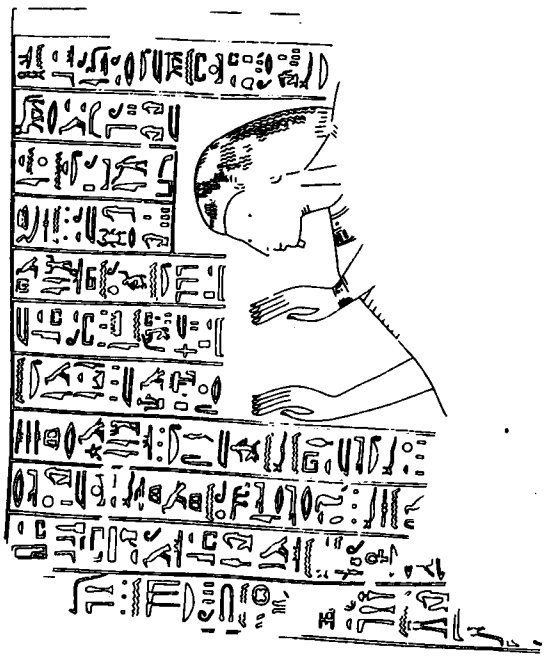
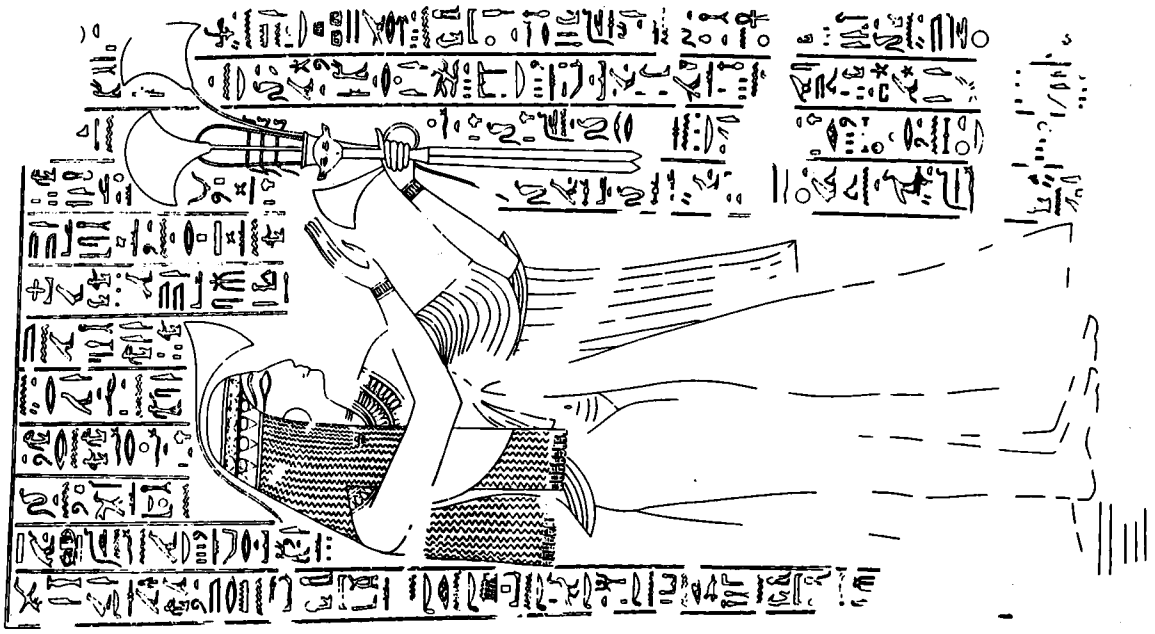
77. Plan of the tomb of the high priest of Onuris Anhurmosé, el-Mashayikh (5.a); after Ockinga and al-Masri 1988, pl. 2.



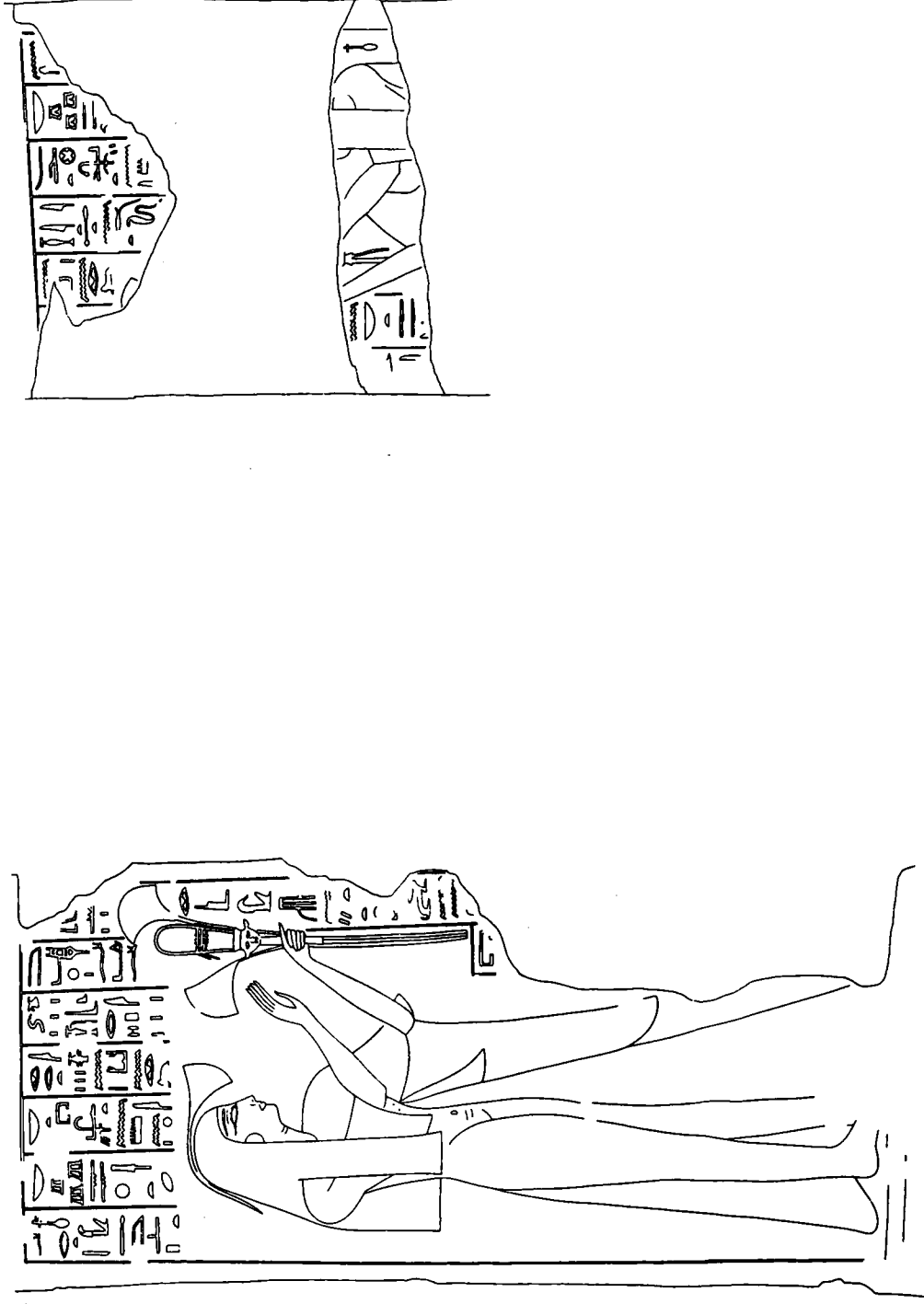
78. Biography and scene, east half of south wall of the hall, tomb of the high priest of Onuris Anhuriose, el-Mashayikh (5.a); Ockinga and al-Masri 1988, pl. 18.



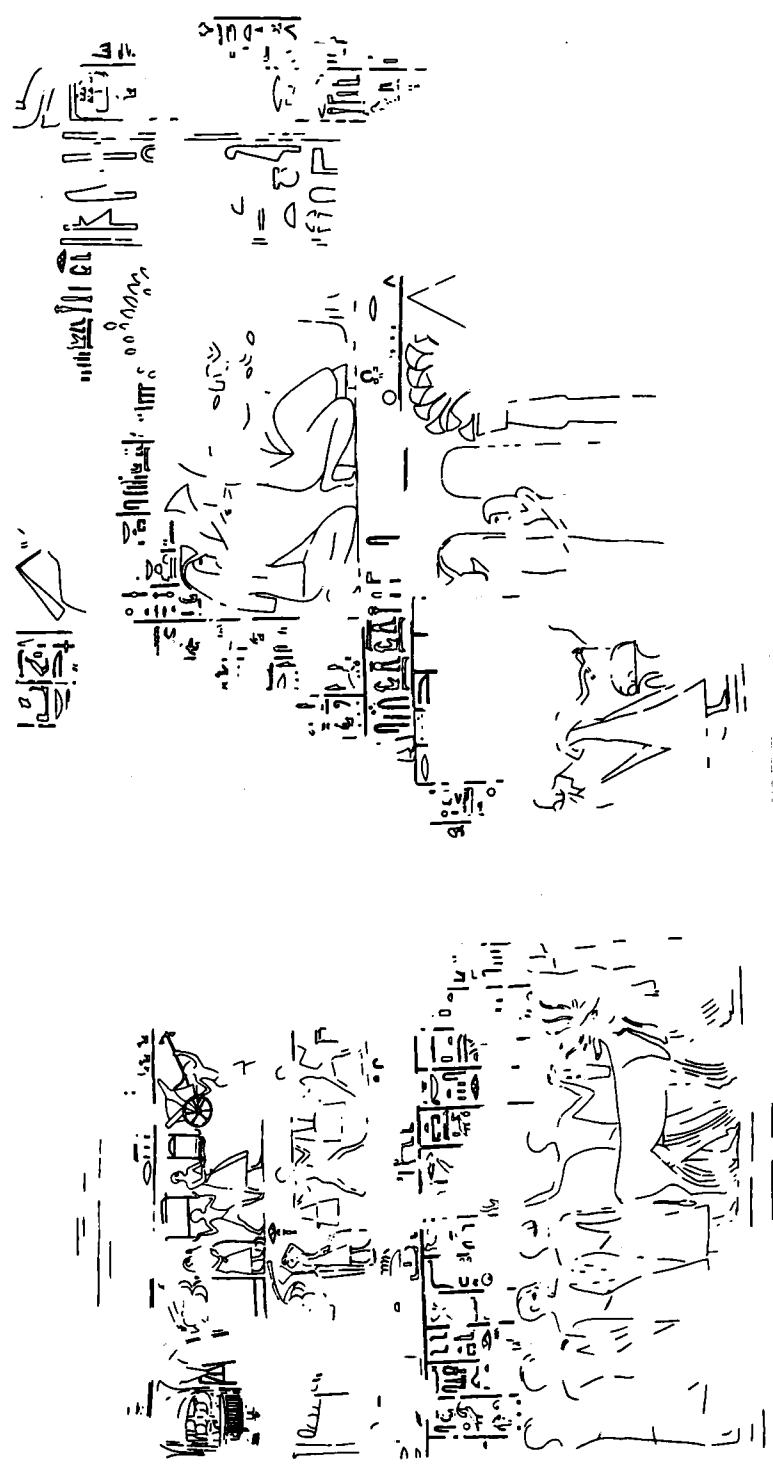
79. West half of the south wall of the hall, tomb of the high priest of Onuris
Anhurmose, el-Mashayikh; Ockinga and al-Masri 1988, pl. 14.



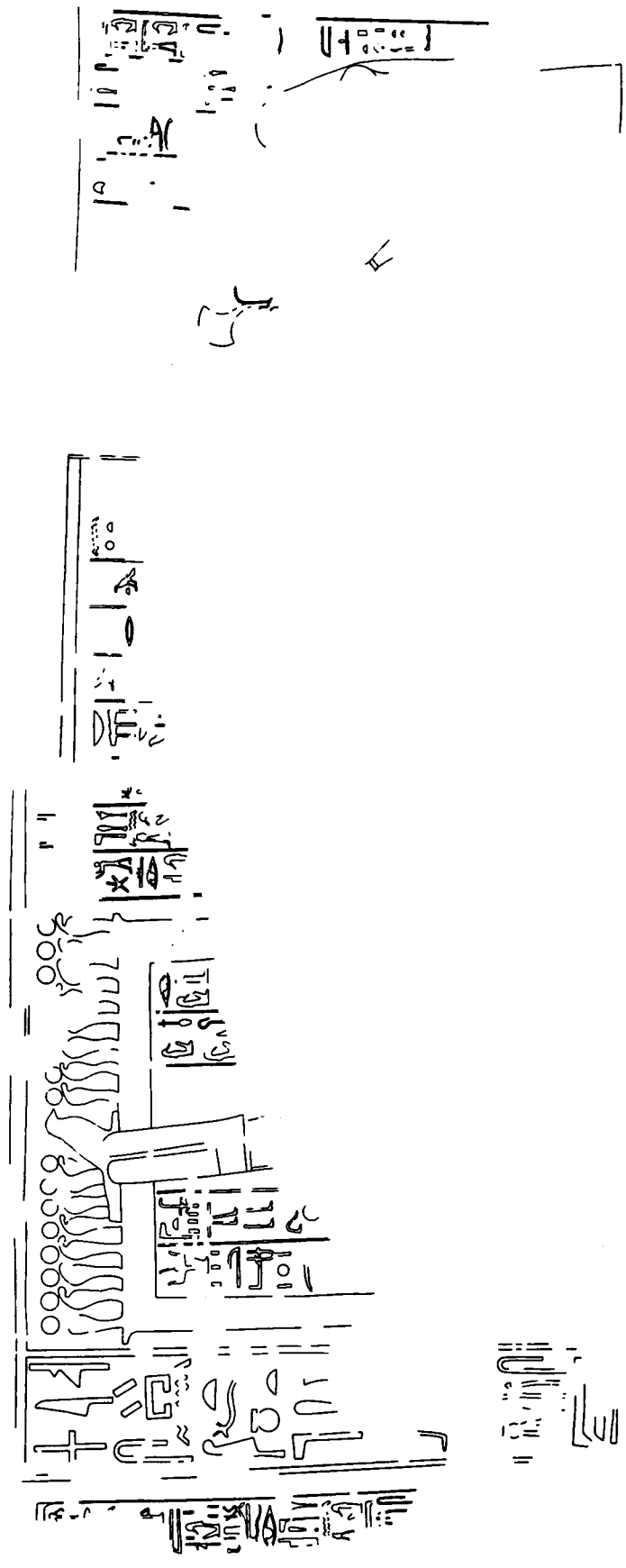
80. Entrance thicknesses (east and west), tomb of the high priest of Onuris Anhurmose, el-Mashayikh; Ockinga and al-Masri 1988, pls 6-7.



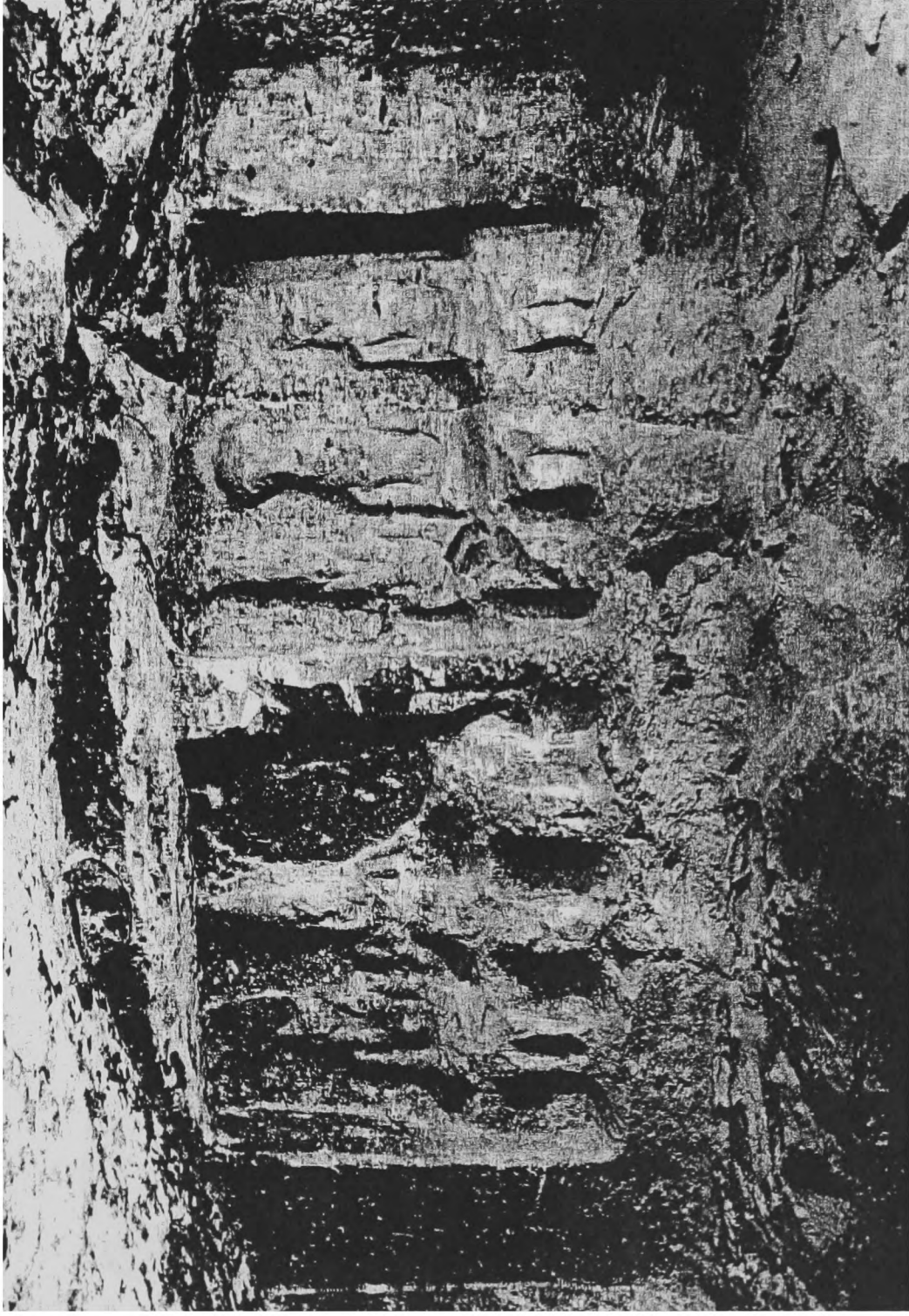
81. Face a of pillars I and IV in the hall, tomb of the high priest of Onuris Anhuriose, el-Mashayikh; Ockinga and al-Masri 1988, pls.41, 53.



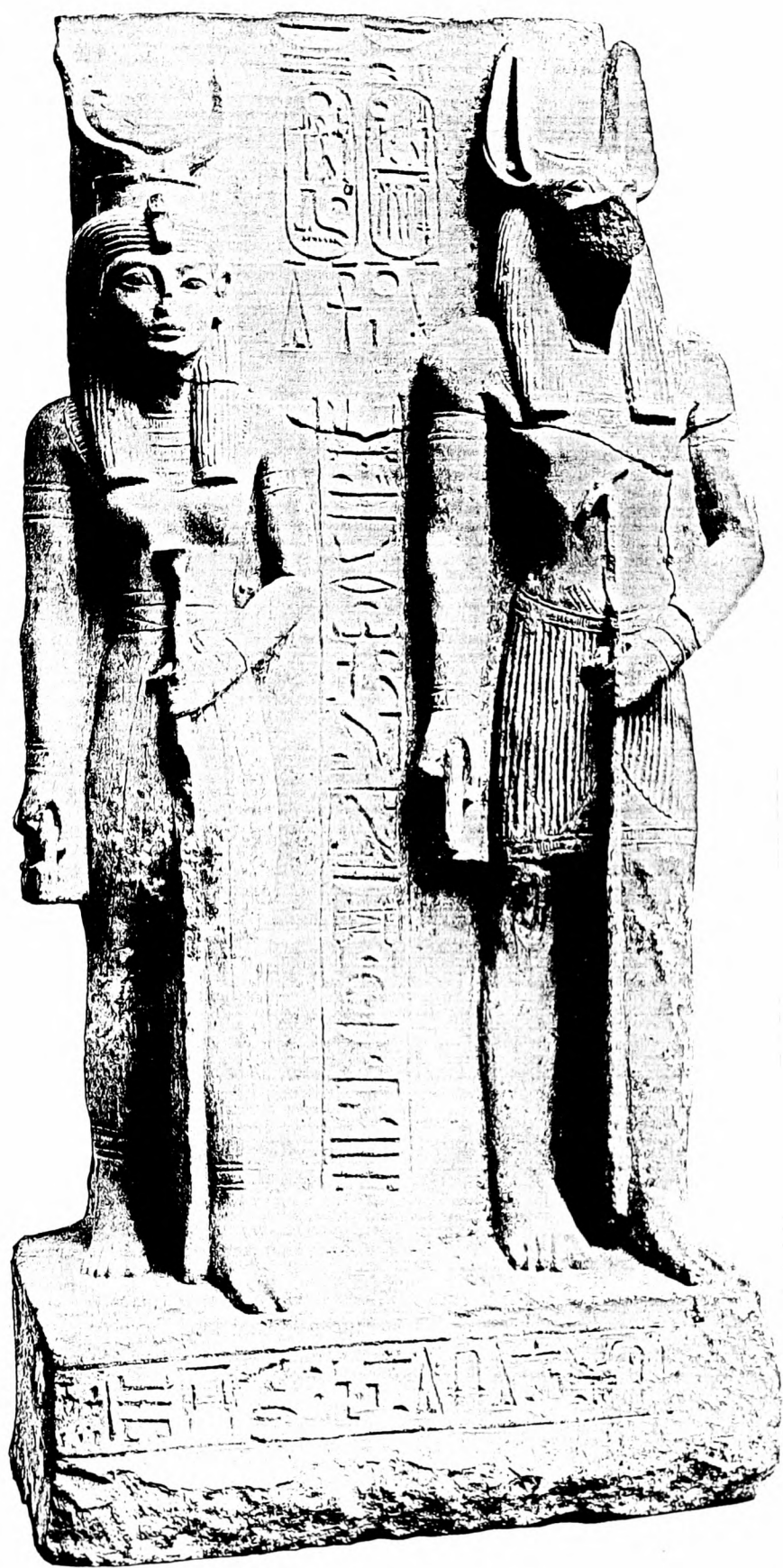
82. North wall, west half of the hall, tomb of the high priest of Onuris
Anhurmosé, el-Mashayikh; Ockinga and al-Masri 1988, pl. 36.



83. North wall, east half of the hall, tomb of the high priest of Onuris Anhuriose, el-Mashayikh; Ockinga and al-Masri 1988, pl. 38.



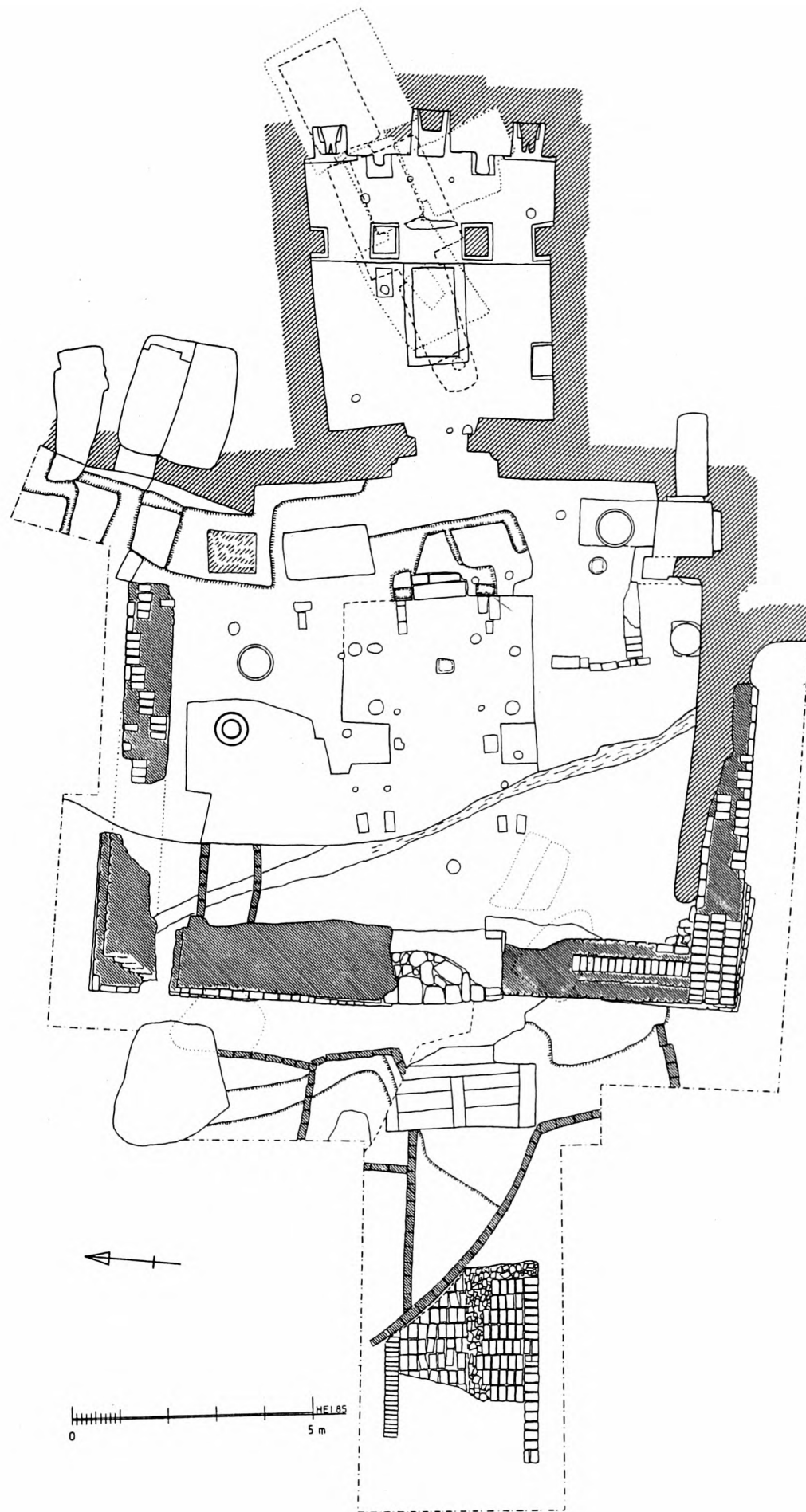
84. View of statues in the shrine, tomb of the high priest of Onuris Anhurmose, el-Mashayikh; Ockinga and al-Masri 1990, pl. 40.



85. New York statue of the granary chief Siese (6.a); Hayes 1959, fig. 218.



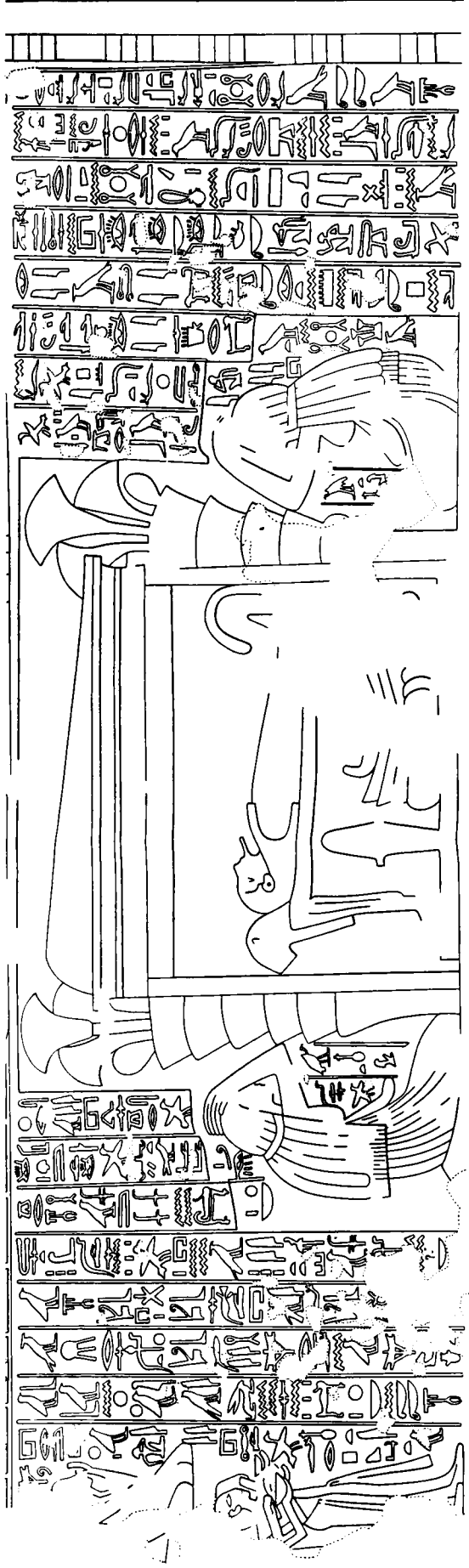
86. New York statue of the granary chief Siese, rear view (6.a); MMA photograph, 47736.



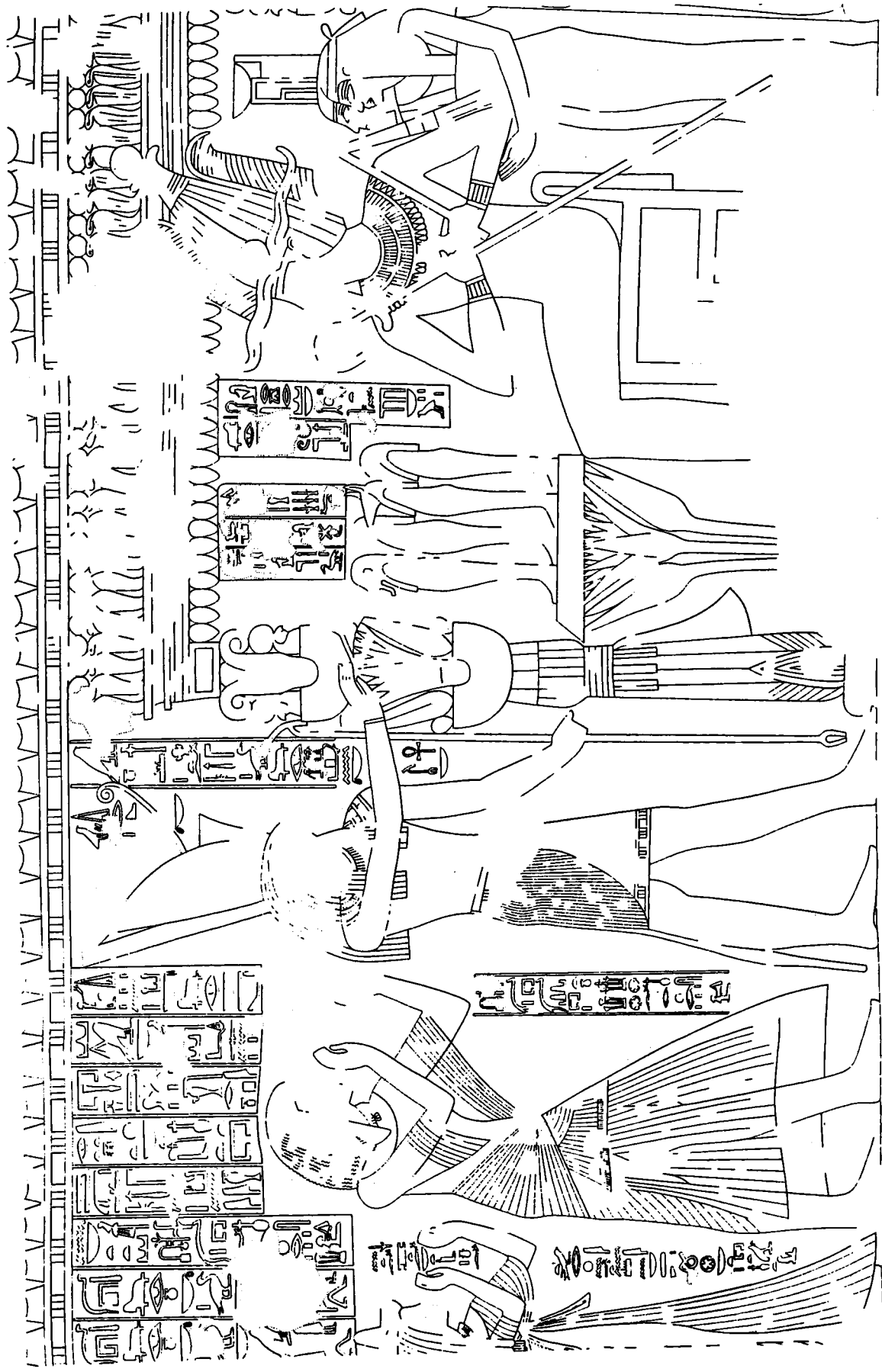
87. Plan of the tomb of the high steward Nefsekheru, Zawyet Sultan; Osing 1992b, pl. 23.



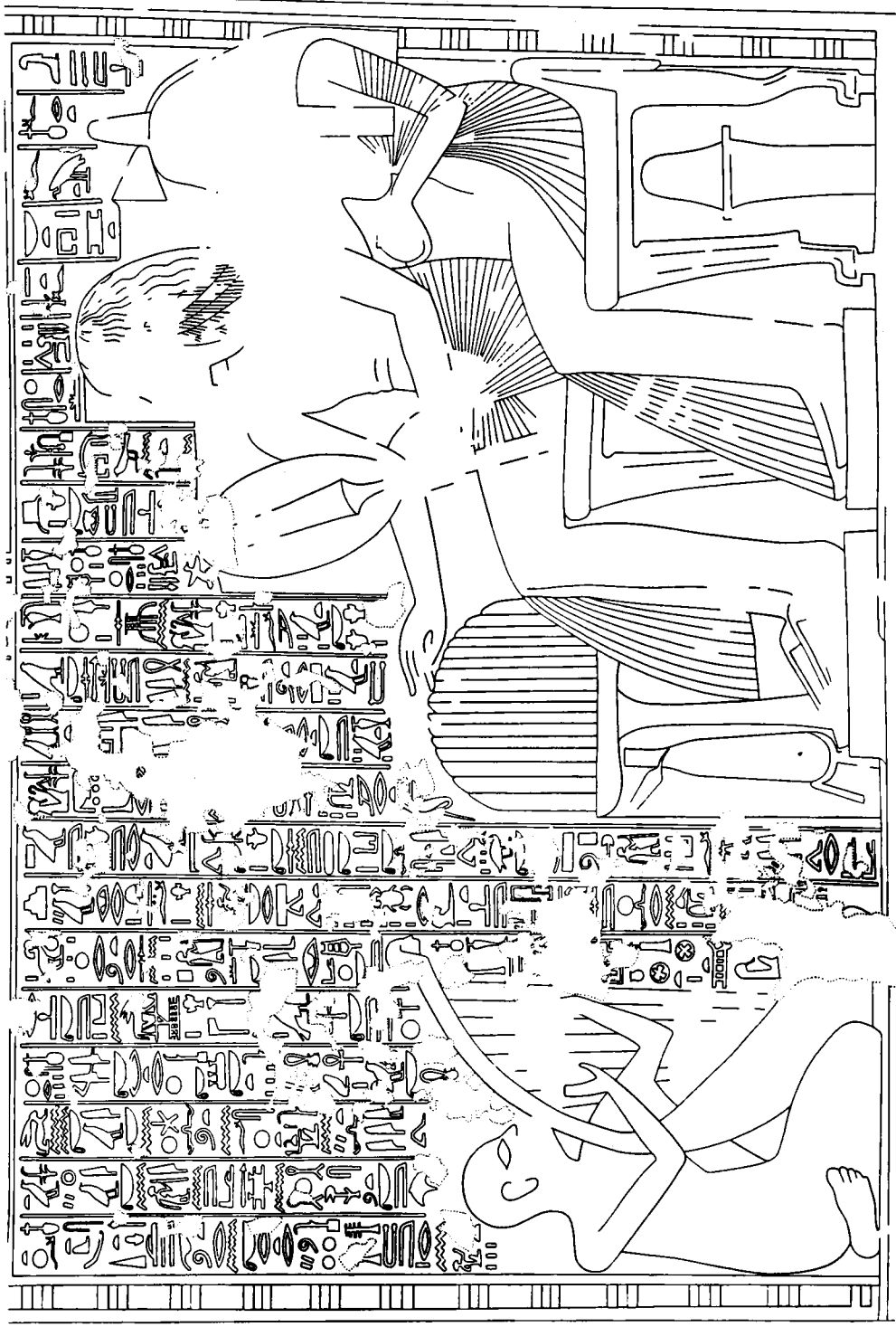
88. Cols. 11–25 of the biography, south half of west wall of the hall, tomb of the high steward Nefersekheru, Zawyet Sultan (7.a); Osing 1992b, pl. 35, left half.



89. Mourning songs, north half of west wall of the hall, tomb of the high steward
Nefersekeru, Zawyet Sultan; Osing 1992b, pl. 36, lower half.



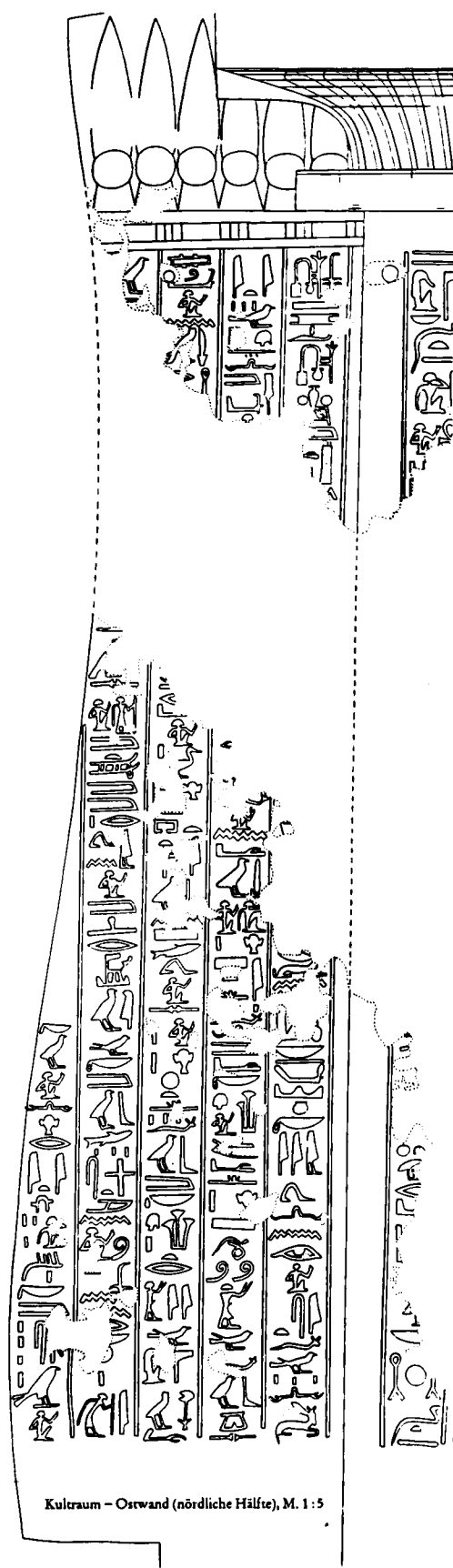
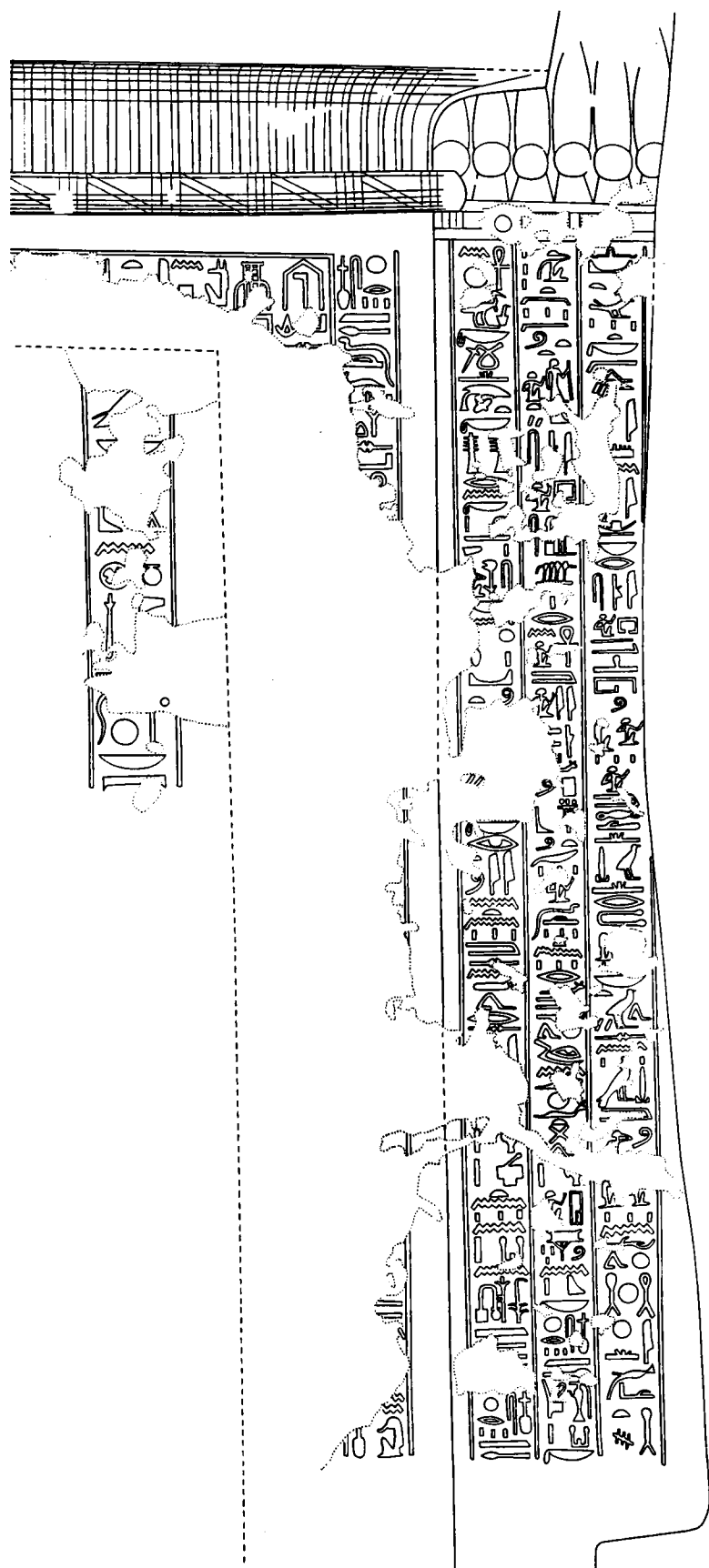
90. Scene detail, north wall of the hall, tomb of the high steward Nefersekheru, Zawyet Sultan; Osing 1992b, pl. 38, right half.



91. Harper's song, north wall of the 'shrine', tomb of the high steward
Nefersekkeru, Zawyet Sultan; Osing 1992b, pl. 42 lower half.

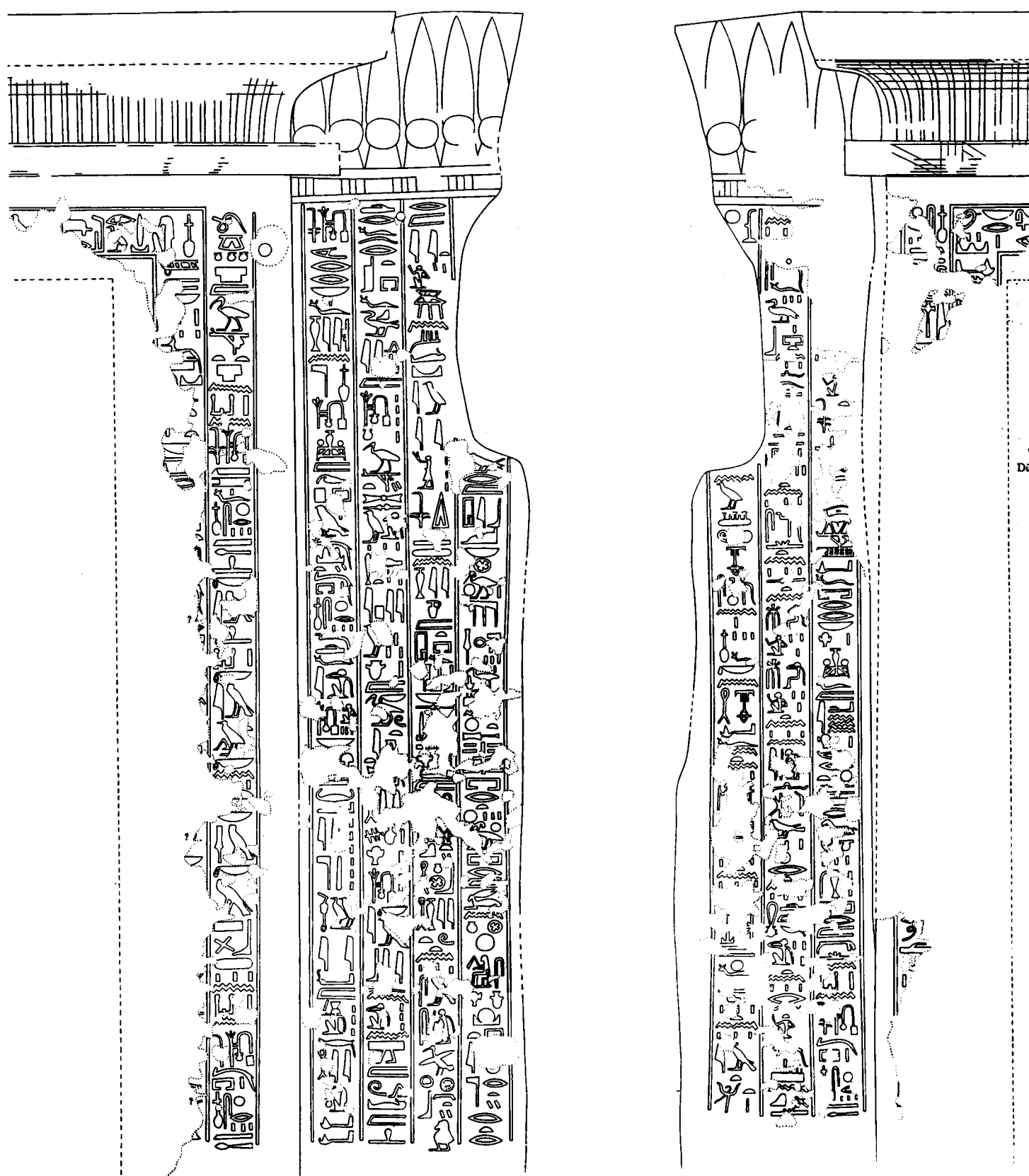


92. East wall of the 'shrine', tomb of the high steward Nefersekheru, Zawyet Sultan; Osing 1992b, pl. 19a.

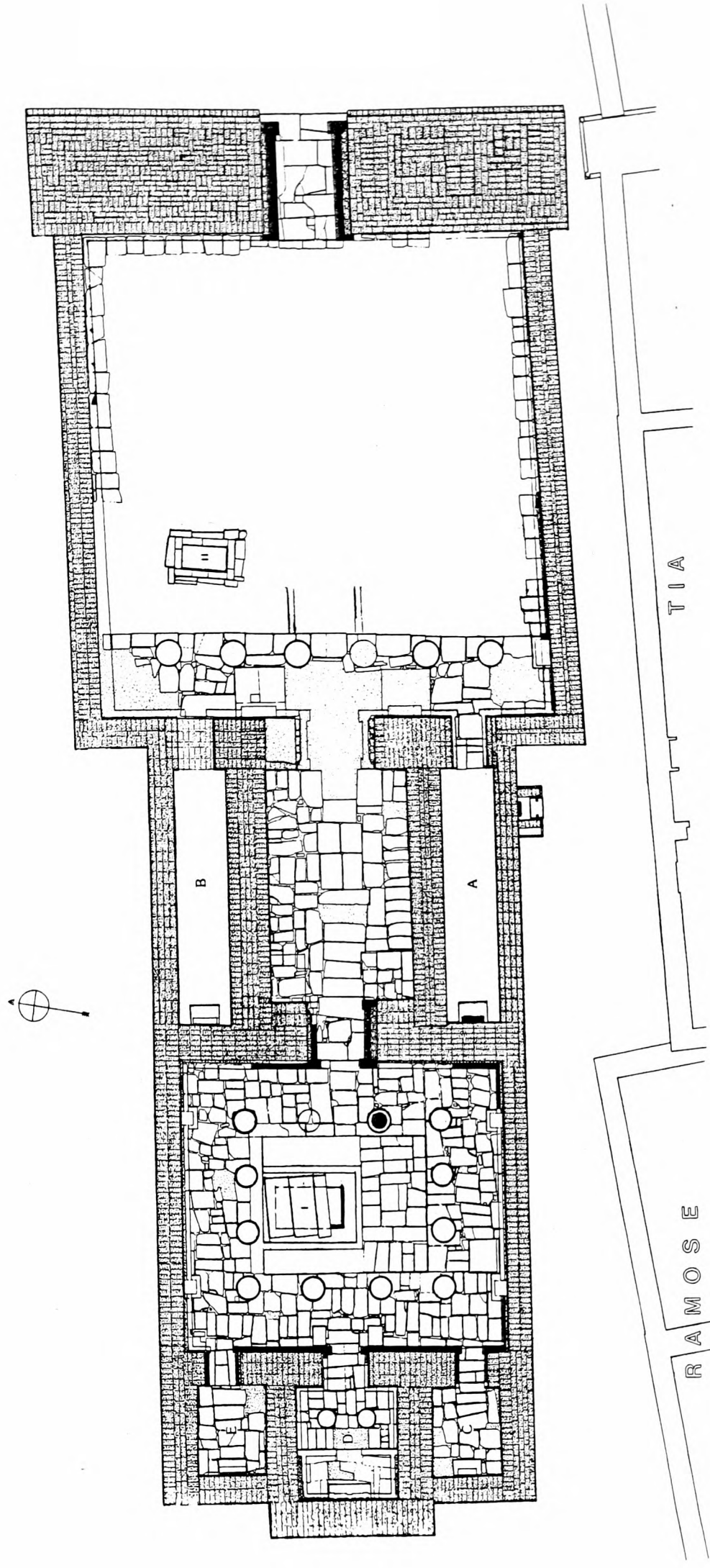


Kultraum – Ostwand (nördliche Hälfte), M. 1 : 5

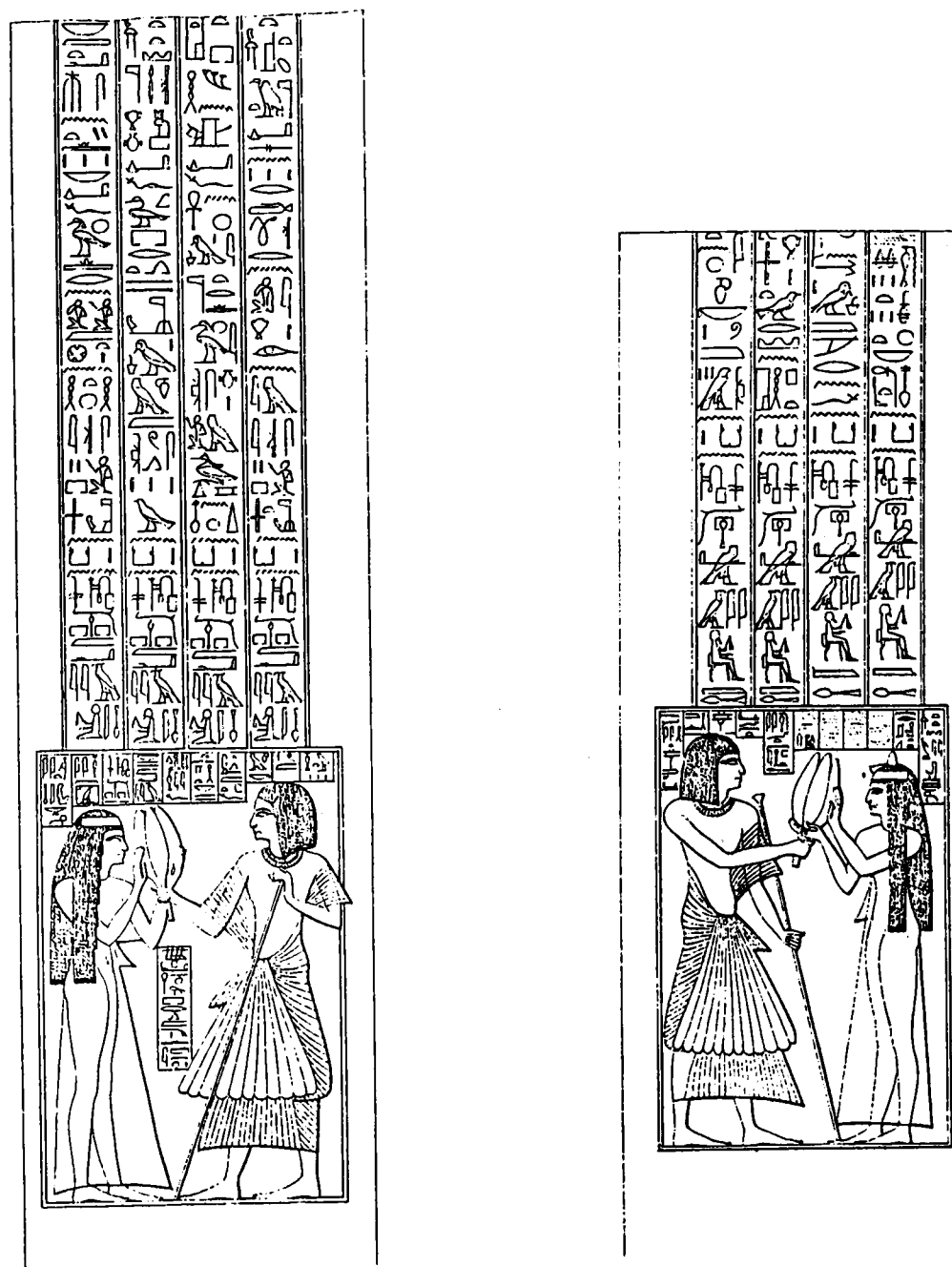
93. Statue of Nefersekheru, north half of the east wall of the 'chapel', tomb of the high steward Nefersekheru, Zawyet Sultan; Osing 1992b, pl. 43, centre.



94. Statue of Nefersekeru, south half of east wall of the 'chapel', tomb of the high steward Nefersekeru, Zawyet Sultan; Osing 1992b, pl. 44, centre.



95. Plan of the tomb of Saqqara tomb of the overseer of the treasury Maya; Martin et. al. 1988, fig. 1.



97. Bouquet scenes, entrance jambs to the columned hall, Saqqara tomb of the overseer of the treasury Maya; Graefe 1975, fig. 2.



98. Cairo statue of the overseer of the treasury of Amun, overseer of works Amenmose (8.b); Hamada 1947, pl. V.



99. Leiden statue of the God's Father Ptahmose (8.e); Schulz 1992, pl. 90 c.