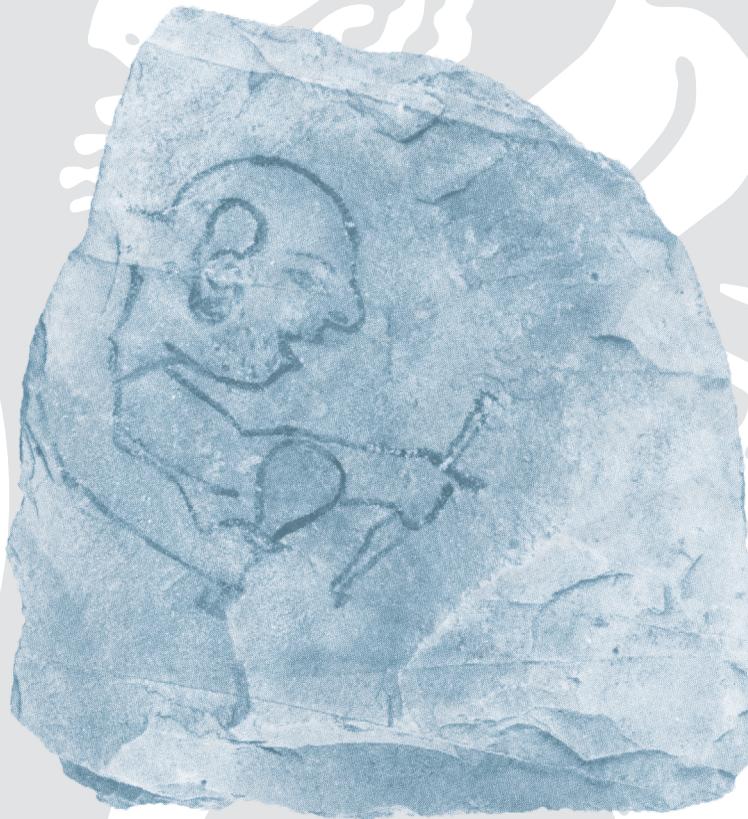




EGYPTOLOGISCHE UITGAVEN • I

# GLEANINGS FROM DEIR EL-MEDÎNA

*Edited by*  
R.J. DEMARÉE and Jac.J. JANSSEN



NEDERLANDS INSTITUUT VOOR HET NABIJE OOSTEN

LEIDEN

1982

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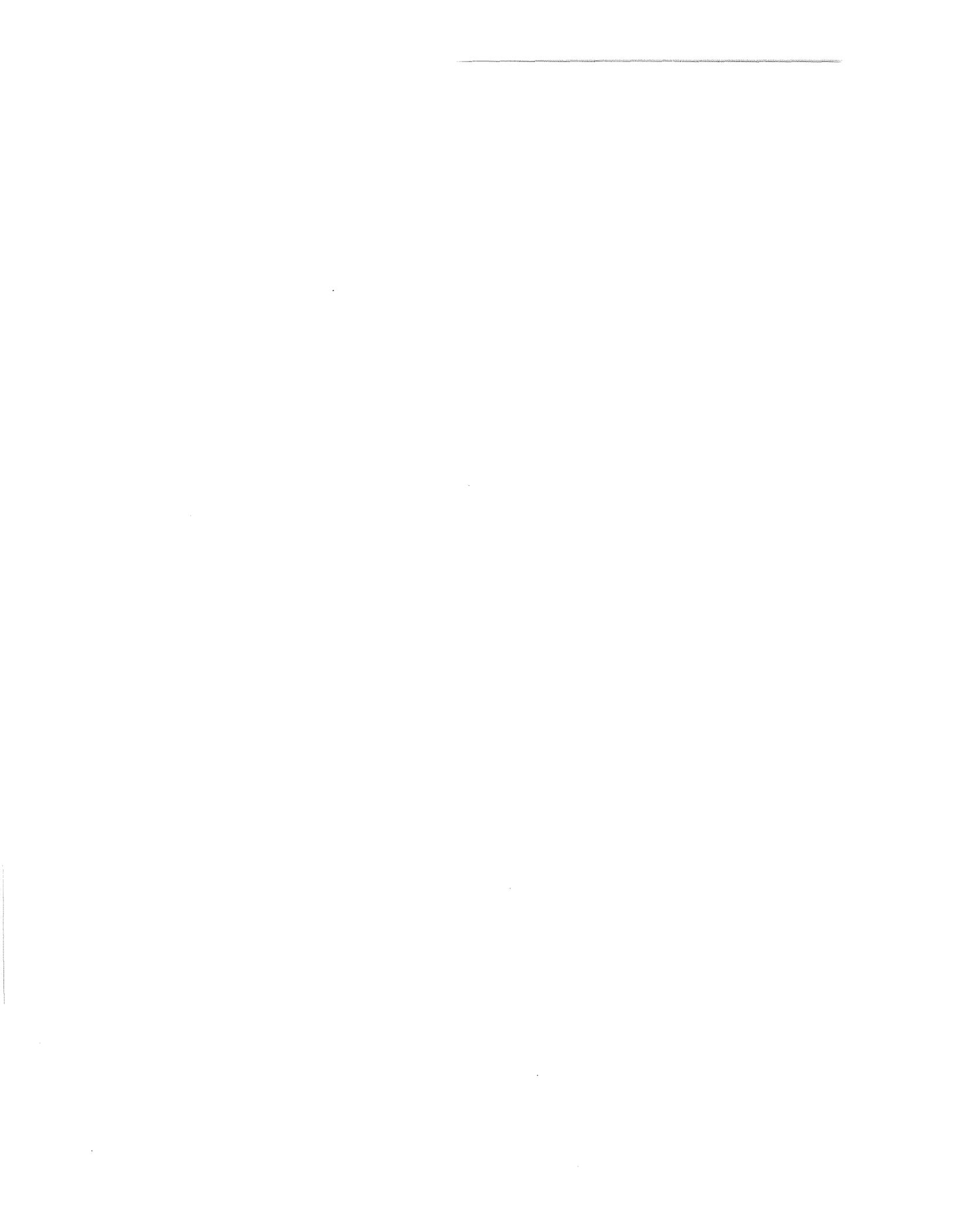
# EGYPTOLOGISCHE UITGAVEN

onder redactie van

J.F. BORGHOUTS, E. VAN DONZEL, M.S.H.G. HEERMA VAN VOSS en H. TE VELDE  
in samenwerking met de Vakgroep Egyptologie van de Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden

I

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Editors

R.J. DEMARÉE

and

JAC. J. JANSSEN



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TE LEIDEN  
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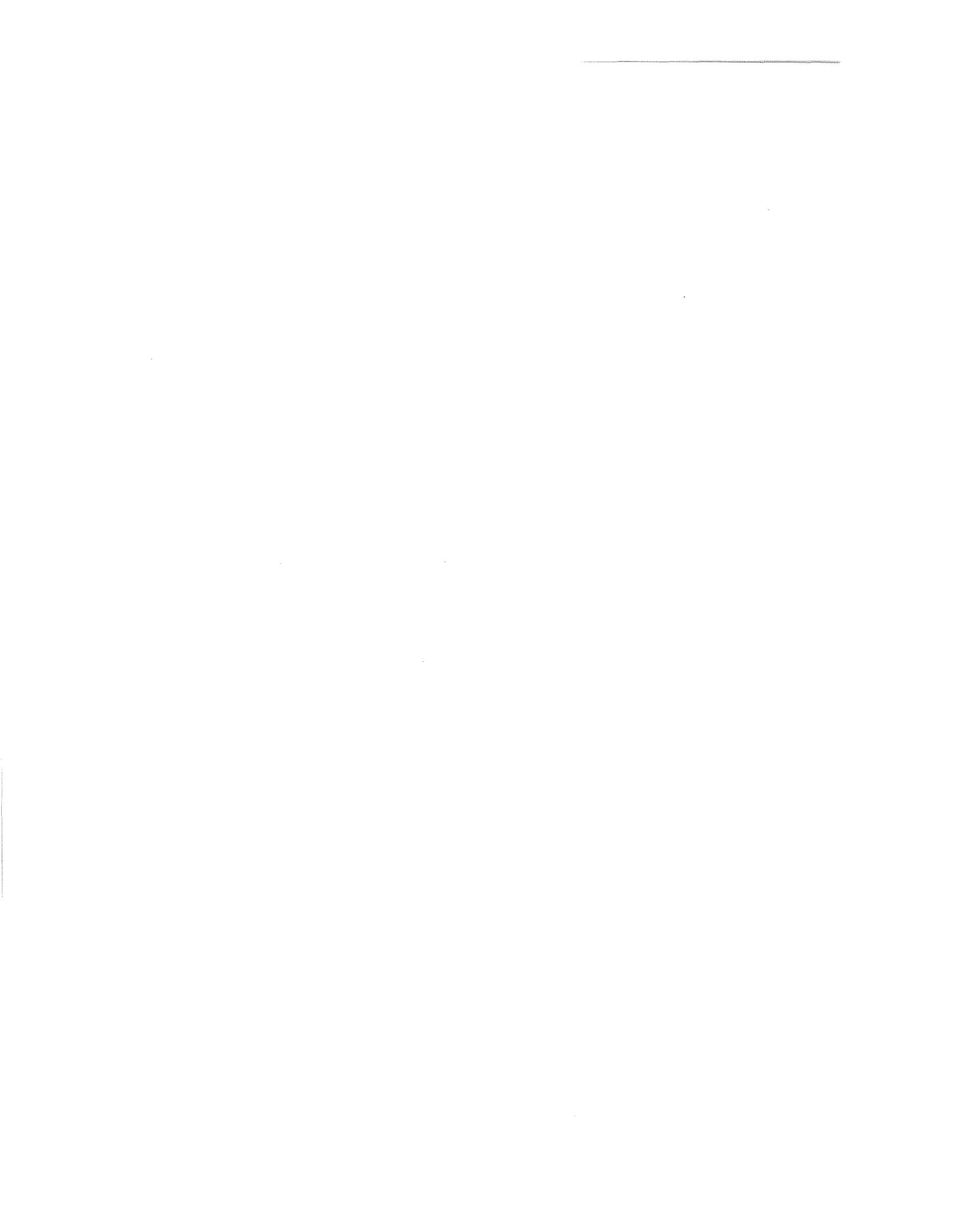
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*Dedicated to  
Prof. dr. A. Klasens*



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## PREFACE

The papers in the present volume are, to some extent, the product of a bi-weekly seminar held during the last ten years in the Egyptological Institute of Leiden University. Every fortnight during term, on Wednesday afternoons, a group of Egyptologists, university teachers, graduates and advanced students, used to meet in order to study texts from Deir el-Medīna. Among those who for some time have taken part in the discussions we mention here our late friend Michel Muszynski, by whose active participation we have been stimulated and enriched.

Almost every single ostrakon or papyrus that is quoted in these papers has once been the subject of our discussions. As a result, the merging of ideas has been so effective that in many instances we are no longer certain who first has brought them forward. Hence, we have in general refrained from quoting each other. Of course, each author remains responsible for his own product.

To every Egyptologist it is obvious that studies on Deir el-Medīna and the texts from the community of necropolis workmen would hardly have been possible without the life-long work of Professor Jaroslav Černý. The notes in several of our papers demonstrate that we have had the benefit not only of his published books and articles, but also of the wealth of information stored away in his notebooks. For the permission to make ample use of this unpublished material we are grateful to the Trustees of the Griffith Institute, Oxford, and especially to Miss Helen Murray, who was always willing to help us in every respect.

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X

We wish to thank Miss Janine Bourriau and the Trustees of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, for the permission to publish on the cover the fine picture of one of the workmen as it occurs on O. EGA. 4324.1943.

Our sincere thanks go to Mrs. R.L. Robson-McKillop for the care with which she has corrected our English.

The gratitude we owe to Miss Gloria Kouwenberg for skilfully performing the difficult and laborious task of typing out our manuscripts in the present form cannot be adequately expressed.

It is an honour and a pleasure to dedicate this volume to Professor Adolf Klasens, who in some way or other has been the teacher of each of us.

The Editors

AN APPROXIMATIVE CHRONOLOGY\*

1321	- 1293	Haremheb	
1293	- 1291	Ramesses I	
1291	- 1279	Sety I	
1279	- 1212	Ramesses II	(accession date III-3 $\dot{h}t$ -5/11 ?)
1212	- 1202**	Merenptah	(acc. date I-3 $\dot{h}t$ -19)
1202	- 1199**	Amenmesse <sup>1</sup>	(acc. date III- $\dot{s}mw$ -18 ?)
1199	- 1193	Sety II	(acc. date I/III- $\dot{p}rt$ )
1193	- 1187	Siptah	(acc. date IV-3 $\dot{h}t$ -28)
1193	- 1185**	Tausret <sup>2</sup>	
1185	- 1185/4	<i>interregnum</i> <sup>3</sup>	
1185/4	- 1182**	Setnakht	(theoretical acc. date II- $\dot{s}mw$ -10)
1182	- 1151	Ramesses III	(acc. date I- $\dot{s}mw$ -26)
1151	- 1145	Ramesses IV	(acc. date III- $\dot{s}mw$ -15)
1145	- 1141	Ramesses V	(acc. date III-3 $\dot{h}t$ -11/17) [see p. 178 below]
1141	- 1133	Ramesses VI	(acc. date I- $\dot{p}rt$ -18 / II- $\dot{p}rt$ -11) <sup>4</sup>
1133	- 1127**	Ramesses VII <sup>5</sup>	(acc. date IV- $\dot{p}rt$ )
1127	- 1126**	Ramesses VIII <sup>5</sup>	
1126	- 1108	Ramesses IX	(acc. date I-3 $\dot{h}t$ -18/23)
1108	- 1098	Ramesses X	(acc. date I- $\dot{p}rt$ -17/27)
1098	- 1070**	Ramesses XI	(acc. date III- $\dot{s}mw$ -20)

year 19 = year 1  $\dot{w}hm$ - $\dot{m}swt$

\* Wente - Van Siclen, *A Chronology of the New Kingdom* (Studies Hughes) [1976] 217-261.

\*\* Reigns which can be increased by one year (loc. cit., 246-247).

NOTES

1 If the reign of Amenmesse coincided with a part of the reign of Sety II (so Krauss, *SAK* 4 [1976], 161-199 and

- 5 [1977], 131-174, but see Osing, *SAK* [1979], 271), then the years assigned to his reign in the list above result in being unaccounted for and must be distributed over the reigns of other pharaohs (marked\*\*).
- 2 The reign of Tausert was, in dating, considered to be the continuation of the reign of Siptah, and thus year 7 of Tausret immediately follows on year 6 of Siptah.
- 3 The interregnum is not attested to by dates in documents. Wentz and Van Siclen (*loc. cit.*) do not explain how they imagine that the Egyptians dated their documents during this interregnum. It may be suggested that they continued dating to regnal years of Tausret, or, more likely, that they started anew, dating to a "year 1" which was later incorporated into the reign of Setnakht. In both cases there is no gap, between the last regnal year of Tausret and the first one (of Setnakht), in the datings of documents, and the short period assigned, in the list above, to the interregnum must then belong to the reign of one of the other pharaohs (marked\*\*).
- 4 Janssen, *Gött. Misz.* 29 [1978], 46.
- 5 This is the "Kitchen sequence" (Wentz - Van Siclen, *loc. cit.*, 218 and 245); the "Von Beckerath sequence" (*loc. cit.*, 218 and 243-244) interchanges the order of Ramesses VII for Ramesses VIII).

TABLE  
The Julian equivalents of the Egyptian months  
(1301/1300 - 1051/1050 B.C.)

	1301/1300	1251/1250	1201/1200	1151/1150	1101/1100	1051/1050
I- $\overline{3}h\overline{t}$ -1	14 July	2 July	19 June	7 June	25 May	13 May
II	13 Aug.	1 Aug.	19 July	7 July	24 June	12 June
III	12 Sept.	31 Aug.	18 Aug.	6 Aug.	24 July	12 July
IV	12 Oct.	30 Sept.	17 Sept.	5 Sept.	23 Aug.	11 Aug.
I- $\overline{prt}$ -1	11 Nov.	30 Oct.	17 Oct.	5 Oct.	22 Sept.	10 Sept.
II	11 Dec.	29 Nov.	16 Nov.	4 Nov.	22 Oct.	10 Oct.
III	10 Jan.	29 Dec.	16 Dec.	4 Dec.	21 Nov.	9 Nov.
IV	9 Feb.	29 Jan.	15 Jan.	3 Jan.	21 Dec.	9 Dec.
I- $\overline{smw}$ -1	11 Mar.	27 Feb.	14 Feb.	2 Feb.	20 Jan.	8 Jan.
II	10 Apr.	29 Mar.	16 Mar.	4 Mar.	19 Feb.	7 Feb.
III	10 May	28 Apr.	15 Apr.	3 Apr.	21 Mar.	9 Mar.
IV	9 June	28 May	15 May	3 May	20 Apr.	8 Apr.
first epagomenal day	9 July	27 June	14 June	2 June	20 May	8 May

In this period of the Egyptian history the regnal years did not begin on New-Year's day (I- $\overline{3}h\overline{t}$ -1) but on the actual day of the accession to the throne of each pharaoh.



DIVINE INTERVENTION IN ANCIENT EGYPT  
AND ITS MANIFESTATION (*b3w*)

J.F. Borghouts

§ 1 introductory § 2 *b3w ntr hpr (w)*: four village cases  
§ 3 related cases § 4 its causation: the Egyptian inter-  
pretation problem § 5 *b3w ntr hpr(w)*: a case from the royal  
sphere § 6 arousing of *b3w*: the sorcery aspect § 7 oracu-  
lar consultation on *b3w* § 8 the 'wise woman' (*t3 rh.t*)  
documents § 9 *b3w* as a psychic and somatic affliction  
§ 10 *b3w*-possessed persons § 11 the notion of *b3w* § 12  
final remarks

§ 1 In a number of passages in varying texts of the New Kingdom the 'abstract' notion *b3w* mostly conjures up dread and terror and only rarely evokes praise. We do not intend to deal with the plural of the concrete and individualistic notion *b3* in this paper, that is, *b3.w* (as it occurs in, for instance, *b3.w 'Iwnw* 'the *ba*-spirits of On'). We do wish, however, to discuss instances of what we consider to be a collective noun *b3w*, perhaps formed from the verb *b3* 'to become manifest'<sup>1</sup>. Apart from certain graphic peculiarities enabling one to distinguish between *b3.w* 'bas' (plural) and *b3w* 'ba-hood' (collective), the latter can be associated with a singular prepositive determiner (e.g., *p3 b3w*)<sup>2</sup>, whereas the former cannot. Yet such characteristics are external and do not constitute waterproof criteria to determine the inner form of the word inflected in this manner. In consistently making a distinction between *bas* and *ba-hood*, we wish to point to an important difference in underlying meaning. We shall do so by differentiating between *b3.w* and *b3w* in transcription although ultimately this might turn out to be artificial<sup>3</sup>.  
Indeed, for making a distinction on semantic grounds there

are sufficient reasons. Anticipating the situational varieties we propose to analyze, it may be said that *b3w* especially denotes all possible forms and manners by which some transcendental being by nature (such as a god or a dead person<sup>4</sup>) or by role (like the king) can be imagined to make itself felt to the living by means of a certain event, not just by a characteristic, lasting, embodiment. Thus, while the crocodile - as a species - may be called the *b3* of the god Sobk, its particular and especially unexpected appearing at a given moment is counted as the *b3w* of some god<sup>5</sup>. At this point *b3w* emerges as an almost independent notion, with little functional relationship to *b3* (or to other singularly conceived notions like *k3*, *3h*, *s<sup>c</sup>h* and the like). One might say that the non-singular and non-plural is synonymous with non-specificity. However, it is almost impossible to render this distinction in translation. Both the non-plural and the collective signify 'manifestation'. This will indeed suffice for *b3w* in all cases coming into consideration although 'influence' would be an adequate rendering of its effect, an aspect that in its turn would hardly apply to the singular *b3*. Indeed further semantic specification (for instance: '[a *manifestation* which shows a perceptible *influence* such as] scorn, wrath, power' and so on; several of these latter have been proposed in the past) may very well fit a given context. However, such colouring distorts the intrinsically neutral basic meaning of this noun formation<sup>6</sup>. Although such specific translations have been understandably acclaimed by egyptologists as distinct gains, they may just as well obscure the concrete proper setting of a term. Since the present paper is an attempt to reconstruct this, we prefer to dispose of the easier (but actually more opaque) renderings and shall consistently support the somewhat unwieldy translation 'manifestation'. One reason is, that soon it appears that the term *b3w* nowhere reveals anything precise about its implications, colourful though the situation may be where it occurs. And secondly, although we shall sometimes be able to trace its causation, an occurrence of *b3w* seems to represent only an incidental aspect of the complete sphere of the divinity in question<sup>7</sup>.

These few preliminary remarks should make it clear that *b3w* is, roughly speaking, not only a two-sided concept ('dread'

opposed to 'praise') but that we are also left uncertain about its proper nature. This problem is not one of terminology, nor is its conceptual nature problematical for us alone. It will be seen that the Egyptians themselves often openly doubted about the underlying forces of *b3w*. In other words, we had better treat it as a covering term.

The purpose, then, is firstly to investigate situational cases mainly occurring in non-religious documents from the Deir el-Medīna community so as to see how the notion of *b3w* is depicted in its working upon the living<sup>8</sup>. Such instances are rare but once the notion of its implications for everyday reality is grasped, the scope can be widened so as to draw in more sophisticated statements from Instruction ('Wisdom') literature. These likewise throw a certain light on everyday life but their outlook is not specifically restricted to the village under discussion. Then, as a third step, the large number of seemingly very trivial passages in Ramesside propagandistic literature centering on the well-worn theme of the king getting the better of his enemies may be broached. Often these are said to have been overwhelmed by his *b3w*. Finally, this graduated approach through various levels (from unitary, average dependent society to → comments on its own norms to → upper-class society) may be concluded by a variety of other instances, many of them from the Late Period and reflecting theological thinking (→ divine society). Following one and the same religious concept with its different effects through various social layers, periods and places is a somewhat hazardous enterprise. One must take the chronological setting into account, but, more specially, one needs a means of functional verification. Ideally, this calls for a simple working model<sup>9</sup> which should also be able to do justice to the phenomenological side - if only to act as a bridge between the various isolated statements on *b3w*. We shall develop it after the first four concrete cases.

§ 2 As far as currently available sources go, a curious expression, *b3w* (*nṯr*) *ḥpr(w)*, 'a manifestation (of a god) has come about' appears in four everyday documents from Deir el-Medīna (three ostraca, one stela) and in one more from elsewhere (a literary text, recorded in two 'miscellany' papyri). Translations and comments will be limited to the

relevant passages.

(1) Ostr. Nash 1<sup>10</sup>, recto.

A case of theft was brought to the attention of the village court (*ḫnb.t*) by the workman *Nb-nfr*:

2/ '... as for 3/ me, <I> (once) buried a tool of mine in my house, after the hostilities. Then someone took it away, 4/ and I made everyone in the village swear themselves (guiltless) of my tool. However, later, 5/ many days (having come to pass), the citizeness *Nbw-m-nḥm* came to tell me: <<a manifestation of a god has come about (*b3w nṯr ḥprw*) 6/ - I have seen *Ḥry-ḫ3* while she took your tool away>>. So she said ...'

Evidently the woman *Nbw-m-nḥm* only felt like supplying this important piece of evidence, which she had thus far withheld, after a divine power had made itself known to her in a manner that is not specified. The court then turned its attention to *Ḥry-ḫ3* and after complicated proceedings her guilt was finally established. It is not said *how* the inhabitants of the village (among whom, of course, were *Nbw-m-nḥm* and *Ḥry-ḫ3*) had sworn themselves not-guilty with regard to the theft but *that* they did so is of considerable interest within the scope of this paper.

(2) Ostr. Gardiner 166<sup>11</sup>, recto.

1/ 'Statement of *Nḥt-mnw* to the court: 'as for me, I was sitting<sup>12</sup> in my 2/ chapel (*ḥnw*) (at the occasion of) the birth of Thoeris<sup>13</sup>. And *T3-nḥsy* took a cake away from me. However, 3/ ten days later she came to tell me: <<a manifestation has come about (*b3w ḥprw*)>>' ...

Here the relevant incident seems to have ended although the text passes on to a further subject without break<sup>14</sup>. In *Nḥt-mnw*'s own, *post-eventum* account, *T3-nḥsy* is made out to be a thief, perhaps following her own confession. Thus, by taking backbearings<sup>15</sup>, we are actually made a witness to the whole incident by hindsight: *T3-nḥsy* steals a cake and afterwards, once 'a manifestation <of a god> has come about', she makes a confession. Perhaps the week's interval between theft

and admission is of some account too - does it span two week-ends? One cannot be sure. On week-end days the divine presence may have made itself felt stronger than on ordinary days, as there were often religious ceremonies to be attended (such as a procession). However, after all *Nḥt-mnw* decides to take the matter to court. Why? This seems a trivial affair which could easily have been kept private. Yet, even if he had not made it public before, publicity may now have served a definite purpose. For surely, by common sense reasoning, there is one more party to be reckoned with - the goddess Thoeris herself. The cake was almost certainly an offering, since this was her festival day. A public statement would, among others, have served to exonerate *Nḥt-mnw* as it would not have gone unnoticed on high.

(3) Ostr. Cairo CG 25572, recto<sup>16</sup>.

One *Ḥwy* was accused of being deeply in debt. Summoned before the court, he was given a thrashing. But immediately after this, *Ḥwy* swore an oath to the contrary (no particulars given) and declared himself to be free of debts<sup>17</sup>. However, a few days later,

'he came / to declare (evidently before another session of the court, B.): <<a manifestation of a god has come about>>' (b3w nṯr ḥprw, rt. 15-16).

Judging this statement in the same way as that in cases (1) and (3), we have the impression that it invalidates *Ḥwy*'s earlier declaration. The context - a list of goods of someone else, which at the time were 'with *Ḥwy*' - seems to suggest that he was indeed a liar. Ultimately *Ḥwy* only made a clean breast of things once a certain divine intervention had taken place.

(4) Stela from Deir el-Medīna, provisionally numbered '320'<sup>18</sup>. The sculptor *Ḳn*, the owner of Theban Tomb no. 4<sup>19</sup> and married to one *Nfrtīry*, expresses himself in a hymn to a number of gods as follows:

<sup>1</sup>/ 'Giving praise to the Light, kissing the earth before all the gods of heaven and earth. I will give praise <sup>2</sup>/ to <your> beautiful faces<sup>20</sup>, that I may propitiate your *kas*,

daily - by the sculptor in the Place of Truth,  $\dot{K}n$ , <sup>3/</sup> t.v. He says: <<I am a man who had said<sup>21</sup>: "as true as ...!" in a wrong manner to the lady of the house, <sup>4/</sup> *Nfrtiry*, t.v. A manifestation of a god has come about (*b3w ntr hprw*). <I (?)> say to the Li[ght, to ...], <sup>5/</sup> to the Moon, to Ptah, to Thoth, to Amun: "be merciful (*h̄tp*) to me ...">>'. .

The rest of the stela is too damaged to allow translation, but its general purport seems clear enough.  $\dot{K}n$  had sworn a false oath to, or about, his own wife. As a consequence of this, some divine power had intervened and left him begging for mercy. In another document from  $\dot{K}n$ 's life (a stela now in Bordeaux<sup>22</sup>) something similar is recorded. By making supplications to the goddess Meresger-Ernūtet and insisting, at the same time, that others comply with a certain ritual obligation on her festival day<sup>23</sup>, he implicitly admits having once failed himself to fulfill this pious duty<sup>24</sup>.

Other close parallels to  $\dot{K}n$ 's first-mentioned transgression are contained in two more stelae of private persons. Although not containing the particular expression under discussion they, nevertheless, do use the word *b3w*. Thus, in Turin N. 50044<sup>25</sup>, a certain  $\dot{H}wy$  declares:

'... I <sup>2/</sup> am the man who said <<as true as ...!>> in a wrong manner (*m Cḏ3*) to the Moon, on account of the <sup>3/</sup> scoop (*šdy.t*)<sup>26</sup>. And he showed me how great his power (*pḥty*) is, before the whole country<sup>27</sup>. - I will relate your manifestation (*b3w*) to the fishes of the River and to the birds in the <sup>6/</sup> air<sup>28</sup>. And so will they, to the children of their children: <sup>7/</sup> <<be careful with regard to <sup>8/</sup> the Moon, <sup>9/</sup> the <sup>10/</sup> merciful one who knew how to avert this!>>...'. .

The last word, 'this', possibly indicates the punishment meted out by the god who was wronged by  $\dot{H}wy$ 's oath, while *b3w*, 'manifestation' and *pḥty*, 'power', seem to reflect the way he was made to feel the god's heavy hand. This juxtaposition will be seen to occur elsewhere (p. 37). However, since 'this' was 'averted',  $\dot{H}wy$  was, in all likelihood, forgiven. This carries the incident one step further than our document (4). There,  $\dot{K}n$  is well aware of his fault (not the only one

of this kind in his life, one might add) and makes an appeal to several gods. He feels he has not yet been forgiven; would that mean that some punishment was already being felt or still hanging over him?

The other parallel is a well-known stela in the British Museum (Inv. no. 589)<sup>29</sup>, likewise from Deir el-Medīna. In a hymn to Ptah, *Nfr-<sup>c</sup>bw*, the owner, declares in a similar manner (rt., lines 2-5):

'... I am a man who swore (<sup>c</sup>*rḳ*) in a lying way (*m* <sup>c</sup>*d3*) to Ptah, the <sup>3/</sup> lord of Truth. He caused me to see darkness by day. I shall tell of his manifestation (*b3w*) to him who ignores <sup>4/</sup> it (and) to him who recognizes it<sup>30</sup>, to the little ones (and) to the great ones. Be careful with regard to Ptah, the lord of Truth - see, he does not set <sup>5/</sup> aside a fault of anybody. Refrain from (*hry=tn*) pronouncing the name of Ptah in a lying manner ...'

Then follows a warning to all people who might similarly abuse Ptah's name, in short, all others who might swear false oaths in the name of Ptah.

It is generally agreed that 'darkness by day' may sometimes indicate blindness - mostly only a temporary one - in such instances<sup>31</sup>. Thus, Brit. Mus. stela 589 illustrates a concrete form of punishment such as might have been expected when some god had been offended. This stela and the preceding one, Turin N. 50044, connect the punishment with the *b3w* of the offended god. That makes it not unlikely that something like this has been meant in the stela DeM 320 (our no. [4]) which shares the false-oath-plus-punishment theme with the two other records and where the *b3w* of a certain god is said to have come about.

§ 3 The events in documents (1)-(4) are outlined in an almost identical way. Firstly, there is an improper act: withholding testimony in spite of a previous oath to the contrary (so [1]), or a similar deceitful act (in [3]), or an unvarnished false oath (so [4]), or a theft (thus [2]). Secondly, there is a supernatural reaction, described as 'a

manifestation (of a god) has come about'. The two parallels to (4), Turin N. 50044 and Brit. Mus. 589, although not using this particular expression, still do record similar case histories. We are not told *how* the 'manifestation' took place. Feelings of guilt, evil dreams (cf. such a case as [11] further down) or other portents or, in the worst case, a sudden illness or an accident might have been at the root of the realisation that the *b3w* of a god has come into play - all this rests on an individual's intuition. Even though the term applies in a number of cases it does not, of course, render the specific form it took in each. Therefore we have called it a covering term (p. 3). Thirdly, the very fact that *b3w* had appeared was sufficiently important to be communicated to others - for often such a statement is the beginning of someone's account *that* he had taken certain steps. Whatever the reasons for the appearance of the *b3w* as far as stated by the individual, the move itself now adds dimensions which are socially relevant. And, finally, as a fourth stage, the 'manifestation' sometimes entails a confession of guilt on the part of the one to whom it occurred. This may even be coupled (cf. [4]) with a request to the divinity to be forgiven. Elsewhere ([1]-[3]), how the disturbed relations between an individual and certain supernatural powers were restored is not made explicit. Perhaps the very confession formed a kind of redress. Once the stages are infused with somewhat less individualistic testimonies, the model will have a slightly different outlook (p. 34). In the stela Brit. Mus. 589, a document we have cited above in support of (4), something of the two-edged implication of *b3w* is shown. Here the *b3w* of the punishing divinity is proclaimed in a situation where the subject still finds himself in dread of it; for the text of this stela makes it quite clear that it was meant as a prayer of reconciliation, as many others are. If Rudolf Otto's well-known distinction between the *fascinosum* and the *tremendum* is applied to *b3w* as a religious category (a matter to which we shall return on p. 10), the scales are obviously turned in favour of the latter aspect. The semantic environment of *b3w* (see pp. 32, 37 and 38) will confirm this impression. In Ramesside hymns *b3w* is rather 'recorded' or 'proclaimed' (*sqd*) than 'praised' even though the occasion is less obviously ominous than in

the instances presented so far.

Nowhere is it stated whose *b3w* is involved. However, there is no problem in identifying the goddess Thoeris as the offended divine party in (2) and, consequently, in regarding her as the instigator of the *b3w*. It is overtly mentioned among that of other divinities in another source ([15]). In the Turin stela N. 50044, one of the two immediate parallels to (4), the god who is implied in the oath - the Moon - is also the one from whom the punishment derives. This punitive role which runs parallel to the proclaiming of the god's *b3w*, supplies the link with (1) and (3), cases, where, properly speaking, a similar abuse of an oath has been perpetrated. But how is the god who has been offended in those instances to be identified? Most New Kingdom oaths<sup>32</sup> in the Theban area were sworn in the names of Amun and the ruling king. They are obvious guarantors of the fulfillment of the promise just as elsewhere the *b3w* of a locally important god could be evoked against any person who did not keep himself to the stipulations of a decree<sup>33</sup>. Oaths of this kind are pronounced on several other occasions in the sequel to the narration in (1). There, and more often elsewhere, Pharaoh's *b3w* is even called 'worse' or 'greater' than death<sup>34</sup>. As a logical corollary to this, abuse of his name was held to be a form of *lêse-majesté*<sup>35</sup>. Thus even the wrath of Pharaoh might have been alluded to when the idiomatic expression *b3w ntr ḥpr(w)* is used. Yet Amun is a likely other candidate. There are, for instance, repeated allusions to his *b3w* in a prayer in Ostr. Abd el Gurneh 12202<sup>36</sup>, obviously in a non-oath context: '... Amun-rē<sup>C</sup> whose *b3w* is great, / my merciful lord! You made me see day as night; (but) you have lightened my eyes, oh Amun-rē<sup>C</sup>. / You are a beloved one. You are the one who rescinds from his *b3w* / [...]' (lines 1-4), containing another clear hint at the blindness caused by the god who, at a given moment, refrained from prolonging this his 'manifestation'.

Returning now with this in mind to the perjury in (1), one might even find yet another affronted party on the divine side than the guarantors of the oath. For, in this text, the theft of the tool is called an 'abomination of this village'<sup>37</sup> and that could even have involved Amenophis the Deified, the patron of the workers' village.

All the same, it is doubtful whether the document can support such detailed inferences being drawn from it on the identity of 'the' god involved. Documents like these all but testify to 'monotheism' - rather to the contrary, as will appear from the following. In this way our quest for 'the' god meant in the expression *b3w ntr hpr(w)* is not unlike the one for the identity of the 'anonymous' god in the so-called Wisdom literature. There is a fair chance, then, that one answer which is often proposed there, might equally well apply here: in each case the relevant god on that occasion may have been meant<sup>38</sup>. This means that, for us, (3) provides no precise clue while in (4) too many come into consideration. For here there are a whole host of divinities being invoked - even though the oath-breaker would hardly have implied more than one in his actual statement. What is left to us as a tangible fact, then, is that the common grounds for the mention of *b3w* in all these cases is the consciousness that some offence has been committed and that retaliation is at hand. The reasons for the relevance of some 'anonymous' god appear to be varying; our examples are too few and too little communicative to see whether there was also a *personal* relationship with the offended god.

It is a known fact that many stelae of this kind of 'popular religion' are, overtly or not, testimonies of some fault committed against a god. Thus the few we have been quoting above may belong to a genre which serves especially to commemorate such encounters with the divine (with a punishment in the background), even though the crucial term *b3w* is not used at each occasion recorded. One wonders, then, how these intermittent and special theophanies fit in with current theories on the Egyptian concept of divine revelation, as proposed by S. Morenz, E. Hornung and various others<sup>39</sup>. These are mostly illustrated from expedition record, royal visions and netherworld scenery. However, our instances are taken from everyday life and a growing quantity of other such appearances of *b3w* will occur in various situations in the following. Perhaps, then, it is in ordinary life that certain characteristics of an *Offenbarungsreligion* can be found, more so than is generally assumed for Ancient Egypt.

§ 4 The agency behind *b3w* is elusive. One feels oneself

visited or even punished by it yet at the same time one is baffled. What divine force is at work and how does one reconcile it? In short, the identity of the one responsible for the causation of *b3w* emerges as a problem.

The interpretative problem as such finds a most illuminating illustration in oracular questions on the subject to be cited later on ([12]-[14]) but it is also remarkably clearly reflected in a passage in the Instruction of Amenemope. This recapitulates all of the stages we have been interfering from our four everyday documents:

(5) Instruction of Amenemope, 8,9-12.

8,9/ Take care not to violate the borders of a plot 8,10/ so that terror (*hry.t*) may not bear you away (*ini*). 8,11/ One reconciles the god as<sup>40</sup> the *b3w* of the lord 8,12/ who determines the borders of a plot'.

'Terror' (*hry.t*) would seem to render the psychic impression caused by *b3w*, a correspondence confirmed by a terminological survey to be presented later (p. 37). The one whose clemency should be invoked ('reconcile') is 'the lord', that is, the god who in a given case may be considered the patron of land surveying - Thoth, Khnum, or Amun-rē<sup>c</sup>. Clemency was also prayed for in (3), and we shall see in a document to be cited later on (10) that by reconciliation (*shtp*), *b3w* can be pacified. Thus, by retrospective construction, the course of events implied in this passage, re-arranged in accordance with the model of § 3, is as follows: (1) an earthly crime which has a corresponding aspect offensive to the authority of a certain divinity comes up for discussion; (2) that divinity takes revenge, first felt by the subject as a 'terror', next interpreted as the result of (3) *b3w*, deriving from a god, who, once he was brought home, (4) consequently should be reconciled.

Also elsewhere Amenemope depicts the fate of the one who commits a fraud with a plot of land, swears a false oath on the subject and is subsequently 'visited' by the 'manifestation' (*b3w*) of the tutelary god. In the following statement the responsible 'lord' of (5) now appears as the Moon, that is, Thoth:

(6) Instruction of Amenemope, 7,16-19.  
 7,16/ 'A ploughing furrow worn down by time<sup>41</sup> - 7,17/ the one  
 who suppresses it in the field: 7,18/ when he is caught in  
 (swearing) false oaths, 7,19/ he will be lassoed by a  
 manifestation (*b3w*) of the Moon!<sup>42</sup>'

In another place the product of the land itself is involved:

(7) Instruction of Amenemope, 19,6-9.  
 19,6/ 'Do not act in league with the measurer 19,7/ and thus  
 infringe the (sowing) order of the Residence<sup>43</sup>. 19,8/ The  
 manifestation (*b3w*) of the floor for threshing barley is  
 greater (<sup>c3</sup>) 19,9/ than oaths by the great throne!'

In other words: oaths sworn by whatever authority (here: Pharaoh himself) will be of no avail if one has trespassed against that of the god who is responsible for the correct amount of grain to be threshed and, consequently, to be delivered. To give concrete form to the numinous power *behind* the *b3w* of the threshing-floor, the area which in this case was brought into the divine sphere, we may bear corn gods like Nepri or Ernütet in mind. The latter, especially, is often represented in the vicinity of threshing activities, either while the work of which she is the patron is still in progress or has been completed<sup>44</sup>.

§ 5 We have preferred to make the advisory passages from the Amenemope Instruction ([5]-[7]) 'explain' the everyday cases ([1]-[4]). From both, a picture emerges of a relatively closed, small-scale community of which the inner social life has few points of contact with the commitments of high officials or the king. One more instance of the expression *b3w ntr hpr(w)* which precisely concerns such high circles can be added. This raises the question whether the functional model set up for (1)-(4), and duly illustrated by (5)-(7), will also apply here.

In an encomium on the Delta capital, actually highlighting the victorious deeds of king Ramesses II, an anecdote, which elaborates the sorry fate of the Hittite country at the time is inserted *ad majorem regis gloriam*:

(8) Pap. Anastasi II, 2,1-5 (= IV, 6,7-10).  
2,1/ '... the country has descended to its (rightful) place. The great chief of Khatti writes to 2,2/ the chief of Kedi: 'get yourself ready (and) let us hasten to Egypt, that we may say: <<the manifestation of a god has come about (*b3w ntr hprw*)!>>. Let us 2,3/ flatter UsimarēC- he will give breath to the one he likes'<sup>45</sup>. - Every country has entered his loving care; only<sup>46</sup> Khatti 2,4/ is in his manifestation (*m b3w=f*). The god does not accept his oblations; it does not see the water of heaven, it being in the manifestation (*m b3w*) of UsimarēC, 2,5/ the bull that loves strength'.

That the reluctant god here is Seth of the Asiatics (i.e., Teshub) who, as a storm god, withholds rain from the Hittite country and refuses to be appeased, has been made very probable by Ch. Kuentz who (as early as 1925) adduced the present passage in his treatment of the so-called Hittite Marriage stelae<sup>47</sup>. This official document adds a few significant details that go unmentioned in the encomium but do contribute to the meaning of the expression under discussion, apart from confirming that the miscellany piece indeed represents the view of a court scribe. In a typically propagandistic spirit it is reported at length that, although all lands had been allotted to the king of Egypt by his divine father Seth, that of Khatti was notably absent in publicly acknowledging this<sup>48</sup>. Seth was angered by the refusal on the part of the Hittite king to bow to his decision. An army was sent by Pharaoh and a victorious battle was fought<sup>49</sup>. This established his name in the country, which, owing to Pharaoh's curse over it was brought into his *b3w*. Long years of natural calamities followed in the Hittite country as a result of this, as well as enmity on the part of the surrounding countries<sup>50</sup>. In a case like this a translation 'power' for *b3w* would disguise the fact that not so much domination is meant as the various ways in which it was experienced. To render all these, the non-specificity which appears to be a characteristic of *b3w* (in contrast to *b3.w*) may have been a suitable means. In order to remedy this sad state of affairs, its causes allegedly having been conceded by the Hittite monarch himself, he attempted to reconcile Pharaoh, but Pharaoh would never listen<sup>51</sup>. In the end, he sent his daughter

in marriage to the Egyptian king, accompanied by much tribute. Pharaoh, on hearing what form Seth had given to his *b3w* in the Hittite country, now asked him to stop the climatological calamity<sup>52</sup>. The battle as such and the marriage are, of course, historical truth; the latter even survived as a literary theme in later times in the so-called Bentresh stela. It is doubtful whether the Hittite king ever arrived for this occasion in Egypt, as the miscellany text has it<sup>53</sup>; but at least one may well wonder whether the main cause of the 'conversion' of the Hittite king which fitted the scheme of events as seen by the Egyptian chronicler, the drought that ravaged the country, was not likewise inspired by historical fact, if only by remote analogy. One is reminded of the Plague Prayers of king Mursilis II where the causation of the plague is overtly connected with the Hittite relationship with Egypt<sup>54</sup>. On the other hand, the Egyptian mention of a rainless period, foreboding a drought, might as well directly correspond to the regular complaints about famines in Hittite sources proper<sup>55</sup>. Whatever the background, on the ideological level Pharaoh un-did his *b3w* once the claim of imperial superiority had been satisfied here. After this exercise in ideological reconstruction, it appears that the facts in our source (8), collated with related information and re-arranged in chronological sequence, yield a structurally comparable pattern to (1)-(4) and (5), the latter being itself in retrospect. When the Hittite monarch refused to subject himself to Egypt, he violated a divine ordinance. Amongst other calamities, a drought occurred (stage 1). It was then realized that this was a form of divine intervention (formulated as *b3w n̄r ḥprw* - stage 2) and, since Seth failed to listen to the Hittite attempts at reconciliation (stage 3), Seth's earthly son was approached - Pharaoh of Egypt. That final step was taken overtly - another king was invited to share the submission proceedings (stage 4). It is further important to notice that one person - here Pharaoh - could move a god (here Seth) against his enemies. None of this is apparent in (1)-(4). Charged with ideology though these documents are, their line of thought is essentially the same as in those from the private sphere. However, in supplying the latter detail they foreshadow a practice we encounter in a few other documents, again from private life. For there,

certain statements illustrate how *b3w* was thought to be manipulated.

§ 6 To begin with, in a few other sources from Deir el-Medīna the god, the workings of whose *b3w* are feared, is definitely mentioned. Thus, e.g.

(9) Ostr. Deir el-Medīna 251<sup>56</sup>.  
<sup>1/</sup> 'Please make me a *wr.t*, <sup>2/</sup> for the one you have made for me has been taken <sup>3/</sup> by theft<sup>57</sup>. So it/she may work<sup>58</sup> a manifestation (*hr iry=s b3w*) <sup>4/</sup> of Seth against me'.

It is not certain whether the *wr.t* itself 'works' *b3w*<sup>59</sup> (it looks probable) or whether an unspecified 'she' (a human being would be less likely, as will appear in due course) is meant. Nor is it known what a *wr.t* is, although it is likely that some object is concerned. If it represented a divinity, that might be the one meant by =*s* in *hr-iry=s*.

The later Oracular Amuletic Papyri bristle with various *wr.t*'s (without article, just as in our text) which, as female or male beings, inhabited the earth, the underworld, pools, wells, mounds and so on and who sometimes represent close, obviously deceased, relatives (father, mother, etc.) against whose meddlings one wished to be safeguarded. In view of the unmistakably harmful connotation of the word in the passage under discussion it has already been connected with that class of supernatural beings by I. Edwards<sup>60</sup>. This is, of course, a possibility. The word simply means 'great one' and as a term to denote an awe-inspiring being it was not new to the New Kingdom at all<sup>61</sup>. Although the Oracular Amuletic Decrees illustrate the fear of the nefarious working of these supernatural agencies, such an aspect need not, perhaps, be inherent in them<sup>62</sup>. Leaving this open, the fact that the *wr.t* is often connected with a (deceased) relative may provide the link with another, isolated instance which is roughly contemporary with this letter. On a stone libation basin of *Nht-mnw*<sup>63</sup> from Deir el-Medīna, now in the Turin Museum (N. 22031), a *wr.t* (without article, and written

 ) *n Pnbwy*, 'w. of *Pnbwy*' is invoked in an offering formula parallel to that of Isis. *Pnbwy* was perhaps an ancestor of *Nht-mnw* and we could well consider *wr.t* as the

very word of the oracular decrees, as L. Habachi has proposed - in this case evidently without ominous overtones. Yet this is precisely what makes it exceptional. Actually, the main point in favour of Habachi's hypothesis is graphic. The (not quite clear) determinative of the word<sup>64</sup> could well indicate a deceased person. Otherwise, it might just be another instance of the pattern 'god X of (the human person) Y', that is, it would testify to some cult set up for X by Y<sup>65</sup>.

Even if Habachi is right, it would not help much in identifying the *wr.t* of our letter where *no* further name or term is appended to it, as happens to be with the certified instances of the word as 'demon/relative'. Nor does it contribute towards placing it as an object - and yet, as no further details have been supplied to the receiver of the letter, this word must have carried its own identification as an artefact-to-be. Also, the Turin context does not make the connection with the *b3w* of Seth very obvious - unless in the more general way as I. Edwards has taken it to bear. As we think a connection with an 'ancestor/demon' in our letter somewhat hazardous for the present, we wish to look for an alternative explanation which fits such basic requirements better (lexical meaning, identification of the object fashioned and link with the *b3w* of Seth).

Thus we propose to think of 'a <statue [or amulet, or similar] of *T3*->*wr.t*', that is, '... of (the goddess) <Tho>-eris'. Two new difficulties present themselves instantly: (a) there is no such term for 'statue' or a similar object here (yet we would expect a concrete term like, for instance *twt*, or rather *rpy.t*) and (b) although the spelling of the word in question fits that of the name of the goddess quite well, the absence of the definite article is not a little embarrassing.

As far as (a) is concerned, it may be remarked that reference to a divine being and not to its statue when the context clearly demands the latter, is unexpected but not without parallels. Thus the statue of Amun-of-the-Road which accompanied the Egyptian envoy Wenamun in his travels in the Levant is not indicated by any such special term<sup>66</sup>. Or, to take another example: in a divinatory manual to be cited more extensively later on (p. 29) it is said, as a direct

parallel to our passage: 'make yourself (*iri n=k*) a Thoth of moringa-wood'; we would expect some term for 'image, statue' or the like before the god's name, and this does indeed appear in another passage in the text as 'make for him the image (*sḏd*) of Osiris'<sup>67</sup>. Or, in a scorpion charm, a spell should be said over 'Sakhmet, Bastet, Osiris and Nehebkau, drawn in myrrh on a linen bandage'<sup>68</sup> whereas otherwise a term like 'image' (*twt, rpy.t*) customarily precedes the name of such-and-such a god or goddess<sup>69</sup>. As in all instances a verb denoting technical execution (like 'to draw') precedes, there is not the slightest ambiguity. Thus, in the letter under discussion, the term 'make' in the same manner as 'to draw' makes up for the lack of a word for the intended result - 'statue' or something like it. Finally, in a frequently occurring protective spell of the Late Period, it is said that Osiris crosses over the water, 'the great one (*wr.t*) being in his grasp, the one that bore the gods'<sup>70</sup>. Here the word *wr.t* points rather to Nut than to Thoeris (while in this linguistic idiom one would hardly expect an article), but it is noteworthy that the word on the one hand refers to a divinity and on the other hand, quite concretely, denotes a portable object, possibly an amulet. In short, if all these passages share the lack of a grammatically superordinate noun (with the features '+ material, + form') which has, instead, been semantically incorporated into a proper name or its equivalent, they merely illustrate metonymy<sup>71</sup>.

As regards (b), matters are more simple here. An indefinite article *w<sup>c</sup>* is syntactically and semantically indispensable and when it is coalesced with the definite article *t3-* the latter is deleted for reasons of sheer semantic incompatibility<sup>72</sup>. That this discarding of *t3* can take place is because it is not a truly obligatory component in the name of the goddess<sup>73</sup>, although the formation *T3-wr.t* (Thoeris) is by far the best attested. The interchangeability of *R<sup>c</sup>* and *P3-r<sup>c</sup>* in the New Kingdom is not unlike it though from a statistical viewpoint our case does not stand comparison. The object would had to have been in close personal - perhaps even bodily - contact with its former owner. One can imagine that, just as body exuviae or foot-prints can be set to work against someone in aggressive magic<sup>74</sup>, such an object

might turn the *b3w* of a certain god against its owner on the same principle when duly manipulated (an example will be adduced further on). Reciting a spell for this purpose is a possibility that comes readily to mind or else - a more speculative solution - formulae on it, including the owner's name, might be perverted. It transpires from the text that the owner clearly believed that the theft was committed for some such purpose. One would be curious to know whom he suspected and where it was stolen from - from his house or from the Thoeris sanctuary at Deir el-Medīna?<sup>75</sup> The question gains somewhat in importance in the light of one possible interpretation of (10) further on.

Proceeding on the assumption that Thoeris is meant, the goddess was feared as being ready to persuade Seth to use his *b3w* against the rightful owner of her statue. Apart from this particular choice ascribed to her (to be discussed as a next point), the role of the goddess on many times was ambiguous enough to fit such a premise quite well. She had demons under her command<sup>76</sup> and, being able to send death for life<sup>77</sup>, she could afford protection to those who beseeched her<sup>78</sup>. Or else she could do exactly the reverse - but, so far, the negative aspect of Thoeris' character is not very obvious in the documentation from this particular village<sup>79</sup> where she is otherwise well attested<sup>80</sup>. In this respect our passage, granted that the proposed interpretation holds good, is unique.

The *b3w* of Thoeris herself will be met in a document to be cited later on (15) while it was probably already alluded to in (2). If the goddess is now seen to activate the *b3w* of Seth, this is likely to indicate a certain connection between the two. There is ample evidence for this from other sources. Plutarch records that she was Seth's concubine (*pallakis*) but that she had deserted him for the other side at a certain stage during the conflict with Horus<sup>81</sup>. Marital infidelity is not a rare theme among the Egyptian gods<sup>82</sup>. Seth and Thoeris both have, moreover, an interest in birth, although generally at cross-purposes: whereas Thoeris protects pregnancy and birth, Seth endangers it<sup>83</sup>. Unless she has been ambiguously associated to it; which would rather put her on a par with Seth. For sometimes Nut, with whom Thoeris is often identified, represented as a sow, is said

to have eaten her litter<sup>84</sup>. This is, of course, a variant of the theme of the goddess of heaven into whose mouth the sun god disappears in order to be born anew in the morning. However, Thoeris may be represented with a sow head too<sup>85</sup> and is regularly called 'the sow'<sup>86</sup>.

Negative or positive, Thoeris and Seth can simultaneously be projected onto one conceptual level. However, a specific relationship between the two is rarely encountered elsewhere in the available documentation on this village. There is another instance on a stela of *Nfr-rnp.t* in Turin (N. 50057)<sup>87</sup>, although the nature of the connection is not clear. Behind Thoeris (upright, as usual) two small hippopotami which share the superscription 'Seth, the good god, / the son of Nut' are shown on all four legs. Are these two their common brood? Seth's son, the crocodile Maga<sup>88</sup>, at least shares certain crocodile-like characteristics with Thoeris<sup>89</sup> although so far no statement is known relating him to her as a son. On the other hand, Seth himself may occur as a hippopotamus and, for that reason, he might be coupled with Thoeris - momentarily passing over her completely hybrid features. So much for the possible background reasons for Thoeris' responsibility for Seth's *b3w*.

In the meantime, this document provides us with a practical aspect of *b3w*. Divine interference might be undertaken by the gods of their own account for good reasons ([1]-[4]) but the 'manifestation' of a particular god could also be aroused by an individual, as here and as did Pharaoh, in (8). Keeping ourselves to a rather simple, mechanical definition of 'magic' we have proposed elsewhere<sup>90</sup>, we are now fully in the realm of magical operations. By itself *b3w* is far from signifying 'magic (influence)', but the act of its arousal by a human agent is obviously a form of sorcery; it is not the term that counts, but the effect achieved. With regard to the individual interest displayed by case (9) (in which respect it differs from 8, as Pharaoh's norms were, in general, those agreed upon by society), we touch upon another characteristic of the magic act which distinguishes it from the regular, cultic one<sup>91</sup>.

The following document does not divulge the identity of the thief of the (Tho)eris statue, but it does allude to another contriver of *b3w*:

(10) Ostr. Leipzig 11<sup>92</sup>.

rt. 1/ '[...<<...] .. work a manifestation against (*iri' b3w*  
r) 2/ your<sup>A</sup> son<sup>B</sup>>>, so the god tells me<sup>C</sup>. 2/ Please take heed  
and 4/ appease her<sup>D</sup>, and then she<sup>D</sup> may become reconciled to  
you<sup>A</sup>. 5/ A further matter: please take 6/ heed and fetch  
vs.1/ some incense 2/ as well as 3/ [...] for ...' (*cetera*  
*desunt*).

This is a message, transmitted by an unknown author, C, to a father, A, and involving the latter's son, B, as well as an unknown female being, D. The citation of the god's words at the beginning is, in all likelihood, the rendering of a series of oracular answers (as these were always given piecewise, as yes-no responses). It mentions an action which has everywhere else an ominous connotation, as it is only exercised against enemies<sup>59</sup>. The agent is lost. This makes the reconstruction of the situation a delicate affair. We prefer first to deal with the last part of the letter.

Here there are two main conflicting parties - the father, A, and the woman, D. They should be reconciled with one another. As the *à propos* advice given by C to the father, to fetch some incense, is mentioned in the same breath as the one to attempt a reconciliation, we think there is a logical connection too<sup>93</sup>. In a conciliatory *rite*, incense would have been a normal ingredient. In that case the very mention of incense points to D's being a supernatural creature. She is either a goddess or a deceased person - probably a relative. It still transpires from contemporary documents that living persons can be haunted by their dead relatives in their personal affairs<sup>94</sup>. This influences one way to interpret the first part of the letter, where A's son B is the victim of an unknown someone 'exercising a manifestation' against him, B.

The agent might have been the oracular god himself. In that case the message may have had the form of a promise, or rather, of a threat. We have the impression, however, that the spirit of the *whole* letter breathes reconciliation. Viewed in this way, a threat on the side of the god would not very well agree with what is encountered afterwards. Alternatively, the agent might have been the father himself. As he is later on given the advice to make a conciliatory

gesture, we would prefer to restore a vetitive in the beginning although the reconciliation counselled by C concerns D, not B<sup>95</sup>. Thus the father's attitude would testify to a strained family relationship as well as to jealousy being aired in this way, although we lack further details. It is a well-known fact from many close-knit communities that sorcery (and witchcraft) may be diagnostic of social friction either among insiders or with outsiders<sup>96</sup>. So far, such an instance would be unique in the documentation of this village. It is almost impossible to take a more macroscopic view in an Ancient Egyptian context, in order to see whether it is really so special<sup>97</sup>.

By way of third alternative, the female being D herself might have been 'exercising the manifestation'. The oracular response, then, would have amounted to a simple statement to this effect. Given the limited scope of this letter, it seems the easiest solution. But as we know nothing at all of the relationship between D and the pair of A and B, it certainly does not obviate the former proposal. Each of the two (or, eventually, three) alternatives has its own consequences. However, as far as one can judge from the Letters to the Dead, those exercising their power from the other world do so in order to influence (solicited or not) everyday social relationships among relatives. Thus, solution 3 would be a mere variant of 2, with the emphasis on the place of origin being shifted to the other world and the conflict itself remaining the same. Further speculation is at present fruitless.

What is at least revealing in this text is, that oracular consultation has brought a problematical situation to the light and that it was probably invoked in order to alleviate it. The communal form oracular consultation often took in this village (mostly during a procession of the statue of Amenophis on leisure days and thus, presumably, being accorded the undivided attention of the villagers)<sup>98</sup> bears witness to its 'publicity effect' and hence contributed to its social function. In decisions taken in this way, the responsibility is depersonalized and legitimized by the patron deity. Even when an individual disagrees and appeals to another oracle, the socially useful point has already been reached: somehow, public opinion has been channelled

into consensus. All of this is paralleled in other societies<sup>99</sup>, although the actual forms divination may take are widely different. Finally, we can only guess at the way the *b3w* was exercised. *If* the father was the culprit, might one then think of a case like (9), suggesting the use of a statue?

Whatever the identity of D, a curious entry in a New Kingdom dream book (likewise from this village, although hardly a contemporaneous composition) seems to exemplify an analogous case, with a divinity in the background:

(11) Pap. Chester Beatty III, rt. 8,26.

' If a man sees himself in a dream while putting incense on the fire for a god, (it is) bad: the manifestation (*b3w*) of a god is against (*r*) him'.

In other words, we may have our preceding case in a reversed form here. In retrospect, the act of burning incense for a god is explained as a natural ritual gesture following the assumption that some god is exercising (his) *b3w* against someone. Comparing it to (10) we might say that frequent experience may have provided such an explanation<sup>100</sup>. Such a case of the reversibility of cause and effect in the perspective of a dream is certainly not the only one in Egyptian oneiromancy<sup>101</sup>. Apart from this, general protection against the *b3w* of the chief gods of the Theban pantheon is given an important place in the somewhat later Oracular Amuletic Decrees. Amongst other things, they are said to 'start (*t3i*) a manifestation (*b3w*) against (*r*)' individuals<sup>102</sup>.

§ 7 A few other documents likewise attest to fear of the meddling of *b3w* in human affairs. Thus the following question was put to an oracle:

(12) Ostr. IFAO 857<sup>103</sup>.

'is it the manifestation (*b3w*) of *3ny-nḥt*?'

This forms, so to speak, the kind of question which was answered in (10). Whether *3ny-nḥt* was at that moment living or dead, cannot be ascertained. As was pointed out above<sup>94</sup>, dead people could have a most annoying influence in daily life.

What if he were a living person? From (10) it has been inferred that a living person could arouse (not 'produce') *b3w* and this is probably what was feared in (9). So far, the evidence points to *b3w* being exercised by supernatural beings only while, at the same time, it could be manipulated (as perhaps in [10]) by humans, whereas Pharaoh was seen to have been doing both (see [8]). If, on the ground of these premises, *3ny-nḥt* as a living ordinary person should rather be excluded from the ownership of *b3w*, the above case might as well be interpreted as signifying '*b3w* (emanating from some god) caused by *3ny-nḥt*'. Pending another solution, this seems a possible inference in view of another document in which all kinds of people of evil intent, including male and female contrivers of magic (*ḥk3w*, *ḥk3y.t*) are consigned to the avenging fire of the Eye of Rē<sup>C</sup>, 'whose [heart (?)] is evilly disposed toward NN born of NN, who raise obstructions (*sḏb*) against him in order to assign him to (*swḏ n*) a god or goddess'<sup>104</sup>. There is, moreover, a lively illustration of this form of sorcery from a story from the Middle Kingdom where a powerful local man wishes to rob an innocent passer-by of his possessions by using what appears to have been a divine statue (*šsp*)<sup>105</sup>, an anticipation of the *mode d'emploi* of the *wr.t* in (9). Alternatively, '*b3w* of X' could perhaps also mean '*b3w* to which X has fallen a victim', that is, where X is possessed by some god's *b3w*. While this aspect will be studied later on (p. 29), a problem concerning *3ny-nḥt* put before the oracle in this way makes the impression of a 'nesting' question. Such an interpretation makes sense when it is considered one of a series on the same subject. Now, taken in isolation, it would suggest that *3ny-nḥt*'s having fallen a victim to the *b3w* <of some god> is taken for granted, with the actual purport rather shifting to its effect <upon someone else>. In short, a growing amount of *imponderabilia*. There are a few more documents in the same spirit:

(13) Ostr. IFAO 877<sup>106</sup>.

'the manifestation (*b3w*) of the great god'

which looks more like an oracular response than a question. Thus the *Sitz im Leben* of (13) is the same as that of (10), but its wider social context is not known. On the other hand,

the following request is hardly one that would have passed through the intermediary of an oracle:

(14) Ostr. Cairo CG 25106<sup>107</sup>.

1/ 'Do not work your manifestation (*m-iri iri b3w=t*); (but) do ... 2/ His heart becomes wearied (??) ...'

A drawing on the other side of the ostracon shows a *ba*-bird with a human head. *If* there is any connection with the above text, it would possibly point to its being addressed to some deceased being<sup>108</sup>; but it might as well be an artist's sketch.

§ 8 Certain other documents from Deir el-Medīna cite gods other than Seth in contexts that are comparable to that of (1)-(4). Cf., for example, the following, lamentably lacunar communication:

(15) Ostr. Cairo CG 25674<sup>109</sup>, recto.

1/ '[...]<sup>110</sup>.. and she<sup>A</sup> told me<sup>B</sup>: <<(it is) the manifestation (*b3w*) of Nemti<sup>111</sup>. And you<sup>B</sup> should (?) [...] 2/ For you<sup>B</sup> commission the wise woman (*t3 rh.t*), you<sup>B</sup> guilty one [...] 3/ ... of life (?)<sup>112</sup> of the father>><sup>113</sup>. And I<sup>B</sup> went [...] 4/ [...] and she<sup>A</sup> (?)] told me<sup>B</sup>: <<(it is) the manifestation (*b3w*) of Thoer[is ...>>] 5/ ...

What can be inferred with a reasonable degree of probability from this fragmentary text is that two different deities are being pointed out by way of explanation to a male person, B - in at least one case by a woman A and in a second case by a 'knowing one' (*rh.t*), again a woman. These latter two may have been the same. The man B seems to have been making inquiries of the 'knowing one'. She may have been a kind of intermediary for problematical affairs in the village community. She also turns up in the following document dealing with an obscure private affair where another 'manifestation' plays a role. Here again the translation cannot be anything but tentative:

(16) Ostr. Gardiner 149<sup>114</sup>.

1/ 'I (?)<sup>115</sup> have gone to the wise women (*t3 rh.t*). 2/ And

she told me: <<the manifestation (*b3w*) of Ptah <sup>3</sup>/ is with you (*m-dī=t*), because of (?) the Light, on account of an oath by <sup>4</sup>/ his wife. The manifestation (*b3w*) of <sup>5</sup>/ Seth ...>>

It would seem that a certain woman, the 'I', records information obtained from a 'wise woman' who had told her that she - the 'I' - was 'afflicted (?) by' the *b3w* of Ptah - more literally, that this was 'with' her. If we understand the text correctly, the reason of this was some offence against 'the Light' (*p3 šw*), caused by a certain oath, sworn by what would appear to have been the latter's, not Ptah's, wife. Assuming that *p3-šw* is not a proper name (which is not likely, in view of the spelling), it might refer to the deified king Amenophis I, or to a reigning king<sup>116</sup>, or to RĒ<sup>c</sup>. The latter's divine consort could either be Isis or Hathor (that is, Hathor-Nebethetepet)<sup>117</sup>. While the version of the oath recalls that of (1)-(4), that of Seth's *b3w* brings (9) to mind. It also reminds us of the 'transference' of the ultimate activation of the *b3w* actually effected by Ptah, more or less like (Tho)eris arousing the *b3w* of Seth. The ultimate responsibility seems to recede further back - to what depths of insight did the 'wise woman' have access? And were these 'insights' rooted in local beliefs in divine relationships or myths? Obscure as this little text is, it seems at least to record another query about the divine agencies behind a case of *b3w* initiated by a woman, and further speculation on its contents would be hazardous for the moment.

At present, not much is known about the woman called 'the *rḥ.t*'. In an ostrakon, probably from Deir el-Medīna and now in a private collection, which has just been published, she is consulted (*nḏnḏ*) about the cause of death of two children<sup>118</sup>. In an unpublished papyrus fragment with an inventory (*imy.t-pr*) approved by King Amenophis I during the processional sortie of his statue, it is said that 'he (= the god) turned his back on all the great rulers exactly as the *rḥ.t* had said'<sup>119</sup> - provided that in this and the three other instances from the Deir el-Medīna village it is not a woman's proper name that is used<sup>120</sup>. It should be borne in mind that the sole guarantee that such is not the

case is the explicitly consultative aspect.

However, there may also be support from another source, best attested in the Late Period but apparently already existing in Ramesside times. A tale about the goddess Isis wandering through the Delta in flight from her brother Seth and accompanied by seven helpful scorpions was used as a mythical antecedent in a magical spell to cure scorpion bites<sup>121</sup>. Having finally reached a certain village and looking for shelter, she found a door closed to her by a noblewoman and one of her scorpions stung the lady's son by way of revenge. Fortunately enough, the child was healed by the charitable goddess. The motive, itself a variant of a well-known mythical theme of Isis healing her own son Horus, also occurs in an, as yet unpublished, Demotic story from Saqqara which may have been a folk tale version of it<sup>122</sup>. However, in the sacred version under discussion, the goddess makes herself known as someone who is able to help, by stating: 'I am a daughter, a knowing one (*rḥ.t*) in her town, who dispels a poisonous snake with her oral powers. My father has taught me knowledge'<sup>123</sup>. In this passage myth and everyday reality seem to coincide in the term *rḥ.t*. Perhaps one should also connect it with a somewhat colourless epithet (*rḥ.t*, *rḥy.t*, *rš.t*) often given to Hathor or Isis during the Ptolemaic period and later<sup>124</sup>. In a similar mythical episode in another spell, Isis' own son Horus has suddenly fallen ill. He is examined by a 'knowing one (*rḥ.t*) in her town, a distinguished lady (*rpy.t*) in her district' who first opiniates on the divine forces in the background (paralleling the Deir el-Medīna instances) and then advises 'seek for the reason (*sp*) why this happened', suggesting a scorpion or snake bite as the immediate cause. Curing is in this case further entrusted to Thoth, who has descended from heaven at the laments of Isis<sup>125</sup>.

Thus the *rḥ.t* would appear to have had the function of a diviner and healer in Egyptian society. Although the woman healer (sticking to such a wide term) appears to be rarely documented elsewhere in Ancient Egypt, such women as we find here exist now and did so in the recent past, in modern Egypt. They are, of course, a quite common phenomenon in many other cultures<sup>126</sup>. Whether the *rḥ.t* possessed certain charismatic qualities is quite unknown. It certainly does

not appear from the term itself, nor from the way she is seen to act. Once consulted, she interprets, but there is no suggestion that she was somehow 'inspired'. As was, for instance, the Phoenician who was 'taken' (*t3i*) by a god and 'brought into a frenzy' (*h3w*) in order to press the prince of Byblos for receiving Wenamun<sup>127</sup>.

§ 9 There is some illuminating evidence of the mental condition of persons enthralled by the *b3w* of a god. Being 'in the manifestation (*m b3w*)' as the land of Khatti was said to have been in (8), is a situation described elsewhere. Thus in a literary text that virtually extols the profession of the scribe by debasing the soldier as his 'social opposite', it is said: 'your (= the scribe's) hot one (*šmw* - here the soldier) is in the manifestation (*m b3w*) of Amun'<sup>128</sup>. The gloomy description which follows next makes the 'hot one' into a doomed person, for whom there is no escape: '... he is the abomination (*bw.t*) of men. The sun does not rise in his presence (*m Ck3=f*), while the Inundation does not flow for him. He is a mouse surprised by (lit., 'mouse of') the Inundation, he cannot find a place to rest himself. He is a bird caught by the wings by the hand of man; he finds no means of flying away'<sup>129</sup>.

Just as the Hittites are said to have been overwhelmed by the *b3w* of Ramesses II (in [8]), the *b3w* of Merenptah which struck<sup>130</sup> Mauroy, the Libyan chief, is often mentioned. Like the Hittite king, Egyptian ideology depicted him as forsaken by his god Seth, that is, the equivalent of the Libyan god Ash<sup>131</sup>. Hence, '... <<a great one whom Fate (*š3y*) has repelled, one with a bad feather>> so they all say about him, the inhabitants of his villages. He is in the manifestation (*m b3w*) of all the gods of Memphis. The lord of Egypt has cursed his name: "Mauroy is an abominated one (*bw.ty*) of the White-walled City, a particular person, son of a particular person, of his tribe - forever. Bauenrē<sup>c</sup> Miamun pursues him; Hotphimā<sup>c</sup> Maienptah has been allotted to him as Fate"<sup>132</sup>.

Indeed elsewhere it is stated that Merenptah had 'worked a manifestation against (*irī b3w r* - we meet again the expression of [10] and [14] the land of the Tjemuhu-people'<sup>133</sup> so that Mauroy was placed 'in his manifestation (*m b3w=f*) - and if he survives, he shall not be chief; he shall be an

enemy and a rebel for his army'<sup>134</sup>. No doubt much wishful thinking has gone into these propagandistic statements, but that need not prevent them from being taken literally in regard to the purpose intended. We might even surmise that they contain allusions to an execration rite. After all, the outcome of the war had already been foreseen by related means by diviners who used such rarely attested techniques as observing the flight of birds and the ways of the wind<sup>135</sup>. In short, like the conflict with the Hittites in the longer run, this Libyan campaign was not fought by military force alone but also by supernatural means. Here, as in the other conflict, the gods took a leading part in the course of history<sup>136</sup>. While its futural developments were analyzed by diviners, its events were also influenced by Pharaoh.

More particularly, much of the basic terminology in the miscellany document (8) and the Israel Stela is similar (like 'abomination' and 'manifestation'). As far as the state of the victim of the *b3w* is concerned, the description also ties in with a statement in a document from Deir el-Medīna that a certain draughtsman *Nb-r<sup>c</sup>* performed certain hymns and prayers before Amun 'on behalf of the draughtsman *Nḥt-'Imn* t.v., when he lay down in illness, in a state of death - being <in> the manifestation (*b3w*) of Amun, on account of his cow (*iḥ.t*)', obviously recording a divine anger<sup>137</sup>. A Saitic funerary text presents us with a kind of *Prolog im Himmel* where the wrath of *Rē<sup>c</sup>* is premeditated, later to descend upon the evildoers on earth as his *b3w*: '... and his mother, the Cow (*iḥ.t*) said: / "curse (*shwr*) them with your own mouth. May your manifestation occur in them (*ḥpr b3w=k im=sn*)"<sup>138</sup>. Here the phraseology<sup>139</sup> and, more specially, the heavenly setting complement the range of the typical expression studied in its earthly context in the earlier documents (1)-(4) and (8). It is tantalizing to think that, in the light of this, something of the kind is being alluded to in another enigmatic oracular question from this village: 'is it Horus who has taken form in him (*m Hr ḥpr im=f*)? (Then) send him!'<sup>140</sup> - but this must remain a mere possibility.

§ 10 We may well wonder whether such expressions as 'to be in (*m*) the manifestation of a god' or 'the manifestation of a

god is in (*m*) someone' are not related to saying 'the manifestation of god X is with (*m-dī*) you', as the 'wise woman' declared to her client in (16)<sup>141</sup>. Keeping consistently to the narrow basic meaning 'manifestation' may now open a new track. If 'being in a manifestation' is at times tantamount to a state of death (as the description of *Nḥt-īmn* cited just now puts it), we are reminded of an Egyptian system of categorizing the physical disturbances of a patient as cases of being 'under the death' (*hr mt*) of a variety of gods. This conception appears in a recently edited papyrus from Deir el-Medīna (no. I) containing part of a divinatory manual with ritual prescriptions to overcome an ailment, the contents of which were already signaled almost half a century ago by A. Gardiner<sup>142</sup>. The variety among the gods (the fragmentary text only mentions Rē<sup>c</sup>, Ptah, Thoth and Osiris) who, on account of physiognomic correspondences, are associated with specific symptoms of ailments, reminds one of the interpretative range of the instigators of the *b3w*, especially when the views of the 'wise woman' are recalled although the conclusions may have been arrived at in different ways. Such an associative system is also known from elsewhere - for instance, from late Babylonian tradition (8th century and later)<sup>143</sup> or from fifth century Greece, where it was severely condemned *in its totality* as irrational in the Hippocratic treatise on the Sacred Disease<sup>144</sup>.

Furthermore, there is a chance that there is only a degree in difference between 'to be in (= *m*)' the *b3w* and 'to be under (= *hr*)' it. We find the latter in, for instance, a passage like 'the Asiatics have their heads bent downwards under his manifestation (*hr b3w=f*), daily'<sup>145</sup> - obviously in an attitude of utter dejection. Indeed, if there is anything characteristic of the way the effect of *b3w* upon the living is described, it is the recurrent simile of humans 'bending (falling, or suchlike) before it', no matter whether this metaphor derives from boastful passages in royal Ramesside texts<sup>146</sup> or whether it comes from often no less stereotyped Graeco-Roman temple inscriptions<sup>147</sup>. However, one wonders whether literalness does not serve rhetoric here, as in, for instance 'we are under the manifestation (*hr b3w*) of your name - given us air!', said by a group of vanquished enemies<sup>148</sup>. On the one hand such descriptions fit a psychic

state when *b3w* is felt as oppressive ('heavy', as it is indeed called)<sup>149</sup>, reminding us of the forlorn situation of the doomed one who was 'in (*m*) the manifestation of' a god, or those who were 'under (*hr*) the death' of a god, cited previously.

On the other, we may now draw a straight line to the class of people said to be 'under a manifestation' (*hry b3w*) in a late text<sup>150</sup>. Various prohibitions against bringing certain items such as plants, animals or certain kinds of people into a temple, presence of which would be intolerable to the particular mythological sphere of a god, are known from the Graeco-Roman period and were 'published' at the temple entrance<sup>151</sup>. The Esna theologians are unique in having included among the undesirables those who are 'under' (*hr*) certain mystical influences, such as a 'manifestation' (*b3w*) or the 'craft of a protection' (*hm.t-s3w*). Such people are assigned a specific area<sup>152</sup>. Indeed, from a theological viewpoint there would be a serious clash between a particular temple god with his divine associates and some foreign, unknown, and especially uncontrollable influence, if it were smuggled in in this way; ritual pollution might be described for Ancient Egypt as the bringing together of things that should be 'kept apart' (*dsr*)<sup>153</sup>. It was precisely in order to be safeguarded against such occult influences that individual persons who felt themselves persecuted could put themselves under the contractual protection of a temple god in the Ptolemaic period, as Demotic documents indicate. The temple being an *espace sacrée*, its property of setting boundaries against inimical (hence 'impure') influences, could be turned to make it serve as an asylum<sup>154</sup>.

The available data do not permit us to see to what extent the 'intrusion' of an external *b3w* (collective) of some god implies expulsion of one's own *b3*, or whether it makes sense to put it so blandly; the underlying assumption that there was something like 'soul-loss' in Ancient Egypt is made difficult because, apart from *b3*, there are other forms of religious anthropology (in a theological sense) although not all of these play a role in everyday situations. Moreover, it is not said that a god himself enters a human being; perhaps this occurs only with demons<sup>155</sup>. In our examples *b3w* may also emanate from deceased people, but none of them

points to a demon.

By now it should be clear, why we have been objecting to such easy-going translations like 'to be in (or 'under') the power of a god'. They are misleading by disguising the fact that the subject is no longer a normal person but suffers from an emanation of a particular god (or deceased person). Meanwhile, such a notion of 'possession' (for which there is also a quite literal equivalent in use)<sup>156</sup> exploiting the simile of being 'under' some form of supernatural influence is not limited to only *b3w*<sup>157</sup>.

§ 11 We are now in a better position to circumscribe the notion of *b3w*. Quite clearly it may signify a divine intervention in the everyday affairs of humans; what tangible form this intervention took is nowhere specified. Perhaps it manifested itself even during an oracular procession<sup>158</sup>. Evidently it was often experienced as a psychic burden, sometimes with somatic aspects as well (blindness, for one thing). Uncertainty about its causation, as is manifested by the anonymity of the divinity in the expression *b3w ntr hpr(w)*, could lead to the consulting of an oracle or a diviner (a 'knowing woman', *rh.t*, recorded in a few instances) whence it would be diagnosed as the influence of such-and-such a god. The very use of this term 'manifestation' plus the consultative procedures which appear to be necessary make it probable that *b3w*-suffering differs, in principle, from god to god. Unfortunately it is not known *how* the woman diviner reached her conclusions. No overt connection is expressed with the divinatory handbook (or any other)<sup>159</sup> we have been citing as a possible link, in which the methodic guideline appears to be discovering correspondences between the patient's physiognomy and a god's iconography, as it happens in a New Kingdom dream book<sup>160</sup> from this village, an entry of which was also cited as no. (11). Nor is there a definite indication that the diviner scrutinized the patient's moral past. That this was in all probability nevertheless involved, is obvious from some of the 'everyday' cases. And, that it was a way of redeeming favour with the divine world, transpires from Instruction literature<sup>161</sup>.

Pharaoh's *b3w* is spoken of in much the same way as that of divinities. It is moreover not infrequently cited as an

endorsement of the truth of an oath, just as a god's was. Although always found as a quality emanating from divine persons (Pharaoh, gods), *b3w* may also be found attributed to closely related divine elements such as a certain name or an area. Yet the category of notions that can be associated with *b3w* appears to be still wider; the border-line of transcendence is not quite congruent with our average notion of 'the divine' in Ancient Egypt<sup>162</sup>.

In our documentation, *b3w* (not *b3.w*) heralds dread and awe. This, again, may be counter-evidenced although 'neutral' instances are particularly hard to find outside hymnical literature<sup>163</sup>.

The impact of *b3w* on the living is best illustrated by comparing it with associated notions in parallel clauses in a closed corpus, such as Ramesside royal inscriptions. Such typical utterances are, for instance, *b3w hm=f m h.t=sn, sf3f.t=f cḳ m hc.w=sn*, 'the manifestation of His Majesty is in their (= the enemies) belly'<sup>164</sup>, the respect for him has entered their body', or *m-iri shm im=n / mk b3w=k c3y / pḥty=k dns.ti hr t3 n ḥt3* 'do not overwhelm us - for see, your manifestation has grown large, your force has become heavy on the land of Khatti'<sup>165</sup>.

Time and again the typical context of *b3w* in such a series consists of terms denoting some form of dread (*snḏ.t, ḥry.t*, and so on), power or force (such as *pḥty, 3.t*, etc.) and certain other, less related notions (*rn*, 'name', *shrw*, 'planning') - see the table (p. 37). In some instances *b3w* is compared to a burning fire, as yet another lively illustration of its effect<sup>166</sup>. Pharaoh's *b3w* is moreover ascribed the property of transvection - it crosses the sea, to strike his enemies<sup>167</sup>. 'Swiftmess' (*ḥ3ḥ*) is a stereotype not yet found in this corpus, although it occurs in the Graeco-Roman period (see below).

*B3w* could, however, also be exploited by humans for private purposes; a god's *b3w* could be operated against someone else. 'Use' (*iri*) of *b3w* in this manner is also found within the royal sphere: Pharaoh might exercise it against the enemies of Egypt. By its very nature such a practice belongs to magic ritual. That a 'typical' magical term like *ḥk3w* does not find its way into the eulogistic royal Ramesside texts is probably connected with the fact that these are

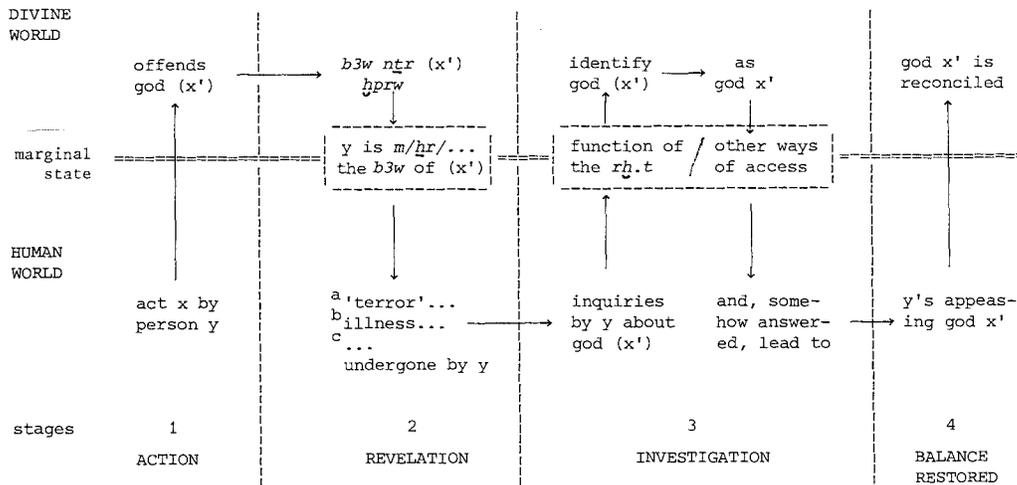
primarily concerned with the this-world and serve to state, rather than help to establish magically ('performatively'), Pharaoh's dominion over it. But *that* such notions may quite well occur as functional correlates in a ritualized, hence more compelling and critical view of life, is apparent from the frequent epithet *ḥ3ḥ b3w spd ḥk3w* 'swift of manifestation, sharp of magical force' given to the goddess Hathor in Graeco-Roman temple inscriptions<sup>168</sup>.

It seems that the best evidence for the meaning of the religious category *b3w* comes from secular sources; we have scanned the sphere of private life (purely descriptive), of royalty (ideologically coloured) and of Instruction literature (rather speculative). We have done so under the assumption that a structural model (p. 37) may serve as a net to catch and exploit such disparate sources and, in gauging the function of *b3w*, may also act as a filter for these, the psychological environment being marked off by a lexical frame (p. 37). By combining these two, the history of certain characteristic aspects of *b3w* might even be extended back in time<sup>169</sup>. All instances so far lend colour to the belief that gods could easily be offended when certain norms, for which they were held responsible (for a variety of reasons) were violated<sup>170</sup>. Retribution could then follow in some form, although we have little insight in the details of the diagnosis of *b3w*.

As a dissociated state, *b3w* as 'possession', although marginally illustrated as such<sup>156</sup>, in all probability can now be extended back to the Ramesside period. The main point is, that the recognition of *b3w* signalizes infractions in a system of normative values (like perjuries, cultic breaches, even including disregard of ideological claims cultically culminating in Pharaoh's person), and that activities connected with it point to mental uneasiness about these. The maintenance of such norms is projected onto the divine world, so that *b3w* is actually a link in a social circuit in which man and god are the poles. If a case can be made for *b3w* being operated within a small social circle, then it is noteworthy that its manifestly disruptive intentions (which are found elsewhere, and can thus be interpreted as 'sorcery') were rejected in an advice given by the village oracle.

One might combine everything about *b3w* together in a single interacting whole where the worlds of gods and men are clearly separated. A connection between the two is occasionally made by certain acts of man at specific places and moments (such as offerings, cultic locations, and so on) and, on the other hand, by the will of the gods themselves (for instance, in the form of oracles). For our specific purpose an inter-structural area in the whole circuit under discussion (itself indicated by →) is conceived, to be occupied by both the victim of some god's *b3w* and by the 'wise woman', although each for different reasons. While the latter is a mediatrix by reason of her function (although she does not seem to act in a state of possession or trance), the former has the (mostly temporary) status of a person markedly touched by a god. From a spatial viewpoint, this would correspond to the particular intermediate zone on the temple area reserved for this class in the Late Period<sup>152</sup>. Certainly this betwixt and between phase with its spatio-temporal dimensions represents liminality too, but it holds no promise to a transition or transformation in the sense of an upgrading of some sort: any mortal person entering it ultimately returns to his former position, or should do so.

The transversal axis of such a schematical representation consists of the four-stage development we have used before (pp. 8, 11 and 14 ) and which is therefore retained here. Understandably enough, however, the overall characterization of the role of *b3w* has gradually become more shaded in each. The scheme, then, looks somewhat like this:



One of the possible options for c in stage 2 (on the human side) might perhaps be filled in as 'typical x'-like ailments', if the physiognomical correlations attested for the state of being 'under the death' of a god (p.29) could indeed be extended to that of 'being under a b3w'. As said above, such a lead is so far not found overtly expressed, although its existence looks probable. This we must leave to the future.

§ 12 For this inquiry into a certain aspect of religions behaviour, customs and creeds, data from a small, economically privileged, community have served as a base - too small, in fact, not to have been supplemented from other sources, divergent both in time and in social layering. The presentation of this aspect which primarily belongs to what is commonly called 'popular' religion is essentially (and, to a degree, principally) anthropocentrically oriented. Meanwhile, it is remarkable that (8), a royal eulogy, fits in so easily with 'popular' religion; the way gods take a leading part in history is by no means different from the way they play a role in the life of private people.

Whatever the diagnostic problem of b3w, this investigation of its instigators inasmuch as it concerns the village of Deir el-Medīna, testifies to a deep preoccupation with the *multiplicity* of the divine among those involved (whether as patients or as experts, like the *rh.t*). In this way it reveals a different attitude from many New Kingdom hymns (other than the specific kind we have been citing) most of which likewise belong to the Theban area. It is well known that there is a marked tendency in such texts to praise the divinity in terms of a universal, single being (mostly Amun) who incorporates so many elements in nature that one might consider him the very embodiment of the world - with other gods being predicated over him as properties. Such a god has a primacy above others<sup>171</sup>.

No doubt this contrast corresponds to a different outlook on 'the' world. Our sources reflect the realities of everyday life where unexpected, seemingly unconnected phenomena afterwards call for introspection; indeed, the field of human activities appears to be delimited by *many* gods beforehand, as the daily entries in calendar handbooks indicate<sup>172</sup>. The

DIVINE INTERVENTION IN ANCIENT EGYPT  
AND ITS MANIFESTATION

fig. 2

<i>b3w</i>	<i>snđ.t</i>	<i>ḥry.t</i>	<i>nrw</i>	<i>ī3d.t</i>	<i>šf(šf).t</i>	<i>ḳf3w</i>	<i>pḥty</i>	<i>šm</i>	<i>š<sup>C</sup>d</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
x	x								
x	x								
x	x								
x	x								
x	x								
x	x	x			x				
x	x	x			x				
x		x							
x		x							
x		x					x		
x		x							x
x		x							
x		x							
x		x							
x			x		x				
x			x		x				
				x		x			
x					x				
x					x				
x					x				
x						x			
x							x		
x							x		
x							x		
x							x		
x								x	
x									
x									

TERM COOCCURRENCE TABLE

Are seriated, from Ramesside Inscriptions\*: *b3w* 'manifestation', *snđ.t* 'fear', *ḥry.t* 'dread', *nrw* 'horror', *ī3d.t* 'influence', *šf(šf).t* 'respect', *ḳf3w* 'reputation', *pḥty* 'force', *šm* 'power', *š<sup>C</sup>d* 'slaughtering', *dm.t* 'knife', *3.t* 'attack', *ḥšhm.t* 'roaring', *šhrw* 'planning' and *rn* 'name'. Determinant of horizontal ordering (left to right) is semantic cohesion.

<i>dm.t</i> 11	<i>3.t</i> 12	<i>hmhm.t</i> 13	<i>shrw</i> 14	<i>rn</i> 15	KRI*	relative order
					V 241.2-3	1-2
					II 576.11-12	1-2
					II 447.10-11	1-2
					V 93.5	2-1
					II 296.16	2-1
					II 290.1	2-1
					V 110.10-11	1-6-2-3
	x				II 168.19-16	12-1-6-2-3
					I 30.7-5	1-3
					V 92.15-16	1-3
					V 101.1-3	1-3
			x		I 99.5-10	8-1-3-14
					II 150.15-16	10-1-3
x					V 56.1-2	3-11-1
x					V 106.11-12	3-11-1
				x	II 354.10	1-3-15
					V 20.3	1-4-6
					V 57.6	1-4-6
					V 240.13-14	1-7-5
					V 13.2-3	1-6
					V 85.2	1-6
		x			I 40.15	6-13-1
					V 240.13-14	1-7
					II 154.12-13	1-8
					I 20.2	1-8
					II 291.1	1-8
					II 294.12-13	1-8
					II 93.12/16-94.1/5**	1-8
					II 173.11-12	1-9
x					V 105.10	11-1
		x			IV 1.14	1-13

\* Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions, I, II, III (fasc. 1-11), IV (fasc. 1), V (fasc. 1-5) and VI (fasc. 1)

\*\* Kadesh Poem 312-3.

divine forces may be encountered (and, when necessary, be propitiated) at such focal points of religious life as cultic occasions, magic rites and sacred places<sup>173</sup>. However, in the said hymns an extravert, *cosmic* orientation predominates. If one finds here forces and phases in nature (light, air, the inundation, and so on) characteristically associated with a universal god, then it may be that their observable sequence and interdependence promoted the very elaboration of the idea of a unitary creative and maintaining power<sup>174</sup>. However, human life, differently organized from nature, has its own complexities to be accounted for. All of these are ultimately determined by just as many supernatural forces - not all of them gods, but some of them demons too. Even the notion of 'righteousness' (*m3<sup>C</sup>.t*) when occurring in a context of social order in the hymns, is rather used as a metaphor, primarily with an exemplary, cosmic sense of 'balance'. Actually the *flux de parole* of imaginative theological thinking self-evidently given a free outlet in such hymns, represents a different, quite optimistically conceived, order of things and stands clear of earthly involvements.

NOTES

- 1 For the 'collective' noun, see E. Wolf-Brinkmann, *Ver-such einer Deutung des Begriffes 'b3' anhand der Über-lieferung der Frühzeit und des Alten Reiches* (Freiburg im Br., 1968), 85-88 and E. Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen* (Darmstadt, 1971), 50-52. L. Žabkar in his useful monograph *A Study of the Ba Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts* (Chicago, 1968), 55, 67 and elsewhere, calls it an 'in-tensive plural'. This, a clearly semantic notion, has been followed by W. Ward in his etymological study *The Four Homographic Roots b-3* (Roma, 1978), § 149. Part of the material cited in this article will also be found in Žabkar, *op.cit.*, 66-67 and 85-89, corresponding in its turn to Ward, *op.cit.*, § 155-56.
- 2 The 'collective' noun may occur determined by , some-times by ; but both the plural and the collective will frequently occur as . For p3 b3w, see LRL 25,7; p3y=f b3w: O. Nash 1 (HO I, 46.2), rt. 10; O. Nash 2 (*ib.*, 47.1), rt. 12 and vs. 5; 13; pap. Berlin 10496, vs. 2. Resumed by =f: Urk. IV, 140,7 and Kitchen, RI V, 92,15. Determined by c3, not c3y.w (otherwise in Late Egyptian a trustworthy marker of plurality - A. Erman, *Neuagyptische Grammatik*<sup>2</sup>, § 218): RI II, 246, 4/6. Exceptionally, one finds it in the plural: Meshwesh stela (A. Blackman, *JEA* 27 [1941], 83-95), 4, n3y=f b3.w (presumably so to be transliterated, in view of the following c3.w  $\emptyset$ - $\overline{dr}$ =w). Cf. also note 141, at the end.
- 3 A 'collective' noun in Late Egyptian (LEg) which sub-sumes semantic multiplicity into what outwardly appears as a singular, is indifferent to the category of number itself. However, it may give expression to its inner multifariousness by associating with a plural determiner, yet remaining morphologically a singular (external pluralization). Cf. e.g. n3y *irt.t* 'this milk' (Contend-ings of Horus and Seth, 10,8), n3y=sn *it* 'their barley' (Pap. Anastasi IV, 17,1) or n3 *iwtn* 'the soil' (O. DeM 228, 9). None of these words (and many others) is histo-rically marked by a nominal affix -w. Furthermore, the LEg infinitive, usually determined by a singular (mas-culine) determiner (p3, p3y) is regularly found with a

plural determiner. An aspect of repetition seems mostly involved, as in e.g. *n3y C<sub>h</sub>C ∅ tttt r<sup>C</sup> nb* 'this daily being engaged in quarrelling' (Contendings, rt. 2,4). In semantic and syntactic parallelism to the latter, Middle Egyptian 'deverbal collectives' on -w may, just as singular words being pluralized, be provided with plural determiners and linkers, e.g. CT IV, 186/7.b; VII, 176.a (plural adjectival modifier); IV, 90.f = VI, 38.o; VI, 1.f; Instruction for Merikare, P. 116 (plural genitive *nw*), or CT IV, 133.c (plural demonstrative *ipn*). Comparing this to the LEg infinitive one might argue that whereas the MEg infinitive views a verbal action (with or without inherent duration, depending on the lexical properties of the verb concerned) as a single act, such a deverbal collective involves a certain duration, this being marked on the verb by a morpheme -w which appears to put the word in a similar syntactic category as an unmistakable plural. Thus, by analogy, the LEg infinitive seems to inherit from both the MEg infinitive and the deverbal collective (i.e., schematically LEg<sub>p3/n3</sub> *s<sub>dm</sub>:MEg<sub>s<sub>dm</sub></sub> pn/s<sub>dmw</sub> ipn*). However, the substantive under discussion, connected with the verb *b3*, rarely associates with a plural determiner (see the previous note) while, on the other hand, it does so in an earlier period; cf. ... / *mī b3w nw wr.t* 'like the manifestation of the Great One' (Sinuhe, R.88); should one transliterate *b3w* or *b3.w*? For the problem, cf. also F. Aspesi, *La distinzione dei generi nel nome antico-egiziano e semitico* (Firenze, 1977), 35. To speak confidently of a distinction in terms of morphology between the collective and the plural of the word *b3* as J. Osing does (*Die Nominalbildung des Agyptischen* [Mainz, 1976], II, 568 [note 430]) seems pointless to us.

- 4 The tune is set by a statement like 'I have come to save NN born of NN from any terror (*n<sub>rw</sub>*), any raging (*nšnī*), from the manifestation (*b3w*) of any god and any goddess, of any / [male gh]ost (*3hy*), any female ghost, anything bad or evil' - a passage from Pap. Turin 1993, partly published in Pleyte and Rossi, *PdT*, 118,2-3 (cf. also *ib.*, 119,9).
- 5 According to the Book of the Heavenly Cow, 'the *b3* of

- Sobk is the crocodile' (version of Ramesses VI, 7 [singular] = Seti I, 103 [plural strokes], see Ch. Maystre, *BIFAO* 40 [1941], 103). Whereas it is said in a pericope on the fisherman's occupation: '... it is worse than any job - there is no one working on the river and mixing with the crocodiles. As soon as the fixed moment of his accounts has come to him, he will be complaining. He won't say "a crocodile has emerged!" - as fear has blinded him. As soon as he has left that dangerous (?) water, he asserts: '<it was> like the manifestation of a god!' (*mi b3w ntr*) - Satire of the Trades, 169-177 = Pap. Sallier II, 8,8-9,1 and variants. See also Add.
- 6 We follow Žabkar, *op.cit.*, 88 (upper) and also cite Ward, who (*op.cit.*, § 140) says: 'the concept of *b3* is not the manifestation itself, but rather that which is manifested'.
- 7 Cf. 'he shows *b3w* <in> an innumerable quantity of forms', Instruction of Ani, 7,15.
- 8 Some of these are also cited in a paper by M. Green, *B3w* Expressions in Late Egyptian, pp. 107-115 in: *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt* (Studies in Honour of H.W. Fairman), Warminster, 1979.
- 9 Cf. H. Drijvers, Theory Formation in Science of Religion and the Study of the History of Religions, pp. 57 sqq in: Th. van Baaren and H. Drijvers (ed.), *Religion, Culture and Methodology*, The Hague, 1973.
- 10 HO I, 46.1.
- 11 S. Allam, *Hier. Ostr.*, pp. 184-5 and pl. 46.
- 12 A stative, *ḥmsi.∅*; for another instance of a zero ending of *ḥmsi* in the 1st person, see O. Nash 5 (HO I, 53.2), vs. 6. In other instances the Imperfect is used, where the stative ending is clearly written out: *wn=i ḥmsi.kwi*, Pap. Mayer A, 6,21; Pap. Brit. Mus. 10052, 3,24. Sim., *wn=i sdr.ti*, *ib.*, 3,2.
- 13 Or 'birthgiving, nativity'. We think this is a festival day and not the name of a chapel (so Allam). For *p3 ms* (an infinitive, hence a masculine article), cf. also Ostr. Queen's College 1115 (HO I, 31.1), rt. 6 (*p3 ms n S.t*) and Ostr. Cairo CG 25557, 7 (*p3 ms n t3 ḥnw.t* - that is, Hathor). Nouns or noun phrases denoting time, without prepositions: A. Erman, *Neuägyptische*

*Grammatik*<sup>2</sup>, § 186.

- 14 No clear connection can be established with the following, a list of items owed by some person, gradually reduced by certain goods being paid back.
- 15 The term is jealously borrowed from the methodological jargon of George Smiley and his associates in their Cambridge Circus - cf. John le Carré, *The Honourable Schoolboy* (London, 1977).
- 16 J. Černý, *Ostraca hiéراتiques*, 48\*.
- 17 The text makes *Hwy* declare 'there are no / goods of *Hwy* in my possession' and seems to be faulty here. It is difficult to escape the impression that the scribe has interchanged *Hwy* with *H<sub>3</sub>C i-m-sb3*, the main creditor.
- 18 B. Bruyère, *Rapports DeM 1935-1940, II* (1952), 131, fig. 215; see now also Kitchen, *RI III*, 687.
- 19 *Topogr. Bibl.*, II.1, 11. Dossier on *Kn*: S. Pernigotti, *Studi classici e orientali*, Pisa 19-20 (1970-71), 125-131; *RI III*, 675-89. Add the stela mentioned under note 22.
- 20 For the restoration, see e.g. Bankes Stela 7, hymnical part, 1; stela Brit. Mus. 265 (*Hierogl. Texts etc.*, 9, 35), 2; Turin Cat. 50162 (Tosi-Roccati, *Stele*, 158). Compare also Brit. Mus. 812 (*H.T.*, 7.26), 3.
- 21 The active participle *ḏd-y* is curiously provided with a determinative . So sim. stela Turin Cat. 50044,2 ().
- 22 J.J. Clère, "Un monument de la religion populaire de l'époque ramesside", *RdE* 27 (1975), 70-77.
- 23 The relevant part runs as follows: 'giving praise to Meresger-Ernütet, the beautiful one, the lady of sustenance. Turn to me in peace; as your *ka* is enduring, you shall be merciful! - by the sculptor *Kn*, t.v. He says: "oh (you) people of whatever kind that might find yourselves by this stone (*inr*) - please prepare the jar of beer for Ernütet on the 20th day of the 1st month of the *pr.t*-season. Do not be neglectful; take good care with regard to her". - 'Stone' perhaps designates the stela itself. In a comparable instance the word recurs in self-reference (Edinburgh 912, A.4 = J. Černý, *Oriens Antiquus* 6 [1967], 47-50) but then the inscribed object is indeed a roughly dressed stone, not a well-

-made stela like this one.

- 24 We think this admonishment is precisely the point of the text, which may have escaped Clère (*op.cit.*, 77).
- 25 Tosi-Roccati, *Stele*, 78; 279.
- 26 For the word, cf. *Wb* IV, 568.2 = 566.11-13 (and *Wörterbuch der mediz. Texten*, II, 872-3); *CT* III, 133.d.
- 27 For this more limited meaning of *t3*, cf. the well-known expression *rmꜥ n p3 t3* 'local people' (e.g., Pap. Abbott 4,1; Pap. Leopold II/Amherst, 3,7, etc.; stela Cairo temp. no. 3.12.24.2, 3-4 [P. Bargout, *Le temple d'Amon-rê à Karnak* (Le Caire, 1962), 37]).
- 28 For the theme, cf. H. Brunner in *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur* (Wiesbaden, 1977), 119-124.
- 29 *Hieroglyphic Texts in the Brit. Mus.*, 9.31.
- 30 *hm sw*, *rh sw* - that is, Ptah's *b3w*. For 'to be ignorant of the *b3w*' of a god: G. Roeder, *ASAE* 52 (1954), 385, line 6; stela from Heliopolis, published by J. Cortegiani in *Hommage Sauneron*, II (Le Caire, 1979), IV.5 = p. 128; p. 130 (note j). Of a king: Pap. Kahun I.7 (Sethe, *Lesestücke* 66,7).
- 31 *Wb* II, 9,16 and V, 143,14; definitely not as blindness: Hymn to Hapi, I.c; Pap. Cairo JdE 86637, rt. 26,11-12. See also H. Brunner in *LA* I, 828. E. Hornung, *Nacht und Finsternis im Weltbild der alten Ägypter* (Tübingen, 1956), 76-77 would explain all such instances as metaphorical expressions for 'disgrace'. A good instance in support of the literal interpretation we prefer for our cases is Ostr. Berlin 11247 (*Hieratische Papyri*, III, pl. 35), a letter in which a father asks his son for a certain medicine to be sent for treatment of an eye-disease (vs. 1) and where the cause is evidently bound up with disgrace with Amun (rt. 4); compare Ostr. Abd el Gurneh 12202, cited further on (p. 9). That Amun may also heal eye-diseases is seen from hymns (Pap. Leiden I 350, rt. 3, 14-15 and Pap. Chester Beatty IV, rt. 9,2). - In a recent article on iconographical representations of metaphorical blindness L. Manniche has remarked ("Symbolic Blindness", *CdE* 53/105 [1978], 13-21) that those who speak of 'seeing darkness' (referring to *Wb* II, 9,16) appear to evince perfectly good eyesight (*ib.*, 17). This is quite correct. However, it has little to do with

real or symbolic blindness conveyed by artistic conventions. For whereas such iconographical evidence as she deals with is bound to a given, hence immutable, point in time (and a specific, perhaps ritual, setting) our documentation (in a non-ritual setting) makes it crystal clear that such 'published' cases of blindness are posterior to the ailment itself. Obviously, blindness is recorded *in perfecto* on stelae and the like, both by grammatical and by iconographical means. For, by this time, the sight of those who 'saw darkness' has been restored.

- 32 The classic study is that by J. Wilson, *JNES* 7 (1948), 129-156; see now also P. Kaplony in *LA* I, 1188 sqq.
- 33 E.g. 'he is destined to the manifestation (*b3w*) of Amun-of-/Usimar<sup>ē</sup>C Setpenr<sup>ē</sup>C', Bilgai stela (A. Gardiner, *ZAS* 50 [1912], 49-57), 6-7. Many more instances, several of which are cited by Žabkar, *op.cit.*, 86-7.
- 34 *C3 r* or *bīn r*: O. Nash 1 (HO I, 46.2), rt. 10 and O. Nash 2 (*ib.*, 47.1), rt. 11-12 and vs. 5; O. Cairo CG 25237, rt. 11-12 and vs. 3-4; O. Brit. Mus. 5625 (A. Blackman, *JEA* 12 [1926], 176-185), vs. 9; unpublished verso of Pap. Turin 1966, quoted by P. Kaplony, *LA* I, 1196, n. 28; Dendera VIII, 45,3. Pharaoh's *b3w* called <sup>C3</sup>: also Kadash Poem, 312 (here note 164); Kitchen, RI V, 92,15; 106, 13. For 'greater than', see also Amenemope Instruction, 19,8 = here (7). In view of this, we reject - among other things - a translation proposed by M. Green, *op.cit.*, 112 ('the one who is evil, he, namely Pharaoh, has the capacity to inflict [punishment] to the degree of the death penalty') as syntactically impossible and as semantically unlikely; so similarly, *GM* 39 (1980), 37.
- 35 E.g. RAD 55,1-2 and O. Cairo CG 25556, 4-5 (cf. our remarks in *ZAS* 106 [1979], 17-18, note 26).
- 36 G. Posener, *RdE* 27 (1975), 200-203.
- 37 O. Nash 1, vs. 7.
- 38 For a survey of the question to which texts other than Instruction texts, also contribute to the multiplicity of 'the' divinity, see E. Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen* (Darmstadt, 1971), 38-47, briefly restated in O. Keel (ed.), *Monotheismus im Alten Orient und seiner*

- Umwelt* (Fribourg, 1980), 90-91; cf. also recently M. Fox, *ZAS* 107 (1980), 124-26. Hornung follows the view of i.a. H. Frankfort and the interpretation we have given here of (5) supports the 'occasionality' of the god involved. On the other hand, W. Barta has recently wished to make the *local* god the most likely candidate ("Der anonyme Gott der Weisheitslehren", *ZAS* 103 [1976], 79-88).
- 39 S. Morenz, *Agyptische Religion* (Stuttgart, 1960), 32-5; E. Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen*, 117-124 and especially p. 239, note 76; S. Herrmann, *ZAS* 101 (1974), 106-7, note 49; Ph. Derchain, *Dictionnaire des mythologies* (Paris, 1979), 22.
- 40 'as': the writing *n-m* for what we consider to be the preposition *m* has also been met with preceding *b3w* in 7,19 (here [6]) and it occurs before *w3w* in this text in 25,2. We regard it as a combinatory writing (type  $\dot{k}m3/\dot{k}3m \rightarrow \dot{k}m3m^*$ ), showing a transition *m* → *n* before a labial (*b, w*) through dissimilation (*m-b/w* → *n-b/w*), while at the same time preserving the historical form of the writing of the consonant. One finds the reversed case in *m-n* *dr.t* 'in the hand of', Pap. Boulaq VI, rt. 11,6; cf. also *m-m* → *n-m*, as in Pap. Anastasi III, 5,1 (*n mhn.t*); IIIA, 8 = IV, 16,6-7 (*n mry*); I, 14,3, 14,4 and IV, 2,11 (all *n mh*) or elsewhere *n-n* → *m-n*, Amenemope Instruction 21,17. For *m-b* → *n-b*, see Taharqa Inscription, 14 = *BIFAO* 75 (1975), 29.
- 41 We take *hb3* to be 'to hack' (cf. *Wb* III, 253,6), not as a writing of *hbi* 'to diminish', in spite of the apparent parallel quoted by I. Grummach, *Untersuchungen zur Lebenslehre des Amenemope* (München-Berlin, 1972), 57, from Pap. Leiden I 350, rt. 3,17 where Amun is said to 'shorten' (*hbi*) and 'lengthen' (*sk3i*) the lifetime (*chcw*). Also, her translation is difficult to maintain from the viewpoint of syntax, as is S. Groll's in *Non-Verbal Sentence Patterns in Late Egyptian* (London, 1967), 66. We think the four clauses of 7,16-19 are bound up and follow H. Lange and F. Griffith.
- 42 We take *wn* in *wn=f* here as the protatic operator *wnn* (cf. K. Baer, *JEA* 51 [1965], 137-143), actually a de-functionalized emphasizing operator (cf. *ZAS* 106 [1979], 18, note 27). Cf. e.g. Pap. Brit. Mus. 10052, 15,2; Pap.

- Anastasi VI, 30; Inscription of Mose, N. 22; Pap. Turin B, vs. 3,3, and often. - As for the metaphorical use of the verb *spḥ* in the apodosis clause, cf. Amenemope Instruction, 11,17 ('words' as agent); Pap. Moscow 127, 1,9 ('weakness of old age' as agent) and Metternich Stela, 88 (sim., 'death'). - For an illustration of the crime, cf. the representation of an oath being ceremonially connected with a boundary-stone during field-measuring activities on the Brit. Mus. wall fragment 37982, commented by S. Berger, *JEA* 20 (1934), 54-55 and pl. 10.2; also, Amenemope Instruction, 7,12.
- 43 'Infringe', *ḥb<sup>c</sup>*: probably for *ḥ<sup>c</sup>b*. For the metathesis, see Pap. Anastasi I, 11,7 and Demotic *ḥb<sup>c</sup>*. The verb simply means 'to shift' draughts of the *sn.t*-game with the fingers which occur as a determinative; cf. the characteristic writing with the fingers touching each other in CT I, 273.d (T<sub>1</sub>C). 'To shift' is probably also the meaning in Book of the Heavenly Cow, version of Seti I, 58: *s3w=tn ḥb<sup>c</sup> ḥt nb.t*, 'be careful not to touch upon (= 'remove') anything'. - *Ts*, 'order'; probably an abbreviation for *ts pr.t*. For the latter, see *Wb* V, 404,11 and B. Menu, *CRIPPEL* 3 (1975), 141-149.
- 44 Earliest examples date from the Old Kingdom; a good example is the scene in the Giza tomb of *Ḥ<sup>c</sup>f-r<sup>c</sup>-c<sup>c</sup>nh* (R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, pl. 9 = J. Vandier, *Manuel*, VI, 83, fig. 49 [2nd reg., right]; other instances quoted *ib.*, p. 204,K). New Kingdom instances occur, for example, in the Theban tombs of *Dsr-k3-r<sup>c</sup>-snb* (no. 38, = N. De Garis Davies, *Scenes from some Theban Tombs* [London, 1963], pl.2 [middle register, left] and p.3) and *P3-ḥm-ntr* (no. 284, = the same, "Harvest Rites in a Theban Tomb", *JEA* 25 [1939], 154-6 and pl.19) as well as on a relief in Bologna (inv. 1912 = [S. Curto], *L'Egitto antico nelle collezioni dell'Italia Settentrionale* [Bologna, 1962], 135 [no. 281] and pl. 61). In a stela from Deir el-Medīna, now in the Medelhavsmuseet (Inv. 18565 = S. Wangstedt, *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 4 [1964], 4-6) of the scribe Ramose, Ernūtet and the Moon-god are shown facing each other. The coherence of (5)-(8) appears to have an iconographical correlation. - For a similar idea of vengeance by measuring instru-

- ments, compare Amenemope Instruction, 18,4-5.
- 45 We think the citation of the Hittite king ends here and that the Egyptian author's explanation of the naturalness of the submission follows next. The expectation of the Hittite monarch (mercy, after victory) fits into a more general ideological setting concerning the power of the Egyptian monarch. Cf. 'I have bent the insurgents so that they are set right upon my path. Let their breath be grasped by my fist, that I may give air to their noses <as far as> I like it, as you did' says Ramesses IV (Kitchen, RI VI, 25,5-7).
- 46 The reason why we think  $w^Cw$  is a stative and not an adjectival modifier determining  $b3w$  is that, once  $b3w$  is modified by 'his' ( $p3y=f$ ), it becomes a non-countable item. Hence a further association with a word meaning 'unique' is rather improbable (what other  $b3w$ 's would be relevant in this instance?). The isolated position of the Hittites corresponds to their isolated attitude in the Marriage Stela (see next note): '... every land was bent under the feet of this god (i.e., Pharaoh) ... but for ( $hrw$ ) the land of Khatti' (Kitchen, RI II, 242,4/7-8/10). For the construction brought home in this way (stative of the verb  $w^Ci$ , circumstantializing an element in a non-verbal clause), compare in  $iw=k dy w^C.ti$  'are you here alone?', Two Brothers, 9,4.
- 47 ASAE 25 (1925), 181-238; now also in Kitchen, RI II, 233 foll.
- 48 Kitchen, RI II, 243, 4/7 (allotting), resp. 242,4/7-8/10 (refusal).
- 49 *ib.*, 243,11/14-244,1/3.
- 50 Crucial passages are: '... those who survived his hand - he cursed ( $shwr$ ) them, his manifestation ( $b3w$ ) being in them ( $im=sn$ ) like a torch afire' (*ib.*, 244,1/3-4/7) and, more especially those corresponding to our document (8): 'now when they saw their country in this troublesome situation under ( $hr$ ) the great manifestation ( $b3w$   $C3$ ) of the Lord of the Two Lands, then the Great Chief of Khatti said to his army and his princes: 'this is a crucial period ( $phry.t$ , lit. 'turning point') now that our country is disrupted ( $fh$ ): our lord Seth is enraged with us, heaven does not rain in our vicinity ( $m^k3=n$  -

cf. Pap. Anastasi V, 7,7 = Pap. Chester Beatty V, cited further on [p. 27]) and every country is in enmity while fighting us, they being united <in> robbing us of all our possessions' (*ib.*, 246,1/3-13/15)'. What the Hittite king in these retrospective, admittedly rhetorical, passages is made to lament about is not that Pharaoh devastated Hittite territory proper. Indeed Ramesses II campaigned in Hittite-dominated territory after the Kadesh battle (cf. K. Kitchen, *JEA* 50 [1964], 68-69) but the nearest point to the Hittite heartland he reached was Qedi. Although politically linked to Khatti, it occurs as an independent state (as in [8]). Such misfortunes as are said to have been occurring to 'our country' (*t3=n*) are twice attributed to the 'mystical force' (*b3w*) of Pharaoh (244,4/7 and 11/13). Although operated at a distance (cf. note 167 further down) this might indeed be considered a direct intervention in Khatti proper. However, the sporadic invasions by Egyptian troops in the more remote vassal countries may have been *included*; the term *t3* is not only used with a narrowly geographical connotation, but also with a political one (cf. A. Schulman, *SSEA Journal* 8 [1977], 125, note 32 and H. Goedicke, *WZKM* 71 [1979], 14-17). That the Egyptian chronicler's interest was especially in the supernatural background of the Hittite plight was, because it gave *meaning* to history (cf. note 136 further on). For a detailed and careful recent treatment of the political situation, cf. A. Schulman, *op.cit.*, 116 and *JNES* 38 (1979), 186 (note 14) and 190.

- 51 Kitchen, RI II, 245,1/3 foll. - 'Magnifying' (*sC3*) Pharaoh's *b3w*: compare the remarks on Brit. Mus. 589, on p. 7.
- 52 That Pharaoh's curse had been 'translated' for the Hittites in this way was apparently unknown (RI II, 248, 10/12-13/15). His primary concern was about the messengers he had now sent to Djahi for a first peaceful meeting with the Hittites, after so many years, 'in the days of rain and snow that occur in the *pr.t*-season' (RI II, 249,1/3-7/9) - that is, under the usual, natural, circumstances seen *from Egypt*. But since meteorological conditions had changed far away, how would they sustain

such hardships? Accordingly, he approached his father Seth with the words 'heaven is on your arms, the earth beneath your feet. Whatever has taken place is your ordering, in accordance with the fact that you refrained from making rain (*mī tm=k iri.t ḥwy.t*), cool wind and snow, in order that (once) the miraculous gift (*bī3y.t*) would arrive to me which you had allotted to me. Then his father Seth heard all he had said; heaven became friendly, the days of the *šmw*-season becoming <those of> the *pr.t*-season' (RI II, 249,10/12-250,4/6). In other words, the king now understood that Seth had put the Hittite country under duress in order that precisely this omen (*bī3y.t*, consisting of tribute, princess, and all) might come as a token of Seth's/Pharaoh's/Egypt's superiority. But now there should be relief, and the prevailing summer climate should become the (calendrically correct) winter climate again.

- 53 Although king Hattusilis occurs depicted in Abu Simbel, direct confirmation of a visit having taken place is difficult to gain from the cuneiform correspondence; cf. W. Helck, *Beziehungen*<sup>2</sup>, 220-221.
- 54 Convenient translation in *ANET* (1967<sup>2</sup>), 394-96. The king consulted his archives in search of an explanation for a persisting pestilence and one possible solution pointed to Egypt: under a former king, a treaty had been concluded with the Egyptians concerning the settlement of people from Kurustama on Egyptian-dominated territory. The treaty the text of which is not preserved, was guaranteed by the weather god and kept to by the Egyptians but violated by the Hittites. Under his father Suppiluliuma they even invaded the territory and when they retreated they brought with them the plague which the offended weather god refused to arrest even under Mursilis; a wide context for this disaster, also including Egypt, has been proposed by D. Redford (*Orientalia* 39 [1970], 46 foll.). Such an argumentation, once it had reached the Egyptian court in some way - as a facet of the many relations between Egyptians and Hittites - might have been lingering on in memory, so as to ultimately provide what we suppose to be an Egyptian rationale of the *background* of a similar misfortune affecting their opponents of later date. The suggestion has already

- been made by G. Posener, *De la divinité du Pharaon* (Paris, 1960), 54, note 2.
- 55 Kindly pointed out to us by Ph. Houwink ten Cate, referring to H. Klengel, " 'Hungerjahre' in Hatti", *Altor. Forsch.* 1 (1974), 165-174. The economic dependency of the Hittites on cattle-breeding and rain agriculture (reflected i.a. in the prominent position in the pantheon of the weather god) may have been well realized by the Egyptians, who belonged to the countries that shipped grain to Khatti 'in order to keep it alive' (RI IV, 5,3 - Merenptah). Apart from the historical precedent suggested above, this practical point may have been provided with the explanation that Seth (= the weather god) refused to let it rain in just as natural a way as attributing a Nile flood to Amun's good gift to Pharaoh, in the New Kingdom (cf., e.g. Pap. Mallet I, 3,8-4,1). Before the Egyptians mastered the art of artificial irrigation and found themselves in a similar totally dependent situation, they were likewise inclined to connect a famine (*ts*) with a supernatural agency (MoCalla Inscr. [10] IV.10: *ts* 'sand-bank/famine' ~ 'vertebra' of Apopis).
- 56 The translation given here is essentially different from those given by S. Allam, *Hier. Ostr.*, 112, and M. Green, *op.cit.* (note 8), 113.
- 57 Since *t3i* means 'to take', not 'thieve', the addition of a word for 'theft' - such as the derived noun *t3w.t* - is needed. For *t3i m t3w.t*, see also Pap. Anastasi III, 6, 1-2 = IV, 9,12 (and further variants); RAD 74,15-16 (incidentally, recording the theft of an amulet) and 76,1-2. For the situation, compare Pap. Cairo CG 58055 (A. Bakir, *Egyptian Epistolography* [Cairo, 1970], pl. 11), 7-9: 'please let there be made for us / another rope, of very good quality. For the one which was with us has been stolen. Let there be made / another, to replace it'.
- 58 In a number of instances *hr* plus *sdm=f* (presumably the prospective *sdm=f*) indicates a logical, expected, action as the outcome of an earlier fact. The *antecedent* clause is mostly oriented towards the future, rarely the past, as here. For other instances of a past antecedent followed by a *hr*-introduced *sdm=f* expressing the consequence,

- see O. Gardiner 53 (HO I, 49.1), rt. 5 and LRL 18,1-3.
- 59 The expression occurs elsewhere, *always* in an inimical sense. E.g., CT I, 313.a; M. Sandman, *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten* (Brussels, 1938), 17.3; 86.15; O. Leipzig 11 (here = [10]), rt.1; Kitchen, RI IV, 20,9; Meshwesh stela (see here note 2), 4; Inscriptions of Henuttaui, lines 23 and 27, and of MaCat-kareC, lines 6 and 8 (both: A. Gardiner, *JEA* 48 [1962], 57 sqq); statue Cairo CG 42190, b (G. Legrain, *Statues et statues*, II, 59). We would also prefer to render the interrogative sentence in  $\widehat{m}n\ sh3p=f\ sw\ \underline{d}d\ b3w=k\ p3\ ntr\ \underline{i}-iri\ sw$  from Pap. Moscow 127, 5,3-4 as 'who shall hide himself (i.e., who will be able to do so - cf. similar examples in *BiOr* 29 [1972], 272-3), the one who says "your *b3w*!" - oh god who has caused it?', rather than R. Caminos's 'who is going to hide him when your wrath, O God, shall name its perpetrator?' (*A Tale of Woe* [Oxford, 1977], 72). On the semantic side, there would be a problem with the non-personal noun *b3w* functioning as the agent of  $\underline{d}d$ ; for the incomplete clause *b3w=k* ('your *b3w* <is this>'), see note 111. - Further, compare also  $\underline{r}d\dot{i}\ b3w\ r$ , Pap. Berlin 3056, vs. 7,9 (*Hieratische Papyrus* ... II, pl. 32),  $\underline{w}nn\ b3w\ r$ , Pap. Chester Beatty IV, rt. 8,11-12,  $\underline{i}\underline{t}3\ b3w\ r$ , Urk. VI, 79,22 and  $\underline{t}3\dot{i}\ b3w\ r$ , signalized in note 102. The noun *b3w* will be found optionally provided with a possessive pronoun ( $\underline{p}3y=f\ b3w$ ,  $b3w=f$ ) in the case of a god, but not when a human person is meant; cf. the remarks to (12).
- 60 *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*. Fourth Series: Oracular Amuletic Decrees of the Late New Kingdom. Edited ... by I.E.S. Edwards, (London, 1960), I, p. xxii, note 4.
- 61 J. Zandee, *Death as an enemy* (Leiden, 1960), 206, quoting CT VI, 36.h = 45.h; add 13.b. Catchers with the net are meant. Cf. also 'he shall not enter the house of the wry', Pap. Cairo JdE 86637, vs. 10,2 which is similar to the astrological entries in Demotic, quoted by H. Thompson, *JEA* 26 (1940), 77, note 4.
- 62 Perhaps the term may be ranged with others from religious anthropology to denote personality aspects, like *k3*,  $3\dot{h}$ , and suchlike.

- 63 L. Habachi, *Tavole d'offerta, are e bacili da libazione, 22001-22067* (Torino, [1977]), 39-40.
- 64 If interpreted as the Ramesside sign ; cf. H. de Meulenaere, *Ann. de l'Inst. de Philol. et d'Hist. Or. et Slaves*, Bruxelles 20 (1968-72), 1973, 193 and J. Berlandini-Grenier, *BIFAO* 74 (1974), 15. - As Mr R. Demarée points out to us, the sign is far from being limited to the Memphite area.
- 65 This option is rejected by Habachi; nevertheless, for examples, cf. 'Anukis of Ḥ3.t' cited by D. Valbelle, *BIFAO* 75 (1975), 124 who also refers to the 'Sobk of Mery-rē<sup>c</sup>', Pap. Sallier IV, vs. 1,9 and 'Ptah of Mn-n3', Berlinscribe's palette 6764 = *AIB* II, 307.
- 66 Wenamun Report 1,39; 1,42; 1,47; 2,55 (unfortunately, 1,34 is damaged); for 'Amun of the Road' elsewhere, cf. Kitchen, *RI* III, 94,3; 95,8.
- 67 Pap. DeM I, vs. 2,2-3 (also, 2,3-4), resp. vs. 2,7.
- 68 Pap. Edwin Smith [53] 19,9-11.
- 69 E.g. Pap. Leiden I 348, rt. 8,5; Pap. Turin 1993, rt. 9,3-4 (Pleyte and Rossi, *PdT*, pl. 77-31.I, 3-4); an example from a list of properties is '<a statue of> Anubis in Lapislazuli', see E. Graefe and M. Wassef, *MDAIK* 35 (1979), 104, col. 19; the editors cite Edfu VI, 299,12 for a 'wr.t (possibly [Tho]eris) of flintstone'. Compare also *RAD* 60,1, where a definite term for 'sign' or a similar noun is absent when it is said that '<the hieroglyphs>  and  are made'. Or the mention of what is probably '<the tomb of> the Generalissimo' in O. Cairo JdE 72460 (E. Thomas, *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes* [Chicago, 1976], 209-216 and Kitchen, *RI* II, 855-6), rt. 1 by the mere term *mr-mš<sup>c</sup> wr*; here the localistic preposition *r-īwd* has a similar function as the 'fabricate' terms cited above. See also Add.
- 70 E.g. Metternich stela, 39, with many variants. For a recent translation, see our *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts* (Leiden, 1979), 85 and note 292.
- 71 Cf. G. Leech, *Semantics* (Harmondsworth, 1974), 216 foll. - Plutarch, *De Iside*, ch. 70 (379B) somewhat underrated the Egyptians in using metonymy although his exemplification is slightly different from the present one.
- 72 Coptic constructions like **OYTEIMINE** 'someone of this

- kind' (W. Till, *Koptische Grammatik* [Leipzig, 1966<sup>3</sup>], § 100) are not diachronic counterproof, since **oy** is probably actually an indefinite substantive in the function of a quantifier, not of an article. Cf. P. Ernstedt, *Wiss. Zeitschr. Martin-Luther Univ., Gesellsch. u. sprachl. Reihe* 27 (1978), 101.
- 73 Cf. e.g. *wr.t* 'great one' and *rr.t* 'sow' as articleless forms of address in the early Saite Thoeris statuette Cairo CG 39145 (M. Verner, *ZAS* 96 [1969], 52-63), back, col. 1, with an *ink t3 rr.t* found on the XXIIInd dynasty statue Louvre E 25479 (published by J. Vandier, *Revue du Louvre* 12 [1962], 197-204), back, 1. This is followed somewhat further by *ink wr.t*.
- 74 Body excreta: perhaps mentioned as *sfh* in Pap. DeM I, vs. 4,6 (as 'faeces': *Wb* IV, 117,11). Footprints, carefully swept away after a ritual performance (*ini.t rd*): E. Otto, *Mundöffnungsritual*, II, 158. Cf. e.g. I. Schapera in M. Marwick (ed.), *Witchcraft and Sorcery* (Penguin Readings in Modern Sociology, Harmondsworth, 1970), 113.
- 75 For the sanctuary and its finds, see *Top. Bibl.*, I.2, 690; at least one fragment of a Thoeris statue originates from it (B. Bruyère, *Rapports DeM 1929* [1930], 20). There may be a reference to *this* sanctuary on the wooden standard-bearing statue of a *RC-msw* from Deir el-Medīna (now Turin Museum, Cat. 3046): '... his statues are put up for ever, while he is in the House (*pr*) of Thoeris' (G. Maspero, *Rec. Trav.* 2 [1880], 185). Other statues of her from this village: B. Bruyère, *Rapports DeM 1948-51* (1953), 76 (fig. 19) and pl. X.3 (grand puits); *Rapports DeM 1930* (1933), 34 (tomb pit 1268).
- 76 Statue Louvre E 25479 (see note 73), 2.
- 77 *ib.*, 2-3; cf. statue Aberdeen Anthrop. Museum 1422 (C. De Wit, *OLP* 6/7 [1975/6], 205-7), 3: 'life and death are in her grasp'.
- 78 Aberdeen statue, 3; Cairo CG 39145 (note 73), back, 1.
- 79 Cf. the extensive pronouncements on her character on the wooden doors of a naos in the Pushkin Museum, Moscow (GMII 4867 = I. Bogoslovskiy, *VDI* 122 [1972.2], 75-85) - so far the most elaborate description of her from this village.

- 80 B. Bruyère, *Sur la déesse Thoéris*, pp. 72-82 in: *Rapports DeM 1935-40, III* (1952); same, *Le culte de Bès, Taourt et d'Hathor*, pp. 93-108 in: *Rapports DeM 1934-35* (1937). Pertinent remarks by I. Bogoslovskiy in *O Kul'te Tvêre*, pp. 85-8 in: *VDI 122* (1972.2). For her ambiguous role in general, see recently Ch. Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im Alten Agypten* (München und Berlin, 1976), 175 sqq.
- 81 *De Iside et Osiride*, ch. 19. Various explanations are cited by J. Gwyn Griffiths, *The Conflict of Horus and Seth* (Liverpool, 1960), 105.
- 82 Cf. H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion* (Leiden, 1967), 29-30 on Seth and Nephthys and our own remarks in *OMRO 51* (1970), 1971, 38-9 and *RdE 33* (forthcoming).
- 83 H. te Velde, *op.cit.*, 29.
- 84 H. Grapow, *ZAS 71* (1925), 45-47; add Pap. Carlsberg I, I.iv.43 foll.; Pap. Boulaq VI, rt. 2,4; satirically put in the mouth of Seth in Urk. VI, 57,7.
- 85 Bonnet, *RARG*, 533; G. Michaelidis, *BSAC 16* (1962), pl. I.b, facing p. 260.
- 86 E.g. statue Cairo CG 39145, back, 1; Louvre E 25479, back, 1; *Wörterbuch II*, 438,10; Bonnet, *RARG*, 533.
- 87 Tosi-Roccati, *Stele*, 93; 286.
- 88 *LA III*, 1133; further references, *RdE 32* (1980), 20, n.19.
- 89 The back of Thoeris is that of a crocodile. For Thoeris occasionally being represented with the head of a crocodile, not of a hippopotamus, cf. Bonnet, *RARG*, 532.
- 90 *LA III*, 1137.
- 91 A prominent criterion in H. Hubert and M. Mauss' celebrated *théorie générale de la magie* (cf. M. Mauss, *Sociologie et anthropologie* [Paris, 19807], 15-16).
- 92 HO I, 16.1 (rt.) and 144.1 (vs.). The reasons for separating the two in the edition are not very clear; vs. looks like a logical continuation of the text on the recto. For the argument, see the next note.
- 93 For *ky ḏd* elaborating preceding subject matter, not broaching new, there is an analogous instance in Pap. DeM V where we surmise a similar conciliatory intention. A scribe, A, complains of the reserved attitude of his colleague, B, especially as B has not fallen in with his request for a *hin* of oil (rt. 1-vs. 3). Then A de-

cides to leave matters as they are and to restore good relations with B, inviting B to take the initiative: '... another matter (*ky ḏd*). / Soak (*tḥb*) a bit of bread and have it brought [to me] quickly. / A good thing if you fare well' (vs. 3-5). In comparison with the sizeable item A has first unsuccessfully asked of B, the morsel of bread he is now expecting and going to consume has every chance of possessing a mere symbolic value.

- 94 An eloquent witness from the New Kingdom is the Letter to the Dead of Pap. Leiden I 371.
- 95 Compare M. Marwick, *Sorcery in its Social Setting* (Manchester, 1965) and also, "Witchcraft as a Social Strain Gauge", pp. 280-95 in *Witchcraft and Sorcery* (note 74).
- 96 There is a stroke to the right of , itself placed at the bottom of the line, which fits the lower end of an . The combination yields a vetitive *m-īrī b3w*, etc. But vetitives of verbal compounds containing *īrī* are generally given a periphrastic form with a second occurrence of this verb, as happens in our document (14) further on. However, *m-īrī b3w* is still possible; for a parallel, cf. *m-īrī s īwty ḥ3ty=f*, 'don't act as a senseless man', Pap. Bologna 1094, 3,6. On the other hand, *īrī b3w* as such goes effortlessly with any non-vetitive construction, negative of affirmative. That would be an argument in support of the proposal to regard D as the instigator of the *b3w* (the third alternative).
- 97 Looking for a 'systemic' parallel from Ancient Egypt, an example comes to mind which dates from the Middle Kingdom. In CT I [38]-[41] a problematical relationship between a son and his father is revealed; the son feels himself threatened with being drawn off after his dead father to the netherworld by some mystical power. Since in his counterargument he lays great emphasis on his present care of his father's legacy and household in the world of the living, his heirship itself may have been precisely the underlying cause of uncertainty and friction; does the son fear the father's jealousy since he is no longer in charge? The spell is completely unmythological; an Osiris-Horus setting would have solved the problem, as it may have done elsewhere (cf. e.g. CT V, 400.c and f). - For (purely theoretical) considerations devoted to the

- father-son relationship, cf. J. Assmann, *Das Bild des Vaters im Alten Agypten*, pp. 12-49 in: H. Tellenbach (ed.), *Das Bild des Vaters im Mythos und Geschichte* (Stuttgart, 1976).
- 98 As noted by W. Helck, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 161-2. Whether economic or religious reasons prevailed in creating these specific days, is irrelevant from a social point of view.
- 99 Compare G. Park, *Divination and its social contexts*, pp. 233-54 in: *Magic, Witchcraft and Curing*, ed. by J. Middleton (Austin [Texas] and London, 1967).
- 100 For the retrospective value of a dream, cf. H. Zulliger, *Prophetic Dreams*, pp. 168-182 in: *Psychoanalysis and the Occult*, ed. by G. Devereux (Norwick, 1974<sup>2</sup>), esp. pp. 179-180. - For a dream message which was instantly clear to the dreamer, see the text in Theban Tomb 194 recently published by J. Assmann in *RdE* 30 (1978), 22-50: here the goddess Hathor appears in order to point out the place for the dreamer's tomb.
- 101 Cf., from the same source: '<If a man sees himself in a dream> while making a shrine (*ḥby.t*) (it is) bad: bringing a crime of his to the light' (rt. 10,3 - the act is seen as the preparation for an expiatory rite, etc.). Or, from a Demotic dream book, the explanation of a woman's sexual dream: 'when a donkey copulates with her, she will be punished for a great abomination, while they [...]', Pap. Carlsberg XIII, b.2, 20. Here one is reminded of the threats in the safeguarding stipulations of a decree to a woman being assaulted by a donkey. The 'great abomination' (*bw* <sup>C3</sup>) itself might point to adultery, as it commonly does in early Demotic marriage contracts.
- 102 Oracular Am.Decr./L.1, 41-3 and T.2, rt. 84; cf. the typical difference with *t3i* *b3.w* in CT IV, 319.e ('take *ba*-souls along'). - Protection against the *b3w* of Amun, Mut, Khonsu, Amenemope, Monthu and MaCat: OAD/L.1, 32-4 and similarly L.2, rt. 20; vs. 48 sqq; T.1, rt. 62; T.3, 69 sqq; P.2, rt. 25; P.4, 24. One may add Instruction of Amenemope, 11,5, as another instance. Protection against their *b3w* and their plans (*shrw*): *ib.*, L.6, rt. 67-68 and vs. 86; L.7, 22; NY, 24 = C., 21. Here the *b3w* is even paralleled by *bt3* 'crime'

- (brought about by the gods) - see T.3, 74-5 and C.1, 90-92.
- 103 J. Černý, *BIFAO* 72 (1972), 57 (no. 58).
- 104 Pap. Chester Beatty XII, vs. B.12, 5-6. There is surprisingly little difference between such a 'magic' request like this and a prayer to the same effect in Instruction of Ani, 8,14 foll.
- 104 Eloquent Peasant, R.41-44. The word *šsp* is determined with the falcon on the standard.
- 106 J. Černý, *BIFAO* 72 (1972), 65 (no. 85).
- 107 G. Daressy, *Ostraca*, pl. 19.
- 108 Which would make it a kind of letter to the dead. The Middle Kingdom practice of 'posting' such a letter in a tomb is still attested by a single passage in an ostraccon from Deir el-Medīna: 'oh noble chest (*Cfd.t*) of the Osiris, the songstress of Amun, 'Ih-t3y, that rests under her: listen to me, that you may transmit (it), telling her - since you are near her -: "how is your situation ...?" ', etc. (O. Louvre Inv. 698 [HO I, 80], rt. 1-3).
- 109 J. Černý, *Ostraca hiératiques*, 76\*; pl. 73.
- 110 End of a woman's name, containing the town determinative; T3-nt-nīw.t?
- 111 This interpretation of the god's name, although unusually written, is also the one given by E. Graefe, *Studien zu den Göttern und Kulturen im 12. und 10. oberägyptischen Gau* (Freiburg im Br., 1980), 14-15, note 51. - In the translation we have assumed that this is a non-verbal equative clause with an incomplete predication frame (type A-Ø in S. Groll, *Non-verbal Sentence Patterns in Late Egyptian* [London, 1967], 12 sqq), a construction regularly found in argumentative passages, whether in oral exchange (answers, explanations) or (for instance) in Instruction texts. This we prefer to taking *b3w* as the object of the verb *ḏḏ* (for one expects rather *sḏḏ* in that case, as hymns have it - cf. note 163). Compare, in a similar explanatory context: '... they pray before <my> face, saying (*ḥr ḏḏw*): <<your manifestation, your manifestation (*b3w=k*)!>> - like dogs who ...[...]', Kitchen, RI II, 320,16-321,1. Similarly, *ib.*, V, 39,4-5 and probably Pap. Moscow 127, 5,4 (see here note 59).

- 112 Perhaps rather 'life' than 'oath' - compare the ostrakon referred to in note 118. - We do not understand the connection with the preceding word which, if the determinative is correctly transcribed, might denote a building. But it could just as well be a quite different word - cf., for instance, the house-determinative to *isy* 'old' in Pap. DeM IV, rt. 6 (from *is*, 'palace, tomb'). Or, compare, for instance, *m-hnw* (ending on  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ ) *chnj* 'in life', Pap. Anastasi IV, 4,5.
- 113 Probably so, unless *P3-it* is a proper name (H. Ranke, *PN* II, 202.6 = Spiegelberg, *Rechnungen*, pl.14, col. a.1,8); cf. also *P3y=w-it*, from Černý, *Graffiti*, nos. 1630 and 2161. For another instance of an unspecified *p3 it* 'the father', see Pap. DeM X, vs.4. For another context with both *chnj* ('life') and *it*, cf. the not very intelligible remark *(i)n chnj n it n rmt n p3y=f šri*, 'does the life of someone's father belong to his son?', Pap. Anastasi IX, rt. 2. The ostrakon cited in note 118 says 'and you should see whether <it is (?)> the life of mine / [or] the life of their mother' (lines 5-6).
- 114 Unpublished. Text - pointed out to us by Mr R. Demarée - is cited from J. Černý's transcription in his Notebook No. 45, p. 51, kept at the Griffith Institute. For kind permission to quote it we are indebted to Mrs H. Murray.
- 115 Probably so, rather than 'you' (*twt*). For instances of  $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$  as *twi*, cf. Pap. Chester Beatty I, vs. C.2,3; Pap. Northumberland I, vs.1.
- 116 Amenophis I is commonly thus addressed, e.g. O. Petrie 21 (HO I, 16.4), rt. 6 and vs. 5; O. Cairo CG 25555, vs. 2 and probably in our document (4). - Ruling monarch: e.g. Ramesses II, cf. D. Wildung, *ZAS* 99 (1972), 33 foll., esp. 39-40 and the relief from Deir el-Medīna, briefly commented by L. Kákosy, *ZAS* 100 (1973), 38 and 39, fig. 1. Ramesses III: e.g. Kitchen, *RI* V, 82,1.
- 117 Cf. e.g. M. Münster, *Untersuchungen Isis* (Berlin, 1968), 82 sqq. For the expression of the relationship itself, cf., for instance, '(the goddess) Nebethetpet, great royal wife (*hm.t nsw.t wr.t*), wife to Rē<sup>C</sup> (*hm.t R<sup>C</sup>*)', statue Madrid, Museo Arch. Nac., 2014 (Saite) = I. Gamer-Wallert, *WdO* 7 (1973-4), 198, 200, signalized already by J. Vandier, *RdE* 16 (1965), 106 (viii-ix). Such

- an epithet seems to be rare before the Ptolemaic period when it becomes quite frequent in temple theology (cf. *Wb* III, 78,15).
- 118 B. Letellier, *La destinée de deux enfants, un ostracon ramesside inédit*, pp. 127-33 in: *Livre du Centenaire de l'IFAO (1880-1890)*, Le Caire, 1980. We wish to thank Mlle Letellier for her great kindness in showing us the proofs of her article.
- 119 Pap. Bibliothèque Nationale, 237, carton 1, largest fragment (personal transcription).
- 120 H. Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 365.5.
- 121 Metternich Stela, 48 sqq and variants, edited by A. Klasens, *OMRO* 33 (1952), 10 sqq. For a recent translation, see our *AEMT* (note 70), no. 90, where we have identified O. Gardiner 333 (HO I, 100.1) as a new source, containing part of the beginning.
- 122 Cf. H. Smith, *Proceedings of the XIV[th] International Congress of Papyrologists* (London, 1975), 257.
- 123 Metternich Stela, 57 (and varr.), modifying our earlier translation at this point. We take *rh.t* as an active participle and thus do not connect it with passages where a woman is mentioned *known by her townspeople*, cited by A. Klasens (*op.cit.*, 76).
- 124 *Wb* II, 446,2. Ranke considered the woman's name *T3-rh.t* (above, note 120) to be an abbreviation of a formation like *t3-rh.t Cn<.ti>* (*PN* II, 396, referring to II, 430.25 - from Deir el-Medina), i.e., 'The Knowing One is friendly'. This suggests that the divine epithet may have been in existence much earlier; cf. perhaps stela Brit. Mus. 574 (W. Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos ...* [New Haven and Philadelphia, 1974], pl. 61) where the owner is qualified i.a. as ... *dmq.w n=f Crh.t*, 'to whom the arm of the Knowing One (?) is extended' (line 8 = K. Sethe, *Lesestücke*, 75,10).
- 125 Metternich Stela, 181 foll.; for a recent translation see our *AEMT* no. 91, p. 63.
- 126 An overseer of woman physicians (*swnw.t*) is cited from the Old Kingdom by P. Ghalioungui in *BIFAO* 75 (1975), 159-164 (correcting F. Jonckheere, *Les Médecins de l'Égypte Pharaonique* [Brussels, 1958], 41, no. 30. - For modern Egypt, compare e.g. W. Blackman, *The Fellahin of*

- Upper Egypt* (London, 1927), 70 and 185-7. - For western societies: R. Muchembled, *La sorcière au village* (Paris, 1979), ch. III; K. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (Harmondsworth, 1978<sup>3</sup>), ch. 8. For a phenomenological overview, see e.g. F. Heiler, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion* (Stuttgart, 1961), 410 foll., esp. 411-14.
- 127 Wenamun Report, 1,38 foll. The non-Egyptian character or the situation has recently been underlined (once again) by H. Ebach and U. Rüterswörden, *GM* 20 (1976), 17-22, M. Görg, *GM* 23 (1977), 31-33 and A. Cody, *JEA* 65 (1979), 99-106. However, even though the kind of prophesying may be unattested in an Egyptian context (so far), the verb itself - *ḥ3t* - need not be un-Egyptian, as has been alleged in one breath (*GM* 20, 22, note 29; *GM* 23, 32-33; M. Görg, *ZDMG* Suppl. iv [1980], 71) - and thus neither the notion of frenziness. A similar writing in Oracular Amuletic Decrees/Ch., 23, provides a context (with a parallel term *šm3y*, 'roaming demon') which makes it not unlikely that the verb written *ḥ3t* is connected with the time-honoured *ḥ3(y)ty*-demon.
- 128 Pap. Anastasi V, 7,6-7 = Pap. Chester Beatty V, rt. 6,9.
- 129 For a reconsideration of this document and others connected with the figure of the 'hot one', see our preliminary remarks in *GM* 38 (1980), 23. - For the simile of the powerless man in the clutches of sorcery, cf. O. Armytage (*JEA* 22 [1936], 165-8), 4-5: 'come, may you place NN born of NN in my hand like a fluttering bird / in the mouth of the falcon'.
- 130 Literally so, if one thinks of '... your *b3w* is in them (cf. note 141) as a blow (*sh.t*)', Amarna Tomb of Tutu = M. Sandman, *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten* (Brussels, 1938), 81.14.
- 131 Kitchen, RI IV, 15,11.
- 132 *ib.*, 14,16-15,6.
- 133 *ib.*, 20,9.
- 134 *ib.*, 7,7-8.
- 135 *ib.*, 16,2/3-4/5. For the forms of divination, cf. H. Brunner, *Zeichendeutung an Sternen und Winden in Agypten*, pp. 25-30 in: *Wort und Geschichte* (Festschrift Karl Elliger [Kevelaer, 1973]) and *GM* 25 (1977), 45-6. A di-

- viner's title of this kind appears also on a stela recently published by G. Gaballa in *Studies ... Fairman* (see note 7), 43-45 (Cairo JdE 24958).
- 136 This - non-ritual - dimension of history comes close to the one often met in Western Asia. Compare B. Albrektson, *History and the Gods. An Essay on the Ideas of Historical Events as Divine Manifestations in the Ancient Near East and in Israel* (Lund, 1967).
- 137 Berlin Stela 23077, 8. Judging by photographs (e.g. A. Erman, *Die Religion der Agypter* [Berlin-Leipzig, 1934], pl. 5, or E. Brunner-Traut, *Die Alten Agypter* [Stuttgart, etc., 1974], 139) we prefer G. Roeder's reading *iḥ.t* (*AIB* II, 160) above Erman's earlier *is<f>.t*, the latter, however, being (hesitatingly) taken up again in K. Kitchen, *RI* III, 654,11; precisely why the mention of a cow would be implausible, as M. Lichtheim recently remarks (*Ancient Egyptian Literature*, II [Berkeley, etc., 1976], 107, note 4) escapes us. That *Nḥt-'Imn* may have cheated with a cow intended for the god is a possibility that comes to mind in view of certain oracular questions about animals acceptable to a god, like a goat (O. IFAO 153 [J. Černý, *BIFAO* 35 (1935), 35, no. 17]), or a bull ('is it good, this bull? [Then] accept it!' [O. IFAO 682 (*BIFAO* 41 [1942], 15, no. 25)]); elsewhere, there is mention of a calf (Pap. DeM X, vs. 3). Or else, 'the cow' played a role in a purely private affair, like the one recorded in O. IFAO Inv. 388 (HO I, 69.2) where failure to hand over a cow (*iḥ.t*, rt. 4 foll.) according to the oath sworn will entail a bodily punishment. But that gods might intervene, is suggested by similarly private affairs involving an oath like (1), (3) and (4).
- 138 Sarcophagus of Anchnesneferibre, 470-2 = C. Sander-Hansen, *Die religiösen Texte auf dem Sarg des Anchnesneferibre* (Copenhagen, 1937), 140. Mythical situation: cf. Edfu VI, 339,2.
- 139 Cf. also '... as for the one who will remove / them, the manifestation of Neith shall occur against him (*b3w N.t <r> ḥpr r=f*) for ever and always', stela of Tefnakhte (W. Spiegelberg, *Rec. Trav.* 25 [1903], 190-8), 7-8 = now R. el-Sayed, *Documents relatifs à Sais et ses divinités* (Le Caire, 1975), 43.

- 140 O. Cairo JdE 59465 = J. Černý, *BIFAO* 35 (1935), 48, no. 51; see here also note 155.
- 141 For 'A is in the *b3w* of god B': apart from the instances cited (pp. 13, 27 and 28) see also Kitchen, *RI V*, 11,3 and stela fragment in B. Bruyère, *Rapports DeM 1945-47* (1952), 45, fig. 30.2 = 42, sub 25. The *b3w* of god B is in A: M. Sandman, *Texts Akhenaten* (note 130), 81,14; Kitchen, *RI I*, 36,8; *II*, 40,15; 154,13; 244,4/7 (here note 50). Cf. also *II*, 173,12 ('to place one's *b3w* in'). - 'The *b3w* of god B is with (*m-dī*) B' also corresponds to 'B is in the hand (*m-dr.t*) of god A', see note 156. - In consequence of our remarks (note 3) on the difficulty of determining *inflexional* differences between *b3.w* and *b3w*, one should not wonder at the occasional occurrence of *b3* in a context where *b3w* might be expected. Such is the case in 'I am Sakhmet. My *b3* is in them. I am Bastet. My fire is in them', Edfu *III*, 308,15.
- 142 A. Gardiner, *The Attitude of the Ancient Egyptians to Death and the Dead* (Cambridge, 1935), 19. Edition: J. Černý and G. Posener, *Papyrus hiératiques de Deir el Médineh*, I (Le Caire, 1978), pl.9-11 = vs. 1,3-3,2. We suspect that the enigmatic text of O. DeM 1059 may be of similar purport. - For the expression *hr mt* itself, with no god attached to it, cf. Pap. DeM I, vs. 5,5; 5,7 and *OMRO* 51 (1970), 1971, 191, with footnote 2.
- 143 Cf. the omen series edited by R. Labat, *Traité accadien de diagnostics et pronostics médicaux* (Paris and Leiden, 1951); earlier parallels are mentioned by L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia* (Chicago, 1977<sup>2</sup>), 223. The protasis-apodosis style is common to both the Accadian and the Egyptian treatises. Further, 'to be under the death of such-and-such a god' in Egyptian corresponds with such Accadian conclusions as 'death is on him' (Labat, *op.cit.*, [9] 54; [10] 53, etc.) or to 'he may die' (*ib.*, p. xxviii).
- 144 Hippocr., *Peri hierês nousou*, 4-5; for the reigning 'popular' belief, cf. E. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1964), 67-8. For the pivotal meaning of the passage, cf. also G. Lloyd, *Magic, Reason and Experience*. Studies in the Origin and Develop-

ment of Greek Science (Cambridge, 1979), 15 sqq who points out (56-7) the relative weakness of this rationalistic viewpoint in comparison of what Greek science of the time might be able to offer by way of alternative. The Egyptian viewpoint suffers of no inner contradictions, cf. note 160, *in fine*.

145 Kitchen, RI V, 49,7.

146 *ksi n*: Kitchen, RI I, 99,14-15; 204,6; II, 169,15; 447,10; 571,2; V, 27,5-6; Kadesh Poem, 32. *hdb n*: V, 45,6. *hr n*: I, 12,13-14; 207,10; II, 173,6; V, 105,10.

147 E.g. from the Edfu and Dendera temples, *pth n*: Dendera III, 106,14; *h3b n*: Edfu I, 142,6; 231,17; 379,16; 430,3; II, 63,15; 75,7; 187,9; III, 189,17; IV, 69,11; 155,5; 228,1; 311,2-3; 388,10; VI, 244,12; 249,10; 293,5; 294,9; 294,15; VII, 193,12; 306,16; VIII, 33,2; 58,4; 112,16; 124,17; 132,3; Dendera I, 97,11; II, 166,3; IV, 119,15; VI, 54,4; VII, 8,17; 9,7; VIII, 63,2; 97,10; 119,2. *ksi n*: Edfu I, 47,5; III, 314,10; Dendera II, 99,2. *h3m n*: Edfu IV, 57,4. *hr n*: Edfu I, 33,18-19; VII, 147,15; 165,11; Dendera I, 47,16.

148 Kitchen, RI V, 48,9-10. - For *hr b3w*, see also RI II, 246,4/6, cited in note 50.

149 *dns*: A. Gardiner, *JEA* 48 (1962), 62, note 3; *wdn*: Pap. Leiden I 350, rt. 3,2; Nitocris Adoption Stela, 1.

150 Esna II [197] 16; S. Sauneron, "Les possédés", *BIFAO* 60 (1960), 111-115.

151 Cf. H. Junker, *Vorschriften für den Tempelkult in Philä, Analecta Biblica* 12 (1959), 151-160 as a good example. For a handy survey of these prohibitions, see R. Grieshammer, *ZDMG Suppl.* 2.1 (1974), 22, note 14.

152 '... do not let any people enter into it (= the temple) (while) they belong to those-under-a-manifestation or (under) the craft-of-a-protection; / their residence is the (space) of the surrounding area of this temple', Esna II [197] 16-17. - It is possible that those called *hr(y) b3w* are sufferers of the *hiera nosos* ('epilepsy', in all probability) as Sauneron proposed (*op.cit.*, 114) although no precise support for it can be found in earlier occurrences of *hr b3w* (p. 29); but then, the notion of 'mental disturbance' may have been elastic. - We have followed Sauneron's interpretation of the compounds

$\underline{hr}(y) b3w$  and  $(\underline{hr}(y)) \dot{h}m.t-s3w$  as distinct human categories, whereas L. Žabkar (*op.cit.* [note 1], 88, note 217) throws them together in speaking of 'a man afflicted by the *bas* of sorcery'. However, the combination of a notion which is abstract by itself ( $\dot{h}m.t s3w$ ) with a further abstract aspect ( $b3w$ ) seems unlikely to us. - The word  $s3w$  'protection' can have a most ominous meaning when the protection of X is used against Y to keep the latter *in check*. Cf. a spell for 'laying a protection ( $s3w$ ) on the one whom one fears' in the still unedited Ostr. Louvre 694, cited by A. Gardiner in *Hastings Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, viii (London, 1915), 264. Hence, people 'under the craft ( $\dot{h}m.t$ ) of  $s3w$ ' are just as much paralysed as those 'under  $b3w$ '.

- 153 For inarticulateness as the main base for recognizing 'impurity', cf. M. Douglas' *Purity and Danger* (London, 1978<sup>5</sup>), particularly the example she quotes on p. 94-5.
- 154 Cf. the dangers mentioned in two such contracts, published by H. Thompson, *Two Demotic Self Dedications*, *JEA* 26 (1940), 68-70 (from the temple of Sobk at Tebtynis).
- 155 Hence our doubts about the interpretation of O. Cairo JdE 59465 (p. 28 and note 140). For a good instance of a demon entering someone's body, cf. a spell in a Toronto ostrakon (Theban Ostrakon C i, pp. 13-15 in: A. Gardiner *et alii*, *Theban Ostraca* [London & Oxford, 1913]); also, our remarks on  $s^Cky$  'intruder' in *OMRO* 51 (1970), 1971, 98-99 (note 171).
- 156 Possession, in a most literal sense: 'don't mock a man who is in the hand of ( $m-\underline{dr}.t$ ) a god / and then become angry against him, <so as to> harm him', Instruction of Amenemope, 24,11-12. Such people deserve pity, like a blind man, or a dwarf, or a lame one (*ib.*, 24,9-10). There is no suggestion of *mental* disturbance here, although it is possible. One meets the expression also in, for instance, a well-known prayer to the Peak goddess (stela Turin N. 50058 = Tosi-Roccati, *Stele*, 95) where  $Nfr-Cbw$  states 'I was in her hand / by night as by day' (4-5). The owner's fault is unspecified, and the term  $b3w$  is not used in this document. - For the psychotic background in general, cf. P.M. Yap, "The Culture-Bound Reactive Syndrome", reprinted with abridgements in: D. Landry (ed.),

*Culture, Disease and Healing*. Studies in Medical Anthropology (New York and London, 1977), 340-49 (originally publ., 1969) and I. Lewis, *Ecstatic Religion* (Harmondsworth, 1971), ch. 7. So far too little descriptive evidence is offered by our sources to weigh them against a psychiatric definition of various ethnic psychoses.

- 157 Other *hr*-terms denoting possession are: (1) *hry-3h*, 'under (the influence of) a spirit', Bentresh Stela, 11; (2) *h(ry)-ntr*, in Demotic texts and (3) *hry-k3*. Concerning (2): it may be remarked that the doubts recently expressed by K. Zauzich (*Enchoria* 6 [1976], 79-80, note a) about the composition of *h-ntr* can perhaps be eliminated by a brief analysis of his other *h*-compounds. Not opting for a unitary formative, we would suggest (a) *h<r>(y)* in the case of *h-thy* 'danger' (compare Ramesside *hr-hsw.t*, 'popularity' in C. Robichon, *Karnak-Nord*, III [Cairo, 1951], 13) and *h-lbš*, 'armour' (for *lbš* 'leather', cf. earlier *rbš*, *Wb* II, 414,6 = Pap. Koller 1,7; and Pap. Brooklyn 47.218.156, 5,2. For the formation 'what-is-under-leather', compare *hry-mrh* 'what-is-under-tarnish' [*Wb* II, 112,3 and recently J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 244-5], i.e., tarnished objects). Further, (b) *h.t* 'body' or 'mass' in the case of *h-hry* 'lower department' (cf. *Wb* III, 358,9-11 and Ph. Derchain, *Le Papyrus Salt 825*, I, 166, note 69; for Demotic 'floor', see R. Reymond's references in *BJRL* 49 [1966/7], 473, note 18), *h.t-dmī* 'town's people' (cf. *Wb* III, 357,18-358,3) and *h.t-mw* (for which compare *Wb* III, 358,5-8).

A term (3) *hr(y)-k3* is regularly encountered in Calendar papyri (Pap. Cairo JdE 86637, rt. 4,4; 12,1 = Pap. Sallier IV, rt. 6,9; Pap. Cairo, rt. 29,8 [destroyed] = Pap. Sallier IV, 22,7; Pap. Cairo, vs. 6,8 and 8,1) and, though curiously determined with the sign of the bull (provided moreover with the sign ) , rather means 'someone possessed by a ka-power' than 'trampling of a bull' so A. Bakir). This suffering regularly takes place after meeting supernatural beings.

- 158 Compare Amenemope Instruction, 21,13-16 where 'do not falsify an (oracular) wonder on a scroll / and thus disturb the plan of a god' (cf. G. Posener, *ZAS* 90 [1963], 98-102) followed by 'do not invent (*gmī*) for yourself

the manifestation (*b3w*) of a god on your own account / as if there were no Fate and Destiny' suggests, in our opinion, that the latter two clauses parallel the former two and that they re-formulate the fraud in theological terms. Our rendering is different from J. Quaegebeur's in *Le dieu égyptien Shaï* (Leuven, 1975), 107 (bibliography on the passage: *ib.*, n. 3). Perhaps our doc. (1) illustrates how the appearance of *b3w* can be related to an oracular procession, if the week's interval between crime and appearance is interpreted that way.

- 159 Possibly the sacred writings of the Late Period metonymically called the *b3.w* (rather so than *b3w*) of  $R\bar{e}^C$  (mostly) or of Atum or of 'the gods' (H. Fairman and A. Blackman, *JEA* 29 [1943], 22, note 7 and 30 [1944], 79; also L. Žabkar, *op.cit.*, 49-50) bear this title as classifications of the different ways the divine shows itself in nature and life. As far as *b3.w R<sup>C</sup>* is concerned (compare also Ph. Derchain, *Le Papyrus Salt 825*, I, 55-8) one is reminded of an earlier statement that 'the *ba* of  $R\bar{e}^C$  is throughout the land' (Book of the Heavenly Cow, version of Seti I, col. 87 - Maystre, *BIFAO* 40 [1941], 103). That suggests a methodical set-up similar to the classification in the diviner's manual.
- 160 Pap. Chester Beatty III, rt. 11,1 sqq. Perhaps in this light also a passage in the Instruction for Merikar $\bar{e}^C$  may be understood: 'I did something similar, so that something similar happened (*hpr*), as is done to / someone whom something similar struck (*thi*) by the hand (<sup>C</sup>) of a god' (P., 70-71); as we understand the statement, a mishap is retrievable as a divine punishment because of a certain correspondence to a misdeed. - Another possible divine 'visitation' of the kind is the 'ūdjat-eye', mentioned as an eye disease in the Oracular Amuletic Decrees (cf. our remarks in *RdE* 32 [1980], 19, note 15). On another level, the unruly character of the god Khonsu contributes perhaps in a more than metaphorical way to the qualification of the throbbing of a swelling as a 'Khonsu-swelling' in medical prescriptions (e.g. Pap. Ebers [873]; cf. G. Posener, *ZAS* 93 [1966], 115). - On the strength of its own world-view, there is nothing illogical in these Egyptian forms of disease aetiology; cf.

M. Spiro, *Religion and the Irrational*, pp. 102-115 in: *Symposium on New Approaches to the Study of Religion* (Seattle, 1964), esp. 107. It is, of course, well known that commonsense observation and theory of supernatural causation occur complementing each other in Egypt, as is well evidenced by, for instance, a case in Pap. Edwin Smith [8] rt. 4,5-18 commented by J. Wilson, *JNES* 11 (1952), 76-80.

- 161 There is some analogy here with the way healers in certain societies examine the patient's social relationships to detect the causation of his illness, that is, ultimately look at the moral values in a society's own code book. Cf. the practice of the Ndembu diviner, several times described by V. Turner, e.g. *Divination as a phase in a social process*, pp. 373-6 in: W. Lessa and E. Vogt (ed.), *Reader in Comparative Religion*. An anthropological Approach (New York, etc., 1979<sup>4</sup>).
- 162 Instances of non-personal (inanimate being a quite misleading term here) notions possessing *b3w* given by Žabkar, *op.cit.*, 48-9 (sphinx, pylons) have an immediately manifest relationship with the divine; cf. the name, Kitchen, RI V, 48,9-10, here cited in note 148. More remote associations are the threshing floor (Instruction of Amenemope, 19,8 = [7]), the doorbolt (Pap. Chester Beatty I, rt. 16,9) and, very typically, the 'animistic' conception of the blood in: 'he gulps down the *b3w* of the blood of the one that attacked him in a nick of time', said of Amun as a lion (Pap. Leiden I 350, rt. 5,8).
- 163 E.g. 'to praise' (*dw3*) *b3w*: stela Brit. Mus. 164 (*Hierogl. Texts*, 9.21), 7; 142, 8 (= Kitchen, RI III, 219.5); N. de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Antef-oker*, graffito [21] 1 (= pl. 36); to 'magnify' (*s<sup>C</sup>3*) it: stela Brit. Mus. 123 (*Hierogl. T.*, 7.42), 1; to 'adore' (*sw3š*) it: Kitchen, RI II, 241, 9-10. To 'proclaim' (*sdđ*) it: stela Turin Cat. 50044 (Tosi-Rocati, *Stele*, 78), 4; Kitchen, RI V, 83,8; 103,10; stela Brit. Mus. 374 (*Hierogl. Texts*, 7.29), 7; O. Gurneh 12189 (G. Posener, *RdE* 27 [1975], 209), rt. 1; O. DeM 1088, 1; 4.
- 164 Kitchen, RI V, 85,2.
- 165 Kadesh Poem, 311-313 = RI II, 93,12/16-94,1/4.
- 166 Kadesh Poem, 92; Kitchen, RI I, 18,13-14; II, 244,4/7;

- 319, 9/10-11/12. Cf. also Stela Louvre C 256 (*RdE* 20 [1968], 7 sqq), 14: 'great of manifestation - he is more powerful than Sakhmet - like a fire in a storm wind'.
- 167 Kitchen, *RI II*, 270,1. The idea is exactly similarly formulated in the presumably Middle Kingdom Instruction by a Man for his Son, in the presently isolated passages of O. Giza 1 (*Ostraka Michaelidis*, pl. 18), 1 = O. Petrie 52 (HO I, 13.3), 1 (= O. DeM 1266 + Cairo CG 25218 [old text], 11-12); cf. G. Posener *apud* J. Osing in *MDAIK* 33 (1977), 111.
- 168 E.g. Edfu I, 306.1; III, 18,10; 120,5-6; IV, 72,7; VI, 315,13; Dendera I, 107,8; II, 43,18; 83,1; III, 81,16; 147,13; 174,13; VI, 140,8.
- 169 In the Old Kingdom Papyrus Berlin 9010 (K. Sethe, *ZAS* 61 [1926], 70 sqq) a formula is cited (col. 5) 'your *b3w* is against him, (oh) god!' in the context of an oath. Evidently the veracity of the witnesses endorsing the contract by oath is alluded to; the god is anonymous. All this reminds one of the uneasiness felt by the oath-breakers using the New Kingdom expression *b3w ntr (hprw)*. Or, to take another instance, from the Middle Kingdom: the uncertainty in which Sinuhe finds himself with regard to the divine forces behind his impulsive flight to Palestine phenomenologically corresponds to these same consequences. Cf. 'I do not know what brought me to this land; / it is like the counsel (*shr*) of a god' (*Sin.*, B. 42-3) or 'whichever god destined this / flight - be reconciled,' (*ib.*, 156-7) and 'this is just the doing (*C*, 'arm, influence') of a god; it is a fact that the terror (*hry.t*) is in my belly, like that (feeling) which (once) caused the destined flight' (*ib.*, 262). The terms will also be found as marginal parallels to *b3w* in the table (p. 37-38).
- 170 In this way causality is viewed in Teaching for Merikarē<sup>c</sup>, P. 123: 'a blow (*sh*, masc. - cf. Pap. DeM XXVII, rt. 11) is repeated by its likeness; that means, that everything being done is connected' (*mdd*, lit. 'pressed together'; but cf. also E. Blumenthal, *ZAS* 107 [1980], 18, note 150). For a blow (*sh.t*) dealt by gods as their *b3w*: note 130.
- 171 Cf. J. Zandee, *De hymnen aan Amon van Papyrus Leiden I*

350 (Leiden, 1947), 122 sqq; J. Assmann, *Primat und Transzendenz. Struktur und Genese der ägyptischen Vorstellung eines "Höchsten Wesens"*, pp. 7-42 in: W. Westendorf (ed.), *Aspekte der spätägyptischen Religion* (Wiesbaden, 1979).

- 172 A recently published text from this village, O. Gardiner 109 (S. Allam, *Hier. Ostr.*, pl. 40-41) contains a text (imported from Syria, rt. 4) with prognostics for one, unfortunately unmentioned, month. - The practical value of the great New Kingdom calendar mss, and thus their universal validity (cf. E. Brunner-Traut, *Antaios* 12 [1971], 332-47) has been rightly questioned by R. Drenkhahn (*MDAIK* 28 [1972], 85-94), although there is at times a not inconsiderable corroboration between the prescriptions *per diem* and the enterprises of private people (*ib.*, 93). How they were used by individuals is difficult to determine, since (1) many entries may date to the Middle Kingdom and moreover may have no specific local relevance; (2) the personal character of much of the New Kingdom religion may have been a reason for some individuals for taking a given mythological entry with a prohibition involving a certain god seriously, but not for others; (3) obnoxious associations with certain days may also have been hopefully shifted on to the account of one's opponent (which would deal with some of the inconsistencies in Drenkhahn's list of juridical sessions, *ib.*, 93).
- 173 Festival days (communal and personal) and places of worship other than a temple. The cult in private and communal sanctuaries is of more relevance in this respect than the official, mainly inner, cult in a temple.
- 174 For such a rationalizing tendency at work, one may think of the attribution to Amun (as a 'sky-god') of the responsibility for *both* the Northwind and the Inundation, since these are connected natural phenomena, in the New Kingdom (they were later interpreted as the Etesian winds *causing* the Flood). An upper god's prerogatives being transferable, such an association is no longer limited to Amun (for other candidates, see e.g. B. Stricker, *De Overstroming van de Nijl* [Leiden, 1956], 10-11), although it may still involve his sacred ram (cf. our forthcoming paper in *RdE* 32 [1980], 17 foll.).

## ADDITIONS TO SOME NOTES

- 5 Alternatively, the final part of the passage from the Satire of the Trades might as well be rendered (176-77 = Pap. Sallier II, 9,1): 'as soon as he (= the crocodile) has left that dangerous (?) water, then it (= the crocodile) is like the manifestation of a god', taking  $\dot{h}r=f$  not as a citation pattern (as is always done) but as the introducer of the pronominal subject of a verbless localistic ('adverbial') clause. Pap. Brit. Mus. 10288, A.14 (R. Caminos, *JEA* 58 [1977], pl. 40 and p. 213) contains another example of this construction, *pace* A. Gardiner, *EG*<sup>3</sup>, § 119.5. The unfortunate fisherman suffers no less of a delusion than the speaker in the *Hirtengeschichte*.
- 69 For one more instance of metonymy, cf. the expression  $rdi.t\ Ws\dot{i}r\ n$  'to give <the status of> Osiris to', for which see A. Gardiner, *JEA* 37 (1951), 112; L. Kákosy, *Studia Aegyptiaca* 2 (1976), 173-74.

## A DEPUTY OF THE GANG KNOWS HIS BUSINESS (*Hier.Ostr.* 67, 1)

J.F. Borghouts

### 1 INTRODUCTION

The document which forms the subject of this brief paper is a letter. It consists of three separate pieces (ostraca Cairo CG 25673, Gardiner 99 and British Museum 50734). Presented together as one fairly complete text as early as 1957<sup>1</sup>, it has never been translated or analysed in full. Small wonder; it looks like a page torn from an Ancient Egyptian *Who's Who* with all the names cut out except those of two people.

The principal one of these, the chief actor, is the 'deputy of the gang' (*idnw n t3 is.t*) 'Imn-*h*<sup>Cw</sup> who composed this letter to 'his lord'. J. Černý has devoted a special chapter to the bearers of this office in his *Community of Workmen*<sup>2</sup>. Most of the evidence collected there is prosopographic and from this it appears that the *floruit* of 'Imn-*h*<sup>Cw</sup> in this capacity can be followed from year 17 of Ramesses III through several years of Ramesses IV down to a year 7 which Černý argues to be that of Ramesses VIII<sup>3</sup> - that is, during a good 30 years at the least. Though often acting in lieu of the foremen of the gang in their absence, the 'deputy' himself seems to be identified more with the body of the workmen. His is a position of trust among them, but he appears not to rank above them in the official hierarchy. The deputy seems always to have remained on this side of the threshold to higher office.

Briefly summarizing, the letter from 'Imn-*h*<sup>Cw</sup> gives the impression of a kind of explanation to 'his lord' on the subject of a certain unspecified incident near 'the fortress' (*p3 htm*), amongst other things. One of the constituent pieces of the text (the Cairo fragment) was found in the Valley of the Kings<sup>4</sup>. As far as one can see, this corresponds with the setting. At least no internal affair in the village itself (which is only mentioned in passing - vs. 2-3) is

concerned. Some neglect of duty had provoked meddling by a certain official. However, there was no need for him to have done so, 'Imn-h<sup>C</sup>w seems to argue; I am quite able to manage affairs myself (recto). After which there follows a picturesque exemplification of what he meant by that claim (verso).

The main problem in the interpretation of this letter is not so much the relative obscurity of the actual subject matter, but, rather, the identity of the various persons who are mostly referred to by pronouns. 'Inner logic' may be a good guideline for assigning identities, but this depends heavily on textual interpretation. In order to allow verification and to put a check on what may easily develop into a circular train of thought, we have given an individual label in the translation to each person whose distinct identity would appear to be feasible at first glance, while, at the same time, using the same label wherever referential identity is hardly open to doubt. Under one premise, all protagonists in a carefully composed letter or report will first occur with a specific reference (that is, will be indicated by name or title) and later on will recur as pronouns. In what person-oriented form these will appear depends, of course, on the position into which the writer puts himself with regard to his main correspondent (the interlocutionary situation). Or, put otherwise, it depends on how we reconstruct this standpoint.

A referential conception which runs from full (nouns) to empty (pronouns) seems an acceptable theoretical approach to the deictic system in letters. However, it appears that an important problem of identification in the present letter encompasses an easier solution if we drop this intuition for once, assuming that, in that case (starting in rt. 4, and involving the person to be labeled as D) pronominalization has already been introduced in the earliest stage with nominal specification being delayed. Such a state of affairs is rather rare in letters but it causes, of course, no embarrassment to a writer and addressee in close contact who both know what and whom they are communicating about, especially if the matter at hand is of recent date. The prodromal stage is simply not present in our letter, but may have been developed during some previous oral contact.

For the sake of clarity and for easier recognition we shall therefore firstly introduce the various referents in the way we see them as distinct personages, before presenting a translation of the document:

- A 'Imn-h<sup>Cw</sup>, deputy of the gang;
- B 'his (or 'my') lord', his correspondent, supposedly the vizier (who remains anonymous);
- C certain superiors of 'Imn-h<sup>Cw</sup>, at the same time subordinates of the vizier;
- D a certain official 'X', a 'he' who in a later stage may turn out to be the 'priest (w<sup>Cb</sup>) of Ma<sup>Cat</sup>';
- E 'they' and 'one', anonymous persons;
- F those who failed to do their duty at 'the fortress', to the annoyance of many;
- G a liar, who, according to 'Imn-h<sup>Cw</sup>, spread false rumours;
- H the slave son Wsr-m<sup>3C</sup>.t-R<sup>C</sup>-nht, a guilty person, perhaps connected with the group F;
- I his comrades, perhaps equally connected, or even identical, with F.

## 2 TRANSLATION

- rt. 1 The deputy of the gang, A'Imn-h<sup>Cw</sup> greets  
 2 A<sup>his</sup> B<sup>lord</sup><sup>5</sup>: in life, prosperity and health. This  
 is<sup>6</sup> a communication to inform A<sup>my</sup> B<sup>lord</sup>  
 3 to the following effecy. A<sup>My</sup> B<sup>lord</sup> has put A<sup>me</sup> in the  
 position of being the opposing party<sup>7</sup> to B<sup>his</sup>  
 C<sup>administrators</sup>  
 4 now that D<sup>he</sup><sup>8</sup> has written to A,F (+G,H,I?) us<sup>9</sup> at  
 the fortress - slackness was shown<sup>10</sup>-  
 5 saying: 'what do the(se) [matters]<sup>11</sup> mean? The  
 B<sup>Vizier</sup> has demanded an explanation<sup>12</sup> from D<sup>him</sup><sup>13</sup>  
 6 concerning the fortress, and A<sup>you</sup> answered B<sup>him</sup><sup>14</sup>-  
 so E<sup>they</sup><sup>15</sup> tell D<sup>me</sup> - on the subject  
 7 of F<sup>their</sup><sup>16</sup> reprehensible actions'. And E<sup>one</sup> spent  
 the third month of the 3<sup>h</sup>.t-season,  
 8 the sixth day<sup>17</sup>, in cursing at<sup>18</sup> D<sup>the</sup> priest of  
 Ma<sup>Cat</sup><sup>19</sup>,  
 9 saying: 'D<sup>you</sup> have sent a letter to the place where  
 A<sup>my</sup> B<sup>lord</sup>

10 is', although there (was) no such sending<sup>20</sup>. - Let<sup>21</sup>  
 A<sub>my</sub> B<sub>lord</sub> seek out<sup>22</sup>  
 11 G<sub>the one who invented</sub><sup>23</sup> these false words<sup>24</sup> which  
 have not  
 12 [been] said<sup>25</sup>. See, A<sub>I</sub> am (now) putting B<sub>him</sub> in the  
 picture<sup>26</sup>:  
 13 [... ...]... mount<sup>27</sup> [...]

vs. 1 [... ...] H<sub>his</sub>  
 2 I<sub>companions</sub>, and E<sub>they</sub> retained H<sub>him</sub> in the  
 3 village<sup>28</sup> - to inform B<sub>you</sub> of H<sub>his</sub> name: the slave  
 child<sup>29</sup>  
 4 H<sub>Wsr-m3<sup>C</sup>.t-R<sup>C</sup>-nht</sub> - H<sub>his</sub> I<sub>companions</sub> having been  
 fetched<sup>30</sup>. E<sub>One</sub> has caused H<sub>I</sub> them  
 5 to have a look at the great Statues<sup>31</sup> at night,  
 6 with no superiors, no deputies and no  
 7 tutors (?)<sup>32</sup> preceding H<sub>I</sub> them!

### 3 NOTES TO INTRODUCTION AND TRANSLATION

- 1 HO I, 67.1. The Cairo piece was earlier published by J. Černý in 1935 in *Ostraca hiératiques* (CGC), 75\*-76\*.
- 2 *Ib.*, 133-147.
- 3 *Ib.*, 136-7; 141 (year 7).
- 4 J. Černý, *Ostraca hiératiques*, 56. Was this indeed the place of destination of the letter, assuming that the writer would have known that the vizier was visiting the place for some reason? It is possible. But one wonders, then, why it was discarded; would it not have been preserved in an archive? On the other hand, if its destination were somewhere else, the present text is best regarded as a mere draft.
- 5 We shall argue later on (p. 88) that it is the vizier who is meant in this case, not Pharaoh - as the determinative at first sight might suggest. For other instances of such a writing of *nb* in a letter to a vizier, see O. Gardiner 59 (HO I, 58.1), 2; 4; 5 and once in the set of letters in O. Toronto A 11 (vs. 10). But not in other letters to a vizier, e.g. O. Cairo CG 25744, 25745, 25832, O. Mich. 62 (pl. 39), O. Gardiner 13 (HO I, 30), O. Gardiner 71 (HO I,

54.3), O. Nash 11 (HO I, 115.4), O. Chicago OI 16991 (E. Wente, *JNES* 20 [1961], 252-7); Pap. DeM XIII; Pap. Chester Beatty III, vs. 4-5.

- 6 The presence of *m* is irregular in this formula. Perhaps a thoughtless repetition of the initial *m* of the preceding formula - or influence of the so-called participial statement with initial *in/m*. For comparable insertions of *m*, cf. ... *r-ntt i-iri=i iy r p3y nty m' p3y=i nb im* (pap. Anastasi VI, 9) and *ink m' p3 nty m-di=f m h3r.t* (*ib.*, 32).
- 7 The determinative of  $^c h^c n$ ,  in the facsimile, has been transcribed  by the editors. J. Černý earlier proposed (CGC, 76\*) , remarking ' corrigé sur '. The upper two signs hardly look like an unsuccessful  (which would make it a dittography). Perhaps  was intended; for an example (the sole one in this text) of a scroll without the knot being indicated by a diacritical mark, cf.  in  $^c 3y.w$  (vs. 5).  seems less likely, since  has a rather pronounced form everywhere in this text (  etc.). If  be read, a meaning 'member of the group (*Wb* I, 221, 8-9) of' for the whole phrase seems unlikely, since *iry* with a following non-verbal substantive is always construed in *direct* junction in Late Egyptian (hereafter: LEg). Only before infinitives does one find *iry-n*, next to *iry-*. Since standard grammars of LEg are completely silent on this construction, the following examples may be useful: *iry-n-wnm* 'fellow-consumer' (Pap. DeM IV, rt. 6; VI, rt. 4), next to *iry-wnm* (Pap. DeM IV, rt. 11); *iry-n-<sup>c</sup>h3*, 'antagonist' (Pap. Cairo JdE 86637, vs. 12,9; 12,10; 13,7; Kitchen, RI II, 257,9; I, 69,16; M. Marciniak, *Deir el-Bahari* I, [50] 4; [51] 2; [67] 2-3. Compare also *iry-n-<sup>c</sup>h3wty*, Pap. Sallier IV, vs. 16,2, besides *iry-<sup>c</sup>h3wty*, *Two Brothers*, 19,10); *iry-n-<sup>c</sup>ms*, 'fellow-traveller' (OAD/T.2, vs. 98-9), besides *iry-<sup>c</sup>ms* (OAD/L.7, 65); *iry-n-<sup>c</sup>hmsi*, 'housemate' (Pap. Berlin 8523, rt. 7-8), besides *iry-<sup>c</sup>hmsi* (*Two Brothers*, 9,7); *iry-n-t3wt*, 'fellow-thief' (Pap. Leopold II/Amherst, 4,11); *iry-n-tttt*, 'competitor' (Pap. Brit. Mus. 10052 and Wenamun Report, 2,72) besides *iry-tttt* (*Instruction of Amenemope*, 22,20); *iry-d3i* 'fellow-passenger' (Pap. Bologna 1094, 11,7-8)

besides *iry-n-d3i* (Pap. Chester Beatty IV, vs. 1,13, with *n* written *m*).

The meaning of *ch<sup>c</sup> n* is crucial to this text. The several meanings this expression can have (cf. P. Vernus, *RdE* 30 [1978], 125, notes 57-8) may broadly be summarized as 'to oppose oneself to' or the exact opposite, 'to wait upon, serve, help'. Since *iry* always carries a notion of reciprocity, we think a translation like 'companion of standing (= 'assistant') of' the *rw<sup>d</sup>w.w* (so J. Černý, *Community*, 256) not so likely. For, if we understand the rest of the letter rightly, the notion of 'assisting' is conspicuously absent from '*Imn-h<sup>c</sup>w*'s relationship with the vizier's *rw<sup>d</sup>w.w* (i.e., mainly the person X); he is far from being inclined to comply with them. Hence we are rather in favour of 'opposing', and a literal translation would be 'fellow-opponent', which sounds rather contradictory. For characteristic instances of *ch<sup>c</sup> n* in this sense, see O. Ashmol. Mus. 1945.33+37, vs. (HO I, 75), 18-19; Pap. Anastasi VI, 38; *Stèle juridique*, 19 and perhaps *Giornale*, 5,1. Compare also Pap. Turin 1993, vs. 4,11 (= Pleyte-Rossi, *PdT*, 136,11) and variants, and our remarks in *RdE* 32 (19 ), 25, n. 60.

- 8 For the justification of the identification of this 'he' with 'X', not with 'the lord' = the vizier, see pp. 83-84.
- 9 'Us': '*Imn-h<sup>c</sup>w* and others, probably those responsible for the events near the fortress. Perhaps the persons mentioned on the verso are included.
- 10 For *wiwi*, see p. 88 and notes 54-58. We think *wiwi* is a passive *sd<sup>m</sup>w=f*-form. For an exactly similar writing, see Pap. Leopold II/Amherst, 3,19; RAD 36,6; 55,12; Pap. Turin 1882, rt. 5,7; 2021, 4,1; Pap. Anastasi I, 14,2; Pap. Salt 124, rt. 1,4; Pap. Brit. Mus. 10052, 2,16; Naunakhte Document [1] 5,8; O. Gardiner 53 (HO I, 49.1), rt. 8; 103 (*ib.*, 52.1), rt. 5; 137 (*ib.*, 56.3), vs.1; Petrie 5 (*ib.*, 7.3), 4. We suggest a past notion for the present passage. A good parallel is, for instance, *y3 iri.w iwy.t m t3 s.t Pr-C3*, 'really, an outrage has been committed in the place of Pharaoh' (RAD 55,11-12). - We do not know how the present verb form fits in syntactically. We think of an intrusive sentence, one that has not risen to the status of a true, *iw*-introduced circumstant-

ial clause; such is also the syntactic status of the frequently found intercalatory citation patterns  $\dot{i}n=$ ,  $hr=$  and  $k3=$  in Late Egyptian. For other instances, see Pap. Brit. Mus. 10052, 4,27; 4,28; 15,7; 10403, 1;17; also, the clause  $r rd\dot{i}.t rh=k$  (etc.) thrown in in vs. 3 of the present document.

- 11 Judging by the facsimile,  would be a likely restoration.
- 12  $w\dot{s}b.t$  is rather 'reaction', 'opinion' than 'answer' (to a question, a letter) though it does occur in the latter sense Cf. *Wb* I, 372,10 and 12-4; characteristic instances are RAD 54,8 and Wenamun Report, 1,18. For  $n\dot{q}n\dot{q} w\dot{s}b$ , see also Amenemope Instruction, 11,19.
- 13 We think this is 'X' again; for a justification, see p. 84 . We would use 'me'.
- 14 For the choice of the role-labels, see p. 84.
- 15 The suffix pronoun in  $\dot{h}r=w$  is perhaps used quite generally, pointing to the usual shop talk in the neighbourhood ('so I am told').
- 16 The suffix pronoun in  $n3y=w$  refers to those incriminated, presumably the ones ' $Imn-\dot{h}^Cw$ ' taught a good lesson later on. Furthermore, we assume that the citation of X's letter ends here and does not also contain the account of the quarrel with the priest of Ma<sup>C</sup>at. That we reckon this to ' $Imn-\dot{h}^Cw$ 's own account is, because it contains a 'my lord' (rt. 9). This appears to be the characteristic way ' $Imn-\dot{h}^Cw$ ' refers to his master (rt. 2,3 and 10) whereas X is cited as speaking of 'the vizier' (rt. 5).
- 17 The relevance of this explicit mentioning of the date escapes us. Perhaps it was a workfree day (as suggested to us by P. Pestman), so that many villagers could take part in such an interesting quarrel. O. Geneva 12550 (S. Allam, *Hier. Ostr.*, pl. 55) may have a bearing on this: on this very date in a year 11, a statement was made before the  $\dot{k}nb.t$  (*ib.*, rt. 1). Was this a regular festival day or an ordinary working day? Three days later, on the 9th (rt. 8) there was an oracular procession of Amenophis - a true festival day, and therefore probably during the 'weekend'.
- 18 No other instance of  $\dot{s}hwr m$  + object is known to us. It may be a specific lexical property that is expressed in

this way, where partitive *m* (the object 'consists of' *x*) can also have an invective notion. Several other utterance verbs show this same construction, like *smī m*, 'report on' (pap. Abbott 1,7-8; O. Nash 1 [HO I, 46.2], rt. 2 and O. Nash 2 [*ib.*, 47.1], rt. 2); *sh3 m* 'mention' (O. DeM 1441, 2,2-3); *mdw m* 'remark on' (*Wb* II, 179,17); *nt<sup>C</sup> m* 'jeer at' (O. Bodleian Library 253 [HO I, 64.2], rt. 3-4 [its object added directly: *ib.*, vs. 2]). But cf. also verbs of perception like *sdm m* 'listen to' (pap. Anastasi I, 6,8 and V, 24,5-6) or *ptrī m* 'have a look at' (pap. Anastasi V, 18,1 and O. Cairo CG 25766,4).

- 19 A title we would not associate with the deputy, but with an official from the vizier's retinue (see pp. 85-86), the present bearer probably being the same as 'X' (see pp. 86-87).
- 20 *īw bn h3b*, words we attribute to 'Imn-*h<sup>C</sup>w* himself. For a few instances of *bn* + noun (or infinitive), see S. Groll, *Non-verbal Sentence Patterns in Late Egyptian* (London, 1967), 99-100 and V. Davis, *Syntax of the Negative Particles bw and bn in Late Egyptian* (München-Berlin, 1973), 64; our present instance occurs *ib.* as C693, translated as 'without sending it', the blatant contradiction to the preceding affirmative statement presumably going unnoticed. - For other instances of *īw* + *bn* + undetermined subst./infin., see Amenemope Instruction, 21,16; Pap. Sallier I, 7,4; O. DeM 305, 3; Kadesh Poem, 183; Pap. Moscow 127, 2,4. For *īw* + *bn* + determined subst./infin., see e.g. *Giornale* 14,6; 14,12; 14,13.
- 21 The operator of the Present Future is here written  or , like  in O. IFAO 693 (*BIFAO* 41 [1942], 17-18, no. 32), O. DeM 46, vs. 2 and OAD/T.3, rt. 20 or like  in Instruction of Amenemope, 25,20 and Pap. Turin 2021, rt. 3,10.
- 22 For this sense of *wh3* ('pick out', 'call to account') see e.g. Pap. Leiden I 349, rt. 1,3; I 343 + 345, rt. 9,9; Pap. Geneva MAH 15274, rt. 4,2; Pap. Turin 1993, rt. 4, 12 (*PdT* 124,12); Urk. VI, 133,16 (translating older *g<sup>C</sup>r*).
- 23 For this meaning of *gmī*, see e.g. O. DeM 626, rt. 3; RAD 14,8; *Contendings*, 14,12; 15,4; 15,7.
- 24 We propose two alternative explanations for this elusive expression. In both cases a misrepresentation to the

vizier by certain persons of words actually used by 'Imn-h<sup>C</sup>w might have been meant. Hence the determiner n3; the reference is extra-textual. We need not look for these words in the present letter. Incorrectly transmitted as they were, these 'words' are 'false' (adjectival n <sup>C</sup>d3) and therefore 'have not been said' (as such). What kind of words, at which occasion? (a) words used by 'Imn-h<sup>C</sup>w in answering (rt. 6) the vizier, wrongly reported by others who may have overheard them, or otherwise; the vizier, at any rate, should know better. (b) Words 'Imn-h<sup>C</sup>w may have used in the village, when making preparations to carry out the punishment he had in store for the culprits, and the reasons for carrying it out in that way. As the details seem to have been wrongly reported to the vizier, a full account follows (rt. 13 foll.). For an evaluation of these possibilities, see p. 88.

- 25 Syntactically the relativized negative clause requires a resumptive pronoun (cf. our remarks in *GM* 31 [1979], 15), but this is not provided by the transcription of the editors. The beginning of line 12 is slightly damaged. Among several possibilities the easiest restoration is ... nty bw ~~[...]~~ dd[.tw]=w, '... which have not [been] said', lit. 'which [one] has not said'. We would regard the plural strokes emerging at the beginning of rt. 12 as representing the suffix pronoun (in object function) which resumes the antecedent. The present restoration best fits the available, short space; there is not enough room for a non-impersonal suffix agent to dd plus a dependent pronoun (indicating the object). If the plural strokes are nothing but the *determinative* of [.tw], there would be no resumer. For this there are analogies in e.g. OAD/L.1, vs. 20-21 (... mr nb / w~~ndw~~ nb nty bw rh<sub>2</sub>=w) and especially Kitchen, RI II, 248,10/12 (version I [nty nn rh<sub>2</sub>=tw] plus strokes, but AW without [text otherwise ditto], whereas K is 'normal' [nty n rh<sub>2</sub>=tw=f; the sic-ed =f would seem correct]). However, such instances are rare, as we have noted elsewhere (*JNES* 40 [1981], 17, note 62). For other instances of nty bw s<sub>dm</sub>=f, see Pap. Anastasi IV, 7,10 and Kadesh Poem, § 189.
- 26 While the formula with sequential iw concludes a section in a letter ('synchronic' use of the Sequential, see *ZAS*

106 [1979], 17, with note 23; type: A. Bakir, *Egyptian Epistolography*, 105), that with *ptrī* + Present announces an *exposée*. See, for instance, Pap. Anastasi V, 22,7-8; Pap. Lansing 9,2-3; Pap. Chester Beatty V, vs. 2,8; Pap. Harris I, 76,11; RAD 54,7-8 and 56, 9-10; Pap. Cairo JdE 65739, 6.

- 27 The vs. part is full of topography, and since '*Imn-h<sup>h</sup>Cw*' here perhaps begins to disclose the plan he had followed, *tsī* may already form part of this report, although all of its context has been destroyed. As J. Černý remarks (*Community*, 90) *tsī* is an often used term when 'mounting' to the Valley of the Kings is spoken of.
- 28 For parallel passages, compare pap. Cairo CG 58054, rt. 11 (keeping people in a village) and O. DeM 114, rt. 6 and O. Cairo CG 25670, rt. 1-2 (consigning goods).
- 29 For *ms-hm*, see also Pap. BM 10052, 2,8; 2A, 4; Pap. Abbott, Dockets, 26; Pap. Anastasi VI, 27-8. Whether the term *ms* is used in this and in other compounds to denote someone's provenance or one's age (thus: e.g. A. Blackman, *JEA* 19 [1933], 203 and I. Edwards, *Hier. Pap. in the B.M.*, Ivth Series, I, 13, note 7) is not easy to decide but is relevant to the interpretation of our document. If a boy was the main culprit (as seems likely), were then his companions (vs. 4) about the same age? And was the punishment meted out by '*Imn-h<sup>h</sup>Cw*' just an exemplary deterrent for children? Certainly age is meant in the case of animals (*Wb* II, 140,5 and 7-9; cf. Coptic *MāC*) as in the case of *ms-ih* or *ms-k3* (LRL 63,13). Where humans are concerned there are compounds of the type *ms(-n)* plus profession, like *ms-w<sup>C</sup>b* (Pap. BM 10053, vs. 2,17 and 3,4); *ms-n-ihwty* (LRL 53,10), *ms-hmww* (Pap. Chester Beatty I, rt. 7,11; Edfu VI, 74,6), *ms-msnw* (Edfu VI, 80,11; 85,9; 89,12-90,1), all of the same type as *ms-hm*. But whether the second component, although grammatically involving the practitioner of a particular profession, refers indeed to that person or to the occupation itself, is not certain. For occupation-as-occupier, see e.g. Stèle juridique, 26 (*p3y=i h3ty-C n Nhb*) and Pap. Anastasi VI, 10 (*p3y=f ihwty*). For the metaphorical use of filiation terms like *ms*, *s3*, and others, see our remarks in *RdE* 32,21. Another type is *ms* + place of provenance/location, like *ms-nhsy*

- (Pap. BM 10052, 10,18), *ms*-'*Irsw* and *ms*-*Sngr* (Pap. Anastasi V, 17,7-8 and 8-9) and the well-known *ms*-*hr* (W. Spiegelberg, *Rec. Trav.* 17 [1895], 97-8 and J. Černý, *Community*, 117-120). The latter points to age according to Černý, but can be just as well used metaphorically: 'born-and-bred-in-the-Tomb'. Cf. also the characteristic locutions *ms*-*n*-*n3*-*smd*.*t* (Pap. Anastasi V, 25,5-6), *ms*-*n*-*hw*.*t* (Kitchen, RI I, 68,10), *ms* *n* *pr*-*Mw*.*t* (OAD/L.2, rt. 3 and 97), *ms*-*sh*.*t* (Edfu VI, 73,8) and the equally characteristic *ms* *n* *p3y*<=*t*?> *wb3* (stela Brit. Mus. 278 [e.g. B. Bruyère, *Mert-Seger*, fig. 15], B.2).
- 30 An *iw*-introduced passive *sḏmw=f*; its embedding results into a pluperfect tense with regard to the matrix clause from which it is separated by the brief interjectional *r-rđi.t* *rh*=*k*-clause (cf. note 10, *in fine*). For *iw* + passive *sḏmw=f*, scarcely noted in LEg grammars except for one example in S. Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar*, § 16.3 and dubious instances in Erman, *NG*<sup>2</sup> § 324 (first example read rather *swḏ*<.tw> [Contendings, 16,8] and second one *h3<sup>c</sup>=f* [Wenamun Report, 1,48]), see e.g. Pap. Sallier I, 7,3 = Pap. Anastasi II, 8,1 (*h3<sup>c</sup>*); Pap. Anastasi V, 26,6 (*inī*); VI, 9 and O. Gardiner 4 (HO I, 27.3), rt. 3 (*it3*); Pap. Mayer A. 6,8 (cited by Groll, Ex. 667) and Pap. Brit. Mus. 10052, 2,16 (both *iri*); *Giornale*, 6,15 (*rđi*) and Pap. Geneva MAH 15274, 6,1 (*tt* and *ng3*).
- 31 Lit. 'what-he-knows'; see *Wb* II, 445,11 to whose references add the present passage as well as statue Cairo JdE 87194, a.4 (A. Hamada, *ASAE* 47 [1947], 17) and Kitchen, RI V, 74,2-3. While the former passage, where the *rh.n*.*f*'s are said to rest on a *s.t* *wr.t* ('dais'? Cf. A. Gardiner, *JEA* 34 [1948], 21, note 4) shows that cult statues or their equivalents were meant (not reliefs), the latter passage makes it fairly clear what is implied by the terms: '... the Far Vault (*t3 hr.t*); when Re rises, his rays [...] on her (i.e., the temple); [...] anoint [...] his [be]ams on her *rh*<.n>=*f*'s, her nature (*ki*) being that of the Far Vault which bears the disc'. Here the god's *b3*, made manifest in his rays, descends on his statues in the temple and brings them to life. The god recognizes (*rh*) them. Precisely this idea appears to the background of a passage in the instruction for Merikare<sup>c</sup>, where the re-

quest 'one should revere the god in his path, made of stone, fashioned of bronze' (P. 125) is followed by (according to S. Donadoni's re-arrangement of this section) 'the *ba* goes to the place it still knows (*r bw rḥ.n=f gr*); it won't stray from its path of yesterday' (P. 127). The imagery has leapt from a statue cult to one's own funerary provisions; the term *rḥ.n=f* connects the two, as well as *b3*. G. Posener aptly characterizes the connection of the idea of the god immanent in his statue and the *ba* returning to its place among mankind (or the tomb; cf. *ib.*, P. 52) as 'l'âme divine et l'âme humaine ont les mêmes habitudes' (*Annuaire du Collège de France*, 66 [1966-67], 343). The term *rḥ.n=f* occurs in both. When a temple is concerned, it seems to denote a 'consecrated' statue, one to which the god or his emanation (the sun-rays) have access, once the rites (of opening the mouth) have been duly carried out. This is crystal clear from an allusion in a dedicatory inscription by Ramesses II concerning a half-finished statue of his predecessor, Seti I: '... its (the temple is meant) cult image (*sšm*) lying on the ground, not having been formed (*msi*) as a *rḥ.n=f* of the Gold House' (KRI II, 326, 4); or, at least, a *rḥ.n=f* was a sacral object destined to be used in the cult, the term possibly sometimes projecting its future use (see note 87). Furthermore, if J. Černý was right in identifying the Abydos-emblem-like object among the inventory of the tomb of Tutankhamun with the word *rḥ=f* (*Hieratic Inscriptions*, 14-15), the term *rḥ<.n>=f* need not only point to a statue. - For ample illustrative material about the 're-loading' of cultic statues with solar energy from Ptolemaic temple sources, see L. Zabkar, *A Study of the Ba Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts* (Chicago, 1968), 39-41. For the daily course of the sun through a temple precinct, bringing a correspondent mythical scene in relief to reality, see H. Brunner, pp. 27-34 in: *Archäologie und Altes Testament* (Festschrift Kurt Gallig [Tübingen, 1970]) and also R. Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 25 (1969), 159-178. - The significance of the term has an immediate bearing on the function and location of the statues in our letter. See p. 90 further down.

32 For the  $3\bar{t}w$  (reading: G. Posener, *RdE* 15 [1963], 127-8) and his various titular associations, see H. Wild, *BIFAO* 69 (1970), 1971, 118-121; still rendered 'w<sup>c</sup>rtw-official' in Černý's posthumous *Community* (e.g. 147, 236, 253; the reference in note 6 on p. 239 is obviously a mistake for  $\bar{h}nty.w$ ). One gathers (J. Černý *apud* Wild, *op.cit.*, 120-21) that the  $3\bar{t}w$  was recruited from among the workmen, drawing no higher salary than they did. - Assuming an etymological connection with the verb  $3\bar{t}$  'to nurse' (following Posener), there is the possibility that  $3\bar{t}w$  may properly signify a 'tutor' in various professions. It is not unlikely that it may soon have acquired a self-sufficient status in non-committal, stereotype, contexts. Here the usual, rather bleak renderings (like 'controller', 'administrator', or suchlike) will equally suffice.

#### 4 COMMENTARY

We have reconstructed the main course of events as follows. The central point of irritation for all concerned was the fact that some irregularity, qualified as 'slackness' ( $w\bar{i}w\bar{i}$ , rt. 4), had taken place with regard to 'the (unspecified) fortress' (rt. 4; 6). The report of 'Imn- $\bar{h}^c w$  records further developments (contact with higher authorities on the subject, a riot-like incident, and finally, his own measures dealing with the situation). The report is addressed to 'his lord', with 'lord' characteristically determined with the falcon on its standard. We think this can be taken as a pointer to the vizier<sup>5</sup>, not Pharaoh; if this is not the case, certain role patterns are very difficult to account for. 'His administrators' (rt. 3) are spoken of right after just such a reference to 'my lord'. Indeed, in actual practice the vizier was in charge of promotions to higher posts among the workmen<sup>33</sup>, while lesser jobs were regulated among themselves<sup>34</sup>. The nominal responsibility rested, of course, with Pharaoh<sup>35</sup>. As we understand the text, these  $rw\bar{d}w.w$  belong to the personnel of the vizier, that is, outsiders to the community<sup>36</sup>. - That the vizier is first referred to by a subordinate as 'my lord' (rt. 2, 3, etc.; a polite substitute for a pronoun) and later on as 'the vizier' (rt.

5) looks like a deviation from the general custom (p. 2), but, firstly, the reference is oblique (it occurs in a citation), and, secondly, it is regularly found in other letters to viziers<sup>37</sup>.

The incident seems to have attracted the attention of at least two of 'Imn-h<sup>C</sup>w's superiors. One of these was the 'he' who 'has sent <a letter> to us' (rt. 4), that is, to those responsible for the good conduct of affairs (whatever these may have been) near the fortress, including 'Imn-h<sup>C</sup>w himself. Since the citation of the main contents of that letter (rt. 5-7) contains a reference to the vizier himself as inquiring (rt. 5), 'he' and 'the vizier' must be different persons, otherwise we run up against an inconsistency. We shall call this new person 'X'. The letter, then, sent by X to the 'us' at the fortress shows that X felt himself hard-pressed by the vizier: 'the vizier has demanded an explanation from him', where 'him' refers to X himself. Indeed one might expect 'I', but this reference occurs, of course, in another citation - the present letter. The egocentric referential axis typical to letters and reports often converts 'I's to a 'he' when the primary speaker and his correspondent are in focus, relegating persons not-immediately concerned to a 'he'-status in whatever referential situations this basic system has shifted through<sup>38</sup>.

The following 'and you answered him' allows alternative interpretations. For instance, if we make the citation from X's letter end after 'the fortress' in rt. 6, we would be back at 'Imn-h<sup>C</sup>w addressing himself to the vizier, and thus the vizier ('you') might have answered X's (~ 'him') report. An answer by the vizier would presuppose a report by X himself. However, since there is no mention at all to this in the letter under discussion, we prefer to think it is actually 'Imn-h<sup>C</sup>w who is meant by 'you' in 'and you answered him', with 'him' pointing to the vizier - information X has obtained from others. Thus we still find ourselves in a quotation from a letter to 'Imn-h<sup>C</sup>w (and associates) from X. The interjection 'so they tell me' has a peculiar touch of helplessness and it might point to X's lack of official information about the doings of 'Imn-h<sup>C</sup>w<sup>39</sup>.

Whatever the kind of contact between 'Imn-h<sup>C</sup>w and the vizier (see p. 87), the very fact of its having taken place gives

an impression of having angered X (almost 'but you answered him'). This passage may express that X felt himself to have been by-passed by 'Imn-h<sub>w</sub><sup>C</sup>. He may have found this quite irregular and contrary to hierarchical customs - whether he was justified in this respect or not. For one thing, it might have been that by chance the vizier was nearer to the spot than X. However, insofar as discontent gleams through from X's way of putting things, it is not quite unparalleled<sup>40</sup>. There may also be a suggestion in this letter that 'Imn-h<sub>w</sub><sup>C</sup> was aware of this. For, in his own words, 'my lord has put me into the position of one who opposes his (= my lord's) administrators' (rt. 3). This realization comes before X is introduced as having put in (cf. *m̄n-d̄r h3b=f*, rt. 4 - a pluperfect) an inquiry. So who, pray, is to be blamed for this awkward situation after all?

Fact is, that X was approached about a certain incident by the vizier. According to a rumour, 'Imn-h<sub>w</sub><sup>C</sup> has been in touch about this with the vizier. Since the rumour is not denied by 'Imn-h<sub>w</sub><sup>C</sup>, it becomes a fact. From X's indignation at 'Imn-h<sub>w</sub><sup>C</sup>'s meddling in affairs contrary hierarchical customs one may infer that X did not report to the vizier in his turn.

In the next following series of *iw*-clauses dealing with the incident on the 6th day, there is another reference to 'my lord' (rt. 9) = the vizier. Therefore we think it likely that the citing of X's angry letter to 'Imn-h<sub>w</sub><sup>C</sup> and his colleagues ('us', rt. 4) ends just before this concatenation (i.e., before 'and (then) one spent ...', rt. 7).

In this new incident - the scolding of the 'w<sup>C</sup>b-priest of Ma<sup>C</sup>at' - the identity of the latter constitutes a major problem in this letter. The final component in this official's title reminds one of the intrinsic connection of the vizierate itself with the concept of *m3<sup>C</sup>.t*. Indeed on the ethical level exercising the office of a vizier meant the practising of righteousness (*m3<sup>C</sup>.t*)<sup>41</sup> and on the cultic level this was reflected by the vizier's occupying the priestly office of a 'god's servant (*hm-n̄tr*) of Ma<sup>C</sup>at'<sup>42</sup>. The relevance of this title should perhaps be viewed in conjunction with a possible cult of the patroness of Righteousness at the headquarters of the Vizier - as a *Bürogottheit*, as W. Helck has so aptly called it<sup>43</sup>. One could equally well

visualise the Vizier fulfilling some ritual function in the temple of Ma<sup>C</sup>at on the East Bank, in Northern Karnak<sup>44</sup>. Several viziers have left testimonies there and so have various w<sup>Cb</sup>'s of Ma<sup>C</sup>at<sup>45</sup>. That temple is known to have been the scene of the administration of justice, including matters originating on the West Bank<sup>46</sup>.

We think it is not too far-fetched to theorize that, if the Vizier himself is a *ḥm-nṯr* of Ma<sup>C</sup>at, subordinate officials in his department may have held lesser clerical posts as w<sup>Cb</sup>'s of Ma<sup>C</sup>at. Their real everyday function may have been that of a scribe, a retainer (*šmsw*), or something similar. Support for this contention is scanty, but there is some. Thus a 'priest (w<sup>Cb</sup>) of Ma<sup>C</sup>at of the vizier' is known<sup>47</sup>, testifying to the existence of an hierarchy in the priesthood. As the vizierhood itself is so utterly permeated with the concept of Ma<sup>C</sup>at, we should consider the additive phrase 'of the vizier' to this subordinate's title as functional - not as honorific, as might with good reason be argued in the case of other titles augmented in that way<sup>48</sup>. Further evidence of a functional link between the vizier's directorate and a 'priest (w<sup>Cb</sup>) of Ma<sup>C</sup>at' is not entirely lacking, but of delicate interpretation<sup>49</sup>.

If, as we have suggested above, the title w<sup>Cb</sup> n M3<sup>C</sup>.t actually covers the administrative function of an employee of the vizier's office, we may still wonder at the use of such a solemn expression. However, letters to viziers<sup>5</sup> are couched in a somewhat stately style and a formal terminology is not uncommon. Maybe the present title was used in the same spirit as the workers of the Deir el Medīna village were at times styled 'servants in the Place of Truth'<sup>50</sup>.

We now see several reasons to identify the 'w<sup>Cb</sup>-priest of Ma<sup>C</sup>at' with X:

(1) 'Imn-ḥ<sup>C</sup>w's initial statement that the vizier has brought him into a delicate position with regard to the vizier's *rwḏw.w* (rt. 3) obtains its full meaning if this is made to refer to the problematical relationship between 'Imn-ḥ<sup>C</sup>w and X in this letter;

(2) if our theory that the priestly title actually designates a function within the administration of the vizier's office is correct, the bearer can obviously likewise be included with the vizier's *rwḏw.w*;

(3) the 'w<sup>C</sup>b-priest of Ma<sup>C</sup>at' is jeered at for having written to the vizier (rt. 8-9). In order to prevent an inner contradiction in our letter, we attribute the downright *denial* of this ('there being no such sending', rt. 10)<sup>51</sup> to 'Imn-h<sup>C</sup>w himself. If this particular charge against the priest by, so we imagine, the workmen of the gang or other unspecified members of the community - so this is again a rumour - is said to be untrue by 'Imn-h<sup>C</sup>w, he must have known so for a fact. How? If communicating about a certain incident with the vizier was taken out of X's hands by 'Imn-h<sup>C</sup>w (rt. 6) (and therefore, as we have surmised above, not followed by a report from X of his own) the present denial by 'Imn-h<sup>C</sup>w of a letter having been sent makes best sense if X and the 'w<sup>C</sup>b-priest of Ma<sup>C</sup>at' are one and the same person. Then how did the rumour that the priest *had* sent a letter to the vizier come about? One can only guess. Possibly, there was a misunderstanding somewhere; one can imagine that the people of the Deir el-Medīna community wished to keep their affairs in their own hands<sup>52</sup> and once they got the notion that X (= 'the w<sup>C</sup>b-priest') had been in *passive* communication with the vizier, they may have suspected that he had *actively* either made a previous report (quite on his own initiative) or that he did so subsequently. For all we know this would exactly have been his duty.

A few jumps must now be made. 'Imn-h<sup>C</sup>w's denial of the rumour that X/the w<sup>C</sup>b-priest had sent a letter is followed by a request to the vizier to take measures against certain slanderers. After this, the deputy gives an account of what he has done himself. Therefore, one may conclude that the vizier had not yet been briefed about these measures. Yet from the previous citation of X's letter (rt. 6) it appears that the deputy had been in contact with the vizier - at least, the act of 'answering' (w<sup>š</sup>b) ascribed to him is not denied. If one makes use of the terminology itself as an indication as to how the contact to which X objected so much, was made, the verb w<sup>š</sup>b would rather point to an oral exchange of views having taken place, whereas hsf would expected in the case of a letter having been answered<sup>53</sup>. If such is the case, the later statement '... although there was no such sending' (rt. 10) does not only concern X (to whom it points especially) but ultimately also 'Imn-h<sup>C</sup>w.

What, then, would have been discussed on this first occasion between the deputy and the vizier? The very fact of the irregularity, perhaps, and possibly the vizier's displeasure about it.

If this is so, we need no longer connect the clause '... the one who invented these false words which have not [been] said' (rt. 11-12) with words entrusted to a letter on anybody's part - for it would seem that no writing did ever take place. It must concern something else. Perhaps a grossly misconstrued (in 'Imn-ḥ<sup>Cw</sup>'s opinion) account of what he, 'Imn-ḥ<sup>Cw</sup>, then told the vizier, had been getting round afterwards. Or else it has to do with what follows in this letter - perhaps an equally unacceptable version had circulated about 'Imn-ḥ<sup>Cw</sup>'s (indeed somewhat singular) measures to punish the culprits. This action is now extensively described. Perhaps, then, this latter part of our letter should be viewed as a way of putting things straight.

In this reconstruction the irritation of X about the action of the deputy (who has dealings with X's own immediate superior) becomes the more readily understandable. Yet, should he have ever actually set eyes on the letter, he might perhaps have realized that 'Imn-ḥ<sup>Cw</sup> had not only declined responsibility for the position he found himself in but also, that he had exonerated X from the accusation of the rioters. 'There was no such sending', says he. The demonstration was completely unjustified. 'Imn-ḥ<sup>Cw</sup>'s measures in correcting certain people may not only have been a reaction to 'their reprehensible actions' (rt. 7) but also to this incident. The vizier need not further worry about the way his administrators are treated in the village.

What is meant by *wiwi*<sup>54</sup> (rt. 4) remains obscure. In a pregnant situation this verb or its simplex form (*wi*) may denote the state of helplessness of a defeated wrestler falling to the ground<sup>55</sup>. Elsewhere it renders someone's failure to adequately formulate his words<sup>56</sup>. A lazy person might be so indicated<sup>57</sup> and the term also applies when neglect of duties is to be reprimanded<sup>58</sup>. For the same reason it may have been a fitting term in our letter. The verb seems to indicate rather a reluctance or an inability to fulfill one's duty than the actual fact of the neglect itself (for which terms like *mkḥ3*, *mhī* and similar are found).

What was the duty that could have been neglected at the fortress? The fortress itself is unspecified. *p3 ḥtm* occurs as an abbreviation of the often mentioned *p3 ḥtm n p3 ḥr* 'the fortress of the necropolis',<sup>59</sup> which has been located somewhere in the Valley of the Kings by E. Thomas<sup>60</sup>. There was also a *p3 ḥtm* near the 'bank' (*mry.t*)<sup>61</sup> and, finally, there is a rarely mentioned *p3 ḥtm n <p3?> dmi*<sup>62</sup>, 'the fortress of <the> village'. Official letters are sent to *p3 ḥtm n p3 ḥr*<sup>63</sup> and since this occurs likewise in our text (rt. 4) it may be an argument for pinpointing our fortress. Various business was conducted there<sup>64</sup>, some of a private nature, including sessions of 'the court' (*ḳnb.t*)<sup>65</sup>. Officials presented themselves there<sup>66</sup>, conferred there<sup>67</sup>, brought things there<sup>68</sup> or mustered the gang of workmen there<sup>69</sup>. All fortresses were naturally kept under guard<sup>70</sup> and maintenance of this may have been the chief duty of those connected with it, viz., a doorkeeper of the fortress<sup>71</sup>, a deputy<sup>72</sup>, or even a foreman of the gang of the fortress<sup>73</sup>. It was noted that while the doorkeepers on the bank (*mry.t*) regrettably slept, the fortress was left unguarded<sup>74</sup>, as well as the fact that a certain doorkeeper went in through the fortress of <the> village by night, having been let in by the guardian<sup>75</sup>. Such a lapse may conceivably have been meant in our text. Or else, making the fortress the scene of disobedience<sup>76</sup> or disorderly behaviour<sup>77</sup> might likewise have angered an official. Furthermore, goods were regularly delivered there<sup>78</sup>, including food<sup>79</sup>, for there was also a granary being kept there<sup>80</sup>. Negligence in the further distribution of these items might have caused anger too. Rations were also distributed there<sup>81</sup>, but when these were considerably in arrears, the blame would probably have been placed on the officials rather than on the workmen themselves, although demonstrations of disobedience like those mentioned above might have followed. For lack of any conclusive evidence, we cautiously propose to assume, by way of example, some lapse in vigilance - which, of all possibilities, seems best to cover what leads up to a question 'concerning' (*ḥr*) the fortress (rt. 6). The scorn resulting from this might easily have been poured on the heads of a few persons only. No further information at present available enables us to come much closer to the personality of the 'slave son'

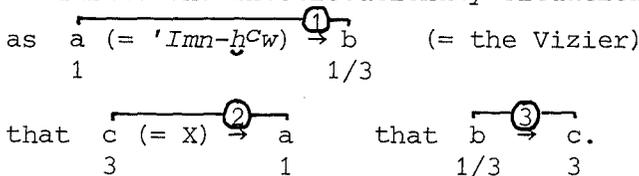
*Wsr-m3<sup>C</sup>.t-r<sup>C</sup>-nh<sup>t</sup>*<sup>82</sup>.

Whatever incident has been alluded to, it was dealt with by 'Imn-h<sup>C</sup>w in an unorthodox, but perhaps the more efficient, way. The culprits were left alone at night without superiors to guide them, to be confronted with 'the great statues'. Grisly though such an experience may have been in itself, it also faced them with the awe of superhuman powers inherent in a statue.

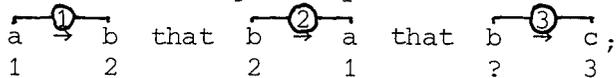
But what statues can have been meant? One would be inclined to locate them somewhere on the West Bank; should they not terrify people who had offended local regulations?<sup>83</sup> Cultic statues in temples where a cult was practised with a statue regularly present<sup>84</sup>, would rather have been hidden in their innermost shrines and would, at any rate, not have been officially accessible during the night hours, when those in function during the day will have been officially closed<sup>85</sup>. The qualification 'great' in our letter points to objects of monumental size; one might perhaps think of such colossal statues as the one in the first court of the Ramesseum. When mortuary temples were in the course of being demolished so that their stone material might be re-used for others, such statues would come to stand more or less isolated. In this connection it is tantalizing to think even of the huge Colossi of Memnon, those gigantic sitting statues of the then already much decayed mortuary temple of Amenophis III, most of the stone of which had, by then, been recycled into that of Merneptah. However, in this way, the unmistakably punitive and guarding function of the statues would have been rather unspecific. Nor is it possible to look for such statues in some royal tomb, as the specific terminology (note 31) rather seems to preclude this<sup>86</sup>. Indeed, one is strongly reminded of the mention of the arrival of a freshly transported statue (called a *rh.n=f*, as in our letter) from the Wadi Hammamat quarries at a workshop 'next to (r-gs)' the Ramesseum and subsequently '... left (h<sup>3C</sup>) at the fortress of the necropolis and resting (h<sup>t</sup>p) there, being half-worked, in the year six' of Ramesses IV<sup>87</sup>.

5 FURTHER NOTES, TO THE COMMENTARY

- 33 J. Černý, *Community*, 57-8; 103; 104; 115; 126; 223-4; 340-1.
- 34 E.g. O. Berlin P 12654, vs. (Allam, *Hier. Ostr.*, pl. 15), 1-3.
- 35 E.g. Pap. DeM '26', A, rt. 10 (Allam, *op.cit.*, pl. 92): 'as for me, Pharaoh has nominated me as a superior to this man'. Compare also the intention of someone to write to Pharaoh and likewise to the vizier, RAD 58,5-6, if the order is of some significance.
- 36 Cf. J. Černý, *Community*, 256 (note 1); 257 (n.4); 258 (n.14) and, finally, 259 (group I).
- 37 See O. Cairo CG 25831, rt. 2, then 4; O. Nash 11 (HO I, 115.4), 3, then 5.
- 38 If we code the act of 'giving information to/having dealings with' as →, number the subsequent referential layers (as ①, etc.) and the categories of person (1 for 'I', etc.; 1/3 in the case of *p3y=i nb*) and assign letters (a, b) to take care of referential identity, we may formalize the interlocutory situation of this passage



There is a quite comparable situation in e.g. pap. Anastasi V, 14,1-2: 'another communication, to / the citizen-ess <sup>b</sup>K3twty: <sup>a</sup>I know citizenship <sup>c</sup>T3k3.t. <sup>b</sup>You sent for <sup>c</sup>her, saying: '(<sup>c</sup>) draw small cattle of <sup>a-or-b</sup>mine from <sup>c</sup>her!'. This again may be formalized as



in the third referential layer one finds exactly the same conversion to a 3rd person as in our text. Such conversions are well-known, but have not been systematically investigated; however, for a preliminary account, see B. Couroyer, "Alternances de pronoms personnels en égyptien et en sémitique", *Revue Biblique* 84 (1977), 365-374.

Formalizing them enables one to assess each new situation independently. The encoding used above is inspired on the concept of the 'four-cell tagmeme' described in e.g. K. and E. Pike, *Grammatical Analysis* (Arlington, Texas, 1977, 35 foll.) with the basic features  $\frac{\text{slot} \mid \text{class}}{\text{role} \mid \text{cohesion}}$ .

It can also be used for describing referential hierarchy (*ib.*, 363 foll.). For the purpose of epistolographic analysis one might re-formulate it as

$$\frac{\text{identity}}{\text{speaker/addressee}} \mid \frac{\text{person category}}{\text{referential layer}}$$

In such a more economic transcription, the passage in our letter analyzed above would look somewhat like

$$\frac{a \mid 1}{\text{sp} \mid 1} + \frac{b \mid 1/3}{\text{ad} \mid 1} : \left[ \frac{c \mid 1}{\text{sp} \mid 2} + \frac{a \mid 1}{\text{ad} \mid 2} : \left[ \frac{b \mid 1/3}{\text{sp} \mid 3} + \frac{c \mid 3}{\text{ad} \mid 3} \right] \right].$$

39 Encoding the stages as follows:

AI tell Amy Blord, that	:	$\frac{a \rightarrow b}{1 \quad 1/3}$	:
Dhe has told Ame, that	:	$\frac{c \rightarrow a}{3 \quad 1}$	:
Ethey have told Dhim, that	:	$\frac{d \rightarrow c}{3 \quad 1}$	:
AI have spoken to Amy Blord.		$\frac{a \rightarrow b}{2 \quad 3}$	.

It should be noted that layers 3 and 4 occur in reversed order in the text.

40 Compare Pap. Abbott 6, 20-22.

41 See e.g., from the Instruction to the Vizier, Urk. IV, 1092, 3-4. The vizier daily presents Ma<sup>c</sup>at to his master, Pharaoh: Urk. IV, 1576, 14.

42 Cf. W. Spiegelberg, *Studien und Materialien zum Rechtswesen des Pharaonenreiches der Dynast. XVIII-XXI* (Hanover, 1892), 5-6. For the Ramesside period, cf. Kitchen,

RI I, 286,2; 10; 293,6 etc.; III, 15,8; 13; 16,3 etc. (P3-sr); I, 284,6 (Nb-'Imn); III, 51,6 (Nfr-rnp.t); 53,15; 54,12 (*hm-ntr m3<sup>C</sup>.t tpy*), etc. (P3-R<sup>C</sup>-htpw-B); 38,2; 14; 46,13 etc. (*ḥ<sup>C</sup>y*). Very typically also in an Encomium on the Vizier, in O. Gardiner 303 (HO I, 92.1), vs. 14-5.

43 *Verwaltung*, 56.

44 *Topogr. Bibl.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 11-13; A. Varille, *Karnak*, I (1943), 21-27 and W. Helck, *Materialien*, 65-66.

45 A. Varille, *op.cit.*, pl. 65, Inv. 1722 (a *Mry-m3<sup>C</sup>.t*, contemporary of Amenophis III); pl. 68, Inv. 1723 (another *Mry-m3<sup>C</sup>.t*, whose stela is dated to a year 6 [?] of Ramesses VI); pl. 69, Inv. 1724 (a family stela of the same person, mentioning other members of the clergy). For the text, see now P. Vernus, *BIFAO* (1975), 103-110. - For other instances of the title, compare notes 47 and 49 and moreover Davies-Macadam, *Corpus of Funerary Cones*, no. 11 (a *Mry-m3<sup>C</sup>.t*); statue Cairo CG 621 (= Borchardt, *Statuen*, II, 166-67 [a *ḥwy*; compare note 49 further down]); Theban tomb C.4, of one *Mry-m3<sup>C</sup>.t* (Dyn. XVIII = R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, III, 262 [also mentioning a father with the same title, a *Sn-nfr*]); recently, a NK stela of a *w<sup>C</sup>b n m3<sup>C</sup>.t*, called *Nb-'Imn* has been published by M. Guilmoit, *ZAS* 105 (1978), 160 (provenance: West Thebes). Finally, a late statue of *Bn-ī<w>-thī-ḥr* (= Louvre A 83) is known, with the title *mr w<sup>C</sup>b<.w> n M3<sup>C</sup>.t* (B. Grdseloff, *ASAE* 40 [1940], 189).

46 *Pap. Brit. Mus.* 10053, rt. 1,5; 10068, rt. 1,9 and 4,1; *Giornale*, 13,6. A similar court was held 'in the *ḥ3.t*'. *Pap. Brit. Mus.* 10052, 1,3; is this an alternative noun to the vizier's office (*ḥ3*), or a temple room? For this, cf. *t3 ḥ3y.t n 3ḥ-mnw*, cited P. Barguet, *Le Temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak* (Le Caire, 1962), 205 and, for another occurrence of the word as a temple precinct, R. Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 25 (1969), 175 (*ḥ3w.t*; to regard this as a spelling of *šw.t* 'shadow' is perhaps not necessary).

47 *Funerary Cones*, no. 600 (*B3kī*, whose sister [? *sn.t*] is *Mry.t*).

48 As in the case of the scribe of the Tomb 'Imn-nḥt who at times bore the epithet *n t3ty*. Cf. J. Černý, *Community*, 341, whose explanation obviates the problems raised by

- I. Lur'e, *Studien zum altägyptischen Recht* (Weimar, 1971), 86 (n.13) and S. Allam, *Das Verfahrensrecht in der altägyptischen Arbeitersiedlung von Deir El-Medineh* (Tübingen, 1973), 39 (n.88).
- 49 In a context where a vizier has various dealings with the workmen, there is mention of the 'going by the priest ( $w^{Cb}$ ) of Ma<sup>Cat</sup>,  $p3y=f$  [...]' (Giornale, 5,18) where  $p3y=f$  is probably part of a proper name, in view of a statement elsewhere to the effect that 'the two doorkeepers / [...] guardians, sent (a letter?) to the place where the  $w^{Cb}$ -priest of Ma<sup>Cat</sup>,  $P3y=f-îry$  was, (and) the scribe *Mry* [...] of the vizier' (Pap. Turin 2072/142, vs. 1,7-8 *apud* S. Allam, *Hier. Ostr.*, pl. 129). Furthermore, on a certain tour of inspection through Karnak, the vizier  $P3-sr$  seems to have the  $w^{Cb}$  of  $M3^C.t$ ,  $\dot{H}wy$ , among his followers - if this is the right interpretation (legend in tomb of  $P3-sr$  in Thebes [no. 106] = Kitchen, RI I, 294, 5).
- 50 C. Megally, *Studia Aegyptiaca*, Budapest 1 (1974), 304.
- 51 Unless *bn* + undetermined noun should have some specific semantic force (for a suggestion to this effect, cf. S. Groll, *op.cit.* [note 20], 99 which would still range the clause with the citation. We do not think this likely.
- 52 One is somehow reminded of that other unruly crowd that came all the way down to Eastern Thebes in order to demonstrate against another harrassed official of the necropolis, not so many years after - Pap. Abbott, 5,10 and 5,15.
- 53 It may be of some significance that sending a letter to a vizier was perhaps sometimes a grave matter, as an oracular question to that effect seems to illustrate: 'shall I put the matter into writing? Shall <I> give it (or '<in order to> give it') to the vizier?', O. Gardiner *unn.* = J. Černý, *BIFAO* 72 (1972), 51, no. 41.
- 54 *Wb* I, 272, 9-10, and R. Caminos, *JEA* 49 (1963), 35. Cf. Demotic *wywy*, Pap. mag. London & Leiden, rt. 13,8 (next to  $w^Cw^C$ , 'curse', and hence different, not identical with it, as W. Erichsen, *Glossar*, 82, has it).
- 55 *Medinet Habu* II, pl. 111 = Kitchen, RI V, 114,4 ( $wiwi$ ); O. Cairo CG 25132 (W. Spiegelberg, *OLZ* 5 [1902], 310 -  $wi$ ).
- 56 Pap. Anastasi I, 28,3; Amenemope Instruction, 14,14;

- LRL 68,11. 'Abusing' someone's name, transitively: Pap. DeM VII, vs. 4, and hence the person himself: *ib.*, 1.
- 57 Pap. Berlin 10463 (*JEA* 49 [1963], 29-37), vs. 3.
- 58 O. Berlin P. 10646 + Colin Campbell 21 (HO I, 42.4), rt. 2 and vs. 2; O. Gardiner 114 (HO I, 44.4), 2.
- 59 O. DeM 252, rt. 2 and 5; O. Cairo CG 25273, 2-3 and 4.
- 60 *JEA* 49 (1963), 62. - Spiegelberg, *Graff.*, no. 790 (note 66) is near the workmen's huts on the pass on the road leading from the village to the Valley of the Kings. Was it somewhere here that the path was barred by a Fortress? - J. Černý, insisting that *p3 hr* should always mean 'the Tomb' (of the reigning king - *Community*, 17) translated the present expression as 'the enclosure of the Tomb' (e.g. *The Valley of the Kings*, 19), and even seems to connect the 'five *inb.t*' so often spoken of in the Strike Papyrus, with it (*Cambridge Ancient History*, II.2, Chapter 35 [Cambridge, 1975<sup>2</sup>], 622). One wonders whether that would imply that the position of the fortress was moved from time to time. - Even if one keeps the translation proposed by him, the semantics of the term *hr* are perhaps to a degree comparable to that of a modern institution like 'the Mine' which can have a similarly wide range of administrative and spatial (and even affective) meanings (= the whole complex, or a particular section, or a particular gallery).
- 61 O. DeM 103; RAD 56, 10-11.
- 62 O. DeM 339, vs. 1-2.
- 63 O. BM 50722 + Cairo CG 25736 (HO I, 68.1), 3-4; cf. O. DeM 161, rt. 3-4 and O. Cairo CG 25305, 3. On the other hand, this is likewise recorded (as well as other activities) for the 'Entrance of the Valley' which J. Černý would prefer to locate at the *other* end of the Valley, where Wādiyen begins (*Community*, 93).
- 64 O. Cairo 25273, 1-3; O. Gardiner 23 (HO I, 43.4), 11-12; O. DeM 651, rt. 1-4; O. Turin Cat. 57068, rt. - After the blunted tools have been handed in, one proceeds toward the fortress: Pap. Geneva MAH 15274, vs. 1,1.
- 65 O. Mich. 1 (pl. 51).
- 66 RAD 53,8; 56,1; O. Cairo CG 25504, rt. 2, 1-2; vs. 2; O. DeM 114, vs. 1-3; O. DeM 427, vs. 11; W. Spiegelberg, *Graffiti*, no. 790.

- 67 O. Cairo CG 25504, vs. 2,3; RAD 56,1 sqq.
- 68 O. DeM 45, vs. 9; O. Cairo 25504, rt. 2,1-2; vs. 2,8-9.
- 69 O. Berlin 12654, vs. (Allam, *Hier. Ostr.*, pl. 15), 4 foll.
- 70 O. DeM 103, rt. 2-3; O. DeM 339, vs.
- 71 RAD 53,8.
- 72 O. DeM 252, rt. 5.
- 73 O. Gardiner 23 (HO I, 43.4), 11.
- 74 O. DeM 103, rt. 3; cf. J. Černý, *Community*, 97.
- 75 O. DeM 339, vs.
- 76 O. DeM 571, 3-7.
- 77 O. DeM 570, 6-7.
- 78 O. DeM 40, vs. 5-6; O. DeM 45, vs. 9-10; Turin map of the Wādi Hammamat (Pap. Turin 1879), apud J. Černý, *Community* 61 (see also here note 87; perhaps also O. Petrie 62 (HO I, 73.2), rt. 4-5).
- 79 O. DeM 380, 2-3; 582, 7; O. Queen's College 1115 (HO I, 31.1), rt. 4 (p3 htm).
- 80 O. DeM 252, rt. 2; Pap. DeM '26', A, rt. (Allam, *Hier. Ostr.*, pl. 92), 8; O. Berlin 12654, vs. (Allam, *ib.*, pl. 13), vs. 4.
- 81 O. DeM 252, rt. 2; O. DeM 386, 1-2; O. Mich. 73 (pl. 65).
- 82 Who perhaps had done duty as a *wršw*; if he was a young man (but cf. note 29) we could think of the 'young ones' (*ḥd.w*) who were at times collected from below (*ṯsī*) when one had run out of regular people for guarding duties; cf. O. DeM 40, rt. 12 and J. Černý's remark in ZAS 72 (1936), 116. However, in the later years of Ramesses III there was also a *doorkeeper* of that name who may be identical with a namesake who has to do with various deliveries. See J. Černý, *Community*, 167.
- 83 Perhaps something similar was meant by the expression *bt3 n sb3* 'a crime against (lit., 'of') the door', O. Gardiner 64 (HO I, 49.2), 1. Unless 'the door' simply designates a certain cult place (some examples quoted in LA II, 673).
- 84 That all the Amun temples on the West Bank (the mortuary temples) possessed a regular cult statue is far from certain; compare D. Arnold, *Wandrelied und Raumfunktion* (Berlin, 1962), 21, sub 29 (Qurneh temple of Seti I).
- 85 Compare a late statement in H. Junker - E. Winter, *Das Geburtshaus des Tempels der Isis in Philä*, 7, 25-26. It

is immaterial whether certain forms of the cult were continued during the night *within* a temple; cf. e.g. P. Posener-Krieger, p. 149 (with note 30) in: *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East*, I (Louvain, 1979) (Old Kingdom) or H. Fairman, *BJRL* 37 (1954), 181-82 (Ptolemaic period).

- 86 The material is almost always wood and the dimensions scarcely exceed one metre in height. For a recent study, cf. F. Abitz, *Statuetten in Schreinen als Grabbeigaben in den ägyptischen Königsgräbern der 18. und 19. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 1979).
- 87 Pap. Turin 1879, legend no. 18 = G. Goyon, *ASAE* 49 (1949), 342. Precisely because this monument was not yet finished, and ritual consecration hence not yet carried out (compare note 31), its being indicated by the term  $rh.n=f$  is anticipatory. It is a projection of its actual use. - In *Cambridge Ancient History*, II.2, Chapter 35 (Cambridge, 1975 [first edited in 1965]), 609, J. Černý located the workshop at the foot of the causeway to the Mentuhotep temple at Deir el Bahari (*Top. Bibl.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 424 foll.). However, in his *Community of Workmen*, 61, this text was cited again - now to assign the statue to a king's tomb. But, in view of the probability that the term has an intrinsically *cultic* implication (cf. here note 31) such a destination seems unlikely. - *If* the transport legend might indeed refer to a statue such as those mentioned in our letter, we would possibly have a date *post quem*. It is scarcely within the bounds of the available evidence to press this point.

## 6 SUMMARY

In summary, detailed analysis of this letter reveals a conflict in professional competence seen in retrospect between the deputy 'Imn- $h^C_w$ , a rather low-ranking member of one of the communities on the West Bank - the village of Deir el-Medīna - and an official of the vizier's office, presumably residing on the East Bank. This latter representative occurs under his official title ' $w^C_b$ -priest of Ma<sup>c</sup>at'. The deputy, in explaining to his master, the vizier, a certain

incident that took place near 'the fortress' and the measures he took in coping with it, reveals himself as a clever and, moreover, most resourceful person. 'The fortress' (*p3 htm*), if indeed it was the one so often associated with 'the Tomb/Necropolis', perhaps controlled the most frequently used approach to the Valley of the Kings, i.e., the southern one, at the end of the path from Deir el-Medīna. The culprits were exposed to the sight of certain large statues (*rh.n=f*) by night which stood there somewhere. This must have cast quite a damper on their obstinacy.

## 7 POSTSCRIPT

In the above analysis it has been assumed that the personal involvements of all persons occurring in this letter would allow them to sort out the facts as they had taken shape in 'Imn-h<sup>Cw</sup>'s mind in a natural manner on reading, whereas we lack the dimension of immediateness which hovers over the then-time incident. The analysis of the main occurrences of this letter is further based on the optimistic assumption that there is a *systemic* but optional variation in the way the pronouns are spread over the participants occurring in citations. Therefore we have introduced the notion of 'referential layer' as a kind of superordinate unit for analyzing interlocutionary *dimensions*. One may well ask, of course, whether the tools by which the material is processed do indeed testify to the soundness of the product - there is, after all, a certain circularity in such a methodical approach. Obviously, other solutions of the main contents of this letter are possible too.

Valuable comments on the above translation and interpretation have been offered by J. Janssen and P. Pestman. Their remarks have not a little influenced my own views - and not all of this is apparent in the following.

- I. Janssen, while accepting the different identity of the 'X' (= D) I have made appear out of the blue (in rt. 4), makes two different proposals.
  - a. X (= D) accuses 'Imn-h<sup>Cw</sup> of having sent a letter to the vizier (rt. 6) and somewhat further on there is a similar accusation about a letter having been sent (rt. 9).

Would that not rather make the accused ones the same person - that is, would not 'Imn-h<sup>Cw</sup> and the 'w<sup>Cb</sup>-priest of Ma<sup>C</sup>at' be identical?

- b. in '... these false words which have not / [been] said', words may have been meant said by people who accused 'Imn-h<sup>Cw</sup>. The real agent of the negatived verb ḏd is 'Imn-h<sup>Cw</sup> himself. The latter denies to have communicated with the vizier *at the time*; he does so only *now*.

This solution is attractive by its very simplicity. If I have great difficulties in accepting this reconstruction, it is (1) on account of the evidence about the title w<sup>Cb</sup> n m3<sup>C</sup>.t which seems to point to an official in the vizier's retinue, rather than to someone among the gang of workmen, and (2) because of a referential problem. To find 'Imn-h<sup>Cw</sup>, the 'I' of the letter, being referred to by 'you' and 'he' may be required by the situation. But to find him indicated by this special title, somewhere in the mid of the letter, is less easy to account for.

IJ. Pestman thinks the reconstruction of the identities as proposed rather involved, and for a crucial passage in this respect (rt. 4-7) he proposes:

- 4 ... now that he<sup>D</sup> has written to us at the fortress.  
Slackness was shown,  
5 saying<sup>E</sup>: 'what do the(se) false [matters] mean?  
The vizier<sup>B</sup> has asked an explanation from him<sup>A</sup>  
6 concerning the fortress", and 'you<sup>A</sup> answered him<sup>B</sup>" -  
so they<sup>E</sup> tell me<sup>A</sup> - "on the subject  
7 of their<sup>F</sup> bad actions". And one<sup>E</sup> spent ...', etc.

Here again both 'Imn-h<sup>Cw</sup> and the 'priest of Ma<sup>C</sup>at' are accused of blabbing (to the vizier). From a linguistic point of view I would have some difficulty in admitting an underlying agent '<they>' in 'saying' (r-ḏd, beginning of rt. 5) since there is no preceding coreferential noun or pronoun that might have caused such an Equi-deletion.



'REMOVE YOUR STELA'

(O. PETRIE 21 = *Hier. Ostr.* 16, 4)

R.J. Demarée

In view of the great number of stelae known from Deir el-Medīna<sup>1</sup>, it is at the very least remarkable to note the fact that *prima facie* these objects are rarely mentioned in the multitude of texts from the Village. As probably many of them were made locally, one would expect more information about their production, function and the terminology used to designate them.

This question has arisen especially in connection with a study of O. Petrie 21 (= *Hier. Ostr.* 16,4), where a new reading of two passages gave better sense to this text, but, at the same time has posed new problems. Before discussing these problems and the related main subject of this article, let us first turn to the already mentioned O. Petrie 21:

TRANSLATION<sup>2</sup>

recto

- 1 Year 27, I *šmw*, day 19. This day<sup>a</sup> reporting/appealing by<sup>b</sup>
- 2 workman *H<sup>c</sup>-m-w3st<sup>c</sup>* to King Amenophis, l.h.g., s[aying]
- 3 [Come] to me, my Lord: judge between me and<sup>d</sup> work-
- 4 man *Nfr-ḥtp<sup>e</sup>*. Shall (one?)<sup>f</sup> take the *ct*-dwelling<sup>g</sup> of
- 5 *B3k<sup>h</sup>*, my
- 6 (grand)father, which is in the Great Field<sup>i</sup>, on account<sup>j</sup>
- 7 of the portion (= heritage) of *Shmt-nfr.t<sup>k</sup>*,
- 8 oh, my great Shu? And the god w[alked]
- 9 backwards<sup>l</sup> emphatically. One said to him:
- 10 Shall one give it<sup>m</sup> to

verso

- 1 *H<sup>c</sup>-m-w3st<sup>c</sup>*? And the god nodded assent
- 2 em[phatically], in the presence of chief workman *Hnsw*,
- 3 chief workman

3 ['In-]ḥr-ḥ<sup>C</sup>w and the complete group of bearers. And he  
 4 [said to 'Iy-]nīw.t.f<sup>n</sup>: do not enter the <sup>C</sup>t-dwelling!  
 5 Calling upon Amenophis, l.h.g.: Oh, my [great] Shu [...]  
 6 [...] Ḥri<sup>O</sup> a stela<sup>P</sup>. He erected<sup>g</sup> it<sup>r</sup> in the <sup>C</sup>t-dwelling  
 upon(?) [...]  
 7 exactly<sup>S</sup>. And the god said to him: do not enter [...]  
 8 [...] remove your stela<sup>P</sup> [from there]<sup>t</sup>.

## NOTES TO THE TRANSLATION

- a For another oracle given by Amenophis on a same date (in year 14 of Ramesses III), cfr O. Cairo 25555, rt. 5 - vs. 4; see also Vleeming, below p. 187.
- b Reading *smī.t <i>n*; cfr e.g. O. DeM. 235, 2.
- c Workman Ḥ<sup>C</sup>-m-w3st is known from year 15 of Ramesses III (O. DeM. 253, vs. 2) up to year 5 of either Ramesses IV or Ramesses VI (O. Berlin 9897, 4 and O. Brit.Mus. 50744, 10; both unpubl.). He was the son of Pn-'Imn and grandson of B3kī, cfr Pap. Turin 2065, vs. 3 (unpubl.) and Černý, *Rép. Onomastique*, 94; he was married to T3-wrt-hr-tī, a daughter of chief workman 'In-ḥr-ḥ<sup>C</sup>w the Younger (through her mother Ḥnwt-ḥnw). Ḥ<sup>C</sup>-m-w3st appealed to Amenophis in another case, two years later in year 29, IV 3ḥt, day 20: O. Cairo 25242.
- d Reading *wpī <w>ī ḥrm*; for *wpī ḥrm* (or ḥn<sup>C</sup>) cfr WB I, 299, 7.
- e The workman Nfr-ḥtp is known from the later years of Ramesses III; he may have been the son of R<sup>C</sup>-mry, but unfortunately nothing more seems to be known about him; cfr Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 72-73. Yet, in this period there was another workman Nfr-ḥtp, the son of Ḥ<sup>C</sup>-m-nwn and Nīw.t-nḥtī, cfr Bierbrier, *Late New Kingdom*, Chart VII on p. 26.
- f A note to Černý's transcription in his Notebook (Černý MSS 17.36.17) says: "not *f*, no tail". Probably therefore, read *īw.tw* and cfr the similar phraseology in rt. 8. The whole sentence has to be a question, since it is followed immediately by an answer of the god, cfr note 1.
- g For the meaning of <sup>C</sup>t, see Janssen-Pestman, *JESHO* 11 (1968), 160 and Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 395 and 397.
- h Cfr note c.
- i I.e. the Valley of Kings, cfr Černý, *Workmen*, 91.

- j *ḥr* - "upon" or "extra and above"? Or else, would it be possible to read *t3i ḥr*: "to take away from"? Unfortunately I do not know of any other example of the latter expression.
- k The lady *Šḥmt-nfr.t* is known to me only from O. AG 63, rt. 9 (a list of gifts, unpubl.). An exact family relationship with either of the two contestants remains unknown.
- l *n<sup>Cy</sup>-n-ḥ3.f* - "walk backward" as a sign of disapproval, cfr Černý in Parker, *Saite Oracle*, 46 and *id.* in *BIFAO* 30 (1931), 491 ff.
- m I.e. the *Ct*.
- n The workman '*Iy-nīw.t.f* is known from year 14 of Ramesses III (O. Cairo 25555, vs. 5) up to year 5 of either Ramesses IV or Ramesses VI (*Hier. Ostr.* 29, 3, vs. 2). His appearance here is difficult to explain. One would expect the god to order *Nfr-ḥtp* not to enter the *Ct*. In fact Černý translated this passage thus, cfr *Egyptian Oracles* (in Parker, *Saite Oracle*), 41, in spite of the facsimile and accompanying transcription in *Hier. Ostr.* 16, 4. Dr. M.L. Bierbrier, of the British Museum, was kind enough to check the original for me. His observations (by letter, 12.8.1981) indicate that the long tail of the *f* is clear, but the rest is faded and uncertain.
- o *Ḥrī*? Again, the presence of this man is difficult to explain.
- p *wḏ* - "stela" (certainly not *wḥ3* - "column"), *vide infra* Commentary.
- q *dg3* - "to erect". WB V 499, 8 translates "eine Säule aufstellen", giving this place only. Yet, "to erect a column" is usually rendered by *smn wḥ3*, cfr Pap. Brit.Mus. 10055 (Salt 124), 2, 6. *Dg3 m* means "to put in", WB V 499, 7: "to put stones in a wall" (referring to O. Berlin 10621, rt. 5 = *Hier. Pap.* III, pl. 30), or WB V 499, 10-11: "to put trees in the ground", "to plant". It is possible, therefore, that in our case were we have to understand that the stela was placed (or inserted) in the wall of the *Ct*. Placing small votive stelae in niches in the walls of the houses was a not uncommon practice in Deir el-Medīna, cfr Bruyère, *Rapport DeM* 1934-1935, III, 165.
- r I.e. the stela.

- s  $n\text{-}^Ck3$  or  $r\text{-}^Ck3$ , WB I 233, 18; 234, 1 "gegenüber von etwas"; Faulkner, *Concise Dict.*, 50 "on a level with"; Gardiner, *EG*<sup>3</sup>, § 178. The expression is however only known used as a preposition and not, like here, as an adverb.
- t Possible in view of Černý's remark to his transcription (Černý MSS 17.36.17): "Just possibly not quite end - a short word after it?"; read  $m\text{-}im??$

## COMMENTARY

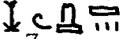
The first three-quarters of this text (till vs. 4) seem clear enough - in spite of some grammatical difficulties. Two workmen,  $H^C\text{-}m\text{-}w3st$  and  $Nfr\text{-}h\text{-}tp$ , dispute the ownership of a  $^Ct$ -dwelling. Through an oracle King Amenophis assigns the  $^Ct$  to  $H^C\text{-}m\text{-}w3st$ . Unfortunately immediately hereafter the text becomes unclear, but it would be logical to assume that the winner in the dispute asked the god also to order the loser to remove from the  $^Ct$  his stela - which probably had his name on it.

Another possibility - however unlikely - would be to assume that starting with vs. 5 a new 'case' begins concerning another  $^Ct$  and other disputants. Although the last lines of the verso are very defective, one fact seems to emerge from them: the placement of a stela in a private building most probably indicated ownership of that building - at least in the form of a moral claim. For that reason a legal owner could have a claimant ordered to remove his stela which had been placed in the building illegally.

As it seems reasonably clear that in the text above the use of the word  $w\check{d}$  - "stela" is certain, the following step is to look for the other instances of this word in texts from the Village.

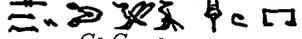
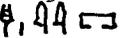
- A O. Berlin 14256, rt. 2-3 (unpubl.; 19th dyn.): The lady  $Sn(.t)\text{-}nfr.t$  gives payment to the draughtsman  $Mr\text{-}(w3st?)$  for work done on two stelae  $\text{te} \text{d} \text{=}$  for the temple of Hathor, and for another painted stela  $\text{te} \text{=} \text{H} \text{e} \text{?}$  for the temple of Amun, Lord of Karnak.
- B O. Michael. 13, rt. 1-2 (= Goedicke-Wente, pl. XLVII; 19th dyn.): The draughtsman  $Nfr\text{-}h\text{-}tp$  gave to (the workman)  $Hr\text{-}m\text{-}wi3$  one painted stela of (Ahmose)-Nefertari



- J* British Museum 276 (ex-Belmore Collection), <sup>9</sup> of the main text: "I made stelae (or 'a stela')  in a shrine next to the Lords of the Necropolis".<sup>7</sup>
- K* On a limestone stela-base the workman *Pn-nīw.t* says: "I made a stela  in a shrine next to the Valley of Queens".<sup>8</sup>
- L* On another limestone stela-base we read:  workman *B3k-n-wrl*, his son *Nb-nfr*, his brother *Wsr-ḥ3t*.<sup>9</sup>
- M* The text on a third limestone stela-base, found in the Village, reads: "  for Amun-Re of Opet, made by workman *P3-R<sup>C</sup>-ḥtp*".<sup>9a</sup>

From the evidence presented above it becomes clear that the word *par excellence* for 'stela' in Deir el-Medīna, in both literary and non-literary texts, was *wḏ*, used both for stone and wooden stelae. No distinction seems to have been made between royal or private, tomb or votive stelae.<sup>10</sup>

However, all this leaves us with some other, difficult passages in texts from the Village or the Necropolis Administration:

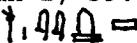
- a* In O. DeM. 422, vs. 1-2, we read that in year 18, IV *prt*, day 3, chief workman *Ḥnsw* made a plan of the *C<sub>h</sub><sup>C<sub>w</sub></sup>* of Pharaoh - . Černý, *Workmen*, 131, note 15, says *C<sub>h</sub><sup>C<sub>w</sub></sup>* here must mean "stela" and not "tomb" (*m<sup>C<sub>h</sub></sup><sup>C<sub>t</sub></sup>*) which is feminine; he refers of course to WB I 221, 11. Yet, the verb *sntī* is normally used in the sense "to found a tomb, or a temple", cfr WB IV 177, 11; see also O. Berlin 10663, rt. 2 (E.F. Wente, *JNES* 32 [1973], 223-224) and O. Cairo 25565, 4, while in O. Gard. 70, rt. 2-4 (= *Hier. Ostr.* 48, 1) we read *sš p3 sntī n p3 ḥr* - "to write the plan of the tomb". If, however, *C<sub>h</sub><sup>C<sub>w</sub></sup>* is more than just a stela, but something like a small shrine including a stela, the verb *sntī* would seem perfectly fitting in the context of O. DeM. 422.<sup>11</sup>
- b* In Pap. Abbott 2, 3 we read: "(the tomb of King Amenophis) which measures 120 cubits from its *C<sub>h</sub><sup>C<sub>y</sub></sup>* - ". Again, it is uncertain whether we are dealing with the word for "stela" or with an otherwise unattested masculine form of the normally feminine word for "tomb".
- c* On one of his stelae the sculptor *Ḳn* says: "oh (you), whatever people might find themselves upon this stone

..." (cfr Clère, *RdE* 27 [1975], 70-77, esp. 75-76). As the word for "stone" is only written with a determinative, it is just possible that we could read *īnr*, designating in this instance the "stela" itself. According to Borghouts, above p. 42, note 23, a comparable case could be the use of *īnr* - "stone" for "stela" in Edinburgh 912, A4 and B5 (Černý, *Oriens Antiquus* 6 [1967], 47-50), as a self-reference of this object. Alternatively, if *īnr* in these cases would mean something like "offering table" or "libation basin", one could compare the use of this word in O. Chicago 12074 (= *Hier. Ostr.* 78), rt. 8.

Since the evidence from the last cited examples can hardly be called unequivocal, it seems safe to conclude that the old word *wḏ* was still the word for "stela" in Deir el-Medīna. From the documents presented above we may infer that stelae (made of stone or of wood) were produced, traded and erected by the Village community.

Specially interesting is the clear indication - from O. Petrie 21 and Doc. C - that a stela could have an important function in the household.

## NOTES

- 1 See e.g. PM I 2, 714-737 and Tosi-Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi*; cfr the list by Zonhoven, below pp. 284-286.
- 2 Earlier translations in Allam, *Hier. Ostr.*, 237-238; Helck, *Materialien* III, 340 ff.; Černý in Parker, *Saite Oracle Papyrus*, 41 (partly).
- 3 Cfr the door from the tomb of Sennedjem, referred to by Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 389 note 6.
- 4 T.E. Peet, *Great Tomb Robberies of the 20th Egyptian Dynasty*, 38 and 42.
- 5 Gardiner, *Chester Beatty Papyri*, 39.
- 6 Erman, *Denksteine aus der thebanischen Gräberstadt*, 1087-1097, pl. XVI; Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus Berlin*, II, 158-162; Brunner-Traut, *Die Alten Agypter*, 136-138; Kitchen, *KRI* III, 655, 3.
- 7 Cfr *JEA* 31, 46; Bruyère, *Mert Seger*, I, 24-30, fig. 16.
- 8 Bruyère, *Rapport DeM 1934-1935*, III, 193, pl. XIX, 1.
- 9 Bruyère, *Rapport DeM 1935-1940*, II, 44 and pl. XV; the clearly feminine writing *wḏ.t* is probably influenced by the word *wḏ.t* - "order, decree", *WB* I 397, 1-8.
- 9a Bruyère, *Rapport DeM 1934-1935*, III, 193, pl. XIX, 2.
- 10 Cfr also Wenamun 2, 59: "then he will read aloud your name on the stela -  "; H.M. Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae*, fig. 7 on pl. 19 and the commentary by Caminos in *JEA* 64, 154; Z. Zába, *Archiv Orientální* 24, 272 ff.
- 11 *ChCw* - "stela", also appears in Pap. Anast. V 24, 3 (Gardiner, *LEM*, 70, 3). In view of the evidence adduced above, Caminos' remark (*LEM*, 267) about this word *ChCw* meaning "stone stela" while the word for "wooden stela" would be unknown - seems to miss the point.

## TWO PERSONALITIES

Jac. J. Janssen

Egyptian sources do not provide us with very much evidence for the interpretation of individual characters. Royal inscriptions tell us of the actions of kings, autobiographical texts about the careers and functions of officials, but to draw conclusions from them with regards to the actual personalities involved can hardly be justified. The scanty evidence we do possess on the subject is to be found in letters, for instance, the Hekanakhte Papers or some of the Letters to the Dead. There may, however, be yet another source. From the numerous ostraca and a few other texts from Deir el-Medīna we get so much information about some of the necropolis workmen that it seems permissible to make some (very cautious) suggestions about their characters<sup>1</sup>. Compared with what we know about individuals from other civilizations, the picture may remain vague and sketchy. Nonetheless, it is more than we can ever hope to achieve for other ancient Egyptians.

The two examples discussed here demonstrate what possibilities the material may have to offer.

### A. *Ḥsy-sw-nb.f*, a Loyal Pupil

During a visit to the recent exhibition of objects from Deir el-Medīna in Metz, my attention was drawn to a fragmentary limestone offering stand dedicated, according to the inscription, by the chief workman *Nfr-ḥtpw* in association with *Ḥsy-sw-nb.f*. In the catalogue of the exhibition<sup>2</sup>, Mme Letellier points out that another document also demonstrates a close relationship between these persons. It is a relief on the left-hand side of the seat of one of the fragmentary statues found by Bruyère in the tomb of Neferhotep (No. 216) -- a dyad of this chief workman and his wife -- representing a boy with a monkey<sup>3</sup>. Above them is written: *ḥm.f msw n pr.f [Ḥs]y-sw-nb.f*, "His slave, child of his house, *Ḥsy-*

*sw-nb.f*. It is not quite certain whether this means that *Ḥsy-sw-nb.f* had actually been a slave-boy, although it is noticeable that the name of his father is nowhere mentioned. Moreover, the name "his Lord may praise him"<sup>4</sup> could be interpreted as an indication of a servile status, although by *nb.f* a divinity could also be meant. This much is certain, that *Ḥsy-sw-nb.f* was reared in the house of the chief workman *Nfr-ḥtpw*<sup>5</sup>.

We happen to know that he was not *Nfr-ḥtpw*'s only pupil. Pap. Salt 124, 2, 14<sup>6</sup> tells us that at a certain moment *P3-nb* was running after *Nfr-ḥtpw* "although it was he who reared him" (*iw ntf i.shpr sw*). We know that *P3-nb*'s own father was *Nfr-snwt*<sup>7</sup>. The reason *Nfr-ḥtpw* took a fancy to *P3-nb* is not stated; perhaps he was orphaned when still a boy. Anyhow, the relationship appears to have ended in a row. Are we to understand that *Nfr-ḥtpw* then transferred his affections to another boy our *Ḥsy-sw-nb.f*? It looks not unlikely. *Nfr-ḥtpw* had no children<sup>8</sup>, and since he had succeeded his father *Nb-nfr* in the office of chief workman, like the father, in his turn, had done his father *Nfr-ḥtpw* (I), it is not improbable that *Nfr-ḥtpw* (II) wanted to pass his position to a favorite whom he had taken into his house as a young boy.

There are several indications that *Ḥsy-sw-nb.f* was a loyal pupil. One of the many ostraca on which he is mentioned<sup>9</sup> records that he was working in the 't of *Nfr-ḥtpw*, the 't being a private dwelling outside the walls of the workmen's village<sup>10</sup>. Most instances where the name of *Ḥsy-sw-nb.f* occurs are to be found in lists of absences. Of these O. Cairo 25783, vs. 11-12, may be of importance in this connection, since there the reason for the absence is stated to be *m-ḥ hry.f*, "(he was) with his chief". Very probably this chief was *Nfr-ḥtpw* who is recorded as having been ill for a fairly long time, from the second day of III *šmw* until at least the 17th, on which day the text ends; very probably even longer<sup>11</sup>. It would be alluring to suggest that *Ḥsy-sw-nb.f* looked after the chief workman because he was his benefactor<sup>12</sup>. However, various other workmen appear to have been absent during that period for the same reason. On the 11th,

for instance, not only *Hsy-sw-nb.f* but *Kn* too (*Kn m mitt*) is recorded as being "with" the chief workman. *Hsy-sw-nb.f*'s action can thus not be interpreted as proof of his close relationship with *Nfr-htpw*.

There is other, more convincing evidence for *Hsy-sw-nb.f*'s feelings with regard to his master, namely the names he gave to his children. They are mentioned on the stela Manchester 4588<sup>13</sup>. In the arch we see a representation of the barque of Mut with, standing on the prow, the '3 n ist m st-M3't *Nfr-htp*, m3'-hrw. In each of the two registers are depicted five kneeling figures, who are called, in the upper register: the sdm-'š m st-M3't *Hsy-sw-nb.f*, his wife *Hwnwr*, his daughter *Wbht*, his daughter *Nbw-m-iry*, and -- between the mother and the first daughter -- his son *Nfr-htp*. Hence not only did *Hsy-sw-nb.f* dedicate a stela to the chief workman who had reared him, he also called his son after him, and one of his daughters was named after *Nfr-htpw*'s wife *Wbht*. A clear indication of his affection.

The connection with the persons in the lower register of the stela is uncertain. They are: a workman 'Imn-m-ipt and his wife 'Ist, a chantress of Amun *Wbht*, and a workman R'-mry and his wife *Twrt-nw*. The first pair are the parents of *Hwnwr*, as will become apparent below, but whether the other three also belonged to the family of *Hsy-sw-nb.f*'s wife is unknown. It is conspicuous that none of these men and women seems to have been related to *Hsy-sw-nb.f* himself.

Some of these people also occur in the text of an unpublished piece of linen preserved in the Meyers Collection, Washington (No. 7.3)<sup>14</sup>. The names there recorded are: *Hsy-sw-nb.f*, his son *Nfr-htp*, his wife *Hwnwr*, her mother 'Ist, the "daughter of her daughter" (that is, probably, the granddaughter of 'Ist) *Wbht*, and at least one other woman called *Srit-R'* whose relationship to the others is not clear.

For the sake of completeness, although it contains no evidence for *Hsy-sw-nb.f*'s relationship with *Nfr-htpw*, I mention here a second stela. It represents the god Reshep and is depicted by Wilkinson<sup>15</sup> and Lanzzone<sup>16</sup>; its present where-

abouts are unknown<sup>17</sup>. According to the text it was dedicated by the *sdm-š m st-M3t Ḥsy-sw-nb.f*, and, since no other person of this name is known, this is probably our man.

For more information about him we must return to the ostraca. Apart from being mentioned in lists of absences, he occurs in records about the delivery of grain<sup>18</sup> and in lists merely containing names<sup>19</sup>. Except that they present us with some dates, they do not bring us much further. It appears that *Ḥsy-sw-nb.f* lived at the end of the XIXth Dynasty, under Sethos II<sup>20</sup> and Siptah<sup>21</sup>. As regards other reigns, the name also occurs in the series of ostraca ascribed to the time of Amenmesse<sup>22</sup>, as well as three times in O. Cairo 25779<sup>23</sup> that bears the date "year 1". Moreover, it is recorded in two texts dated in a year 2: O. Varille 26 and O. DeM. 209, which together with O. Cairo 25779 have recently been ascribed to the reign of Merenptah<sup>24</sup>. For reasons too intricate to state here fully<sup>25</sup>, I am convinced that they all three belong to the time of Amenmesse and/or Sethos II<sup>26</sup>. Hence, there is no proof that *Ḥsy-sw-nb.f*'s career as a full workman actually started before this time, that is, ca. 1200 B.C., although he could have joined the gang a few years earlier<sup>27</sup>. He was clearly much younger than his benefactor who had been appointed to the office of chief workman -- certainly after having been for some time an ordinary workman -- about 36 years<sup>28</sup> before we find the first reference to *Ḥsy-sw-nb.f*.

As regards later mentions of his name, it is by pure accident that we possess two from the first twenty years of the XXth Dynasty, a period that, on the whole, forms a gap in our documentation from Deir el-Medīna. They are: O. University College London 19614<sup>29</sup>, from year 2 of Sethnakhte, and O. Gardiner 272 (unpubl.), from year 14 (of Ramesses III). The last occasions on which he is mentioned are in Pap. Berlin 10496, vs. 2, from year 24, where he is listed among the members of the court<sup>30</sup>, and O. Michael. 19 (= Goedicke-Wente, pl. 58), probably from year 25<sup>31</sup>. He may have died shortly afterwards, for, in the abundant evidence for the later years of Ramesses III, the name does not occur again. This means that his active time as a workman spanned a period of about 40 years, from 1200 to 1160 B.C., and that

he may have been 60 years old when he died.

Although he was a protégé of a chief workman, *Ḥsy-sw-nb.f*'s career was not as successful as he might perhaps have expected in his youth. It was certainly not bad for a slave-boy, if that was indeed how he started, but whereas *Nfr-ḥtpw*'s other pupil, *P3-nb*, did succeed his former benefactor -- admittedly, not without using bribery, if we are to believe Pap. Salt 124<sup>32</sup> -- *Ḥsy-sw-nb.f* remained an ordinary workman for most of his life. Towards the end he seems to have risen a bit, since in O. Gardiner 272 he is called *īdnw* and the place which he occupied among the members of the court in year 24 would appear to be in accordance with this function<sup>33</sup>. Possibly he was a successor of *‘3-nḥtw*, *P3-nb*'s son.

Another aspect of *Ḥsy-sw-nb.f*'s career may be mentioned in this connection. On entering the gang a workman joined one of the two 'sides', usually remaining there for the rest of his active life. It appears that, in the time of Amenmesse, *Ḥsy-sw-nb.f* belonged to the 'right side', of which his protector, *Nfr-ḥtpw*, was the chief. That can be proved, for instance, by O. Cairo 25523, vs. I,3 and 25527, 4, both of which are lists of workmen of this 'side'. It is thus in accordance with this position that he called *Nfr-ḥtpw* "his chief" (*ḥry.f*) in the lists of absences from the time of Amenmesse dealt with above. However, in O. Gardiner 57 (=Hier. Ostr. 51, 1) he is recorded on the verso (I, 7) that lists the workmen of the 'left side', as is apparent from the fact that the list is headed by the chief workman *Ḥ3y*; the recto is headed by *P3-nb*. The exact date of this ostrakon is unknown, but in O. Cairo 25521, from the years 1 and 2 of Siptah, *Ḥsy-sw-nb.f* is also mentioned among the workmen of the 'left' whose absences are recorded on the recto<sup>34</sup>; the verso, covering the same period, lists absences of the 'right side'.

This means that, at an unknown date during the reign of Sethos II, *Ḥsy-sw-nb.f* was transferred from one 'side' to the other. Would it be too bold a suggestion that this occurred in connection with the succession by *P3-nb* to the office of

chief of the 'right side'<sup>35</sup>, after the murder of *Nfr-ḥtpw*? It is not unlikely that the two protégés, the senior and the junior, could hardly have been supposed to work together in harmony. This does not mean that *Ḥsy-sw-nb.f*'s position in the gang was affected, for he belonged to the local court at least once during *P3-nb*'s term of office<sup>36</sup>.

Above I have argued that *Ḥsy-sw-nb.f* was a loyal pupil of *Nfr-ḥtpw*. Do we know anymore about his private life? That may be so. We have already seen that he was married to *Ḥwnwr* and that their oldest daughter was called *Wbḥt*. The two women occur in Pap. Salt 124, 2, 3-4, where *P3-nb* is accused of having had intercourse with both the mother and the daughter, while his son *ʿ3-pḥty* enjoyed the daughter too. One detail can be pointed out. *P3-nb* is accused of one other adulterous relationship, namely with *Twy* "when she was the wife (*īw.s m ḥmt*) of workman *Knn3*". Whereas here the word *ḥmt* is used, *Ḥwnwr* is stated to have been first "with" *Pn-dw3w*, and later on she slept with *P3-nb* "while she was with *Ḥsy-sw-nb.f*" (*īw.s m-dī Ḥ*). Are we to conclude that there was a difference between being the *ḥmt* of a man and being "with" him? Both *Twy* and *Ḥwnwr* are called *ʿnḥ-n-nīwt* (*Wbḥt* not!), which in the workmen's village may have indicated a particular status, possibly that of a married woman. Was there a difference in status between the marital position of *Twy* and that of *Ḥwnwr*, firstly with *Pn-dw3w* and then with *Ḥsy-sw-nb.f*? As yet we know too little about marriage in Egypt to confirm this<sup>37</sup>. Anyhow, on the stela Manchester 4588 (see above) *Ḥwnwr* is called *snt.f nbt-pr*, so that the relationship with *Ḥsy-sw-nb.f* looks to have been socially accepted.

On this stela the couple appear together with their son and two daughters. There is a slight chance that the birth of one of them is recorded in O. Cairo 25516, vs, 17 (year 1 of Siptah), where we read: *Ḥsy-sw-nb.f ... t3y.f ḥmt msy*. Note that here the word *ḥmt* is used. Although the lacuna causes some uncertainty, it looks likely that the birth of one of the children is mentioned. Moreover, in this year the relations between *Ḥsy-sw-nb.f* and his wife were evidently not yet severed.

Although *Ḥsy-sw-nb.f* was a devoted pupil, no human life can be all of a piece. It is uncertain whether the fact that *Ḥwnwr* had formerly been "with" *Pn-dw3w* may be seen as an indication of instability, or whether, and to what extent, she was accessory to the adultery with *P3-nb*<sup>38</sup>, but this much is clear that in the long run her marriage with *Ḥsy-sw-nb.f* was not successful, and it ended in divorce, as O. University Coll. London 19614 tells us. In year 2 of Sethnakhte her husband divorced (*ḥ3<sup>c</sup>.f*) her after which, according to the text, for three years she was provided with a small monthly ration of grain by a person whose name, unfortunately, is not mentioned.

The divorce does not seem to have disturbed the relationship between *Wbḥt* and her father. In the fragmentary and unpublished O. Gardiner 272 (year 14 of Ramesses III) occur the names of the chief workman *Nḥ-m-Mwt*<sup>39</sup>, his wife *Wbḥt*<sup>40</sup>, and the *īdnw Ḥsy-sw-nb.f*. What exactly the text states about them is not quite clear. It may be that a declaration was made by *Nḥ-m-Mwt* and (or for?) his wife, in the presence [of the gang? and?]<sup>41</sup> his father-in-law. The declaration deals with a *twn*<sup>42</sup> of a certain '*Imn-ḥ<sup>c</sup>w* to his brothers, of which *Nḥ-m-Mwt* seems to claim a part. Whatever the correct explanation, it would appear that the relationship between father and daughter was not severed because of the divorce of *Ḥsy-sw-nb.f*. With a lot of imagination, far more than really is warranted, one might connect the evidence of Pap. Salt 124 with it and suggest that it was with the connivance of *Ḥwnwr* that the daughter was violated by *P3-nb* and his son, and that this was the reason she later took the side of her father; but this would exceed the limits of possibility for the interpretation of the texts.

It seems to me permissible, however, to conclude that *Ḥsy-sw-nb.f* was a kind man. He proved himself to be a loyal pupil to his benefactor, and, although he divorced his wife after several years of marriage, he did not lose the love of his daughter by it. Of course, this is partly hypothetical, but there is more evidence for it than for most statements about the characters of other ancient Egyptians.

B. *Mry-Shmt* called *P3y-iry*, a Nasty Fellow

There were at least three necropolis workmen who bore the name *Mry-Shmt*, and it is not always easy to distinguish between them. The oldest one, a draughtsman, was the master of *Nfr-snwt*<sup>43</sup>, and since the latter is known from the reign of Ramesses II (year 40: O. Brit. Mus. 5634 = *Hier. Ostr.* 84, 8), this *Mry-Shmt* must have lived during the first half of the XIXth Dynasty.

Another *Mry-Shmt* occurs in ostraca from the later years of Ramesses II<sup>44</sup> until the time of Amenmesse<sup>45</sup>. His name is mostly written as  (with small variants), without *qq*<sup>46</sup>. This writing, as well as the time to which the texts can be ascribed on account of other names that occur in them, allows us to identify the same person in some undated ostraca<sup>47</sup>.

The third *Mry-Shmt* lived in the middle of the XXth Dynasty<sup>48</sup>. In some instances we find his nickname *P3y-iry*, which when used in combination with his official name, makes identification certain. *P3y-iry* alone is not always sufficient since at least one other person occurring in the ostraca was thus called<sup>49</sup>.

It is very difficult to ascribe monuments bearing the name to a particular *Mry-Shmt*. For instance, the doorposts found in chapel No. 1190, a building to which the name was attached according to Bruyère<sup>50</sup>. Which of the three men is mentioned on the fragmentary ebony stela dedicated to Anukis and found in the kitchen of the house in the village numbered N.E. IV is uncertain<sup>51</sup>, and the same holds true for the *3h ikr n R* to whom the stela Turin 50017 belonged<sup>52</sup>. In all three instances the name is written with *qq*, but that does not necessarily mean that *P3y-iry* is meant. In the ostraca the distinction in the writing of the names between *Mry-Shmt* II and III may be fairly consistent, there is no reason to suggest that the same is true for texts on monuments. Very probably in all cases one of the older ones was meant. Fortunately, this is of no consequence for the subject of the present paper.

The choice with regard to the graffiti, where the name occurs frequently, is only little less difficult. In a few instances where we find *ḏd.n.f P3y-iry*<sup>53</sup> it is clear that *Mry-Shmt* III is meant. From Graff. 445 we know that he was the son of *Mnn3*, while other graffiti mention him together with one or more of his own sons who were called *Mnn3*, *H<sup>c</sup>py-wr* and *'Imn-m-ipt*<sup>54</sup>. According to Graff. 356 the latter's official name was *Hk3-M3<sup>c</sup>t-R<sup>c</sup>-n-ipt*, which suggests that he was born under Ramesses IV. In Graff. 990-992 *Mry-Shmt* son of *Mnn3* occurs as the father of *'Imn-m-ipt*. Thus the genealogy of Spiegelberg<sup>55</sup> is correct: the *Mry-Shmt* of these graffiti is the youngest of the three. Whether in some graffiti where the name occurs the second or even the first of the *Mry-Shmt*'s is meant remains uncertain but is irrelevant here since they do not contain any information about the men. In view of the custom of calling a son after his paternal grandfather in the necropolis settlement it is possible that *Mnn3*, the father of *P3y-iry*, was the son of *Mry-Shmt* II<sup>56</sup>, but I know of no evidence to support this. Nor does the name of the father of *Mry-Shmt* II appear to have been recorded<sup>57</sup>.

In the following discussion I will pay attention to the youngest *Mry-Shmt* only, since his name occurs in some texts that throw light on his character.

The earliest ostrakon in which he is perhaps mentioned is O. Cairo 25611, from a year 30, certainly from the reign of Ramesses III. It records deliveries to the workmen's community which are stated to have been received or registered by the doorkeeper *H<sup>c</sup>-m-W3st*<sup>58</sup> and had been brought by a *w<sup>c</sup>b Mry-Shmt*. Whether this is our man is highly doubtful, however. The kind of food being delivered in this case usually came from one of the temples on the West Bank, and hence it is likely that it was brought by a priest of one of them. Of course, the workmen were also called *w<sup>c</sup>b* in some instances since they used to serve as lay-priests in the sanctuaries of the village<sup>59</sup>, but, firstly, nowhere else is our *Mry-Shmt* said to be a *w<sup>c</sup>b*, and, secondly, it would be strange to find him already in such a position right in the beginning of his career. The conclusion must be that in this ostrakon another *Mry-Shmt* is meant.

That may also be the case in O. DeM. 198. The recto enumerates commodities such as garments, sandals and basketry, together valued at 6 *snīw* and 2 *oipe*. What this means explains the verso by the words: "What '3-*nḥtw* gave to *Mry-Shmt* in exchange for the painting of his cellar (*št3y*)"<sup>60</sup>. The last name is written *ḳḳ*, which, as mentioned above, in the ostraca suggests that *P3y-iry* was meant. The other name, '3-*nḥtw*, occurs frequently from the late XIXth to the mid XXth Dynasty<sup>61</sup>, so that it does not help us in establishing the date of the ostrakon. However, the use of the *snīw* for expressing value definitely points to an early period<sup>62</sup>, and this agrees with Černý's dating of the text by its writing. Despite the *ḳḳ* in the name O. DeM. 198 seems to mention *Mry-Shmt* II.

It is, however, *Mry-Shmt* III who occurs in O. Cairo 25804, a list of fuel deliveries dated to a year 6, very probably that of one of the successors of Ramesses III. In line 6 we read that *P3y-iry* received 2 *khar* (of dung)<sup>63</sup>. Apart from the date the text does not present us with any further information about him<sup>64</sup>. For that we shall now turn to four documents that do indeed tell us something about his life, namely: O. Brit. Mus. 5625<sup>65</sup>, Pap. DeM. 27<sup>66</sup>, O. Or. Inst. Chic. 12074 (= *Hier. Ostr.* 78-79) and O. DeM. 339.

The first text is dated to a year 4, probably from the reign of Ramesses VI<sup>67</sup>, and records a question which workman *Ḳnn3* put before the oracle-god Amenophis, as well as the answers he received. Since it has been translated both by Blackman and Allam a few notes as to its contents will suffice. *Ḳnn3* states that he had rebuilt<sup>68</sup> a chapel (*ḥnw*)<sup>69</sup> that formerly had belonged to a workman *P3-ḥ3rw* but which had fallen into ruin. Then *Mry-Shmt* came and pretended that the god had ordered *Ḳnn3* to share the *ḥnw* with him, although, so *Ḳnn3* says, he did not help me in its reconstruction. The last line(s) of the recto and the first ones of the verso are partly lost; they recorded the answer of the god. Possibly this was not very satisfactory, thus the reason why the scribe *Ḥrī-šrī* once more put the matter before Amenophis. This time no doubt was left, for the god says: "Give the chapel back to *Ḳnn3*, its owner. It is his possession by order of Pharaoh

and nobody shall share it (with him)".

In order to make the matter clear for future reference beyond any possible doubt, the scribe of the text -- certainly on behalf of *Ḳnn3*, if indeed he was not himself the author -- not only recorded the people who were present: both chief workmen, the scribe, the bearers of the god's image, and the entire gang; but he also states where exactly the answer had been given: at the entrance of the tomb of chief workman *Ḳ3ḥ3*. This is tomb No. 360, which forms part of the most southernly complex of the lower terrace, situated near the SW corner of the village. Bruyère has suggested<sup>70</sup> that a chapel for Ahmose-Nofertari may have stood here, but whether, if this is correct, *Ḳnn3* choose this place for his question for that reason is not certain. It looks to me not unlikely that the disputed chapel was situated in this area. Bruyère's plan<sup>71</sup> shows S of tomb No. 360 two small buildings, one of which could have been the *ḥnw*, and among the finds from the neighbourhood at least one piece bears the name *Ḳnn3*<sup>72</sup>. Unfortunately, definite proof seems to be lacking. All we know for certain is that, according to the ostrakon, *Mry-Sḥmt* took an oath not to contest the decision of the god.

The story well illustrates *Mry-Sḥmt*'s character. His claim to the chapel was obviously quite unfounded. His assertion that the god had ordered *Ḳnn3* to share it with him was a complete fabrication. He attempted, without lifting a finger, to find a place to sit in on free days<sup>73</sup>. Fortunately for *Ḳnn3*, the god refused to co-operate.

The second matter, recorded in Pap. DeM. 27, is equally clear so far as *Mry-Sḥmt* is concerned. A poor man, the servant (*šms*) of a certain workman '*Imn-m-īnt*<sup>74</sup>, is said to have brought a "bundle" (*g3y*) to the house of *P3-ym*<sup>75</sup>, probably also a workman, and to have "married" his daughter. "Married" (*īr m ḥmt*) may, however, actually mean here that the wedding had not yet been celebrated, since the man is said to have passed the night in his father's house, while the woman was clearly not with him<sup>76</sup>. One day, when coming to his bride's house, he found her in bed with *Mry-Sḥmt*, the son of *Mnn3*. The poor groom brought the matter before the local court,

but got nothing but a beating. Perhaps the members of the court were making up unashamedly to one of the more influential families of the community. It could even be that *Mry-Shmt* had bribed them; he was certainly not above that. Fortunately, one of the chief workmen took the victim's part, saying: "What does mean this giving him hundred blows? One brings the bundle, the other commits adultery (with the woman). It is a great outrage that the officials are perpetrating".

Evidently the expression "bringing the bundle" (*f3i g3yt*)<sup>77</sup> has a specific meaning, namely that the man who performed the action obtained by it a right to a woman, a right that in this case was violated by *Mry-Shmt*. What else can it mean than that some sort of bridewealth was handed over? That would concur with the suggestion made above that the wedding had not yet been celebrated. It also means that *g3y(t)* is not simply a "bundle", but that which the groom had to give to the family of the bride. So far as I know this is the only instance of an allusion to the payment of bridewealth from the New Kingdom<sup>78</sup>.

Let us return to the text. *Mry-Shmt* is stated to have taken an oath that he would not speak to the woman anymore, but he did not keep his promise and even made her pregnant. Now the cup was full to overflowing for *Mry-Shmt*'s own father *Mnn3*; it was he who brought his son before the court<sup>79</sup>, where he was forced to take a second oath that he would not go to any place where *P3-ym*'s daughter was.

That is the end of the matter in so far as it is recorded in the papyrus<sup>80</sup>. Whether *Mry-Shmt* kept his promise this time we do not know. That he was a scoundrel is clear; even his own father turned against him, and not for the first time.

In O. Or. Inst. Chic. 12074 (= *Hier. Ostr.* 78-79) we happen to possess a letter by *Mnn3* to *Mry-Shmt*, here called *P3y-iry*. The latter is addressed as "his son and assistant" (*hry-c.f*), which means probably that he was still a "stripling" (*mnh*)<sup>81</sup> when the letter was written. The father calls himself *sš-ka*<sup>82</sup>, an indication that he belonged to the more important

members of the community. By his particular skills he may have been able to earn more than other, less-gifted workmen, by decorating tomb furniture for people outside the village<sup>83</sup>. He appears also to have possessed literary qualities, for the letter is composed in a refined style, quite different from that of other workmen's letters on ostraca. It contains an allusion to the Story of the Eloquent Peasant, possibly also to the Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor<sup>84</sup>, and uses uncommon words and phrases<sup>85</sup>. The text as it comes to us on the ostrakon may not be the original letter, for it is provided with verse-points. It appears to have been regarded as a literary composition.

Therefore, the facts mentioned may not necessarily have been the literal truth. *Mry-Shmt* is accused of having wandered about as far as the Delta, where he mingled with the Asiatics<sup>86</sup>; perhaps he is even said to have reached Syria. For all his conduct he is called by his father a *nh3-hr*, a "wild one"<sup>87</sup>. Although part of what is told may be literary fantasy, it seems, in general, to be in accordance with what we have established above about *Mry-Shmt*'s character<sup>88</sup>.

The last text I want to discuss is O. DeM. 339. The recto lists eighteen (not quite successive) days of the months III and IV *3ht* and I *prt* of an unspecified year. Some dates are followed by the name of a workman<sup>89</sup>, others by the sign for "ditto". In two instances the words *m t3 t* are added to a man's name, in others *m p3 dmi*<sup>90</sup>. In four instances the date is followed by *p3* plus some illegible signs, once by *t3 ist wsf*, "the gang did not work"<sup>91</sup>. What all this means is far from clear. Could it be that the text indicates the area where the workman who did duty on a specific day was posted?<sup>92</sup>

The last line (line 19) runs: *iw* (written  $\Lambda$ ) *n Mnn3 m I prt ...* ... Here too the explication escapes me, but possibly it is to be connected with the five lines on the verso which run as follows:

- 1) Reminder concerning *H<sup>c</sup>-m-W3st* about<sup>a</sup> passing the fortress
- 2) of the village<sup>b</sup>. He entered inside as far as<sup>c</sup> the house of

- 3) the scribe *Wnn-nfr*, while *P3y-iry* closed behind(?) [him?]<sup>d</sup>,
- 4) for he was on guard<sup>e</sup> on I prt 14, replacing
- 5) *Mnn3<sup>f</sup>*.

#### Notes

- a) *r*. The construction is unusual. Normally *sh3 r?*; cfr Černý, *Studies Griffith*, 49, note 1) is followed by a substantive indicating what matter has to be remembered (see, e.g., the Turin Indictment Papyrus, and Pap. Salt 124, *passim*), whereas here the name of a man whose actions are recorded is mentioned, followed by another *r* where we would expect *hr*.
- b) For *p3 htm n dmi*, see p. 137, note *g*. The expression clearly indicates the village of the necropolis workmen, usually called in the ostraca *p3 dmi*.
- c) *r r-<sup>c</sup>*: cfr, e.g., O. DeM. 57, 3; Pap. DeM. V, 3; KRI I, 65, 16 (= Kanais, B 1).
- d) Restore: *hr.f?* See Helck, *ZDMG* 105 (1955), 32. For *htm n* a person, cfr Pap. Brit. Mus. 10403, 3, 26 (Peet, *Tomb Robberies*, pl. 37); for *htm hr.w*, cfr Botti-Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 15, 24.
- e) *wrs<sup>v</sup>* is used in the same sense in O. DeM. 180, 2 (*m p3 wrs<sup>v</sup>*); see also note 92.
- f) According to what we know about the duty roster this cannot have happened after year 25 of Ramesses III, since *Mnn3*'s turn never fell on this day, up to the time that he was permanently replaced in year 31. Helck has calculated (*ZDMG* 105, 1955, 32-33) that it happened in year 22. If that is indeed the date of this ostrakon, it is by far the earliest text mentioning our *Mry-Shmt*. He may still have been a boy.

It seems that *H<sup>c</sup>-m-W3st* had entered a house in the village on a night when *Mry-Shmt*, replacing his father, was on guard duty. Although nothing further is stated it is not improbable that, in some way, *Mry-Shmt* was neglecting his duties,

even that he was hand in glove with the intruder. Was this the reason why "one came to *Mnn3* on I prt ...", as the recto has. The intrusion by  $\text{H}^{\text{c}}\text{-m-W3st}$  may have been a matter of house-breaking, even perhaps of burglary. Although the short text remains obscure in many respects, in combination with what we already know about *Mry-Shmt* the matter looks definitely fishy.

The workmen of Deir el-Medīna, the one more than the other, gradually tend to become real people to one who has studied the ostraca for years, as this paper may show. Therefore, I sincerely hope not to have misinterpreted the evidence, particularly for *Mry-Shmt*. I would regret wronging him. From what by chance has become known, I am obliged to conclude that he has been a regular scoundrel.

## NOTES

- 1 Against Zivie, *La tombe de Pached* (Le Caire, 1979), 125-126.
- 2 *La vie quotidienne chez les artisans de Pharaon* (Metz, 1979). For the offering stand (Louvre E 25427), see p. 54-55.
- 3 Bruyère, *Rapport DeM. 1923-1924*, 41 and fig. 1; cfr Porter-Moss, I.1<sup>2</sup>, 314 (19). *Hsy-sw-nb.f* is also mentioned in the tomb of *Nfr-ḥtpw*; cfr Černý, *Répertoire onomastique*, 105-106.
- 4 So far as I know the name is unique; all references given by Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 255, no. 6, point to our man. Compare also the name *Hsy-ḥr-W3st* of one of the slaves listed in O. Gardiner 90 (= *Hier. Ostr.* 51,1) and in O. Colin Campbell 17 = O. Hunt. Mus. 1925.83 (unpubl.).
- 5 One is reminded to the letter of O. Berlin 10627 (= *Hier. Pap.* III, pl. 33), in which the childless addressee is advised to rear a *nmḥw* (for this text, see Guilmot, *CdE* XL, No. 80, 1965, 235 ff.). Whether *nmḥw* here means "orphan" seems to me not quite certain.
- 6 Now *Pap. Brit. Mus.* 10055. Published by Černý, *JEA* 15 (1929), 243-258 and pl. 42-46. For a bibliography, see Allam, *Hier. Ostraka*, 281 (No. 266).
- 7 Černý, *Workmen*, 127.
- 8 For the genealogy of the family, see Bierbrier, *The Late New Kingdom* (Warminster, 1975), 21. That *Nfr-ḥtpw* had no son is apparent from the claim his brother '*Imn-nḥtw* laid to the function of chief workman; cfr *Pap. Salt* 124, 1, 1 ff.
- 9 O. IFAO. 1076 (unpubl.), 5-7.
- 10 Cfr *JESHO* 11 (1968), 160.
- 11 O. Cairo 25783, 30 (III *šmw* 2) - vs. 27 (day 17). O. Cairo 25784 seems to be the direct continuation of the former, beginning with III *šmw* 18. Here *Nfr-ḥtpw* is recorded as being ill until the 21st.
- 12 The information that he was "with" him is repeated for the 11th, the 16th and the 18th of the month. It may be that he stayed with his chief for several days in succession since days 9-10 and 12-14 are not recorded, being free for everybody, while on the 15th he is said to be

- absent (vs. 19) without any indication as to the reason.
- 13 Quibell, *The Ramesseum* (London, 1898), pl. X, 3.
- 14 Mentioned by *Porter-Moss*, I.2<sup>2</sup>, 747. I owe the knowledge of the text to Černý's Notebook 65, p. 59.
- 15 *Manners and Customs* III, pl. 55, 5.
- 16 *Dizionario* II, pl. 192, 2.
- 17 Cfr Stadelmann, *Syrisch-palästinensische Gottheiten* (Leiden, 1967), 68. See also *Porter-Moss*, I.2<sup>2</sup>, 719. The stela is not mentioned by Fulco, *The Canaanite God Rešep* (New Haven, 1976).
- 18 O. Cairo 25517, γ, 3; O. DeM. 611, I, 5. The former is dated to the year 1 (of Siptah), the latter also to a year 1, probably the same.
- 19 E.g., O. Cairo 25527, 4; O. DeM. 277, 3.
- 20 E.g., O. Cairo 25510, 4 (without a year, but with the name of Sethos II on the verso); O. Cairo 25520, 3 and 4 (for the date, see Osing, *SAK* 7, 1979, 262-263).
- 21 O. Cairo 25519, vs. 15 (year 1); 25521, 14 (year 1-2).
- 22 O. Cairo 25782-'784, dated in years 3 and 4.
- 23 Rt. 2; vs. 9 and 11.
- 24 Krauss, *SAK* 5 (1977), 160-162.
- 25 The major argument is that, on close scrutiny, comparison of the workmen's names in the texts under discussion leads to the conclusion that they cannot be far removed in time from the group O. Cairo 25782-'784, which Krauss ascribed to the reign of Amenmesse. In O. Cairo 25799, for instance, of the thirty-two names, including those of the two chief workmen and the scribe, only one does not occur in O. Cairo 25782-'784. How this could be if O. Cairo 25779 dated from year 1 of Merenptah, that is, ten years earlier, as Krauss suggests, escapes me completely.
- 26 In a critical discussion of Krauss' article (*SAK* 7, 1979, 253-271) Osing reaches the conclusion that, on account of the evidence at present available, Amenmesse's place in the chronology cannot be decided definitely. After restudying the material I am inclined to agree with Krauss that he is to be placed within the reign of Sethos II, though Krauss' arguments are not decisive.
- 27 In *Nfr-ḥtpw*'s tomb (see above, note 3) he is called *sdm-š*, but we do not know when the pertinent part of

- the decoration was completed.
- 28 For his appointment before year 40 of Ramesses II, see SAK
- 29 Allam, *Hier. Ostraka*, pl. 74-75 and p. 253-254 (No. 256).
- 30 The same position he occupied in another legal matter recorded in O. Cairo J. 72465 (Allam, *Hier. Ostraka*, pl. 32). This text is to be dated to the later years of the XIXth Dynasty, as the names indicate. The accuser, *Nb-nfr* son of *N3hy*, appears also as accuser in O. Nash 1 (= *Hier. Ostr.* 46, 2) and 2 (= op. cit., 47, 1), the former dated to a year 6, very probably that of Sethos II. Neither in these ostraca nor in O. DeM. 225, where the court consists mostly of the same persons, *Ḥsy-sw-nb.f* is mentioned. It looks probable that the date of O. Cairo J. 72465 is not far removed from these three texts.
- 31 The publishers transcribe the date as "year 5", whereas Černý (Notebook 108, p. 13) read "25". From the facsimile the latter looks more probable; a writing with a stroke after the first sign, as the facsimile gives, would be unusual. The coppersmith *Pth-p3-[Ḥpy]*, who according to this ostrakon provided *Ḥsy-sw-nb.f* with tools, occurs also in O. Leipzig 1 (= *Hier. Ostr.* 26, 4), from year 2 of Ramesses III, which makes a "year 5" not impossible. On the other hand, he is also mentioned in O. DeM. 625 (year 23), O. DeM. 187 (year 25) and O. Michael. 5 rt. (= *Goedicke-Wente*, pl. 54; year 26). A second occurrence in the same year 25 is, therefore, quite likely. Without being absolutely certain, I am inclined to date the text to this year.
- 32 It may be just as well to remember that the papyrus lists charges by a man who was far from disinterested in *P3-nb*'s position, being *Nfr-ḥtpw*'s brother. However, the postscript by an official scribe outside the village (verso 2) suggests that the charges were not entirely unfounded.
- 33 In Pap. Berlin 10496, vs. 8, *Ḥsy-sw-nb.f* is mentioned after the two chief workmen and the scribe of the Tomb, and before the (other?) *idnw 'Imn-ḥw*, while no ordinary workmen are recorded as members of the court.
- 34 The name occurs in rt. 14.

- 35 For *P3-nb*'s career, see Bierbrier, *JSSEA* 8 (1977-1978), 138-140.
- 36 See above, note 30.
- 37 I am inclined to think that there were two types of marriage in Egypt: one formally contracted by a wedding, the other a form of common law marriage, and thus to connect this distinction with the use of either *ḥmt* or *ḥbswt* for the wife. The latter word appears to be a frequent designation of married women in the Tomb Robberies Papyri. The translation of *ḥbswt* as "concubine" could create a false impression as regards the position of these women. Obviously, whatever the type of marriage, a woman with a husband could be called *ḥmt*; cfr, e.g., Pap. Mayer A, 13, List C, 5, with Pap. Brit. Mus. 10052, 15, 4. Note that Peet has translated both *ḥmt* and *ḥbswt* as "wife". The matter requires further study.
- 38 The word *nk* (Pap. Salt 124, 2, 2-4) means "to commit adultery". Whether indeed it had the shade of meaning which Černý's translation "debauch" carries seems doubtful. The woman may have been quite willing to please *P3-nb*, she may even have taken the initiative. We do not know what really happened, but one has to realize that the charges recorded in Pap. Salt 124 are neither proven nor brought up disinterestedly by the accuser (see note 32). To admit that the woman voluntary co-operated with *P3-nb* would have weakened his case.
- 39 Actually the name is lost, but see *Commodity Prices*, 60.
- 40 For the couple with their children, see Bankes stela No. 9.
- 41 Between the name *Wbḥt* and the word *ḥdnw* the scribe wrote some badly legible signs above the line, the first ones of which Černý read as *m-b3ḥ*. If this is correct, the scribe could hardly have meant *Wbḥt* <*s3t*> *ḥdnw Ḥsy-sw-nb.f*, for the *m-b3ḥ* [*ts ḥst* ?] would have to follow the last name.
- 42 For *twn* or *mtwn*, see, e.g., O. Gardiner 103 (= *Hier. Ostr.* 52, 2), 7, Pap. Ashm. Mus. 1945.97 (= Will of Naunakhte, Doc. I), III, 4 and Pap. Ashm. Mus. 1945.95 (= Will of Naunakhte, Doc. IV), 8. Cfr also Allam, *Hier. Ostraka*, 270-271, note 10. The exact meaning of the term is unknown.

- 43 See Posener, *RdE* 7 (1950), 75-76. The remark that *Mry-Shmt* occurs in O. Brit. Mus. 5634 (= *Hier. Ostr.* 83-84) is not correct.
- 44 O. DeM. 621, 4 (year 64).
- 45 O. Cairo 25784, 3 (year 4); O. Cairo 25785, 2 and passim. For his illness recorded in this ostrakon, see SAK 8 (1980), 135.
- 46 But see O. DeM. 198, discussed below (p. 118).
- 47 O. DeM. 373, 3; 374, 11; 376, 2.
- 48 He is mentioned i.a. in Graff. 429c (year 1) and O. Brit. Mus. 5625 (year 4).
- 49 O. Ashm. Mus. 1945.37 + .33 (= *Hier. Ostr.* 74-75) + O. Michael. 90 (= Goedicke-Wente, pl. 12), vs. 8. The text dates from the middle years of Ramesses II since it mentions his first jubilee (rt. 7); cfr Kitchen, *JSSEA* 9 (1978-1979), 19-20.
- 50 *Rapport DeM.* 1929, 41-42. On a stela from the same chapel (op. cit., 39-40 and pl. IX) the name occurs too, preceded by *s3.f*, but since the name of the father has been partly destroyed it is doubtful who it was ([*M33-ni*]-*-nhtw.f*?). Vandier, *La tombe de Nefer-Abou* (Le Caire, 1935), 69 and 55, calls him a brother of *Nfr-<sup>c</sup>bw*, hence a son of *Nfr-rnpt*, but "brother" in the inscriptions mostly means no more than "member of the same generation".
- 51 Bruyère, *Rapport DeM.* 1934-1935, III, 247-249 and fig. 127.
- 52 Tosi-Roccati, *Stele*, 52 and 268.
- 53 Graff. 445, 462, 2255, 2525; probably also in the (unfinished or partly destroyed) Graff. 2080.
- 54 All three together in Graff. 644b; the first two in Graff. 398; *Mnn3* alone in Graff. 1893 and 2079.
- 55 *Graffiti*, Text, 121 (No. 198).
- 56 The name *Mnn3* was fairly common in Deir el-Medīna. Besides the father and the son of *P3y-iry* there is a *Mnn3* son of *Nfr-htpw* (O. DeM. 254, 3, according to Černý from the XXth Dynasty), while the *Mnn3* of O. DeM. 91 (year 7) and O. Berlin 10840 (= *Hier. Pap.* III, pl. 32; from year 9) lived under the reign of Sethos II (cfr *KRI* I, 368) and is hence a different person. Whether he too belonged to the same family is uncertain.
- 57 See note 50.

- 58 On the day of the delivery, III šmw 10, the workman Ḥ<sup>c</sup>-  
-m-W3st, who was a different person, was on duty, as can  
be established from the lists of the duty roster (cfr  
*Commodity Prices*, 20). The identity of the names is con-  
spicuous and could perhaps suggest a mistake by the  
scribe.
- 59 Cfr Černý, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), 193 ff.
- 60 For š<sup>t</sup>3y(t), see *JESHO* 11 (1968), 162-163, and Megally,  
*Recherches sur l'économie* (Le Caire, 1977), 39-41.
- 61 From O. Cairo 25783, 4 (year 3 of Amenmesse) to Pap.  
Turin 1907/8, vs. II, 7 (year 7 of Ramesses VII; cfr *JEA*  
52, 1966, 81 ff.).
- 62 See *Commodity Prices*, 105-106.
- 63 Cfr op. cit., 450.
- 64 Neither does the unpublished O. Faulkner (= O. A.G. 48,  
now in the IFAO), where the name is all that remains of  
vs. 1. Whether the name P3-iry is to be read in O. IFAO.  
764 looks doubtful; cfr *Commodity Prices*, 81-82.
- 65 Published by Blackman, *JEA* 12 (1926), pl. 41; bibliogra-  
phy by Allam, *Hier. Ostraka*, 46 (No. 21).
- 66 Allam, op. cit., pl. 98-99 and p. 301-302 (No. 272).
- 67 Since Ḥri-šri is called sš n p3 ḥr (vs. 2), it cannot be  
earlier; cfr p. 149.
- 68 That is clearly the meaning of kd here.
- 69 For ḥnw, see *JESHO* 11 (1968), 161-162. Since that note  
has been written several more occurrences of ḥnw have  
come to my attention, all of the same type, so that  
Černý's rendering "chapel" would appear to be correct  
(see *JEA* 15, 1929, 250, note 47).
- 70 *Rapport DeM.* 1930, 72.
- 71 Op. cit., pl. 24.
- 72 Op. cit., 92. Whether this is our Ḳnn3, the son of S3-  
-W3dyt (O. Brit. Mus. 5625, 2) is, of course, uncertain.
- 73 This one of the things a ḥnw was used for, as is apparent  
from O. Brit. Mus. 5637 (*JEA* 12, 1926, pl. 42), O. Berlin  
10637 (= *Hier. Pap.* III, pl. 33) and O. Gardiner 166  
(Allam, *Hier. Ostraka*, pl. 46).
- 74 He is called w<sup>c</sup>w n i<sup>s</sup>t "soldier of the gang", a term  
occasionally used for the workmen; cfr Černý, *Workmen*,  
248 ff.
- 75 The name occurs i.a. in O. DeM. 222, IV, 7 (year 22);

- 424, 2 (year 19); O. Turin 57028, 3 (year 24), as well as in some undated ostraca. The P3-ym mentioned at the end of the XIXth Dynasty (e.g., Pap. Salt 124, 2, 12; O. Cairo 25510, 2; 25519, vs. 2 and 4) may have been a different person.
- 76 In modern Egypt the actual wedding day still follows some time after the signing of the marriage contract; cfr Ammar, *Growing up in an Egyptian Village* (London, 1954), 193-194, and Fakhouri, *Kafr-Elow*, (New York, 1972), 65-66.
- 77 Here written with a t, in line 2 without.
- 78 The words f3<sup>1</sup> g3y (with metal determinative) occur also on the weight IFAO. 5115 (Valbelle, *Poids à inscriptions hiéroglyphes*, Le Caire, 1977, 61 and pl. 14), but there they may mean "weighing of the g3y-vessel"; cfr op. cit., 19.
- 79 It is not clear why it was the father of the culprit who did this and not the father of the woman - the poor groom, already once brutally treated by the court, probably did not dare to defend his rights again. Since the delict took place in the house of the bride's father he was perhaps not unwilling to please *Mry-Sḥmt*, and this again could have been the reason why it was that the culprit's own father accused him.
- 80 The last line of the verso is half lost, the meaning of what is left obscure.
- 81 Cfr Černý, *Workmen*, 113-114.
- 82 So too in O. Petrie 14 (= *Hier. Ostr.*, 45, 1), 2, and in O. Ashm. Mus. 1933.810 (= *Hier. Ostr.*, 71, 1), vs. 4.
- 83 Cfr SAK 8 (1980), 145.
- 84 Cfr Simpson, *JAOS* 78 (1958), 50-51.
- 85 Cfr, e.g., Ward's comments on nḥr (rt. 6) in *Orientalia* 32 (1963), 420-423.
- 86 Cfr Černý, *JNES* 14 (1955), 161-163.
- 87 For nḥ3-ḥr, see *JEA* 61 (1975), 64.
- 88 The difficult text deserves a special study which would exceed the limits of the present paper.
- 89 In line 6 two names.
- 90 Both together, each preceded by a name, in line 6.
- 91 In line 17 Černý read ... t3 ist; line 15 is left untransliterated.

92 For a list of those who were on guard (*wrš*), see O. Cairo 25658 rt. (undated, but very probably from the mid XXth Dynasty). The exact meaning of this record is also obscure.



THE MISSION OF THE SCRIBE PESIŪR  
(O. BERLIN 12654)

Jac. J. Janssen

O. Berlin 12654 has been published by Allam<sup>1</sup> with a photograph and a transcription after that of Cerný<sup>2</sup>, but it had been previously quoted by Černý<sup>2</sup>. The text seems important enough to discuss it once again since it contains significant evidence, which has not formerly had attention drawn to it, about the conditions of the necropolis workmen in the middle of the XXth Dynasty. The reader will observe that on several points my opinion differs from that of Allam.

TRANSLATION

- 1 Year 2<sup>a</sup>, III šmw 9. This day,
- 2 mustering<sup>b</sup> the <work>men <of> the Tomb<sup>c</sup> by the scribe of the <Tomb> Hri<sup>i</sup>, the scribe of the Tomb 'Imn-m-ipt<sup>d</sup>, the chief workman
- 3 Nḥ-m-Mwt, the chief workman 'In-ḥr-ḥCw<sup>e</sup>, the scribe 'Imn-nḥtw, the scribe Hri-šri<sup>i</sup>, behind the wall<sup>f</sup>.  
Year 2, III šmw ...
- 4 This day, coming of the scribe P3-sr to the Fortress of the Tomb<sup>g</sup>. He sent <to?> the two chief workmen,
- 5 the scribe<sup>h</sup> of the Tomb Hri<sup>i</sup>, the two policemen,
- 6 || the scribe of the Tomb || i, workman 3ny-nḥtw, workman Nfr-ḥr, workman ḤC-m-w3st, workman [Pn-]
- 7 Cnktj, workman Nfr-ḥtpw, workman 'Imn-nḥtw, son of Rš-ptr.f, workman Ḥ3y, workman Kd-3ḥt.f,
- 8 workman B3ki-<n->wrnwr, workman Ḥr-Mni<sup>i</sup>, saying: "The scribe P3-sr appeared<sup>k</sup> together with the draughtsman Nb-nfr<sup>l</sup> in the court, and one found that the scribe P3-sr was right<sup>m</sup> and one found that the draughtsman Nb-nfr was wrong.
- 10 And the court said: Give him a hundred blows with a stick as well as ten (??) brand-marks (?)<sup>o</sup>, and let him cut stones in the Place

11 of Truth<sup>p</sup>, until the vizier will pardon him<sup>q</sup>. So they said". And the scribe P3-sr said:

VERSO

1 "He spoke thus, <namely> the vizier:  
 2 Let the 60 men stay here<sup>r</sup> as the gang, some choice of  
 you, and let  
 3 the surplus be removed. Order them<sup>s</sup> that they become  
 their personnel that carries (supplies) for you".<sup>t</sup>  
 4 Afterwards<sup>u</sup>, III Smw 29, he came and sat down in the  
 granary <of> the Fortress of the Tomb  
 5 and mustered all the workmen. List of taking oil<sup>v</sup> to the  
 personnel  
 6 of outside: 16 men, 46 women<sup>w</sup>. IV 3ht 2. This day, giving  
 by the two chief workmen,  
 7 the scribe of the Tomb and the entire gang of 2 spikes<sup>x</sup>  
 of silver to the vizier, by the hand of  
 8 the doorkeeper Cn-htpw. And the vizier went north on that  
 day.

NOTES

- a Probably of the reign of Ramesses VI, See below, p. 140  
 b *snhi*: cfr *Wb.* IV, 167, 5-9, and Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 98-99. Caminos argues that, besides the meaning "to muster, register", *snhi* does also occur in the sense of "collecting" food. In the texts from the workmen's community it is used for "mustering" the gang; cfr, e.g., O. Cairo 25264 (Allam, *Hier. Ostraka*, pl. 30), 5; O. Berlin 10621 (= *Hier. Pap.* III, pl. 30), 4; O. MMA. Field no. 23001.51 (*JEA* 46, 1960, pl. 12), vs. 1. In Pap. Turin 1891 (= *Pl.-R.*, 49-50), rt. 5, it is used in a passage about the raising of the number of workmen to 120, in year 2 of Ramesses IV (cfr Černý, *Workmen*, 103). The meaning of *snhi* in Pap. Turin 1888, 1, 9 (= *RAD* 65, 6) is uncertain because of a lacuna in the text.  
 It is not quite clear what the difference between *snhi* and *sphr* was. The latter verb, which also means "to copy" (cfr Peet, *JEA* 12, 1926, 126 and Bonhême, *BIFAO* 78, 1978, 362-363), perhaps is used for the recording of the

registration, while *snhī* indicates the act of collecting and mustering itself. Compare the use of *snhī* in Pap. Anastasi V, 10, 4-5 ("all *smdt* are mustered and the finest of them are taken") with the expression *sp̄hr šmw*, "to register the harvest" (e.g., Pap. Anastasi V, 15,7 - 16,1). In Pap. Anastasi VI, 13 ff. the phrase *snh r Cwty*, resp. *snh Cwty*, seems to mean "to register in a document", resp. "to register a document" (in my name). The misspelling *snhm* in lines 2 and vs. 5 of our text, due to a confusion with *nhm*, "to shout, jubilate", looks a bit cynical in connection with the events here related.

c For *rmt* instead of *rmt 1st*, see Černý, *Workmen*, 99, note 8.

Throughout I have kept the translation "Tomb" for *hr*, after Černý, although in many instances the freer rendering "Necropolis" indicates more precisely what is actually meant.

d The scribe of the Tomb *Hri* is known from numerous ostraca (cfr Černý, *Workmen*, 216-219), whereas '*Imn-m-ipt*' occurs as scribe only in a few texts. Those bearing a date are from the reign of Ramesses IV (year 1: O. DeM. 161, 5 and 9, and O. Berlin 12641, 8 [unpubl.]; year 2: O. DeM. 45, 18), while it is not certain whether O. Cairo 25280 (of a year 6) is from the same reign. In the first three instances he is only called *sš*; in O. Cairo 25280 and in O. DeM. 629,2 (undated) he bears the full title *sš n p3 hr*, as in our O. Berlin 12654. We remark that this text mentions *Hri* and '*Imn-m-ipt*' as "scribe of the Tomb", while the famous '*Imn-nhtw*' (son of '*Ipwy*') and his son *Hri-šri* are merely called *ss* and are listed after the chief workmen. Evidently *Hri-šri* had not yet been appointed to the office of necropolis scribe, while his father, who at that time would have been an old man, seems to have been retired and replaced by '*Imn-m-ipt*' as acting *sš n p3 hr*. That both father and son, although at this time only "scribes", were nevertheless mentioned among the officials, reflects their position in the community.

At what time '*Imn-nhtw*' retired is uncertain. In the Will of Naunakhte (Doc. I, 5, 8, of year 3 of Ramesses V) he occurs perhaps for the last time as *sš n p3 hr*, unless

Černý's reading of O. Turin 57002, vs. 10 (year 4 of Ramesses V) is correct; but see López' transcription (year 2). The conclusion we can draw from this material for the date of O. Berlin 12654 will be discussed below (p.140).

This much is clear: Černý's idea that the office of scribe of the Tomb passed in the family directly from father to son (see *Workmen*, 339) is not that secure since it seems that, between 'Imn-nḥtw and Ḥrī-šrī, the scribe 'Imn-m-īpt acted as sš n p3 ḥr.

- e Since Nḥ-m-Mwt (the Younger) and 'In-ḥr-ḥ<sup>c</sup>w (the Younger) jointly fulfilled this office from year 2 of Ramesses IV until the beginning of the reign of Ramesses IX (see Černý, *Workmen*, 125) these names present no clue as to the exact date of the text.
- f Allam translates "hinter dem Tor", evidently reading sb3. However, this word is usually written with a star, and it indicates the door rather than the gate. The word used here, determined (like ḥnb) with , is clearly sbty.

Recently Traunecker has again argued that sbty means "girdle wall" (cfr *Karnak V*, Le Caire, 1975, 148-149; but compare also Gardiner, *Onom.* II, 213\*), usually of a temple, but here clearly of the village. As the designation of the wall around the workmen's settlement it also occurs in O. Turin 57027, vs. 1, and in O. Gardiner 232, 2 (unpubl.), possibly also in O. Louvre 698 (= *Hier. Ostr.* 80), vs. 4. The compound preposition n-ḥ3, "behind", indicates that the meeting took place somewhere within the village, on a spot alongside the wall; not "behind" in the sense of "outside on the far (that is, the southern) side" of the village. That concept is rendered by ḥr pḥwy n (see *RAD* 55, 5; cfr also *RAD* 52, 16 and *Pap. Brit. Mus.* 10383, 3, 7 = Peet, *Tomb Robberies*, pl. 22). Where, within the village walls, 120 people could have gathered is not clear. The only suitable place seems to have been the southernmost side of the settlement, where the plan of Bruyère shows an open space; however, the plan shows the village during its last stage and is not very reliable, particularly not for this area.

- g For the expression  $p3 \dot{h}tm \ n \ p3 \dot{h}r$ , see Elisabeth Thomas, *JEA* 49 (1963), 62. Černý does not appear to have discussed it in his *Workmen*, but see his translation "(en-) closure of the Tomb" (61 and 171). Although they do not state it explicitly, it seems that both scholars conceived the phrase as indicating a rather wide area, comprising the entire, or at least a large part of, the Valley of the Kings, whereas Massart (*MDAIK* 15, 1957, 182 note 1) thought it to be just the entrance of the royal tomb or a guard-house adjacent to it. The mention of a granary of the  $\dot{h}tm \ n \ p3 \dot{h}r$  in our text (and perhaps also in O. DeM. 252, 2), as well as of drinking parties that take place in it (O. DeM. 570 and Pap. Turin 1907/8, II, 1 = *JEA* 52, 1966, 83) would make it more likely that a fairly large area was meant. One has to consider that  $\dot{h}tm$  — here according to the traditional translation rendered as "Fortress" — means an enclosed area; compare the, as far as I know, unique phrase  $p3 \dot{h}tm \ n \ dmi$  (see above, p.122) for the workmen's village.  $\dot{h}r$ , on the other hand, although literally "tomb", may be a general word for necropolis (see note c). Whether the numerous records of the arrival of viziers and other officials, like  $P3-sr$  here, in the Fortress of the Tomb really mean that they went over the mountain into the Valley of the Kings, or, more loosely, indicate their arrival at the necropolis, looks uncertain.
- h Line 5, written as a correction between lines 4 and 6 as the photograph shows, begins with a long stroke. This may either mean  $n$ , in which case the text records that  $P3-sr$  sent the two chief workmen with his message to  $\dot{H}r\dot{i}$  and the other people mentioned in lines 6-8; or it may indicate the original mistake of the scribe, who began line 6 with  $s\dot{s} \ n \ p3 \dot{h}r$  and then forgot the name and the two policemen. It seems that Černý thought the latter suggestion to be the correct one since he wrote "sic" above the  $n$ . In this case line 4 should have to be understood as "he sent a message to the two chief workmen" etc. On the other hand, the words "So they said" in line 11 could be taken as the end of the speech of the foremen; the end of the verdict of the court is also possible, however. There seems to be no decisive argument for

- either of the two possibilities.
- i Superseded by line 5, but not erased.
  - j The photograph is not clear at this point, so it is uncertain whether the *k* was omitted by Černý or by the scribe, but the name *Pn-Cnḳt* — like all other names listed here — is well known from numerous ostraca from the mid XXth Dynasty.
  - k Černý initially did read *īr.n*, but afterwards noted the idea that *wn* was more probable, although adding: "one expects ". From the photograph I am indeed inclined to read *spr*. One would, in that case, expect to find in line 9 *r* instead of *m* (*t3 ḳnbt*); cfr, however, Pap. Valencay I, 7 (see *RdE* 6, 1951, 118 note *d*).
  - l The draughtsman *Nb-nfr*, son of *Ḥrī* and brother of *'Imn-w<sup>c</sup>* and *Ḥr-Mnī*, occurs in many ostraca, from year 27 of Ramesses III (O. Gardiner 106 = *Hier. Ostr.* 61, 1, vs. 3) to a year 6 of one of the later reigns (O. DeM. 434, II, 4).
  - m ~~<m>~~ *m3<sup>c</sup>t*. The *m* before *cḏ3* at the end of the line was also forgotten, but added afterwards.
  - n *šḥt š3wt* (for *š3ti = št*) literally means "blows with the handle". For *š3ti*, "axe or knife handle", see Ward, *SAK* 5 (1977), 290-292; cfr also Vernus, *RdE* 29 (1977), 179-193. The expression *šḥt šbd* is slightly more usual, but *š3ti* is by no means rare. Besides the references given by Ward, see, e.g., O. IFAO 1357 (Allam, *Hier. Ostraka*, pl. 58) and O. Turin 9754 (op. cit., pl. 73).
  - o Thus Allam, after Černý (see *MDAIK* 15, 1957, 183 and *Workmen*, 60). The reading is by no means certain; the number is particularly doubtful. Although branding occurs as punishment in Egypt (see Lorton, *JESHO* 20, 1978, 18) I do not know of it from any other text from Deir el-Medīna. The reason for giving no less than ten marks is mysterious, since a single one would have already marked a man as a slave.
  - p For this punishment, see also Pap. Geneva MAH 15274, vs. III (*MDAIK* 15, 1957, pl. 38). In Pap. DeM. 27 (Allam, *Hier. Ostraka*, pl. 99), vs. 9-10, the punishment "to cut stone (*ḳḥ*) in the mountain of *3bbwt*" (Elephantine??) is mentioned, but in our Berlin ostrakon an area in the Theban necropolis may be meant. I do not believe that the

name "Place of Truth" was restricted to an area near the Ramesseum, as Černý seems to suggest (*Workmen*, 62); Černý's own doubts (op. cit., 65-67) look to me well-founded, but that the designation indicated the tomb of the Pharaoh is equally improbable. If *Nb-nfr* was sentenced to cutting stone in the royal tomb, what difference was there then between this and the normal work of the workmen? That he was merely reduced to the rank of ordinary workman, having previously been a draughtsman, is unlikely; the workman *C3-nḥtw* who is sentenced to the same work according to Pap. Geneva MAH 15274, was, so far as we know, always a normal member of the gang. Certainly *khkh m St-M3ct* had a special meaning. Could it be work in one of the flint quarries in the West Valley? (cfr Debono, *Graffiti de la montagne thébaine*, II,2 [Le Caire, 1971], 43-47).

- q Lorton (*JESHO* 20, 1978, 45) points out that this is the only evidence of enforced labour for a limited period — at the grace of the vizier —, and explains it by the "particularly disagreeable character" of *Nb-nfr* and the desire of the court "to teach him a lesson". It was, however, rather the position of *P3-sr* that caused both the punishment and the promise of future grace. See below, p.143.
- r *m dī*: Černý, *Workmen*, 104 note 3, suggests "*nty dī* intended", but I fail to see a convincing reason for this correction. Rather, the *m* may be a mistake, as Černý himself seems to have once thought; cfr *CAH*, 3rd ed., II,2, 613.
- s *shn.w*. See Černý's facsimile, in which what may be a stroke at the end of *r-bnr* has partly coalesced with the *s* of *shn*.
- t *n.n*: lit. "for us". Cfr Černý, *Workmen*, 185 note 3. Dr. Borghouts pointed out to me another possibility, namely that *n.n* is merely a variant writing for *n.tn*. For other instances, see, e.g., Pap. Mallet (= Pap. Louvre E 11006), IV, 6 and 7; Botti-Peet, *Giornale*, 53, 17 and 55, 16.
- u *hr ir s3*: cfr Green, *Glimpses* (Festschrift Fairman), 109. There are more instances than those quoted there, mostly in unpublished ostraca, but see O. Brussels E 6311, vs.

- 1 (Allam, *Hier. Ostraka*, pl. 27). Some instances are not quite correctly cited, e.g. O. Gardiner 165 (op. cit., pl. 44), 17 (*hr ir 3 rnpwt*).
- v *p3 it3 mrht*. For *it3* in the sense of "to take something to", cfr Baer, *JARCE* 1 (1962), 37 note 79. Is the phrase "to take oil to" a person a metaphorical expression, not unlike "to give the sack to" ? It should be noted that the oil rations delivered to the workmen consisted of *sgnn* and *nhh*, but never, so far as I know, of *mrht* (a generic word for oil in the ostraca; see *Commodity Prices*, 334). Moreover, one could suggest that the men received compensation for being dismissed, but then why also the 46 women?
- w Černý noted "sic" above the first number, probably since he conceived it to be a mistake for "46" (the number of the women). If the supposition of the preceding note is correct, this looks very likely.
- x *h3/hnr (hl)*: the characteristic tool of the workmen, probably the spike; cfr *Commodity Prices*, 312-313, and Valbelle, *Catalogue des poids*, 12-15.

#### THE DATE

The text is dated in a year 2, but of which reign is not quite clear. In various places Černý has proposed three different ones: Ramesses VI<sup>3</sup>, Ramesses V<sup>4</sup>, and even Ramesses IV<sup>5</sup>. The latter would hardly be possible since, as Černý himself has argued, it was this king who increased the number of workmen to 120 on III *3ht* 28 of his second year. That he himself would have reduced the number on III *šmw* of the same year<sup>6</sup>, six months later, is very improbable, and elsewhere Černý himself has brought forward decisive proof that the text can only be ascribed to the reign of Ramesses V or to that of one of his successors<sup>7</sup>. A later reign than that of Ramesses VI would be unlikely on account of the small number of ostraca mentioning the enlarged gang. It would even be impossible if Černý's suggestion (after Helck) that the scribe '*Imn-nhtw* died in year 7 of Ramesses VI is correct<sup>8</sup>. Since, as argued above (note *d*), '*Imn-nhtw* still is recorded as "scribe of the Tomb" in year 3 of Ramesses V the only possibility that remains is year 2 of Ramesses VI.

## THE SCRIBE P3-sr

Černý's earliest date for our ostrakon, contradicted by himself<sup>9</sup>, occurs in his discussion of the evidence for the scribe P3-sr<sup>10</sup>. He argued that we first hear about him when he announced the accession of Sethos II. From that day to year 2 of Ramesses IV would have been 52 years<sup>11</sup>. If P3-sr had been 25 years old on the first occasion, he would have been nearly eighty years at the beginning of the reign of Ramesses IV, the reason Černý proposed the early date here. In year 2 of Ramesses VI P3-sr would have been ten years older still. And that is not all. Černý overlooked the mention of a scribe P3-sr who is recorded as having arrived at the necropolis in a year 8<sup>12</sup> that, on account of the occurrence of the name of the vizier P3-nḥsy in the text, hardly can be ascribed to any other reign than that of Merenptah. If this should be the same P3-sr yet again, his life-span would have been prolonged by at least two more years. The solution to the problem may be found by studying the distribution in the ostraca of the occurrence over the years of a scribe P3-sr. Several derive from the late XIXth Dynasty, while three are dated in the years 12<sup>13</sup>, 16<sup>14</sup> and 17<sup>15</sup> of Ramesses III; however, from the later years of this reign and from that of Ramesses IV, from which so many ostraca have been preserved, not a single text appears to have recorded the name. The earliest ones, after a gap of about twenty years, are O. Cairo 25562, of a year 2, possibly from the reign of Ramesses V<sup>16</sup>, and the ostrakon under discussion. The obvious conclusion is that there have been at least two scribes called P3-sr.

In O. Cairo 25562 a P3-sr is called "scribe of the Vizier", and from the contents of O. Berlin 12654 it looks probable that here P3-sr held the same office. His position as representative of the vizier may be the explanation as to why his adversary Nb-nfr was severely punished (if, at least, the translation "brand-marks" in rt. 10 is correct).

O. Berlin 12654 attests to the power of the scribe of the vizier in his contacts with the workmen. The same can be concluded from O. Leipzig 2 (= *Hier. Ostr.* 34, 4), where an earlier scribe P3-sr is mentioned. He had provided an oipe-measure — with which the rations for the workmen were

measured — that was too small, but not a single word is recorded about a punishment.

The vizier was himself responsible for the overall management of the workmen's community; he appointed the chief workmen and the scribe of the Tomb, and promoted the young men to full workmen<sup>17</sup>. Since his duties were extremely comprehensive, he would have entrusted his scribe with most of the day-to-day supervision of the workmen. It was in this function that a *P3-sr* announced the accession to the throne of Sethos II, and our present text once more shows the vizier wielding his power through this official.

#### THE MEANING OF THE TEXT

In his discussion of whether non-literary ostraca are "brouillons" Allam calls O. Berlin 12654 a "Sammelbericht"<sup>18</sup>, suggesting that it was not written in one go, but that the scribe added to the record occurrences in the necropolis as they happened. Evidence to the contrary can be drawn from the fact that whenever a new event, commencing with a date, is recorded, the scribe did not start on a new line; not even in vs. 3, where he begins a record with the words *hr ir s3* plus a date that is four months later than the event related before. It seems highly unlikely that he would have utilized the very small space at the end of line 3 if the words had been written so much later. Moreover, the "new" dates are all perfectly in a line with the preceding words. Therefore, I am convinced that the entire text was written on a single day, probably on, or shortly after, the last day recorded<sup>19</sup>.

This means that, although at first sight the text seems to refer to various subjects, in the view of the scribe the events possessed some coherence. The main events that are recorded are:

- 1 III *šmw* 9: mustering of the workmen by the officials of the necropolis (rt. 1-3);
- 2 III *šmw* x: arrival of the scribe *P3-sr*. He sends a message to the gang announcing that the court has sentenced the draughtsman *Nb-nfr* (rt. 3-11); he then conveys an order from the vizier

that the number of the workmen has to be reduced, those who will be dismissed becoming *smdt n bnr* (rt. 11 - vs. 3);

- 3 III *šmw* 29: *P3-sr* comes and musters the gang (vs. 4-6);  
 4 IV *3ht* 2: a present is handed over to the vizier just before he departs to the north (vs. 6-8).

The connection between these events may be the following. Firstly, the workmen, knowing what was afoot, held a meeting during which their policy was discussed. Then the scribe of the vizier arrived and brought the order from his chief about the dismissal of some of the workmen. The choice as to who would stay and who would have to go — in vs. 2 called "your", that is, the workmen's own choice — had already been made during the first meeting, and is confirmed a few days later by *P3-sr* while he was sitting in the granary. Four months later the remaining members of the gang expressed their 'gratitude' for being allowed to stay by sending the vizier a present.

Facts militating against this explanation are: the mention of "taking oil to" 16 men and 46 women in vs. 5-6 — but, as suggested in note v, this may actually mean something different from what it seems to be — and, more particularly, the story of the lawsuit between *P3-sr* and *Nb-nfr* (rt. 8-11). Allam, translating *r ḏd* in rt. 8 as "further", conceived what follows as being a separate event, whereas I think it to be the contents of the message that *P3-sr* sent to the workmen — perhaps in order to intimidate them before proceeding to the delicate task of reducing some of them to the low ranks of water-carrier and woodcutter.

In this connection one should note that *P3-sr* told his story not to the entire gang, but to a chosen group of men consisting of the scribe, the chief policemen, and ten workmen (and perhaps, depending upon the interpretation, also the chief workmen; see note h), that is, to the most influential members of the community, those whose own position was, of course, safe.

The fact that *P3-sr* reported the result of the lawsuit proves that the court of rt. 9 and 10 cannot have been the local one, for in that case everybody would have known the outcome. The matter probably came up before a court sitting at Thebes, on the other bank. It should also now be clear as

to why the purport of the case was not stated; it is of no consequence for the present text. The mention of a possible future pardon by the vizier also suits the situation; it was expected to have a soothing effect, seen in combination with the threat that was implied in the report about *Nb-nfr*'s conviction. One might even suggest that the latter had raised a protest of some kind against the planned measure of the vizier, but that would be pure fantasy. It thus appears that the text possesses an internal coherence, and the mention of the present to the vizier at the end fits in the context. After it had been handed over the vizier departed and the matter was closed.

#### THE PRESENT TO THE VIZIER

A few words may be added concerning the present. The fact that the workmen made various objects for the vizier is recorded on other occasions, e.g. in O. Cairo 25512, 8 (a wooden box) and O. Cairo 25517,  $\delta$ , 3-4 and vs. 15 (a *ḫrf*<sup>20</sup>), both from the late XIXth Dynasty, and in *Giornale dell'anno* 13, vs. 1 (Botti-Peet, pl. 5), 11-15. In the latter is stated that the scribe of the vizier asked, on his chief's behalf, for a bed, and received it.

Also interesting in this connection is the unpublished O. Gardiner 118, dated in a year 2 (on account of the mention of the vizier Hori most probably of the reign of Siptah). The text records that a chair (*ḫni*) and a bed (*ḫcti*) have been presented to a certain Bay, who was probably the well known chancellor of that time. Another text, Pap. Turin 1888, not only records that two beds have been made for the vizier (RAD 65-66), but also that he ordered six carpenters from the gang to cross the river and to make columns there for his ship.

From this evidence it appears that the vizier could make use of the time and products of the necropolis workmen, very probably without paying for them. However, the gift of two silver spikes in O. Berlin 12654 seems to be of a different nature. There is one parallel, namely in O. Cairo 25676, 8-9, where it seems — the text is incomplete since the ostraccon is broken off — that a silver spike was offered to the king. In both instances the text calls the object(s) "the"

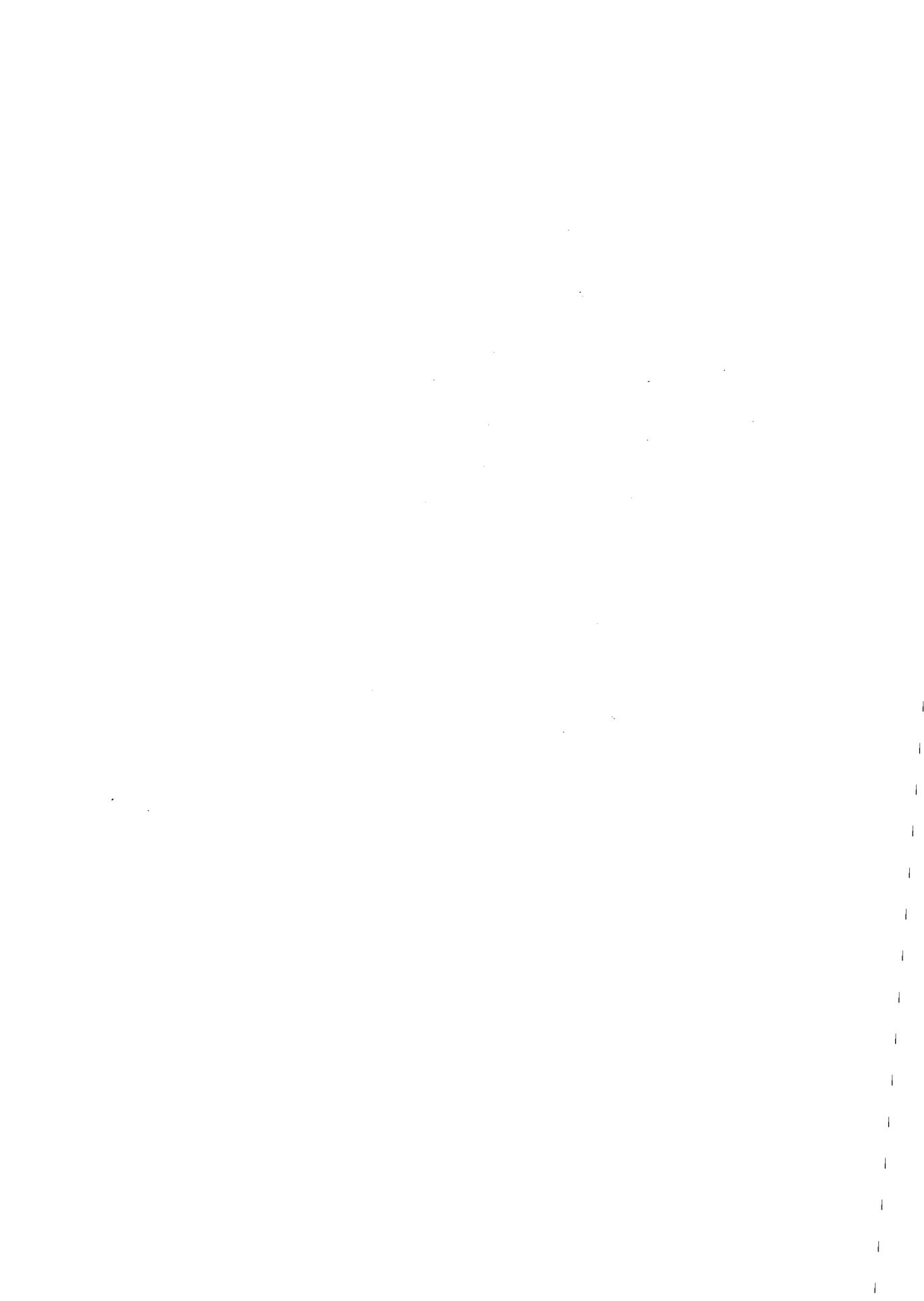
spike(s), which may mean that a traditional present was mentioned. The reason for giving it to the king is unknown. In view of the context of O. Berlin 12654 it is probable that, on this occasion, the silver objects were meant as being a 'bakshish' for the 'favour' of being permitted to stay, granted to the nucleus of the community.

Thus the ostrakon discussed here not only relates some important events from the mid XXth Dynasty history of the workmen's community, it also offers some insight into the relations between the workmen and the state officials who were responsible for them.

## NOTES

- 1 *Hier. Ostraka*, pl. 12-15; translation with comments, p. 35-38 (No. 15).
- 2 E.g. in *CAH*, 3rd ed., II,2, and on some pages of his *Workmen* (see the following notes).
- 3 *CAH*, 3rd ed., II,2, 613.
- 4 *Workmen*, 104.
- 5 Op. cit., 205.
- 6 If this is correct, the dates on the verso, III *šmw* 29 and IV *3ḥt* 2, would pertain to year 3 of Ramesses IV (day of accession: III *šmw* 15), and one would expect to find that expressed.
- 7 *Workmen*, 104, where he quotes the unpublished Pap. Turin 2044, from a year 1, that records the number of 120 workmen. This must be later than year 2 of Ramesses IV, hence belong to a later reign. Unfortunately, neither O. DeM. 378 (62 + 67 men) nor O. DeM. 149 (62 + 50 men) bears a date.  
O. Berlin 12654 covers a period from III *šmw* 9 to IV *3ḥt* 2. If all dates pertain to the year 2 (see the preceding note) this means that the Pharaoh of this reign did not ascend the throne between these days. The day of accession of Ramesses V is unknown — for the suggestion that it fell between 11 and 17 of III *3ḥt*, see below, p. 178 — while that of Ramesses VI (between I *prt* 18 and II *prt* 11; cfr *GM* Heft 29, 1978, 45) is of no consequence for the present problem.
- 8 *Workmen*, 343-344.
- 9 This is one of the not so rare instances where the book contains conflicting suggestions, due to the fact that it was published posthumously.
- 10 *Workmen*, 204-205.
- 11 According to Wente-van Siclen a few years less; cfr *Studies Hughes* (Chicago, 1976), 218. See now also Kitchen, *Serapis* 4 (1977-1978), 76 ff.
- 12 O. Cairo 25504, vs. II, 1. The *ss̄ wr P3-sr* of O. DeM. 114, 10 (on account of the names of the vizier Khay and chief workman *Nb-nfr* very probably from the reign of Ramesses II) may be another person.
- 13 O. Cairo 25553, 3.

- 14 Pap. DeM. 26 vs. II, 11 (Allam, *Hier. Ostraka*, pl. 94).  
The house of a scribe *P3-sr* occurs in O. Berlin 1268, 15-16 (unpubl.), from year 14 of Ramesses III.
- 15 O. Leipzig 2 (= *Hier. Ostr.* 34, 4), vs. 1.
- 16 For the reading *P3-sr* instead of *P3-r*, see *Commodity Prices*, 41.
- 17 O. DeM. 352; cfr O. DeM. 40, 12.
- 18 *JEA* 54 (1968), 124. Repeated in *Hier. Ostraka*, p. 37.
- 19 I can draw the attention to the many slips and corrections of the scribe; for instance, the inclusion by afterthought in rt. 5, the correction *m* before *C<sub>d</sub>3* in rt. 9 (but not before *m3ct*), the correction *rm<sub>t</sub>* in rt. 2 and *hr* in rt. 4 (but not in rt. 2).  
These and several more suggest that the text was not an official document intended for the administration. Whether it was a draft ("brouillon") is not certain. I agree with Allam (*JEA* 54, 1968, 121 ff.) that many ostraca — though certainly not all of them — do not contain drafts of administrative documents, but this does not mean that they themselves were intended for an official archive in the village. Some at least were clearly made for private purposes.
- 20 A wooden object according to its determinative. The word may be derived from the stem "to curb, contract", and related to *krf*, "bag". Hence it may indicate some type of box. For other occurrences, see O. Nash 11 (= *Hier. Ostr.* 72, 2), 2 and O. Cairo 25584 I, 6 and II, 6.



## A DRAUGHTSMAN WHO BECAME SCRIBE OF THE TOMB: HARSHĪRE, SON OF AMENNAKHTĒ

Jac. J. Janssen

In the "last Will of Naunakhte" there is reference to a member of the gang called *Ḥri-šri* (see Pestman, below p.174), who was the son of the well-known Scribe of the Tomb '*Imn-nḥtw*<sup>1</sup>. He is also mentioned in O. Berlin 12654 (see p.133). In texts from the reigns of both Ramesses III and Ramesses IV he is called "draughtsman" (*sš-ḳd*), while in the last stage of his career, under Ramesses IX, he had risen to the function of *sš n p3 ḥr*, which had been formerly held by his father. In this paper I will discuss the question of at what moment he was appointed "Scribe of the Tomb". If Pestman's suggestion (p.179, note 9) that in the Naunakhte papers he used the title not in his own right, but only as the representative of his father is correct, it means that we have to be careful in using workmen's titles as a basis for dating texts. That this could indeed be an unreliable criterium appears from the use of *sš*, which in graffiti and letters seems to be honorary<sup>2</sup>, indicating merely that its bearer was skilled in writing; in other instances it may be an abbreviation, or, perhaps, an error for *sš-ḳd*<sup>3</sup>. Certainly it does not indicate that the bearer was the official "Scribe of the Tomb".

If my argument that in III *šmw* of year 2 of Ramesses VI *Ḥri-šri* was still *sš-ḳd*<sup>4</sup> is correct (see p.135), his appointment as *sš n p3 ḥr* took place after that month. The first certain date for his occupancy of that position is year 8 of Ramesses IX<sup>5</sup>, but it looks likely that his promotion had taken place some years earlier. As *sš n p3 ḥr* he is mentioned in Pap. Turin 1885, vs. I, 5 (= *Pl.-R.*, pl. 72), a text recording the division of property of *Ḥri-šri*'s father '*Imn-nḥtw* and which had probably been written shortly after the latter's death. It is dated in a year 7, which Černý ascribed to the reign of Ramesses VI since in col. II,

immediately to the left of it, year 1 (of Ramesses VII) is mentioned<sup>6</sup>. As there seems to be no reason to suggest that *Ḥri-šri* used the title *sš n p3 ḥr* in this division of his father's property improperly<sup>7</sup>, the year 7 of Ramesses VI may be the earliest known date of him as the occupant of the office, his appointment having taken place between year 2 and 7 of that reign.

Perhaps we can close the gap still further on account of some texts that are all dated in a year 4, not necessarily of the same reign. One of them is O. Cairo 25247 verso. It was first published by Daressy, not very satisfactorily. Spiegelberg, in his review of that book<sup>8</sup>, gave a greatly improved transcription. I have also at my disposal a copy of Černý's transcription, which, according to a note, was collated with another one by Gardiner. There are slight but important differences between Černý's version and that of Spiegelberg, which are indicated in the footnotes.

The text mainly records deliveries of pigments to the workmen for their work in the royal tomb. In lines 15-16 these materials are stated to have been given to *sš-ḳd 'Imn-ḥtpw*<sup>9</sup> and *sš-ḳd Ḥri-šri*<sup>10</sup>. The ostrakon is dated in line 1 to year 4, II *šmw* 25<sup>11</sup>, while most of the entries are also individually dated, namely:

line	4:	year 4,	II	<i>šmw</i>	25
	6:	[		],	III <i>šmw</i> 16
	7:	year 4,	III	<i>šmw</i>	22 <sup>12</sup>
	9:	year 4,	III	<i>šmw</i>	23
	11:	year 4,	IV	<i>šmw</i>	3
	13:	year 4,	IV	<i>šmw</i>	2 (read: 4) <sup>13</sup>
	14:	---	,	IV	<i>šmw</i> 5 <sup>14</sup>
	15:	---	,	IV	<i>šmw</i> 17

This is obviously a continuous series, which means that -- unless the scribe was highly incompetent -- there was no change of year-date between II *šmw* 25 and IV *šmw* 17. Hence the ostrakon cannot date from the reign of Ramesses IV<sup>15</sup> who ascended the throne on III *šmw* 15. With the names definitely excluding the reign of Ramesses III, the earliest

possibility is that of Ramesses V.

This means that in IV *šmw* of year 4 of that Pharaoh *Ḥrī-šrī* had not yet been promoted to the office of Scribe of the Tomb. From the Naunakhte documents Pestman argues that the accession day of Ramesses V fell between III *3ḥt* 10 and 17, so that the dates of O. Cairo 25247 are later in this year than Naunakhte Doc. Ib. This definitely proves that, in that text, *Ḥrī-šrī* cannot have been the official *sš n p3 ḥr* and was only representing his father.

In three other ostraca, also dated in a year 4, *Ḥrī-šrī* occurs, twice as *sš n p3 ḥr*, namely in O. IFAO 765 (unpubl.) and O. Brit. Mus. 5625 (see p.118), and once as *sš*, in O. DeM. 133. O. IFAO 765 is a fragmentary text about an oath concerning a donkey. So far as I can see there is no reason to doubt that *Ḥrī-šrī* here had the right to use the title; nor does this seem dubious in the case of O. Brit. Mus. 5625. O. DeM. 133, where he is mentioned among the witnesses to an oracle, following the two chief workmen and preceding the *sš n p3 ḥr Ḥrī*, is slightly less specific since he is called *sš* only. The placing of the name indicates that it was not an abbreviation of *sš-kd*, but *sš* may have been used here once more because *Ḥrī-šrī* acted as representative of his father.

If at least one of these three texts dates from the reign of Ramesses VI, this would mean that *Ḥrī-šrī* had been promoted before or during the year 4 of that Pharaoh. Although the possibility that all three are from the reign of Ramesses VII cannot be excluded, it does not look very likely.

Our conclusion may be then that *Ḥrī-šrī* very probably has been appointed to the office of Scribe of the Tomb between years 2 (O. Berlin 12654) and 4 (O. DeM. 133 - O. IFAO. 765 - O. Brit. Mus. 5625) of Ramesses VI. Using titles for dating ostraca does not appear to be a simple matter; real life is always more complicated than our theories tend to admit.

## NOTES

- 1 For his biography, see Černý, *Workmen*, 352-355. Černý states that he was the only person of this name known in Deir el-Medīna.
- 2 E.g., *Ḥrī-šrī* in graff. 298-299.
- 3 E.g., '*Imn-ḥtpw* in O. DeM. 46, 18 (very probably this is the son of '*Imn-nḥtw* who was *sš-ḳd* in that time). Clearer still is O. Cairo 25247 (discussed below), where in vs. 15 and on the edge, line 1, the same '*Imn-ḥtpw* is called *sš-ḳd*, but in line 2 on the edge *sš* only. See also O. DeM. 398, where the father, '*Imn-nḥtw* (rt. 2) and both sons '*Imn-ḥtpw* (rt. 6) and *Ḥrī-šrī* (vs. 7) all three are called *sš*.
- 4 The latest date at present known for his holding the position of *sš-ḳd* seems to occur in O. Petrie 26 (= *Hier. Ostr.* 16, 2), namely a year 6, which cannot be earlier than that of Ramesses IV; that of his successor is not excluded, however.
- 5 Černý, *Workmen*, 353, with note 8.
- 6 Op. cit., 343-344. Černý here follows Helck (*Analecta Biblica* 12, 1959, 127-128). The argument is that col. II was written after col. I. Although this may be very likely, it is not beyond any reasonable doubt. Pap. Turin 1885 is a true miscellany (on the recto the plan of the tomb of Ramesses IV), and possibly a palimpsest (the lines left below in col. I as they occur in the facsimile of Pleyte-Rossi do not seem to belong to the division of property, and neither does line 1 of that col. I). Therefore, it cannot be absolutely excluded that the record of '*Imn-nḥtw*'s property is not an addition written at a later date than col. II on a cleaned spot on the papyrus.
- 7 Although the facsimile shows a lacuna between *Ḥrī* ... and *ḥr* there is no doubt that *sš Ḥrī[-šrī n p3] ḥr* has been written.
- 8 *OLZ* 5 (1912), col. 307 ff. O. Cairo 25247 vs. is transcribed in col. 323/324.
- 9 Very probably the son of '*Imn-nḥtw* (see note 3).
- 10 Actually ~~A43~~, according to Černý's transcription. Spiegelberg has *Ḥrī-šrī*, the photograph of Daressy is not clear enough on this point. Since Černý lists the text in

Ḥri-šri's biography (*Workmen*, 353) he too read evidently  
☞ above the name-determinative which would be the  
usual writing).

- 11 Spiegelberg: III prt 25, but Černý added "sic" in his Notebook, like in the other instances where his reading differs from that by Spiegelberg.
- 12 Spiegelberg: 18.
- 13 Spiegelberg: 4. Černý saw "2", but noted above the line: "sic. lire<sub>3</sub>".
- 14 Spiegelberg: 6.
- 15 So Černý, *Workmen* 353, note 2.



# WHO WERE THE OWNERS, IN THE 'COMMUNITY OF WORKMEN', OF THE CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRI

P.W. Pestman

## I

When Posener<sup>1</sup> recently revealed that the famous "Chester Beatty Papyri" belong to the same archive as the papyri which were discovered in 1928 by Bruyère<sup>2</sup>, it at once became apparent how important this archive must have been in view of the number of papyri it contained, the size of several of them and, more particularly, because of the large amount of literary texts which lend the archive the aspect of a "private library". Quite naturally Posener's revelation arouses many questions, such as to which person or family this archive belonged at the moment it was deposited on the spot where it was found in 1928; or, which kind of texts did they have in their archive and why; or, when and how did they acquire these texts, considering the fact that some of them had been written more than a century earlier than the last datable document?

It is, unfortunately, not possible to answer all these intriguing questions, mainly owing to the regrettable uncertainty as to which papyri, of those found in Deir el-Medīna around 1928, actually came from the archive in question: partly because some of them were stolen during the excavations, and partly because those which were not stolen, have not been properly recorded. As far as we know at present (see par. IV below) the

Pap. Chester Beatty I-XIX<sup>3</sup>,

Pap. DeM. I-XVII<sup>4</sup>, and

Pap. Naunakhte II-III<sup>5</sup>

probably belonged to this archive, and perhaps also Pap. Naunakhte I and IV, and even Pap. Geneva 15274, but probably not Pap. BM. 10731. This means that the archive originally must have contained at least<sup>6</sup> about 40 papyri, unfortunately dispersed now over various collections in Cairo, Geneva,

London, Oxford and Dublin<sup>7</sup>.

## II

About half of the archive consists of rolls with literary or semi-literary texts<sup>8</sup>. These rolls, the largest of which is over 5 metres long<sup>9</sup>, have, in the course of time, been used in different ways and for various purposes. We may roughly distinguish three stages.

*First stage* of the rolls with literary texts: the main text is written on the papyrus, usually on the recto only, but sometimes the text appears to have been too long<sup>10</sup> and thus the scribe had then to write some of it on the verso. At the end of the main text the scribe used to write a colophon, which shows, with regard to Pap. Chester Beatty I, that the main text had not been written in Deir el-Medīna but in Thebes. In all these cases the entire text was written by one person and the scribe of Pap. DeM. I even noted that he started to write col. 2 on the third day of the first month of the 3<sup>h</sup>t-season. He continued on this same day with col. 5: after a lunchbreak perhaps? Sometimes, the same scribe later added another literary text, usually on the verso<sup>11</sup>, and thus we see that the scribe who wrote the "Maxims of Any" on the recto of Pap. DeM. I, wrote on the verso some magical texts, starting with col. 3, a month later than the date mentioned on the recto.

It is self-evident that the owners of these rolls cared for their papyri and it is not surprising that, when Pap. Chester Beatty IX had been broken into two halves at the beginning of recto, col. 12, "someone had mended it by a narrow strip gummed upon the verso" (Gardiner, p. 78).<sup>12</sup> When this papyrus was found, the back of it was "covered with dirt-marks for the upper two-thirds of its height" and Gardiner (p. 78) explains this by suggesting "that the upper part of the rolled up papyrus having become wet, it was then unrolled by its possessor and laid out to dry in a dirty place, thence gathering up the fragments of dirt ... The gritty specks adhered very firmly, so that they did not affect the recto when the papyrus was rolled up afresh". That these things did indeed happen, we learn from a letter

from one of the descendants of the "scribe of the Tomb" *Imn-nḥtw* and his son *Ḥrī-šrī*<sup>13</sup> which deals with their archive: "Now as for the documents onto which the sky rained in the house of the scribe Horsheri, my (grandfather), you brought them out, and we found that (they) had not become erased. I said to you: 'I will unbind them again'. You brought them down below, and we deposited (them) in the tomb of Amennakht<sup>14</sup>, my (great-grand)father."<sup>15</sup>

During *the second stage* the owners of the rolls used the blank space on the verso, which was not occupied by the main literary texts, for private matters: notes, memoranda, accounts, copies and drafts of letters, model letters and other school-exercises, parts of literary texts, in short for those kinds of texts which normally were written on ostraca in Deir el-Medīna. For reasons unknown to us the owners of the rolls preferred to make use of the blank spaces on the back of their papyri, even though this meant, at least in our eyes, that they thus spoiled their magnificent literary texts. Anyhow, they had plenty of free space on the back of these rolls for their private notes, and after having washed away the ink<sup>16</sup> they even could use the same space a second time.

Up to this moment the rolls had been carefully preserved intact, but this state of affairs changes in the *third stage* when pieces of papyrus were deliberately cut off from the rolls by their owners. With regard to Pap. Chester Beatty IX, for example, Gardiner (p. 78) notes: "At the beginning of the *recto* ... some ancient owner had cut, or rather torn away, an unknown length, doubtless for re-use", and with regard to Pap. Chester Beatty VIII (p. 66): "The manuscript had been deliberately mutilated by one of its ancient owners, who cut away a strip in the middle of the roll and other strips near and at the end, probably intending to clean these and re-use them for correspondence".<sup>17</sup>

Many of our rolls indeed have been demonstrably mutilated by owners who needed a piece of papyrus and cut from the rolls not only the blank protecting strips at the beginning and the end, but also barbarously excised parts of the written text. Gardiner suggested that these sheets were cleaned and re-used for correspondence. The majority of the letters in

this archive had in fact been written on papyri which had already been used before and, in two cases (Pap. DeM. X and XII), Černý and Posener have argued that the obliterated texts were literary ones and I would suggest the same thing with regard to a third one (Pap. DeM. VIII), where the description of the papyrus seems to prove that it originally was a protecting strip of a roll: "la partie supérieure du recto, jusqu'à la seconde 'Klebung' présente les fibres verticales ..., à partir de cette 'Klébung' ..., le recto montre les fibres horizontales".

### III

The archive contains texts written as early as the beginning of the reign of Ramesses II (Pap. Chester Beatty III, recto) and as late as that of Ramesses IX (Pap. DeM. XIII)<sup>18</sup>. It covers, therefore, a period of more than a century and, in this period, it must have passed through the hands of several persons. It is now time to turn our attention to these persons and to see if it is possible to individualize the successive owners of the papyri.

Names of many persons figure in the documents and these are obviously very helpful. In the case of letters, for example, the addressee is likely to be the recipient of the letter and the person who would have kept it in his archive, whereas, on the other hand, in the case of drafts or copies of letters, it is of course the writer of the letter who preserved it in his archive. Names of members of their families may be found in some letters and in the memoranda and other private notes on the back of the rolls, and sometimes the writing or the contents give us a clue as to who wrote them.

Very important information is given by the "colophon" which originally must have stood at the end of the main literary text on our rolls. Although many of them have disappeared on account of the mutilation of the rolls in the third stage described above, some of them have survived, and they show that later owners did not hesitate to obliterate the name of the scribe who originally wrote the main text and the colophon on them (see Pap. Chester Beatty IX, p. 101), substituting for it their own name, that is, therefore, the

name of a subsequent owner of the roll. Thus we know that Pap. Chester Beatty I at a certain moment came into the hands of *Nḥt-Sbk* who substituted his name in the colophon, and that Pap. Chester Beatty III (see below) came into the hands of *ʿImn-nḥtw* who even made an entirely new colophon of his own.<sup>19</sup>

From this sort of information we can deduce something about the history of a roll and, by way of example, we shall present here the case of *Pap. Chester Beatty III*.<sup>20</sup>

- *First stage*: the principal text on this roll is the "Dream-book" (text A), written on the recto and on a small part of the verso; with the help of palaeographical criteria, the text can be assigned to the early part of the reign of Ramesses II.
- We do not know the name of the first owner, but at a certain moment the roll came into the hands of the scribe *Ḳn-ḥr-ḥpš.f* who used the blank space on the back for his private purposes (*second stage*). In the first place, he twice wrote on it a part of the poem on Ramesses II's victory over the Hittite confederacy at Kadesh (text B). Neither of these exercises mentions his name, but the writing is unmistakably his.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, there is another text on the back of the same roll (text C) which is written in the same hand and which bears his name, the text being a copy of a letter from *Ḳn-ḥr-ḥpš.f* to *P3-nḥsy*, the vizier of Pharaoh Merenptah.<sup>22</sup>
- Then the roll passed again into other hands and the new owner, *ʿImn-nḥtw*, inserted a colophon of his own in the middle of the main text of the recto, in an open space below col. 10 (text D):<sup>23</sup>

"Made by the scribe *ʿImn-nḥtw*, son of *Ḥ<sup>C</sup>-m-nwn*,  
brother of the carpenter *Nfr-ḥtpw*,  
brother of the carpenter *Ḳn-(ḥr)-ḥpš.f*,  
brother of the scribe *P3-m3[3-nḥtw.f]*.  
- Made by the scribe *ʿImn-nḥtw*."
- The roll must have passed into other hands yet again, for it is hardly likely that a man who so proudly attached his name and a colophon on the papyrus, would be responsible for



where this document was found, in the archive or, what is more likely, elsewhere.

- (2) *Niwt-nḥtī* was the second wife of *Ḳn-ḥr-ḥpš.f*, the elder: she lived at the end of the XIXth and the beginning of the XXth dyn.; she was probably born at the very end of the reign of Ramesses II<sup>28</sup> and died in year 3 of Ramesses V<sup>29</sup>.

Although it is not explicitly attested to be so, it is certain that she has received her husband's documents on his death, for it is only through her that her sons - see (4) and (5) below - could have received *Ḳn-ḥr-ḥpš.f*'s documents.

- (3?) *ḤC-m-nwn*, the second husband of *Niwt-nḥtī*: he must have been about the same age as *Niwt-nḥtī*<sup>30</sup>, but he died at least a year later<sup>31</sup>.

Since the second part of Pap. Naunakhte IV contains an engagement on his behalf, this document had certainly been given to him. He may have been the executor of the last will of *Niwt-nḥtī* and as such he may also have had in his possession Pap. Naunakhte I<sup>32</sup>. It is not known where Pap. Naunakhte I and IV were found, but it seems very likely that they were discovered at the same time and place as the "Chester Beatty Papyri" and that they belonged to our archive with which they are so closely connected. In that case, *ḤC-m-nwn* must have given both documents to his son *Imn-nḥtw* when he died. Probably he gave them to him on the same occasion as he did *Niwt-nḥtī*'s papyri<sup>33</sup>, unless, which is less likely, he had already done so on her death.

- (4) *Imn-nḥtw*, son of *Niwt-nḥtī* and *ḤC-m-nwn*: he is attested to as a simple workman under Ramesses IV<sup>34</sup> and V<sup>35</sup>, but he was able to write, and proudly called himself *sš*<sup>36</sup> in the colophon of Pap. Chester Beatty III, translated in par. III above.

After having inherited the archive from his parents, *Imn-nḥtw* placed in it some papyri of his own: a letter which he had received from his brother *M33-nḥtw.f* (Pap. DeM. XI)<sup>37</sup>, three other letters which were addressed to him by *Nḥt-Sbk* (Pap. DeM.

IV-VI), and probably also the magnificent roll Pap. Chester Beatty I. As a matter of fact we do not know when exactly this roll came into the archive, apart from the fact that in year 2 of Ramesses V<sup>38</sup> it still belonged to the above-mentioned *Nḥt-Sbk*<sup>39</sup> and in theory the latter may have given the roll either to *Ḳmn-Nḥtw* (4) or to *M33-nḥtw.f* (5), the next custodian of the archive, but in fact it must have been the former, *Ḳmn-nḥtw*, for it appears from their correspondence that *Nḥt-Sbk* had had, since his youth, a close relationship with *Ḳmn-nḥtw* (Pap. DeM. V, 3); they felt like brothers (Pap. DeM. VI, 2), were "companions in eating (their) bread" (*iry n wnm n Ckw*) (e.g. Pap. DeM. IV, 6) and, according to Pap. DeM. VI, *Nḥt-Sbk* interested himself, in Thebes, on behalf of one of the women of *Ḳmn-nḥtw*'s family who apparently had run away from home. In the light of these facts it seems quite natural that it would have been *Ḳmn-nḥtw* to whom *Nḥt-Sbk* gave the roll Pap. Chester Beatty I, to the man who took so much pride in his being able to write<sup>40</sup> and who may have been the person who wrote the exercises on the back of Pap. Chester Beatty IV: "its author was obviously a scribe of great experience" (Gardiner, p. 28).

- (5) *M33-nḥtw.f* - or *P3-m33-nḥtw.f*<sup>41</sup> -, son of *Niwt-nḥti* and *H<sup>c</sup>-m-nwn*: unlike his brother *Ḳmn-nḥtw* (4), he is still attested to under Ramesses IX<sup>42</sup>; although he was only a simple workman, he sometimes was called a "carpenter" (*ḥmw*), like two of his brothers<sup>43</sup> (which shows that they occasionally worked as carpenters)<sup>44</sup> and, in two instances, a "scribe" (*sš*)<sup>45</sup> (which shows that he was able to write too).

Since he seems to have outlived his brother *Ḳmn-nḥtw* (4), I suppose that he took the archive over from him. In his turn, he deposited some papyri in it (Pap. DeM. VIII-X and XII-XIII): letters addressed to him and copies or drafts of letters written by him. Several of them deal with the manufacture of boxes, beds and wooden objects which he (and his brothers?) made for other persons and

it seems therefore quite probable that he was responsible too for the "business jottings", concerning the delivery of two boxes, on the back of Pap. Chester Beatty I (text E and F).

Whereas his brother *Imn-nḥtw* plainly cared for his collection of papyri, *M33-nḥtw.f* seems to have been the person who barbarously amputated the rolls in the third stage, as described in par. III above. As a matter of fact, he wrote his letter Pap. DeM. X on a sheet of papyrus from which he had previously washed away a *literary text*: one cannot help wondering if it is possible to check, in some way or other, if this sheet comes from one of the large rolls in this same archive ...

In this way, the archive gradually grew as it passed from one owner to another, starting in the reign of Ramesses II with *Kn-ḥr-ḥpš.f* the elder and ending more than a century later, probably in the reign of Ramesses IX, with *M33-nḥtw.f*. Not every text contains a clue to the identity of its owner, but the majority of those texts which do contain some clue can be assigned to one of the members of the family mentioned above.

There remain, however, some problematical cases. With regard to two letters I can not at present see any possibility of connecting the persons which figure in them, with the archive:

- |               |   |
|---------------|---|
| Pap. DeM. III | a letter from the workman <i>Ḥ3y</i> to the scribe <i>Iy-m-sb3w</i> <sup>46</sup> ; |
| Pap. DeM. XIV | a letter from N.N. to his "father", the deputy of the gang <i>3ny-nḥtw</i> .        |

With regard to two other texts, however, there may be a possible connection:

- |              |  |
|--------------|--|
| Pap. DeM. XV | a letter from the carpenter <i>Ḥnsw</i> to his mother <i>Nfrrt-ḥ</i> <sup>C</sup> ;                        |
| Pap. DeM. II | an account mentioning <i>Ḥnsw</i> , <i>Nb-nfr</i> , son of <i>Ḥnsw</i> and some other persons, all of them |

plainly members of the same family as the person who wrote the account.

These persons, as well as the workman *Nḥw-m-Mwt* mentioned on the back of Pap. Chester Beatty XVI, clearly belong to Bierbrier's "Family of Sennedjem"<sup>47</sup>. Although we cannot know for certain, owing to the unforgivable carelessness of the excavators, if these two texts really belong to the archive, it is very well possible that they do:

- In the first place it should be noted that, on the back of some rolls, rather official memoranda occur: Pap. Chester Beatty I (text H)<sup>48</sup>, Pap. Chester Beatty XVI, and Pap. Geneva 15274 (text I and III). These memoranda were written in the XXth dyn., but they can hardly have been made by *Niwt-nḥti*'s second husband *Ḥ<sup>c</sup>-m-nwm* or any one of their children, all of whom were simple workmen. They may have been written, however, by one of the members of Bierbrier's "Family of Sennedjem", since it contains several "scribes of the Tomb" (with the names of *Nḥw-m-Mwt* and *Ḥnsw*).
- In the second place there seems to have been a link between the two families. In both texts of Pap. Naunakhte IV occurs a list of persons in whose presence certain declarations were made with regard to the rights and obligations of one of *Niwt-nḥti*'s sons. The first list contains the names of 7 workmen in the following order:

3 outsiders (?)  
3 sons of *Niwt-nḥti*  
*Ḥnsw*

The second list contains the names of 6 workmen:

2 outsiders (?)  
*Nb-nḥtw*<sup>49</sup> (a son-in-law of  
*Niwt-nḥti*)  
*Ḥnsw*  
2 sons of *Niwt-nḥti*

The order in which the persons occur in these lists suggests a relationship between *Ḥnsw* and *Niwt-nḥti*, and

in the second list, where *Hnsw* figures before two sons of *Niwt-nḥtī* and after a son-in-law of hers, we may assume that he was a son-in-law too, the husband of one of her three other daughters, whose husbands are yet unknown to us.

I suppose, therefore, that *Hnsw* was married to one of *Niwt-nḥtī*'s daughters. His marriage may account for the presence of his documents Pap. DeM. II and XV in the archive of the *Niwt-nḥtī* family and, at the same time, it may explain the existence of memoranda of a more or less official nature on papyrus rolls belonging to private individuals: Pap. Chester Beatty I, Pap. Chester Beatty XVI and, perhaps<sup>50</sup>, Pap. Geneva 15274.

## V

The archive which *Kn-ḥr-ḥps̄.f* the elder, his wife *Niwt-nḥtī*, and her children, built up over the course of more than a century, consists of a large number of papyri which, more often than not, contain various texts:

- 1) letters, memoranda concerning carpentry and, in one case, with regard to the payment for a bull, texts related with the inheritance of *Niwt-nḥtī*, and other similar texts, usually dealing with private affairs of the members of the *Niwt-nḥtī* family;
- 2) the group of texts, mentioned at the end of the preceding par. IV, dealing in part with private affairs of the members of the *Hnsw* family, and in part with official matters;
- 3) exercises, perhaps written by members of the *Niwt-nḥtī* family;
- 4) semi-literary texts: medical prescriptions, prophylactic spells, incantations against scorpions' stings, the dream-book, and other texts which may have had the scope of being something like "practical handbooks for daily use";
- 5) real literary texts: "The Contendings of Horus and Seth", "The Story of the Blinding and Subsequent Vindication of

Truth", "The Battle of Kadesh", "The Hymn to the Nile", "The Story of Isis and Re", "Love-poems", etc.

It is particularly interesting to find so many texts in the last-mentioned category in this archive. The fact that the owners of the archive collected so many of these texts shows their great interest in literary matters. Černý (*Workmen*, 334-335) assembled all the evidence of this sort with regard to *Ḳn-ḥr-ḥpš.f* the elder, the first owner of the archive, and he even attributes him with some interest in history. These facts are surprising, for even though *Ḳn-ḥr-ḥpš.f* was a "scribe of the Tomb" by profession, one would certainly not expect to find a man with such intellectual interests in a community of stone-cutters. And it is still more surprising to note that the second principal custodian of the archive, *Ḥmn-nḥtw*, who was a simple workman, must have had these very same interests for he cherished and even enlarged the collection. This is, for me, one of the mysteries of the ancient Egyptians.

Černý, slightly provocatively, remarked with regard to *Niwt-nḥti*'s legacy (*JEA* 31 [1945] 51):

"The property left by Naunakhte to her heirs was of little value; ... Had it not been for the few metal objects mentioned in Naunakhte's declaration, the most valuable piece of property - as Dr. Gardiner once put it - would certainly have been the papyrus<sup>51</sup> on which her testamentary arrangements were written".

It is clear that this opinion must be revised now that we know that the archive of *Ḳn-ḥr-ḥpš.f* also belonged to *Niwt-nḥti*'s inheritance and that it contained at that time several papyri which are perhaps as precious for us as they were valuable for the heirs.

Notes

\*

Survey of the papyri discussed and of the collections where they are housed at present:

- Pap. BM. 10731 (London, The British Library): Edwards, *Ḳenḫikhshef's Prophylactic Charm*, *JEA* 54 [1968] 155-160, pl. XXIV.
- Pap. Chester Beatty I (Dublin, The Chester Beatty Library): Gardiner, *The Library of A. Chester Beatty. Description of a Hieratic Papyrus* [1931].
- Pap. Chester Beatty II-XIX (London, The British Library): Gardiner, *The Chester Beatty Gift* (Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, third series) [1935].
- Pap. DeM. I-XVII (Cairo, Institut Français): Černý-Posener, *Papyrus hiératiques de Deir el-Médineh*, tome I [1978].
- Pap. Geneva 15274 (Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire): Massart, *The Egyptian Geneva Papyrus M.A.H. 15274*, *MDAIK* 15 [1957] 172-185, pl. XXIV-XXXVIII.
- Pap. Naunakhte I-IV (nos. I and IV are housed in Oxford, The Ashmolean Museum, nos. II and III in Cairo, Institut Français): Černý, *The Will of Naunakhte and the Related Documents*, *JEA* 31 [1945] 29-53, pl. VIII-XII.

I do not know if the unpublished fragments, which Gardiner could not connect with the Chester Beatty Papyri in 1935 (p. 133), perhaps belong to some other papyrus mentioned above.

## NOTES

- 1 In his introduction (p. VIII) to Černý-Posener, *Papyrus hiératiques de Deir el-Médineh*, tome I [1978]. It is not necessary to say how much we are indebted to Prof. Posener for undertaking the task of publishing these texts.
- 2 See Posener, *loc. cit.*, p. VII, for the actual place of the discovery.
- 3 Posener, *loc. cit.*, p. VIII.
- 4 Posener, *loc. cit.*, p. VII: "On peut avec confiance attribuer à cette trouvaille la grande majorité, probablement tous les papyrus publiés dans ce volume". It is, however, difficult to connect Pap. DeM. III and XIV with the archive.  
I have retained, in this article, the Roman numerals used by Černý and Posener in their publication of these texts, in order to avoid confusion with the Arabic numerals which were formerly used and in a rather confounding way, see for example *loc. cit.* p. VI bottom "l'ancien '2 A' devenu la n° 23": this document must be Pap. Naunakhte II (see Allam, *Hier. Ostraka*, no. 270, the first text), and not the document quoted as no. 23 by, for instance, Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, index p. 581, for his no. 23 is now published by Černý and Posener as no. XVII.
- 5 Černý, *JEA* 31 [1945] 29: "Two of the documents [i.e. II and III] came to light during the French Institut's excavations at Der el-Medīnah in the spring of 1928; the two others [i.e. I and IV] appeared on the market several years later".
- 6 Several papyri from Deir el-Medīna are still unpublished and some of them may have belonged to the archive in question. Allam, *Hier. Ostraka* unfortunately, gives no information as to the origin of his texts nos. 271-272 (Pap. DeM. nos. 26-27).
- 7 See note \* above.
- 8 The rolls (or fragments of rolls) with literary and semi-literary texts are Pap. Chester Beatty I-XIX, Pap. DeM. I and Pap. Geneva 15274.  
Pap. Naunakhte I is the only roll (192 cm. long) which was intended to be a legal document. It contains two

texts: the last will of *Niwt-nḥtī* and a statement of the heirs of *Niwt-nḥtī*.

- 9 Pap. Chester Beatty I.
- 10 Pap. Chester Beatty I shows in page X (pl. IX) a "clumsy" join. Since this roll measures over 5 metres and thus is longer than a normal roll (of about 4 metres), I suppose that the scribe himself joined an extra piece of papyrus onto the original roll in order to be able to write the main text entirely on the recto. As a result he had some spare space on the recto, after the colophon in col. 16, on which on a later occasion he wrote a different literary text.
- 11 For example texts A and B on the verso of Pap. Chester Beatty I.
- 12 See also Pap. DeM. IX (a letter), where a similar narrow strip is gummed upon the recto (the back of the letter). I suppose that the piece of papyrus, on which the letter was written has been cut from a roll which had been mended on the recto in the same manner as Pap. Chester Beatty IX was mended on the verso.
- 13 See Bierbrier, *The Late New Kingdom*, 39: "The family of the scribe Amennakht x" (Chart X); the persons in question are Amennakht x and Harshire i, and the letter was written by Thutmose to, inter alios, his son Butehamon.
- 14 One wonders if this tomb might have been the place where the archive of "Late Ramesside Letters" (see note 15) was found.
- 15 Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters*, no. 9, pp. 38 and 40, note p: Pap. BM. 10326, 20-22 = Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, no. 9, p. 18/14 - 19/1.
- 16 See, for example, Pap. Chester Beatty I verso, pl. XXVI and the description.
- 17 See further the descriptions of *Pap. Chester Beatty VII* (p. 55): "As with other manuscripts of the collection, the inner end had been deliberately cut off by one of its owners"; *Pap. Chester Beatty VI* (p. 53): "No fragments belonging to this papyrus were found, so that probably we possess as much of it as the library of its ancient owner ever contained. Like several other documents of this collection it is incomplete at both ends"; *Pap. Chester Beatty III* (p. 7): "The manuscript had been

- torn in antiquity ... The inner margin of the roll as found was about midway across *recto* 11, and the scanty pieces which we were subsequently able to add left of that point ... must already have been separated when the last owner died".
- 18 See Janssen, *Commodity Prices* 94-95 (no. 14) for the date.
- 19 The name of the "chief policeman" *Mntw-msw* figures in the colophon of Pap. Geneva 15274, *recto*, but it is not apparent from the publication if the colophon and the name in it are original, or later additions. Pap. Chester Beatty IV has a rather peculiar colophon; Gardiner (p. 31) suggests that it is the colophon of another text of which Pap. Chester Beatty IV was copied. The colophon mentions the "draughtsman of Amun" *Mr(y)-Shmt*, perhaps *Mr(y)-Shmt* the elder, father of the draughtsman *Mnn3*, and grandfather of *Mry-Shmt* the younger, for whom see Janssen's article, *Two Personalities*, in the present volume, p. 117.
- 20 Other rolls with interesting memoranda on the back are Pap. Chester Beatty I and Pap. Geneva 15274, but they give less information about the successive owners than Pap. Chester Beatty III.
- 21 "The writing of *Ḳenḥikhopshef* is undoubtedly the most cursive and least legible of all the scripts that have survived from the Nineteenth Dynasty" (Gardiner, *ad loc.*, p. 23). See also Černý, *Workmen*, 332 "... bold and extremely cursive hand, at times unreadable or almost so".
- 22 Černý, *Workmen*, 330.
- 23 For this colophon see also Černý, *JEA* 31 [1945] 48.
- 24 Bierbrier, *The Late New Kingdom*, 26-29: "The careers of the scribe *Kenherkhepeshef* and his wife" (with an elaborate genealogical tree); Černý, *JEA* 31 [1945] 42-53; see also my article, *The "Last will of Naunakhte" and the accession date of Ramesses V*, in the present volume, p.159.
- 25 See, apart from Bierbrier (quoted in note 24), Černý, *Workmen*, 329-337: "The scribe *Ḳenḥikhopshef*".
- 26 On the grounds of palaeographical criteria several literary texts on the *rectos* of the rolls may be assigned to the XIXth dyn., for instance:

Pap. Chester Beatty II "The story of the blinding  
... of Truth"

Pap. Chester Beatty IV "Monotheistic Hymns"

Pap. Chester Beatty IX "The Ritual of Amenophis I"

Pap. DeM. I "The Maxims of Any".

See note 33 with regard to Pap. Chester Beatty V.

- 27 Published by Edwards, *JEA* 54 [1968] 155-160, pl. XXIV.  
On the front of the papyrus is a part of a copy which  
K<sub>n</sub>-hr-ḥpš.f made of a letter which was sent to him by the  
vizier.
- 28 Bierbrier, *The Late New Kingdom*, 28.
- 29 See my article, quoted in note 24.
- 30 Bierbrier, *The Late New Kingdom*, 28-29.
- 31 The latest text in which Ḥ<sup>C</sup>-m-nwn figures is the second  
part of Pap. Naunakhte I, dated in year 4, probably of  
Ramesses V; see my article quoted in note 24.
- 32 And perhaps also Pap. Naunakhte II + III.
- 33 If Pap. Chester Beatty V was one of Niwt-nḥtī's papyri,  
one wonders who could have written, at the end of the  
XIXth dyn., the exercises on this roll.
- 34 Černý, *Workmen*, 196-197.
- 35 Pap. Naunakhte I-IV.
- 36 Although the designation ss "scribe" often indicates an  
official holding the office of scribe, it may also simply  
indicate anyone who was capable of writing, just as the  
designation ḥmw "carpenter" (see note 44 below) may  
simply indicate anyone who was capable of doing a  
carpenter's work (cfr. Černý, *JEA* 31 [1945] 48).
- 37 Formerly Pap. DeM. 13. Černý, *Workmen*, 348 and note 12,  
supposes that the recipient, the "scribe (see note 36  
above) Imn-nḥtw", is not the person in question, but the  
"scribe Imn-nḥtw, son of Ipwy". In that case, the presence  
of the letter in the archive is difficult to explain, un-  
less the letter was not sent away and remained in the  
possession of the person who wrote it: M33-nḥtw.f, see  
p. 162 (5) above.
- 38 The date of text B on the verso.
- 39 According to the colophon, recto 16, 9, where he calls  
himself "scribe of the Tomb". Cfr. Černý, *Workmen*, 213  
no. 44 (the texts mentioned there, in notes 4 and 5, are  
Pap. Geneva 15274 and Pap. DeM. IV respectively), and

- Iversen, *JEA* 65 [1979] 78.
- 40 See, apart from the colophon translated in par. III above, note 43 below.
- 41 See the colophon, translated in par. III above, and Černý, *JEA* 31 [1945] 48.
- 42 Pap. DeM. XIII (formerly no. 14); see Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, for the date.
- 43 For these two brothers see the colophon translated above in par. III. As far as I know, his third brother <sup>Imn-</sup>*-nḥtw* was never called a "carpenter" (perhaps because he did not do any carpenter's work and occupied himself in his spare time with "writing" only?).
- 44 See for example Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 534 (note 71) and 537; cfr. note 36 above.
- 45 Pap. DeM. XI and Pap. Chester Beatty III (the colophon translated in par. III above).
- 46 This document, unfortunately, seems to have been found at the same time as the archive, see Posener in his introduction (mentioned in note 1 above), p. VII, note 4, but one of the persons in question may of course have been married to one of *Niwt-nḥtī*'s daughters.
- 47 Bierbrier, *The Late New Kingdom*, 30: Chart VIII.
- 48 Although one of the previous owners of this roll, *Nḥt-Sbk*, is known to have been a "scribe of the Tomb" (see note 39 above) the memorandum (H) on the back cannot be ascribed to him, since he was no longer the owner of the roll at that time, the memorandum (H) having been written, according to Gardiner, after the memoranda (E) + (F), which I have ascribed to *M33-nḥtw.f* on the grounds of the contents (carpenter's work).
- 49 *Nb-nḥtw* figures here in the place of one of the sons who is absent.
- 50 It is not known where and when the Geneva papyrus has been found; it is not impossible that this roll also belonged to the archive of the *Niwt-nḥtī* family.
- 51 At the time Černý stated this, papyrus was still generally believed to have been expensive in Deir el-Medīna, but we know now that the value of the halved roll, on which the text in question was written (Pap. Naunakhte I), was no more than 1 deben: Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 447-448.

## THE 'LAST WILL OF NAUNAKHTE' AND THE ACCESSION DATE OF RAMESSES V

P.W. Pestman

Recently my attention was drawn to what Černý called "our ignorance of the date of Ramesses V's accession to the throne" (*JEA* 31 [1945] 53)<sup>1</sup>, for it happens that he wrote these words in his publication of the very same group of documents which, I believe, allows us to fix, within narrow limits, the accession date of Ramesses V.

The group in question is the famous dossier relating to the inheritance of the woman *Niwt-nḥtī* and consists of four documents, bearing in all six texts, see Černý, *loc.cit.*, 29-35:

Naunakhte Doc. I: "*The last will of Naunakhte*"<sup>2</sup>

- (a) the first text (col. i - v, 8)
- (b) the second text (col. v, 9 - vi); written in another hand

Naunakhte Doc. II + III: "*The division of Naunakhte's property*"<sup>3</sup>

- (c) document II
- (d) document III; written in another hand

Naunakhte Doc. IV: "*The two depositions of KhaCemnun*"<sup>4</sup>

- (e) the first text (lines 1-3)
- (f) the second text (lines 4-9); written in another hand.

Unfortunately, only three of these texts are dated, two of them are even incomplete since they omit the name of the king:

- (a) year 3, IV-3 $\dot{h}t$ -5, Ramesses V
- (b) year 4, III-3 $\dot{h}t$ -17
- (f) year 3, III-3 $\dot{h}t$ -10

Bierbrier is the only scholar who has made a serious attempt to date the texts. He assigns the entire group to the reign of Ramesses V because of the ages of the principal persons who figure in it: Bierbrier, *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt* [1975] 28-29.

[N.B. the principal persons are *Niwt-nḥtī* and her second husband  $\dot{H}^C$ -*m-nwn*; they had four daughters and four sons, inter alios *Kn-ḥr-ḥpš.f* (the younger) - who acts in text (f) as the eldest son - and *Nfr-ḥtpw*; see for these persons p.160, par. IV].<sup>5</sup>

It is essential for us to try and establish first the chronological order of the six texts and of the events mentioned in them. The relevant evidence may be summarised as follows.

- (a) *The first text of Doc. I* contains the last will of *Niwt-nḥtī*. It is sufficient to mention the special arrangements which she had made for two of her sons: *Nfr-ḥtpw*, who receives nothing at all, apart from some objects which *Niwt-nḥtī* had already given him previously; and *Kn-ḥr-ḥpš.f*, who does receive his portion and, over and above that, a washing-bowl of bronze.<sup>6</sup> *Niwt-nḥtī* declares her will by making an oral statement in public, in the presence of the *knbt*. Two of the *knbt*'s members are worth mentioning here: the "scribe of the Tomb" *Imn-nḥtw* and the "scribe" *Ḥr(i)-šri*.<sup>7</sup> The will dates from year 3 IV-3 $\dot{h}t$ -5 of Ramesses V and, at this moment, *Niwt-nḥtī* has attained, according to Bierbrier's calculations, an age of at least 77 years.
- (b) *The second text of Doc. I* tells us that  $\dot{H}^C$ -*m-nwn* and his children have presented themselves "again" in court: thus they have already been in court on an earlier occasion and, since this time they promise to carry out *Niwt-nḥtī*'s last will exactly, it is evident that they had not been willing to do so the first time they went to court. Obviously *Nfr-ḥtpw* is the one who had then contested the will, for he now swears an oath promising

not to contest it "again".<sup>8</sup>

The text dates to year 4, III-3 $\dot{h}t$ -17. The name of the king is omitted and this suggests that no change of reign has occurred since the date of the first text of Doc. I, and that both texts date to Ramesses V. Moreover, a later date seems hardly likely if one takes into account  $\dot{H}^C$ - $m$ - $nwn$ 's age, for, according to Bierbrier's calculations,  $\dot{H}^C$ - $m$ - $nwn$  was already 78 years old in year 4 of Ramesses V.

On comparing the names of the members of the  $\dot{k}nbt$  with those of the  $\dot{k}nbt$  in the preceding text (a), one notices that the name of  $\dot{Imn}$ - $n\dot{h}tw$  is missing now and that  $\dot{H}r\dot{i}$ - $\dot{s}r\dot{i}$  bears his father's title "scribe of the Tomb".<sup>9</sup> The contents of the present text prove that  $\dot{N}iwt$ - $n\dot{h}t\dot{i}$  had died in the meantime, and this explains not only her absence in court on such an important occasion as the acceptance by her heirs of her will, but also the presence of  $\dot{H}^C$ - $m$ - $nwn$ , who seems to act as some kind of executor of her last will.<sup>10</sup>

- (c) *Doc. II* is, according to Černý (*JEA* 31, 51), a "preliminary draft" of Do. III [text (d)].
- (d) *Doc. III* is entitled "list of the division of the goods of your mother" and it specifies the objects which were to be given to four sons and a daughter of  $\dot{N}iwt$ - $n\dot{h}t\dot{i}$ . Neither this text nor text (e) has a date, but the heading suggests that the division has not been made by  $\dot{N}iwt$ - $n\dot{h}t\dot{i}$  herself and it is in fact to be expected, of course, that it was not made until after her death.
- (e) *The first text of Doc. IV* contains a statement by  $\dot{H}^C$ - $m$ - $nwn$  with regard to a washing-bowl. He promises to give it to his son  $\dot{K}n$ - $\dot{h}r$ - $\dot{h}p\dot{s}$ . $\dot{f}$ . Černý argued (*JEA* 31, 52-53) that this is  $\dot{N}iwt$ - $n\dot{h}t\dot{i}$ 's washing-bowl, the one to which  $\dot{K}n$ - $\dot{h}r$ - $\dot{h}p\dot{s}$ . $\dot{f}$  is entitled by virtue of his mother's will text (a), and I feel convinced that it is indeed the same washing-bowl, the more so since washing-bowls of bronze must have been very rare in Deir el-Medīna (Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 420, lists only nine of these bowls), and apart from that, what is the practical use of having two washing-bowls?<sup>11</sup>

$\text{HC-m-nwn}$  makes his promise in the presence of several persons; among them figure his other three sons. The text is not dated, but in view of the events recounted in the following text, I suppose that the reason why  $\text{HC-m-nwn}$  made the present promise was  $\text{Nwt-nht}$ 's death.

- (f)  $\text{HC-m-nwn}$  states in the second text of Doc. IV that he has handed over the washing-bowl to  $\text{Kn-hr-hp}\check{s}.f$ , in conformity with his promise [text (e)], on the condition, however, that  $\text{Kn-hr-hp}\check{s}.f$  should give him an income in grain. This condition was an essential part of the agreement between  $\text{HC-m-nwn}$  and his son and he only handed over the washing-bowl to  $\text{Kn-hr-hp}\check{s}.f$  after the latter had promised himself under oath.<sup>12</sup> In this way  $\text{HC-m-nwn}$  ensured himself, by means of the washing-bowl, of an income in grain for his old age. Several persons of those who were present when  $\text{HC-m-nwn}$  made his first statement [text (e)], are present again on this second occasion.<sup>13</sup>

The text dates to year 3, III-3 $\text{ht}$ -10. The name of the king is not mentioned, but on account of Bierbrier's calculation of  $\text{HC-m-nwn}$ 's age it is very unlikely that the text dates to a later king than Ramesses V. On the other hand  $\text{Nwt-nht}$  was not present when the agreement was made and when the washing-bowl was handed over, and her absence is significant, for it was her washing-bowl. One may, therefore, suppose that the events, related by the present text, occurred after her death.

With regard to the washing-bowl, I think that it might be useful at this point to give a survey of how I myself reconstruct the course of events. The washing-bowl apparently belonged to  $\text{Nwt-nht}$  and in her will [text (a)] she promised it to one of her children,  $\text{Kn-hr-hp}\check{s}.f$ , over and above his portion.<sup>14</sup> Usually an heir who receives more than the others, has more duties too, and we may suppose that  $\text{Nwt-nht}$  intended to hand over the washing-bowl to  $\text{Kn-hr-hp}\check{s}.f$  on certain conditions only,<sup>15</sup> and, for the time being, she kept the bowl in her house, the conjugal dwelling, where it still was when she died. In this way it came into the hands of her

widower  $\text{H}^{\text{C}}\text{-m-nwn}$  who, on his turn, promised to give it to  $\text{Kn-hr-hps.f}$  [text (e)], and after having agreed upon the conditions - the son contracted to give his old father an income in grain -  $\text{H}^{\text{C}}\text{-m-nwn}$  finally handed over the washing bowl.

On the grounds of the reasons set out above, I assume that all the texts in question date from the reign of Ramesses V and that all of them - with the exception of text (a), of course - were written after the death of  $\text{Niwt-nhtí}$ . And thus we arrive at the following chronological survey of the principal events:<sup>16</sup>

Year 3 of Ramesses V

- IV-3 $\text{ht}$ -5                     $\text{Niwt-nhtí}$  makes her last will: text (a): she promises  $\text{Kn-hr-hps.f}$  a washing-bowl and tells  $\text{Nfr-htpw}$  that he has to be content with what he already had received from her.
- $\text{Niwt-nhtí}$  dies at the age of 77 years, leaving her husband  $\text{H}^{\text{C}}\text{-m-nwn}$  (also 77 years old) and 8 children;  $\text{Kn-hr-hps.f}$  has not, as yet, received his washing-bowl;  $\text{Nfr-htpw}$  contests the will.
- $\text{H}^{\text{C}}\text{-m-nwn}$  promises to give  $\text{Kn-hr-hps.f}$  the washing-bowl: text (e).
- III-3 $\text{ht}$ -10                     $\text{Kn-hr-hps.f}$  undertook to give  $\text{H}^{\text{C}}\text{-m-nwn}$  an income in grain and thereupon  $\text{H}^{\text{C}}\text{-m-nwn}$  hands him over the washing-bowl: text (f).

Year 4 of Ramesses V

- III-3 $\text{ht}$ -17                     $\text{Nfr-htpw}$ , who had previously contested the will, now declares on oath to accept it;  $\text{H}^{\text{C}}\text{-m-nwn}$  and his children promise to carry out the will: text (b).
- Six children divide a certain number of goods which belonged to their mother:

texts (c) + (d).

And now, finally, the accession date of Ramesses V: the dates in the list above show that Year 4 of Ramesses V started between III-*3ḥt*-10 and III-*3ḥt*-17 and thus it appears that he came to the throne on one of the days 11-17 of the third month of the *3ḥt*-season, that is in the course of the third week of August.

## NOTES

- 1 See also Wente - Van Siclen, *A Chronology of the New Kingdom*, in *Studies Hughes* [1976] 237-238.
- 2 Cfr. Allam, *Hier. Ostraka*, no. 262. The designation "last will" applies in reality, of course, to the first part only of this document [text (a)].
- 3 Cfr. Allam, *Hier. Ostraka*, no. 270.
- 4 Cfr. Allam, *Hier. Ostraka*, no. 260, and Théodoridès, *RIDA* 13 [1966] 34-46.
- 5 See for more particulars the genealogical trees drawn up by Černý *JEA* 31 [1945] 48, and Bierbrier, *The Late New Kingdom* [1975] 26 (our persons figure there as Naunakhte i, Khaemnun i, Kenherkhepeshef v, and Neferhotep iii).
- 6 Although *Niwt-nḥtī* says (Doc. I, col. iii, 3), with regard to the washing-bowl, *dī.ī n.f* "I have given (it) to him" (Černý, *JEA* 31, 31; cfr. Allam, *Hier. Ostraka*, p. 270, (note 9), this does not imply that she has actually handed it over too: see Doc. IV, where *rdī* (line 4) stands in opposition with *šwḏ* (line 5). - As a matter of fact, she did not herself hand over the washing-bowl, see text (f) below.
- 7 *'Imn-nḥtw* is the father of *Ḥrī-šrī*, see Černý, *Workmen* [1973] 339-383: Appendix D, "A family of scribes of the Tomb"; Bierbrier, *The Late New Kingdom* [1975] 39-42: "The family of the scribe Amennakht x"; Eyre, in *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt* (Studies Fairman) [1979] 84-87; see also p.135, note *d*.
- 8 One wonders why Egyptologists persist in calling this text a "codicil".
- 9 *Ḥrī-šrī* plainly acts here as his father's representative, for he did not himself become "scribe of the Tombe" until much later, and that only after another person: *'Imn-m-īpt* (see p.135, note *d*).
- 10 Strangely enough, Černý wrote (*JEA* 31, 51): "it is extremely probable that Naunakhte was still alive". He gives no reasons for this opinion, which induced him to insert "*sic*" in his translation of the docket of the document: "Declaratory deed which the citoyenne Naunakhte made of (?) their (*sic!*) property" (*loc.cit.*, 32). Théodoridès, duly following Černý, even changes here *ḥt.w* "leurs biens"

- into *ḥt.š* "(ses) biens" (*RIDA* 13 [1966] 35 with note 19).
- 11 As far as I know, Théodoridès is the only scholar who supposes that there were two different washing-bowls (*CdE* 52 [1977] 73-74).
  - 12 On this same occasion *Ḳn-ḥr-ḥpš.f* agreed to give some goods to his brothers *Ḥmn-nḥtw* and *M33-nḥtw.f*, but these obligations are only incidental and they do not figure in the oath.
  - 13 It is odd that *M33-nḥtw.f* is absent this time, although he is a party to the agreement (see note 12), but he seems to have been replaced by his brother-in-law *Nb-nḥtw*, who may have acted as his representative.
  - 14 According to Doc. I, col. iii, 4 and Doc. IV, 8, the washing-bowl was intended as a *mtwn* (or *twn* (?), see Černý, *JEA* 31 [1945] 33-34, note 1, and Gardiner, *JEA* 42 [1956] 17). Unfortunately the etymology of the word is uncertain, so that it is impossible to tell if it has any specific legal meaning. See also p.127, note 42.
  - 15 In the will [text (a)], between col. iii and iv, the words "10 khar of emmer" have been inserted on a later occasion, at the end of the line which deals with the washing-bowl (col. iii, 4). The 10 khar (or 20 deben of bronze) may be the value of the bowl (cfr. Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 420). On the other hand, it is said in Doc. IV, 3 [text (e)] that the bowl "makes 13 deben of bronze" (or 6½ khar), whereas the son promised to pay as compensation 2¾ khar (line 7), apparently meant to be an income (line 8) for his father [text (f)].

Perhaps we can reconcile these contradictory facts in the following way. After having made her will, *Niwt-nḥtī* agrees with her son upon the compensation for the washing-bowl, stipulating an income in grain to the total amount of 10 khar, to be paid in instalments. At the time of her death, her son *Ḳn-ḥr-ḥpš.f* has paid in all 3½ khar and her husband *Ḥ<sup>C</sup>-m-nwn* states that the remainder due is 6½ khar. Finally the account is concluded when the son promises to pay his father 2¾ khar (it is not clear if this amount is meant as a first instalment or if it freed *Ḳn-ḥr-ḥpš.f* from his debt).

For the sake of completeness, it may be noted that the above mentioned assumption that *Ḳn-ḥr-ḥpš.f* gave his mother

3½ khar in the period before she died, does not enable us to fix the date of her death, because we do not know when the agreement between *Niwt-nḥtī* and her son was made, nor if she (and her husband) had other sources of income or depended entirely upon what they received from *Ḳn-ḥr-ḥpš.f.*

16 Please note that the regnal years in the Ramesside period do not start on I-3ḥt-1 but on the accession date of the king.



## THE DAYS ON WHICH THE *Ḳnbt* USED TO GATHER

S.P. Vleeming

The *Ḳnbt* of Deir el-Medīna was a local court consisting of a varying number of chieftains and elders of the village community itself. In these pages I intend to classify the day of the week on which this *Ḳnbt* usually gathered. Let us, for a start, have a look at the dates of the famous *Naunakhte-documents* (cfr above p.173-182):

IV 3ḫt 5	( <i>Ḳnbt</i> )	Doc. 1, Col. 1, 1
III 3ḫt 17	( <i>Ḳnbt</i> )	Doc. 1, Col. 5, 9
III 3ḫt 10	( - )	Doc. 4, 4

It can easily be understood that in the last case (III 3ḫt 10) the gathering of some 8 interested persons fell on a 'tenth day' ('Sunday'). The 'tenth days' (day 10, 20, 30) were, together with the preceding days ('Saturdays', day 9, 19, 29) and the feast-days, the only days on which all the workmen of Deir el-Medīna were always free from work. A difference with the present day was that they did not choose to be idle on their 'tenth day', but liked to use it to settle their joint affairs<sup>1</sup>. In this regard there was evidently no difference between private affairs (the case of III 3ḫt 10) and public ones to be dealt with in the *Ḳnbt*. We can tell this from a comparison with the first date of *Naunakhte-doc.* 1 (IV 3ḫt 5). This was an annually recurring free day, possibly a feast-day, as W. HELCK has demonstrated with the help of the 'acts' of Deir el-Medīna<sup>2</sup>. By tabulating a large number of lists of working days and free days, Helck was able to compose a factual Feast Calendar, as the workfree feast-days should inevitably become apparent after such a comparison of dates<sup>3</sup>. The only weak point in this calendar is that we tend to lose sight of the feasts which changed their date annually according to the one or other lunar calendar<sup>4</sup>. Finally we are left with the second date, III 3ḫt 17, for which a similar explanation is not apposite. Although it is

the date of a *Ḳnbt*-gathering according to Naunakhte-doc. 1, Col. 5, 9, it was a normal working-day according to Helck's lists. Let us then proceed to take a look at the proportion of these three instances in other texts from Deir el-Medīna. I have marked the texts explicitly mentioning *Ḳnbt*-sessions by an asterisk; in the other texts it is only probable that we would come across *Ḳnbt*-sessions.

- A. *Ḳnbt*-sessions in the Weekend (Day 9-10, 19-20, 29-30):<sup>5</sup>
- |                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| I <i>ḥt</i> 20     | O. Berlin 10655, 7 (= <i>Hier. Pap.</i> III, pl. 37)                 |
| II <i>ḥt</i> 10*   | O. Gard. 81 (= Allam, <i>Hier. Ostr.</i> , pl. 52)                   |
| II <i>ḥt</i> 10    | O. DeM. 73   |
| III <i>ḥt</i> 9    | O. Berlin 1121 (= <i>Hier. Pap.</i> III, pl. 35)                     |
| IV <i>ḥt</i> 20(?) | O. Brit. Mus. 5672 + O. Cairo 25649 rt. (= <i>Hier. Ostr.</i> 69, 1) |
| IV <i>ḥt</i> 30*   | <i>Pl.-R.</i> , pl. (39-)40, 2 (= Gardiner, <i>RAD</i> 47-48)        |
| I <i>prt</i> 10    | Botti-Peet, <i>Giornale</i> , pl. 43, 17                             |
| II <i>prt</i> 29   | O. Leipzig 2 (= <i>Hier. Ostr.</i> 34, 4)                            |
| I <i>šmw</i> 30*   | P. Berlin 10496 vs., 6 (= Allam, <i>Hier. Ostr.</i> , pl. 81-83)     |
| I <i>šmw</i> 30    | O. DeM. 433  |
| II <i>šmw</i> 20*  | O. Michael. 1 (= Goedicke-Wente, pl. 51)                             |
| II <i>šmw</i> 30   | O. DeM. 235  |
| III <i>šmw</i> 9*  | O. Berlin 12654, 1 (= Allam, <i>Hier. Ostr.</i> , pl. 13)            |
| III <i>šmw</i> 9   | O. Berlin 10655, 1 (= <i>Hier. Pap.</i> III, pl. 37)                 |
| III <i>šmw</i> 10* | O. Nash 1 (= <i>Hier. Ostr.</i> 46, 2)                               |
| IV <i>šmw</i> 10   | O. Petrie 14 (= <i>Hier. Ostr.</i> 45, 1)                            |

B. *Ḳnbt*-sessions on feast-days<sup>6:7</sup>

I	3ḥt	3*	New Year	O. Michael. 47 (= Goedicke-Wente, pl. 50)
III	3ḥt	6*	??	O. Geneva 12550 (= Allam, <i>Hier. Ostr.</i> , pl. 55-56)
IV	3ḥt	5*	??	Naunakhte-doc. 1, Col. 1, 1
II	pṛt	2	Periplous of Mut	O. Gard. 54 (= <i>Hier. Ostr.</i> 49, 3)
II	pṛt	4*	Periplous of Mut	O. Turin 57007 vs., 8
II	pṛt	5*	Periplous of Mut	O. Gard. 53 (= <i>Hier. Ostr.</i> 49, 1)
III	pṛt	22*	Amenophis Feast <sup>8</sup>	O. Gard. 150 (= <i>Hier. Ostr.</i> 71, 3)
IV	pṛt	1(?) <sup>*9</sup>	??	O. Cairo 25553
IV	pṛt	13*	??	O. Berlin 11241 (= Allam, <i>Hier. Ostr.</i> , pl. 9)
III	šmw	13	Amenophis Procession <sup>10</sup>	O. IFAO Inv. 388 (= <i>Hier. Ostr.</i> 69, 2)

C. *Ḳnbt*-sessions on Week Days:

II	3ḥt	25*	O. Gard. 181 (= Allam, <i>Hier. Ostr.</i> , pl. 47)
III	3ḥt	4	O. Cairo 25237 (cfr Černý, <i>ASAE</i> 27 [1927] 170)
III	3ḥt	17*	Naunakhte-doc. 1, Col. 5, 9
III	3ḥt	24*	O. Cairo 25628
I	pṛt	4	O. Bodl. Libr. 253 (= <i>Hier. Ostr.</i> 64, 2)
I	pṛt	14*	P. Turin 1881 rt., Col 8 (= Allam, <i>Hier. Ostr.</i> , pl. 110)

II prt 14	O. DeM. 434
II prt 22*	O. A. Gard. 1 (= Allam, <i>Hier. Ostr.</i> , pl. 51)
III prt 25	P. Cairo 58092 (= P. Boulaq 10) vs. (= Allam, <i>Hier. Ostr.</i> , pl. 91)
I šmw 7*	P. DeM. 26 A rt., 9 (= Allam, <i>Hier. Ostr.</i> , pl. 92)
II šmw 5*	O. Or. Inst. Chicago 12073,5 (= <i>Hier. Ostr.</i> 77)
II šmw 11(?)*	O. Turin 57033 rt. Col. 2 <sup>11</sup>
III šmw 1*	O. Nash 5 (= <i>Hier. Ostr.</i> 53, 2)
III šmw 2*	O. Gard. 36, on the rim <sup>12</sup> (= <i>Hier. Ostr.</i> 36, 1); O. Cairo 25556
III šmw 28(?)*	O. IFAO 1357, 1 (= Allam, <i>Hier. Ostr.</i> , pl. 58)
IV šmw 11	O. Petrie 18 (= <i>Hier. Ostr.</i> 70, 1)

The dates of the *Ḳnbt*-sessions at weekends and on feast-days (A & B) need no further comment, but the *Ḳnbt*-sessions on weekdays (C) demand a word of explanation. Firstly, I should like to reduce their number by a handful. Some cases (C, of II šmw 11(?)\*, III šmw 1\*, IV šmw 11) may be thought of as having pertained to 'long weekends' which would thus have included the 'Monday'<sup>13</sup>. As the terminal dates of the greater feasts seem to have been determined in varying ways, some of the cases of C may be similarly regarded as 'long feast-ends' (I prt 4, after the *Nḥb-k3w* feast of I prt 1-2, and III prt 25, after the Amenophis feast of III prt 19-23). Even if we should think of these explanations as being equally satisfying, we are left with a rather high percentage of unexplained cases (11 out of 16 in C, and 11 out of 42 in total)<sup>14</sup>. Now, the dates of the oracles given by Amenophis create an altogether different impression.

## D. Oracles consulted in the Weekend

(Day 9-10, 19-20, 29-30):

III 3ḥt 9	O. Geneva rt., 8 (= Allam, <i>Hier. Ostr.</i> , pl. 55)
III 3ḥt 20	O. DeM. 448
IV 3ḥt 19	O. DeM. 342
IV 3ḥt 20	O. Cairo 25242 (= Černý, <i>BIFAO</i> 27 [1927] 179 f.)
IV 3ḥt 30	O. Brit. Mus. 5625 (= Blackman, <i>JEA</i> 12 [1926] 181-183)
I prt 9 & 10	O. DeM. 133
II prt 19	O. DeM. 672
I šmw 19	O. Cairo 25555; O. Petrie 21 (= <i>Hier. Ostr.</i> 16, 4)

## E. Oracles consulted on Weekdays:

III 3ḥt 28	O. Gard. 4 (= <i>Hier. Ostr.</i> 27, 3)
I šmw 8(?)	P. DeM. 26 A rt., 18 f. (= Allam, <i>Hier. Ostr.</i> , pl. 92-93)
I šmw 20/29(?)	P. DeM. 26 A vs., Col. 2 (= Allam, <i>Hier. Ostr.</i> , pl. 94)
II šmw 1	O. Brit. Mus. 5624 rt., 5 (= Blackman, <i>JEA</i> 12 [1926] 176 f.)

By comparison with Helck's Feast Calendar (see n. 3), we may observe that none of the dates would coincide with a processional or feast day in honour of Amenophis or any other deity<sup>15</sup>. This could be a coincidence, as we thought we could recognize *Ḳnbt*-sessions on processional days in the table above under B. Of the dates of oracles consulted on days other than weekend days (E), one cannot be read with certainty (I šmw 20/29, see n. 15). From the other three cases, only the text from which the date II šmw 1 has been taken, gives some information about how the dates of oracles were occasioned. This oracle appears to have been delivered in connection

with a problem that is also dealt with on P. Berlin 10496<sup>16</sup>, in a *Knbt*-session of I *Šmw* 30. The oracle was apparently appealed to the next day to bring this affair to an end. The oracle of (E) I *Šmw* 8(?) seems to be a similar sequel to a *Knbt*-session held on the previous day. (The same more or less applies to D, III *3ht* 9, where the event followed a *Knbt*-session three days before, see B, III *3ht* 6.)

Although we are left with one unexplained oracle date (E, III *3ht* 28), we can, nevertheless, observe a striking difference compared to the dates of the *Knbt*-sessions. While proportionally rather more *Knbt*-sessions were held on working days, the oracle god appeared almost exclusively in the free weekend. I think this should be understood as the result of the fact that the major part of the crew was involved<sup>17</sup>, if not the crew in its entirety<sup>18</sup>, in the oracle procession. From this contrast we are apparently entitled to conclude that the *Knbt*-sessions differed in this regard. Not, of course, the *Knbt*-sessions at which the whole crew was present<sup>19</sup>, but possibly the others.

If we leave out the texts which are too badly damaged<sup>20</sup> or too sparse in contents<sup>21</sup> to permit an estimate (6 cases in all), we are left with six cases which can now be discussed (C, II *3ht* 25\*, III *3ht* 17\*, I *prt* 4, I *prt* 14\*, II *prt* 14, III *prt* 25). Two of these are descriptions of property, and fail to mention the witnesses (II *prt* 14 & III *prt* 25). The text dated in I *prt* 4, contains a request to one Foreman and one Scribe to administer an oath to somebody, which subsequently happened. These three cases all give the impression of affairs involving only small numbers of workmen. The same may be said about O. Gard. 181 (C, II *3ht* 25\*), which consists of the oath, taken by someone in the presence of five men, on the occasion of the partial payment for a donkey, concerning the remainder of the payment<sup>22</sup>. This affair has the outward appearance of a normal sale or barter transaction. The fact that it was settled in a *Knbt*-session was perhaps the result of some previous hearing, or the outcome of some dispute concerning the payment. Otherwise we may suppose that the workmen of Deir el-Medīna had a preference for settling certain affairs in the presence of reliable witnesses. Often a single Scribe or Foreman would suffice<sup>23</sup>, sometimes only a small gathering as in O. Gard. 181 would do<sup>24</sup>.

All this leaves us open to suppose, that in the unexplained cases of C (III 3<sub>ht</sub> 17\* & I prt 14\*) as well as in the texts that only mention *Ḳnbt*-sessions (see n. 21), work was stopped for the sake of a *Ḳnbt*-session (cfr the oracles under n. 16), either because of the urgency of the affair or, perhaps, also because of the pleasure the workmen took in *Ḳnbt*-sessions. I imagine that in such cases the crew went over to the Village. Or else we could suppose, in comparison with the private affairs noted under n. 23-24, that at least some *Ḳnbt*-sessions were held in the Valley of the Kings<sup>25</sup>: 'in the evening, after work', as W. HELCK remarks<sup>26</sup>.

## NOTES

- 1 As noted by Allam, *Hier. Ostr.*, p. 335.
- 2 Helck, "Feiertage etc.", *JESHO* 7 (1964) 157 (no. 9) & 162.
- 3 Helck's lists are to be found: *loc. cit.*, 142-155; his calendar: *loc. cit.*, 156-159 & 160.
- 4 Helck, *loc. cit.*, 159 no. 23, remarks that the date of the Feast of the Valley depended upon the lunar calendar, but he does not go further into this question.
- 5 Texts relating to a session of the *Ḳnbt* in which the dates have not been preserved, are: O. Berlin 10645 + 10646\* (= Allam, *Hier. Ostr.*, pl. 7), 12654, 3\* (*ibid.*, pl. 13), 14214\* (*ibid.*, pl. 17); O. Cairo 25227\* (*ibid.*, pl. 28); O. DeM. 59, 108, 245, 309, 310, 311, 645; O. Fir. 2621 (= Allam, *Hier. Ostr.*, pl. 37-39); O. Gard. 165\* (*ibid.*, pl. 44-45), 182\* (*ibid.*, pl. 48), 189\* (*ibid.*, pl. 49); O.A. Gard. 90\* (*ibid.*, pl. 53); O. IFAO 1282\* (*ibid.*, pl. 22), 1357 (*ibid.*, pl. 58); O. Leipzig 3\* (= *Hier. Ostr.* 33, 1); O. Nash 2\* (= *Hier. Ostr.* 47, 1); O. Turin 9611 (\*) (= Allam, *Hier. Ostr.*, pl. 69-71), 9622\* (*ibid.*, pl. 67); P. DeM. 27 (*ibid.*, pl. 98-99); P. Turin 167 etc. vs., 5 (\*) (*ibid.*, pl. 107).  
Texts apparently intended for use in the *Ḳnbt* left undated, are: O. Ashm. Mus. 1933.810 rt. (= *Hier. Ostr.* 71, 1); and the lists O, Berlin 12630 (= Allam, *Hier. Ostr.*, pl. 11), 14222 (*ibid.*, pl. 21), O. Brussels E 6311 (*ibid.*, pl. 25-27), O. Cairo 25572(\*), O. DeM. 319, 592, O. Nash 6 (= *Hier. Ostr.* 56, 1), O. Prague\* (= Allam, *Hier. Ostr.*, pl. 22), P. Cairo 58092 (= P. Boulaq 10) rt. (*ibid.*, pl. 89), P. Turin 2070, Col. 2 (*ibid.*, pl. 121); and the depositions (r3) O. Cairo 25612, 25725\*, O. DeM. 239, 292\*, 569, 580, 582, O. Gard. 166\* (= Allam, *Hier. Ostr.*, pl. 46), and (*dd.n*) O. DeM. 225\* and O. Turin 9754 (= Allam, *Hier. Ostr.*, pl. 73).
- 6 According to Helck's Feast Calendar (see n. 2-3). Question-marks indicate that Helck isolated the date as a regular free day, while no feast seems to present itself for identification.
- 7 P. Berlin 10460\* (= Allam, *Hier. Ostr.*, pl. 79) of IV *ḳḥt* between day 21 and 30, may relate to a session on the 29th, or the (25th-)26th, central day(s) of the Sokar

- Feast (see Helck, *JESHO* 7 [1964] 157 no. 10).
- 8 O. Cairo J. 72465, 2\* (= Allam, *Hier. Ostr.*, pl. 32-33) of .??. *prt* 23, just may be dated to this same feast.
  - 9 The scribe appears to have left out the date in III *prt*, possibly in confusion with the words *hrw pn*, 'this day', which would suggest an emendation to III *prt* 1.
  - 10 The verso of O. Nash 5 (\*) (= *Hier. Ostr.* 53, 2) of .??. *šmw* 13 belongs to a *recto* of III *šmw* 1, so both II & III *šmw* seem reasonable completions for the verso. II *šmw* 13 would be the day before the Periplous of Nofertari (see Botti-Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 54, 6, and cfr Van Walsem, *Month-names & Feasts*, below p.225, under nos. 76-77), III *šmw* 13 would coincide with this Amenophis procession.
  - 11 Allam in his *Hieratische Ostraka*, pl. 63, and Lopez, in *Ostr. Ieratici*, pl. 22 a, seem to connect the note '*Ḳnbt*' with II *šmw* 22, in Col. 3 of this text, a day on which the work is said to have progressed normally. Of day 11, in Col. 2, with which this note might just as well be connected, the text tells us that the workmen were free.
  - 12 O. Gard. 36 (= *Hier. Ostr.* 36, 1) was written on .??. *3ḥt* 3, just probably the first day after the *Ḳnbt* session noted on the rim as having taken place in III *3ḥt* 2.
  - 13 Helck, *JESHO* 7 (1964), mentions this possibility on p. 141, 157 (no. 7), 158 (no. 21).
  - 14 The unexplained dates might be regarded as indications of free days, and compared with Helck's lists (see n. 2-3), help to track down the feasts that changed in date, like the Periplous of Nofertari (see n. 10), or even the feasts that were fixed on a different date every year according to the lunar calendar (cfr n. 4).
  - 15 Only P. DeM. 26 A vs. Col. 2 would be an exception to this observation, if we could supply its date I *šmw* 20 + .? to 27, day of an Amenophis procession (see Botti-Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 53, 27; cfr Helck, *JESHO* 7 [1964] 158 no. 21), or to 26, day of a Ramesses procession (see Van Walsem, below p. 225 under no. 74). Possibly the date would be simply I *šmw* 20. (The date I *šmw* 14 in line 12 of the same Col. 2 of O. DeM. 26 A vs. is a puzzle to me.)
  - 16 See Erman, 'Zwei Aktenstücke', in *SPAW* 1910, 330-347, and the bibliography given by Allam, *Hier. Ostr.*, p. 43 & 277.
  - 17 See Černý, *BIFAO* 27 (1927) 190-195, and especially p. 192 f.

- 18 Its presence is explicitly stated in O. Brit. Mus. 5625 (D, IV 3 $\dot{h}t$  30) and O. Cairo 25555 (D, I  $\dot{S}mw$  19).
- 19 Under C, the text dated to II  $\dot{S}mw$  5\* and O. Cairo 25556\* of III  $\dot{S}mw$  2, both explicitly mention the presence of the crew. The case of I  $\dot{S}mw$  7\* does not look less important. The same may also apply to two of the cases on 'Mondays', C, III  $\dot{S}mw$  1\* & IV  $\dot{S}mw$  11 (cfr above under n. 13).
- 20 O. Cairo 25237 (of III 3 $\dot{h}t$  4) and O. A. Gard. 1\* (of II prt 22) are too much damaged to be judged.
- 21 Under C: III 3 $\dot{h}t$  24\*, II  $\dot{S}mw$  11(?)\*, III  $\dot{S}mw$  2\*, III  $\dot{S}mw$  28(?)\*.
- 22 This  $\dot{K}nbt$  consisted of 1 Scribe, 1 3 $\dot{t}w$ , 1  $w^Cb$ -priest, 1  $\dot{h}m-n\dot{t}r$ -priest and 1 draughtsman, all men being members of the community, of course.
- 23 See Černý, *Workmen*, 228 and 130; cfr *ibid.*, 147 & 160.
- 24 See for example O. Gard. 132 (= *Hier. Ostr.* 63, 2: 1 workman, 1? ....., 1 draughtsman), O. Gard. 152 (= Allam, *Hier. Ostr.*, pl. 43: 1 Scribe & 5 others), and O. Gard. 196 (= Allam, *Hier. Ostr.*, pl. 50: 1 Scribe & 5 others). And similarly, a long series of texts containing oathes, if not very clearly sales, may be mentioned, one third being dated to weekends: O. DeM. 57, 58, O. Gardiner 104 (= *Hier. Ostr.* 47, 3), O. IFAO Inv. 388 vs. (= *Hier. Ostr.* 69, 2), O. Petrie 34 (= *Hier. Ostr.* 29, 1), or a feast: O. Petrie 67 (= *Hier. Ostr.* 20, 1); and two thirds to days of the week: O. Ashm. Mus. 1933.810 vs. (= *Hier. Ostr.* 71, 1), O. DeM. 61, 364, 564, 631, O. Gardiner 68 (= *Hier. Ostr.* 67, 3), 104 (= *Hier. Ostr.* 47, 3), 106 (= *Hier. Ostr.* 61, 1), 137 (= *Hier. Ostr.* 56, 3), O. Or. Inst. Chicago 12073 vs. (= *Hier. Ostr.* 77), O. Petrie 60 (= *Hier. Ostr.* 18, 2).
- 25 As the provenance of only a very few ostraca is known (O. Cairo 25628 is said to have come from the Valley of the Kings, whereas the Ostr. DeM. were all found in or near the Village) there is no way to support these assertions, and so we need not go into the question if ostraca were written in the exact spot where they were found.
- 26 Helck, *JESHO* 7 (1964) 163.

## THE GOD MONTHU AND DEIR EL-MEDĪNA

R. van Walsem

While collecting material for this subject it appeared that there is not very much evidence of this god available in the published ostraca and papyri from Deir el-Medīna. Because of the scarcity of the material more questions arise than can possibly be answered. Some of these questions could only be answered if one had a good insight into the (late) 18th-20th dynasty status of this deity from the entire Theban area. Most of these questions, however, cannot be answered and at best, only suggestions can be made. In order to get the broadest possible perspective *all* mention of Monthu, either independently or as part of theophoric personal names, found on the documents from Deir el-Medīna have been collected so that we gain some insight about this god from *inside* as well as from *outside* the village<sup>1</sup>. The material can be divided into miscellaneous data and the homogeneous group of theophoric personal names.

### I MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS

The most interesting and intriguing piece from this group is O. DeM 246, bearing a text in two columns, framed by a line in the shape of a round-topped stela.

Translation:

- col. I,1) Please<sup>a</sup> have<sup>b</sup> it<sup>c</sup> brought
- 2) to me very quickly
  - 3) (still) today
  - 4) Pay attention, pay attention (to it)<sup>d</sup>:

- col. II,1) a representation<sup>e</sup> of Monthu
- 2) sitting<sup>f</sup> on a throne
  - 3) (and) a representation of the scribe  
*Pn-t3-wrt*<sup>g</sup>
  - 4) kissing the earth<sup>h</sup> in front of him
  - 5) (and) adoring him, in
  - 6) a draft<sup>i</sup>.

Commentary:

- a For the translation of *ih di.k* as "Please...", instead of "Then..." cfr. Černý-Groll, *LEG*, 30,1 ff.
- b Addressed to the unknown recipient of the letter. It is not impossible that the "effacé par le scribe" has been eroded purely by accident and that it originally showed the name of the recipient, cfr. O. Cairo 25598, where the name of the recipient is also tucked away in the top right-hand corner.
- c *.f* anticipates the *sš-kdwt* in col. II,5-6, cfr. n. i.
- d *ptr* functions here as a kind of warning and introduction to the reader to take good notice of the real content of the letter, which only follows now after the incitement above; cfr. Erman, *NäG* § 365.
- e One must assume that a "representation" (*WB* V, 256,9) and not a "statue" is meant, as there are no known statues of private persons showing them prostrate before gods. Only statues of *kings* in this attitude are known (Vandier, *Manuel* III, 422, R.N.E. 25). Further the frame line bordering the text suggests that the decoration of a round-topped stela is meant.
- f Note *ps.-part.*, instead of an *iw* construction.
- g The name *Pn-t3-wrt* cannot be used for exact dating, as there were at least two scribes of this name in Deir el-Medīna, cfr. Černý, *Workmen*, 207 ff.
- h *sn-t3* also creates a problem, as I do not know of any stela showing a person who literally kisses the earth in front of a god; may be the kneeling position with the hands raised is meant, as most stelae show the deceased in this pose<sup>2</sup>.

- i As  $s\check{s}-k\check{d}wt$  is spelled with  $\check{s}$ , it is not likely that "draughtsman" is meant. Although the *WB* does not know a word  $s\check{s}-k\check{d}wt$  meaning anything else but "draughtsman", it is most likely that it means here something like "draft", "sketch", which also explains .*f* in col. I,1, as "him" makes no sense; cfr. n. c<sup>3</sup>.

In conclusion one may say that the ostracon is a letter in which probably *Pn-t3-wrt* himself, or a close relative, orders an unknown addressee to (make and) send a design for a stela, the shape of which is indicated by the frame line around the text, showing a certain *Pn-t3-wrt* adoring the god Monthu who is seated on a throne.

If this assumption is correct, the problem immediately arises whether actual stelae are known that show inhabitants of Deir el-Medina in adoration before this god and whether the description of such a stela as found on this ostracon can be identified from among those extant from Deir el-Medina. The question of whether there are other "designs", or "drafts" among the ostraca actually belongs to art-history and is outside the scope of this article<sup>4</sup>. The stelae showing a person in adoration before Monthu appear to be very limited in number. The following are known:

1. Turin 50032 (Tosi-Roccati, *Stele*, 273) shows the foreman of the gang '*In-hr-h<sup>Cw</sup>* II adoring Amon, Monthu and Amenophis I, all figures in a standing pose. On the second register a person called *K3-m-phty.f-Mntw* (cfr. below II, A,8) is adoring *R<sup>Ct</sup>-t3wy* and queen Ahmose-Nefertary. Date 20th Dyn. (Ramesses III-IX).
2. Voronesh 157 (Bogoslowsky, *Vestnik* 1972,2, 74-81, pl. 5). On the first register figures "Monthu, lord of Armant, the great god, lord of everlastingness, ruler of eternity," seated on a throne between *Tnnt* and *R<sup>Ct</sup>-t3wy*<sup>5</sup>; on the second register are the standing figures of a man *Nb-imntt* and his relatives. Date 19th Dyn. (Ramesses II).
3. Bruyère, *Rapport DeM* 1935-1940<sup>II</sup>, 17. Horemheb in adoration before Monthu of Armant, no details about the pose of the figures are given. Date late 18th Dyn.
4. Bruyère, *Rapport DeM* 1931-1932, 38, fig. 30c. Fragment

of a stela with text mentioning Monthu-Re and a goddess; no further details given.

5. Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire*, 34005. Although the provenance is unknown ("Haute Egypte") and the person who is kneeling on the second register is a *sdm-cs* of Monthu, named *P3-dw*, the fact that on the first register Amenophis I and his son Ahmose-Sapairy<sup>6</sup> are adoring a seated Monthu, lord of Armant, makes it not improbable that the provenance may be sought in the area of Deir el-Medīna. Furthermore it is interesting that *Tnnt* (cfr. 2 above) is also mentioned in the adoration text. This, together with the style, high relief, brings stela Voronesh to mind, and we can date this stela to the mid-19th Dyn..

From this list it is clear that none of these can be connected with the contents of O. DeM 246.

The fact that only on Turin 50032 a person in whose name Monthu is an element is mentioned (but not represented): *K3-m-phty.f-Mntw*<sup>7</sup> is striking. This may indicate a special affinity with Monthu. Although Tosi and Roccati on page 66 do not list this name as being borne by a son of 'In-*hr-h<sup>cw</sup>* II, from the latter's tomb (Th.T. 359), it appears that he did indeed have a son with this name (Bruyère, *Rapport DeM* 1930, 68 who also quotes our stela on page 111). If he really is a son (and not just a relative : grandson = son of *Sthy* = son of 'In-*hr-h<sup>cw</sup>* II) this strengthens the impression that 'In-*hr-h<sup>cw</sup>* II had a special affinity with this god, as he dedicated a stela to Monthu and named a son after him. If this is true, the reason may be sought in the fact that the family might have originated from eastern Thebes, where Monthu, *Tnnt* and *R<sup>Ct</sup>-t3wy* were venerated<sup>8</sup>. A stela of 'In-*hr-h<sup>cw</sup>* II's grandfather (Th.T. 299) was actually found near the southern group of temple buildings at Karnak<sup>9</sup>. It can be further noted that 'In-*hr-h<sup>cw</sup>* II had a son *Nb-imnty* (Tosi-Roccati, *Stele*, 66) and our second stela was dedicated by a *Nb-imntt*, but is dated in the 19th Dyn.; also his relatives cannot be connected with those of 'In-*hr-h<sup>cw</sup>* II. It is not impossible, however, that the two families became connected in the (late) 19th Dyn., which may explain the occurrence of the name *Nb-imntt/ty* in 'In-*hr-h<sup>cw</sup>* II's family<sup>10</sup>. Thus

far for the Deir el-Medīna stelae and Monthu.

The other evidence in which Monthu is named can be divided between Monthu of Armant and Monthu of Thebes. The first place is mentioned in stelae 2, 3 and 5. Armant is also mentioned as a residence of Monthu in O. Gardiner 165, 13-14 (= Allam, *Hier. Ostr.*, pl 45):

13 *mtwī dīt n.k swnw*

14 (.s m 3) *ḥt m 'Iwnw n Mntw<sup>ll</sup>*,

possibly referring to fields belonging to the temple of Monthu, which are also probably referred to in O. Gardiner 40,2 (= *Hier. Ostr.*, 23,3):

*sš-nsw, ḥmy-r pr, ḥmy-r 3ḥt n Mntw,*

though the place name is not mentioned. The text in which this person, *Mḥw*, occurs lists more high officials, apparently not living in Deir el-Medīna<sup>12</sup>. The temple of Monthu of Armant occurs in O. DeM 651,2, which is a letter from the workman *Pn-'Imn* to the priest *Sbk*/// "of the temple of Monthu of Armant". The transport of wooden beams from Armant (*'Iwnw n Mntw*) is mentioned in Botti-Peet, *Giornale*, 14,12. A "washerman of the priest ( *ḥ* ) of Monthu, lord of Armant" occurs in Botti-Peet, *Giornale*, 48,7. In *LRL*, 55, 8-9 "the priest (*ḥm-nṯr*) of Monthu, lord of Armant" is found, and again in line 13, but without place name. On the same page, line 10 and 14, an *ḥt-nṯr* of Monthu, *Cḥ3ty-C3*, is met with, but again without place name, so it is not quite sure whether they were in the service of the same temple. Monthu of Thebes is mentioned in *RAD* 38,3 (= Turin Taxation papyrus):

*šsp m niwt ḥ3t-sp 12, IV 3ḥt, 12 m n3 ḥt ( *ḥ* ) n pr  
Mntw, nb W3st;*

*RAD* 38,16:

*šsp m hrw pn m n3 ḥt ( *ḥ* ) n pr Mntw nb W3st;*

*RAD* 38,5-6:

*m-drt sš-ḥsb NN n pr 'Imn-R<sup>C</sup>, nsw nṯrw, nty (m)-ḥt  
ḥm-nṯr n Mntw NN;*

Botti-Peet, *Giornale*, 7,12: ... *Mntw, nb W3st; id.* 56,1:

*iw.tw it3 p3 Mntw, nb W3st*, "one took that (sc. grain ration) <sup>13</sup> of Monthu, lord of Thebes".

Further in *RAD* 65,12 (= Necropolis journal)

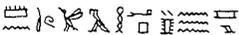
[] *p3 d3d3 rsy n pr (Mntw, nb W3st)*, "the southern 'repositoir' of the temple of Monthu, lord of Thebes" is mentioned. It is not unlikely that this is no. 5 on the map in *PM* II, plan II<sup>14</sup>.

A unique case is found on O. DeM 439, vs. 6, where the expression *bwt Mntw*, "abomination of Monthu" is said as a kind of reproach by one person to another. The (mythological?) background of this expression remains obscure.

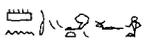
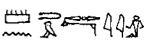
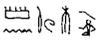
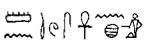
## II THE THEOPHORIC PERSONAL NAMES

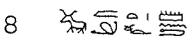
This group can be sub-divided into a group of persons bearing these names who lived *in* Deir el-Medīna and another group of persons who lived *outside* the village, but had something to do with it in one way or another. The first group that will be dealt with is the group of persons living *in* Deir el-Medīna, giving, in alphabetical order, the most common spelling of the name, its transcription and the references. Names that do not occur in Ranke, *PN* are indicated by +. As far as possible the names which relate to more than one person will be attributed to individual persons, noting their profession and giving a (rough) dating.

### A Names of persons living in Deir el-Medīna

1 

*Mntw-p3-H<sup>c</sup>py*: Černý, *Graffiti*, 1339; O. Aberdeen 1317,3 (= *Hier. Ostr.*, 61,2); O. DeM 236, col. III,5; O. DeM 296,8; O. DeM 643,3; O. Gardiner 246,4 (unpubl.); O. Gardiner 134,1 (unpubl.); Pap. Geneva MAH 15274 (*MDAIK* 15 (1957) pl. 38) vs. 3,2; Černý-Sadek, *Graffiti*, 2090,3; Pap. Boulaq

- X (= Pap. Cairo 58092 = Allam, *Hier. Ostr.*, pl. 91,9); W. Cairo<sup>15</sup> 5017. Son of *H3y*; workman. Date beginning to mid-20th Dyn.<sup>16</sup>.
- 2 a  *Mntw-m-h3t.f*: RAD 65,16. Stonecutter (Černý, *Workmen*, 190). Date year 17-18 of Ramesses XI.
- b *Botti-Peet, Giornale*, 11,7. Son of a certain *Hnsw*, no profession given. Date year 17 of Ramesses IX.
- c  *Mntw(-m)-h3t.f*: Bruyère, *Rapport DeM* 1935-1940<sup>II</sup>, 118, pl. 44, fig. 200. Sculptor. Date 19th Dyn..
- 3 a  *Mntw-Mnw*: Tosi-Roccati, *Stele*, 50011, 46,246. Son of *Nht-Mnw*, no profession given. Date 19th Dyn..
- b  *Mntw-Mnw*: Tosi-Roccati, *Stele*, 50011, 46,246. Son of *Mnw-htp*. No profession given. Date end 18th-19th Dyn..
- c *Mntw-Mnw*: Turin 22030, Habachi, *Tavole d'offerta* (Turin, 1979), 38-39. Date 19th Dyn..
- 4 a  *Mntw-ms*: O. Cairo 25588,5,8; O. Cairo 25597,9. No profession given. Date post Ramesses III<sup>17</sup>.
- b  *Mnt(w)-ms*: Bruyère, *Rapport DeM* 1935-1940<sup>II</sup>, 133,161. No profession given. Date ?<sup>18</sup>.
- 5  *Mntw-hr-wnm.f*: O. Cairo 25659,7. Workman<sup>19</sup>. Date end 20th Dyn. (?)<sup>20</sup>.
- 6 a  *Mntw-s<sup>C</sup>nh*: Černý, *Graffiti*, 1259,1. Deputy of the gang. Date late 20th Dyn.<sup>21</sup>.

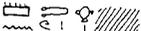
- b O. Cairo 25576,2; 25577,4;  
25621,2; 25827. Workman. Date  
end 20th-begin 21st Dyn.<sup>22</sup>.
- 7+  *Mk-Mntw*: Tosi-Roccati, *Stele*  
50005, 36. No profession known.  
Date (early) 18th Dyn..
- 8  *K3-m-phty.f-Mnt(w)*: Tosi-Roc-  
cati, *Stele* 50032, 65-66;  
Bruyère, *Rapport DeM* 1930, 68.  
No profession known. Date early  
to mid-20th Dyn.<sup>23</sup>.
- 9 a-b  *Tnr-Mntw*:<sup>24</sup>  
1. O. DeM 290, vs. 2; O. Cairo  
25593,14; 25512,7,9,14; O.  
Berlin 11241, 5 (= Allam, *Hier.*  
*Ostr.* pl. 9); O. Cairo 25517γ,  
12; 25521,4,12,19,23; O. Gar-  
diner 57, vs. col. II,1 (= *Hier.*  
*Ostr.*, 51,1); O. DeM 406,  
6; O. DeM 236, vs. col. II,7;  
Pap. DeM XXVIB, vs. 7 (= Allam,  
*Hier. Ostr.*, pl.96); O. Turin  
57030, vs. 5; O. DeM 222, col.  
II,13; O. Bodl. Libr. Oxf.  
253,2; vs. 2 (= *Hier. Ostr.*,  
64,2); O. Turin 57026,10; O.  
Turin 57028,2,6; vs. 6a; O.  
Turin 57039,7; vs. 5; O. Turin  
57056, 5; vs. 3,7; O. Gardiner  
23,5 (= *Hier. Ostr.*, 43,4); W.  
Cairo 5199,2; Naunakhte, Doc.  
I,1,11 (year 5 Ramesses V),  
*JEA* 31 (1945), pl. 8a; Botti-  
Peet, *Giornale*, 38, col.  
b,19 (?).  
2. O. DeM 695,1; O. Cairo 25572,  
17; O. DeM 214, vs. 1; O.  
Cairo 25513,5; 25507, col. I,7;  
25523, vs. col. I,10; O. DeM  
565,2; O. DeM 611, col. II,3.

3. O. DeM 259,1; O. DeM 319,2;  
O. Brit. Mus. 5643,6 (= *Hier. Ostr.*, 85,2); Bruyère, *Rapport DeM* 1930,46.

4. O. DeM 262,4; O. Petrie 23,  
8 (= *Hier. Ostr.*, 45,2).

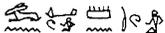
5. W. Cairo 5300; 5306,2; O.  
Gardiner 61,4 (= *Hier. Ostr.*,  
60,2); Černý-Sadek, *Graffiti*,  
1995,2; 1892,2.

Workman (O. DeM 695; W. Cairo  
5306). Date end 19th Dyn. to  
mid-20th Dyn..

10 

*Mntw-hr*///: Tosi-Roccati, *Stele*  
50250, 205. No profession known.  
Date end 19th Dyn.<sup>25</sup>.

B Names of persons living outside Deir el-Medina

1<sup>+</sup> 

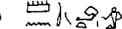
*Wn-di-Mntw*: *RAD* 65,8,10; 66,2  
(damaged), 11. Gypsum-maker.  
Date year 17-18 of Ramesses XI.

2 

*Mntw-m-wi3*: O. DeM 71,2; O. DeM  
604,3; O. DeM 1536,7; O. Gar-  
diner 121,2 (= *Hier. Ostr.*, 59,  
2); *RAD* 47,7. Wood-cutter. Date  
year 29 of Ramesses III to year  
4 of Ramesses IV (?)<sup>26</sup>.

3 a 

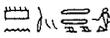
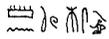
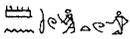
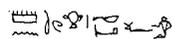
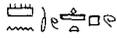
*Mntw-m-h3t*: Bruyère, *Rapport*  
*DeM* 1931-1932, 36. *W<sup>C</sup>b n h3t*.  
Date 21st (?) Dyn.<sup>27</sup>.

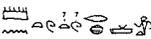
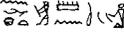
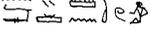
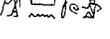
b 

*Mntw(-m)-h3t*: Botti-Peet, *Gi-  
ornale*, 55,19. Watchman (?).  
Date year 3 of Ramesses X.

4 a 

*Mntw-m-hb*(?): O. Nash 7,1 (= *Hier. Ostr.* 55,3); O. Chicago  
16985,2 (unpubl.). Chief of the  
Medjay. Date 19th (?) Dyn.<sup>28</sup>.

- 4 b? O. DeM 19,2. No profession given. Date 19th (?) Dyn.<sup>29</sup>.
- 5 a  *Mntw-m-t3wy*: Pap. DeM 24,3 (= Allam, *Hier. Ostr.* pl. 87); *Pl.-R.* 105,15 (= Allam, *Hier. Ostr.*, pl. 133,15); *Pl.-R.* 49,4; Bruyère, *Rapport DeM* 1934-1935<sup>III</sup>, 360, fig. 209. Overseer of the treasury. Date end of Ramesses III to year 4 of Ramesses V<sup>30</sup>.
- b O. DeM 571,2. No profession given. Date year 9 of an unknown king<sup>31</sup>.
- 6  *Mntw-ms*: a complete list of references is given in Černý, *Workmen*, 266,9<sup>32</sup>. Chief of the Medjay. Date year 6 of Sethos II to year 6 of Ramesses IV (?).
- 7  *Mntw-nht*: O. Gardiner 56,8 (= *Hier. Ostr.* 48,2). No profession known. Date year 3 of Ramesses IV.
- 8 a  *Mntw-hr-hps.f*: RAD 75,5; 78,4. Scribe of the treasury. Ramesses IV<sup>33</sup>.
- b Pap. Abott, 1,10. Chief of the Medjay. Date year 16 of Ramesses IX.
- 9  *Mntw-htpw*: O. DeM 38,16. No profession given<sup>34</sup>. Date year 32 of Ramesses III.
- 10<sup>+</sup>  *Mntw-hCw*: Botti-Peet, *Giornale*, 45,5. Washerman. Date year 17 of Ramesses IX.

- 11<sup>+</sup>  *Mntw-tw(?)*-*rḥ*: O. Toronto A 11,28 (= Gardiner-Thompson *Theban Ostr.*, 16,i). Chief of the Medjay. Date Ramesses II<sup>35</sup>.
- 12  *Nḥt-Mntw*: Botti-Peet, *Giornale*, 44, col. b,7. Weaver. Date year 17 of Ramesses IX.
- 13  *Nsy-Mntw*: Černý, *LRL* 11,3. No profession given. Date end 20th Dyn..
- 14  *Sr-Mntw*: Černý, *LRL* 9,13. Chief of the Medjay. Date Ramesses XI<sup>36</sup>.

From the above list it is clear that, because out of a total of 35 (A 17, B 18) persons with 24 different names, a greater variation of theophoric names with Monthu as a formative element existed outside the village. This fact may be explained by the more closed and conservative character of the community. Most of the people living outside the village, however, had a close relationship with it, like the *smdt* (B 1, 2, 3b(?), 10, 12) and the chiefs of the Medjay (B 4, 6, 8b, 11, 14) who, while they did not actually reside within it, lived very close to it (Černý, *Workmen*, 184, 280-281). This is, of course, not true of B 5a and 8a who must have lived in Thebes. If our attribution of one name to several persons is correct, we can make the following chronologically and alphabetically ordered scheme of dates:

Inside the village		Outside the village
A 7	<i>Mk-Mntw</i> : (early) 18th Dyn.	---
A 3b	<i>Mntw-Mnwy</i> : end 18th-19th Dyn.	---
A 2c	<i>Mntw(-m)-ḥ3t.f</i> : 19th Dyn.	B 11 <i>Mntw-tw(?)</i> - <i>rḥ</i> : Ram. II
A 3a	<i>Mntw-Mnw</i> : 19th Dyn.	B 4a <i>Mntw-m-ḥb(?)</i> : 19th Dyn.

- |      |   |      |  |
|------|---|------|--|
| A 3c | <i>Mntw-Mnw</i> : 19th Dyn.                               | B 4b | <i>Mntw-m-hb</i> : 19th Dyn. (?)                             |
| A 10 | <i>Mntw-hr</i> ///: end 19th Dyn.                         |      | ---  |
| A 9a | <i>Tnr-Mntw</i> : end 19th-early 20th Dyn.                | B 6  | <i>Mntw-ms</i> : year 3 Sethos II-year 6 Ram. IV             |
| A 1  | <i>Mntw-p3-H<sup>C</sup>py</i> : early till mid-20th Dyn. | B 9  | <i>Mntw-htpw</i> : year 32 Ram. III                          |
| A 8  | <i>K3-m-phty.f-Mntw</i> : (early-mid) 20th Dyn.           | B 2  | <i>Mntw-m-wi3</i> : year 29 Ram. III till year 4 Ram. IV (?) |
| A 9b | <i>Tnr-Mntw</i> : early 20th till mid-20th Dyn.           | B 5a | <i>Mntw-m-t3wy</i> : end Ram. III-year 4 Ram. IV             |
| A 4a | <i>Mntw-ms</i> : mid-20th Dyn.                            | B 7  | <i>Mntw-nht</i> : year 3 Ram. IV                             |
|      | ---   | B 8a | <i>Mntw-hr-hps̄.f</i> : Ram. IV                              |
|      | ---   | B 8b | <i>Mntw-hr-hps̄.f</i> : year 16 Ram. IX                      |
| A 2b | <i>Mntw-m-h3t.f</i> : year 17 Ram. IX                     | B 10 | <i>Mntw-h<sup>C</sup>w</i> : year 17 Ram. IX                 |
|      | ---   | B 12 | <i>Nht-Mntw</i> : year 17 Ram. IX                            |
|      | ---   | B 3b | <i>Mntw-m-h3t</i> : year 3 Ram. X                            |
| A 2a | <i>Mntw-m-h3t.f</i> : year 17-18 Ram. XI                  | B 1  | <i>Wn-di-Mntw</i> : year 17-18 Ram. XI                       |
|      | ---   | B 14 | <i>Sr-Mntw</i> : Ram. XI                                     |
| A 6a | <i>Mntw-s<sup>C</sup>nh</i> : end 20th Dyn.               | B 13 | <i>Nsy-Mntw</i> : end 20th Dyn.                              |
| A 5  | <i>Mntw-hr-wnm.f</i> : end 20th Dyn.                      | B 5b | <i>Mntw-m-t3wy</i> : year 9 of unknown king (= 20th Dyn.)    |
| A 6b | <i>Mntw-s<sup>C</sup>nh</i> : end 20th-21st Dyn.          | B 3a | <i>Mntw-m-h3t</i> : 21st Dyn. (?)                            |
| A 4b | <i>Mntw-ms</i> : ?  |      |  |

This scheme shows us that 12%<sup>37</sup> of group A can be dated to the 18th Dyn.; 30% to the 19th; 54% to the 20th, and that 6% is uncertain but most likely belongs to the 20th Dyn. Of group B, 24% can be dated to the 19th; 78% to the 20th and 6% may be dated to the 21st (?) Dynasties. By adding these numbers we get these proportions: 6% can be dated to the 18th, 27% to the 19th, 66% to the 20th, 3% to the 21st Dynasties and 3% remains undated. The picture one gets shows that there is a continually re-occurrence of Monthu-names from the 18th up to the early 21st Dyn.. There seems to be, however, an increase in popularity during the 20th Dynasty: more than half of the number of names can be attributed to that period. We may see here the beginning of the increasing popularity of Monthu during the later dynasties of the Third Intermediate Period in the Theban area.

The problem why, relatively speaking, so many people bear Monthu-names, while so little evidence of a Monthu cult can be found at Deir el-Medina, is difficult to explain. We cannot ascertain a predominantly Theban origin for these people; indeed only one person who had some link with Thebes could be discovered (p. 200, n. 9). In checking Porter-Moss it appeared that not a single person on our lists could be connected with any centre of the Monthu cult outside the village. If some of them did originate from Thebes or Armant, it simply cannot be verified because of lack of more genealogical evidence, or information about e.g. possessions near such centres. Anyway, it becomes clear from groups A and B, that outside the village Monthu does not seem to have been more popular than inside, as the groups consist of almost the same number of persons. It should be noted, however, that if there was a rise of the popularity of Monthu inside the village this seems to have been less sharp than that outside the village. We might even form the impression that inside the village the rise in popularity started earlier, but here again the lack of information from outside becomes painfully obvious.

The fact that a relatively large number of Monthu-names are borne by the chiefs of the Medjay (B 4, 6, 8b, 11, 14) may be because this group who served a "military" purpose were, naturally, connected with the war-god Monthu. This might be compared to the tendency of the foremen to pass their job to

their sons, though this was not officially hereditary<sup>38</sup>. If one compares the theophoric names of the chiefs of the Medjay the following gods are represented: Amon (3)<sup>39</sup>, Anubis (1)<sup>40</sup>, Min (2)<sup>41</sup>, Monthu (5)<sup>42</sup>, Horus (1)<sup>43</sup>, Khonsu (1)<sup>44</sup>, Sobek (3)<sup>45</sup> and Taweret (1)<sup>46</sup>. For the ordinary Medjay: Amon (7)<sup>47</sup>, Pre (1)<sup>48</sup>, Hapy (1)<sup>49</sup>, Horus (1)<sup>50</sup>, Khonsu (3)<sup>51</sup> and Sobek (1)<sup>52</sup> are recorded. By combining these two groups we obtain the following order of popularity: Amon (10), Monthu (5), Khonsu (4), Sobek (4), Min (2), Horus (2), Anubis (1), Pre (1), Hapy (1) and Taweret (1). The conclusion is that, among the Medjay, Monthu was the second most popular god after Amon. The Monthu element is very rarely found among the other social groups in Deir el-Medīna<sup>53</sup>. The fact that among the ordinary Medjay not a single example of Monthu is found, though the group was twice as large as that of the chiefs<sup>54</sup>, may be explained by the fact that only a section of the ordinary Medjay are recorded. Finally it should be noted that no woman's name with Monthu as an element has been found in Deir el-Medīna. In Ranke *PN* the name *Mntw-ḥtp* is recorded as a woman's name, but only during the Middle Kingdom. In the New Kingdom it apparently was no longer usual to name women after Monthu.

## NOTES

- 1 By the latter are meant e.g. persons who did not actually live in the village, but had connections with it in one way or another.
- 2 I know only one stela that shows a man even more clearly in a pose of real proskynesis, while he is adoring Mersger: Brit. Mus. 150+1754, *Hieroglyphic Texts* 9, pl. 30 (19th Dyn.). Here a man kneels on *both* knees, while the upper part of his body is very much bent forwards towards the goddess and both hands are outstretched and raised. The text gives *rdit i3w* and *sn-t3*. The pose can be compared with statues Cairo 42144 (Vandier, *Manuel III*, pl. 128,6,422), 42142 (o.c. pl. 133,4, 408, 411, 422; both Ram. II) and N.E. V (o.c. pl. 132,2, 417, n. 1; Ram. IX). The difference in the relief, however, is that a king is always offering something, while the figure on this relief holds his empty hands upward in a gesture of adoration.
- The kneeling figure who adores in *reliefs* is almost always represented with *one* knee touching the ground, while the other is bent upward. A kneeling female figure with *both* knees on the ground is represented in Peterson, *Zeichnungen*, no. 30 it is the usual pose, Tosi-Roccati, *Stele*, e.g. 50050-50052; a male in the same pose in Brunner-Traut, *Scherbenbilder*, no. 43. In adoring *statues* e.g. Vandier, *Manuel III*, pl. 160-161 the persons are kneeling with *both* knees on the ground. From this one may conclude that *sn-t3* on reliefs does no longer literally mean "kiss the earth". It is only during the Amarna period that persons are shown actually kissing the earth, Stevenson Smith, *Art and architecture*, pl. 125b. One might think that in the New Kingdom *sn-t3* is used metaphorically for the kneeling, as at least one knee touches=kisses the earth. Stelae showing a person in adoration with *one* knee on the ground, while the text gives *rdit i3w* in combination with *sn-t3* are found e.g. in *Hieroglyphic Texts* 7, pl. 26 (Brit. Mus. 812), pl. 31 (Brit. Mus. 555); 8, pl. 42 (Brit. Mus. 1743); 9, pl. 19 (Brit. Mus. 141), pl. 26 (Brit. Mus. 163), pl. 33,1 (Brit. Mus. 807); Tosi-Roccati, *Stele* 50046, 50047, 50051

50055, 50135.

A person standing in adoration, also alluded to in the text by *rd̄it i3w* and *sn-t3*, is depicted in e.g. *Hieroglyphic Texts* 7, pl. 7 (Brit. Mus. 1182), pl. 17 (Brit. Mus. 906); 9, pl. 27 (Brit. Mus. 154), pl. 28 (Brit. Mus. 156), pl. 29 (Brit. Mus. 158), pl. 35,2 (Brit. Mus. 265), pl. 38,2 (Brit. Mus. 318), pl. 39,2 (Brit. Mus. 191); Tosi-Roccati, *Stele* 50007, 50008, 50009, 50011, 50205.

A person with only one knee on the ground, associated in the text with *rd̄it i3w*, is shown in Tosi-Roccati, *Stele* 50036. *Dw3* is also combined with a kneeling figure e.g. Tosi-Roccati, *Stele* 50048, though the determinative is ; the same with  o.c. 50050.

3 For a tentative translation of *sš-ḳdwt* as "in decoration" cfr. Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 215, n. 63.

4 Designs (of parts of) stelae may be found in Vandier-d'Abbadie, *Ostraca figurées* nos. 2404 (kneeling before a goddess), 2407, 2552 (king in actual proskynesis, but no god shown), 2605 (bordered by a rectangular frame of three lines in the top left-hand corner), 2607 (person standing in front of Ptah), 2729 (kneeling man in front of Anukis), 2730 (Anubis on a throne), 2731 (person (broken away) before Mersger), 2881 (kneeling man before a dog), 2882 (standing man before a cat bordered by a round-topped frame-line), 2884 ((given as 2883 on pl. 127) kneeling person in front of Ptah on a throne), 2989 (ex voto (?) stela for Amon-Re). More sketches for (ex voto) stelae are found in Brunner-Traut, *Scherbenbilder*, nos. 77, 78, 79 (in shape of a round-topped stela), 86, 89, 90 (frame-line indicated); Peterson, *Zeichnungen*, nos. 29 (in shape of a round-topped stela), 30 (square-shaped border-line), 48, 56 (the careful execution makes it likely that this is a real miniature stela, like Tosi-Roccati, *Stele* 50028), 57-60 (id.); Brunner-Traut, *Artist's sketches*, pl. 15.

Another *Pn-t3-wrt* (son of ?) the chief workman *'Imn-ḥtp* is mentioned on an ostrakon, showing Isis suckling a child under a canopy, Peterson, *Zeichnungen*, no. 27. Are this *Pn-t3-wrt* and the one of our ostrakon identical to the *Pn-t3-wrt*, son of *'Imn-ḥtp*, of O. IFAO 1083,1 (Černý, *Workmen*, 209, n.10) who lived at the end of the 20th Dyn.



Dyn., mid-20th respectively, plus the fact that he was a contemporary of *Tnr-Mntw* of DeM 236, vs, col. II,7 (cfr. A 9), makes it more likely that year 8 of Ramesses III is meant.

- 17 Most likely a different person from B 6. Both ostraca mention his son *Ḥrī*. The date is confirmed from O. Cairo 25588,13 where the Medjay *'Imn-ms* who lived after Ramesses III is mentioned (Černý, *Workmen*, 271,2). The fact that in line 13 the word *Mḏ3y* is written before *'Imn-ms*, makes it clear that this *Mntw-ms* is most likely not the same as B 6, as otherwise one would expect *Mḏ3y* also before *his* name. Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 33 equals our *Mntw-ms* with B 6, stating that also his son *Ḥrī* was a policeman. This does not accord with Černý, o.c. 268,16 or 274,28. Further, Černý, o.c. does not list the two Cairo ostraca in his evidence for the chief of the Medjay *Mntw-ms*, page 266, n. 2-5. So it is safe for the time being to assume that B 6 is a different person from A 4a.
- 18 Only a graffito on pottery, so Bruyère's equation of this person with 4a has no basis although, of course, it is not impossible.
- 19 Though this is not explicitly stated he occurs in a list of fairly well-known workmen, cfr. n. 20.
- 20 In establishing this date I traced a few other persons on the ostracon. *Ḥnḥ.f* occurs on O. Cairo 25765, on which the scribe *Nb-nfr* whom Černý dated to the end of the 20th and beginning of the 21st Dynasty (Černý, *Workmen* 211,39) is mentioned. *P3-Cn-ḥ<sup>Cw</sup>* is very likely mentioned again on O. Cairo 25765 in an abbreviated form *P3y-Cn*, occurring side-by-side with a *Ḥnsw-ms* and a *K3-d3d3*; the latter two are found again on O. Cairo 25575,17,19, where in line 16 *P3-Cn-ḥ<sup>Cw</sup>* is mentioned. This ostracon is dated in year 7, which may very well be that of either Ramesses IX or Ramesses XI (cfr. also Černý's date on page 27 of the publication).  
About the  in Bruyère, *Rapport DeM* 1927,39 nothing is known, but he seems to belong to a period later than the 21st Dyn., as has been proved by the shabti fragments of other persons in the tomb.
- 21 Cfr. Černý, *Workmen*, 144, n. 4. He may be the same as 6b after being promoted from workman to deputy, cfr. Černý,

o.c. 146.

- 22 His profession is not stated, but he occurs in name-lists of workmen. O. Cairo 25577 is dated in year 14 of Ramesses IX (?).
- 23 Cfr. p. 195-196.
- 24 All the references under 1. can be dated on account of chief workmen, chiefs of the Medjay, scribes of the tomb, *īdnw* and regnal years. They are arranged in chronological order and they run from the theoretically earliest, year 3 of Merenptah (O. Cairo 25593, no date, but the chief of the workmen *Ḥ3y* started his career in year 3 of Merenptah, Černý, *Workmen*, 125) probably down to year 17 of Ramesses IX (Botti-Peet, *Giornale*, 38, b 19, if our reading of the name is correct). This would entail a period from about 1209 to roughly 1109, equaling a hundred years at least. This also proves that at least two persons of this name must have lived in Deir el-Medīna, but I cannot disentangle the one from the other, because neither the dates of their birth, nor the date of death of the older of the two can be ascertained. It is however possible that we know the approximate date *ante quem* of the death of the second. In O. Gardiner 23 a division of property is dealt with, consisting of *Tnr-Mntw*'s house, *ḥnw*, *Ct nty sḥt* and his *CḥCw*. The ostrakon can be dated to between years 5 and 14 of Ramesses IX, because of the chief workman *Ḥr-ms* (years 6-17 of Ram. IX), the chief workman *Nḥ-m-Mwt* II (years 2 of Ram. IV-17 of Ram. IX) and the scribe *'Imn-ḥtp* (years 2 of Ram. IV-14 of Ram. IX), Černý, *Workmen*, 125, 197,7. The earliest year of *Ḥr-ms* is year 6 of Ramesses IX, but *'Imn-ḥtp*'s latest is year 14 of Ramesses IX, so the ostrakon must belong to years 6-14 of Ramesses IX. If this division of property is evidence that *Tnr-Mntw* was actually dead, it would mean that yet a third *Tnr-Mntw*, who is mentioned in *Giornale* 38, b 19 existed, but the reading is not absolutely certain.

The only two pieces of evidence that might indicate some filiation do not solve the problem. Graffito 1829 only says "the servant in the place of Truth *Ms*, his son *Tnr-Mntw*, his son *3ny*". An *3ny* occurs for the first time under Siptah year 1 (O. DeM 611), further in year 1-2

(O. Cairo 25521,9), year 6 of Siptah (?) (O. Cairo 25512), year 1 of Sekhaenre-Siptah=year 2 of Siptah (O. Cairo 25517γ). On the other hand, in lists of workmen, a certain *Ms* is only known in the years 15 (O. DeM 406), later than 17 (O. DeM 236), 24 (O. Turin 57039, 57056) of Ramesses III. So it is unlikely that the *Ms* of the graffito 1829 is the same as the one in the last-quoted ostrakon, as this would mean that 3ny's grandfather (if this is what the graffito means ?!) is known later than the grandson.

Graffito 1995 which says "the scribe 'Imn-ḥtp, Tnr-Mntw, his father 'Imn-ḥ<sup>C</sup>w" creates another problem. If the scribe 'Imn-ḥtp is the one mentioned in Černý, *Workmen*, 197,7 he held office from year 2 of Ramesses IV up to 14 of Ramesses IX. An 'Imn-ḥ<sup>C</sup>w occurs in O. DeM 406 (year 15 of Ramesses III). The deputy 'Imn-ḥ<sup>C</sup>w occurs in O. DeM 236 (undated), but according to Černý, o.c. 145 this deputy was in service from year 17 of Ramesses III till 7 of Ramesses VIII (?). On the same ostrakon *Mntw-p3-ḥ<sup>C</sup>py* (cfr. A 1, dated early 20th till mid-20th Dyn.) is mentioned. If this 'Imn-ḥ<sup>C</sup>w were the later deputy this would mean that the graffito dates from before year 17 of Ramesses III, for one could expect the title *ḥdnw* in front of the name of 'Imn-ḥ<sup>C</sup>w, if he were already deputy. But, in that case, the scribe 'Imn-ḥtp cannot be the one mentioned by Černý, as we know of him 16 years after 'Imn-ḥ<sup>C</sup>w became deputy. Another possibility, however, is that the scribe is the same as in O. Gardiner 23, and that 'Imn-ḥ<sup>C</sup>w has nothing to do with the deputy of that name. In that case the graffito can be dated to the same period as the ostrakon: years 6-14 of Ramesses IX, which is a likelier possibility. It is a pity that no link can be found between the two families in these two graffiti. Cfr. also Bierbrier, *Relationship at Deir el-Medīna*, *JEA* 66 (1980), 102, n. 25-26.

The references under 2. can be dated to the 19th Dyn. on account of palaeographic features and the workmen mentioned. 3. and 4. can be dated to the early-mid 20th Dyn., and the second half of the 20th Dyn. respectively. The references of 5. are undated.

25 The date according to Tosi-Roccati. There is no evidence

- to connect or equate him with *Mntw-hr-wnm.f*, or *Mntw-hr-hpš.f*.
- 26 In O. DeM 604 he is mentioned side-by-side with the door-keeper *H<sup>c</sup>-m-W3st*, who was in office from year 18 of Ramesses III till 6 of Ramesses IV (Černý, *Workmen*, 169. So the dates year 4 of O. Gardiner 121 and O. DeM 71 most probably refer to year 4 of Ramesses IV.
- 27 As no filiation is known, only the contents of the tomb can indicate a date. Fragments of two coffins, covered with yellow varnish, were discovered. This may indicate a (re)-burial (?) of the very late 20th-21st Dyn.. The tomb itself most probably dates from the 18th Dyn.; *Rapport* 21,25.
- 28 Cfr. Černý, *Workmen*, 266,8.
- 29 No profession is given, but it is not impossible that he is the same person, as the expression *m-drt* very often occurs in cases of the Medjay bringing food etc., Černý, *Workmen*, 281.
- 30 For details about this person cfr. Helck, *Verwaltung*, 333,412,518 (30); *BiOr* 19 (1962), 144 with further additions, one giving year 3 of Ramesses VI; see further n. 31.
- 31 The first king, after Ramesses III, who reigned for at least 9 years was Ramesses IX. If this person is the same as 5a it implies that he held office (?) for at least 34 years.
- 32 One reference can be added: Pap. Geneva MAH 15274, 7,10 (*MDAIK* 38 (1957), 172-185. Not to be confused with A 4a.
- 33 For the date cfr. Helck, *Verwaltung*, 224, n. 1, which is confirmed by the vizier *Nfr-rnpt* II, mentioned on page 75,9 of *RAD*.
- 34 As he delivered wood he was apparently one of the *smdt* who lived outside the village.
- 35 Cfr. Černý, *Workmen*, 266,10. The spelling remains obscure.
- 36 Černý, *Workmen*, 270,22 and notes 2, 3, 5-7 for further references.
- 37 Actually each person of each group represents slightly less than 6% (6 x 17= 102; 6 x 18= 108), but for the sake of convenience the numer 6 is retained. It should be noted that these percentages do not give an accurate

picture, as only very little material from the 18th Dyn. survives. So the suggestions which follow give even under the most favourable circumstances only a very hazy picture.

- 38 Cfr. Černý, *Workmen*, 126,146.  
 39 Černý, *Workmen*, 263,1, 264,2, 267,15.  
 40 Id., 264,2A.  
 41 Id., 265,7, 267,13.  
 42 Id., 266,8-11, 270,22 (=B 4, 6, 8b, 11, 14).  
 43 Id., 268,16.  
 44 Id., 268,18.  
 45 Id., 267,14, 268,20, 270,21.  
 46 Id., 265,6.  
 47 Id., 270,1. 271,2-4, 273,15, 274,22, 275,36.  
 48 Id., 272,9.  
 49 Id., 274,26.  
 50 Id., 274,28.  
 51 Id., 275,32-33, 276,37.  
 52 Id., 273,21.  
 53 For the chiefs of the gang the score of popularity is the following: *Amon* (4), *Anhur* (2), *Mut* (3), *Pre* (1), *Horus* (1), *Khonsu* (2), Černý, *Workmen*, 123-124.  
 For the deputies: *Amon* (6), *Anhur* (1), *Monthu* (1), *Khonsu* (1), id., 134. It should be noted that these groups partly overlap, as 5 deputies were sons of foremen, id., 146.  
 For the guardians: *Amon* (2), *Min* (1), id., 150.  
 For the door-keepers: *Amon* (1), *Taweret* (1), *Re* (1), *Khonsu* (1), *Thot* (2), id., 163.  
 For the scribes: *Amon* (14), id., 193,1, 194,3, 195,4, 196, 5-6A-D, 197,7, 198,8-9, 199,13, 202,20, 213,45; *Anubis* (1), id., 198,10; *Horus* (3), id., 216,51, 219,52-53; *Khonsu* (2), id., 194,2, 219,55; *Min* (1), id., 210,34; *Mut* (2), id., 202,18, 212,43; *Pre* (2), id., 206,30, 207,31; *Re* (2), id., 210,37, 214,48; *Seth* (1), id., 220, 58; *Sobek* (3), id., 213,44, 219,56, 220,57; *Taweret* (2), id., 207,32A-B; *Thot* (1), id., 222,66; *Wennefer* (2), id., 200,15-16.  
 54 The numbers are 23 against 51, Černý, *Workmen*, 270, 277.



Then follows:

- I 3<sub>h</sub>t  
 2) *ḥb n Dḥwty p3 tpy n3 3bdw...*  
 "I 3<sub>h</sub>t, the feast of Thot, the first of the months  
 ...".

Although the word for feast is spelled out, in my opinion, we may consider the whole expression as a term for the month-name, as immediately following is the statement that it is "the first of the months" (*p3 tpy n* (haplography) *n3 3bdw*). There is no reason for assuming that *p3* is an ellipsis for *p3 ḥb tpy*, because of the fact that there are some feasts that precede the feast of Thot: New Year's day and the Wag-feast<sup>5</sup>. The title itself corroborates that the *month* is meant by explicitly stating "in the *months*", but not "on the feasts of the months of the year".

This ostrakon is further of great value, because it is the only known ostrakon that gives the *numbers* of the months *in combination with their names*, which, moreover, correspond exactly to those of the Greek and Coptic periods<sup>6</sup>. They are evidence that the "Coptic" order of the months on the ceiling of the Ramesseum is not as theoretical as was supposed by Gardiner<sup>7</sup>.

About II 3<sub>h</sub>t is said:

- 4) *iw.tw m ḥbw nbw m ḥnty r*  
 5) *ipt 'Imn // // // //*.

Here apparently the series of feast-days of the Opet-feast is meant<sup>8</sup>. It is surprising that the name *Pn-ipt* is not used here, while in the following the usual names are set down:

- 8) III 3<sub>h</sub>t // // // // //  
 9) *Pn-Ḥwt-Ḥr*<sup>9</sup>...  
 11) IV 3<sub>h</sub>t *ḥr.tw K3-ḥb-k3 // // // //*  
 15) [*l/pft*] // // T3-Cbt, *p3 3bd iw.k*  
 16) *ptr // // // //*  
 18) *////[ll/pft] m Mḥr // // // //*  
 21) III *prt*  
 22) *Pn-'Imn[-ḥtp]*.

The phrase of IV 3<sub>h</sub>t is of special interest as it says *ḥr.tw K3-ḥb-k3*. It is most tempting to translate this as "IV 3<sub>h</sub>t, it is called<sup>10</sup> Khoiak<sup>11</sup>". A direct equivalence of month-number with month-name most likely occurs in 15. Though the number is lost by damage, on account of lines 18, 21-22, it

can be restored as [  $\overline{\text{r}} \square \text{z} \circ$  ]  $\overline{\text{r}} \text{---} \text{r} \text{---} \text{e} \text{---} \text{r}$  On the other hand it might have been of the construction as in line 18: II prt m Mhr, where the m can only be the m of identity<sup>12</sup>, yet another argument that the month-name was meant. Lines 21-22 show a direct appositional construction. IV prt in line 24 is designated by a complex elaboration, instead of the short Pn-Rnn-wtt. The transcription runs as follows:

24) IV prt twtw //////////<sup>13</sup> ms

25) ntrw nbw im.f. Crk m 3<sup>14</sup> ////////// n k3<sup>15</sup> //////////[hr]<sup>16</sup>-  
-nb, Pth

26) h<sup>cl7</sup>. msw Rnn-wtt, Mwt hr //////////.

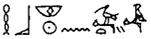
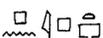
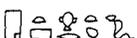
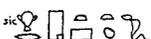
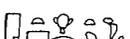
This is much too scanty to give a reliable translation. Line 26, however, connects IV prt with the month's tutelary goddess Rnn-wtt. The rest of the months are not incorporated in the text.

Summarizing we can say that this is the only ostrakon<sup>18</sup> that gives the feast/month-names side-by-side with their correct month-numbers. The fact, however, that it *partly paraphrases*, and *partly uses one-word month-names* gives me the impression that this ostrakon dates from an intermediate stage during which one could use, or was in the process of forming one-word designations for the months, but that this was *not yet generally used*, or the process had *not yet finished*. This leads to the probability that O. DeM 1265 was written earlier than Pap. Cairo 86637. This can be corroborated by the palaeographical features of both texts, by comparing the facsimile of the ostrakon<sup>19</sup> and the Cairo papyrus. The former is in a rather cursive hand which makes a dating in the late 19th Dyn. not impossible. The latter, however, shows a nice regular hand, much resembling papyrus Harris of the early 20th Dyn.<sup>20</sup>. The fact that Pap. Cairo 86637 is closely connected to Pap. Sallier IV, which is dated to the late 19th Dyn.<sup>21</sup>., does not exclude the later dating of the Cairo papyrus, as this could be a later copy of another document having contents similar to Sallier IV. There is no other evidence for a more precise dating.

Therefore, in the case of Deir el-Medina, all what we can say concerning the usage of month-names, either side-by-side with or instead of month-numbers, is that it was possible and in some cases (almost) certain. There is, how-

ever, no internal evidence from the collected examples that proves 100% that these cases *have* to be interpreted as such. There is always a possibility that the feast was meant, with the only absolutely sure exception of Pap. Cairo 86637<sup>22</sup>. Below follows a list of ostraca on which it is most likely that month-names are used, they are distributed over the year according to the "Coptic" month-order. List A is followed by lists B and C giving the *dated* and *undated* ostraca mentioning the certain cases of the month-feasts, arranged in the same order as list A. Following Černý in his article in *ASAE* 43, the hieroglyphic spellings are given with further data for each item.

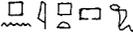
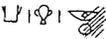
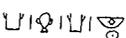
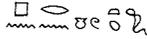
## A MONTH-NAMES

- |   |                     |   |   |
|---|---------------------|---|---|
| 1 | I 3 <sub>ht</sub>   |    | O. Brit. Mus. 29560 (= formerly 5639a), 8 (= <i>Hier. Ostr.</i> , 85,1), list of victuals <sup>23</sup> .         |
| 2 |                     |    | O. DeM 57,3, dated year 31 (Ramesses III), IV <i>smw</i> , 19, oath <sup>24</sup> .                               |
| 3 |                     |  | O. DeM 1265, col. I, 2, I 3 <sub>ht</sub> , literary text <sup>25</sup> .   |
| 4 | II 3 <sub>ht</sub>  |  | O. Brit. Mus. 29560 (= formerly 5639a), 12 vs. 13 (= <i>Hier. Ostr.</i> , 85,1), list of victuals <sup>26</sup> . |
| 5 | III 3 <sub>ht</sub> |  | O. Brit. Mus. 29560 (= formerly 5639a), 15 (= <i>Hier. Ostr.</i> , 85,1), list of victuals <sup>26</sup> .        |
| 6 |                     |  | O. DeM 219,1, account <sup>27</sup> .   |
| 7 |                     |  | O. DeM 1265, col. I, 8-9, III 3 <sub>ht</sub> , literary text <sup>28</sup> .                                     |
| 8 |                     |  | O. Turin 9754, vs. 3 (= Alam, <i>Hier. Ostr.</i> , pl. 73), oath <sup>29</sup> .                                  |



- IV *prt* -----  
 I *šmw* -----
- 21 II *šmw*  O. DeM 645, vs. 3, oath<sup>42</sup>.  
 III *šmw* -----
- 22 IV *šmw*  O. Berlin 10655,6 (= *Hier. Pap.* III,37), oath<sup>43</sup>.
- 23  O. Brit. Mus. 29560  
 (= formerly 5639a), 4  
 (= *Hier. Ostr.*, 85,1), list  
 of victuals<sup>44</sup>.

## B DATED EPONYMOUS MONTH-FEASTS

- I *3ht* -----  
 24 II *3ht*  O. DeM 46,10, year 2, III  
*3ht*, 11, journal of ra-  
 tions<sup>45</sup>.
- 25  O. DeM 1265, col. I,4-5,  
 III *3ht*, literary text<sup>46</sup>.
- III *3ht* -----  
 26 IV *3ht*  Pap. Berlin 12635,9 (un-  
 publ.), I *prt*, 2, accounts  
 kept by a "restaurateur"<sup>47</sup>.
- 27  Graffito 2087,2 (= Černý,  
 Sadek, *Graffiti* IV,38),  
 I *prt*, 5<sup>48</sup>.
- I *prt* -----  
 II *prt* -----  
 III *prt* -----
- 28 IV *prt*  O. DeM 35,14, IV *prt*, 1,  
 journal of rations<sup>49</sup>.
- I *šmw* -----
- 29 II *šmw*  O. Cairo 25598,1, year 4,  
 II *šmw*, list of deliver-  
 ies<sup>50</sup>.

- 30 III šmw 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏  
Pap. Boulaq 19, vs. 2, IV  
(?) šmw 15, journal of necro-  
polis workmen<sup>51</sup>.
- 31 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏  
Botti-Peet, *Giornale*, 59,19,  
IV šmw, 2, journal of  
necropolis<sup>51</sup>.
- 32 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏  
𓂏𓂏𓂏  
Botti-Peet, *Giornale*, 5,12,  
I 3ht, 1<sup>52</sup>.

C UNDATED EPONYMOUS MONTH-FEASTS <sup>53</sup>

- 33 I 3ht 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏  
O. DeM inv. no. 1088,3 (un-  
publ.), list of victuals.
- 34 II 3ht 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏  
O. Gardiner 362,2,3,6  
(= *Hier. Ostr.*, 107), let-  
ter.
- 35 III 3ht 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏  
O. Oxford 1115 (= formerly  
3), vs. 7 (= *Hier. Ostr.*,  
31,1), list of victuals  
supplied on certain feast-  
-days<sup>54</sup>.
- 36 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏  
O. Liverpool 13625,3 (= *Hier. Ostr.*, 63,3), sundry  
accounts and memoranda of  
work completed<sup>55</sup>.
- 37 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏  
O. Michael. 48, col. II,  
15 (= Goedicke-Wente, pl.  
71), lists of provisions  
for the feasts of several  
gods<sup>56</sup>.
- 38 IV 3ht 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏  
O. DeM 1059, 7-8, magical  
text<sup>57</sup>.
- 39 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏  
O. DeM inv. no. 1088,6  
(unpubl.), list of  
victuals<sup>58</sup>.

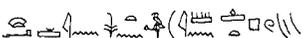
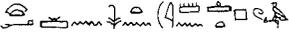
- |    |                |          |  |
|----|----------------|----------|--|
| 40 |                | 𐤏𐤓𐤕𐤓     | O. Berlin 12406,11<br>(unpubl.), list of<br>victuals?  |
| 41 | I prt          | 𐤓𐤓𐤕𐤓     | O. Michael. 52,2<br>(= Goedicke-Wente, pl. 83),<br>wine-jar docket <sup>59</sup> .   |
| 42 | II prt         | 𐤓𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤓    | O. DeM inv. no. 344,3 <sup>60</sup> .  |
| 43 |                | 𐤓𐤓𐤕𐤓     | O. Michael. 12, vs. 1<br>(= Goedicke-Wente, pl. 64),<br>list of victuals <sup>61</sup> .   |
| 44 | III prt        | 𐤓𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤓𐤓   | O. Oxford 1115 (= formerly<br>3), 5 (= <i>Hier. Ostr.</i> , 31,1),<br>list of victuals supplied<br>on certain feast-days <sup>62</sup> . |
| 45 |                | 𐤓𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤓𐤓   | O. DeM 297,4a, list of<br>commodities <sup>63</sup> .  |
| 46 |                | 𐤓𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓  | O. Berlin 12406,3 (un-<br>publ.), list of victuals.  |
| 47 |                | 𐤓𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓 | O. Col. Campbell 7,5 (un-<br>publ.) <sup>64</sup> .  |
| 48 |                | 𐤓𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤓𐤓   | O. Col. Campbell 6,3 (un-<br>publ.) <sup>64</sup> .  |
| 49 | IV prt         | 𐤓𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤓𐤓   | O. DeM inv. no. 1088,1 (un-<br>publ.), list of victuals.   |
| 50 | I <i>šmw</i>   | 𐤓𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤓𐤓   | O. Oxford 1115 (= formerly<br>3), 7 (= <i>Hier. Ostr.</i> , 31,1),<br>list of victuals supplied<br>on certain feast-days <sup>65</sup> . |
|    | II <i>šmw</i>  | ----     |  |
| 51 | III <i>šmw</i> | 𐤓𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤓𐤓   | O. DeM inv. no. 1088,2<br>(unpubl.), list of victuals.   |
|    | IV <i>šmw</i>  | ----     |  |

In the following sections are listed the other religious feasts which were observed in Deir el-Medīna and which occur

on the ostraca. Two categories of feasts appear to exist: personal and general. The former is indicated by *p3y.f hb*, the latter by *p3 hb*. The first category was apparently observed by a single person (and his relatives/friends) and may indicate his birth-day<sup>66</sup>, but as yet this cannot be proved and is doubted by Helck<sup>67</sup>. The second category was observed by all the people of the village. The difference between *p3y.f/p3* is clearly illustrated e.g. in O. DeM 230,5-6, where *p3y.f hb* occurs side-by-side with *p3 hb n T3-wrt*. In list *D* only the *p3*-group has been collected. In the first place the dated feasts are followed by the undated ones of the same name, in order to have all feasts of the *same name* together. Then the undated feasts follow in more or less alphabetical order according to the main element of the complete feast-name.

#### D MISCELLANEOUS RELIGIOUS FEASTS

##### DATED + UNDATED HOMONYMOUS FEASTS

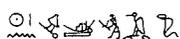
- I 3ht, 1-3
- 52  *wp rnpt* O. DeM 209, vs. 20, journal<sup>68</sup>.
- undated:
- 53  O. DeM inv. no. 1088,2 (unpubl.), list of victuals.
- 54  O. Col. Campbell, 6,3,4, (unpubl.) list of victuals.
- 55  Pap. DeM II,4,6, vs. 2, list of deliveries of victuals. cfr. addenda
- I 3ht, 29
- 56  *h<sup>c</sup> in nsw 'Imn-htp* O. Cairo 25275,2<sup>69</sup>.
- I 3ht, 30
- 57  *h<sup>c</sup>.n nsw 'Imn-htp* O. Cairo 25276,1<sup>70</sup>.

## IV 3ht, 1

58 

$h^c$  nt  $\dot{H}wt(-\dot{H}r)$  O. Michael.  
33,9 (= Goedicke-Wente,  
pl. 67-68)<sup>71</sup>. cfr. addenda

## I prt, 30

59 

hrw n  $\dot{h}n$  Mwt Pl.-R., 68,  
col. III,1, list of  
revenues<sup>72</sup>.

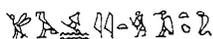
## undated:

60 

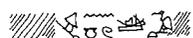
p3  $\dot{h}n$  Mwt O. DeM inv. no.  
290,4<sup>73</sup>.

61 

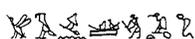
O. DeM inv. no. 293,3<sup>73</sup>.

62 

O. DeM inv. no. 380,3<sup>73</sup>.

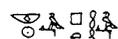
63 

O. DeM inv. no.  
1088,7<sup>73</sup>.

64 

O. DeM 297,3a, list of  
victuals<sup>74</sup>.

## III prt, 1

65 

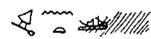
$\dot{h}b$  Pth Botti-Peet, *Giornale*,  
50,5<sup>75</sup>.

## III prt, 4

66 

(hrw n 2) wdn n Pth (m sht  
 $^c$ 3t in 3) t3 ist r-gs p3  
r- $^c$  b3k 4) iw.sn) irt  $\dot{h}b$   
 $^c$ 3 m-b3 $\dot{h}$  (5) p3 r- $^c$  b3k)  
O. DeM 401,2-5, journal  
of work<sup>76</sup>.

## III prt, 19

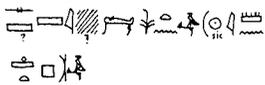
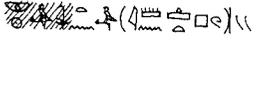
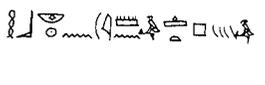
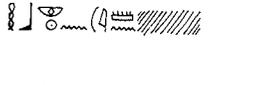
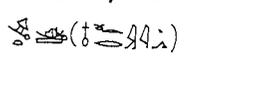
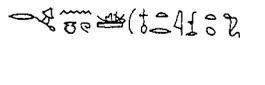
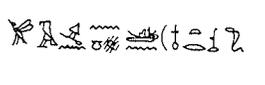
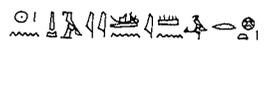
67 

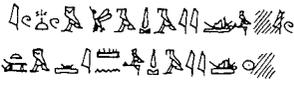
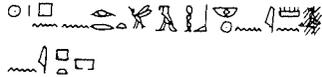
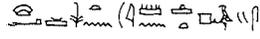
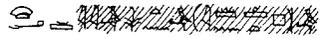
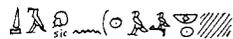
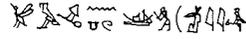
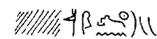
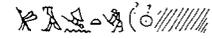
$\dot{h}n$ //// Botti-Peet,  
*Giornale*, 50, 12<sup>77</sup>.

## III prt, 21

68 

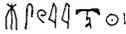
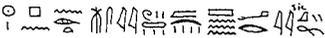
$\dot{t}si$  in nsw 'Imn- $\dot{h}tp$  O.  
Cairo 25559, 1-2<sup>78</sup>.

- III prt, 25  
 69  *sšši/// nsw 'Imn-ḥtp*  
 Pl.-R., 98, col. II, 57<sup>9</sup>.
- III prt, 29  
 70  *p3 ḥb C3 n nsw 'Imn-ḥtp*  
 O. Cairo 25234, 1-2<sup>80</sup>. cfr.  
 addenda  
 I šmw, 27
- 71  *ḥb (n?) nsw 'Imn-ḥtp Botti-*  
*Peet, Giornale, 53, 27<sup>81</sup>.*
- undated:  
 72  O. DeM 97, vs, 7-8, list  
 of victuals.  
 73  Pap. DeM II, vs, 3, list  
 of victuals.
- I šmw, 26  
 74  *ḥ<sup>c</sup> Wsr-M3<sup>c</sup>t-R<sup>c</sup>-stp.n(.R<sup>c</sup>)*  
*Botti-Peet, Giornale,*  
*53, 26<sup>82</sup>.*
- II šmw, 15  
 75  *ḥn Nfirt-iry Botti-Peet,*  
*Giornale, 54, 6<sup>83</sup>.*
- 76  *r ḥn Nfirt-iry O. Gardiner*  
*11, 3-4 (= Hier. Ostr.,*  
*25, 2)<sup>84</sup>.*
- 77  *p3 ḥn n Nfirt-iry O. DeM*  
*38, 12, delivery of goods.*
- II šmw, 25  
 78  *hrw n ḏ3y n 'Imn r niwt*  
*O. Cairo 25538, 3, report*  
*of business of the*  
*vizier<sup>85</sup>.*

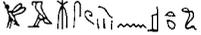
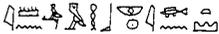
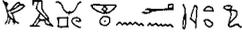
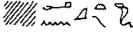
- 79  *iw.tw m p3 d3y/// iw tm*  
'Imn *d3y///* O. Gardiner 11,  
11-12 (= *Hier. Ostr.*,  
25,2)<sup>86</sup>.
- II *šmw*, 28
- 80  *h3 p3 d3///* O. Turin 57044,  
vs. 9, journal of work-  
days and rations of  
lamps<sup>87</sup>.
- III *šmw*, 1
- 81  *hrw pn n irt p3 hb n 'Imn*  
*n ipt* O. DeM 354,3-4<sup>88</sup>.
- III *šmw*, 11
- 82  *h<sup>c</sup> nsw 'Imn-htp* Botti-Peet,  
*Giornale*, 58,1-2<sup>89</sup>.
- 83  *h<sup>c</sup>y nsw 'Imn-htp* O. Brit.  
Mus. 5637,8, oracle<sup>90</sup>.
- III *šmw*, 22
- 84  *d3 n Hr(-m?)hb///R<sup>c</sup>* Bot-  
ti-Peet, *Giornale*, 58,  
10<sup>91</sup>.
- III *šmw*, 24
- 85  *p3 hn Sthy* O. Gardiner 11,  
vs. 7 (= *Hier. Ostr.*  
25,2)<sup>92</sup>.
- III *šmw*, 27
- 86  *h<sup>c</sup> n nsw Wsr-M3<sup>c</sup>t-R<sup>c</sup>(-stp.*  
*n.R<sup>c</sup>)///* Botti-Peet,  
*Giornale*, 59,15<sup>93</sup>.
- 87  *////Wsr-M3<sup>c</sup>t(-R<sup>c</sup>-) stp.n.*  
*R<sup>c</sup>* O. Cairo 25533,11<sup>94</sup>.
- III *šmw* 20 ??
- 88  *p3 hn ///R<sup>c</sup>?* O. Cairo

25503, vs. 4, journal of work<sup>95</sup>.

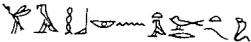
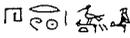
IV šmw, 30

- 89  (IV šmw Crky....6) ĩnyt sš 'Imn-nḥt m) msyt O. DeM 32, vs. 4-6<sup>96</sup>.
- 90  hrw pn n ĩrt msyt m IV šmw Crky Černý, Répertoire Onomastique, 71. cfr. addenda

UNDATED FEASTS

- 91  p3 ḥb n 3st O. DeM 230,7, account of miscellaneous goods<sup>97</sup>.
- 92  p3 msw n 3st O. Oxford 1115 (= formerly 3), 6 (= Hier. Ostr., 31,1), victuals supplied on certain feast-days<sup>98</sup>.
- 93  'Imn m ḥb ĩnt O. DeM 127, vs. 1-2, letter.
- 94  ḥb n 'Imn O. DeM inv. no. 1088,4 (unpubl.), list of victuals<sup>99</sup>.
- 95  ///ḥb n 'Imn O. Michael. 12,7 (= Goedicke-Wente, pl. 64), list of victuals<sup>100</sup>.
- 96  p3 wp n Cnt O. Michael. 85,8 (= Goedicke-Wente, pl. 93), letter<sup>101</sup>.
- 97  ///Cnkt /. DeM 230,7-8, list of miscellaneous goods<sup>102</sup>.



- 113,1) adjuration to  
serve Amon (= Parallel  
to Pap. Anastasi IV,  
col. III,3-4).
- 109  p3 ḥb n T3-wrt O. Liverpool  
13625, 1 (= *Hier. Ostr.*,  
63,3), sundry accounts  
and memoranda about work  
completed<sup>112</sup>.
- 110  O. DeM 230,6, account  
of miscellaneous goods  
<sup>113</sup>.
- 111  hrw Dḥwty O. DeM 603,7,  
letter<sup>114</sup>.

#### E THE EPAGOMENAL DAYS <sup>115</sup>

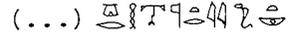
The (in)complete number of the epagomenal days with their  
names occur on the following ostraca:

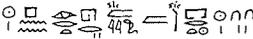
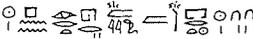
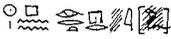
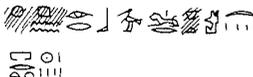
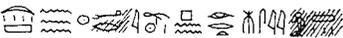
- 112 O. DeM 32, vs. 7  
113 " " 44, vs. 19-23  
114 " " 145, 9-10  
115 " " 156, vs. 2-5  
116 " " 158, 1-6  
117 " " 164, col. I, 1-5  
118 " " 206,1  
119 " " 209, vs. 19-20<sup>116</sup>  
120 " " 410,1<sup>117</sup>  
121 " " 427, vs. 5-7  
122 O. Petrie 24, 1-3 (= *Hier. Ostr.*, 21,3)  
123 O. Gardiner 16, 10-12 (= *Hier. Ostr.* 24,2)

- 124 O. Cairo 25515, col. III, 26-IV, 2-5 cfr. addenda  
 125 O. Michael. 3,1 (= Goedicke-Wente, pl. 52)  
 126 Botti-Peet, *Giornale*, 4, 1-2, 4, 6, 8-10  
 127 Pap. Tur. 2070/133, 134 + 3 frags, 5-9 (= Allam, *Hier. Ostr.*, pl. 120)

A few final remarks. It is quite clear from the preceding pages that the problem tackled here is far more complicated than when it is taken at its face value. Though there are some reasonably good indications that month-names were used, a watertight case cannot be made. Further from list *D*, it appears that the character and precise background of many feasts remains obscure, because of lack of either clarity of context and/or more comparative material. Much has still to be investigated.

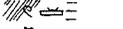
## ADDENDA &amp; CORRIGENDA

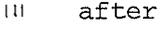
- 55a  Černý, *Repertoire Onomastique*, 72 in the same text as no 90, but following this, see further below note on *nhb-k3*.
- IV 3<sub>ht</sub>, 25
- 58a  *m* IV 3<sub>ht</sub>,25 (*hrw pn n ts.tw hdt*) *grh ntrt*, Černý, o.c., 14 = Schott, *Festdaten*, 91, 70.
- 58b (...)  (*r n ts hdw r hh.k*) *grh ntrt*, Černý, o.c., 71 = Schott, o.c., 91,71. This feast is enlisted by mistake as no. 105, so note 110 must be deleted.
- IV 3<sub>ht</sub>, 26
- 58c (...)  (*hd t3 m tr n dw3yt*) *m* IV 3<sub>ht</sub>, 26, *iw.tw hr irt Skr*

- 58d (...)  (*m ḥb.f n tp-rnpt*), Černý, o.c., 14 = Schott, o.c., 91,70.
- 58e  (*dī.tw n.k ḥdw r ḥḥ.k ḥnm.t(w) sty*) [IV] 3ḥt, 26, Černý, o.c., 71 = Schott, o.c., 91,71.
- I prt, 22
- 58e  *hrw pn n írt ḥryt* (WB II, 498,10,13) *m* I prt, 22, Černý, o.c., 17 = Schott, o.c., 95,93.
- 58f  Id., o.c., 71, in same text as no. 90. Omitted by Schott.
- IV prt, 4
- 70a  *hrw pn n írt B3st*, IV prt, 4, Černý, o.c., 14 = Schott, o.c., 100,121. Note the extraordinary spelling of Bastet's name, probably derived from her cultplace in the Eastern Delta , Pap. Harris I, 62,2 (cfr. LA I, 628).
- IV šmw, 30
- 90a  Černý, o.c., 16. Nos 90a-b are omitted by Schott who only quotes no. 90.
- 90b  Id., o.c., 45.
- 124a O. Cairo 25821, vs. 3

Finally there is one reference to the old name for Khoiak as  *dw3yt Nḥb-k3* in Černý, o.c., 72, following our addendum 55a as it actually does in the Egyptian festival calendar.

## NOTES

- 1 A. Erman, *Monatsnamen aus dem neuen Reich*, ZAS 39 (1901), 128-130; A.H. Gardiner, *Mesore as first month of the Egyptian year*, ZAS 43 (1906), 136-144, especially page 140, n. 1; id., *The problem of the month-names*, RdE 10 (1955), 9-31, especially page 17 + n. 2-3; R.A. Parker, *The calendars of Egypt*, Chicago, 1950, 43-47 § 226-237; 57-60, Excursus A § 282-305; id., RdE 11 (1957), 85-107; Černý, *The origin of the name of the month Tybi*, ASAE 43 (1943), 173-181.
- 2 G. Posener, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el Médineh*, II, pl. 71. For a new interpretation of the text cfr. now Borghouts, *The 'hot one' (p3 šmw) in ostrakon Deir el Médineh 1265*, GM 38 (1980), 21-28.
- 3 The first word is damaged, but the remaining signs  suggest that *t3w*, "book", WB V, 349, 16 ff., or *sš*, WB III, 476-477, B can be restored.
- 4 WB II, 260, 2-4.
- 5 Schott, *Festdaten*, 79 ff.; Parker, *Calendars*, 57 § 282.
- 6 Till, *Koptische Grammatik* § 178; Parker, *Calendars*, 45 § 230, table 7.
- 7 Gardiner ZAS 43, 143. This deals with the problem that eponymal feasts of the months in the ancient Egyptian period did not co-incide with the months as found in the Late and Coptic Periods. This made Gardiner think that the order in the Ramesseum was "theoretical". For further discussion see id. in RdE 10, 9-31 and Parker, *The problem of the monthnames: a reply*, RdE 11, 85-107. The "Coptic" order also occurs in Pap. Cairo 86637, now published by Bakir (cfr. n. 18) and mentioned earlier by Černý in ASAE 43, 179-180.
- 8 Schott, *Festdaten*, 84-87.
- 9 This is the only instance where the element *pn* is placed before this name, cfr. lists A and C. Apparently it was done in analogy with the other month-names.
- 10 WB III, 318, b introductory remark: "zur Angabe eines Namens: heisst er, seit Med. Ungewöhnlich Nā, Gr. mit *rn* 'Name' ". So *hr.tw* can be used as in our proposed translation.
- 11 Here, in O. Dem inv. no. 1088,6 (unpubl.), Pap. Cairo

- 86637 = Černý, *ASAE* 43, 179 and in O. Berlin 12635,9 (unpubl.) the word *ḥb*, instead of *ḥr* is written in K3-*-ḥr-k3*. Černý explains it as a mistake, as it is certainly the month-name in the Cairo papyrus.
- 12 Gardiner, *EG* § 38. Another example of this *m* occurs in O. Cairo 25598,1, cfr. list A no. 29.
- 13 In the small lacuna one can only restore something like *ḏd* which makes sense: "IV *pṛt*, one says all gods were born in it".
- 14 The phrase is  *Crk* is apparently a corruption of  *WB I*, 212, 8 and  *WB I*, 212, 10 ff. or 17 ff. It is a pity that the context is damaged too much to conclude whether *WB I* 212, 15 "instruct someone is" (dyn. 19-20) is meant, or *WB I*, 212, 19 "to swear by", although the latter may be favoured, as the former occurs only very rarely. The translation, however, remains a puzzle because of the  after .
- 15  .
- 16 The remaining  allows this reconstruction.
- 17  .
- 18 For the only papyrus cfr. Bakir, *The Cairo calendar no. 86637*, Cairo 1966 and Černý, *ASAE* 43, 179-181.
- 19 Posener, *Catalogue*, pl. 73a. He does not suggest a date.
- 20 Möller, *Hier. Lesestücke* II, 27-28. The dating by Bakir of the complete papyrus to the reign of Ramesses II (page 6; vs. XIX) is not without doubt, as the hand, on which this assumption is based, is more cursive than the rest of the papyrus; further the verso is palimpsest (page 4) which may explain the difference in handwriting.
- 21 Möller, *Hier. Lesestücke* II, 39.
- 22 Though Bakir suggests on page 1 of his publication that the papyrus might originate from Deir el Medīna this is not certain; so it has not been incorporated in our material.
- 23 Although preceded by *p3 šmt n Ḥr*, which is an equivalent of *Mswt-R<sup>C</sup>* and *Wp-rnpt*, it is not necessary to assume that it means that, on this ostrakon, the first month (I *3ḥt*) of the year is meant as Gardiner has done (*ZAS* 43, 136 ff.), resulting in his problem of the month-feast falling in another month than the one after which

it was named. This problem is convincingly solved by Parker, *Calendars* 45-47 § 229-237, especially § 236-237, where  $p^3 \check{s}mt n Hr$  is explained as the *last* month (IV  $\check{s}mw$ ) of the year. So the order of months on our ostrakon is IV  $\check{s}mw$  (4), I  $3ht$  (8), II  $3ht$  (12), III  $3ht$  (15), IV  $3ht$  (18), I  $prt$  (vs. 4), II  $prt$  (vs. 6), III  $prt$  (vs. 8), again II  $3ht$  (vs. 13). The reason for this "strange" order can easily be explained by the fact that the ostrakon was written as a memorandum showing *since* which month of the year victuals had been given. This of course could start in *any* month of the year. If the victuals had been delivered e.g. since IV  $3ht$ , this month would have been mentioned in line 4 and all other months would have changed position accordingly. The same occurs in O. DeM inv. no. 1088, dated year 5 and starting with the feast  $Pn Rnn wtt$ . This does not necessarily mean that the feast fell in the first month (Thot); it is merely the starting-point of the memorandum. So these ostraca are not a sort of "book-keeping balance" covering the complete year starting with the first month of the year as we do; if that were true *then* Gardiner's problem would be difficult to explain. The fact that the Cairo Papyrus and O. DeM 1265 do start with the first month giving the *corresponding correct* number is due to the ritualistic, religious and/or magical character of the two texts, making it necessary to have a *systematic* table of the months over the year, beginning with the first month in the first line(s). So these are of a completely different level from ordinary memoranda.

- 24 In line 3  $r r-C Dhwtj$  "until (WB II, 394,7) Thot". The period between the oath IV  $\check{s}mw$  19 and Thot (11 + 5 ep. days = 16 days), makes it possible that the month-name is meant. Also Helck, *Feiertage und Arbeitstage JESHO* 7 (1964) 156,3 interprets it as a month-name.
- 25 For discussion of this ostrakon see pages 1 ff.
- 26 Cfr. n. 23.
- 27 A striking miswriting of Hathor. The preposition  $n$  before the name is written for  $m$  (Erman *NÄG* § 603, 606,4) Though from the context it cannot be proved that the month-name is meant, it may still be listed here, as, in the other occurrences of this name, it is quite clear

- from the context that the feast is meant (list C).
- 28 Cfr. n. 25 and 9.
- 29 The phrase is *mtwī cḳ Ḥwt-Ḥr* "and if I enter (= let pass) Hathor".
- 30 Cfr. n. 23. *K3-ḥr-k3* is always spelled with  $\overline{\omega}$ , even where it is certainly the month-name as in the Cairo papyrus, where even *ḥb* is spelled out, cfr. n. 11.
- 31 Cfr. n. 25 and 11.
- 32 The phrase is *mtwī dīt cḳ K3-ḥr-k3*, cfr. n. 29.
- 33 Cfr. n. 25. Although the date has been destroyed, it must be I *prt*, as it follows IV *3ḥt* (line 11) and precedes II *prt* (line 18). In line 16 an allusion is made to *p3 ḥn Mwt*, which is the usual equivalent of *T3-Cbt*, cfr. list *D* nos. 59-64 and Černý, *ASAE* 43, 175 and n. 2.
- 34 Cfr. n. 23. This is the usual equivalent of *T3-Cbt* (cfr. n. 33). As the other examples quoted by Černý are without further data, they are listed in *D* among the feasts (nos. 59-64). Parker, *Calendars*, 45 § 230, table 7 gives it as an equivalent of the month-name *T3-Cbt*.
- 35 Cfr. n. 23. The peculiar spelling *Pn-p3-Mḥr* also occurs in Pap. Cairo 86637, cfr. Černý, *ASAE* 43, 179, line 6. Everywhere else only *Mḥr* is spelled.
- 36 Cfr. n. 25.
- 37 Cfr. n. 23.
- 38 Here (almost) certainly the month-name is meant, because of the context: *db3.f iw irt ir.f m Pn-'Imn-ḥtp*... It is unlikely that the man worked during the feast of this important patron deity of the village. It should be noted as well that no  $\overline{\omega}$  follows.
- 39 Also here it cannot be definitely be proved that the month-name is meant.
- 40 On rt. 1 the date year 6, II *prt*, 14 is given. This does not need to be the date of the feast *Pn-'Imn-ḥtp* on vs.; it is quite feasible that *Pn-'Imn-ḥtp* is used as a month-name for III *prt*, following II *prt*, but some doubt remains. *Km Pn-'Imn-ḥtp* is an equivalent of the expressions of n. 29 and 32.
- 41 Cfr. n. 25.
- 42 The phrase is *mtwī (dīt) ḥpr Pn-ḥnt*; cfr. n. 29, 32, 40.
- 43 The phrase is *idi.ī cḳ Wp-rnpt*, cfr. n. 29, 32, 40, 42. In line 1 is stated that on III *šmw*, 9 an oath was sworn

that the accused would not let the last day of that month go by (i.e. a period of 21 days) before handing over what was demanded of him (lines 3-5). In lines 5-6 three other oaths are sworn by the same person that he would not allow *Wp-rnpt* to pass. In line 7 on I *3ht*, 20 he is again accused of not having fulfilled his promise. In my opinion it is therefore likely that *Wp-rnpt* is equivalent here to IV *šmw*, cfr. Parker, *Calendars*, 45, table 7 and 47 § 236.

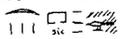
- 44 Cfr. n. 23 and Parker, *Calendars* § 230, 236, table 7. The fact that this is the only month on this ostrakon that is preceded by *n=m* (Erman *NÄG* § 603, 606,4, cfr. n. 27) is striking.
- 45 As the feast then lasted for 23 days (Schott, *Festdaten*, 76, 85, II, III.) and later, under Ramesses III, for 27 days (id., 85,41) it is not surprising that *Pn-ipt* could also be connected with III *3ht*, instead of II *3ht*, the month that was called *Pn-ipt*.
- 46 Cfr. n. 25. *hbw nbw* indicates the series of feast-days as listed in Schott, *Festdaten*, 84-87. The curious spelling of *hb* with the house-determinative should be noted, apparently a corruption of *WB* III, 57,4.
- 47 Discussed by Gardiner in *RdE* 10, 30-31; objections by Parker, in *RdE* 11, 105. As the feast lasted for 7 days (list C, 38, n. 57) the date of I *prt* is easily explained and does not contradict the naming here of IV *3ht* as *K3-hr-k3*, cfr. n. 48.
- 48 The first three lines of the graffito read:
1. I *prt*, 5, *īit in*
  2. *t3 ist r ms k3-hr-k3 n*
  3. *hnwt c3t špsyt Mr.s-gr* + names.

This apparently means that Khoiak (offerings) were brought to Mersger, implying that Khoiak here means the feast and not the month as in O. DeM 1265, col. I, 11. The range of the feast-days (cfr. n. 47) given by Parker in *RdE* 11, 106, top, shows that the Khoiak feast could start on IV *3ht*, 29. As it lasted 7 days, the date of the graffito is in complete harmony with Parker's suggestions. Further it is tempting to assume that the feast of Mersger (list D, 102-103) took place either during the actual feast of Khoiak or in the month called

Khoiak. This may be corroborated by O. Liverpool 13625, where *p3 ḥb n Mr.s-gr* follows *p3 ḥb n Ḥwt-Ḥr*, just as Khoiak follows Hathor in O. Brit. Mus. 29560 and O. DeM 1265 (cfr. Appendix, 1, 3, 10). If this is true a problem rises in the case of O. Michael. 48 (Appendix, 5), where col. I mentions (the feast) of Mersger, followed by a feast of Ptah; in col. II another feast of Pre is mentioned, followed by again a feast of Hathor, thus the wrong order. If one, however, changes col. I for col. II we get the correct order, which may also give a key to the understanding of the otherwise unknown feast of Pre on this ostrakon. This might well allude to Mesore, preceding the Hathor-feast/month. So we get the order Pre-Hathor-Mersger-Ptah. For the placing of the feast of Ptah after those of Hathor and Khoiak/Mersger we find confirmation in the dated examples of this feast in list *D*, 65-66, both taking place in III *prt*. Further it is not impossible that in the lacuna preceding the name of Path in O. DeM 1265, col. I, 21 an allusion is made to a feast taking place in II *prt*.

- 49 Although the numerical notation is used, the apposition *Pn-rnn-wtt* immediately following indicates the beginning of the designation of the months by names referring to the month-feasts, cfr. Parker, *Calendars* § 229, where this ostrakon is mentioned.
- 50 Parker, *Calendars* § 229. Here is another case of the *m* of identity, cfr. n. 12.
- 51 For a full discussion cfr. Gardiner, *ZAS* 43, 137-139; Schott, *Festdaten*, 111, Parker, *RdE* 11, 102-104 and especially *Calendars*, Excursus A, 58-59 § 291 where the problem of the date is discussed.
- 52 Cfr. Parker, *Calendars* § 236-237.
- 53 Although no month equivalents in numbers are given, this list is arranged in the same order as lists *A* and *B*.
- 54 Taking into consideration the complete text, it is necessary to reverse *rt.* and *vs.*, because then we get the correct order of month-feasts (Appendix, 4). Note *n=m* before Hathor, cfr. n. 44.
- 55 This feast is preceded and followed by *p3 ḥb n Mr.s-gr* and *p3 ḥb n T3-wrt*, cfr. list *D*, 102, 109.
- 56 Cfr. Appendix, 5 for the order of feasts.

- 57 The text states that the feast lasted for 7 days, for a discussion of this evidence cfr. Gardiner, *RdE* 10, 14-15 and Parker, *RdE* 11, 104-106.
- 58 Cfr. n. 11 for the spelling with *hb*.
- 59 The word  before *T3-Cbt* is probably a miswriting for  *WB* V, 532,1 ff. "jar", the more so as it is found on a wine-jar.
- 60 Quoted from Černý, *ASAE* 43, 174, where no further data are given.
- 61 Quoted by Černý, *ASAE* 43, 174 as O. Grdseloff 12. On rt. a date is given I *prt*, 5 and a feast of Amon is mentioned (list *D*, 95), but it remains uncertain whether there is a connexion between this date and the vs..
- 62 Cfr. n. 54.
- 63 Cfr. Appendix, 6. As it appears side-by-side with the *hn* of Mut (list *D*, 64) it is likely that the feast is meant.
- 64 Cfr. Černý, *Le culte d'Amenophis Ier*, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), 182-183.
- 65 Apart from the Cairo calendar, this is still the only example of this feast-name.
- 66 Schott, *Festdaten*, 96, n. 1.
- 67 Helck, *JESHO* 7, 164.
- 68 Again *n=m*, cfr. n. 44. For a thorough treatment of the character of *Wp-rnpt* cfr. Parker, *Calendars*, 30 § 142-153.
- 69 All numbers 56-57, 68-71, 82-83, with the exception of 72-73, are quoted from Černý *BIFAO* 27, 159-203, especially 182-183. The wide range in dates shows that several feasts differ from each other in character.
- 70 Cfr. n. 69. As there is a group of feasts round Amenophis I with a great variety of dates, this group has not been kept together.
- 71 In the publication quoted a wrong hieroglyphic transcription is given. Černý's is given here. For the date of this feast cfr. Parker, *Calendars*, 58 § 286,4. Whether this feast is related to that mentioned by Parker is uncertain, but it is not unlikely, as three times on the page quoted (*Dendera* V, 350) a *h<sup>c</sup>* of Hathor occurs.
- 72 Cfr. Schott, *Festdaten*, 95, 98 and n. 33.
- 73 Quoted from Černý, *ASAE* 43, 175, n. 2.
- 74 Cfr. Appendix, 6.

- 75 Probably this feast lasted for two days. The phrase continues with  on day 2 (3 has been written by mistake, as the next entry gives 3 again) the workmen were free, but they worked again on day 3.
- 76 Probably this feast has something to do with the foregoing, as both took place in the beginning of III prt. For the writing of *m-b3h* cfr. *WB I*, 421,4.
- 77 The date can be ascertained from preceding lines; the whole phrase reads (III p)rt, 19 wsf t3 ist hn///.
- 78 Cfr. n. 69. Probably another example of this feast is found in O. DeM inv. no. 1088a, vs. 4 (unpubl.), where after Amenophis the verb *tsi* occurs, but the context is not clear.
- 79 Cfr. n. 69. For *sššī* cfr. Černý, *BIFAO* 27, 183, n. 2.
- 80 Cfr. n. 69.
- 81 Cfr. n. 69.
- 82 It is followed by no. 71. The king is most likely Ramesses II and *wnmy* does not need to be part of the name. The phrase may be translated as "W. appeared (in/on) the West (bank)".
- 83 It should be noted that the photograph shows that  has been written, while the translation is "gli operai furono inoperosi".
- 84 Here it was a free day, cfr., however, n. 83.
- 85 It is unlikely that this is part of the Opet-feast, because of the date, unless the original lunar feast in II 3ht coincided at a certain moment with civil II *šmw*, 25.
- 86 It should be noted that no. 78 is dated in year 6 of Sethos II, and no. 79 in year 2 of an unknown king, but both have the same date.
- 87 Note the use of  a combination of *h3wy*, *WB III*, 225, 17 ff. and *h3wt*, *WB III*, 226,11 ff. "evening", "altar" respectively; here it means something like "feast-night"?
- 88 The date does not fit the Opet-feast, which is apparently not meant, unless it is a similar case to that signaled in n. 85.
- 89 Cfr. n. 69.
- 90 Cfr. n. 69 and *JEA* 12 (1926), pl. 37. That the "appearance of king Amenophis" was a feast is proved by the

- fact that this day and also days 9, 10 and 12 were free.
- 91 The date can be ascertained from preceding lines. Botti-  
Peet take  $\mathfrak{D}$  as a mistake for  $\mathfrak{sh}$ . The king's name  
remains uncertain.
- 92 Cfr. Appendix, 11.
- 93 This feast was apparently not identical to no. 74, as  
the date differs. As the date is identical to no. 87,  
apparently Ramesses II is meant.
- 94 The end of line 10 reads: *sw 27 iw.w wsf /// 11) Wsr...*  
Although the word  $\mathfrak{h}^c$  is damaged, it is almost certainly  
the same feast as no. 86, because of the same date.
- 95 As none of the lines is complete its date is uncertain.  
From rt. 4 it can be deduced that the month is III  $\mathfrak{Smw}$ ,  
while on vs. 2 day 20 is the last date. It was a free  
day. The remaining signs after  $\mathfrak{hn}$  are doubtful, so it  
is impossible to determine which feast is meant. The date  
is close to that of no. 85.
- 96 Cfr. *WB* II, 142,16. Line 7 ff. shows the epagomenal  
days, cfr. *E*, 112.
- 97 Cfr. Appendix, 8.
- 98 Though the word "feast" does not occur, it is in the  
middle of a series of feasts, so it is likely that this  
was also a feast, cfr. Appendix, 4. It cannot mean the  
4th epagomenal day, as it follows *Pn-'Imn-htp* and because  
of the article  $\mathfrak{p3}$  which is never used before the  
epagomenal days.
- 99 As the feast follows that of Thot in line 3, it is like-  
ly that the Opet-feast is meant.
- 100 As the right-hand side of the ostrakon is damaged it is  
not certain whether the date of line 6 belongs to line  
7. It is even possible that  $\mathfrak{p3y.f}$  stood in the lacuna,  
in which case it does not even belong to the category of  
feasts dealt with in this paper.
- 101 Instead of the usual word  $\mathfrak{hb}$  the word *wp* (*WB* I, 304,12)  
is used. It should be noted that this is the only in-  
stance of a feast for an Asiatic deity at Deir el-Medīna.
- 102 As the end of line 7 is damaged and line 8 begins with  
 $\mathfrak{Cnkt}$  and as the other goddesses mentioned in lines 5-7  
are preceded by  $\mathfrak{hb}$ , it can be safely assumed that the  
feast of Anukis is meant, cfr. Appendix, 8. In Elephant-  
ine it was celebrated III  $\mathfrak{3ht}$ , 30, cfr. *LA* II, col. 182.

- 103 Cfr. Appendix, 2. As it follows the feast of Amon (= Opet, cfr. n. 99) it is tempting to assume that this is an equivalent to the feast of Hathor, just as p3 *šmt n Ḥr* is an equivalent for *Mswt-R<sup>C</sup>*; all the more so because Hathor can be joined with Nut and can be a goddess of the sky herself, cfr. Bonnet, *RAR*, 280-281.
- 104 Cfr. n. 48.
- 105 Cfr. Appendix, 8; cfr. nos. 65-66 for dates.
- 106 After *Mr.s-gr* follows I *šmw*, 4 which gives a date *ante quem*. Although the word *ḥb* is not mentioned it is of the same construction as no. 92. So this also may be a feast, cfr. Bruyère, *Mertseger*, 236-237.
- 107 Cfr. Appendix, 10.
- 108 Cfr. Appendix, 5. From the context it becomes clear that *ḥb* has to be restored; cfr. also n. 48.
- 109 The traces may be those of *ḥ<sup>C</sup>*, cfr. line 7. Which god is meant remains unclear.
- 110 Which feast is meant is unclear, is it related to Helck's "Göttinnenfest", *JESHO* 7, 140? cfr. addenda no. 58b
- 111 Cfr. no. 23.
- 112 Cfr. Appendix, 10.
- 113 Cfr. Appendix, 8.
- 114 It is dubious whether this is a feast. But in *WB*, *Belegstellen* II, 500,12 *hrw* as a feast-day occurs e.g. in *hrw Skr*.
- 115 For a recent commentary on these days cfr. Luft, *Studia Aegyptiaca* 4, 183 ff.
- 116 Here they are mentioned, without specification into separate days, as free days.
- 117 Here *msw Nbt-ḥwt* is used for dating a transaction between persons.

## APPENDIX

In the following appendix the sequence of month-feasts/  
names is given as they occur on the individual ostraca from  
Deir el-Medīna.

## 1) O. BM. 29560 (= formerly 5639a)

- 4 : p3 šmt n Ḥr
- 8 : Dhwtj
- 12 : Pn-ipt
- 15 : Ḥwt-Ḥr
- 18 : K3-ḥr-k3
- vs. 4 : p3 ḥnw Mwt
- 6 : Pn-p3-Mḥyr
- 8 : Pn-'Imn-ḥtp
- 13 : Pn-ipt

## 2) O. DeM. reg. no. 1088 (unpubl.)

- 1 : Pn-Rnn-wtt
- 2 : 'Ip-īp  
Wp-rnpt
- 3 : Dhwtj
- 4 : ḥb n 'Imn
- 5 : ḥb Ck n pt
- 6 : (K3-ḥr-)k3 ḥb
- 7 : ḥn Mwt

## 3) O. DeM. 1265, col. I.

- 1 : ḥb n Dhwtj
- 4-5 : ḥbw nbw m ḥnty r ipt 'Imn////
- 9 : Pn-Ḥwt-Ḥr
- 11 : K3-ḥb-k3
- 15 : T3-Cbt
- 18 : Mḥr
- 22 : Pn-'Imn-(ḥtp)

## 4) O. Oxford 1115 (= formerly 3)

vs. 7 :  $\dot{H}wt-\dot{H}r$   
 rt. 2 :  $\dot{h}b n 'Imn, \dot{t}n(\dot{h}) nfr$   
 5 :  $Pn-'Imn-\dot{h}tp$   
 6 :  $p3 msw(t) n 3st$   
 7 :  $Pn-\dot{H}nsw$

## 5) O. Michael. 48

col. I,2 :  $[\dot{h}b] n Mr.s-gr$   
 4 :  $(p3)y.f \dot{h}b n Pth$   
 col. II,5 :  $w\dot{h}m ky \dot{h}b n p3 R^C$   
 15 :  $w\dot{h}m ky \dot{h}b n \dot{H}wt-\dot{H}r$

## 6) O. DeM. 297

3a :  $p3 \dot{h}nw Mwt$   
 4a :  $Pn-'Imn-\dot{h}tp$

## 7) O. Berlin 12406

3 :  $Pn-'Imn-\dot{h}tp$   
 11 :  $K3-\dot{h}r(k3)$

## 8) O. DeM. 230

5 :  $p3y.f \dot{h}b n T3-wrt$   
 6 :  $p3 \dot{h}b n T3-wrt$   
 7 :  $p3 \dot{h}b n 3st$   
 7-8 :  $[p3 \dot{h}b n] Cnkt$   
 8 :  $p3 \dot{h}b n Pth$

## 9) O. Michael.

7 :  $\dot{h}b n 'Imn$   
 vs. 1 :  $M\dot{h}r$

## 10) O. Liverpool 13625

1 : p3 ḥb n T3-wrt  
 3 : p3 ḥb n Hwt-Hr  
 4 : p3 ḥb n Mr.s-gr

## 11) O. Gardiner 11

3-4 : ḥn Nfirt-iry  
 12 : 'Imn ḏ3y  
 vs. 7 : p3 ḥnw Stḥy

12) *Giornale* 53

26 : ḥ<sup>C</sup> Wsr-M3<sup>C</sup>t-R<sup>C</sup>-stp.n.R<sup>C</sup>  
 27 : ḥb n nsw 'Imn-ḥtp

# A SYSTEMATIC BIBLIOGRAPHY ON DEIR EL-MEDĪNA

L.M.J. Zonhoven

## FOREWORD

During the preparations for the present book on Deir el-Medīna it was suggested that a bibliography pertaining to this village would be most useful, and I hope that the present one will be in the interest of both parties, Egyptology and Deir el-Medīna.

The criterion for inclusion in this bibliography has been that one or more of the three main aspects of Deir el-Medīna, namely the village, its inhabitants and their documents, particularly ostraca, must play a more or less substantial role in an article or book.

It goes without saying that the process of selecting is always individual and not always consistent, but the result will, of course, present the core of the material.

The criterion for selection explained above tends to omit books which are only concerned in a minor way with Deir el-Medīna, although, in an absolute way, they may contain more material than a simple article.

The literary material from Deir el-Medīna is, as a general rule, excepted from inclusion, unless a literary document has some particular bearing on one of the aspects of Deir el-Medīna. Also the material on Deir el-Medīna published up to about 1870 is omitted since it is generally too antiquated. We have tried to include as much material as possible, even if it is without scientific value since we think it to be better to include both valuable and less important material such as, for instance, short progress reports. The number of pages will in most cases be indicative of the quality.

The bibliography has been arranged systematically after an individual classification which depended of what the material itself had to offer. In many cases the entries are provided with remarks in order to characterize their contents or to excerpt their importance for Deir el-Medīna. I hope that a

certain inconsistency in this respect will be forgiven me. As much as possible of the most recent literature has been included and there is no year-limit as in the Annual Egyptological Bibliography.

The Russian in this bibliography has, for reasons of economy, been transliterated after the Library of Congress rules.

The classification scheme which follows is complemented by an alphabetical author index and a selected list of references to ostraca and papyri.

## THE CLASSIFICATION SCHEME:

- A General information
- B Miscellaneous publications of monuments and documents
- C General on documents (ostraca and papyri)
- D Publications of larger groups of ostraca including some of papyri
- E Individual ostraca or small groups of them
- F Papyri
- G Graffiti
- H Oracles and "Tirage au sort"
- I Miscellaneous documents from Deir el-Medina
- J Lexicography, toponymy.
- K Grammar
- L Related material: Late Ramesside Letters
- M Related material: Tomb Robberies Papyri
- N The village: its organization and social aspects
- O Juridical aspects
- P Economical aspects
- Q Religion and cult
- R Strikes
- S Persons, prosopography, genealogy
- T Archaeological reports and notes
- U Tombs including reports on complete ones
- V Miscellaneous archaeological material, including stelae when published in connection with other archaeological material
- W Stelae
- X Figured ostraca
- Y History and ostraca
- Z Varia

Lastly, we stress that articles or books almost always pertain to more than one heading of the above classification scheme, but that an article or book is classified under that heading where, in my opinion, its centre of interest lies. Some cross-references are included.

## A GENERAL INFORMATION

- 1 Brunner-Traut, E., *Die Alten Ägypter. Verborgenes Leben unter Pharaonen*, Stuttgart, 1974<sup>1</sup>.  
Ch. 13: Arbeiter halten sich Sklaven; Ch. 14: Habenichtse, Spitzbuben, Denunzienten und Mörder in einer kleinen Stadt; Ch. 15: Streik!; Kap. 16: Leichenfledderer. Resp. on the village, the ostraca, the strike and the tomb robberies.
- 2 Černý, J., *Les ouvriers en Egypte ancienne, Orient*, Praha 2 (1929), 24-26.  
Probably general (not seen).
- 3 Della Monica, M., *La classe ouvrière sous les pharaons. Etude du village de Deir el Medineh*, Paris, 1975.  
General survey without notes.
- 4 James, T.G.H., *The Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*, London, 1972.  
Ch. 8, about Bruyère's work at Deir el Medina and Černý's study of the ostraca.
- 5 Sauneron, S., *A la découverte de l'ancienne Egypte. Travaux de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire en 1969-1970, Archeologia*, Paris No. 38 (janvier-février 1971), 6-13.  
Very short history of the village and the French excavations there.
- 6 Tadema, A. and B. Tadema Sporry, *Vallei der Koningen. De graven van de farao's*, Haarlem, 1979.  
Two chapters "No grain, no tomb" and "The institution Set-Maat" are concerned with DeM. Numerous photographs, among which three so far unpublished ostraca.  
See also our number 7

## B MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATIONS OF MONUMENTS AND DOCUMENTS

- 7 Bogoslovsky, E.S., *Pamyatniki i dokumenty iz Der-el-Medina khranyashchiesya v muzeyakh SSSR*, (7 parts), *VDI* 1 (119), 1972, 79-103.  
2 (120), 1972, 62- 93.

- VDI 3 (121), 1972, 64-105.  
 4 (122), 1972, 65- 89.  
 1 (123), 1973, 78-104.  
 2 (124), 1973, 70-102.  
 3 (125), 1973, 80- 86.

"Monuments and Documents from Deir el-Medīna in the Museums of the U.S.S.R." Part 1, p. 79-86 bibliography.

- 8 Kitchen, K.A., *Ramesseid Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical. I. Fasc. 7-8*, Oxford, 1975.  
 p. 363-414, category 28: Life at Deir el-Medīna.  
 Section A: Collective sources (nrs 153-161) and section B: Individuals and Families (nrs 162-174). Contains some ostraca, but mainly monuments.
- 9 Maspero, G., *Rapport sur une mission en Italie, RecTrav* 2 (1880), 159-199; 3 (1882), 103-128.  
 Of the second part only p. 103-114 are devoted to DeM. Monuments in Turin, genealogies, discussion of words as *sdm-cš* and *St-M3ct*, etc.
- C GENERAL, ON DOCUMENTS (ostraca and papyri)
- 10 Allam, S., *Sind die nichtliterarischen Schriftostraka Brouillons?*, *JEA* 54 (1968), 121-128.
- 11 Černý, J., *Les ostraca hiératiques, leur intérêt et la nécessité de leur étude*, *CdE* VI, No. 12 (1931), 212-224.  
 Text of a lecture without notes on the importance of the study of the DeM ostraca.
- 12 Janssen, J.J., *Ostracologie*, *Phoenix*, Leiden 10 (1964), 116-120.
- 13 Roccati, A., *Tra i papiri torinesi (Scavi nel Museo di Torino, 7)*, *Oriens Antiquus* 14 (1975), 243-253.  
 A large variety of literary, magical and religious papyri originally belonged to the workmen's community at DeM and are at present in Turin.
- 14 Sauneron, S., *Ostraca et papyrus trouvés à Deir el-Médineh en 1950/51*, *BSFE* No. 9 (Février 1952), 13-20.  
 On the contents of the 2500 literary, non-literary and figured ostraca and papyri found during the 1950/51

excavations.

See also our numbers 1 and 4.

D PUBLICATIONS OF LARGER GROUPS OF OSTRACA INCLUDING  
SOME OF POPYRI

- 15 Allam, S., Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Ramesidenzeit, 2 vols [Text] und Tafelteil [= Transkriptionen aus dem Nachlass von J. Černý], Tübingen, 1973 = Urkunden zum Rechtsleben im alten Agypten, 1.
- 16 Černý, J., Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh, Le Caire,  
Tome [I] (Nos 1 à 113), 1935 = Documents de fouille, 3  
II (Nos 114 à 189), 1937 = , 4  
III (Nos 190 à 241), 1937 = , 5  
IV (Nos 242 à 339), 1939 = , 6  
V (Nos 340 à 456), 1951 = , 7  
[VII] (Nos 624-705), 1970 = , 14
- 17 Černý, J., Ostraca hiératiques. Nos. 25501 - 25832, Le Caire, 1935 = Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire.
- 18 Černý, J., Quelques ostraca hiératiques inédits de Thèbes au Musée du Caire, *ASAE* 27 (1927), 183-210.  
Transcription, translation and commentary of O. Cairo 25521, 25556, 25559 and 25608.
- 19 Černý, J. and A.H. Gardiner, Hieratic Ostraca. Vol. I, Oxford, 1957.
- 20 Daressy, G., Ostraca. Nos. 25001-25385, Le Caire, 1901 = Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire.  
For a review with many improved readings, see our number 30.
- 21 Daressy, G., Quelques ostraca de Biban el Molouk, *ASAE* 27 (1927), 161-182.  
Provisional publication of i.a. O. Cairo 25555, 25589, 25504, 25560 and 25559 in transcription and with translation and general commentary.

- 22 Gardiner, A.H., Hieratic Texts, in: *Theban Ostraca*. Edited from the Originals, now mainly in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Toronto, and the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Part I, London, 1913.
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(Indexes compiled by Mrs. J. Loose.)