



EGYPTOLOGISCHE UITGAVEN • III

THE *3h ikr n R^c*-STELAE
ON ANCESTER WORSHIP IN ANCIENT EGYPT



by
R.J. DEMARÉE

NEDERLANDS INSTITUUT VOOR HET NABIJE OOSTEN

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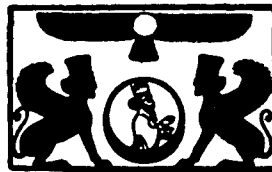
J.F. BORGHOUTS, E. VAN DONZEL, M.S.H.G. HEERMA VAN VOSS en T. TE VELDE
in samenwerking met de Vakgroep Egyptologie van de Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden

III

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Dedicated to the memory of:
Prof. dr. A. de Buck
Prof. dr. J. Černý

PREFACE

It is a time-honoured tradition when one finally finishes a doctoral thesis, to express gratitude to all those who have contributed to one's scholarly progress and to the preparation of this book.

My very warm thoughts turn to my first teacher Prof. A. de Buck under whose guidance I took my first faltering footsteps in Egyptology. The alas too few hours that I was privileged to spend in his study as his pupil will always remain among my most treasured memories.

My most sincere thanks must also go to Prof. J. Zandee who was not only kind enough to accept me as his pupil when I resumed my studies and who unlocked for me many of the secrets of the language and culture of Ancient Egypt, but who also agreed to take upon himself the laborious task of guiding me in the preparation of this thesis. He has in a very true sense been my supervisor and at the same time my mentor.

It is with really great pleasure that I take this opportunity to attempt to express some of the gratitude and affection that I feel for Prof. J.J. Janssen who shares my deep interest in the village and the people of Deir el-Medīna. It was he who first suggested the subject of this book and his tremendous contribution to its completion is only very inadequately expressed in his being co-referent.

Neither must I forget to mention Prof. M.S.G.H. Heerma van Voss, of whom I had the privilege to profit from his profound knowledge of religious literature, and who consented to act as co-referent.

I would also like to express my appreciation for the expert help and support of Dr. J.F. Borghouts.

Everybody tends to take institutions for granted. We are very happy to use their facilities and their funds and we grumble when things do not run smoothly. Yet when all is over by the shouting they tend to fade from our thoughts. This is definitely not my intention and I am glad to take this opportunity of thanking the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, the Instituut voor het Moderne Nabije Oosten, both of Leiden, and the Egyptologisch Seminarie of Amsterdam, for their particular contribution.

This also brings to mind the many people and museums who have helped me on my way by giving valuable information, providing photographs or granting permission to use certain photographs and texts. I am especially grateful to the Egyptian Antiquities Organization in Cairo, in the person of its former director Dr. Gamal Mukhtar, the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, in the person of its curator Dr. Mohammed Saleh, and the French Institute in Cairo, for their permission to visit their storerooms in Deir el-Medīna as well as in the Museum.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to the Griffith Institute Oxford, in particular to Mrs Helen Murray and Dr. J. Malèk, who allowed me to consult and make use of the notebooks and other papers of the late Prof. J. Černý.

A thesis is of course on one hand the product of science but this product can only become available in a useable form through the application of technology - the practical side of things. Without the technical wherewithal to produce a

book our knowledge would remain as obscure as the dark side of the moon. Thus I must also express my appreciation to Ms Gloria Kouwenberg for typing out the final version and being in a sense the architect by setting out its form. Likewise my sincere thanks go to the management of the publishers Terra BV and the printers Tesink BV, Zutphen, not only for their technical assistance but also for their generous support in many ways.

It is with great pleasure that I have the opportunity here to thank my brother, Mr. R.K. Demaree of The Hague, for producing most of the line-drawings; and Drs. C. Blokhuis of Leiden for the admirable way he wrote out the hieroglyphs for me.

For the polishing of my sometimes 'foreign' English I should like to thank Dr. W.V. Davies of the British Museum London and Mrs Rosemary Robson of Leiden.

Right at the very end of the list it is the custom to thank one's spouse. I must admit that I do not really think that this is the proper place because one's wife or husband is with one every arduous step of the way. They should share exaltations and they suffer our various journies through the 'Slough of Despond'. So last but definitely not least I want to express my deepest gratitude to my wife for her patience, her support, her encouragement and her understanding. She had the courage to endure this painful pilgrimage with me and for this I thank her from the bottom of my heart.

I INTRODUCTION

A hundred years ago G. Maspero published the first epigraphic results of his visit to the Egyptian collections of some Italian museums.¹

In his reports a group of remarkable stelae figures prominently and Maspero himself distinguished these little monuments very clearly:

"Il y a d'ailleurs toute une série de monuments qui, bien que ne portant pas toujours les titres des Sotmou-oshou, me paraissent se rapporter aux pratiques de leur culte".²

Yet, in spite of this early interest, and although during the years thereafter several scholars did pay attention to these stelae³, it took a long time before these rather unusual type of objects received more elaborate attention. In 1939 B. Bruyère in his excavation reports of Deir el-Medīna published an article specially devoted to the stelae and what he called 'Le culte du *Khou aker*'.⁴

Since then they have been virtually disregarded, apart from occasional references to the above mentioned article by Bruyère and some earlier articles or small notes.⁵

Most striking of all is the absence of any reference to these stelae in the handbooks.⁶

This could lead to the assumption that their interpretation and

- 1) *RT* II (1880), pp. 159-195; *RT* III (1881), pp. 103-128 and *RT* IV (1882), pp. 125-151.
- 2) *RT* III (1881), pp. 104-105. Of course, 'Sotmou-oshou' stands for *sdm-ꜥš*; at that time the real function of the inhabitants of the ancient village of Deir el-Medīna was still completely unknown.
- 3) E.g. J. Capart, *Recueil de Monuments Egyptiens* (Brussels 1902), p. 11; G. Maspero, *Guide Musée du Caire* (1915), p. 238.
- 4) *Rapport sur les Fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1934-1935), pp. 151-167.
- 5) See e.g. T.G.H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts* IX (London 1961), pp. 50-52; M. Tosi-A. Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina* (Turin 1972), pp. 226-227; M. Kolodko, in *Rocznik Muzeum, Warszawa*, 23 (1979), pp. 14-21.
- 6) Neither in J. Vandier, *Manuel* II, pp. 498-520, nor in E. Otto-

meaning are not yet fully understood or appreciated.

The question arises, therefore, if a thorough evaluation of the material available will lead to more insight not only into the subject being studied but also into an area of Egyptian religious beliefs in general.

One characteristic element of this type of stelae, which has been observed by all the scholars who have previously considered the subject, is the formula $3h \dot{1}kr n R^C$.

To obtain a complete picture of the basic material available it was necessary therefore firstly to collect all the relevant stelae.⁷

Now Maspero in his first articles⁸ listed 12 documents⁹, admitting however that there were more to be found in the museums in Europe. In his monograph article of 1939 Bruyère was able to enlarge this list with another 17 documents.¹⁰

Since then no other efforts have been made to systematically collect additional material, although Porter-Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I 2, pp. 681-705, in the list of stelae from Deir el-Medīna duly mentions wherever the formula $3h \dot{1}kr n R^C$ occurs.

Thorough research into publications and museum collections has enabled the present writer to locate another 26 documents of the relevant type.¹¹

W. Helck, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* I, 49-52.

7) And, of course, all other documents figuring the designation $3h \dot{1}kr n R^C$, see our Chapter II.

8) Cf. note 1 on p. 1.

9) In the complete catalogue of the stelae in our Chapter II, group A, these have been entered under the following numbers:
3, 5, 15, 16, 17, 22, 33, 37, 39, 43, 47 and 49.

10) In our catalogue (see preceding note) they bear the following numbers: 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 18, 19, 21, 23, 29, 34, 36, 38, 40, 41 and 52.

11) In the catalogue (see preceding note) they bear the following numbers: 1, 2, 10, 12, 13, 14, 20, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 35, 42, 44, 45, 46, 48, 50, 51, 53, 54 and 55.

There may of course exist more stelae of this type, not yet located, in museums or private collections.

This total of 55 stelae (complete or fragmentary) constitutes the basis for our intended study into the meaning and purpose of this type of document. For this reason it has been deemed necessary to present a fully detailed catalogue and an analysis of the complete group of stelae (*vide* Chapters II and III).

And because of the fact that the formula $3\dot{h} \dot{i}kr n R^C$ is such a characteristic element of these stelae, the following chapter (IV) is devoted to a thorough investigation into the meaning of the expressions $3\dot{h}$, $3\dot{h} \dot{i}kr$ and $3\dot{h} \dot{i}kr n R^C$. In the past little attention has been paid to the last named formula, beyond a few fairly general remarks. Maspero¹² wrote: "La formule ... est une sorte d'ex-voto, fait par les parents du mort à une partie de l'âme humaine distincte de celle à qui on adresse d'ordinaire les prières des stèles". He continued by explaining the status of the so-called 'Khou instruit' and then observed: "Le défunt est identifié ici au soleil, comme ailleurs il l'est à Osiris: l'idée de lumière contenue dans le terme de $3\dot{h}$, se continue dans le titre de R^C . C'est au défunt glorieux et instruit, resplendissant et omniscient comme le soleil, que s'adresse le proscynème de nos stèles. L'identification avec Râ, qu'on croit avoir été exclusivement réservée aux rois, était donc accordée aux simples particuliers sous la XIXe et sous la XXe dynasties, sinon plus tôt."

Maspero's opinion has, in fact, served as the basic concept about both this type of stelae and the characteristic designation figuring in the, usually, short texts upon them.

Bruyère in 1939 was not only able to enlarge the number of known stelae from 12 to 29, he also did some further research into the meaning of the special formula, basing himself upon the general conclusions made by Maspero, and the cult connected with it, thereby also taking into account other documents from Deir el-Medîna.

12) *RT* III (1881), pp. 105-106.

In his enumeration of the characteristic features Bruyère¹³ refers to a number of common elements: 1. the divinity appealed to is, whenever mentioned, always Re-Harakhty; 2. the stelae all have their provenance either in the houses or the cult-places of the Village; 3. the professional title or occupation of the dedicatee seldom or never occurs in the terse texts on the stelae; 4. the dedicatee generally sniffs a lotus flower held in one hand; 5. most of the stelae have a rounded top and appear very much like 'normal' funeral stelae.

His first conclusion from these findings then reads: "Les ex-voto au (*3h 1kr n RC*) semblent presque exclusivement réservés aux artisans de Deir el Médineh de la XVIIIe et de la XXe dynastie. La relation entre Harmakhis et le *Khou aker* est évidente".¹⁴ He then goes on to describe the cult of Harmakhis from the beginning of Egyptian history and briefly discusses the development of the expression *3h 1kr*. After his catalogue of the stelae Bruyère argues: "Il est certain que cette liste est incomplète; mais elle suffit à confirmer la théorie émise par Maspero et que corroborent nos propres recherches".

Bruyère's main conclusions¹⁵ follow after he presents a short list of related documents from Deir el-Medîna:

"Cette liste n'a pas non plus la prétension d'être complète mais elle contient assez d'exemples pour confirmer les renseignements des stèles et pour permettre de certifier que le culte du *Khou aker* est un culte des ancêtres qui se pratiquait dans la maison et comportait les mêmes rites et les mêmes offrandes que les cultes des dieux dans les temples et des morts dans les tombes. ... Pour conclure, le culte du *Khou aker*, qui n'est pas une innovation du Nouvel Empire, remonterait par delà l'époque thinite, jusqu'à celle des adorateurs d'Horus, sous une autre forme il est vrai, et, par sa concordance de temps, de lieux et de doctrine avec le culte héliopolitain d'Harmakhis, honorerait

13) *Op.cit.*, p. 152.

14) *Op.cit.*, p. 153.

15) *Op.cit.*, pp. 166-167

chez les défunts assimilés à Rê, l'essence solaire de leur double admise à naviguer dans la barque du dieu en qualité de <<suivant, de compagnon>> et pour tout dire d'adepte parfait."

In the foregoing we have already indicated that the conclusions reached by both Maspero and, in more elaborate form, Bruyère have influenced the views and opinions concerning the type of stela under discussion and the characteristic designation of the dedicatee ever since, even if very little individual attention has been paid to them.¹⁶

It is our intention therefore (in Chapter V) to study this group of stelae featuring the common characteristics and designation of the dedicatee principally in order to try and answer the following questions:

- a. Did all the stelae originate in Deir el-Medīna and, if so, what could be the reason for that?
- b. As far as possible to ascertain, who were the dedicatees?
- c. What exactly is the meaning of the designation *3ḥ ḫkr n R^c*?
- d. Are there any indications as to the real meaning and function of these stelae?
- e. Is there really a connection between the stelae (and the designation of the dedicatee) and an ancestor cult, as claimed by Maspero and Bruyère, although others¹⁷ deny the existence of an elaborate ancestor cult in ancient Egypt?

16) One exception however should be noted here. J. Černý in *Ancient Egyptian Religion* (London 1952), pp. 83-84, wrote in connection with his description of the sun-religion: "The deceased ... took part in the nightly course of the sun as a spectator in the company of the sun-god. From the analogy between the sun and man, however, only a small step was needed to a complete identification of the two, where man, after physical death, was supposed to form part of the sun-god's substance, becoming 'excellent spirit of Re'."

17) Cf. *LÄ* II, 102 (S. Allam); *LÄ* I, 111 (D. Wildung).

II THE DOCUMENTS

In view of our aim to study meaning and purpose of a distinctive class of stelae mainly connected with the artisan village of Deir el-Medīna, the documentary evidence certainly has to precede all considerations and eventual conclusions.

As already indicated above, extensive research has increased the number of stelae to be considered from the 29 known to Bruyère to more than 50 known at present. Likewise our search produced a variety of other documents connected with our main subject, to which earlier studies paid little or no attention.

Since most of this material is inadequately published or not published at all (a partial exception, of course, being formed by the group of stelae in the Turin Museum which were described by Tosi-Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 49-58), we shall first present a fully documented catalogue of all the known stelae. This catalogue (A) will be followed by a list of documents from Deir el-Medīna directly connected with, or related to, our main subject (B) and a list of additional objects (C). Thereafter in Chapter III the stelae will be studied as a group, concentrating on typology, provenance and dating, whereas the main question as to their meaning and purpose will be treated in Chapter V.

A. Stelae

The following catalogue has been compiled according to the alphabetic order of the names. When two or more dedicatees occur on a stela, this document is listed under the name of the one who comes first in the alphabet. The different forms of these stelea have been divided into eight main types with eight sub-types to facilitate the typological study of the group. This division is simply based upon a descriptive analysis and does not therefore intend to be a tool in itself towards dating, interpretation or purpose. In accordance the following types are arranged progressively, *i.e.* beginning with the most elementary repre-

sentation and ending with the more elaborate.

- a round-topped stela, representing the dedicatee seated and facing right; in the arch is a text in vertical lines.
 - (1) in front of the dedicatee is an altar.
 - (2) like (1) but dedicatee facing left.
- b generally like a (1), but in the arch besides or above the text are one or two *wd3t*-eyes, a *šn*-ring and the water-symbol upon a *i^cb*-vase.
 - (1) like b but dedicatee facing left.
 - (2) like b but upper part of stela pointed.
- c generally like a (1), but in the arch is a sun-disk or solar barque separated from the main scene.
 - (1) like c but upper part of stela pointed.
- d stela with pointed top; in the upper part is a text in vertical lines; the main scene representing two dedicatees, seated or kneeling, facing each other with an altar in between them.
 - (1) like d but upper part separated from main scene and containing a separate scene.
- e generally like b, but in front of the dedicatee one or two standing figures are offering; usually there is an altar between dedicatee and offerers.
 - (1) like e but with offering figures in two registers.
 - (2) like e but in the upper part or arch is a sun-disk or solar barque.
- f elaborate rectangular stela with pyramidal top; the scene in the upper part is separated from the main scene representing the dedicatee seated, facing right, in front of an altar.
- g stela with pointed top; the scene in the upper part - a sun-disk or a solar barque - is separated from the main scene representing the dedicatee seated or standing, facing left and adoring royal figures;

between dedicatee and royal figures is an altar.

h round-topped stela; the scene in the arch is separated from the main scene representing the dedicatee, standing and facing left, adoring a sitting figure of a god.

In the following catalogue the basic information for each item is given according to a standard pattern to present a documentation which is as complete as possible.

In general the date of each document is based on the criteria given by J. Vandier, *Manuel* II, pp. 515 ff., and III, *La Statuaire*, pp. 481 ff. However, also other indications have been taken into consideration, see below Chapter III 6. Dating, pp. 186-187.

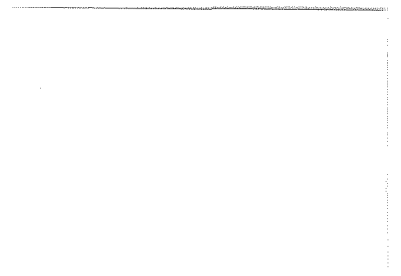
Dimensions are given in the order height, width and eventually thickness.

In the Description by 'right' and 'left' is always meant 'spectator's right' and 'spectator's left', unless otherwise stated.

In the texts we have translated 3ḥ ṯkr already by 'able spirit' in anticipation of our commentary on this designation in Chapter IV.

The Bibliography first notes whether or not the stela was known to Bruyère in his already mentioned article 'Le culte du *Khou aker*', followed by references to PM = Porter-Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, Tosi-Roccati = *Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina*, and other publications wherever known.

In the Commentary, besides a short commentary on eventual peculiarities, general remarks on style and date of the stela are intended as preliminary data towards the study of this group of stelae in Chapter III (see pp. 173 ff.). Furthermore, wherever possible, an attempt has been made to identify the dedicatee represented on the stela.



A 1

(Pl.I)

Name: Any - 3ny.

Date: 19th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: 0,36 x 0,21 m.

Technique: figure of dedicatee in raised relief, other scenes in shallow sunk relief and text incised.

Colours: reddish brown on sun-disk and body of the man; traces of yellow on solar barque, šms'-sign and altar.

Conservation: small chips off lower edge and corners of the cavetto-cornice; large crack running down from top.

Type: f.

Provenience: Deir el-Medīna ? (according to old catalogue: Heliopolis).

Present location: Hannover, Kestner Museum 2936.

Description: inside a rectangular 'chapel' the dedicatee is seated on a stool¹, clad in a long skirt and wearing a broad collar and a short wig; he holds a lotus-flower in his left hand and a cloth in his right hand; in front of him is an altar bearing loaves, fruit (a fig) and vegetables (a gourd and lettuce); on the lintel of the 'chapel' is a solar barque, adored by two baboons; in the pyramidal superstructure Isis and Nephthys kneeling on an elongated 3h.t-sign adore the symbol of the West (Imnt.t); on each post of the 'chapel' is a vertical column of text; the text on the right post is continued on the right side, where it is placed in front of the figure of a standing man, who wears a short folded skirt (military dress) and long wig and has his hands raised in adoration; above the altar inside the 'chapel' is a text in two vertical lines.

Text: right (continued on the right side)

[illegible]

"A boon which the king gives (to) Re-Harakhty, Atum, Lord of the Two Lands, Heliopolitan, that he may give all good and pure things for the ka of the able spirit of Re, Any, justified²."

left

"A boon which the king gives (to) Osiris, Foremost of the West,
that he may give all good and pure things for the ka of the
able spirit of Re, A(ny ...)."

inside

"The Osiris Any, justified²."

Bibliography: not in Bruyère; PM I 2, 717; M.Cramer, ZAS 72 (1936), pp. 99-100 and Pl.VIII 3.

Commentary: The scene of the solar barque on the lintel can be compared with similar representations on our Docs.

A 2, A 9, A 11, A 20, A 27, A 42, A 44 and A 48.

The scene of the two goddesses in the pyramidal superstructure is also found on our Doc. A 36.³

The general style of this little monument (certainly one of the finest in the present group) definitely points to a date in the 19th dynasty: in this regard the dress and short wig of the man are especially decisive. If this stela comes from Deir el-Medīna, which is probable, yet by no means certain, the identity of the dedicatee is not easy to determine. From this period several persons named Any are known in the prosopography of Deir el-Medīna:

1. the son of Kaḥa, cf. O. Cairo 25573, I, 6 and stela BM 191, T.G.H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts* IX, pl. XXXIX.
2. the son of Kasa, cf. stela BM 369, T.G.H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts* IX, pl. XXXVII.
3. the brother of chief workman Neferḥotep the Younger, cf. J. Černý, *Rép. Onomastique*, p. 106; related through his sister (cf. M. Bierbrier, *Late New Kingdom*, p. 21 and Chart V) to no. 4.
4. the son of Ipuy and Duaemmerset, cf. Turin 50217⁴, Tosi-Roccati, pp. 186-187, and J. Černý, *Rép. Onomastique*, p. 112.
5. the son of Nakhy, cf. O. Cairo 25796, II, 20.

Of these five no.3 might be identical with either no.1 or 2, as the term 'brother' in Deir el-Medīna at least is commonly used for 'brother-in-law', 'colleague' or even 'companion of the same generation'.⁵

In the absence of any further information on this stela it seems impossible to identify our Any with any of the listed namesakes.

In fact it is even probable that, as all of these five

lived during the second half of the 19th dynasty, our Any belonged to an older generation - i.e. he was perhaps the grandfather of one of them. This would certainly be more in accordance with the most likely date of the stela - mid-19th dynasty.

- 1) For this type see Vandier, *Manuel* IV, pp. 88-89 and fig. 25.
- 2) The writing of $m3^C$ $\underline{h}rw$ with two lines only is not uncommon, at least in Deir el-Medīna inscriptions, cf. A.-P. Zivie, *La tombe de Pached*, p. 28; see also our Chapter III 5. Epigraphy.
- 3) As a motif - Isis and Nephthys in connection with the sunrise - this does not appear before the 19th dynasty; cf. J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott* (Berlin 1969), pp. 202-203.
- 4) Possibly from Tomb 1069, cf. Bruyère, *Rapport* 1926, pp. 35-36.
- 5) Cf. M.L. Bierbrier, *JEA* 66 (1980), pp. 104-106.

A 2

(Pls. II and XIV)

Names: Amenemone and Kha'emnūn -²Imn-m-īnt and ^{H^C}-(m)-Nwn

Date: 19th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: 0,34 x 0,29 m.

Technique: shallow sunk relief with incised text.

Colours: no traces.

Conservation: slight damage on lower edge and lower right corner.

Type: e (2).

Provenance: Abydos (according to Cairo Catalogue).

Present location: Cairo, Egyptian Museum J.E. 25452 = 16/3/25/14 =

S.R. 14256.

Description: in the arch is the solar barque with the sun-disk on the 3h.t-sign adored by two baboons¹; left and right under the barque is a fish^{1a}; in the register beneath, the dedicatee is seated on a chair, smelling a lotus-flower held in his left hand, while his right hand rests on his lap; before him stands another man with a lotus-flower in his right hand and a cloth in his left hand; both men have a cone of unguent on the head; between the two men is an altar bearing a libation vessel, circular loaves and vegetables (lettuce); above and between the two men is a text in nine vertical lines.

Text: right



"The Osiris, the able spirit² of Re, w^Cb-priest of Djesert-Amun³, Kha'(em)nūn, justified on every day⁴ forever."

3  4  5 

" His son, . . . , w^c b-priest in Djesert-Amun³ , Nebwen⁵ ."





in the arch[↖] and [↗] "Re, the great god."

Commentary: As indicated by the J.E.-number this stela entered the collections of the Cairo Museum (or was registered) in 1883 (cf. Bernard V. Bothmer, 'Numbering Systems of the Cairo Museum' in *Textes et Langues de l'Egypte Pharaonique* xxx, pp. 114-115). The provenance as given by the Catalogue is therefore hardly certain, Deir el-Medîna being equally possible, as Mariette seems to have confused cases containing objects from Abydos and Deir el-Medîna (cf. J. Černý, *BIFAO* 27, p. 195 note 1); see too our Docs. A 11 and A 28. In view of the personal names and the titles on this stela a Theban origin is anyhow the most likely. The elaborate dress of both men indicates a late 19th dynasty date for this stela. If indeed its provenance is Deir el-Medîna the names of the two men represented are unfortunately too common in the community to identify them with any certainty.

Amenemone may be the father of Baki, mentioned in O. Or.
Inst. Chicago 17007, 16 and 21, of years 35-37 of
Ramesses II (unpubl.), or the son of Pashedu, cf.

J. Černý, *Rép. Onomastique*, p. 41. The only known Kha'emnūn from the late 19th dynasty is the second husband of the famous Naunakhte, cf. *JEA* 31, pp. 47 ff. Yet it is more probable that we are dealing here with a member of his family from an older generation (e.g. his grandfather), although he is otherwise unattested.

No links are known between the families of the possible persons represented.

- 1) Both labelled as  *dw3.t* - "worshipper". For the baboons (sometimes called the 'Eastern Souls') adoring the god in the solar barque see BD Spell 100; H. de Meulenaere, *JEO* 20 (1967-1968), pp. 2-20; J. Assmann, *Das Grab des Basa* (Mainz 1977), p. 25 note 7 and p. 77 note 99; *ibid.*, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott* (Berlin 1969), pp. 207-214.
- 1a) For the fishes in front of the solar barque cf. J. Borghouts, *OMRO* 51 (1971), pp. 210 ff. Excursus III; and I. Gamer-Wallert, *Fische und Fischkulte im alten Ägypten* (Wiesbaden 1970), pp. 109-115 (Tilapia and *3bḏw*-fish).
- 2) For the writing *3ḥ ḏk* instead of *3ḥ ḏkr* see p. 197; for the change  into  compare e.g. *ḏsk* written  in O. DeM 114, rt. 6, cf. also E. Suys, *La Sagesse d'Ani*, p. 87 and W. Westendorf, *Grammatik der medizinischen Texte* (1962), p. 10, § 22. See for the opposite P. BM 10053, 1,9: *ḏk* for *3k* - 'damage'.
- 3) I.e. most probably Deir el-Bahari, cf. WB V, 618, 18.
- 4) Read *r r^C nb nhḥ*, cf. WB II, 402, 2.
- 5) For this name see Ranke, *PN* I, 184, 7 (but the name in the reference Pleyte-Rossi 58, 12 is to be read *Nb-wnn.f*, see the corresponding transcription in Gardiner, *RAD*, 75, 10).

Name: Amenmose - ^ʾ*Imn-msw*.

Date: first half 19th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: 0,24 x 0,15 m.

Technique: shallow sunk relief with incised text.

Colours: no traces.

Conservation: small damages on the edges.

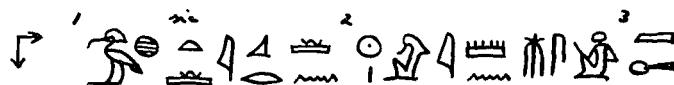
Type: *b* (1).

Provenance: Deir el-Medīna (Drovetti Collection).

Present location: Turin, Museo Egizio 50016 (formerly 1520; 184/121).

Description: in the arch is the ^š*n*-ring upon the water symbol and a vase flanked by two *wḏ3t*-eyes; below on the right the dedicatee is seated on a chair, holding an ^c*b3*-sceptre in his right hand and a cloth in his left hand which is placed on his lap; before him is a *ḥ3t*-altar with sixteen stylized loaves of bread; under the altar is a wine-jar on a stand; above the altar is a short text in three vertical lines.

Text:



"The able spirit of Re , Amenmose, justified."

Bibliography: Bruyère 8; PM I 2, 716; Tosi-Roccati, pp. 51-52 and 267.

Commentary: Of all the known stelae of this group we have here the only example with the dedicatee holding an ^c*b3*-sceptre¹ instead of a lotus-flower in his right or left hand. Likewise the form of the offerings on the altar is unique².

Although the name Amenmose is rather common in the community of Deir el-Medīna³, from the early 19th dynasty

only the following come into consideration:

1. the son of Pashedu (the owner of Tomb 292), safely dated to the first third of the reign of Ramesses II, cf. M.L. Bierbrier, *Late New Kingdom*, pp. 24-25 and Chart VI.
2. the son of Penbuy (the owner of Tomb 10), cf. Bruyère, *Rapport 1923-1924*, p. 108; possibly the son-in-law of Siwadjy, cf. Bruyère, *Rapport 1922-1923*, p. 38.
3. the owner of Tomb 9, cf. J. Černý, *Rép. Onomastique*, pp. 69 ff.; he was most probably the father-in-law of chief workman Baki, who married his daughter Taysen and named two of his children after her parents, cf. J. Černý, *Community*, p. 315 and the evidence from Tomb 298 in Bruyère, *Rapport 1927*, p. 92; he was also the father-in-law of NeferCabet (the owner of Tomb 5), who married his daughter Ese or Taēse⁴, cf. J.Černý, *Rép. Onomastique*, pp.51 and 69; all this evidence makes it practically certain that he lived during the early 19th dynasty and he is to be carefully distinguished from his namesake Amenmose (who bears the same title *hrp-Srkt*), known from the first half of the 20th dynasty, e.g. O. Gard. 4, rt. 3-4 (= *H.O.* 27,3), possibly a grandson of Baki, cf. J. Černý, *Community*, p. 315.

Most likely the Amenmose of this stela is no. 3, although without any further evidence no conclusive identification will be possible.

- 1) Or *hrp*-sceptre, the two being difficult to distinguish: see the remarks by Gardiner in *EG*³, Sign-List under S 42, and J. Vandier, *Manuel IV*, pp. 255-256 (in favour of *hrp*-sceptre).
- 2) Probably *gsw*-bread, cf. H. Junker, *Giza III*, pp. 113-114; J.Vandier, *Manuel IV*, pp. 96-98; Vandier often incorrectly describes these

as a 'natte des roseaux, traitée en projection verticale', *Manuel* II, p. 507. P. Munro, however, thinks a kind of re-interpretation might be possible, *GM* 5 (1973), pp. 13-16. Cf. too H. Wild in *Hommages à Serge Sauneron* I (1979), p. 307 note 3.

- 3) Cf. Tosi-Roccati, p. 37.
- 4) She was definitely not married to his father Neferrenpet, as stated by J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, p. 76; see now also M.L. Bierbrier, 'Terms of relationship at Deir el-Medīna', *JEA* 66 (1980), p. 101.

A 4

Name: Amennakht - *'Imn-nḥtw*.

Date: mid 20th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: 0,31 x 0,53 m.

Technique: ostrakon with line drawing.

Colours: figure in red and black; fillet and throne in green.

Conservation: broken in three pieces, repaired; figure and text rubbed off.

Type: a (2).

Provenance: Thebes, Valley of the Kings, Tomb 9 (Ramesses VI).


Present location: Cairo, Egyptian Museum, Cat. 25136, Exhibited Room 24.

Description: on the right the dedicatee is seated on a throne¹, holding a lotus-flower in his right hand; his left hand posed on his lap is making a gesture towards the altar with four stands, bearing circular loaves and vegetables (lettuce)²; before the altar is a text in six vertical lines³.

Text:

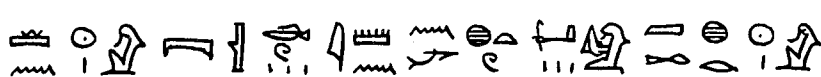
¹ 

² 

³ 

⁴ 

⁵ 

⁶ 

(5-6) "... for the ka of the able spirit of Re, the chief draughtsman Amennakht, justified with Re."

Bibliography: Bruyère 20; not in PM; G. Daressy, *Ostraca*, p. 27 and Pl. XXVI.

Commentary: This ostrakon is either a sketch or a real stela⁴. In favour of the latter alternative are the dimensions and the finished state, including the colours. The general style and the find-spot of this ostrakon point to a date in the 20th dynasty. Although the name Amennakht is rather common during the 20th dynasty, there is little doubt that in this case the famous scribe of the necropolis, son of Ipuu, will be the dedicatee. Only he in the mid-20th dynasty could have boasted the title 'chief draughtsman', cf. J. Černý, *Community*, pp. 339 ff. This view is supported by the find-spot, i.e. the Tomb of Ramesses VI. Amennakht, son of Ipuu, also appears on our Doc. A 16, cf. p. 51.

- 1) Cf. our Doc. A 19, note 2 on p. 59.
- 2) The typical cover also appears on our Docs. A 16, 22, 26, 38 and 54.
- 3) The text, already hardly readable in Daressy's time, is at present completely rubbed off. A translation of the fragmentary text therefore seems unwarranted.
- 4) For other stelae in this form cf. e.g. our Docs. A 14 and A 45; cf. too E. Brunner-Traut, *Die altägyptischen Scherbenbilder* (Wiesbaden 1956), p. 85 and note 1; (also *ibid.*, *Egyptian Artists/Sketches* (Leiden/Istanbul 1979), p. 7: "ostraka ... being a modest substitute for stelae) and Bengt E.J. Peterson, *Zeichnungen aus einer Totenstadt* (Stockholm 1973), Pls. 34 and 35.

From the prosopography of Deir el-Medīna we know of three men named Anḥotep:


1. the son of Sennedjem (the owner of Tomb 1), cf.
J. Černý, *Rép. Onomastique*, pp. 3 and 22; Bruyère, *Rapport* 1934-1935, p. 333 (brother of Khabekhnet);
J. Černý, *Bankes Coll.*, stela no. 6 (son of Ijneferti, Sennedjem's wife)³; B. Bruyère, *La tombe no.1 de Sennedjem*, p. 10.
2. the son of Khabekhnet (the owner of Tomb 2), cf.
J. Černý, *Rép. Onomastique*, pp. 16, 28 and 32.⁴
3. the brother of Nefer'abet (the owner of Tomb 5), cf.
J. Černý, *op.cit.*, pp. 51-53; 'brother' may however for 'brother-in-law' or 'companion of the same generation', in which case this Anḥotep might be the same as no.2.

The Anḥotep of this stela is most probably the son of Sennedjem, although the possibility that another member of his family is meant, cannot wholly be excluded. In any case the date of the stela conforms well with the dating of Sennedjem's family - Sethos I/early Ramesses II -, cf. M.L. Bierbrier, *Late New Kingdom*, p. 31.

In O. Gard. 133 (unpubl.) from year 36 of Ramesses II an Anḥotep (possibly the son of Khabekhnet) appears in the company of Nefer'abet, Amenmose, the draughtsman Ra'ḥotep, the guardian Khawy and the ^C*nḥ-n-nīwt* Taysen; cf. J.J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, p. 53.

For other possible members of Sennedjem's family in this group of stelae, cf. our Docs. A 6, A 28 and A 40.

1) This basket or bowl with offerings has been interpreted in several ways: Tosi-Roccati, p. 53 - 'long, thin pieces of bread'; Bruyère, *Rapport* 1922-1923, p. 15 last line- 'a bunch of onions'.

Usually in descriptions of stelae the problem as to the interpretation of these offerings is simply left unnoticed. In the present group of documents this bowl with offerings (for the form of the bowl see J. Vandier, *Manuel* IV, p. 169, fig. 60, type 54) also occurs on A 16, A 32, A 33 and A 40. On our Doc. A 16 the colour of the offerings in the bowl is yellow. Yet the same type of offerings in the top register of stela Louvre E 12964 (colour illustration in *Archéologia*, décembre 1978, p. 27) shows a bundle of green stems with yellow tops bound together with a kind of string. Green stems with yellow tops represent flax, as shown by the famous scene in the Tomb of Sennedjem (No. 1 at Deir el-Medīna) where the latter is pulling flax in the *Sh.t-ḥtp* (colour illustration e.g. in E. Otto and M. Hirmer, *Osiris und Amun*, Pl. XV on p. 115). Now the representation of the offerings in the bowl resembles very much the hieroglyph  - *ḏr*, which according to Gardiner *EG*³, Sign-List M 36, depicts "a bundle of flax stems showing the bolls". The usual colour of this hieroglyph is yellow, cf. Hilda Petrie, *Egyptian Hieroglyphs of the First and Second Dynasties*, Pl. XX, nrs. 473 ff. and Edward L.B. Terrace, *Egyptian Paintings from the Middle Kingdom*, Pl. XLII. This fact corroborates well with the colour of the offerings in the bowl on our Doc. A 16. Nevertheless also the colour-scheme as seen on the above-mentioned Louvre stela points towards 'flax'. Therefore it seems certain that the 'bowl with offerings' represents a bundle of flax stems, which leaves us with the question as to the meaning of this type of offering. Although the possibility is not to be excluded that we are dealing here with a figurative expression of the offering of linen (for clothing) to the dead (i.e. comparable to the more usual *šs mnḥt* in hieroglyphs under the altar on funeral stelae), I have been unable to find textual or pictorial support for this idea.

- 2) See also our Doc. A 22.

- 3) Černý is certainly wrong in stating that Anḥotep was not her son, but her grandson.
- 4) He is probably to be identified with the so-named priest in a procession depicted in the same tomb, cf. J. Černý, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), p. 189, fig. 14; see also the stela published by J.P. Corteggiani, *BIFAO* 75 (1975), pp. 152-155 and pl. XIV.

A 6

(Pl.III)

Name: Webkhet - *Wbḥt*.

Date: 19th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: 0,19 x 0,13 m.

Technique: shallow sunk relief with incised text.

Colours: traces of red on the body of the female figure; black on the wig and the chair; yellow on the background; white on the altar and the borders.

Conservation: right edge restored.

Type: a (1).

Provenience: Deir el-Medīna (Drovetti Collection).

Present location: Turin, Museo Egizio 50013 (formerly 1542; 194/147).

Description: on the left the dedicatee is seated on a chair, holding a lotus-flower in her left hand and a cloth in her right hand which is placed on her lap; before her stands an altar bearing circular loaves and vegetables; on her head a small lotus-flower protrudes from her wig.

Text:



"The able spirit of Re, Webkhet, justified."

Bibliography: Bruyère 10; PM I 2, 735; Tosi-Roccati, pp. 49 and 267.

Commentary: The general (archaizing) style, as well as costume and wig, point to a date in the first half of the 19th dynasty.

From this period two or three women named Webkhet are known in the prosopography of Deir el-Medīna:

1. the daughter of Khabekhnet and Saḥte, cf. J. Černý, *Rép. Onomastique*, p. 16 and M.L. Bierbrier, *Late New Kingdom*, p.30 and Chart VIII; she is most probably the

same as no. 2.

2. the wife of her cousin Nekhemmut, cf. M.L. Bierbrier, *Late New Kingdom*, p. 31 and Chart VIII; also J. Černý, *Bankes Coll.*, stela no. 9.
3. the wife of the chief workman Neferhotep the Younger (the owner of Tomb 216), cf. J. Černý, *Rép. Onomastique*, pp. 102-108 and M.L. Bierbrier, *op.cit.*, p. 21 and Chart V; she was the daughter of chief workman Baki, cf. Bruyère, *Rapport* 1927, pp. 92, 115 and 127.

In the absence of any further evidence it seems difficult to decide which of the two or three ladies might be the dedicatee of this stela. Whatever the case, this Webkhet most probably also appears on our Doc. A 39.

A 7

(Pl.III)

Name: Baki - *B3ki*.

Date: first half 19th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: 0,19 x 0,14 m (x 0,035 m).

Technique: shallow sunk relief with incised text.

Colours: no traces.

Conservation: slight damage on the lower right corner.

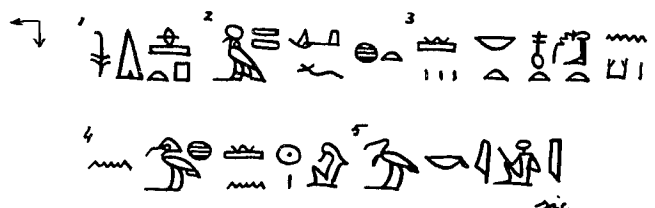
Type: a (1).

Provenience: Deir el-Medīna (House C. VI).

Present location: Paris, Louvre Museum E 16369.

Description: on the left the dedicatee is seated on a chair, holding a lotus-flower in his left hand and a cloth in his right hand which is placed on his lap; before him is an altar bearing circular loaves, a vase full of grapes, fruit and a large bouquet of flowers; under the altar at each side a wine-jar; in the arch above the whole scene is a text in five vertical lines.

Text:



"A boon which the king gives (to) Re-Harakhty, that he may give all good and pure things for the ka of the spirit¹ of Re, Baki, justified²."

Bibliography: Bruyère 28; PM I 2, 705 (stating erroneously his title to be Foreman in the Place of the Truth);
Bruyère, *Rapport* 1934-1935, pp. 164, 310 and Pl. XXIII;
K.A. Kitchen, *KRI*, I, 373, 12-14.

Commentary: This stela was found in the small corridor behind room II of House C. VI. Amongst other finds from this house are our Docs. A 23 and B 1. Furthermore this house offers a clue as to where the $3\dot{h} \dot{i}kr$ stelae were placed, i.e. in the so-called *niches laraires*, cf. p. 286.

The figure of the seated man with short wig and long robe date this stela to the first half of the 19th dynasty.

From this period only two men named Baki are known in the prosopography of Deir el-Medīna:

1. the chief workman Baki (the owner of Tomb 298) who held office during the reign of Sethos I and the first years of Ramesses II, cf. J. Černý, *Community*, pp. 291 and 315.
2. a workman, the son of Amenemone, cf. O.Or. Inst. Chicago 17007, rt. I 23 and possibly O. DeM 333, 3, 4, 6, 7 and 9, both from year 37 of Ramesses II.

Of these two no. 1 is clearly the most likely candidate for being the dedicatee of this stela, the more so since in House C. VI a fragment of a stela dedicated to probably his son Mose was also found, cf. our Doc. A 23.

- 1) For the writing $3\dot{h} n R^C$, also appearing on our Docs. A 10, A 13 and A 42, see p. 275.
- 2) The writing $m3^C$ for $m3^C\dot{h}rw$, though certainly a mistake, is not uncommon on hieroglyphic monuments; see also our Doc. B 11, pp. 155-156.

A 8

Name: Bukentef - *Bw-kntw.f.*

Date: 19th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: 0,27 x 0,18 m.

Technique: shallow sunk relief with incised text.

Colours: traces of red on bodies of the men and in the centre of the
šn-ring; black on the chair and the wigs.

Conservation: very well preserved.

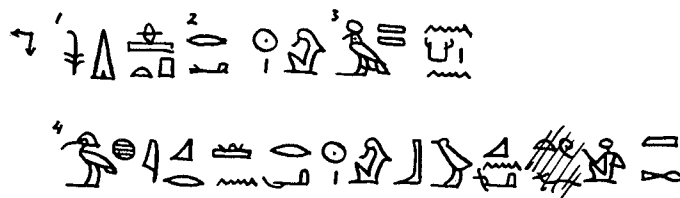
Type: e.

Provenance: Deir el-Medīna (based upon internal evidence).

Present location: Warsaw, National Museum MN 143341 ('en dépôt depuis
1960') (formerly Louvre E 13062, Bibliothèque
nationale 43bis).

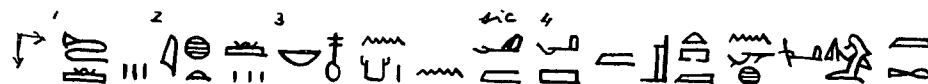
Description: in the arch is the *šn*-ring upon the water symbol¹ flanked
by two *wḏ3t*-eyes; a reed mat separates these symbols from
the main scene; below on the left the dedicatee is
seated on a chair, holding a lotus-flower in his left
hand and a cloth in his right hand; before him stands
another man, presenting an offering which consists of a
vase with flowers; between the two men is an altar
bearing a vase full of grapes, two loaves of bread and
vegetables (lettuce).

Text: left



"A boon which the king gives (to) Re-Harakhty for the *ka*
of the able spirit of Re, Bukentef, justified."

right



"An offering of all good things for the ka of (sic) the servant² in the Place of the Truth, Nekh, justified."

Bibliography: Bruyère 17; PM I 2, 717; F. Caillaud, *Voyage à Thèbes*, Pl. XXXIX 4; G. Ledrain, *Les Monuments de la Bibliothèque nationale*, Pl. XXIX; J. Capart, *Recueil de Monuments Egyptiens*, p. 11 and Pl. XLVI; K. Michalowski, *Textes et Langages xxx* (Hommage Champollion), p. 222 (here erroneously dated to the Middle Kingdom !).³

Commentary: The figures of the two men, the short wigs and the costumes date this stela to the 19th dynasty.

As the seated man on the left is clearly the dedicatee and the man on the right the offerer, there is probably a scribal error in the text on the right where one would expect *n k3.k in* instead of *n k3 n* etc. (of course the last *n* could stand for *in*).



The name Buḳentef is not uncommon in the Deir el-Medīna community and from the 19th dynasty we know the following workmen with this name:

1. the husband of Iy and father of Kha'emopē, all three appearing in the tomb-chapel of Nebemḥat (nr. 219; as relatives), cf. Ch. Maystre, *La tombe de Nebemḥat*, MIFAO 71, p. 2. He is also known from the unpublished offering-table Louvre E 13995, cf. D. Valbelle, *La tombe de Hay*, pp. 39-40, where the possibility is discussed that he was the joint-owner of Tomb 266. Most probably he is the Buḳentef mentioned in O. BM 5634, rt. 17 (= H.O. 83). According to Valbelle, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-40, he was the father of Amennakht (the owner of Tomb 266) and the grandfather of Ḥay (the owner of Tomb 267), cf. too J. Černý, *Community*, p.138.

2. the father of Nakhy, known from several ostraca from the end of the 19th dynasty, e.g. O. Cairo 25783, rt.2.
3. Buḳentef appearing in the group of ostraca from the late 19th dynasty, cf. the list compiled by R. Krauss in *SAK* 5, (1977), pp. 163-167. He was most probably a son or a nephew of the Nakhy mentioned above.

All the evidence taken together suggests that nos. 1 and 2 are one and the same man and that the other man represented on this stela is his son Amennakht, whose name is written in the not uncommon variant-form Nekh (cf. Ranke, *PN* I, 209, 10 and 16). In view of the dating of the stela on stylistic grounds, no. 3 is excluded as he lived in a later period.

Probably no. 1/2 also is the owner of pyramidion British Museum BM 52944, cf. H.R. Hall, *Hieroglyphic Texts* VI, Pl. 50, where Buḳentef is called *b3k n p3 R^C*. He also appears on a stela of his father Nakhy, together with his own sons Ḳen(na) and Nakhy: stela Stockholm no. 28, cf. M. Mogensen, *Stèles égyptiennes au Musée National de Stockholm*, pp. 45-46.⁴

- 1) The usual vase under the water symbol is missing; cf. too our Docs. A 15 and A 51.
- 2) The graphic variant  for  is not uncommon on hieroglyphic monuments from Deir el-Medīna, see Chapter III 5. Epigraphy.
- 3) Cf. M. Kolodko, *Rocznik Museum* 23 (Warsaw 1979), pp. 14-21.
- 4) Most probably the same man is meant in the texts on the doorjambs of a shrine next to Sethos I's Hathor Chapel at Deir el-Medīna, cf. K.A. Kitchen, *KRI* III, 729, 3-4.

Name: Pay - P3y.

Date: 19th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: 0,31 x 0,22 m.

Technique: shallow sunk relief with incised text.

Colours: no traces.

Conservation: damaged on top, upper left edge, lower right corner
and edge.

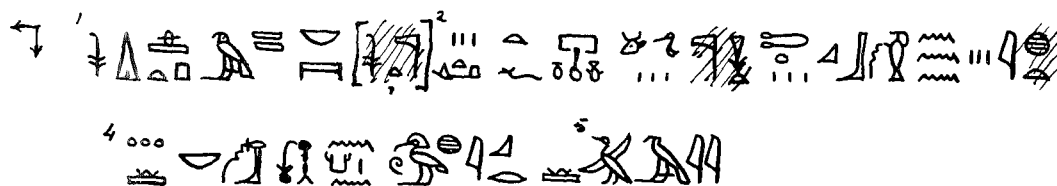
Type: c.

Provenance: Deir el-Medīna ?

Present location: London, British Museum 797.

Description: in the arch is the solar barque with the sun-god
squatting under a canopy; a figure of Ma'at (?) stands
in the prow; in the register beneath on the left the
dedicatee is seated on a chair, holding a lotus-flower
in his left hand, with his right hand posed on his lap;
he has a cone of unguent and a small lotus-flower on the
head; before him is an altar bearing circular loaves
and a big lotus-flower; in front of the dedicatee a text
in five vertical lines.

Text:



" A boon which the king gives (to) Harakhty, Lord of Heaven,
King of the Gods, that he may give an invocation-offering
(consisting) of bread, beer, oxen, fowl, incense, cool water,
and all pure sweet and pleasant¹ things, for the ka of the
able spirit², Pay."

Bibliography: Bruyère 16; PM I 2, 735; H.R. Hall, *Hieroglyphic Texts* VII, p. 12 and Pl. 36.

Commentary: Although the name of the dedicatee has been read by Hall, and consequently by Bruyère and Porter-Moss too, as Thay, a notice in Černý's Notebook 38, p. 33 concerning this stela and especially the name says: "read p3 !". In view of the peculiar form of the p3-bird (see also our Docs. A 15, A 16 and A 17), the mistake by Hall in reading t3 is easy to understand.³

The careful execution of this stela as well as the representation of the dedicatee suggest a 19th-dynasty date. If this stela does indeed come from Deir el-Medīna, the identification of the dedicatee is a matter of choice between the few persons from the 19th dynasty named Pay:

1. the father of Nebre', Pre'emḥab and Para'ḥotep, known from several stelae, e.g. Turin 50042, 50048 and 50052, cf. Tosi-Roccati, p. 88; and British Museum BM 150, 186, 276 and 373, cf. H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts* IX, p. 56; offering-table Turin 22029, cf. L. Habachi, *Tavola d'offerta*, pp. 34-37, with a detailed family tree. Pay is also known from some ostraca, e.g. O. DeM 233, rt. 3 and vs. 1 and 5; O. Černý 19, rt. 1 (= H.O. 54,4) and O. IFAO 1086, 4 (unpubl.).⁴
2. the father of Amenemopē, mentioned in several ostraca from the late 19th dynasty, e.g. O. Cairo 25780, 2 and 25783, rt. 8 (both from year 3 of Sethos II/Amenmesse). He was buried in year 4,3 Smw, day 18, cf. O. Cairo 25784,3.⁵

For a libation-basin most probably of the same 3ḥ 1kr see our Doc. B 5.

1) Read *w^cb(.t)*, *nḏm(.t)*, *bnr(.t)*



To Mr.

W.V. Davies, of the British Museum, who was kind enough to verify

the text on this stela, I owe the corrections to the published drawing by Hall, *op.cit.*, Pl. 36.

- 2) For the writing $3\dot{h} \dot{i}kr$ instead of $3\dot{h} \dot{i}kr n R^C$ see p. 275.
- 3) For the not uncommon writing of $p3$ without phonetic complement see also A.P. Zivie, *BIFAO* 72 (1972), p. 77 note 3.
- 4) Cf. M.L. Bierbrier, *JEA* 64 (1978), p. 169; and J. Malèk, *RdE* 31 (1979), pp. 153-155.
- 5) Just possibly he was the son of Para'hōtep and the grandson of Pay the Elder.

A 10

Name: Paisy - P3-⁴isy.

Date: 19th/20th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: 0,22 x 0,16 m.

Technique: shallow sunk relief with incised text.

Colours: no traces.

Conservation: damaged on lower right and left corners.

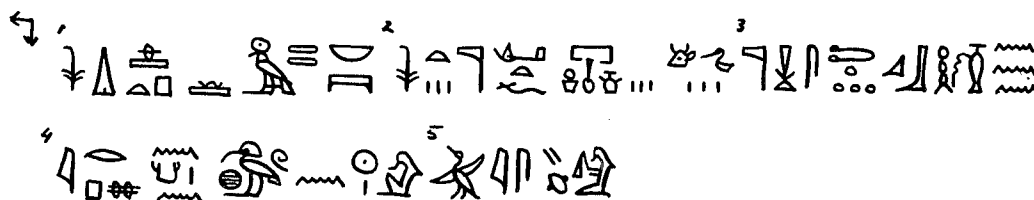
Type: a (1).

Provenance: Deir el-Medīna ?

Present location: Paris, Louvre E 13080 (formerly Bibliothèque nationale 36).

Description: on the left the dedicatee is seated on a chair, holding a lotus-flower in his left hand, with his right hand posed on his lap; his feet rest on a footstool; before him are two high altars bearing circular loaves and *nmst*-vases; between the two altars is a bouquet of lotus-flowers; in the arch is a simplified *šn*-ring above the head of the dedicatee and a text in five vertical lines.

Text:



"A boon which the king gives to Re-Harakhty, Lord of Heaven, King of the Gods, that he may give invocation-offerings (consisting) of bread, beer, oxen, fowl, incense, cool water, wine, for the *ka* of the spirit¹ of Re, Paisy."

Bibliography: not in Bruyère; PM I 2, 730; G. Ledrain, *Les Monuments Egyptiens de la Bibliothèque nationale*, Pl. XXXIII; J. Capart, *Recueil de Monuments Egyptiens*, p.11 and Pl. XLVI.

Commentary: The general style of this stela points to a date in the 19th/20th dynasty, though the 20th dynasty is more likely as shown by a comparison with our Doc. A 11. The simple šn-ring in the arch is all there is left from the more elaborate scene with šn-ring, water symbol, vase and two wꜥꜣt-eyes (possibly through lack of space). The stem of the lotus-flower held in the left hand by the dedicatee runs in a peculiar way behind the upper-arm, cf. too our Doc. A 42 and a similar case in J. Vandier, *Manuel IV*, p. 67, fig. 20, nos. 75 and 77. The small and high altar is characteristically Ramessid, cf. J. Vandier, *Manuel IV*, p. 103, nos. 7 and 8, and p. 104. The exact provenance of this stela being unrecorded, it is difficult to decide whether there is any connection with the Deir el-Medīna community. The name Paisy is in any case not known from Deir el-Medīna before the end of the 20th dynasty or the beginning of the 21th dynasty, cf. O. DeM 256, rt. 3.

1) For the writing 3ḥ n R^C see p. 275.

A 11

Name: Paiankh - P3-^Cnh.

Date: late 20th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: 0,50 x 0,40 m.

Technique: shallow sunk relief with incised text.

Colours: no traces.

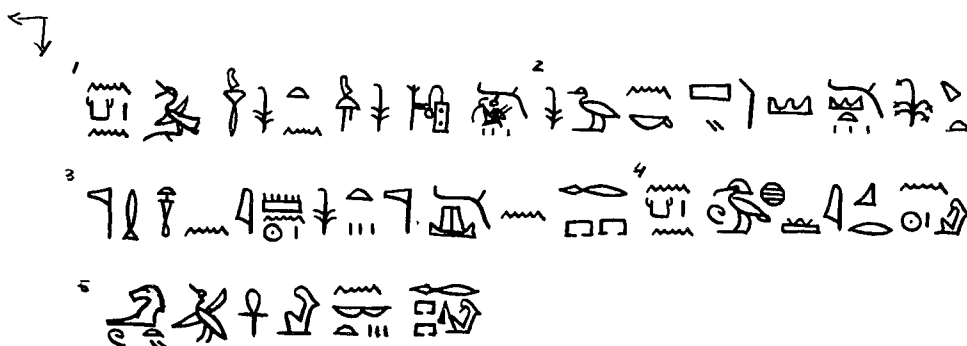
Conservation: damages on lower left and right corners.

Type: c.

Provenance: Abydos, Kom es-Sultan (according to Mariette¹).Present location: Cairo, Egyptian Museum 3/4/17/1, exhibited Room 44
South.

Description: in the arch is the solar barque with the sun-god
squatting under a canopy; in the register beneath
on the left the dedicatee is seated on a chair, holding
a lotus-flower in his left hand, with his right hand
posed on his lap; on his head is a small lotus-flower;
his feet rest on a footstool; before him is an altar
bearing a *nmst*-vase, circular loaves and two lotus stems,
one with a flower, the other with a bud; under the altar
on both sides a large jar, the left one decorated with
a lotus stem; above the altar is a text in five vertical
lines.

Text:



" For the ka of the fan-bearer on the right of the king, the king's scribe, the general of the army, the king's son of Kush, the chief of the foreign countries of the South, the first prophet of Amun king of the gods, the chief of the granaries of Pharaoh, for the ka of the able spirit of Re, the commander of the archers of Pharaoh, Paiankh."

Bibliography: Bruyère 21; PM V, 51; A. Mariette, *Abydos* II, p. 55 and Pl. 57 (b); Ramadan el Sayed, *BIFAO* 78, (1978), 197-199 and Pl. LXVI.²

Commentary: Although the general style and the careful execution of this stela would rather point to an earlier date (cf. our Doc. A 9), the titles and the name of the dedicatee make it clear that we are dealing with a stela from the very end of the Ramessid age. Paiankh, often called the son of Herihor³, is a well known person and he must have lived under Ramesses XI. From the correspondence of the necropolis scribes Dhutmose and Butehamon in J. Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, we know of his intricate connections with the Deir el-Medīna community of that period; see also O. Cairo 25745.

- 1) As Mariette seems to have confused cases containing objects from Deir el-Medīna and Abydos, this stela may yet have been found in Deir el-Medīna (during Mariette's excavations there in 1862), cf. J. Černý, *BIFAO* 27, p. 195 note 1. On the other hand Ramadan el Sayed is no doubt right that there was an important chapel for Re in Abydos where this stela might have been set up (*BIFAO* 78, p. 197 note 1; from p. 199 note 4 it seems, incidentally, that he does not know Bruyère's article on this group of stelae).
- 2) Mentioned only and illustrated by Beatrice L. Goff, *Symbols of Ancient Egypt in the Late Period - Twenty-first Dynasty*, p. 226 and fig. 147 (after Mariette, *Abydos* II, pl. 57).
- 3) But see E.F. Wente, 'Was Piankh Herihor's Son?' in *Drevniy Vostok* 1975, pp. 36-38.

A 12

(Pl. IV and XIV)

Name: Paneḥsy - P3-nḥs.

Date: 19th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: 0,14 x 0,15 m (incomplete).

Technique: shallow sunk relief with incised text.

Colours: no traces.

Conservation: only upper half of stela preserved; top-edge damaged.

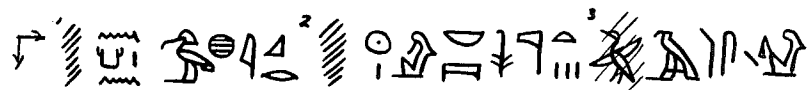
Type: a.

Provenance: Abydos (Osiris-temple).

Present location: Philadelphia, Pennsylvania University Museum E 11453.

Description: on the left the dedicatee is seated on a chair, holding
a lotus-flower in his left hand, with his right hand
posed on his lap; in front of him above is a text in
three vertical lines.

Text:



"For the ka of the able spirit (of) Re, Lord of Heaven, King of
the Gods, Paneḥsy."

Bibliography: not in Bruyère; PM V, 46; W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Abydos I*,
p. 44 and Pl. LXVI, 5 (Petrie incorrectly read the name
as Pa-ísí).

Commentary: The general style of this stela points to a date in the
late 19th dynasty.

There seems to be no indication for a possible connection
of the dedicatee with Deir el-Medīna. The name Paneḥsy
was not very common in that community, the only examples
being:

1. O. Cairo 25662, vs. 2, of the late 18th dynasty;

possibly this Paneḥsy also occurs on stela Cairo J.E. 43590 offering to his mother Nefertari, cf. *ASAE* 25 (1925), p. 94 and Pl. IV.

2. O. DeM 640, 3 (19th dynasty); O. DeM 661, 4 (19th dynasty; together with 'early' workmen like Simūt, Nakhtsu, Paser and Khonsu); also known from Weight 5215, cf. D.Valbelle, *Catalogue des poids à inscriptions hiéroglyphiques de Deir el-Médineh*, p. 83 and Pl. 29.
3. the father of chief policeman Nebsmen, cf. Turin Strike Papyrus 2, 19 = *RAD* 55, 17 (first half of the 20th dynasty); he was probably also a policeman, as a *m^c d3y P3-nḥsy* appears in an unpublished ostrakon from Deir el-Medīna from the later 19th dynasty¹.

Lacking any further evidence, nothing more can be said as to the possible identity of the dedicatee.

1) I thank Prof. J.J. Janssen for showing me a copy of S. Sauneron's provisional transcription in his field-notebook.

A 13

Name: Panakht/Panekhu - *P3-nḥw*.

Date: 19th or early 20th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: 0,23 x 0,157 m (x 0,042 m).

Technique: shallow sunk relief with incised text.

Colours: red on the body of the male figure, the stems of the lotus-flowers and the fruit on the altar; white on the background and the dress; yellow on the background of the text and on the offerings upon the altar; black on the chair, the wig, the altar and the complete edge; greenish blue on the lotus-flowers, the collar of the man and the hieroglyphs (all darkened).

Conservation: paint has come off at several places.

Type: a (1).

Provenance: Deir el-Medīna (Chapel 2 - 'Ramesside' -).

Present location: Paris, Louvre Museum E 16367.

Description: on the left the dedicatee is seated on a chair, holding a lotus-flower in his left hand and an *ankh*-sign in his right hand posed on his lap; before him is an altar bearing circular loaves, a *nmst*-vase, fruit and a lotus-flower; above the altar is a text in three vertical lines; below the whole scene is a traditional reed mat.

Text:



"The spirit¹ of Re, Panakht/Panekhu, justified in peace."

Bibliography: not in Bruyère; PM I 2, 691; B. Bruyère, *Rapport* 1935-1940, II, p. 102, fig. 175 and Pl. XXIV; B. Letellier, *La vie quotidienne chez les artisans de Pharaon* (Metz 1978), pp. 97-98; colour illustration in *Archéologia*, décembre 1978, p. 37.

Commentary: This stela was found on the southern bench in Chapel 2 south of the Ptolemaic Temple, cf. Bruyère, *Rapport* 1935-1940, I, pp. 15-16 and 93. The chapel is dated by finds to the 19th dynasty.

The general style of this stela indicates a date in the second half of the 19th dynasty. The use of the sign seems less decisive than assumed, cf. Commentary on our Doc. A 32, p. 89.

Of all the known stelae in the present group, this is one of the two where the dedicatee is represented holding an *ankh*-sign in his right hand, cf. our Doc. A 20.²

The name Panakht is not very common in the prosopography of Deir el-Medīna, only three persons bearing this name being known:

1. the father of the famous scribe of the necropolis
Kenherkhepeshef, cf. J. Černý, *Community*, p. 329.³
2. a workman living at the end of the 19th dynasty, cf.
O. Cairo 25522, rt. II 3 and vs. I 16; O. Cairo 25561,
vs. I 3; O. Cairo 25578, II 1; O. Cairo 25796, rt. II
28; O. Gard. 57, vs. II 9 (P. belonging to the left
side under Ḥay) (= H.O. 51,1); O. Petrie 32, II 3
(= H.O. 31, 2);
he is also known as Panakht the son of Nakhtsu from a
stela, cf. Bruyère, *Rapport* 1935-1940, II fasc.,
p. 102, fig. 175 and Pl. XXIV; and from stela Turin
50041, cf. Tosi-Roccati, pp. 75-76 and 277, where
Panakht is represented adoring Amenophis I and Ahmose
Nefertari, in the company of his father Nakhtsu, his
mother Twertemḥab, a brother and three sisters.
3. in the second half of the 20th dynasty there is a
Panakht son of Nekhemmut IV, cf. M.L. Bierbrier,
Late New Kingdom, p. 34 and Chart VIII.

Nos. 1 and 2 cannot be identical since the father of Kēnherkhepeshef most probably was no longer alive, let alone active, during the later years of the 19th dynasty. The wife of no. 2 was Ēsē; they are both known from O. DeM 235.

All in all the most likely candidate to be the dedicatee of this stela is Panakht the son of Nakhtsu.

- 1) For the writing $3h n R^C$ see p. 275.
- 2) For private persons holding an ankh-sign cf. H. Fischer, ZAS 100 (1973), pp. 23 ff.; G.T. Martin, MDAIK 35 (1979), p. 223 (scarab no. 70); stela Leyden V6 = P. Boeser, *Bescheibung II*, Pl. 3; stela Cairo CG 20006; Bruyère, *Rapport 1924-1925*, p. 119, fig. 81.
- 3) In spite of Černý's remark this Panakht might well have been a member of the community: in O. DM 1172, x + 22, Panakht (the name is written exactly as that of K.'s father) is called the son of Nebenterū (and a grandson of Para^Chotep), cf. G. Posener, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el Medinéh*, Tome II (Cairo 1952), Pls. 21 and 23.

Name: Panakht/Panekhu - P3-n^hw.

Date: 19th-20th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: 0,152 x 0,11 m.

Technique: ostrakon with line drawing.

Colours: the lines dividing the text, the outlines and the body of the male figure are red; the second lines over the outlines, the hieroglyphs and the line framing the scene are black.

Conservation: figure and text faded.

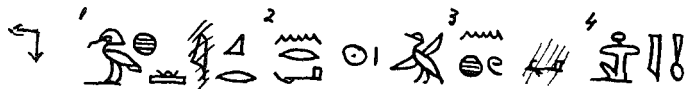
Type: a (1).

Provenance: Deir el-Medīna (based upon internal evidence).

Present location: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum EGA. 4756.1943¹.


Description: on the left the dedicatee is seated on a chair, holding a lotus-flower in his left hand, while his right hand is stretched out towards the altar before him; on the altar are circular loaves, a *nmst*-vase, fruit and plants; under the altar on each side a lettuce; above the whole scene is a text in four vertical lines; below the whole scene is a traditional reed mat.

Text:



"The able spirit of Re, Panakht/Panekhu, justified."

Bibliography: not in Bruyère; not in PM; Emma Brunner-Traut, *Egyptian Artists' Sketches* (Leiden/Istanbul 1979), pp. 46-47 and Pl. XV.

Commentary: The general style of this ostrakon/stela indicates a date in the late 19th dynasty. As for the use of the sign  and the identification of the dedicatee see the Commentary on our Doc. A 13.

1) From the Gayer-Anderson Collection, as our Doc. A 45.

A 15

(Pl.V)

Name: Panakh(t)emwēse - P3-nh-m-w3st.

Date: 19th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: 0,22 x 0,15 m.

Technique: shallow sunk relief with incised text.

Colours: traces of red on the body of the male figure and on the figs;
black on the chair; white in the hieroglyphs; yellow on the
background.

Conservation: very well preserved.

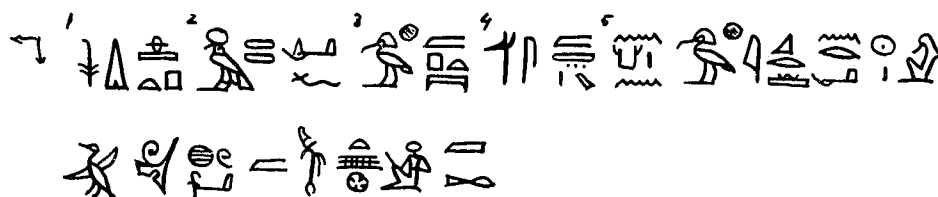
Type: b.

Provenance: Deir el-Medīna (Drovetti Collection).

Present location: Turin, Museo Egizio 50020 (formerly 1561; 39/319).

Description: in the arch is the šn-ring upon the water symbol¹ flanked
by two wd3t-eyes; a reed mat separates these symbols from
the main scene; below on the left the dedicatee is seated
on a chair, holding a lotus-flower in his left hand and a
cloth in his right hand; before him is an altar bearing
loaves of bread, a vase full of grapes, gourds and
vegetables (lettuce); under the chair vegetables and
figs²; before and behind the man is a text in five
vertical lines.

Text:



"A boon which the king gives (to) Re-Harakhty, that he may give
spirituality in heaven and power on earth, for the ka of the
able spirit of Re, Panakh(t)emwēse, justified."

Bibliography: Bruyère 5; PM I 2, 730; Tosi-Roccati, pp. 54 and 268.

Commentary: The general style of this stela, especially the figure of the man, his bald head³ and the costume, suggest a date in the first half of the 19th dynasty.


The name of the dedicatee was erroneously read by Bruyère, Porter-Moss and Tosi-Roccati as Païdenuemwaset. Apart from the fact that the word *īdnw* could not be written

, the meaning of the name would also be highly unlikely. During the Ramessid period the is frequently written in personal names, not only in Deir el-Medīna, cf. e.g. Bruyère, *Rapport* 1930, p. 35 and fig. 28 and p. 110 and fig. 39 . Furthermore the next group is not but clearly .

The name Panekhemwēse (or yet Panakh(t)emwēse) 'The protector (or champion) in Thebes' (pointing most probably to Amun)⁵ is extremely rare in the prosopography of Deir el-Medīna and only known from this stela and from an offering-table found in Tomb 216 (Neferhotep the Younger), cf. Bruyère, *Rapport* 1923-1924, p. 48 and Pl. XII. On this offering-table the name is spelt once as *P3-nḥw-m-w3st* and once as *P3-nḥt-m-w3st*.⁶ He is called 'her son' of a lady whose name in both cases is so much damaged as to be unintelligible. Unfortunately we have no other clue as to the identity of the dedicatee.

- 1) The usual vase under the water symbol is missing; cf. too our Docs. A 8 and A 51.
- 2) Not in a basket, as Tosi-Roccati, p. 54, say. For a clear picture of what was intended to be represented under the chair - two gourds and some figs - cf. Bruyère, *Rapport* 1923-1924, Pl. XII, the offering-tables of 'Kenherkepeschef, Ramēs'.
- 3) The only other dedicatee shown with shaven head is Khamuy of our Docs. A 33 and A 36. The fact that they appear with their head

shaven like a priest may be explained in two ways: either they may have been in the service of the temples, or else they may have acted as $w^c b$ -priests, cf. J. Černý, *Bankes Coll.*, stelae no. 8 and no. 11.

- 4) The sign  has been erroneously recorded by Bruyère in this name, as is shown by Tosi-Roccati. The name $P3-\dot{I}dnw-n\dot{h}tw$ in Ranke *PN I*, 102, 8, quoted from O. Petrie 23, vs. 7 (= *H.O.* 45, 2), is not a personal name but has to be read as $p3 \dot{I}dnw$ 'the deputy', cf. J. Černý, *Community*, p. 133 and note 6.
- 5) Cf. Ranke *PN I*, 113, 15; a more simple form of this name - Nakhtemwēse - cf. Ranke *PN II*, 300, 24 and J. Berlandini-Grenier, *BIFAO* 74 (1974), p. 19 note 3. For Amun as $n\dot{h}w$ in Thebes, see P. Leiden I 350, III, 22: $n\dot{h}w nfr$ as epithet of Amun (J. Zandee, *Hymnen aan Amon*, p. 62).
- 6) In this last spelling the name also occurs in a list of personal names on a certain pattern: O. Deir el-Mēdineh 1412, rt. 2, cf. G. Posener, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el Mēdineh*, Tome III (Cairo 1977), p. 33 and Pl. 18.

Name: Paḥatia - P3-ḥ3ty-^C.

Date: 19th-20th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: 0,19 x 0,10 m (x 0,02 m).

Technique: shallow sunk relief with incised text.

Colours: traces of red on the body of the male figure; black on the wig and the chair; white on the altar; yellow on the offerings under the altar.

Conservation: slightly damaged on the lower left corner.

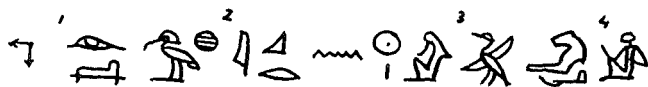
Type: b (2).

Provenance: Deir el-Medīna (Drovetti Collection).

Present location: Turin, Museo Egizio 50015 (formerly 1566; 185/139).

Description: in the pyramidal top is the šn-ring upon the water symbol and a vase¹; below on the left the dedicatee is seated on a chair, holding a lotus-flower in his left hand, while his right hand is touching the offerings in front of him; before him is an altar bearing offerings which are undefined except for a vase possibly full of grapes; under the altar on the right is a vase or basket with offerings²; above the altar is a text in four vertical lines; also on both sides are lines of text.

Text:



"The Osiris³, the able spirit of Re, Paḥatia."

right side



"Made by⁴ his brother, who makes his name live, the w^cb-priest of the lord of the two lands in the West (of Thebes), Ipuy, justified."

Chapter III 5. Epigraphy.

- 4) For this writing see Ramadan el-Sayed, *BIFAO* 79 (1979), p. 158
note 2 (typical for the Ramessid period, translated by 'fait par'
or 'de la part de').
- 5) Roccati in his description, p. 282, interchanges *left* and *right*,
but he gives the correct notation in the captions on Pl. XLIV.

A 17

Name: Pashedu - P3-šdw.

Date: 19th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: 0,17 x 0,12 m.

Technique: shallow sunk relief with incised text.

Colours: red on the body of the man, the contour lines of the dress and the offerings in the form of figs; black on the chair, the support of the offering basket and the bordering band around the stela; white on the offering basket, the lotus-flower and the hieroglyphs; yellow on the background; green on the plant offerings; as for the fruit under the chair: red on the upper part, yellow on the lower part and yellow with black dots on the band in between.

Conservation: very well preserved.

Type: a (1).

Provenance: Deir el-Medīna (Drovetti Collection).

Present location: Turin, Museo Egizio 50014 (formerly 1570; 11/192/322).

Description: on the left the dedicatee is seated on a chair, holding a lotus-flower in his left hand and a cloth in his right hand posed on his lap; before him is a support with a big bowl laden with bread, fruit, gourds and vegetables (lettuce); under his chair is a pomegranate; above him is an inscription in four vertical lines.

Text:



"The Osiris, the able spirit of Re, Pashedu, justified."

Bibliography: Bruyère 1; PM I 2, 733; Tosi-Roccati, pp. 50 and 267.

Commentary: The general style, the dress and the short wig indicate a 19th dynasty date for this stela.

In view of the extreme popularity of the name Pashedu during the 19th dynasty in Deir el-Medīna, it seems impossible to identify the dedicatee. Possible candidates are (from the early part of the 19th dynasty):

1. the son of Menna and Huy, husband of Nedjembehde, owner of tombs 3 and 326 (?), cf. J. Černý, *Rép. Onomastique*, pp. 38-43 and *id.*, *Community*, pp. 292-293 and 315; M.L. Bierbrier in *JEA* 63, 188 is most probably right to make him the predecessor of chief workman Baki; for possible family connections see our Doc. A 41. Recently A.-P. Zivie, *La tombe de Pached*, pp. 120-125, has questioned the identity of the owners of Tombs 3 and 326. Yet the arguments in favour of his opinion are just as weak as those against, to say the least. As Zivie has said himself, we will need more - as yet unknown - evidence to draw final conclusions.
2. the son of Hehnekhu, husband of Makhay, and the owner of Tomb 292, cf. M.L. Bierbrier, *Late New Kingdom*, pp. 24-25 and Chart VI for his family tree.
3. the son of Amenemhat and Mutnofrē, husband of Nefertari, and the owner of Tomb 323, cf. L. Habachi, *Tavole d'offerta*, p. 30 for his family tree.

Lacking any further evidence, it is not possible to identify the dedicatee of this stela with any of the above mentioned persons named Pashedu, or even with any other Pashedu for that matter.

Bibliography: Bruyère 19; PM I 2, 681; G. Daressy, *RT* XXII (1902), p. 142, no. CLXXIII; G. Legrain, *Répertoire*, No. 49; H. Gauthier, *Livre des Rois*, II, p. 195, no. 6.

Commentary: This stela is one of the three in the present group where the dedicatee or dedicator is shown in the presence of, or adoring members of the founding family of the 18th dynasty, who became patron saints of the Theban necropolis in the Ramessid period and enjoyed a special cult in Deir el-Medīna⁵. The representation of Amenophis I wearing the blue crown points to cult statues of the deified king that were venerated at several places on the West Bank, but not specifically in Deir el-Medīna.⁶ Noteworthy is the presence of the Queen Sit-Kamose⁷ who only seldom accompanies Amenophis I on stelae or other monuments.⁸

The name of the owner of this stela is not clear: I am unable to propose a reading for the element after *Pn-p3* ... In any case the findspot of the stela and the representation of the King with the blue crown do not make a connection with Deir el-Medīna very likely. An identification therefore would seem impossible.

The date of this fragmentary stela is not easily fixed. Yet the representation of the dedicator (or dedicatee) with the short wig would refer to the (possibly late) 19th dynasty.

- 1) To Dr. Mohammed Saleh of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, I express my most sincere thanks for his help in tracing this stela in the collections of the Museum and kindly providing me with a photograph.
- 2) I have been unable to find an exact parallel to this representation of a dual *3h.t*; for the idea see *LA* III, 5.
- 3) For the symbolic value cf. W. Westendorf, *Altägyptische Darstellungen des Sonnenlaufes auf der abschüssigen Himmelsbahn* (Berlin 1966), pp. 35-52 (esp. 44-46).

- 4) See for this gesture note 1 on our Doc. A 20.
- 5) Cf. J. Černý, 'Le culte d'Amenophis Ier chez les ouvriers de la nécropole thébaine', *BIFAO* 27 (1927), pp. 157-203 (our stela does not figure in his list on p. 201); M. Gitton, *L'épouse du dieu Ahmes Néfertary'* (Paris 1975), pp. 76-78.
- 6) J. Černý, *op.cit.*, pp. 165 ff. and Pls. 10-11. As R. Stadelmann has pointed out in *MDAIK* 32 (1976), p. 214, the representations of the King with the blue crown not only date from the reign of Ramesses II, but also from a later period.
- 7) For this queen see H. Gauthier, *Livre des Rois* II, p. 195, no. 6 (stating that the name is incorrectly written on this stela); F.-J. Schmitz, *Amenophis I* (Hildesheim 1978), pp. 49-50 and B. Schmitz, *CdE* LIII (no. 106, juillet 1978), p. 221, note 3.
- 8) Sit-Kamose also appears in the company of Amenophis I and Ahmose Nefertari on a stela from Deir el-Medīna dedicated to them by the workman Amen-men: stela BM 355, H.R. Hall, *Hieroglyphic Texts* VI, Pl. 33.

Names: Pen... - *Pn* - ... and ?

Date: 19th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: 0,19 x 0,23 m (x 0,04 m) (preserved part only).

Technique: shallow sunk relief with incised text.

Colours: no traces.

Conservation: only lower half preserved but in bad condition.

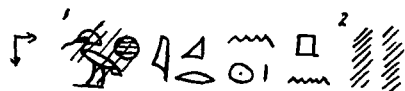
Type: e (2) ?

Provenance: Deir el-Medīna (Chapel 1216).

Present location: unknown, probably Storerooms Deir el-Medīna¹.

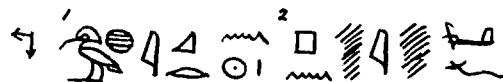
Description: in the lower register two male figures opposite each other are seated on thrones, the one posed holding in the right hand a lotus-flower with his left hand placed on his lap, the other vice-versa; between the two is an altar bearing circular loaves and a pomegranate(?); in the upper register again two persons (gods ?) are seated on thrones opposite each other; no further details are visible; above the altar in the lower register is a text in three/four vertical lines.

Text: right



"The able spirit of Re, Pen..."

left



"The able spirit of Re, Pen..."

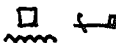
Bibliography: Bruyère 25; PM I 2, 731; B. Bruyère, *Rapport* 1929, p. 55 and fig. 14, 2.

Commentary: In view of the terrible state in which the fragments came to light ("plusieurs fragments calcaires salpêtrés, tombant

en poussière"), it is doubtful not only whether they are still extant¹, but also whether the readings of the text by Bruyère are trustworthy.

The general style of this stela indicates a date in the early 19th dynasty.

This stela is one of the four found in the "chapelles oratoires", cf. our Docs. A 13, A 29 and A 30.

As for the identity of the dedicatees, the reading of the names remains doubtful. From the prosopography of Deir el-Medīna we have the choice between Penamun, Penbuy, Pennūb and Pennakht, but one would be tempted to read the names as Khamuy (left) and Pennūb (right), the more so since they are represented on some stelae (Docs. A 34 and A 35) sitting on thrones² and facing each other. Nevertheless the possibility remains that the name of one of the dedicatees is to be read  Pennakht, a workman of the first half of the 19th dynasty, known from stela Louvre E 13934 (together with his son Ḥarnufe), cf. B. Bruyère, *Mert Seger*, p. 116, fig. 56; also from Graffito 3014, cf. A.F. Sadek, *Graffiti de la Montagne Thébaine* IV 3, p. 154.

- 1) A visit to the storerooms of Deir el-Medīna in November 1977 brought a negative result to my search. I am grateful to the Directors of the French Institute Cairo for granting me permission to make this visit.
- 2) The representation of -always deceased- private persons on the so-called *hwt*-block-throne is extremely rare, cf. Klaus P. Kuhlmann, *Der Thron im alten Ägypten* (Glückstadt 1977), p. 60.

Name: Ptaḥ-ḥesi (or Ḥesi-Ptaḥ) - Pth-ḥsi¹.

Date: 19th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: 0,29 x 0,235m (x 0,094 m).

Technique: shallow sunk relief with incised text.

Colours: red on the visible parts of the bodies of the male figures,
on the ointment in the jar under the chair, and on the sun-
disk;

some traces of black in the outlines of the barque, the
seated figure and some of the hieroglyphs.

Conservation: top edge damaged.

Type: e (2).

Provenance: Thebes, Funerary Temple of Merenptah ('First Court').

Present location: Manchester, The Manchester Museum No. 1554.

Description: in the arch is the solar barque with the rising-sun
symbol flanked by two *wd3t*-eyes; under the barque at
the right are two fishes; these symbols are separated
from the main scene below by two parallel lines; in the
main scene on the left the dedicatee is seated on a chair,
holding a lotus-flower in his left hand and an *ankh*-sign¹
in his right hand; he wears a long skirt and a double
neck-collar; his feet rest on a footstool in the form
of a reed mat and under the chair is an unguent jar;
before him stands another man raising his hands² in
adoration and wearing a short skirt; in between the two
figures is an altar bearing a *nmst*-vase and a lotus-
flower; above and in between them is a text in eight
vertical lines.

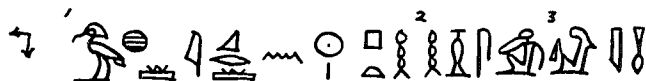
Text: right





"Made by the guardian of the Mansion of Millions of
Years, Penernūte, justified, of Thebes."

left



"The able spirit of Re, Ptaḥ-ḥesi, justified."

Bibliography: not in Bruyère; PM II, 449; W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Six
Temples at Thebes*, pp. 13 and 21, and Pl. VIII; K.A.
Kitchen, *KRI* IV 137, 6-11.

Commentary: The general style of this stela and the find-spot indicate
a date in the late 19th dynasty.

In the absence of any further material it seems impossible
to identify the dedicatee of this stela. If we had to look
for him in the Deir el-Medīna community (as there were
many connections between the Village and the great
funerary temples³), the name Ptaḥ-ḥesi is completely un-
known. The guardian Penernūte is probably the man appear-
ing on the stela of Ramesses-em-per-Re, chief guardian of
the Ramesseum, BM 796⁴. Nothing further seems to be known
about him, unless he be identical with the *īry-spt* of
O. Petrie 67, 1-2 (= *H.O.* 20,1), dated to year 5 of
Ramesses III (?); or with the owner of Tomb 332 at Thebes,
a chief watchman of the granary of the Estate of Amūn,
Penernūte⁵.

1) Cf. note 2 on our Doc. A 13.

2) Generally, raising both hands in adoration is done before a god,
cf. J. Vandier, *Manuel* II, p. 507 note 9.

3) "The Mansion of Millions of Years" mentioned on this stela is

probably the funerary temple of Merenptah - the place where the stela was found (Porter-Moss - following Petrie - without any specific reason identify the temple with the Ramesseum). The funerary temples on the west bank of Thebes at least during the Ramessid period (and even later) were all designated by the epithet "Mansion of Millions of Years", cf. WB III, 2, 7 and R. Stadelmann, 'Totentempel und Millionenjahrhaus in Theben', *MDAIK* 35 (1979), pp. 303-321. For the funerary temple of Merenptah denoted as such, see P. Sallier IV, vs. 9, 1 (= R.A. Caminos, *LEM*, p. 335) and E. Otto, *Die Topographie des thebanischen Gaves*, pp. 67 and 112. As for the connections between Deir el-Medīna and the funerary temples see J. Černý, *Community*, p. 332 and note 12; further a son Mose of the chief workman Neferhotep the Elder became a doorkeeper (!) of the Ramesseum, cf. J. Černý, *op.cit.*, p. 117.

- 4) Cf. J. Berlandini-Grenier, *BIFAO* 74 (1974). p. 19 and K.A. Kitchen, *KRI* III, 388, 12-13.
- 5) From Deir el-Medīna a workman of the name Penernūte is known from Bankes stela no. 10, cf. J. Černý, *Bankes Coll.*, and O. Gardiner 247, vs. 3 (unpubl.), in both cases called a son of Nakhtmin; see further Bruyère, *Rapport* 1930, pp. 3-4. It is uncertain whether the same man appears in O. Cairo 25804, I 5 and II 6, O. DeM 606, rt. 2 and 5, vs. 2, and offering-table University College London UC 14446 (H.M. Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae*, p. 63), although all documents date from the first half of the 20th dynasty. Probably an earlier workman Penernūte appears in O. IFAO 1347, rt. 13 (prior to year 37 of Ramesses II, as Ramose still acts as scribe of the necropolis).

A 21

(Pl.VI)

Name: May - *M^Cy*.

Date: 19th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: 0,38 x 0,29 m (x 0,08 m).

Technique: shallow sunk relief with incised text.

Colours: traces of red on the body of the male figure.

Conservation: surface worn, slight damages on all edges.

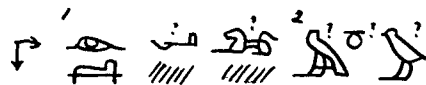
Type: e (1).

Provenance: Deir el-Medīna (bought by Schiaparelli 1900-1901).

Present location: Turin, Museo Egizio 50023 (formerly suppl. 1306;
908).

Description: in the upper register on the left the dedicatee is seated on a chair, holding a lotus-flower in his left hand and a cloth in his right hand posed on his lap; his feet rest on a footstool; before him stands a man¹ offering incense and water; between the two men is an altar bearing circular loaves, cakes and a vase full of grapes; under the altar at each side a lettuce plant; in the lower register three persons, two kneeling women and a standing boy, are adoring and offering lotus-flowers; above the inscription in four vertical lines in the upper register is the *šn*-ring (now disappeared) flanked by two *wḏ3t*-eyes.

Text: right



"The Osiris"

left



"The able spirit, beloved of Re, May."

Bibliography: Bruyère 12; PM I 2, 725; Tosi-Roccati, pp. 56-57 and 269.

Commentary: The dress, the short wig of the dedicatee and the general style date this stela to the early part of the 19th dynasty.

Noteworthy is the unique formula $3h \text{ } \bar{i}kr \text{ } mri \text{ } R^C$ instead of the usual $3h \text{ } \bar{i}kr \text{ } n \text{ } R^C$.²

In view of the lack of further evidence it is not possible with any certainty to identify the dedicatee with the owner of Tomb 338, cf. M. Tosi, *La cappella di Maia*, p. 33, of stela Bankes no. 1, cf. J. Černý, *Bankes Coll.*, and stela Turin 50009, cf. Tosi-Roccati, pp. 41-42. It should be noted however that the name May is extremely rare in the prosopography of Deir el-Medīna.

1) Not "sulla sinistra", as Tosi-Roccati say, but on the right.

2) See below p. 275.

A 22

(Pl.VII)

Name: Merysakhmet - *Mry-Shmt*.

Date: 19th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: 0,22 x 0,15 m.

Technique: shallow sunk relief with incised text.

Colours: no traces.

Conservation: slight damage on the left edge.

Type: *b* (1).

Provenance: Deir el-Medīna (Drovetti Collection).

Present location: Turin, Museo Egizio 50017 (formerly 1583; 195/288).

Description: in the arch is the *šn*-ring upon the water symbol and a vase flanked by two *wḏ3t*-eyes; these symbols are separated from the main scene by a line; below on the right the dedicatee is seated on a chair, holding a lotus-flower in his right hand and a cloth in his left hand; before him is an altar bearing undefined offerings; above the seated man is a text in four vertical lines.

Text:



"Offering all good and pure things for the ka of the able spirit of Re, Merysakhmet, justified."

Bibliography: Bruyère 4; PM I 2, 725; Tosi-Roccati, pp. 52 and 268;
K.A. Kitchen, *KRI* IV 440, 4-5.

Commentary: The water symbol in the arch consists of two undulating lines only¹.

The general style, the dress and the short wig date this stela to the 19th dynasty.

The name Merysakhmet is not too common in the prosopography of Deir el-Medīna. We are therefore most probably

justified in identifying the dedicatee of this stela with Merysakhmet, the 'brother' of Nefer'abet and son of Neferrenpet, cf. J. Vandier, *La tombe de Nefer-Abou*, p. 55 and T.H.G. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts IX*, pp. 34-35.²

1) See also our Doc. A 5.

2) For a Merysakhmet, surnamed *P3-iry*, cf. J. Černý, *JNES* 14, pp. 162 ff.; he is definitely dated to the mid-20th dynasty and probably a grandson of the older M. See too J.J. Janssen, 'Two Personalities' note 48, in *Gleanings from Deir el-Medīna* (Leiden 1982), pp. 116 and 128.

A 23

(Pl.VII)

Name: Mose - *Mšw*.

Date: 19th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: 0,07 x 0,09 m (x 0,025 m) (fragment only).

Technique: shallow sunk relief with incised text.

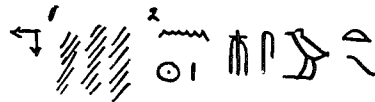
Colours: no traces.

Conservation: only fragmentarily preserved.

Type: ? (*c* or *e* (2)).Provenance: Deir el-Medīna (House C. VI, *Salle I*).Present location: unknown, probably Storerooms Deir el-Medīna¹.

Description: from the preserved part it is clear that the stela was round-topped; in the arch on the left (and probably on the right too) is a shrine; a reed mat separates the arch from the main scene; below on the left the dedicatee is seated (?), holding a lotus-flower in his left hand; no further details visible.

Text:



"(...) of Re, Mose ..."

Bibliography: Bruyère 23; PM I 2, 726; Bruyère, *Rapport* 1934-1935, p. 309 and fig. 179.

Commentary: Judging from the general style of the fragment, this stela dates from the 19th dynasty.

Although the name Mose was quite common in the Deir el-Medīna community, the fact that this stela was found in House C. VI, from where we also have the stela of Baki (Doc. A 7), makes it all the more probable that this Mose was relative of the latter (his son?).

Yet the possibility is not excluded of course that one

of the other persons named Mose from the 19th dynasty was the dedicatee of this stela, e.g.

1. the son of Khabekhnet, cf. J. Černý, *Rép. Onomastique*, p. 14 (= same as Ramose?).
2. the son of Io'ḥnūfe and father of Amenemopē, cf. J. Černý, *Community*, p. 250 and notes 10 and 11, and Tosi-Roccati, p. 168.
3. the son of Any, from Tomb 1069, cf. Bruyère, *Rapport* 1926, p. 31 and fig. 16.

The findspot and the circumstantial evidence, however, seem to favour an identification of the dedicatee of this stela with a member of Baki's family.

1) Cf. Doc. A 19, note 1 on p. 59.

A 24

Name: Nebnūfe - *Nb-nfr*.

Date: 19th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: 0,155 x ? m.

Technique: shallow sunk relief with incised text.

Colours: no traces.

Conservation: lost during the war¹.

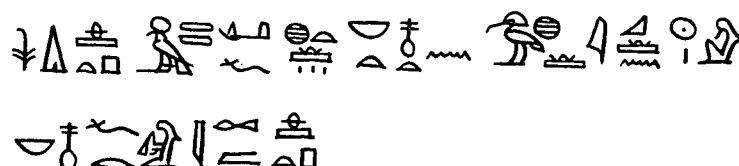
Type: a (2) ?

Provenance: Deir el-Medīna ?

(Present) location: Until 1940 Orléans, Musée Historique &
Archéologique de l'Orléanais (formerly Coll.
Desnoyers no. 12).

Description: on the right the dedicatee is seated on a chair, holding
a lotus-flower in his right hand; above the man is a
text in vertical lines; no further information available.

Text:



"A boon which the king gives (to) Harakhty, that he may
give all good things for the able spirit² of Re, Nebnūfe,
justified in peace."

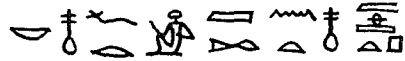
Bibliography: not in Bruyère; PM I 2, 727; A. Baillet, 'Notice sur
la Collection Egyptienne de M. l'Abbé Desnoyers'.
*Mémoires de la Société d'Agriculture, Sciences, Belles-
Lettres et Arts d'Orléans*, t. XIX (1877), pp. 213-277
and Pl. I fig. 2 (reprinted in *Bibliothèque Egyptologique*
XVI (1905), pp. 49-50 (on this stela).

Commentary: According to the description by Baillet this stela would
date from the 19th dynasty.

In view of the lack of further evidence and the popularity

of the name Nebnūfe in the Deir el-Medīna community (if that is where the stela comes from), it seems impossible to identify the dedicatee. From Deir el-Medīna the most likely candidates from the first half of the 19th dynasty are:

1. the chief workman Nebnūfe, joint-owner of Tomb 6, cf. J. Černý, *Rép. Onomastique*, pp. 58-63.
2. a brother of Erenūfe, the owner of Tomb 290, cf. Bruyère, *Rapport 1922-1923*, pp. 17, 22 and 37, appearing on the stela now Louvre E 12964 as



- 1) I am grateful to the Curator of the Orléans Museum for his information by letter, dd. 6th August 1979.
- 2) For the writing 3ḥ ḥkr instead of 3ḥ ḥkr see pp. 197.

A 25

Name: Nebnakht - *Nb-nḥt*.

Date: 19th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: 0,22 x 0,17 m.

Technique: shallow sunk relief with incised text.

Colours: no traces.

Conservation: surface damaged in several places, upper left and lower right corners damaged or broken away.

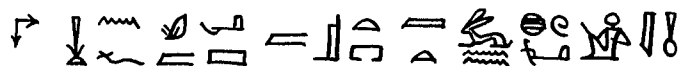
Type: e.

Provenance: Deir el-Medīna (based upon internal evidence).

Present location: Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, No. 348.¹

Description: the scenes are divided into two registers; in the upper register on the left the dedicatee is seated on a chair, holding a lotus-flower in his left hand and a cloth in his right hand; his feet rest on a footstool; before him stands another man who is offering incense and a libation; between the two men is an altar bearing circular loaves, a vase full of grapes and a bouquet of flowers; above is the *šn*-ring upon the water symbol and a vase flanked by two *wḏ3t*-eyes; the scene in the lower register is essentially the same; behind each person in the upper register is a vertical line of text; in the lower register the text is placed in six vertical lines above the altar between the two men.

Text: upper register
right



"His brother, the workman in the Place of the Truth,
Wennekhu, justified."

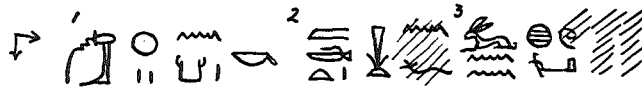
left



"The able spirit² of Re, Nebnakht, justified."

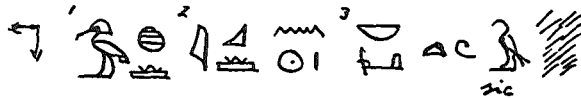
lower register

right



"Pure, pure, for your ka, through his brother
Wennekhu....."³

left



"The able spirit² of Re, Nebnakht, justified."

Bibliography: not in Bruyère; PM I 2, 726; O. Koefoed-Petersen,
Archiv Orientalni XX (1952), pp. 431-432 and Pl. XLIII;
K.A. Kitchen, *KRI* III 727, 11-16.

Commentary: The general style of this stela, the dress and the short
wigs indicate a 19th dynasty date.

The identification of the dedicatee is not easy as the
name Nebnakht was rather common in Deir el-Medīna. From
the first half of the 19th dynasty at least two men
named Nebnakht are known:

1. the son of Ipuy (Tomb 217), cf. J. Černý, *Rép.
Onomastique*, p. 112, and stela Turin 50031, cf.
Tosi-Roccati, pp. 63-64.
2. the father of Khabekhnet and Montumin, the owner of
libation-basin Turin 22030, cf. L. Habachi, *Tavole
d'offerta*, pp. 38-39.

On the other hand the name of the dedicator, Wennekhu, was much less common in Deir el-Medīna. We know in fact of only one workman in the community so named, i.e. Wennekhu the father of Penpakhenti appearing as a colleague on stela BM 150+1754, cf. T.G.H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts IX*, pp. 34-35, of Nefer'abet. He is further known from O. BM 50728, vs. 4 of year 2 of Ramesses II (unpubl.), O. IFAO 1068, vs. 6, O. Milne 2,9 (with both Nebnūfe as chief workman, and both unpubl.), O. DeM 370, 2; Weight 5295, cf. D. Valbelle, *Catalogue des poids & inscriptions hiératiques de Deir el Médineh*, p. 99 and Pl. 38; and from his own stela Berlin Inv. Nr. 21/66, cf. *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin (Catalogue)*, p. 77 (no. 808). L. Habachi, *Tavole d'offerta*, p. 43 also mentions stela BM 1248 (cf. Hall, *Hieroglyphic Texts VII*, p. 12 and Pl. 38), a stela once in the possession of the antiquities dealer Kelikian (cf. J.J. Clère, *BIFAO* 28, pp. 176-178, fig. 1 and Pl. 1; now New York MMA 67.103), and objects found in the tomb of Erenūfe (no. 290) bearing the name of Wennekhu, who was also the owner of House N.O. IX in the Village, cf. Bruyère, *Rapport 1934-1935*, III, pp. 283-284.⁴

The information gathered from the evidence mentioned above leads to the conclusion that Wennekhu lived in the first half of the reign of Ramesses II. As he does not appear in O. BM 5634 (= H.O. 83-84) from year 40 of Ramesses II, he was most probably dead by then.

Although the exact family relationship of Wennekhu is unknown, there seem to be some connections with the family of Erenūfe of Tomb 290 and House N.O. X, safely dated in the early 19th dynasty. Whether Wennekhu and Nebnakht, the dedicatee of this stela, were real brothers or just simply 'colleagues' remains uncertain: there is no evidence for either of the possibilities.

- 1) Bought between 1820 and 1838, probably in Rome.
- 2) For the writing $3h \dot{1}k$ instead of $3h \dot{1}kr$ see p. 197.
- 3) The same formula in our Doc. A 49 and B 11, pp. 156-157.
- 4) See too J.J. Janssen in *Bulletin Medelhavsmuseet* 14 (1978), p. 14.

A 26

(Pls.VII and XV)

Name: Nekh - *Nḥ*.

Date: 19th/20th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: 0,36 x 0,21 m.

Technique: shallow sunk relief with incised texts.

Colours: slight traces.

Conservation: surface worn in several places; right edge and corner damaged.

Type: e (1).

Provenance: Thebes, Medinet Habu, D-E/5-6, stratum of 'Fellahin Village' (in houses south-east of enclosure).¹

Present location: Chicago, Oriental Institute Museum 14287.

Description: in the upper register on the left the dedicatee is seated on a chair, holding a lotus-flower in his left hand and a cloth in his right hand; he wears a youth-hairlock and has a cone of unguent and a lotus-flower on the head; before him stands another man, dressed in a soldier's skirt, adoring and making an incense offering; between the two men is an altar bearing a *nmst*-vase and a lotus-flower; in the middle of the arch above the two men is the *šn*-ring upon the water symbol and a vase; behind each man is a vertical line of text (the right one in fact beginning in the centre of the arch); in the lower register on the left is an altar with four pedestals around which is a garland; on the altar circular loaves and vases full of grapes are encircled by a typical cover²; before the altar are a kneeling woman dressed in a long gown and a standing naked, bald-headed girl; between them are vertical lines of text.

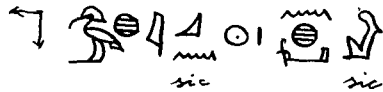
Text: above
right



"Made by his brother Sethmose, justified in peace..."

above

left



"The able spirit³ of Re, Nekh."

below

left



"His sister Bakwerel."⁴

below

right



"Tamit."

Bibliography: not in Bruyère; PM I 2, 776; unpublished.

Commentary: There are no indications that this stela was found *in situ*, but there are no definite connections with Deir el-Medīna either.

Style and execution of this stela point to a date in the late 19th dynasty (in view of the find-spot a 20th dynasty date is not excluded). Noteworthy is the fact that the dedicatee is wearing the prince's youth-hairlock. In the present documentation he shares this distinction only with Khamuy, Pennūb, Neferhotep and prince Nebnūfe (cf. our Docs. A 34, A 36, A 37, B 11 and C 10).⁵

It seems impossible to identify any of the persons mentioned on this stela. The names of both the dedicatee and the principal offerer are too common to draw any conclusions.⁶ If there should be a connection with the Deir el-Medīna community - which is not impossible in

view of the find-spot - these names are not very conclusive either. The prosopography knows only of a workman Nekh, cf. our Doc. A 8, and one or two scribes Sethmose: from the 19th dynasty stela BM 217, cf. J. Černý, *Community*, p.220 (Setekhmeses no. 58), and from the 20th dynasty O. Colin Campbell 3, vs. 3 and 5 (unpubl.), and O. DeM 149,3.

- 1) I am grateful to the authorities of the Oriental Institute Chicago for their permission to publish this stela.
- 2) For the same representation see our Docs. A 16, A 22, A 38 and A 54.
- 3) For the writing $3\bar{h} \bar{i}k$ instead of $3\bar{h} \bar{i}kr$ see p. 197.
- 4) A case of dittography in this name ?
- 5) The side-lock of youth is also worn by the dedicatees on our Docs. A 34, 36, 37 and B 11, as well as by Prince Aḥmose-Sipair on Docs. A 42 and C 11a. Usually this type of hairlock is characteristic for young children, princes and particular priests (of Memphis and Heliopolis), cf. *LA* III 273-274 (s.v. 'Jugendlocke'). The same hairlock is worn by the tomb-owner represented as a child sitting on the lap of the goddess Merseger, in Tomb 336 of Neferrenpet, cf. B. Brüyère, *Mert Seger à Deir el Médineh* (Cairo 1930), p. 41, fig. 21.
- 6) Cf. Ranke, *PN* I, 209, 10 and 16, and 322, 2, respectively.

Name: Nesamun - *Ns-Imn*.

Date: 19th/20th dynasty.

Material: sandstone.

Dimensions: 0,365 x 0,215 m.

Technique: sunk relief with incised text.

Colours: no traces.

Conservation: slight damages on the edges.

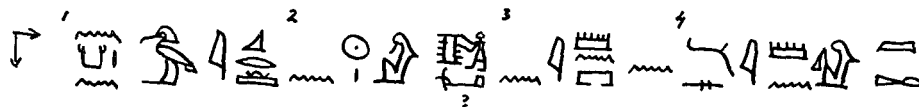
Type: *g*.

Provenance: Thebes (Gurnah ?).

Present location: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum E.SS. 38.¹

Description: in the pyramidal top below a winged sun-disk is a solar barque with the falcon-headed sun god squatting and another deity (Harakhty, Atum ?) standing, both adored by a baboon; under the solar barque on each side a fish; in the main scene below on the left Queen Ahmose-Nefertari is seated on a throne, holding a royal fly-flapper in her left hand and an *ankh*-sign in her right hand; before her stands a man, smelling a lotus-flower held in his right hand and with a lotus-flower also in his left hand; between the queen and the man is an altar bearing circular loaves and a bouquet of flowers; above the altar and the standing man is a text in six vertical lines.

Text: right



"For the *ka* of the able spirit of Re, the builder of the Temple of Amun, Nesamun, justified."

left

𓆎𓅓 (𓆎𓅓𓅓𓅓𓅓) 𓆎𓅓𓅓𓅓𓅓

"The God's Wife Ahmose-Nefertari of Her-her-Amun."

Bibliography: not in Bruyère; PM I 2, 808; M. Gitton, *L'Épouse du dieu Ahmes Néfertari*, p. 47 (listed as nr. 37 of his 'documents posthumes').

Commentary: The general style of this stela points to a date in the late 19th or early 20th dynasty. Its most probable provenance is a chapel of Ahmose-Nefertari in the locality Her-her-Amun, for which see M. Gitton, *op.cit.*, pp. 76-79, probably identical with *Mn-st.*²

It seems impossible to identify the owner of this stela - his name is too common to permit any conclusions³.

Furthermore there appears to be no connection with the Deir el-Medīna community, the title 'builder of the Temple of Amun' being unknown in the documentation from the Village.

- 1) I am very grateful to Miss J.D. Bourriau of the Fitzwilliam Museum for her information, a photograph of this stela and permission to publish it.
- 2) According to Gardiner however the place was rather located close to Medamud, cf. *Onomastica* II, p. 27, A 338; yet the identification with *Mn-st* (near Deir el-Bahari) remains more likely in view of the important cults of the venerated queen in Western Thebes, cf. too M. Gitton in *BIFAO* 76 (1976), p. 88 and note 2; W. Helck, *JARCE* II (1963), p. 66; Charles Cornell Van Siclen III, 'The Temple of Meniset at Thebes', *Serapis* Vol. 6, 1980 (1982), pp. 183-207.
- 3) Cf. Ranke, *PN* I, 173, 19.

Name: Roma - $R-m^C$.

Date: 19th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: 0,20 x 0,13 m (x 0,05 m).

Technique: shallow sunk relief with incised text.

Colours: slight traces, indiscernable under the dust.

Conservation: broken but repaired; damages on the arch and the lower left corner.

Type: *b*.

Provenance: Abydos (according to Mariette; Deir el-Medīna more probable).

Present location: Cairo, Egyptian Museum 1/3/25/1 = S.R. 13971.

Description: in the arch is the $\check{s}n$ -ring upon the water symbol and a vase¹ flanked by two $w\check{d}3t$ -eyes; in the main scene below on the left the dedicatee is seated on a chair, holding a lotus-flower in his left hand and a cloth in his right hand; before him is an altar bearing circular loaves, cakes, a vase full of grapes, fruit and a basket full of figs; under the altar on the left is a lettuce plant and on the right a basket or bowl with offerings; above the head of the seated man is a short text.

Text:



"The able spirit of Re, Roma, justified."

Bibliography: not in Bruyère; PM V, 268 (only listed); A. Mariette, *Catalogue des Monuments d'Abydos*, p. 383, no. 1059.

Commentary: The general style of this stela, the dress and the short wig indicate a date in the first half of the 19th dynasty. The arrangement of the offerings on the altar is very much akin to that on our Doc. A 5; see also this Doc.,

note 1, for the basket with offerings under the altar. Just like our Docs. A 2 and A 11 this stela was probably not found at Abydos, but in Deir el-Medīna, cf. Doc. A 11, note 1 on p. 40.

The name of the dedicatee is not very common in the prosopography of Deir el-Medīna. The most likely candidate is Roma, the brother or half-brother of Sennedjem (Tomb 1), a son of his father Khabekhnet and a second wife Rusu, cf. J. Černý, *Rep. Onomastique*, pp. 6 and 7. He will also be the owner of stela Cairo J. 43567 dedicated to Thot, cf. *ASAE* 25, p. 76. Not wholly excluded is another Roma, the son of a certain Ipuy, known from the late-18th dynasty stela from Deir el-Medīna, Cairo J. 43590, cf. B. Bruyère, *ASAE* 25, p. 94 and Pl. IV.²

The workman Roma who was active during the later years of the 19th dynasty is probably a descendant in the family of Sennedjem, cf. the list compiled by R. Krauss in *SAK* 5 (1977), pp. 163-167.

- 1) Noteworthy is the fact that the vase interrupts the dividing line between the symbols in the arch and the main scene below.
- 2) It is uncertain whether the $w^C b$ -priest Roma appearing on stela Cairo J. 36671 from the first half of the 19th dynasty can be identical with either of the two mentioned above; cf. Bruyère, *Rapport* 1935-1940, III, pp. 77-78 and fig. 7 (= PM II, 166).

Name: Ḥapy'o - Ḥ^cpy-^c3.

Date: 18th-19th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: 0,12 x 0,18 m (x 0,03 m) (fragment only).

Technique: shallow sunk relief with incised text.

Colours: traces only.

Conservation: only upper part preserved.

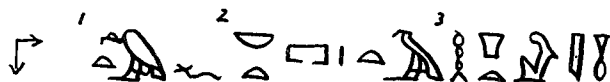
Type: e.

Provenance: Deir el-Medīna (Chapel no. 1215).

Present location: unknown, presumably Storerooms Deir el-Medīna¹.

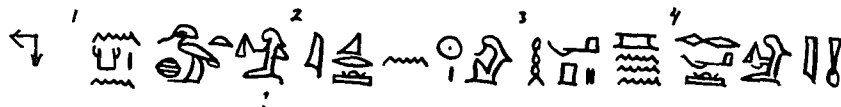
Description: in the arch is the šn-ring upon the water symbol and a vase flanked by two wd3t-eyes; in the main scene below on the left is the dedicatee (most probably seated on a chair); before him and facing him is a female figure; between them a circular garland(?); above the figures is a text in seven vertical lines.

Text: right



"His mother, the lady of the house, Taḥenut,
justified."

left



"For the ka of the able spirit of Re, Ḥapy'o,
justified."

Bibliography: Bruyère 24; PM I 2, 718; Bruyère, *Rapport* 1929,
pp. 54-55, fig. 14 no.1.

Commentary: The general style of the preserved part clearly indicates a date in the late 18th or early 19th dynasty. The name of the dedicatee is extremely rare in the Deir el-Medīna prosopography . In view of this we can almost certainly identify the dedicatee of our stela with the Hapy'o appearing on stela Ermitage 3937, cf. E. Bogoslovsky, *Vestnik Drevney Istorii* 119 (1972), pp. 87-96. On this stela uncertain family-ties link Hapy'o with a workman Setau, in whose tomb no. 1352 at Deir el-Medīna were also found some ushabtis of Hapy'o, cf. Bruyère, *Rapport 1933-1934*, p. 98, fig. 42.³ Unfortunately the family connections are not too clear, the more so since H.'s mother Taḥenut does not appear on other known monuments⁴.

- 1) Cf. Doc. A 19, note 1 on p. 59.
- 2) Two other persons named Hapy'o are a Medjay of the mid-19th dynasty, cf. J. Černý, *Community*, p. 274; and a water-carrier from the mid-20th dynasty, cf. P. Turin 1881, rt. IX 2 (S. Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri I* (Tübingen 1973), p. 109).
- 3) Also in D. Valbelle, *Oucheftis de Deir el-Medineh*, p. 44 and Pl. XV (no. 67).
- 4) The name Taḥenut is known in the prosopography of Deir el-Medīna from the early 20th dynasty, cf. O. Prague H 10, rt. 8, O. IFAO 1322, 6 and O. AG 66, rt. 13 (all unpubl.).

Name: Hapy'o - H^Cpy-C³.

Date: 18th-19th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: 0,08 x 0,15 m (x 0,02 m) (fragment only).

Technique: shallow sunk relief (?) with incised text.

Colours: no traces.

Conservation: only upper part preserved; damaged on top and right edge.

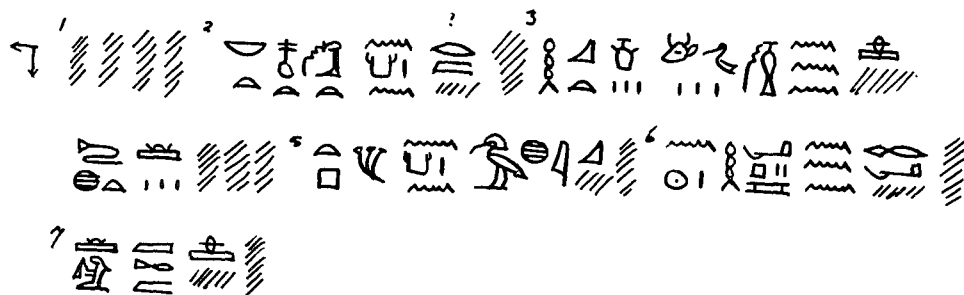
Type: ? (e ?).

Provenance: Deir el-Medīna (Hathor chapel of Sethos I).

Present location: unknown, presumably Storerooms Deir el-Medīna¹.

Description: in the arch is the šn-ring upon the water symbol and a vase flanked by two wd3t-eyes; above the figure(s) in the main scene is a text in seven vertical lines.

Text:



"(Offering ?) all good and pure (things ?) for the ka of ..., beer, oxen, fowl, cool water. Offering ... things, ... (hṭp ?)² for the ka of the able spirit of Re, Hapy'o, justified, in peace."

Bibliography: not in Bruyère; PM I 2, 695; Bruyère, *Rapport* 1935-1940, II, p.128, fig. 211 (no. 308).

Commentary: The date of this stela is indicated by the general style of the part preserved.

As for the identity of the dedicatee, see Commentary on
our Doc. A 29.

- 1) Cf. our Doc. A 19, note 1 on p. 59.
- 2) Cf. *WB* III 195, 18-19.

Name: Hori - *Hri*.

Date: 19th/20th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: 0,095 x 0,105 m.

Technique: ostrakon with line drawing.

Colours: figure and text in black.

Conservation: only upper part preserved (or fragmentary sketch ?).

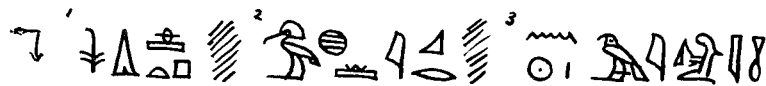
Type: a (?).

Provenance: Thebes, Valley of the Kings¹.

Present location: Cairo, Egyptian Museum S.R. 1519 = J. 72504.

Description: on the left the dedicatee is seated (?); in front of him is a text in three vertical lines².

Text:



"A boon which the king gives... the able spirit of Re,
Hori, justified."

Bibliography: not in Bruyère; not in PM; unpublished.³

Commentary: Judging from the scanty traces, this ostrakon seems to date from the late 19th or the first half of the 20th dynasty.

Most probably it is a sketch rather than a more simple version of a real stela, yet see our Docs. A 4, A 14 and A 53.

As the name Hori was very popular in the Deir el-Medīna community, it seems impossible to identify the dedicatee of this stela. In view of the findspot of this ostrakon a likely candidate is the scribe Hori, cf. J. Černý, *Community*, pp. 216-219.

1) Fouilles Carnavon-Carter, Ostrakon Carnarvon 371.

- 2) The usual lotus-flower held by the dedicatee is absent here;
instead of receiving "life" by smelling on the lotus-flower, the
deceased probably did so by stretching out his hand towards the
offerings on the altar; cf. our Doc. A 32.
- 3) The drawing on Pl. IX was made after a small photograph in the
inventory-book kept in the Cairo Museum.

Name: Khamuy - *H3mwy*.

Date: 19th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: 0,19 x 0,13 m.

Technique: shallow sunk relief with incised text.

Colours: red on the man's body, including his wig, on the joints of meat (?) and the contents of the basket on the offering-table, on the *šn*-ring and the vase in the arch, on the dividing lines and some traces on the supports of the feet of the chair and the mat;
yellow on the woodwork of the chair, on the loaves and the basket on the offering-table, and on the mat;
traces of blue on the offering-table and in the incised line surrounding the scene;
green on the plants on the offering-table.

Conservation: large flake missing from the lower right corner.

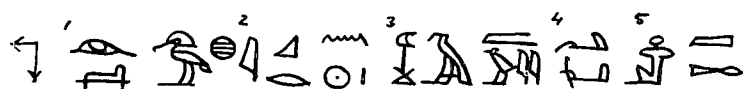
Type: *b*.

Provenance: Deir el-Medīna (based upon internal evidence).

Present location: London, British Museum 344.


Description: in the arch is the *šn*-ring upon the water symbol and a vase flanked by two *wḏ3t*-eyes; these symbols are separated from the main scene by a line; in the main scene on the left the dedicatee is seated on a chair, holding a cloth in his right hand and stretching out his left hand¹ towards the altar loaded with offerings before him; his feet rest on a footstool; on the altar are circular loaves, a basket full of grapes (?), joints of meat (?) and vegetables (lettuce); under the altar at the right is a basket or bowl with offerings² (damaged); above and in front of the seated man is a text in five vertical lines; beneath the whole scene is a conventional reed mat.



Text:



"The Osiris, the able spirit of Re, Khamuy, justified."

Bibliography: not in Bruyère; PM I 2, 724; T.G.H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts* IX, p. 52 and Pl. XLI, 3; K.A. Kitchen, *KRI* IV 444, 1-2.

Commentary: The general style of this stela definitely dates it to the 19th dynasty. Yet the name-determinative  is usually taken to indicate a date in the 20th dynasty, cf. J. Černý, *Community*, p. 192, note 2. As a matter of fact however, the available evidence makes it likely that this name-determinative is not such a safe and sharp criterium for dating, cf. too H.G. Fischer, *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 13 (1978), p. 31, note 174.

R.A. Caminos, *JEA* 64 (1978), p. 156, says "it frequently replaces  and  in hieroglyphic texts of Nineteenth-Twenty-first Dynasties".

Jocelyne Berlandini, *BIFAO* 77 (1977), p. 36 note 5, states that this sign is frequently used as determinative or suffix at the beginning of the 19th dynasty (cf. also J. Berlandini-Grenier, *BIFAO* 74 (1974), p. 15).³ Although there are other dedicatees known from more than one stela in the present group - cf. Panakht of A 13 and A 14, Hapy'o of A 29 and A 30 - the dedicatee of this stela, Khamuy, appears on no fewer than eight comparable monuments. In most cases he is accompanied by another dedicatee, Pennūb, and once also by a third one, Webkhet. Identifying these three dedicatees is not an easy task, in spite of the relative abundance in documents from the 19th dynasty.⁴

The prosopography of Deir el-Medīna lists only one person named Khamuy.⁵ He occurs in the group of ostraca from the

later 19th dynasty and he is known from year 1 of Sethos II (O. MMA 14.6.217 = *H.O.* 64, 1, vs. 7, 9 and 10; O. Cairo 25779, rt. 10) until year 1 of Siptah (e.g. O. Cairo 25516, vs. 11, 13 and 27; O. Cairo 25521, rt. 13; O. DeM 611, III, 1), while he also occurs in the ostraca from year 3 of Amenmesse, e.g. O. Cairo 25782, rt. 18. From several ostraca it appears that he was a workman of the left side under chief workman Hay (e.g. O. Cairo 25522, rt. I, 9). Nowhere do we find any information concerning his family-relationship and judging from the dated or datable ostraca, Khamuy functioned as a workman only for a short period.

As for Pennūb, the documents present us with richer information. We know at least two workmen named Pennūb from Deir el-Medīna, both from the 19th dynasty.

Pennūb the Elder - certainly the most important of the two - occurs in documents dated to the first half of the 19th dynasty, e.g. in the tomb of Sennedjem, J. Černý, *Rép. Onomastique*, p. 22; as a colleague of Thuthermektes, libation basin BM 28 = T.G.H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts* IX, Pl. XXXIV; around year 40 of Ramesses II, O. BM 5634 (= *H.O.* 83), rt. 11 and O. DeM 126, 2.⁶ Almost certainly he was a member of the family of Pashedu, the joint-owner of Tomb 339, cf. Bruyère, *Rapport* 1924-1925, p. 61. In several documents from the later 19th dynasty he is mentioned as the father of the workmen Nebnakht (the owner of Tomb 268), Pashedu and Nebnūfe, cf. e.g. O. Cairo 25779, rt. 9, 11 and 25782, rt. 15.

Pennūb the Younger is known as a workman of the right side under chief workman Paneb - i.e. dated to the

period end Sethos II/Siptah - cf. O. Cairo 25793, 4 and H.O. 51, 1, II, 8. Probably he is the grandson of Harmose (the father of Pashedu, the joint-owner of Tomb 339), who appears in the tomb of chief workman Neferhotep the Younger, cf. J. Černý, *Rép. Onomastique*, p. 105.⁷ Therefore the family-relation with the older Pennūb seems certain, *vide supra*.

For the possible identity of the third dedicatee, Webkhet, who appears once in connection with Khamuy and Pennūb, see Commentary on our Doc. A 6, p. 27.

In conclusion, the identification of both dedicatees - Khamuy and Pennūb - unfortunately remains difficult to ascertain. Khamuy can be identified with the workman names thus, but the possibility is not excluded that a member of an older generation of his family is meant. Pennūb most probably has to be identified with the workman Pennūb the Elder. Though they appear together on several stelae in this group, no further relation between the two is known.

- 1) Cf. our Doc. A 31, note 2 on p. 87.
- 2) Cf. our Doc. A 5, note 1 on p. 24.
- 3) A clear 19th dynasty example is to be found on the sarcophagus lid of the High Steward of the Ramesseum, Yupa, cf. J. Ruffle and K.A. Kitchen, *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt*, p. 58 (Document 6).
- 4) Unfortunately this does not hold for the ostraca from the first half of the dynasty.
- 5) The 'Khami' from the 18th dynasty, as listed by Bruyère, *Rapport* 1934-1935, III, p. 164 and Tosi-Roccati, *Stele*, p. 58 does not exist: in O. Cairo 25662, rt. 10, we do not find a name but an occupation, - *hm^c*, cf. WB III 282,8; M. Megally, *Bulletin du Centenaire* (Supplement to BIFAO 81, Cairo 1981), pp. 310-312.

- 6) Cf. too O. Cairo 25573, II, 3; O. DeM 116, rt. 1; O. DeM 188 + 373, 4; stela BM 8497, M.L. Bierbrier, *Hieroglyphic Texts* 10 (London 1982), p. 32 and Pls. 74-75; stela Turin 147/1560 (together with 'his brother' Amennakht), G. Maspero, *RT* II, p. 179 (not in Tosi-Roccati, *Stele*); stela BM 341 of Pashedu and Pennūb, Hall, *HT* VII, Pl. 25; figured ostrakon BM 8508, Pennūb before the goddess Mertseger, Bruyère, *Mert Seger* (Cairo 1930), fig. 50. Possibly Pennūb is the 'grandson' of Hori, the owner of stela Turin 50008, Tosi-Roccati, pp. 39-41.
- 7) See also M.A. Green in *Orientalia* 45 (1976), p. 398 note 17; and M.L. Bierbrier, *op.cit.*, p. 32.

A 33

(Pl. IX and XV)

Name: Khamuy - H3mwy.

Date: 19th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: ca. 0,18 x 0,11 m.

Technique: line drawing.

Colours: figures and text in black.

Conservation: right lower corner broken, but repaired; slight damage on left edge.

Type: *b.*

Provenance: Deir el-Medīna (based upon internal evidence).

Present location: Cannes, Musée archéologique 7 (from Lycklama
Collection, bought between 1866-1868).¹

Description: in the arch is the *śn*-ring upon the water symbol and a vase flanked by two *wd*3*t*-eyes; these symbols are separated from the main scene by a line; in the main scene on the left the dedicatee is seated on a chair, holding a lotus-flower in his left hand and a cloth in his right hand; before him is an altar bearing circular loaves, oval bread, a vase or basket full of grapes, and lettuce plants; under the altar on the right is a basket or bowl with offerings²; above the altar is a text in three vertical lines; beneath the whole scene is a traditional reed mat.

Text:



"The Osiris, the able spirit of Re, Khamuy."

Bibliography: Bruyère 14; PM I 2, 724; Düring, *Etude sur quelques monuments égyptiens du Musée archéologique de Cannes (Musée Lycklama)*, pp. 13-14; K.A. Kitchen, *KRI* IV 444, 10-11.

Commentary: The general style of this stela indicates a date in the 19th dynasty. The dedicatee is represented bald-headed³ and with a wrinkle in the neck.

For a discussion and possible identification of the dedicatee cf. our Doc. A 32.

- 1) I am grateful to the curator of the Musée archéologique Cannes, Mr. William Sadée, for his permission to publish this stela and the photograph he kindly put at my disposal.
- 2) Cf. our Doc. A 5, note 1 on p. 24.
- 3) Cf. our Doc. A 15, note 3 on p. 48.

A 34

Name: Kham(uy) - *H3m(wy)*.

Date: 19th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: 0,19 x 0,05 m (fragment only).

Technique: shallow sunk relief with incised text.

Colours: no traces.

Conservation: only left part of stela preserved; damaged by salt-working; text legible with difficulty.

Type: ? (a ?)

Provenance: Deir el-Medīna (dump on east-cemetery).¹Present location: unknown, probably Storerooms Deir el-Medīna.²

Description: on the left the dedicatee is seated on a throne, holding a lotus-flower in his left hand and a cloth (?) in his right hand; he is wearing the side-lock of youth; above him is a vertical line of text.

Text:



"The able spirit of Re, Kham(uy)."

Bibliography: Bruyère 22; PM I 2, 724; Bruyère, *Rapport* 1934-1935, p. 17, fig. 7, no. 1; K.A. Kitchen, *KRI* IV 444, 15-16.

Commentary: The general style of this stela, even in its fragmentary state, indicates a date in the 19th dynasty.

The representation of the dedicatee sitting on a *hwt*-throne is also found on our Docs. A 19, A 35 and A 36.³

For a discussion and a possible identification of the dedicatee cf. our Doc. A 32.

1) According to Bruyère, *op.cit.*, the dump consisted of early 19th dynasty material.

2) Cf. Doc. A 19, note 1 on p. 59.

3) Cf. Doc. A 19, note 2 on p. 59.

Names: Khamuy, Pennūb - *H3mwy, Pn-nwb.*

Date: 19th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: 0,24 x 0,16 m.

Technique: shallow sunk relief with incised text.

Colours: red on the flesh of the men, the woodwork of the chairs, the fillets and the cones on the heads, the stems of the lotus-flowers, the folded cloths and hanging girdles, and the dividing lines of the text; blue on the collars of the men, the lotus-flowers, the altar, the sides of the chairs (but not the small inset panels of the sides, which are red), and the incised lines around the scene; yellow on the background of the scene below the texts, and the kilts of the men; the pointed objects on the altar are blue and probably represent vegetables (lettuce); beneath them are objects painted red, possibly figs or cakes.

Conservation: once sawn into two halves, but now repaired.

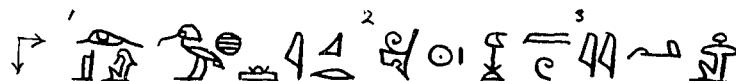
Type: *d.*

Provenance: Deir el-Medīna (based upon internal evidence).

Present location: London, British Museum 359 (possibly from the Salt Collection).

Description: beneath the texts in the pointed top the two dedicatees are seated on low-backed chairs (or *hwt*-thrones¹) facing each other; their feet rest on a communal footstool; each holds a lotus-flower in one hand and a cloth in the other; both men wear a wig with a fillet and a cone with a small lotus-flower; between the two men is an altar bearing circular cakes or figs and vegetables (lettuce).

Text: right



Names: Khamuy, Pennūb - *H3mwy, Pn-nwb*.

Date: 19th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: 0,26 x 0,16 m.

Technique: shallow sunk relief with incised text.

Colours: the goddesses' garments and the men's flesh are red;

the field and the flesh of the goddesses are yellow;

the men's garments were originally white;

the chairs and Pennūb's wig are black;

the offering garland (?) is red and blue.

Conservation: the tip is missing, some flakes have come off from the surface and a crack runs through the middle of the stela.

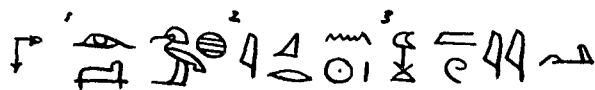
Type: *d* (1).

Provenance: Deir el-Medīna (based upon internal evidence).

Present location: London, British Museum 372.

Description: in the pointed upper register the emblem of the West is standing in an elongated horizon-sign and flanked by kneeling figures of Isis and Nephthys¹ who have their arms raised in adoration; in the lower register Khamuy on the right and Pennub on the left are seated on high-backed chairs on either side of an altar which carries an elaborate garland (?); Khamuy is shown with a shaved head², holding out his right hand towards the altar; Pennub wears a wig with a heavy side-lock³, and in his left hand he holds a lotus-flower; above the two men is a text in six vertical lines.

Text: right



"The Osiris, the able spirit of Re, Khamuy."

left



"The Osiris, the able spirit of Re, Pennūb, justified."

Bibliography: Bruyère 15; PM I 2, 725; T.G.H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts* IX, p. 51 and Pl. XLI, 2; K.A. Kitchen, *KRI* IV 443, 14-15.

Commentary: The general style of this stela indicates a date in the 19th dynasty.

For a discussion and a possible identification of the dedicatees, cf. Commentary on our Doc. A 32.

- 1) For a similar representation see our Doc. A 1, above pp. 11-14.
- 2) This mode of representation is seen too on our Docs. A 33 (also Khamuy) and A 15, see note 3 on p. 48.
- 3) Cf. too our Docs. A 34 and A 37; see also above p. 77.

Names: Khamuy, Pennūb - Ḥ3m(w)y, Pn-nwb.

Date: 19th dynasty.

Dimensions: 0,24 x 0,15 m.

Technique: shallow sunk relief with incised text.

Colours: traces of yellow in the hieroglyphs and on the figures.

Conservation: tip missing, lower left corner damaged.

Type: d (1).

Provenance: Deir el-Medīna (Drovetti Collection).

Present location: Turin, Museo Egizio 50024 (formerly 1616; 190/116).

Description: in the pointed upper register are the remains of two short vertical lines of text above two rudders; in the lower register, below four vertical lines of text, in full symmetry facing one another are the kneeling figures of Khamuy on the right and Pennūb on the left, each holding a lotus-flower and a lotus-bud in one hand and stretching out the other towards offerings (? once painted ?, no longer visible) on an altar (indicated by the half-circle behind their knees ?); both men wear a wig with a heavy side-lock and a small lotus-flower on the head.¹

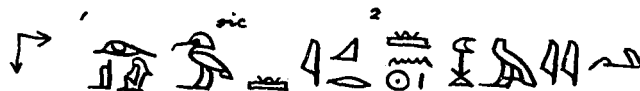
Text: upper register



"...sweet breeze²..."

lower register

right



"The Osiris, the able spirit of Re, Khamuy³."

Material: limestone.

Technique: shallow sunk relief with incised text.

Conservation: found broken in several pieces, but repaired.

Type: d .

Provenance: Deir el-Medīna (House S.O. V)¹.

Present location: Paris, Louvre Museum E 16362 ('depuis 1939').

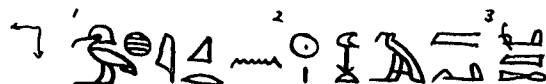
Description: below the texts in five vertical lines in the pointed top the two dedicatees are kneeling, facing one another; each holds a lotus-flower in one hand, while the other hand is stretched out towards the offerings; between the two men is an altar bearing circular loaves and a peculiar cover²; under the altar on each side is a lettuce.

Text: right



"The able spirit of Re, Pennūb, justified."

left



"The able spirit of Re, Khamuy, justified."

Bibliography: Bruyère 27; PM I 2, 705; Bruyère, *Rapport* 1934-1935, pp. 163-164 and fig. 62; *id.*, *Rapport* 1935-1940, p. 327 and fig. 198; K.A. Kitchen, *KRI* IV 444, 12-13.

Commentary: The general style of this stela indicates a date in the 19th dynasty.

For a discussion and possible identification of the dedicatees, cf. Commentary on our Doc. A 32.

1) Found in the back room, north, of the House S.O. V, belonging to Khabekhnet.

2) Cf. the similar representation on our Docs. A 16 and A 22.

See also the drawing on stela BM 349 (277), H.R. Hall, *Hieroglyphic Texts* VI, Pl. 34.

A 39

Names: Khamuy, Pennūb, Webkhet - Ḥ3m(w)y, Pn-nwb, Wbḥt.

Date: 19th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: ?

Technique: shallow sunk relief with incised text.

Colours: ? (no traces ?).

Conservation: not preserved (Tosi-Roccati: 'irreperibile').

Type: ? (d or d (1) ?).

Provenance: Deir el-Medīna (Drovetti Collection ?).

(Present) location: Turin, Museo Egizio 1615 (formerly 310/22).

Description: three persons, two men and a woman, are standing in front of an altar; above them is a text in five vertical lines (according to Maspero).

Text:



"The Osiris, the able spirit of Re, Khamuy; the Osiris, the able spirit of Re, Pennūb, justified; the Osiris, the able¹ spirit of Re, Webkhet."

Bibliography: Bruyère 2; PM I 2, 724; Tosi-Roccati, pp. 49 and 236;
G. Maspero, *RT* III (1883), p. 105 no. IV;
K.A. Kitchen, *KRI* IV 444, 7-9.

Commentary: As this stela seems to be irretrievable, detailed specifications are lacking.

For a discussion and a possible identification of the first two dedicatees, cf. Commentary on our Doc. A 32, and for the third cf. our Doc. A 6.

- 1) The reading $\dot{\imath}k.t$ is uncertain, but quite possible for $\dot{\imath}k(r).t$.

Name: Khonsu - *Hnsw*.

Date: 19th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: 0,38 x 0,255 m (x 0,05 m).

Technique: shallow sunk relief with incised text.

Colours: traces only.

Conservation: greater part of lower left corner missing.

Type: e.

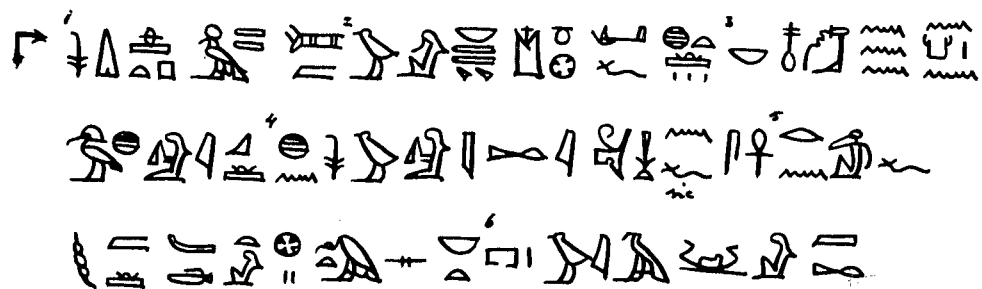
Provenance: Deir el-Medīna (House S.O. II).¹

Present location: Paris, Louvre Museum E 16344 ('depuis 1939')

(place: 1st floor, room D).

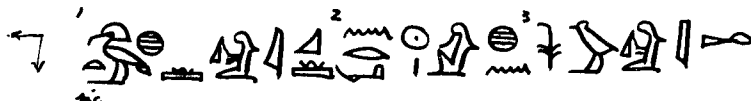
Description: in the arch is the *šn*-ring upon the water symbol and a vase flanked by two *wḏ3t*-eyes; these symbols are separated from the main scene by a line; in the main scene on the left the dedicatee is seated on a chair, holding a lotus-flower in his left hand and a cloth in his right hand; facing him are two female figures standing, the first one bringing an incense-offering and the second one offering a bowl with plants (?) tied up with a ribbon²; the women wear a long dress and elaborate wig with a cone of unguent and a small lotus-flower on the head; above the figures is a text in nine vertical lines.

Text: right



"A boon which the king gives(to) Re-Harakhty Atum,
 Lord of the two Lands, Heliopolitan, that he may give
 all good and pure things for the ka of the able spirit³,
 Khonsu, justified, by his sister who causes his
 name to live, Nedjembeḥde, (and) her mother, the mistress
 of the house Wia, justified."

left



"The able spirit of Re, Khonsu, justified."

Bibliography: Bruyère 26; PM I 2, 705; Bruyère, *Rapport* 1934-1935,
 pp. 162-163 and 318, fig. 186 and Pl. XXII; A.-P.Zivie,
La tombe de Pached, pp. 116-117.

Commentary: The general style of this stela, the dress and the wigs
 indicate a date in the middle of the 19th dynasty.
 As the name Khonsu was rather common in the Deir el-Medīna
 community, it is difficult to identify the dedicatee of
 this stela. Before trying to determine which Khonsu
 might be meant here, we first turn our attention to the
 two ladies named on this stela - his 'sister' Nedjembeḥde
 and her mother Wia. The name Nedjembeḥde is rare in the
 Deir el-Medina prosopography, the only two ladies so-
 named known at present being the wife of Pashedu and their
 granddaughter (the daughter of their son Pendua), cf.
 A.-P.Zivie, *La tombe de Pached*, p. 125 notes 1 and 3
 (a third N., the wife of a chief workman Pashedu, is
 known if one agrees with Zivie's reasoning, *op.cit.*
 p. 120-125, in distinguishing between the owners of
 Tombs 3 and 326).

In his discussion of the family of Pashedu, Zivie -
op.cit. pp. 112-121 - combines the evidence from our
 stela and stela Cairo JE 36671 with the textual

information from Tomb 3 and concludes that Pashedu's wife must be the Nedjembehde, daughter of Wia and granddaughter of Sati. While he himself admits some of the weak points in his reconstructed family tree⁴, Zivie is most probably right in equating the N. on our stela with the wife of Pashedu, the owner of Tomb 3.

All this information supports well the dating of the stela on general stylistic grounds, *i.e.* around the middle of the 19th dynasty.

As for the dedicatee of our stela, the name Khonsu, at least during the 19th dynasty, appears to be exclusive to the family of Sennedjem, cf. M.L. Bierbrier, *Late New Kingdom*, p. 30 and Chart VIII. The find-spot of this stela coincides well with this fact: the House S.O. II being very near to the houses of Sennedjem and Khabekhnet in what we might call a family-quarter of the Village. Yet we do not possess any evidence to connect one of the known members of this family named Khonsu with a Nedjembehde.

All this leaves us with two possibilities:

1. the Khonsu of our stela was a 'real' brother of Nedjembehde, in which case he is unknown from other sources, Wia was not his mother and surprisingly he does not appear among the family of Nedjembehde in the tomb of Pashedu;
2. Khonsu was the 'husband' of Nedjembehde, in which case he might be an unknown member of Sennedjem's family or possibly the son of May, stela Turin 50009, cf. Tosi-Roccati, *Stele*, p. 42.

1) Found in the cave, according to Bruyère, who further remarks: "sans doute encastrée dans le mur ouest de la salle du divan, entre deux portes et juste au-dessus d'un dipinto rouge du scribe Horshery".

- 2) See our Doc. A 5, note 1 on p. 24.
- 3) For the writing 3ḥ Ḳ instead of 3ḥ Ḳr see p. 197.
- 4) Particularly his efforts to define the father or grandfather of Nedjembeḥde are not very convincing.

Name: Sherire - Šrī-R^C.

Date: 19th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: 0,185 x 0,135 m (x 0,02 m).

Technique: shallow sunk relief with incised text.

Colours: no traces.

Conservation: upper left and lower right corners damaged.

Type: a (1).

Provenance: Deir el-Medīna (House S.O. II)¹.

Present location: Paris, Louvre Museum E 16368 ('depuis 1939').

Description: on the left the dedicatee is seated on a chair, holding a lotus-flower in the right² (!) hand and stretching out the left hand towards the offerings -circular loaves and vegetables- on the altar in front of her; she wears a long dress and a wig with a small lotus-flower on the forehead; her feet rest on a footstool; above in the arch is a text in three vertical lines.

Text:



"The Osiris, the able spirit of Re, Sherire ..."

Bibliography: Bruyère 29; PM I 2, 705; Bruyère, *Rapport* 1934-1935, pp. 164-165 and 318, fig. 187.

Commentary: The general style of this stela and the dress indicate a date in the second half of the 19th dynasty. For the position of the lotus-flower in the right hand and not in the left hand held across the breast, cf. too our Doc. A 45. The name of the dedicatee of this stela is not uncommon in the Deir el-Medīna prosopography. Yet from the 19th dynasty only two ladies named thus are known:

1. the daughter of Kasa, the joint-owner of Tomb 10, cf. J. Černý, *Rép. Onomastique*, p. 76 and stela BM 369, T.G.H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts IX*, Pl. XXXVII; she was married to a workman Ptahmose.
2. the daughter of the chief workman Paneb, the owner of Tomb 211, cf. J. Černý, *op.cit.*, pp. 87-88.³

Unfortunately we have no clues for a positive identification.

- 1) In the same House was found our Doc. A 40.
- 2) Contrary to the general mode of representation, but cf. our Docs. A 37 and A 42.
- 3) The family trees as given by Bruyère in *Tombes thébaines*, p. 86 and L. Habachi in *Tavole d'offerta*, p. 48, are not wholly reliable.

Name: Kynebu - *Ky-nbw*.

Date: 20th dynasty.

Material: sandstone ¹.

Dimensions: 0,37 x 0,26 m.

Technique: shallow sunk relief with incised text.

Colours: no traces.

Conservation: lower right and left corners damaged; also damage on left edge.

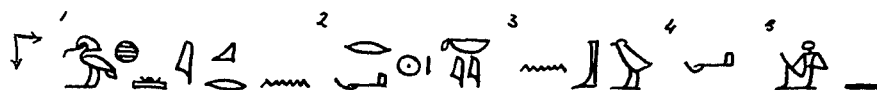
Type: *g*.

Provenance: Deir el-Medīna ?

Present location: Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum H 3198
(formerly von Buseck Collection).

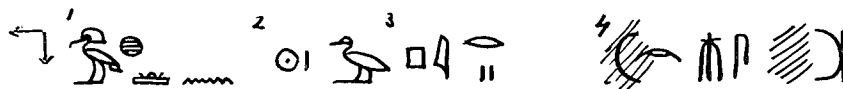
Description: in the pointed upper part is a solar barque with a sun-disk beneath a *wḏ3t*-eye; these symbols are separated from the main scene by a line; in the main scene on the left Queen Aḥmose-Nefertari and her son Aḥmose-Sipair are seated on thrones; the queen has her left hand posed on the shoulder of the prince and in her right hand she holds an *ankh*-sign; the prince wears a youth hairlock, holds a *ḥk3*-sceptre in his left hand and a lotus-flower in his right hand; on the right, a man is seated on a throne², holding a lotus-flower in his left hand and has his right hand stretched out towards the offerings on the altar between the figures; he wears a small lotus-flower on the forehead; on the altar are circular loaves, a vase and two lotus-flowers; above the figures is a text in nine vertical lines.

Text: right



"The able spirit of Re, Kynebu, justified³."

left




"The spirit⁴ of Re, Sipair."

"Ahmose (Nefertari)."

Bibliography: not in Bruyère; PM I 2, 725; E. von Komorzynski, *Archiv für ägyptische Archäologie* 1 (1938), 258-259; *Führer durch die Antikenabteilung des Martin von Wagner Museums der Universität Würzburg* (Mainz, 1975), pp. 29-30.

Commentary: This stela is one of the three in the present group where the deceased is shown in the presence of, or adoring members of the founding family of the 18th dynasty, cf. our Docs. A 18 and A 27. For the special position of prince Ahmose-Sipair and his cult see pp. 167 ff. His appearance on this stela was also noted by M. Gitton, *Ahmes Nēfertari*, pp. 48 ('documents posthumes nr. 76') and 84.

The iconographical peculiarity of the lotus-flower held in the right hand of prince Ahmose-Sipair and running behind his left arm is comparable to the related representation on our Doc. A 10, Commentary on p. 38. The general style of this stela and the rather poor execution indicate a date in the 20th dynasty.

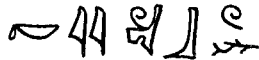
The name of the dedicatee of this stela, Kynebu, is extremely rare in the prosopography of Deir el-Medīna, if this is really where the stela comes from. The presence of two members of the founding family of the 18th dynasty enhances the probability that we are allowed to identify our Kynebu with the owner  of the offering-table mentioned by J. Černý in *BIFAO* 27, pp. 176 (fig.12) and 201 (no. 65), found in Deir el-Medīna 1921-1922. The only Kynebu on other documents from Deir

el-Medina to be taken into consideration⁵ is the $w^c b$ K.,



the sender

of the letter O. DeM 115 to the workman Kenymin⁶. Both the offering-table and the letter date from mid-20th dynasty. The rarity of the name and the title lead to the possible identification of our Kynebu with the owner



of Tomb 113

at Sheikh 'Abd el-Qurna (temp. Ramesses VIII), a $w^c b$ -priest over-the-secrets of the estate of Amun⁷. He definitely had some connections with Deir el-Medina, as in his tomb appears a $s\check{s}-k\check{d} n p\check{3} \check{h}r$ Amenhotep, cf. J. Černý, *Community*, p. 27.

- 1) Doc. A 27 is the only other stela in this group made out of this material.
- 2) Cf. our Doc. A 19, note 2 on p. 59.
- 3) For this writing of $m\check{3}^c \check{h}rw$, cf. our Doc. A 7, note 2 on p. 130.
- 4) For the writing $3\check{h} n R^c$ see p. 275.
- 5) Another Kynebu in Deir el-Medina texts is a fisherman of that name,



cf. O. DeM 142, rt.

18-19 (year 26 of Ramesses III); probably also in O. Strassbourg 1256=H 84, rt.3 (year 7 of Ramesses VII; unpubl.).

- 6) The workman Kenymin is known from year 15 of Ramesses III, O. DeM 253, vs. 3, until year 2 of Ramesses IV, O. IFAO 574 (unpubl.).
- 7) For a statue of this Kynebu, Hannover 2945, cf. M. Cramer, ZÄS 72 (1936), pp. 100-103 (21-2), Pl. IX (1,2).

A 43

Name: *Ken* - *Kn*.

Date: 19th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: ?

Technique: shallow sunk relief with incised text (?).

Colours: ?

Conservation: stela not preserved.¹

Type: a (1) ?

Provenance: Deir el-Medīna (Drovetti Collection ?).

(Present) location: Turin, Museo Egizio 1634 (formerly 191/25).¹

Description: the general representation fits into the pattern of our type a (1).

Text:



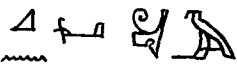
"A boon which the king gives (to) Re-Harakhty, that he may give all good and pure things for the *ka* of the able spirit of Re, *Ken*, justified with the great god."

Bibliography: Bruyère 3; PM I 2, 724; Tosi-Roccati, p. 236; G. Maspero, *RT* II (1880), p. 194 (no. 323); K.A. Kitchen, *KRI* III 687, 10-11.

Commentary: According to the description given by Maspero the general style of this stela could indicate a date in the first half of the 19th dynasty.

As the name of the dedicatee of this stela is not too common in this spelling², it is very tempting to identify our *Ken* with the owner of Tomb 4 at Deir el-Medīna, cf. J. Černý, *Rép. Onomastique*, pp. 44-40; Tosi-Roccati,

p. 112 and J.J. Clère, *RdE* 27 (1975), pp. 72-77.³ In the absence of unequivocal further information, his namesake and father-in-law Ken, the owner of Tomb 337, also remains a possible candidate.

- 1) Tosi-Roccati, p. 236, state the stela to be irretrievable.
- 2) In the later spelling , Kenna is a common name in the second half of the 19th and the 20th dynasty. It should be remarked however that at least in the ostraca and papyri, Ken sometimes is an abbreviation both for Kenherkhepeshef and for Kenna.
- 3) See also S. Pernigotti in *Studi orientali e classici* 19-20 (1970/1971), pp. 123-134 (esp. p. 129 note 31).

A 44

(Pls. XI and XVI)

Name: Taweretherti - *T3-wrt-hr-ti*.

Date: 20th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: 0,318 x 0,245 m (x 0,02/0,07 m).

Technique: shallow sunk relief with incised text.

Colours: traces of red on the body of the god; yellow on the
body of the female figure; white on the dress.

Conservation: top missing; surface damaged.

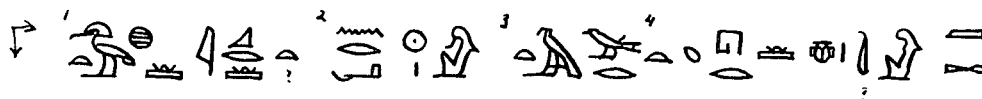
Type: *h*.

Provenance: Thebes, Deir el-Medīna ?

Present location: Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum 51.232 (formerly
Boniface Platz Collection).

Description: in the (originally round-topped ?)¹ upper register is a solar barque with a sun-disk (only lower part of the scene preserved); this register is separated from the main scene by a line; in the main scene on the left the god Re-Harakhty is seated on a throne placed on a pedestal; in his right hand the god holds an *ankh*-sign and in his left hand a *w3s*-sceptre; in front of the god stands a woman adoring him; she is dressed in a long, transparant robe and holds a *nmst*-vase in her left hand, while her right hand is making an adoring gesture; upon her elaborate wig is a cone of unguent and a small lotus-flower; above the figures of the god and the woman is a text in seven vertical lines.

Text: right



"The able spirit of Re, Taweretherti², justified."



"A boon which the king gives (to) Harakhty, the
Great God, Lord of Heaven."

Bibliography: not in Bruyère; PM I 2, 735; E. Haeffner, *Bulletin du
Musée nationale hongrois* 4 (1954), pp. 4-7 and fig. 1.

Commentary: The general style of this stela and the dress of the woman
indicate a date in the mid-20th dynasty.



The name of the woman, Taweretherti (cf. Ranke, *PN* I 355,
16; PM I 2, 735 incorrectly read Tawered-heribti), seems
to be an indication that this stela originated in Deir
el-Medīna, although positive evidence is lacking. In the
prosopography of the Village a lady Taweretherti
frequently appears in a group of mid-20th dynasty texts,
e.g.: O. DeM 134 Col. I, 3; O. DeM 282, 2; O. DeM 643, 5;
O. IFAO 1282, 2 (Allam, *Hier. Ostraka*, pl. 22); O. IFAO 1322,
11 (unpubl.); O. Černý 13, vs. 4 (unpubl.). She is also
mentioned in an unpublished graffito north of the entrance
to the chapel of Tomb 321, informing us that this tomb of
the workman Kha'emope was given to her by the scribe
Harshire (the text is dated in a year 4, 1 *šmw*, day 10,
most probably of Ramesses IV as Harshire is not yet
called: scribe of the Necropolis)³.

As for her family-relationship two documents are
instructive:

- a. she appears as the daughter of Amenpaḥa'pi and Henut-
khenu on a fresco from Tomb 355, cf. Bruyère, *Rapport*
1927, p. 117, fig. 79. Through her mother, T. was the
grand-daughter of chief workman Anherkhew the younger
and his wife Wab, cf. M.L. Bierbrier, *Late New Kingdom*,
Chart IX on p. 36 (to be corrected: Amenpaḥa'pi is not

the son but the son-in-law of Anherkhew).⁴

b. she is mentioned as the wife of workman Kha'emwēse in Tomb 213, cf. J. Černý, *Rép. Onomastique*, p. 94. This workman Kha'emwēse is known from year 15 of Ramesses III (O. DeM 253, vs.2) until year 5 of Ramesses IV (O. Berlin 9897, 4 (unpubl.); O. BM 50744, 10 (unpubl.)).

- 1) I am very grateful to Dr. V. Wessetzky for his additional information on this stela and a new photograph.
For other representations of the solar barque see our Docs. A 1, A 2, A 9, A 11, A 20, A 27, A 42 and A 48.
- 2) The writing of the  in the first element of this name, t3, looks more like the t3-bird .
- 3) Text in J. Černý, Notebook 21, p.9.
- 4) See too J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, p. 43, note 36.

Name: Takhy...? - T3-~~hy~~...?

Date: 20th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: 0,215 x 0,155 m.

Technique: ostrakon with line drawing.

Colours: figure and text in black.

Conservation: surface damaged; figure and text faded.

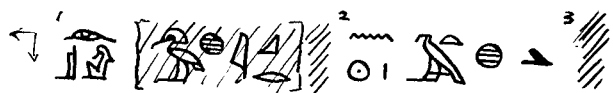
Type: a (1).

Provenance: Deir el-Medīna (?).

Present location: Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet MM 14014 (formerly
Gayer-Anderson Collection).

Description: on the left the dedicatee is seated on a chair, holding a lotus-flower in her right (!) hand and stretching out the left hand towards the offerings -circular loaves- upon the altar in front of her; she wears a long dress and a wig with a cone of unguent and a small lotus-flower on the head; above in the arch is a text in three (?) vertical lines.

Text:



"The Osiris, the able spirit of Re, Takhy...(?).."

Bibliography: not in Bruyère; not in PM; Bengt E.J. Peterson,
'Zeichnungen aus einer Totenstadt', *Bulletin*
Medelhavsmuseet 7-8 (1973), nr. 56, pp. 85-86 and
Pl. 33.


Commentary: The general style of this stela and the dress point to a date in the 20th dynasty. Judging from several other examples this little monument indeed is a stela - even if unfinished - rather than an ostrakon or sketch; see too our Docs. A 4 and A 14.

The exceptional position of the lotus-flower held in the right hand was also noted in our Doc. A 41.

Although the provenance is not absolutely certain, it is more than probable that this little stela like the ostraca from the Gayer-Anderson Collection (in Stockholm and in Cambridge) originated from Deir el-Medīna.

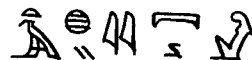
If the name of the dedicatee is to be read as Takhy...,

it is tempting to identify her with a lady with an

equally defectively preserved name, Takhy ... 

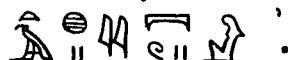
in O. IFAO 1322, 14 (unpubl.), from the first half of

the 20th dynasty; and also with



in O. Faulkner 1, rt. 3 (unpubl.), again from the first half of the 20th dynasty.¹ Probably we find her on a

stela of Kenna² as 'his sister, the lady of the house



The name of this lady is unique in the prosopography of Deir el-Medīna, so the identification of the dedicatee of this stela seems certain.

1) For the name see Ranke, *PN I*, 366, 17.

2) Zagreb 16 (formerly 582), cf. J. Monnet Saleh, *Les antiquités égyptiennes de Zagreb* (Paris/La Haye 1970), pp. 32-33, where the lady's name cannot very well be Tatyheruy.

Name: Tjauenany - *T3w-(n)-3ny*.

Date: 19th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: 0,12 x 0,11 m (fragment only).

Technique: shallow sunk relief with incised text.

Colours: no traces.

Conservation: only upper part preserved; surface damaged.

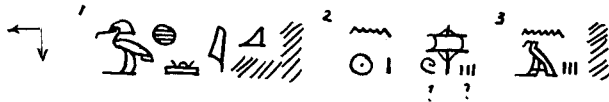
Type: c (1).

Provenance: Deir el-Medīna (Dump near Ptolemaic Temple).

Present location: unknown, presumably Storerooms Deir el-Medīna¹.

Description: in the pointed upper part is a winged-scarab² under a sun-disk; these symbols are separated from the main scene by a line; in the main scene on the left the dedicatee is seated (?); holding a lotus-flower in his left(?) hand; in front of him is a text in three vertical lines.

Text:



"The able spirit of Re, Tjauena(ny)..."

Bibliography: not in Bruyère; PM I 2, 735; Bruyère, *Rapport* 1935-1940, II, p. 33, fig. 100 and Pl. XXIV (here called Nefenani!); K.A. Kitchen, *KRI* III 688,10.

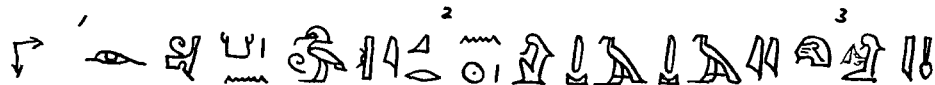
Commentary: Even in its fragmentary state the general style of this stela indicates a date in the 19th dynasty.

The name of the dedicatee is not very common in the prosopography of Deir el-Medīna and from the 19th dynasty in fact we only know of a son of the sculptor *Ken*, the owner of Tomb 4, named thus.³ Therefore an identification with the dedicatee of this stela seems plausible. This

Tjauenany is mentioned in Tomb 4, cf. J. Černý, *Rép. Onomastique*, pp. 44 and 50. He is further known from the following ostraca: *H.O.* 62, 1, vs. 5; *O. DeM* 670, 1; *O. Gardiner* 144, 1 (unpubl.); *O. Leipzig* 34, 1 (a letter to his mother *Henutmehyt*; unpubl.)

- 1) Cf. our Doc. A 19, note 1 on p. 59.
- 2) For the winged scarab see e.g. L. Keimer, *Études d'Égyptologie* II (1940), pp. 13-15 with figs. 15-17; W. Westendorf, *Altägyptische Darstellungen des Sonnenlaufes auf der abschüssigen Himmelsbahn* (Berlin 1966), p. 46; Bruyère, *Rapport* 1928, fig. 45 and *Rapport* 1933-1934, I, Pl. IX.
- 3) From the 20th dynasty we know of a policeman Tjauenany, *H.O.* 66, 1, rt. 4 and 8; a carpenter, J. Černý, *Community*, p. 59, note 4; and a vegetable-carrier, *RAD* 45, 9.
- 4) He also appears in Tomb 335 as a 'brother' of the tomb-owner Nakhtamun, cf. Bruyère, *Rapport* 1924-1925, p. 132 and fig. 89.

Text:

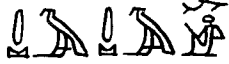



"Made for² the ka of the able spirit³ of Re, Djadjay, justified."

Bibliography: Bruyère 18; PM I 2, 736; G. Maspero, *RT* III (1882), p. 105 (VI).

Commentary: The short description given by Maspero is not sufficient for us to be able to date this stela, nor to be certain whether the provenance really is Deir el-Medîna.

If this stela comes from Deir el-Medīna, the name of the dedicatee is virtually unknown in the prosopography of the Village. A similar, but slightly different written name occurs in our Doc. A 48(cf. too Ranke, *PN* I, 404,19). Also differently written is the name of a man mentioned in

the tomb of Nefer'abet as *iry.f*, *D3d3* 
 cf. J. Černý, *Rép. Onomastique*, p. 51. The last two
 examples both date from the middle or the second half of
 the 19th dynasty. Unfortunately though, it seems impossible
 to identify the dedicatee of this stela.

- 1) I was unable to trace this stela during a search through the collections of the Cairo Museum in November 1977.
- 2) This unusual formula only occurs in this document, see further note 16 on p. 177.
- 3) For the writing of the  in front of the *3h*-bird, cf. our Doc. A 9.

Names: Djay(?) and Khnummose(?) - D3y and Hnm-ms.

Date: 19th-20th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: 0,30 x 0,23 m.

Technique: shallow sunk relief with incised text.

Colours: traces of red on the male figures and the sun-disk;

yellow on the solar barque, the goddess Ma'at and the altar.

Conservation: top right-hand corner damaged.

Type: e (2).

Provenance: Thebes, Deir el-Medīna ?

Present location: London, University College UC 14354.

Description: in the arch is the solar barque with squatting under a canopy the falcon-headed sun-god, who has a sun-disk with a ureaus on the head and a w3s-sceptre on the knee; two figures of Hathor-Isis and Ma'at stand in the prow; in the main scene below on the left a dedicatee is seated on a chair, holding a lotus-flower in his left hand¹, while his right hand is stretched out towards the altar; he has a cone of unguent and a small lotus-flower on the head; his feet rest on a footstool; in front of him stands a young, bald-headed man in an attitude of adoration, and holding a lotus-flower (hanging) in his left hand; between the two men is an altar bearing two circular loaves and a libation vessel with two lotus-flowers; above the figures is a text in six vertical lines.

Text: right



"For the ka of the able spirit of Re, Khnummose (?)."

G. Maspero, *RT* II, p. 191, and figured ostracon
BM 8510: Khnummose with his sons Pennē and Wesekh-nemte,
and his grandson Nebamun, cf. Bruyère, *Mert Seger*,
fig. 47.

In view of all the uncertainties it is impossible to
decide which of the two could have been meant on this
stela.

- 1) Unique in the present group of documents is the position of the
left arm, i.e. not bent across the chest.
- 2) For the name cf. possibly stela (fragment) Brussels, Musées
Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, E 410, L. Speleers, *Recueil des
inscriptions égyptiennes des Musées royaux du Cinquantenaire à
Bruxelles* (Brussels 1923), p. 60 (253).

A 49

Name: Djoserka - Dsr-k3.

Date: 19th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: 0,30 x 0,23 m.

Technique: shallow sunk relief with incised text.

Colours: red on the male figures, the šn-sign and the eye-ball of the wd3t; black on the wigs; white on the clothes and the background; yellow on the dividing lines between the text, the footstool and the brazier; blue on the chair, the water symbol and the hieroglyphs.

Conservation: slight damage on the left-hand corner.

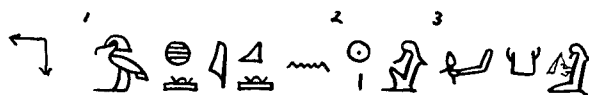
Type: e.

Provenance: Deir el-Medīna (Drovetti Collection).

Present location: Turin, Museo Egizio 50022 (formerly 1604; 141).

Description: in the arch is the šn-ring upon the water symbol and a vase, with only one wd3t-eye on the left; on the left is the dedicatee seated on a chair, holding a lotus-flower in his left hand and a cloth in his right hand; he has a cone of unguent on the head; his feet rest on a footstool (represented as a reed mat); before him and facing him stands a man, censuring with a brazier in his left hand and pouring a libation with his right hand; between the two figures is an altar without offerings; above the figures is a text in eight vertical lines and beneath the whole scene is one horizontal line of text.

Text: left



"The able spirit¹ of Re, Djoserka."

right



"Making² a boon which the king gives, pure, pure, for
your ka, able spirit¹; by his brother who makes his
name live,"

beneath



"the workman in the Place of the Truth, Huy, the son
of Sebay (or Duay)."

Bibliography: Bruyère 11; PM I 2, 736; Tosi-Roccati, pp. 55-56 and 269; K.A. Kitchen, *KRI* III 791, 6-10.

Commentary: The general style of this stela indicates a date in the early 19th dynasty. As noticed by Tosi-Roccati the short wigs form clear proof for this dating, according to Vandier, *Manuel III, La Statuaire*, p. 487.

The name of the dedicatee of this stela remains unique in the prosopography of Deir el-Medīna.³ He is described as the 'brother' of Huy, son of Sebay (or Duay). Now the indication 'brother' does not have to mean that these persons were real brothers, but in many cases only that they belonged to the same generation.⁴ The family connections of Huy, son of Sebay, were the subject of a special study by B. Letellier in *RdE* 27 (1975), pp. 150-163 (family trees on pp. 151 and 160). This Huy belonged to the generation of Sennedjem, Pashedu, Piay and Tjanūfe, i.e. workmen from the early part of the 19th dynasty. Whether or not our Djeserka and Huy were

real brothers, their date and identification therefore present little problem.

- 1) For the writing $3\bar{h} \bar{i}k$ instead of $3\bar{h} \bar{i}kr$, see p. 197.
- 2) Or 'performing'; for $\bar{i}r\bar{i}$ - 'to recite' cf. *WB I* 109, 18-20.
- 3) In fact the only other Djeserka known from the Theban region is the owner of stela UC 10700 (of pre-Amarna date), cf. Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae*, p. 27 and Pl. 17.
- 4) Cf. Commentary on our Doc. A 1, p. 13.

Name: Dhutmose - *Dhwtj-msw*.

Date: 19th-20th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: 0,22 x 0,14 m.

Technique: shallow sunk relief with incised text.

Colours: traces of red on the figures and the sun-disk.

Conservation: parts of the top missing.

Type: e (2).

Provenance: Deir el-Medīna ? (bought in the Thebaid).

Present location: London, University College UC 14228.

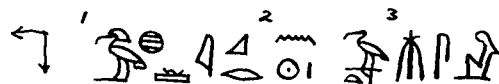
Description: in the arch is the rising-sun symbol flanked by two *wḏ3t*-eyes (one now missing); in the main scene on the left the dedicatee is seated on a chair, holding a lotus-flower in his left hand and a cloth in his right hand; his feet rest on a footstool; before him stands a man, offering incense with a brazier in his left hand and pouring a libation with a vase in his right hand; above the figures is a text in six vertical lines.

Text: right



"Made by his brother, the scribe in the Place of the Truth, Peroy."

left



"The able spirit of Re, Dhutmose."

Bibliography: not in Bruyère; PM I 2, 718; J. Capart, *Recueil de monuments égyptiens*, Pl. LXXXVIII; A. Weigall, *RT* XXIX (1907), p. 220 (XII); H.M. Stewart, *Egyptian*

Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection, I, pp. 45-46 and Pl. 36, 1.¹

Commentary: The general style of this stela seems to point to a date in the second half of the 19th dynasty rather than in the 20th dynasty, but a definite verdict remains difficult.

Unfortunately it is not certain whether this stela comes from Deir el-Medīna. J. Černý, in *Community*, p. 202, remarks: "a stela the style of which does not agree with that of the monuments from Deir el-Medīna". Yet, comparison with the other documents of this group does not in fact support this opinion. Indeed the title of the offerer - scribe of the Place of the Truth - seems a clear, though not conclusive, proof that the stela originates in Deir el-Medīna.²

The name of the dedicatee is not very common in the prosopography of Deir el-Medīna.³ Apart from the famous scribe of the necropolis at the end of the 20th dynasty, only one workman with this name is known (from the first half of the 19th dynasty), cf. a stela in St. Louis (Missouri), City Art Museum 1095:20 (PM I 2, p. 718); O. DeM 118, a letter from Dhutmose to Parahotep; O. Nelson 14 (= O. Oriental Institute Chicago 17005), rt. 3(unpubl.). Nothing much is known about his family relations, unless he was the son of Nakhy, for which see Turin 50010, Tosi-Roccati, p. 44. Name and title of the offerer - a 'brother' or a 'colleague' of the dedicatee - are not very helpful in identifying the persons represented. The scribe Peroy of the Place of the Truth is listed by J. Černý, *Community*, p. 202 as nr. 22 in his catalogue of scribes, though he doubts his connections with the Village. Differently written as Paieroy, this name is known as the

surname of the seemingly hot-headed son of Menna, Merysakhmet.⁴ Our scribe Peroy might be identical however with the 'scribe Paieroy' of graffito 1617 in J. Černý/A.F. Sadek, *Graffiti de la montagne thébaine* IV 1, p. 3.

- 1) See especially the review by R.A. Caminos in *JEA* 64 (1978), p. 156.
- 2) Cf. J. Černý, *Community*, pp. 53-54 and 59 ff.
- 3) It seems unnecessary to take into consideration the doorkeepers bearing this name, for which see J. Černý, *Community*, pp. 170 and 172.
- 4) Cf. J.J. Janssen in *Gleanings from Deir el-Medīna* (Leiden 1982), pp. 116-123.

A 51

Name: ... an-sheret (?) - ...^{*}n-šrī.t (?).

Date: 19th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: 0,25 x 0,13 m (x 0,04 m).

Technique: shallow sunk relief with incised text.

Colours: no traces.

Conservation: surface damaged; text partly illegible.

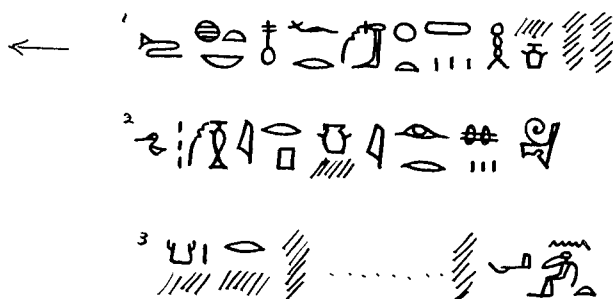
Type: e.

Provenance: Deir el-Medīna (?).

Present location: Turin, Museo Egizio 50021 (formerly Prov. 857).

Description: in the arch is the šn-ring upon the water symbol
 flanked by two wdjt-eyes; below on the left is the
 dedicatee seated on a chair, holding a lotus-flower in
 her left hand and a cloth in her right hand; she has a
 cone of unguent on the head; in front of her stands a
 woman bringing a libation offering with a vase in her
 right hand¹; beneath the whole scene is a text in three
 horizontal lines.

Text:



"Offering all good and pure things, bread, beer, (oxen),
 fowl, cool water, wine and milk for the ka of²
 ...an-sheret (?)."

Bibliography: not in Bruyère; not in PM; Tosi-Roccati, pp. 55 and 269.

Commentary: The general style of this stela points to a date in the first half of the 19th dynasty.

As the name of the dedicatee is nearly illegible, it seems impossible to identify this lady. The ending of the name gives no clue as to the possible complete reading.²

The expression $3h \text{ } \dot{1}kr \text{ } n \text{ } R^C$ will most probably have stood in the middle of line 3 of the text.³

- 1) In her left hand she carries an object which cannot be defined due to the worn surface of the stela.
- 2) From the prosopography of Deir el-Medīna no feminine name showing these elements is known to me.
- 3) Although there is no clear proof for the presence of this expression in the text, we have included the stela in our group A (following Tosi-Roccati, *op.cit.*) on account of the conformity in style and representation. It would have been equally possible to list this stela with the documents under C, see pp. 157 ff.

- 1) Tosi-Roccati, *op.cit.*, p. 53, think this is the youth-hairlock, but see for this type of hairdress for women *BIFAO* 76 (1976), pl. IX (early 19th dynasty).
- 2) For this formula see our Doc. A 15 and W. Barta, *Opferformel*, p. 142, no. 7a.

A 53

Name: ?

Date: 19th or 20th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: ? (fragment).

Technique: ?

Colours: no traces.

Conservation: small fragment only.

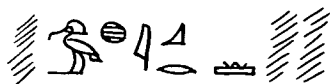
Type: ?

Provenance: Deir el-Medina (near Ptolemaic Temple)¹.

Present location: Cairo Museum or Deir el-Medina storehouse².

Description: only a fragment of the text is preserved.

Text:



"...able spirit..."

Bibliography: not in Bruyère; not in PM; Bruyère, *Rapport* 1935-1940, II, p. 17 under C.

Commentary: In view of the fragmentary state nothing can be said about date, type or possible dedicatee.

- 1) Found by E. Baraize in 1912. Most probably originating from the Ramessid chapels in and around the later temple enclosure.
- 2) I was unable to trace this fragment either in the collections of the Cairo Museum or in the storerooms at Deir el-Medina, see Doc. A 19, note 1 on p. 59.

Name: Nesamuntawemet - *Ns-Imn-t3-wmt*.

Date: 20th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: 0,185 x 0,267 m.

Technique: shallow sunk relief with incised text.

Colours: no traces.

Conservation: only upper half preserved.

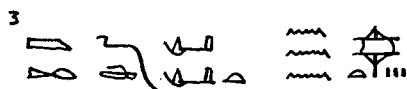
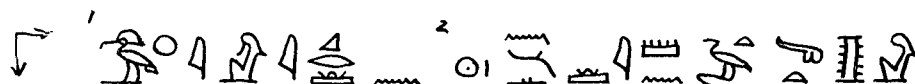
Type: e (?).

Provenance: ? unknown.

Present location: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, MMA 20.8.2.

Description: on the left a man is seated on a chair, holding a lotus-flower in his left hand and with his right hand posed on his lap; in front of him stands another man, making a gesture of adoration with his right hand; between the two men is an altar bearing two circular loaves and a *nmst*-vase¹; above the men in the arch is a text in nine vertical lines.²

Text: right



"The able spirit of Re, Nesamuntawemet, justified;
saying (?) there may be given water and a (sweet ?)
breeze."

Addendum¹

A 55

(Pl. XVII)

Name: Sem - *Sm*.

Date: early 19th dynasty.

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: 0,275 x 0,211 m (x 0,045 m).

Technique: shallow sunk relief with incised text.

Colours: only traces left.

Conservation: surface damaged, particularly on the left side.

Type: like e (1), but dedicatee facing left, and without symbols in the arch.

Provenance: Thebes? (see Commentary).

Present location: Cincinnati Art Museum 1947.55.

Description: in the upper register on the right the dedicatee is seated on a chair, holding a lotus-flower in his right hand and a cloth in his left hand; his feet rest on a footstool; he wears the 'Nubian' wig (probably surmounted by a cone of unguent); before him stands a man proffering a small stand with offerings and burning incense, and raising his right hand in a gesture of salutation; between the two men is an altar bearing loaves or cakes;

in the lower register on the left a woman kneels, with both arms raised in prayer; before her, to the right, two sealed amphorae on wickerwork stands, linked by a floral fillet;

in front of each person is a vertical line of text.

Text: upper register

right

"The Osiris, the able spirit², Sem"

left
 The image shows a sequence of Egyptian hieroglyphs. From left to right: a left-pointing arrow, a seated male figure (son), a small seated figure (Wia), a seated male figure (father), and a seated male figure (father) with a subscript '2' above it. The sequence ends with a vertical line of three strokes.

"His son Wia"








lower register

The image shows a sequence of Egyptian hieroglyphs. From left to right: a left-pointing arrow, a seated male figure (son), a small seated figure (Nyia), a seated male figure (father), a seated male figure (father) with a subscript '2' above it, and a seated male figure (father) with a subscript '3' above it.

"His daughter Nyia"

Bibliography: not in Bruyère; not in PM; *Sculpture Collection of the Cincinnati Art Museum* (Cincinnati, 1970), p. 20; G.T. Martin, *JEA* 68 (1982), pp. 83-84, Pl. IX 2.

Commentary: The general style, the dress and especially the so-called 'Nubian' wig - worn by both the dedicatee and the offerer in the upper register - point to a date in the early 19th dynasty.³ As the Osirian epithet of the dedicatee seems to rule out an Amarna provenance (when the stela was bought in 1939 the dealer named El Amarna as the site where it was found), comparison with the other documents of our group A. make it likely that this stela derives from the Theban area. Although there are no definite connections with Deir el-Medîna, it is at least noteworthy that the not too common personal name⁴ of the dedicatee also occurs in the prosopography of the Village.⁵ The identification of the dedicatee of this stela with the workman Sem from Deir el-Medîna is however not possible, since the latter definitely lived in the second half of the 20th dynasty.⁶ In view of the rare occurrence of the personal name one has to consider the possibility that the stela was dedicated to a member of the same family from an older generation. Unfortunately the name of the son, Wia⁷, or that of the daughter, Nyia⁸, do not bring us any further in identifying the person of the father.

- 1) I am very grateful to Dr. G.T. Martin for bringing this stela to my attention and giving me all the necessary details.
- 2) For the writing $3h \dot{ik}$ instead of $3h \dot{ikr}$ see p. 197.
- 3) See also G.T. Martin, *JEA* 68 (1982), p. 84 and note 21.
For the 'Nubian' wig cf. our Doc. A 49 and e.g. stela BM 547 of workman Thuthermaktef, dating to the first half of the reign of Ramesses II (cf. H.R. Hall, *Hieroglyphic Texts* VII, p. 9 and Pl. 22).
- 4) Ranke, *PN* I, 307, 1; the name is written  or , and is clearly the same as the priest-title which since the 19th dynasty can be written as  or , cf. *WB* IV 119.
- 5) In the graffiti 1202 and 1213  is the son of workman Kedakhtef (for whom see Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, p. 25), cf. Černý, *Graffiti hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques de la nécropole thébaine*, pp. 11 and 12. In graffito 2308  is the 'brother' (*sn.f*) of the scribe/workman Paḥemnetjer, the son of Neferḥer (who was himself a son or son-in-law of Kedakhtef), cf. J. Černý/A.A. Sadek, *Graffiti de la montagne thébaine* IV 1, p. 53. The workman  is also found in O. Turin 9745, 8 [unpubl.] and in O. Petrie 8, rt. 2 (= *H.O.* 10, 3) as the apprentice (*hry^c*) of the scribe Paḥemnetjer.
- 6) It remains possible that the inscriptions on the stela were inscribed at a later date; this would explain their rather clumsy appearance compared to the workmanship of the stela itself. We have to admit, however, that it is hardly possible to prove this.
- 7) Ranke, *PN* I, 75, 24.
- 8) In Ranke, *PN* I, 181, 12 only given as a male name; but see the name on a wooden statue of a woman, Cairo J.E. 47591, written Nyiay - mentioned in *PM* I 2, p. 613.


B. Other documents from Deir el-Medīna

In spite of many uncertainties, one thing has become clear from the foregoing catalogue: the majority of the stelae originates from Deir el-Medīna. Bruyère, in his article in *Rapport 1934-1935*, pp. 165-167, already drew attention to the presence of the epitheton $3h \dot{1}kr n R^C$ on other objects - offering-tables - from this site. However, his references were by no means intended to be complete. In the following section therefore, we shall present all the documents in as far as it was possible to gather them from their various sources, so as to permit a survey of all the known material. In this section, of course, the main interest will lie in the evidence provided by the documents - as no exhaustive study of the group per se is intended.

B 1 Ahmose - $\dot{I}^C h-ms$


Limestone offering-table (*h̄tp*), found in Room II of House N.O. XV. Cf. Bruyère, *Rapport 1934-1935*, III, p. 292 and fig. 162 (also p. 166).¹

Text:

left: 

"A boon which the king gives (to) Anubis

(that they may give breathing of) the sweet air of the north-wind² for the ka (of) the able spirit Ahmose..."

right: Of the text only the final signs  remain.

House N.O. XV probably once belonged to Pashedu (Bruyère, *op.cit.*,

B 1: 1) Dimensions: l. 0,31 m, w. 0,285 m, h. 0,05 m.

2) For the formula see W. Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der ägyptischen Opferformel* (Glückstadt 1968, p. 146, 'Bitte' 79.

p. 290), the outline-draughtsman and owner of Tomb 323. As the name of the dedicatee of this offering-table, Ahmose, is not known in the prosopography of Deir el-Medīna, it is impossible to say whether or not he was related to the family of House N.O. XV. There is a slight possibility that this Ahmose was one of the first inhabitants of the Ramessid Village in the late 18th or early 19th dynasty about whom our knowledge is scanty.

It is however also possible that we are dealing here with Ahmose-Sipair, for whom see our Docs. A 42 and C 11.

B 2 Ahmose - *Ḥḥ-ms*

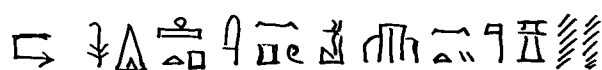
Fragmentary limestone offering-table (*ḥtp*) and libation-basin, found in the debris east of the Great Pit. Cf. Bruyère, *Rapport* 1948-1951, p. 46 and fig. 6 (no. 31).

Text:

offering-table

right: 

"...? justified (?) to the ka (of) the able spirit
Ahmose, justified with (Osiris?)"

left: 

"A boon which the king gives (to) Anubis, Pre-eminent
in the Divine Booth..."


libation-basin

right: 


"A boon which the king gives (to) Re ..."

in the Divine Booth, that they may give all good and pure, pure things for the ka of the able spirit² of Re, Irynūfe."

libation-basin

right: 

"A boon which the king gives (to) Re-Harakhty, that he may give all that comes forth on his altar³ for the ka of the able spirit Irynūfe."

left: 



"A boon which the king gives (to) Atum, Lord of the Two Lands, Heliopolitan, that he may give receiving the offering-bread⁴ in front of Re for the ka of Irynūfe."

The general style of this offering-table/libation-basin indicates a date in the 19th dynasty. The identity of the dedicatee Irynūfe is difficult to determine. The name, written in this orthography, is extremely uncommon in the prosopography of Deir el-Medīna and in fact only appears as that of a daughter of the draughtsman May, the owner of Tomb 338, cf. Stela Turin 50009, Tosi-Roccati, p. 42.⁵ Although the male form of this name occurs as that of the owner of Tomb 290, there are no indications of any family relationship with this person, nor, for that matter, with any of the other persons whose names occur on objects found in the same House C. VI.

B 4: 2) For the writing *īk* instead of *īkr* cf. p. 197.

3) This formula, W. Barta, *Opferformel*, p. 94, 'Bitte' 108a.

4) Certainly to be read *snw* - 'offering-bread', contrary to Bruyère's incomprehensible reading. Cf. W. Barta, *op.cit.*, p. 166, 'Bitte' 120.

5) For May cf. too our Doc. A 21, p. 63; K.A. Kitchen *KRI* III, p. 744 calls our *Iryt-nfr* the wife of Penbuy (the owner of Tomb 10), but her name is always written  or 

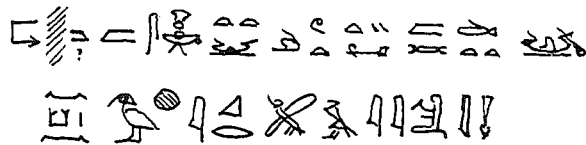
B 5 Pay - P3y

Fragmentary limestone offering-table (*h̄tp*) and libation-basin, found east of the Village. Cf. Bruyère, *Rapport* 1928, p. 6 and fig. 2 (no. 6); *id.*, *Rapport* 1934-1935, III, p. 165.

Text:

libation-basin

left:



"... of) the night-barque, stern-warp of the morning-barque,¹ for the ka of the able spirit Pay, justified."

The date of this fragmentary object is 'Ramessid', most probably 19th dynasty, as indicated by a comparison with more readily datable offering-tables from Deir el-Medīna.

For a possible identification of the dedicatee Pay, see our Doc. A 9, p. 34.

B 6 Paḥatia(pat?) - P3-ḥ3ty-^c(p^ct)

Fragmentary limestone offering-table (*h̄tp*), found in the Village. Cf. Bruyère, *Rapport* 1931-1932, p. 88 and *Rapport* 1934-1935, III, p. 165, no. 2.

Text:



"... able (spirit) of Re, Paḥatia(pat?)..."

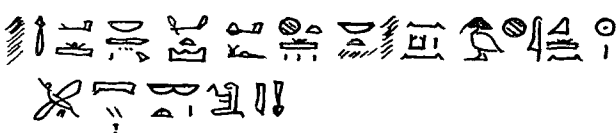
B 5: 1) This formula, W. Barta, *Opferformel*, p. 159, 'Bitte' 286 (*šsp.k ḥ3tt msktt phwt m^cndt*).

The date of this offering-table is 'Ramessid', most probably 19th dynasty. For a possible identification of the dedicatee Paḥatia (Bruyère's reading Paḥatiapat being very uncertain), see our Doc. A 16, p. 50.

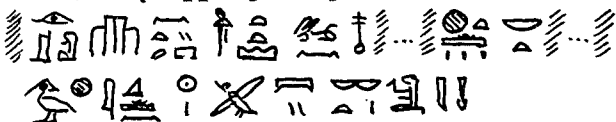
B 7 Paḥerypedjet - P3-ḥry-pdt

Fragmentary limestone offering-table (*ḥtp*), found partly near the votive chapel 1222 or 1223, and partly in House N.E. XIX. Cf. Bruyère, *Rapport* 1931-1932, p. 64 and fig. 47; *Rapport* 1934-1935, III, p. 263 and fig. 137 (also p. 165, no. 3).

Text:

right: 

"... great (god), Lord of Ta-Djeser, that he may give all (good and pure) things for the ka of the able spirit¹ of Re, Paḥerypedjet, justified."

left: 

"(A boon which the king gives to) Osiris, Pre-eminent in the West, Wennefer (that he may give) all good (and pure) things (for the ka) of the able spirit¹ of Re, Paḥerypedjet, justified."

The date of this offering-table is 'Rammessid', most probably 19th dynasty. The name of the dedicatee is not very common in the prosopography of Deir el-Medīna. In fact we know of only one workman thus

B 7: 1) For the writing 3ḥ ík instead of 3ḥ íkr, see p. 197.

B 8 Menna - Mnn3

Text:

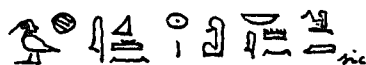
"A boon which the king gives (to) Re, Atum, that they may give
(an offering consisting of ...), beer, oxen, fowl, cool water,
wine, milk, for the *ka* of the (able) spirit of Re, Menna,
justified."

B 7: 2) In this instance he is active more or less performing the function of the village doctor.

B 9 Nebamun - Nb-¹Imn

Limestone offering-table (*h_{tp}*) and libation-basin, probably found in Room I of House S.E. VII.¹ Cf. Bruyère, *Rapport* 1934-1935, III, p. 274 and fig. 147 (also p. 166, no. 8 and fig. 63); K.A. Kitchen, *KRI* IV, 338, 2-3.

Text:



"The able spirit² of Re, Nebamun, justified³."

The dating of this offering-table/libation-basin is difficult beyond applying the general term 'Ramessid' to it. Yet the findspot gives a better clue: the House S.E. VII at one time belonged to the workman Nebamonte, the son of Kasa (Tomb 10) and the father of Nebamun (see too our Doc. B 3, p. 143). Thus, the dedicatee of this offering-table will be either Nebamun the son of Nebamonte, or an (unknown) member of an older generation of this family.

B 10 Nebamun - Nb-¹Imn

(Pl. XVII)

Fragmentary limestone pyramidion, possibly from the top of a stela.¹ Cf. H.M. Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection*, I (Warminster 1976), p. 61 and Pl. 49. On the front side the dedicatee (?) is seated on a chair, facing right and holding a lotus-flower in his left hand and a cloth in his right.² His feet

B 9: 1) Now Louvre E 16278; dimensions: l. 0,16m, w. 0,13m, h. 0,08m.

2) For the writing *3h ik* instead of *3h ikr* see p. 197.

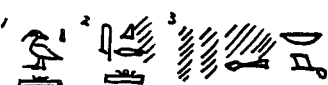
3) For the writing *m3^C* instead of *m3^C hrw* see note 2 on our Doc. A 7, p. 30.

B 10: 1) London, University College UC 14574. Bought in Thebes, most probably from Deir el-Medina. Dimensions: h. 0,18m, w. 0,15m. Correctly dated by Stewart, *op.cit.*, to the 19th dynasty.

rest on a footstool. He is wearing a long gown, a side-lock and earrings. Before him is an altar covered with a basket full of grapes, a circular loaf, a gourd and two lotus-flowers. At the apex is a trace of the solar barque resting on the sky-symbol. The whole scene is placed above a cavetto cornice. Below this is a deep niche which probably held a sculptured figure of the owner of the monument (or the dedicatee ?) in an attitude of adoration.

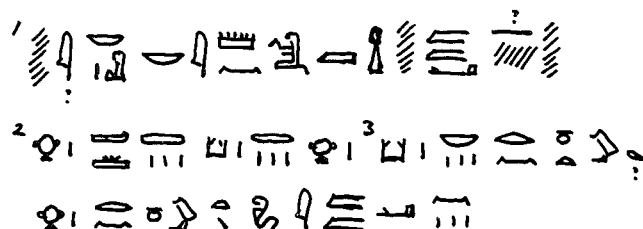
On the other three sides relatives (?), wearing elaborate wigs, are represented standing in attitudes of adoration. Possibly at the apex on each of these sides a solar barque was represented resting on the sky-symbol.

Texts:

front: ' 

"The able spirit possessor of honour."

right side:



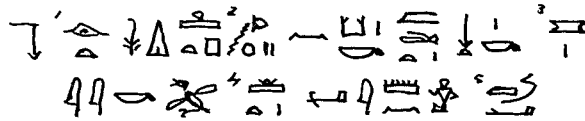
"O my lord, Nebamun, give us (?)?....., and abundance from (? because of?) Rennutet. Give us."

For the difficulties in this text see R.A. Caminos in *JEA* 64 (1978) p. 157.

back: ' 

"(Neb)amente, justified, Nebamun, justified,

right (above the altar):



Performing a ḥtp-dī-nsw offering, pure, pure, for your ka, by
(the hand of) your beloved brother⁷, the sculptor Nakhtamun,
justified."

The tomb of the sculptor Nakhtamun can safely be dated to before ca. year 35 of Ramesses II, see M.L. Bierbrier, *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt* (Warminster 1975), p. 25.⁸ As there is no evidence that Nakhtamun had a 'real' brother Neferhotep, it is most probable that the 'able spirit of Re, Neferhotep' honoured here, was the chief workman Neferhotep the Elder.⁹ This is supported by the fact that in the tomb of the necropolis-scribe Ramose (Tomb 250), we find a similar scene in which offerings are brought to chief workman Neferhotep the Elder and his wife Iiemwāw, see Bruyère, *Rapport* 1926, p. 62 and Pls. VII and VIII.¹⁰ Although in this scene the texts are so much damaged as to make it uncertain whether Neferhotep the Elder is called 'able spirit' here, comparison of the scenes in the two tombs almost certainly proves the identity of both their subject and of the honoured person.

B 11: Doc. A 40, see p. 106; cf. too note 1 on Doc. A 5.

5) Cf. Kitchen, *KRI* III 671, 13.

6) For the writing 3ḥ ḱ instead of 3ḥ ḱr see p. 197.

7) The same formula in our Doc. A 25, see p. 71.

8) However Nakhtamun was at least still active in year 40 of Ramesses II, cf. O. BM 5634, vs. 19 (= H.O. 84).

9) 'Brother' meaning 'colleague', as often in texts from Deir el-Medīna.

10) Not Neferhotep the Younger, as Bruyère says (followed incorrectly by PM I 1, p. 336), because his wife was Webkhet.

C. Additional documents

In this section we intend to present a catalogue of documents from Deir el-Medīna and other places, related to our main subject, but which are either stelae not bearing the full title *3ḥ ḫkr n R^C* or uninscribed, or evidence which belongs to another class of documents outside the scope of our main study: the *3ḥ ḫkr n R^C* stelae. Just as in the case of section B the purpose of this catalogue is mainly to allow a complete survey of the material. Therefore the following documents are not studied per se either individually or as a group.

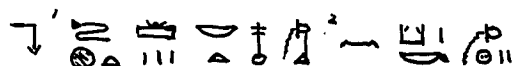
C 1

Limestone stela, found in House N.O. XIV at Deir el-Medīna.¹ Cf. Bruyère, *Rapport* 1934-1935, III, p. 290 and fig. 161.

A more definite date than a general '19th/20th dynasty' seems impossible.

The scene on this little round-topped stela is sketched in red with an incised text in the arch. The representation is of a standing man, dressed in a long gown, holding a cloth in his right hand and a cane or stick in his left hand. Before him is an altar laden with circular loaves and plants (?). Under the altar on each side stands a vase or bowl with offerings tied up with a ribbon² and crowned with fruits (?).

Text:



"Offering all good and pure things to your ka - pure, pure."

- C 1: 1) Present location unknown. Dimensions: h. 0,20m., w. 0,15m., th. 0,03m.
2) See note 1 on our Doc. A 5, p. 24.

Although the text on the left in the arch is damaged beyond repair and, therefore, the dedicatee must remain anonymous to us, the findspot makes it probable that this stela belongs to the same category as the greater part of the documents in our section A.

C 2

Limestone ostrakon, found in Thebes, Valley of the Kings, Tomb 9 (Ramesses VI).¹ Cf. G. Daressy, *Ostraca* (Cairo 1901), p. 27 and Pl. XXVI. General style and findspot of this ostrakon indicate a 20th dynasty date.

The scene on this uninscribed ostrakon is sketched in red. Two men are represented seated on each side of an altar. The man on the right most probably holds a lotus-flower in his left hand. The drawing of the left arm of the man on the left has been corrected.²

C 3

Limestone stela, no traces of colour, found at Naga ed-Dêr.¹ Cf. H.F. Lutz, *Egyptian Tomb Stelas and Offering Stones of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology of the University of California* (Leipzig, 1929), pp. 6 and 19 and Pl. 29, (No. 56).

C 2: 1) Now Cairo, Egyptian Museum, Cat. 25137. Dimensions: h. 0,18m., w. 0,26m. Our Doc. A 4 was found in the same place.

2) The whole scene can be compared with our type *d*, see p. 8.

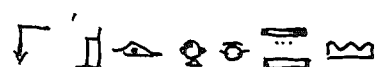
C 3: 1) Now University of California Museum, Berkeley, No. 6.19872. Mentioned only in PM V, p. 27. Illustrated in the catalogue

The general style (note especially dress and wig) and execution of this stela indicate a - somewhat provincial - 20th dynasty date. The scene is executed in bas relief. The hieroglyphs are incised. On the right two men are represented. The first one wears a long gown, a broad necklace and a wig. He has his hands raised in adoration. The second one is smaller and wears a skirt and a broad necklace. He has a shaven head, carries a bunch of three lotus-flowers in his right hand and he has his left hand raised in adoration. On the left is a standing figure of the god Osiris in front of an altar laden with circular loaves, a *nmst*-vase and a cover crowned with a lotus-flower. In the arch above the figures is a text in six vertical lines.

Text:

right: 

"For the ka of the able spirit² Atumnakht.³ Made by his son 'Anmaa, justified."

left: 


"Osiris, who dwells in Lake-Land."

Nothing seems to be known about the dedicatee or his son. For the name Atumnakht cf. Ranke, *PN* II, 268, 13. The name of the son has been read as 'Anmaa by Ranke, *PN* I, 61, 16 (giving this place only and indicating *sic* above the first element of *C_n-m³C*).

The expression "Osiris, who dwells in Lake-Land (Fayūm)" was not very common in the New Kingdom, cf. WB V, 227, 1.

Ancient Egypt, An Exhibition.... at Berkeley, March 25 - October 23, 1966, no page or plate indication (In the caption the name of the son has been wrongly read as Nekht-en-teter-maa). Dimensions: h. 0,375m., w. 0,425m.

2) For the writing *3h ik* instead of *3h ikr* see p. 197.

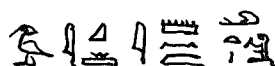
3) The writing of the determinative  : see our Doc. A 32, Commentary.

Granite stela, possibly from Abydos.¹ Cf. D.A. Lowle, 'A remarkable family of draughtsmen-painters from early nineteenth-dynasty Thebes', *Oriens Antiquus* XV (1976), pp. 91-106 with Pls. 1 and 2; the texts also published by K.A. Kitchen *KRI* I, pp. 327-329. The stela, which is worked on both faces, is dated by Lowle and Kitchen to the early 19th dynasty.

As only the reverse side of this stela of the chief draughtsman of Amun, Dedia, is of interest for our subject, we shall concentrate our attention on this section (cf. Lowle, *op.cit.*, p. 105, fig. 2). Apart from conventional *ḥtp-dī-nsw* formulae in the margins² and an equally customary invocation to any reader of the stela, the scene on the base of a man and a woman offering is accompanied by a central line of text: "Presenting incense and libation to Re, Atum, and Osiris and his ennead, that they may grant invocation offerings consisting of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, for Dedia, for [his wife] Iuy, and for his forefathers", and a list of seven generations of Dedia's ancestors.³ In the lunette above these inscriptions the Abydos fetish in the middle is flanked by seated deities - on the right Nephthys, Hathor, and Anubis; on the left Isis, Ma'at, and Thoth. Behind each group of deities is the emblem for 'West'. Above the whole scene is the *šn*-ring upon the water symbol and a vase flanked by two *wḏ3t*-eyes, the royal names of Amenophis I and his mother Ahmose-Nefertari, and the Osiris epithets Wenen-nefer and Foremost of the Westerners. In the corners, on each side behind the western emblem, are two short texts:

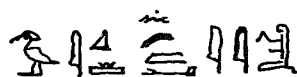
- C 4: 1) Now Paris, Louvre C. 50; not mentioned in Porter-Moss. Abydos as place of origin of this stela is just possible in view of the text in lines 7-8 on the reverse side: "O ye prophets, priests, lector priests, and every scribe of the temple of Osiris: when they read this stela...".
- 2) Mainly following the nos. 89 and 138a in Barta, *Opferformel*, pp. 147 and 152.
- 3) The fact that the female ancestor of the oldest generation,

right:



"The able spirit⁴, Amenemhat."

left:




"The able spirit⁴, Iahmay."

As these names do not occur anywhere in the list of forefathers of the owner of the stela, their position in his family-tree remains a problem. Lowle, *op.cit.*, p. 101, offers as tentative solution the possibility that they were sons of Dedia who predeceased him or the otherwise unmentioned husbands of his or his wife's female antecedents. In the absence of any further material it seems difficult to offer a more convincing explanation.

C 5

Wooden statuette, probably from Thebes.¹ Cf. J. Capart in *Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles* 14 (1900), pp. 323-331 and Pls. XXVII and XXX; *id.*, *Documents pour servir à l'étude de l'art égyptien* I (Paris 1927), pp. 28-29 and Pl. 39.

This statuette belongs to a well-known type and can be dated to the late 18th or 19th dynasty, according to the typology in J. Vandier, *Manuel III, La Statuaire*, p. 434 (P.N.E. I B).

Ibr-k3r, is denoted as  3ht - the 'Glorious One', is certainly noteworthy. Her husband, Pt-b^Cr, is the only one of the forefathers to bear the epithet s3b - the 'Dignitary'.

4) For the writing 3h ik instead of 3h ikr see p. 197.

C 5: 1) Now Brussels, Musée Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, E 4139 (formerly Coll. Ravenstein, No. 66; ex Collection Lambruschini; the inventory number E 4139 is given by Speleers, *vide infra*,

The standing man is wearing a short skirt and on his head he has a peculiar wig. On the base before the feet of the statuette is a text engraved in four horizontal lines.

Text:

→ '𓆎𓆏𓆑𓆒𓆓𓆔𓆕𓆖𓆗𓆘𓆙𓆚𓆛𓆜𓆝𓆞𓆟𓆠𓆡𓆢𓆣𓆤𓆥𓆦𓆧𓆨𓆩𓆪𓆫𓆬𓆭𓆮𓆯𓆰𓆱𓆲𓆳𓆴𓆵𓆶𓆷𓆸𓆹𓆺𓆻𓆼𓆽𓆾𓆿𓇀𓇁𓇂𓇃𓇄𓇅𓇆𓇇𓇈𓇉𓇊𓇋𓇌𓇍𓇎𓇏𓇐𓇑𓇒𓇓𓇔𓇕𓇖𓇗𓇘𓇙𓇚𓇛𓇜𓇝𓇞𓇟𓇠𓇡𓇢𓇣𓇤𓇥𓇦𓇧𓇨𓇩𓇪𓇫𓇬𓇭𓇮𓇯𓇰𓇱𓇲𓇳𓇴𓇵𓇶𓇷𓇸𓇹𓇺𓇻𓇼𓇽𓇾𓇿𓈀𓈁𓈂𓈃𓈄𓈅𓈆𓈇𓈈𓈉𓈊𓈋𓈌𓈍𓈎𓈏𓈐𓈑𓈒𓈓𓈔𓈕𓈖𓈗𓈘𓈙𓈚𓈛𓈜𓈝𓈞𓈟𓈠𓈡𓈢𓈣𓈤𓈥𓈦𓈧𓈨𓈩𓈪𓈫𓈬𓈭𓈮𓈯𓈰𓈱𓈲𓈳𓈴𓈵𓈶𓈷𓈸𓈹𓈺𓈻𓈼𓈽𓈾𓈿𓉀𓉁𓉂𓉃𓉄𓉅𓉆𓉇𓉈𓉉𓉊𓉋𓉌𓉍𓉎𓉏𓉐𓉑𓉒𓉓𓉔𓉕𓉖𓉗𓉘𓉙𓉚𓉛𓉜𓉝𓉞𓉟𓉠𓉡𓉢𓉣𓉤𓉥𓉦𓉧𓉨𓉩𓉪𓉫𓉬𓉭𓉮𓉯𓉰𓉱𓉲𓉳𓉴𓉵𓉶𓉷𓉸𓉹𓉺𓉻𓉼𓉽𓉾𓉿𓊀𓊁𓊂𓊃𓊄𓊅𓊆𓊇𓊈𓊉𓊊𓊋𓊌𓊍𓊎𓊏𓊐𓊑𓊒𓊓𓊔𓊕𓊖𓊗𓊘𓊙𓊚𓊛𓊜𓊝𓊞𓊟𓊠𓊡𓊢𓊣𓊤𓊥𓊦𓊧𓊨𓊩𓊪𓊫𓊬𓊭𓊮𓊯𓊰𓊱𓊲𓊳𓊴𓊵𓊶𓊷𓊸𓊹𓊺𓊻𓊼𓊽𓊾𓊿𓋀𓋁𓋂𓋃𓋄𓋅𓋆𓋇𓋈𓋉𓋊𓋋𓋌𓋍𓋎𓋏𓋐𓋑𓋒𓋓𓋔𓋕𓋖𓋗𓋘𓋙𓋚𓋛𓋜𓋝𓋞𓋟𓋠𓋡𓋢𓋣𓋤𓋥𓋦𓋧𓋨𓋩𓋪𓋫𓋬𓋭𓋮𓋯𓋰𓋱𓋲𓋳𓋴𓋵𓋶𓋷𓋸𓋹𓋺𓋻𓋼𓋽𓋾𓋿𓌀𓌁𓌂𓌃𓌄𓌅𓌆𓌇𓌈𓌉𓌊𓌋𓌌𓌍𓌎𓌏𓌐𓌑𓌒𓌓𓌔𓌕𓌖𓌗𓌘𓌙𓌚𓌛𓌜𓌝𓌞𓌟𓌠𓌡𓌢𓌣𓌤𓌥𓌦𓌧𓌨𓌩𓌪𓌫𓌬𓌭𓌮𓌯𓌰𓌱𓌲𓌳𓌴𓌵𓌶𓌷𓌸𓌹𓌺𓌻𓌼𓌽𓌾𓌿𓍀𓍁𓍂𓍃𓍄𓍅𓍆𓍇𓍈𓍉𓍊𓍋𓍌𓍍𓍎𓍏𓍐𓍑𓍒𓍓𓍔𓍕𓍖𓍗𓍘𓍙𓍚𓍛𓍜𓍝𓍞𓍟𓍠𓍡𓍢𓍣𓍤𓍥𓍦𓍧𓍨𓍩𓍪𓍫𓍬𓍭𓍮𓍯𓍰𓍱𓍲𓍳𓍴𓍵𓍶𓍷𓍸𓍹𓍺𓍻𓍼𓍽𓍾𓍿𓎀𓎁𓎂𓎃𓎄𓎅𓎆𓎇𓎈𓎉𓎊𓎋𓎌𓎍𓎎𓎏𓎐𓎑𓎒𓎓𓎔𓎕𓎖𓎗𓎘𓎙𓎚𓎛𓎜𓎝𓎞𓎟𓎠𓎡𓎢𓎣𓎤𓎥𓎦𓎧𓎨𓎩𓎪𓎫𓎬𓎭𓎮𓎯𓎰𓎱𓎲𓎳𓎴𓎵𓎶𓎷𓎸𓎹𓎺𓎻𓎼𓎽𓎾𓎿𓏀𓏁𓏂𓏃𓏄𓏅𓏆𓏇𓏈𓏉𓏊𓏋𓏌𓏍𓏎𓏏𓏐𓏑𓏒𓏓𓏔𓏕𓏖𓏗𓏘𓏙𓏚𓏛𓏜𓏝𓏞𓏟𓏠𓏡𓏢𓏣𓏤𓏥𓏦𓏧𓏨𓏩𓏪𓏫𓏬𓏭𓏮𓏯𓏰𓏱𓏲𓏳𓏴𓏵𓏶𓏷𓏸𓏹𓏺𓏻𓏼𓏽𓏾𓏿𓐀𓐁𓐂𓐃𓐄𓐅𓐆𓐇𓐈𓐉𓐊𓐋𓐌𓐍𓐎𓐏𓐐𓐑𓐒𓐓𓐔𓐕𓐖𓐗𓐘𓐙𓐚𓐛𓐜𓐝𓐞𓐟𓐠𓐡𓐢𓐣𓐤𓐥𓐦𓐧𓐨𓐩𓐪𓐫𓐬𓐭𓐮𓐯𓐰𓐱𓐲𓐳𓐴𓐵𓐶𓐷𓐸𓐹𓐺𓐻𓐼𓐽𓐾𓐿𓑀𓑁𓑂𓑃𓑄𓑅𓑆𓑇𓑈𓑉𓑊𓑋𓑌𓑍𓑎𓑏𓑐𓑑𓑒𓑓𓑔𓑕𓑖𓑗𓑘𓑙𓑚𓑛𓑜𓑝𓑞𓑟𓑠𓑡𓑢𓑣𓑤𓑥𓑦𓑧𓑨𓑩𓑪𓑫𓑬𓑭𓑮𓑯𓑰𓑱𓑲𓑳𓑴𓑵𓑶𓑷𓑸𓑹𓑺𓑻𓑼𓑽𓑾𓑿𓒀𓒁𓒂𓒃𓒄𓒅𓒆𓒇𓒈𓒉𓒊𓒋𓒌𓒍𓒎𓒏𓒐𓒑𓒒𓒓𓒔𓒕𓒖𓒗𓒘𓒙𓒚𓒛𓒜𓒝𓒞𓒟𓒠𓒡𓒢𓒣𓒤𓒥𓒦𓒧𓒨𓒩𓒪𓒫𓒬𓒭𓒮𓒯𓒰𓒱𓒲𓒳𓒴𓒵𓒶𓒷𓒸𓒹𓒺𓒻𓒼𓒽𓒾𓒿𓓀𓓁𓓂𓓃𓓄𓓅𓓆𓓇𓓈𓓉𓓊𓓋𓓌𓓍𓓎𓓏𓓐𓓑𓓒𓓓𓓔𓓕𓓖𓓗𓓘𓓙𓓚𓓛𓓜𓓝𓓞𓓟𓓠𓓡𓓢𓓣𓓤𓓥𓓦𓓧𓓨𓓩𓓪𓓫𓓬𓓭𓓮𓓯𓓰𓓱𓓲𓓳𓓴𓓵𓓶𓓷𓓸𓓹𓓺𓓻𓓼𓓽𓓾𓓿𓔀𓔁𓔂𓔃𓔄𓔅𓔆𓔇𓔈𓔉𓔊𓔋𓔌𓔍𓔎𓔏𓔐𓔑𓔒𓔓𓔔𓔕𓔖𓔗𓔘𓔙𓔚𓔛𓔜𓔝𓔞𓔟𓔠𓔡𓔢𓔣𓔤𓔥𓔦𓔧𓔨𓔩𓔪𓔫𓔬𓔭𓔮𓔯𓔰𓔱𓔲𓔳𓔴𓔵𓔶𓔷𓔸𓔹𓔺𓔻𓔼𓔽𓔾𓔿𓕀𓕁𓕂𓕃𓕄𓕅𓕆𓕇𓕈𓕉𓕊𓕋𓕌𓕍𓕎𓕏𓕐𓕑𓕒𓕓𓕔𓕕𓕖𓕗𓕘𓕙𓕚𓕛𓕜𓕝𓕞𓕟𓕠𓕡𓕢𓕣𓕤𓕥𓕦𓕧𓕨𓕩𓕪𓕫𓕬𓕭𓕮𓕯𓕰𓕱𓕲𓕳𓕴𓕵𓕶𓕷𓕸𓕹𓕺𓕻𓕼𓕽𓕾𓕿𓖀𓖁𓖂𓖃𓖄𓖅𓖆𓖇𓖈𓖉𓖊𓖋𓖌𓖍𓖎𓖏𓖐𓖑𓖒𓖓𓖔𓖕𓖖𓖗𓖘𓖙𓖚𓖛𓖜𓖝𓖞𓖟𓖠𓖡𓖢𓖣𓖤𓖥𓖦𓖧𓖨𓖩𓖪𓖫𓖬𓖭𓖮𓖯𓖰𓖱𓖲𓖳𓖴𓖵𓖶𓖷𓖸𓖹𓖺𓖻𓖼𓖽𓖾𓖿𓗀𓗁𓗂𓗃𓗄𓗅𓗆𓗇𓗈𓗉𓗊𓗋𓗌𓗍𓗎𓗏𓗐𓗑𓗒𓗓𓗔𓗕𓗖𓗗𓗘𓗙𓗚𓗛𓗜𓗝𓗞𓗟𓗠𓗡𓗢𓗣𓗤𓗥𓗦𓗧𓗨𓗩𓗪𓗫𓗬𓗭𓗮𓗯𓗰𓗱𓗲𓗳𓗴𓗵𓗶𓗷𓗸𓗹𓗺𓗻𓗼𓗽𓗾𓗿𓘀𓘁𓘂𓘃𓘄𓘅𓘆𓘇𓘈𓘉𓘊𓘋𓘌𓘍𓘎𓘏𓘐𓘑𓘒𓘓𓘔𓘕𓘖𓘗𓘘𓘙𓘚𓘛𓘜𓘝𓘞𓘟𓘠𓘡𓘢𓘣𓘤𓘥𓘦𓘧𓘨𓘩𓘪𓘫𓘬𓘭𓘮𓘯𓘰𓘱𓘲𓘳𓘴𓘵𓘶𓘷𓘸𓘹𓘺𓘻𓘼𓘽𓘾𓘿𓙀𓙁𓙂𓙃𓙄𓙅𓙆𓙇𓙈𓙉𓙊𓙋𓙌𓙍𓙎𓙏𓙐𓙑𓙒𓙓𓙔𓙕𓙖𓙗𓙘𓙙𓙚𓙛𓙜𓙝𓙞𓙟𓙠𓙡𓙢𓙣𓙤𓙥𓙦𓙧𓙨𓙩𓙪𓙫𓙬𓙭𓙮𓙯𓙰𓙱𓙲𓙳𓙴𓙵𓙶𓙷𓙸𓙹𓙺𓙻𓙼𓙽𓙾𓙿𓚀𓚁𓚂𓚃𓚄𓚅𓚆𓚇𓚈𓚉𓚊𓚋𓚌𓚍𓚎𓚏𓚐𓚑𓚒𓚓𓚔𓚕𓚖𓚗𓚘𓚙𓚚𓚛𓚜𓚝𓚞𓚟𓚠𓚡𓚢𓚣𓚤𓚥𓚦𓚧𓚨𓚩𓚪𓚫𓚬𓚭𓚮𓚯𓚰𓚱𓚲𓚳𓚴𓚵𓚶𓚷𓚸𓚹𓚺𓚻𓚼𓚽𓚾𓚿𓛀𓛁𓛂𓛃𓛄𓛅𓛆𓛇𓛈𓛉𓛊𓛋𓛌𓛍𓛎𓛏𓛐𓛑𓛒𓛓𓛔𓛕𓛖𓛗𓛘𓛙𓛚𓛛𓛜𓛝𓛞𓛟𓛠𓛡𓛢𓛣𓛤𓛥𓛦𓛧𓛨𓛩𓛪𓛫𓛬𓛭𓛮𓛯𓛰𓛱𓛲𓛳𓛴𓛵𓛶𓛷𓛸𓛹𓛺𓛻𓛼𓛽𓛾𓛿𓜀𓜁𓜂𓜃𓜄𓜅𓜆𓜇𓜈𓜉𓜊𓜋𓜌𓜍𓜎𓜏𓜐𓜑𓜒𓜓𓜔𓜕𓜖𓜗𓜘𓜙𓜚𓜛𓜜𓜝𓜞𓜟𓜠𓜡𓜢𓜣𓜤𓜥𓜦𓜧𓜨𓜩𓜪𓜫𓜬𓜭𓜮𓜯𓜰𓜱𓜲𓜳𓜴𓜵𓜶𓜷𓜸𓜹𓜺𓜻𓜼𓜽𓜾𓜿𓝀𓝁𓝂𓝃𓝄𓝅𓝆𓝇𓝈𓝉𓝊𓝋𓝌𓝍𓝎𓝏𓝐𓝑𓝒𓝓𓝔𓝕𓝖𓝗𓝘𓝙𓝚𓝛𓝜𓝝𓝞𓝟𓝠𓝡𓝢𓝣𓝤𓝥𓝦𓝧𓝨𓝩𓝪𓝫𓝬𓝭𓝮𓝯𓝰𓝱𓝲𓝳𓝴𓝵𓝶𓝷𓝸𓝹𓝺𓝻𓝼𓝽𓝾𓝿𓞀𓞁𓞂𓞃𓞄𓞅𓞆𓞇𓞈𓞉𓞊𓞋𓞌𓞍𓞎𓞏𓞐𓞑𓞒𓞓𓞔𓞕𓞖𓞗𓞘𓞙𓞚𓞛𓞜𓞝𓞞𓞟𓞠𓞡𓞢𓞣𓞤𓞥𓞦𓞧𓞨𓞩𓞪𓞫𓞬𓞭𓞮𓞯𓞰𓞱𓞲𓞳𓞴𓞵𓞶𓞷𓞸𓞹𓞺𓞻𓞼𓞽𓞾𓞿𓟀𓟁𓟂𓟃𓟄𓟅𓟆𓟇𓟈𓟉𓟊𓟋𓟌𓟍𓟎𓟏𓟐𓟑𓟒𓟓𓟔𓟕𓟖𓟗𓟘𓟙𓟚𓟛𓟜𓟝𓟞𓟟𓟠𓟡𓟢𓟣𓟤𓟥𓟦𓟧𓟨𓟩𓟪𓟫𓟬𓟭𓟮𓟯𓟰𓟱𓟲𓟳𓟴𓟵𓟶𓟷𓟸𓟹𓟺𓟻𓟼𓟽𓟾𓟿𓠀𓠁𓠂𓠃𓠄𓠅𓠆𓠇𓠈𓠉𓠊𓠋𓠌𓠍𓠎𓠏𓠐𓠑𓠒𓠓𓠔𓠕𓠖𓠗𓠘𓠙𓠚𓠛𓠜𓠝𓠞𓠟𓠠𓠡𓠢𓠣𓠤𓠥𓠦𓠧𓠨𓠩𓠪𓠫𓠬𓠭𓠮𓠯𓠰𓠱𓠲𓠳𓠴𓠵𓠶𓠷𓠸𓠹𓠺𓠻𓠼𓠽𓠾𓠿𓡀𓡁𓡂𓡃𓡄𓡅𓡆𓡇𓡈𓡉𓡊𓡋𓡌𓡍𓡎𓡏𓡐𓡑𓡒𓡓𓡔𓡕𓡖𓡗𓡘𓡙𓡚𓡛𓡜𓡝𓡞𓡟𓡠𓡡𓡢𓡣𓡤𓡥𓡦𓡧𓡨𓡩𓡪𓡫𓡬𓡭𓡮𓡯𓡰𓡱𓡲𓡳𓡴𓡵𓡶𓡷𓡸𓡹𓡺𓡻𓡼𓡽𓡾𓡿𓢀𓢁𓢂𓢃𓢄𓢅𓢆𓢇𓢈𓢉𓢊𓢋𓢌𓢍𓢎𓢏𓢐𓢑𓢒𓢓𓢔𓢕𓢖𓢗𓢘𓢙𓢚𓢛𓢜𓢝𓢞𓢟𓢠𓢡𓢢𓢣𓢤𓢥𓢦𓢧𓢨𓢩𓢪𓢫𓢬𓢭𓢮𓢯𓢰𓢱𓢲𓢳𓢴𓢵𓢶𓢷𓢸𓢹𓢺𓢻𓢼𓢽𓢾𓢿𓣀𓣁𓣂𓣃𓣄𓣅𓣆𓣇𓣈𓣉𓣊𓣋𓣌𓣍𓣎𓣏𓣐𓣑𓣒𓣓𓣔𓣕𓣖𓣗𓣘𓣙𓣚𓣛𓣜𓣝𓣞𓣟𓣠𓣡𓣢𓣣𓣤𓣥𓣦𓣧𓣨𓣩𓣪𓣫𓣬𓣭𓣮𓣯𓣰𓣱𓣲𓣳𓣴𓣵𓣶𓣷𓣸𓣹𓣺𓣻𓣼𓣽𓣾𓣿𓤀𓤁𓤂𓤃𓤄𓤅𓤆𓤇𓤈𓤉𓤊𓤋𓤌𓤍𓤎𓤏𓤐𓤑𓤒𓤓𓤔𓤕𓤖𓤗𓤘𓤙𓤚𓤛𓤜𓤝𓤞𓤟𓤠𓤡𓤢𓤣𓤤𓤥𓤦𓤧𓤨𓤩𓤪𓤫𓤬𓤭𓤮𓤯𓤰𓤱𓤲𓤳𓤴𓤵𓤶𓤷𓤸𓤹𓤺𓤻𓤼𓤽𓤾𓤿𓥀𓥁𓥂𓥃𓥄𓥅𓥆𓥇𓥈𓥉𓥊𓥋𓥌𓥍𓥎𓥏𓥐𓥑𓥒𓥓𓥔𓥕𓥖𓥗𓥘𓥙𓥚𓥛𓥜𓥝𓥞𓥟𓥠𓥡𓥢𓥣𓥤𓥥𓥦𓥧𓥨𓥩𓥪𓥫𓥬𓥭𓥮𓥯𓥰𓥱𓥲𓥳𓥴𓥵𓥶𓥷𓥸𓥹𓥺𓥻𓥼𓥽𓥾𓥿𓦀𓦁𓦂𓦃𓦄𓦅𓦆𓦇𓦈𓦉𓦊𓦋𓦌𓦍𓦎𓦏𓦐𓦑𓦒𓦓𓦔𓦕𓦖𓦗𓦘𓦙𓦚𓦛𓦜𓦝𓦞𓦟𓦠𓦡𓦢𓦣𓦤𓦥𓦦𓦧𓦨𓦩𓦪𓦫𓦬𓦭𓦮𓦯𓦰𓦱𓦲𓦳𓦴𓦵𓦶𓦷𓦸𓦹𓦺𓦻𓦼𓦽𓦾𓦿𓧀𓧁𓧂𓧃𓧄𓧅𓧆𓧇𓧈𓧉𓧊𓧋𓧌𓧍𓧎𓧏𓧐𓧑𓧒𓧓𓧔𓧕𓧖𓧗𓧘𓧙𓧚𓧛𓧜𓧝𓧞𓧟𓧠𓧡𓧢𓧣𓧤𓧥𓧦𓧧𓧨𓧩𓧪𓧫𓧬𓧭𓧮𓧯𓧰𓧱𓧲𓧳𓧴𓧵𓧶𓧷𓧸𓧹𓧺𓧻𓧼𓧽𓧾𓧿𓨀𓨁𓨂𓨃𓨄𓨅𓨆𓨇𓨈𓨉𓨊𓨋𓨌𓨍𓨎𓨏𓨐𓨑𓨒𓨓𓨔𓨕𓨖𓨗𓨘𓨙𓨚𓨛𓨜𓨝𓨞𓨟𓨠𓨡𓨢𓨣𓨤𓨥𓨦𓨧𓨨𓨩𓨪𓨫𓨬𓨭𓨮𓨯𓨰𓨱𓨲𓨳𓨴𓨵𓨶𓨷𓨸𓨹𓨺𓨻𓨼𓨽𓨾𓨿𓩀𓩁𓩂𓩃𓩄𓩅𓩆𓩇𓩈𓩉𓩊𓩋𓩌𓩍𓩎𓩏𓩐𓩑𓩒𓩓𓩔𓩕𓩖𓩗𓩘𓩙𓩚𓩛𓩜𓩝𓩞𓩟𓩠𓩡𓩢𓩣𓩤𓩥𓩦𓩧𓩨𓩩𓩪𓩫𓩬𓩭𓩮𓩯𓩰𓩱𓩲𓩳𓩴𓩵𓩶𓩷𓩸𓩹𓩺𓩻𓩼𓩽𓩾𓩿𓪀𓪁𓪂𓪃𓪄𓪅𓪆𓪇𓪈𓪉𓪊𓪋𓪌𓪍𓪎𓪏𓪐𓪑𓪒𓪓𓪔𓪕𓪖𓪗𓪘𓪙𓪚𓪛𓪜𓪝𓪞𓪟𓪠𓪡𓪢𓪣𓪤𓪥𓪦𓪧𓪨𓪩𓪪𓪫𓪬𓪭𓪮𓪯𓪰𓪱𓪲𓪳𓪴𓪵𓪶𓪷𓪸𓪹𓪺𓪻𓪼𓪽𓪾𓪿𓫀𓫁𓫂𓫃𓫄𓫅𓫆𓫇𓫈𓫉𓫊𓫋𓫌𓫍𓫎𓫏𓫐𓫑𓫒𓫓𓫔𓫕𓫖𓫗𓫘𓫙𓫚𓫛𓫜𓫝𓫞𓫟𓫠𓫡𓫢𓫣𓫤𓫥𓫦𓫧𓫨𓫩𓫪𓫫𓫬𓫭𓫮𓫯𓫰𓫱𓫲𓫳𓫴𓫵𓫶𓫷𓫸𓫹𓫺𓫻𓫼𓫽𓫾𓫿𓬀𓬁𓬂𓬃𓬄𓬅𓬆𓬇𓬈𓬉𓬊𓬋𓬌𓬍𓬎𓬏𓬐𓬑𓬒𓬓𓬔𓬕𓬖𓬗𓬘𓬙𓬚𓬛𓬜𓬝𓬞𓬟𓬠𓬡𓬢𓬣𓬤𓬥𓬦𓬧𓬨𓬩𓬪𓬫𓬬𓬭𓬮𓬯𓬰𓬱𓬲𓬳𓬴𓬵𓬶𓬷𓬸𓬹𓬺𓬻𓬼𓬽𓬾𓬿𓭀𓭁𓭂𓭃𓭄𓭅𓭆𓭇𓭈𓭉𓭊𓭋𓭌𓭍𓭎𓭏𓭐𓭑𓭒𓭓𓭔𓭕𓭖𓭗𓭘𓭙𓭚𓭛𓭜𓭝𓭞𓭟𓭠𓭡𓭢𓭣𓭤𓭥𓭦𓭧𓭨𓭩𓭪𓭫𓭬𓭭𓭮𓭯𓭰𓭱𓭲𓭳𓭴𓭵𓭶𓭷𓭸𓭹𓭺𓭻𓭼𓭽𓭾𓭿𓮀𓮁𓮂𓮃𓮄𓮅𓮆𓮇𓮈𓮉𓮊𓮋𓮌𓮍𓮎𓮏𓮐𓮑𓮒𓮓𓮔𓮕𓮖𓮗𓮘𓮙𓮚𓮛𓮜𓮝𓮞𓮟𓮠𓮡𓮢𓮣𓮤𓮥𓮦𓮧𓮨𓮩𓮪𓮫𓮬𓮭𓮮𓮯𓮰𓮱𓮲𓮳𓮴𓮵𓮶𓮷𓮸𓮹𓮺𓮻𓮼𓮽𓮾𓮿𓯀𓯁𓯂𓯃𓯄𓯅𓯆𓯇𓯈𓯉𓯊𓯋𓯌𓯍𓯎𓯏𓯐𓯑𓯒𓯓𓯔𓯕𓯖𓯗𓯘𓯙𓯚𓯛𓯜𓯝𓯞𓯟𓯠𓯡𓯢𓯣𓯤𓯥𓯦𓯧𓯨𓯩𓯪𓯫𓯬𓯭𓯮𓯯𓯰𓯱𓯲𓯳𓯴𓯵𓯶𓯷𓯸𓯹𓯺𓯻𓯼𓯽𓯾𓯿𓰀𓰁𓰂𓰃𓰄𓰅𓰆𓰇𓰈𓰉𓰊𓰋𓰌𓰍𓰎𓰏𓰐𓰑𓰒𓰓𓰔𓰕𓰖𓰗𓰘𓰙𓰚𓰛𓰜𓰝𓰞𓰟𓰠𓰡𓰢𓰣𓰤𓰥𓰦𓰧𓰨𓰩𓰪𓰫𓰬𓰭𓰮𓰯𓰰𓰱𓰲𓰳𓰴𓰵𓰶𓰷𓰸𓰹𓰺𓰻𓰼𓰽𓰾𓰿𓱀𓱁𓱂𓱃𓱄𓱅𓱆𓱇𓱈𓱉𓱊𓱋𓱌𓱍𓱎𓱏𓱐𓱑𓱒𓱓𓱔𓱕𓱖𓱗𓱘𓱙𓱚𓱛𓱜𓱝𓱞𓱟𓱠𓱡𓱢𓱣𓱤𓱥𓱦𓱧𓱨𓱩𓱪𓱫𓱬𓱭𓱮𓱯𓱰𓱱𓱲𓱳𓱴𓱵𓱶𓱷𓱸𓱹𓱺𓱻𓱼𓱽𓱾𓱿𓲀𓲁𓲂𓲃𓲄𓲅𓲆𓲇𓲈𓲉𓲊𓲋𓲌𓲍𓲎𓲏𓲐𓲑𓲒𓲓𓲔𓲕𓲖𓲗𓲘𓲙𓲚𓲛𓲜𓲝𓲞𓲟𓲠𓲡𓲢𓲣𓲤𓲥𓲦𓲧𓲨𓲩𓲪𓲫𓲬𓲭𓲮𓲯𓲰𓲱𓲲𓲳𓲴𓲵𓲶𓲷𓲸𓲹𓲺𓲻𓲼𓲽𓲾𓲿𓳀𓳁𓳂𓳃𓳄𓳅𓳆𓳇𓳈𓳉𓳊𓳋𓳌𓳍𓳎𓳏𓳐𓳑𓳒𓳓𓳔𓳕𓳖𓳗𓳘𓳙𓳚𓳛𓳜𓳝𓳞𓳟𓳠𓳡𓳢𓳣𓳤𓳥𓳦𓳧𓳨𓳩𓳪𓳫𓳬𓳭𓳮𓳯𓳰𓳱𓳲𓳳𓳴𓳵𓳶𓳷𓳸𓳹𓳺𓳻𓳼𓳽𓳾𓳿𓴀𓴁𓴂𓴃𓴄𓴅𓴆𓴇𓴈𓴉𓴊𓴋𓴌𓴍𓴎𓴏𓴐𓴑𓴒𓴓𓴔𓴕𓴖𓴗𓴘𓴙𓴚𓴛𓴜𓴝𓴞𓴟𓴠𓴡𓴢𓴣𓴤𓴥𓴦𓴧𓴨𓴩𓴪𓴫𓴬𓴭𓴮𓴯𓴰𓴱𓴲𓴳𓴴𓴵𓴶𓴷𓴸𓴹𓴺𓴻𓴼𓴽𓴾𓴿𓵀𓵁𓵂𓵃𓵄𓵅𓵆𓵇𓵈𓵉𓵊𓵋𓵌𓵍𓵎𓵏𓵐𓵑𓵒𓵓𓵔𓵕𓵖𓵗𓵘𓵙𓵚𓵛𓵜𓵝𓵞𓵟𓵠𓵡𓵢𓵣𓵤𓵥𓵦𓵧𓵨𓵩𓵪𓵫𓵬𓵭𓵮𓵯𓵰𓵱𓵲𓵳𓵴𓵵𓵶𓵷𓵸𓵹𓵺

Limestone stela, found in the Main Street opposite House no. 4 of the (Workmen's) Village at Tell el-Amarna.¹ Cf. T. Eric Peet and C. Leonard Woolley, *The City of Akhenaten I* (London 1923), pp. 66 and 68; R.A. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Mededelingenblad van de Vereniging van Vrienden van het Allard Pierson Museum*, nr. 25, oktober 1982, p. 5 and figs. 9-11. The findspot certainly points to a date in the late 18th dynasty. The general style of the stela however shows little of the characteristic elements of Amarna art. In fact one is reminded strongly to representations on stelae from the early 18th dynasty.²

The scene on this little round-topped stela is painted and, in spite of the modern(?) resinous varnish covering the surface, the colours are still visible: the man's body is reddish brown; his garment is white; his wig, the chair, the outlines of the altar and the loaves are black; parts of the lotus-flower, the bunch of onions on the altar and the rim framing the complete scene are greenish blue.

The dedicatee is represented sitting on a chair, holding a lotus-flower in his left hand and a cloth in his right hand posed on his lap. His feet rest on a footstool. He is wearing a wig crowned with a tall cone of unguent. Before him is an altar laden with three loaves and a bunch of onions. As the stela appears to be uninscribed, the dedicatee must remain anonymous to us. Yet, in view of the find-spot and the characteristics of the scene represented, this stela probably belongs to the same category as the documents in our group A.³

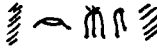
C 7: 1) Find-number 22/181. Now Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, Inv.no. 3733. Dimensions: h. 0,148m., w. 0,107m., th. 0.025m. I am grateful to Mr. R.A. Lunsingh Scheurleer for his permission to publish this stela and the photograph on Pl. XIX (taken by Mr. Michiel Bootsman).

2) Cf. our remarks on the stelae of group A, p. 177.

3) Prof. J.J. Janssen has informed me that a probably similar stela (surface extremely worn) was found in the Workmen's Village during the 1980 excavations by the Egypt Exploration Society.

C 8

Limestone stela, no traces of colour, provenance unknown.¹ Cf. O. Koefoed-Petersen, *Les stèles égyptiennes* (Copenhagen, 1948), pp. 57-58 and Pl. 77.

The scene on this stela is executed in shallow sunk relief. A more definite date than a general 'late New Kingdom' seems impossible.² In the arch the *šn*-ring upon a vase (the water symbol is missing) is represented, flanked by two *wd3t*-eyes. Under these symbols on the left the dedicatee is seated on a chair, holding a lotus-flower in his left hand and a cloth in his right. Facing him is a standing, shaven-headed man, bringing an incense offering and a libation. In between the two men is an altar laden with circular loaves, a basket full of grapes, the whole crowned by lotus-flowers. The inscriptions above the figures are for the most part illegible, with the possible exception of the name of the dedicatee:  Ahmose. Unfortunately there are no clues therefore for a possible connection with our Docs. A 42, B 1, B 2 and C 6.

C 9

Wooden miniature stela, no traces of paint, provenance unknown.¹

Cf. G. Björkman, *A selection of the objects in the Smith collection of Egyptian antiquities at the Linköping Museum, Sweden* (Stockholm 1971), no. 27, p. 51 and Pl. 15 (1).

C 8: 1) Now Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, No. AEIN 137.
Dimensions: h. 0,26m., w. 0,18m.

2) Not 'Ptolemaic' as stated by O. Koefoed-Petersen, *op.cit.*, p. 57. The scene can be compared with our type e, see p. 8.

C 9: 1) Now Linköping Museum, Sweden. Dimensions: H. 0,099m., w. 0,07m.

The scene on this stela is executed in sketchy style but with outlines incised. On stylistic grounds Björkman rightly suggests a date at the end of the 18th dynasty or the beginning of the 19th dynasty.

The dedicatee is represented on the left seated on a chair, holding a lotus-flower in his right hand, while the left hand is posed on his lap. In front of him is an offering-table or altar with four loaves crowned by two horizontal lines, indicating lotuses.² In the middle at the top of this miniature stela there is a small hole for suspending it.³

As the stela is uninscribed, any clue as to the possible identity of the dedicatee is entirely lacking.

C 10

Small limestone stela, black line drawing, probably from Deir el-Medīna.¹ Cf. E. Brunner-Traut, *Egyptian Artists' Sketches* (Leiden/Istanbul 1979), No. 21, p. 49 and Pl. XVI.

On stylistic grounds this stela has been dated to the 18th-19th dynasties.

The whole object is carved in the shape of a rectangular stela with torus moulding, projecting base and frame around the scene itself. Just above the torus a hollow groove has been cut, where a cavetto cornice could be expected. The upper border of the frame is painted with a winged sun-disk.

2) The whole scene can be compared with our type a (1), p. 8.

3) See for material and suspension hole an ex-voto from Deir el-Medīna, Bruyère, *Rapport 1934-1935*, p. 18, fig. 7 (2 and 3); cf. too W.C. Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt II* (New York 1959), p. 173.

C 10: 1) Now Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, No. EGA 4751-1943 (from

The scene within the frame has a black line border. Represented on the left is a female figure seated on a throne.² The woman wears a long, tri-partite wig, a necklace and a long close-fitting garment. In her right hand she holds a lotus-flower, while her left hand lies flat on her lap. Since there is insufficient space above the head of the female figure she cannot very well be a goddess.

Facing her is a standing man, who wears a short kilt and holds up his right hand in adoration, while holding a lotus-flower and some other small object in his left.

Above the figures are two vertical columns for inscriptions, left blank.

Brunner-Traut, *op.cit.*, says this sketch probably served as a pattern for a funerary stela for the mother of the dedicator. Yet certain features (the attitude of the female figure seated on a throne) do not exclude the possibility of connecting this stela with the group of documents listed in our section A.

C 11

(Pl. XIX)


In view of the presence of Prince Ahmose-Sipair on our Doc. A 42 where he is represented in the same attitude as the other 'able spirits' of our main group and also designated as '(able) spirit of Re'¹, three other stelae are worth considering for comparative reasons:

the Gayer-Anderson Collection, as our Docs. A 14 and A 45).
Dimensions: h. 0,07m., w. 0,05m., th. 0,02m.

2) For the *hwt*-throne see note 2 on our Doc. A 19, p. 59. The whole scene can be compared with our type e, see p. 8.

C 11: 1) See too our Docs. B 1 and B 2. Cf. for this prince F.-J. Schmitz, *Amenophis I* (Hildesheim 1978), pp. 46-48.

a. London, British Museum 360; PM I 2, 734; cf. H.R. Hall, *Hieroglyphic Texts* VII (London 1925), p. 7 and Pl. 14. Provenance: Deir el-Medīna. Date: late 18th dynasty. The scene can be compared with our type a + e (see p. 8). Cf. M.L. Bierbrier, *Hieroglyphic Texts* 10, p. 10 and Pl. 7. On the left Sipair (doubtless Prince Aḥmose-Sipair, in view of the representation) is sitting on a chair placed on a pedestal, holding a lotus-bud in his right hand, while his left hand is stretched out towards the offerings (loaves, figs, grapes and gourds) on a table in front of him; his feet rest on a footstool and he is wearing the sidelock of youth and has a cone of unguent with a small lotus-bud on his head. A man standing in front of the offering-table is presenting lotus-flowers. Above the figures is a text in five vertical lines and below the whole scene in one horizontal line of text.

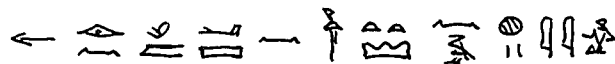
Above: left 

"Sipair, justified."

right 

"Receive the offering, Sipair, praised one of Re, pure, pure."

Below:



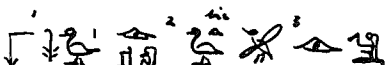
"Made by the workman of the West (of Thebes), Nakhy."

This workman Nakhy - certainly one of the first inhabitants of the Village after the Amarna period - is further known e.g. from stela Turin 50010, cf. Tosi-Roccati, pp. 43-44. In view of his attachment to the cult of Aḥmose-Sipair, it is not surprising to learn from this Turin stela that Nakhy had a son named after the prince, Sipair.

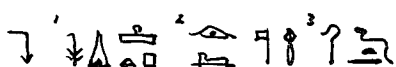
b. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 36347 (= SR 14312); PM II, 171; cf. G.

Legrain, ASAE 5 (1904), pp. 15-16. Provenance: Karnak Temple, south of 7th Pylon. Date: 19th/20th dynasty. The scene can be compared with our type a + e (see p. 8).

On the left Prince Ahmose-Sipair is sitting on a throne placed on a pedestal, holding in his left hand a lotus-flower and in his right a cloth; he wears the side-lock of youth and has a cone of unguent on the head. In front of him is an altar bearing loaves and a lotus-flower. Under this altar is a vase in the shape of a lotus-flower.² Before the altar a bald-headed man, clad in a short skirt, is presenting an incense-offering. Above the figures is a text in six vertical lines and below the whole scene is one horizontal line of text.

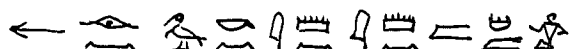
Above: left 

"The King's Son, the Osiris Sipair."

right 

"A boon which the king gives (to) Osiris, the Great God, Ruler of Eternity."

Below:



"Made by the b3k n 'Imn³ Amenemhemu(?)⁴."

c. London, University College UC 14233; PM I 2, 681; cf. H.M. Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae*, p. 47 and Pl. 37.3. Provenance: Thebes, Ramesseum.

Date: 18th (or 19th?) dynasty. The scene can be compared with our type e (see p. 8).

In the arch is a šn-ring on a vase flanked by two wd3t-eyes; below on the left prince Ahmose-Sipair is sitting on a throne, holding a lotus-

2) For this type of vase see note 2 on our Doc. C 6, p. 163.

3) For this title cf. E. Bogoslovsky in VDI 121 (1972), pp. 97-103.

4) Amenemnehem???; not in Ranke, PN.

flower in his left hand and a cloth in his right. In front of him a man brings an offering on a portable altar. Above and between the figures is a text in three lines.

Left: 

"The King's Son Sipair, justified."

Right: 

"Made by the brewer⁵ Amenemopë."

C 12

In addition to the documents which bear witness to a cult of Prince Ahmose-Sipair at Deir el-Medīna, some other monuments from the Village show evidence of a cult for yet another prince. This Prince Nebnūfe is not known from other sources. The first document is a fragmentary stela from the Village, cf. Bruyère, *Rapport* 1935-1940, II, p. 124 (no. 291) and fig. 206; D. Valbelle, *La Tombe de Hay à Deir el-Médineh* [No. 267] (Cairo 1976), p. 37 with note 4.¹

This stela is dedicated by the deputy Hay to Prince Nebnūfe who is represented as an 'able spirit'. The scene can be compared with our type a (2) though nothing can be said about the outer shape because of the fragmentary state of the stela.

On the right the prince is seated on a chair, holding a lotus-flower in his right hand. In front of him is an altar. Above the altar and the figure of the prince is a text in eight vertical lines.

C 11: 5) Cf. R. Caminos in *JEA* 64 (1978), p. 156.

C 12: 1) In spite of the pertinent statement by Valbelle it is not certain whether the same person is the dedicatee of our Doc. A 24.

in a cartouche!), Amenophis I, Ahmose-Nefertari and the goddess Mertseger.

Unfortunately nothing more seems to be known about this Prince Nebnūfe.⁷

- 7) Bruyère, *Rapport 134-1935*, III, p. 205 thinks he was a son of Ramesses II who died young.

Two more stelae are perhaps worth of being mentioned here:

- a. Cairo JE 27820, dedicated by the chief-workman *P3-sdw* to Prince *W3ḏ-msw*, and found in the latter's chapel; cf. ASAE 1 (1900), p. 103; E. Grébaut, *Le Musée Egyptien* I, Pl. I; PM II, 445. The prince is represented on the left sitting on a chair and holding a lotus-flower in his left hand. He is being adored by the kneeling figure of the chief-workman. In view of the find-spot this stela almost certainly attests to the fact that the funerary cult of this son of Thutmosis I was still being maintained in the early 19th dynasty.
- b. Louvre E 22037 (formerly Musée Guimet 14375 and 4538), cf. A. Moret, *Catalogue du Musée Guimet*, pp. 47-49 [C. 22] and Pl. XX; A. Wiedemann in *PSBA* XIV (1892), pp. 332-335 [4]; see also Cl. Traunecker, 'Manifestations de piété personnelle à Karnak', *BSFE* 85 (June 1979), p. 30 and note 18. This stela - most probably a forgery - is dedicated to a Prince *P3-wr* by a 'soldier' *P3-rn-nfr* and his family. The whole scene can be compared with our type e (1), see p. 8.

III THE STELAE

1. General

In this chapter we intend to analyze, in accordance with the subject of our main study, the stelae that form group A of the documentation in the foregoing chapter. These stelae, or at least a substantial number of them, have been known for a long time - both as a type and individually, a fact which has clearly emerged in Chapter I and the data for each document in Chapter II.

Yet, although they have been mentioned or treated as a group by Maspero and Bruyère¹, later publications seldom, if ever, refer to their work. The conclusions of both studies mentioned - valid or not - have never been the subject to discussion nor have they been fully accepted in the later relevant literature. On the other hand, in connection with the crucial designation *3ḥ ikr n R^C*, these studies have been referred to in a number of publications, though usually more or less hidden away in a note.²

Since Bruyère's article any general remarks on this group of stelae - as a type - have in fact only been made by Tosi-Roccati in their *Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina* (Turin 1972), pp. 226-227, and by T.G.H. James in *Hieroglyphic Texts IX* (London 1961), p. 51.

Therefore it is necessary firstly to summarize the main elements which characterize these stelae. Both Maspero and Bruyère have listed a number of characteristics, but in view of our expanded documentation it seems more effective to present here a new (and in many ways revised) survey of basic features, in most cases refraining from stating where our views differ from those of Bruyère. For sake of clarity all numbers of stelae stated hereafter refer to our group A. In the following survey the nos. 18, 19, 27, 42 and 44 are considered as a special sub-

1) See p. 1, notes 1 and 4.

2) See p. 1, note 5.

group. They differ substantially from the main group insofar as they all show figures of either a god or gods or of members of the founding family of the 18th dynasty. Although their meaning and purpose most probably conform to those of the main group, their outward appearance shows a different pattern.

With the exception of the above-mentioned sub-group, all stelae of our group A are:

- a. made of limestone; this type of stone was - at least at Deir el-Medīna during the Ramessid period - the most common material for reliefs and stelae.³
- b. fairly small, generally less than 25 cms. in height; some are bigger but never more than 40 cms., with the exception of one, no. 11, which is 50 cms. (the identity of the dedicatee in this case must however be taken into account).
- c. dedicated to one or two (in one case, three) persons, usually without their relations being mentioned; no wives or children occur, unless, as in a few cases, as offerers or dedicators.
- d. representing the dedicatee(s) holding a lotus-flower⁴ in one hand while the other hand holds a cloth⁵, or an *ankh*-sign, or is placed on the lap or is stretched out towards the offerings⁶ on an altar;

3) The earlier defined sub-group includes two stelae made of sandstone: nos. 27 and 42.

4) One exception, no. 3, figures a sceptre instead of a lotus-flower. For some technical details concerning the mode of representation of the lotus-flower see two articles by H. Schäfer and H. Senk under the same title 'Zum Wandel der Ausdruckform in der ägyptischen Kunst', in *ZAS* 66 (1930), pp. 8-11 and *ZAS* 72 (1936), pp. 71-73. Cf. also K. Pflüger in *JAOS* 67 (1947), p. 130.

5) Cf. H.G. Fischer, 'An Elusive Shape within the Fisted Hands of Egyptian Statues', *Ancient Egypt in the Metropolitan Museum Journal* (1977), p. 143-156. For the *snb*-cloth as a symbol of rebirth, see W. Westendorf in *ZAS* 94 (1967), pp. 148-149 with note 56.

6) Remarkably these offerings are 'vegetarian' on all but one (no. 17) of the stelae. This would correspond to the observation by E. Hornung (*Ägyptische Unterweltsbücher* [Zürich/München 1972] p. 41) concerning the provision of the *3hw* in the netherworld by the sun-

the dedicatee is represented⁷ either kneeling or sitting on a high-backed chair, a stool (no. 1) or a block-throne (nos. 4, 34 and 35)⁸.

- e. characterized by the designation of the dedicatee(s) as $3h \dot{ik}r/3h (\dot{ik}r) n RC$ (for which see our Chapter IV 4) in brief offering-formulae (*vide infra* under 3. *Offering-formulae*).
- f. featuring in the arch or the pointed top in most cases, either the classical *sn*-ring upon the water symbol flanked by *wd3t*-eyes, or solar symbols.
- g. showing a greater resemblance to votive stelae than to distinct tomb-stelae or the so-called 'stèles-lucarnes'.⁹
- h. following the usual colour scheme, wherever the colours still remain.¹⁰
- i. in great majority originating from Deir el-Medina (*vide infra* under 5. *Provenance*).

In spite of all the variations the common features are so obvious as to permit a study of these stelae as a group and especially to raise the question as to their meaning and purpose - or, as the German puts it neatly, their 'Sitz im Leben' (see Chapter V).

2. Typology

The stelae which together form our A-group of documents conform, at least as far as their outward appearance is concerned, to well-known types, although they are usually not specifically mentioned in relevant publications. From the elaborate survey in Vandier, *Manuel* II, pp. 498-

god and his assistants; see also E. Brunner-Traut, *Gelebte Mythen* (1981), p. 68.

- 7) The dedicatee is definitely not always placed on the left, as Bruyère, *Rapport* 1934-1935, p. 164, seems to think; see e.g. our nos. 3, 4 and 22. In some cases he wears a side-lock, cf. above p. 77.
- 8) This throne also appears on the nos. 19 and 42 of the sub-group.
- 9) Most of the relevant documents are to be found in Bruyère's *Rapports de Fouilles*, Tosi-Roccati, *Stele* and Cerný, *Bankes Coll.*, all *passim*.

520, four categories come into consideration: p. 505 ff. - C. 'Stèles des tombes', b) 'Stèles cintrées' (especially b 1, b 4 and b 4.c); p. 514 ff. - E. 'Autres divinités représentées sur les stèles'; p. 515 ff. - F. 'Stèles solaires' and p. 516 ff. - G. 'Stèles à fronton triangulaire'.

The scenes represented on the stelae - as mentioned above, the figure of the dedicatee, usually placed in front of an offering-table or altar, in some cases being adored by one or more persons - also conform to the general themes as enumerated by Vandier.¹¹

Returning now to our division of the stelae of group A (a classification made only for practical purposes, see Chapter II, A. Stelae), we might observe that the types

a, *b* (except *b* (2)) and *e* (except *e* (2)) correspond to Vandier type C. b;¹²
g and *h* to Vandier type E;
c and *e* (2) to Vandier type F.;¹³
f to Vandier type G.

10) Cf. Bruyère, *Rapport* 1922-1923, pp. 19-21; Tosi-Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 215-216.

11) Incidentally, it might be observed that his division - oscillating between shape, function and representation - is not really functional: no clear distinction between tomb or funerary and votive stelae emerges from it.

12) The scene in the arch: a *šn*-ring upon a water symbol flanked by two *wḏ3t*-eyes, was already current since the Middle Kingdom, cf. Vandier, *op.cit.*, p. 490. See further A. Hermann, *Die Stelen der thebanischen Felsgräber der 18. Dynastie* (Agfö11) (1940), pp. 41-42 (III, Die Embleme); J. Zandee, *BiOr* 20 (1963), p. 251; W. Westendorf, *Altägyptische Darstellungen des Sonnenlaufes auf der abschüssigen Himmelsbahn* (MAS 10) (1966), pp. 35 ff.; J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott* (MAS 19) (1969), p. 49 (the *wḏ3t*-eye); W. Barta, *ZAS* 98 (1970), pp. 5-16 (the *šn*-ring).

13) The scenes in the arch or the top - solar symbols - would be, according to Vandier, *op.cit.*, p. 515, specific for the 'stèles-lucarnes' during the New Kingdom, and after.

Rather remarkably, our types *b* (2), *c* (1) and *d* - triangular stela or stela with pointed top - are in fact not accounted for by Vandier (they are quite different from his type G.).

From this general description and the typology it becomes clear, that the stelae of group A are distinguished from all others of their period (the Ramessid age, broadly speaking) by their somewhat outmoded appearance¹⁴, the designation or title of the dedicatee as *3h ikr/3h (ikr) n R*, and by their origin (*vide infra* under 5. *Provenance*). Also the prominent place of the lotus-flower held by nearly all the dedicatees, though not specific to this type of stelae only¹⁵, and some minor elements (e.g. the block-thrones) are nevertheless characteristic. In view of our later inquiry into the meaning and purpose of these stelae (see Chapter V), it seems useful to divide our group A also according to the frequency of the different representations of the dedicatee(s). This division results in the following list:

- dedicatee alone (our types *a*, *b*, and *c*): nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 22, 28, 32, 41, 45, 46: total 21;
- dedicatee and one adorer (our types *e* (partly) and *f*): nos. 1, 8, 20, 25, 29, 49, 50, 51 and 54: total 9;
- dedicatee and two or more adorers (our type *e* (partly)): nos. 21, 26, 40 and 55: total 4;
- two dedicatees (in one instance three) (our types *d* and *e* (partly)): nos. 2, 19, 35, 36, 37, 38 and 48: total 7;
- dedicatee adoring royal figures (our type *g*): nos. 18, 27 and 42: total 3;
- dedicatee adoring a god (our type *h*): no. 44: total 1.

This list comprises 45 out of the 55 documents of our group A, the remaining ten are either too fragmentary for us to be able to draw any conclusions or the data relevant to them are unknown.

14) Cf. also H.M. Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection* (Warminster 1976), p. VIII.

15) See p. 174, note 4.


3. Offering-formulae

Amongst the generally very brief texts on the stelae of our group A, we find in each of 16 or 17 out of the 55 instances, beside the usual designation and name of the dedicatee, one of six categories of offering-formulae.¹⁶

Although they all belong to common and well-known types, a systematic survey of the offering-formulae as they appear on our documents (including group B)¹⁷ will reveal additional information about the meaning and function of the stelae.

Since however such formulae have already been collected, classified and analyzed in a clear manner by W. Barta in his *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel* (Glückstadt 1968), it seems efficient to comply with his classifications. Alongside his system we can draw up the following categories:

- a. The most elementary form, not specifically accounted for by Barta:

A 8 (our type e)  NN

A 31 (our type a)  [god NN + n k3 n] NN

"A boon which the king gives (to) Re-Harakhty for the ka of NN".

A 44 (our type h)

"A boon which the king gives (to) Re-Harakhty, the Great God,
Lord of Heaven".

- b. The most common formula: 'Bitte' 2a and 2c cf. *Opferformel*, pp. 141 and 164 (for the 19th and 20th dynasties):

A 9 (our type c)

Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a signature or name, followed by the letters "NN".

A 10 (our type $a(1)$)

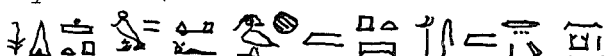
NN

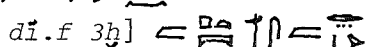

16) The first part of the text on no. 47 (if correctly rendered) is difficult to explain, the more so since the formula $\bar{i}r\bar{i} \ n \ 3h \ \bar{i}k\bar{r} \ n \ R^C \ NN$ does not occur on any other of the stelae (as against Bruyère, *Rapport* 1934-1935, p. 151, probably following Maspero's earlier incorrect readings).

"A boon which the king gives (to) /Re/-Harakhty, Lord of Heaven, King of the Gods, that he may give an invocation offering (consisting) of bread, beer, oxen, fowl, incense, cool water/wine/, and all pure, sweet and pleasant things, for the ka of NN".

The comparable formula on our Doc. B 8 reads: "A boon which the king gives (to) Re, Atum, that they may give (an offering consisting of....) beer, oxen, fowl, cool water, wine, milk, for the ka of NN".

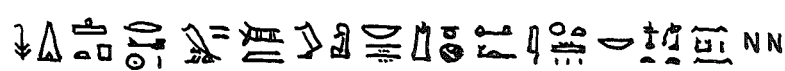
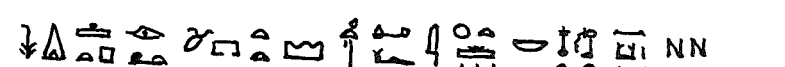
- c. A common formula: 'Bitte' 7a, cf. *Opferformel*, pp. 142 and 164 (for the 19th and 20th dynasties):

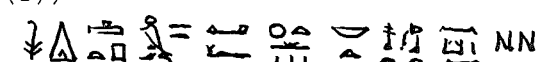
A 15 (our type b)  NN

A 22 (our type a (2)) [*ḥtp-dī-nsw R^C-Ḥr-3ḥtī dī.f 3ḥ*]  NN
* [...]  NN

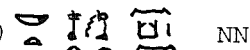
"A boon which the king gives (to) Re-Harakhty, that he may give spirituality in heaven and power on earth, for the ka of NN".


- d. Another common formula: 'Bitte' 15a; cf. *Opferformel*, pp. 143 and 165 (for the 19th and 20th dynasties):

A 1 (our type f)  NN
 NN

A 7 (our type a (1))
 NN

A 24 (our type a (2)?)
 NN

A 30 (our type e ?) (*ḥtp-dī-nsw R^C-Ḥr-3ḥtī dī-f ḥt*)  NN

A 40 (our type e)
 NN¹⁸

17) This group has been taken into consideration here as the documents, like most of those of group A, originate from Deir el-Medīna.

18) Followed by: "his sister, who makes his name live".

A 43 (our type a (1)) NN

"A boon which the king gives (to) Re-Harakhty/Atum, Lord of the Two Lands, Helipolitan/ Osiris, Foremost of the West/, that he may give all good and pure things, for the ka of NN".

In the same formula on our Docs. B 4 and B 7 the gods who are to receive the *ḥtp-dī-nsw* are: Re-Harakhty, Atum, Anubis and Osiris.

- e. A form of the so-called 'substantivierte Opferformel', cf. *Opferformel*, pp. 160 and 171 (for the 19th and 20th dynasties):

A 49 (our type e)

"Performing a *ḥtp-dī-nsw*, pure, pure, for your ka (able spirit by his brother who makes his name live)". The same formula on our Doc. B 11 reads: "Performing a *ḥtp-dī-nsw*, pure, pure, for your ka, by (the hand of) your beloved brother", while part of the same formula occurs on our Doc. A 25 (our type e): "Pure, pure, for your ka, (by his brother)".

- f. A usual element of the so-called 'substantivierte Opferformel', known from the 19th dynasty or earlier, cf. *Opferformel*, p. 160:

A 8 (our type e) NN

A 22 (our type b (1)) NN

A 30 (our type e ?) NN

A 51 (our type e) NN

"Offering all good/and pure/ things /bread, beer, wine, milk/, for the ka of/ for your ka". The same formula occurs on our Doc. C 1.

From the evidence presented above, the following conclusions can be inferred and formulated:

- statistically, cf. *Opferformel*, pp. 248 and 250, the brief texts on

- our group of stelae belong to the most common offering-formulae ('Bitten' 2, 7 and 15);
- the presence, in the categories a. to d., of the god Re-Harakhty in all but one example, is at least remarkable in view of the figures of the 'frequency-list', *Opferformel*, pp. 225-232, showing clearly that he is only fourth in the order of 'popularity' of the gods in the so-called 'Götterformel' (see especially p. 225). The special occurrence of this god in the offering-formulae is to be seen in connection with the representation of solar symbols on a number of stelae, and, of course, with the designation of the dedicatee as 'able spirit of Re'.
 - dating of the stelae with the help of the offering-formulae seems impossible beyond the general term 'second half New Kingdom' or 'Ramessid period', such formulae in the given orthography are usual from the later 18th till the 21st dynasties, while certain uncommon forms - e.g. a determinative after *ḥtp-dī-nsw* in our Doc. A 10 and *n NN* instead of *n k3 n NN* in Doc. A 24 - are not restricted to specific periods.

4. Provenance

Of great importance both for the meaning and the function of the stelae of our group A and the designation *3ḥ ḥkr n R^C*, is the provenance of these documents (including, of course, those of our group B). The fact that the great majority originates from Deir el-Medīna - *vide infra* - may seem an advantage, as so much is known about this Village and its inhabitants. However, the origin of the documents and therefore the bulk of the evidence - being from a very special community - poses a restriction to the general validity of eventual conclusions.¹⁹

19) For a comparable situation, see J.J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices*,

Out of the 55 stelae constituting our group A, 13 have been found during excavations in modern times²⁰ at Deir el-Medīna²¹:

7 - Baki	- House C. VI (corridor behind Room II)
13 - Panakht	- Chapel 2 (on the southern bench)
19 - Pen...	- Chapel 1216
23 - Mose	- House C. VI (Room I)
29 - Ḥapy'o	- Chapel 1215
30 - Ḥapy'o	- Hathor Chapel Sethi I
34 - Khamuy	- Dump on east-cemetery
38 - Khamuy/Pennūb	- House S.O. V (back room, north)
40 - Khonsu	- House S.O. II (in the cave)
41 - Sherire	- House S.O. II
46 - Tjauenany	- Dump near Ptolemaic Temple
52 - ?	- Northern Village
53 - ?	- Near Ptolemaic Temple

In order to facilitate a general view the findspots are indicated on our fig. 1 (including those of the documents of our group B).

Further implications arising from these findspots will be discussed in Chapter V.²²

p. 539. However, we should not be too reluctant to draw general conclusions from very specific evidence, as is proven by E. Le Roy Ladurie in his by now famous study *Montaillou: Village occitan de 1294 à 1324* (Paris, 1978). In this connection see also the remark by Givon in *JEA* 66, p. 144: "Deir el-Medīna is simply a site where more stelae of workmen have been found than anywhere else."

20) A favourable factor for our study, even though the excavations and publications by Schiaparelli and Bruyère may not represent a model of the best methods and documentation.

21) Also all of the documents of group B have been found there:

1 in House N.O. XV; 2 in the debris east of the Great Pit;
3 near House S.E. IX; 4 in House C. VI; 5 east of the Village;
6 in the Village; 7 in House N.E. XIX; 8 in the debris near Tomb 1293; 9 in House S.E. VII; 10 in the cemetery (?); 11 in Tomb 335.

22) Bruyère, *Rapport* 1934-1935, p. 152, states that the stelae come especially from the houses of the workmen. This conclusion may seem a bit rash, but it is true that at least the ones found (more or less) *in situ*, were not discovered in or in the neighbourhood of tombs!



Fig. 1.

Find-spots of stelae (o) and other documents (Δ) at Deir el-Medîna.

Based on internal evidence and modern source of the documents (e.g. the collections of Drovetti²³ and Salt), another 24 stelae almost certainly originate from the same Village, including the Valley of Kings (as this was the place where the inhabitants of Deir el-Medīna worked): 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 14, 15, 16, 17, 21, 22, 25, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 39, 43, 45, 49, 50, 51; and yet another 10 most probably come from this place: 1, 2, 9, 10, 24, 28, 42, 44, 47, 48.

The westbank of Thebes, but definitely not Deir el-Medīna, is the place of origin of 6 stelae: 18 - Ramesseum; 20 - Merneptah Temple; 26 - Medinet Habu; 27 - Gurnah?; and 54 - almost certainly a copy after an original from Thebes²⁴; and 55 - Theban area.

It is known for certain that only 2 stelae were not found in the Theban region, but at Abydos: 11 (Paiankh) and 12 (Paneḥsy), both from the Osiris Temple/Kom es-Sultan.

When all this evidence is considered as a whole, it leads to the following conclusions:

- Deir el-Medīna is the place of origin certainly of 13, almost certainly of 24 and most probably of 10 stelae;
- 6 stelae come from the westbank of Thebes;
- 2 stelae come from Abydos;
- wherever the findspot is known, it is either a house in the Village, a chapel belonging to the Village or a temple.²⁵


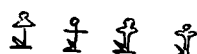













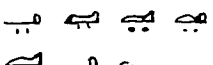




5. *Epigraphy*

Though it has no direct bearing on our main subject, it seems useful to list the unusual or even corrupt writings of several hieroglyphic

23) His 'illicit diggers' worked mainly in the northern part of the Village (and its cemetery), cf. Tosi-Roccati, *Stele*, p. 25.

24) In some cases, however, a connection with Deir el-Medīna cannot be completely excluded.

signs on the stelae of our group A. Unfortunately, as yet a comprehensive study into this kind of deviant epigraphy is still wanting, although important contributions have been made by several authors in a great number of publications. Of special interest to us, of course, is the valuable short survey in Tosi-Roccati, *Stele*, pp. 234-235, listing the more extraordinary forms of some hieroglyphic signs on the important group of documents from Deir el-Medīna in the Turin Museum. The following data are therefore only intended as a contribution to future research.²⁶

Gardiner Sign-List		
 A 1 or A 52		Docs. A 13, 14, 32, 35
 F 21		See Commentary to Doc. A 32.
 G 1	 (corrupt)	Doc. A 8
 G 40		See also the examples in Tosi-Roccati from Turin 50041 and 10192
 M 12		Docs. A 44, 38
 M 26, M 27	 (corrupt)	Docs. A 9, 10, 13, 15, 16, 17, 50
 N 35		Docs. A 32, 33, 35, 36, 38
 Q 2		Doc. A 9
 T 23		Several Docs. See the remarks by J.J. Clère in <i>BIFAO</i> 28, p. 180.
 Aa1, P 8		Docs. A 16, 17, 21, 32, 33, 36, 1
		Doc. A 50
		Docs. A 5, 13, 15, 20, 27, 28, 32, 35, 36, 42, 44. See the remarks by J.J. Clère in <i>BIFAO</i> 28, p. 180.

25) This is true also for the documents of our group B, except of course nr. 11 (a wall-scene in Tomb 335), see above p. 155.

26) See however the important observations by H.G. Fischer in *Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography* (1976), pp. 44-45.

6. Dating

In the introduction to the full description of the stelae of our group A (Chapter II), we have observed that the indications for the dating of each particular document were based in general on the criteria given by J. Vandier in his *Manuel* II, p. 515 ff., and III, *La Statuaire*, p. 481 ff.²⁷ Although all the known and applicable criteria seem to point to a collective general date: 'Ramessid period', a closer dating of the documents could constitute a contribution to their interpretation.

In the course of our detailed study of these stelae it has become clear that neither the offering-formulae, nor certain specific palaeographic details provide us with elements for more exact dating.²⁸ Yet, certain iconographical and biographical peculiarities made it possible to divide the rather vague 'Ramessid period' into '(most probably 19th dynasty' and '(most probably) 20th dynasty'. In several cases an even more precise dating proved possible. The identities of the dedicatees for example, while not fully conclusive, at least furnish us with a *terminus a quo*. Furthermore, dress and wig styles afford important clues²⁹, though a more careful use of these data seems warranted. In this respect we should note the fact that, at least in Deir el-Medîna, the change from typical late 18th - early 19th dynasty style to full 'Ramessid style' took place around the middle of the reign of Ramesses II. Excellent examples illustrating this change are two lucarne-stelae of the workman Wennekhu³⁰ and his son Penpakhentiy published by J.J. Clère in *BIFAO* 28 (1928), p. 177, fig. 1: characteristic elements are

27) See p. 9.

28) See e.g. p. 181; also the observations by M. Gitton in *BiOr* XXIV (1978), pp. 92-93.

29) Cf. Tosi-Roccàti, *Stele*, pp. 216-217.

30) For the dating of this workman see the Commentary on our Doc. A 25.

1. the different fashion of dress and wigs - 'old style', pleated skirt and elaborate wig leaving the ears free, 'new style' plain skirt and simple wig covering the ears;
2. the representation of the sun-god in his solar barque - 'old style' human-headed, 'new style' falcon-headed;
3. the change in the introduction to the short texts from *in* 𓂏𓂐 ('old style') to *iri.n* 𓂏𓂐𓂏 ('new style').³¹

It seems therefore that the problem of dating the documents of our group A, though complicated, can be met by some criteria, at least for the 19th dynasty. Furthermore comparison with the few stelae from Deir el-Medīna or Thebes which can be safely dated to the 20th dynasty provides some additional elements for the dating of other stelae. Here again, styles of dress and wigs play an important role.

On the basis of the data presented above we have tried to give a general date for each document in our group A.

In conclusion it can be said that clearly the great majority of the stelae date from the 19th dynasty - not surprising in view of the fact that, in general, most of the stelae from Deir el-Medīna date from this period.

31) See the remark by M. Gitton, *op.cit.*, p. 92, referring to Bruyère, *Rapport 1922-1923*, p. 52; cf. also Ramadan el-Sayed, *BIFAO* 79 (1980), p. 158, note 2.

IV $3h$, $3h \dot{ikr}$, $3h \dot{ikr} n R^C$

As indicated above¹, in this chapter the central theme will be the terms $3h$ and $3h \dot{ikr}$ since they form the main element of the designation $3h \dot{ikr} n R^C$ characterizing the stelae which constitute our present subject.

As distinct from the two other spiritual notions - $k3$ and $b3$ - the concept of $3h$ has not been extensively studied until quite recently.² Nevertheless, in the earlier literature one can find some outspoken views and ideas on the subject.³

In view of the enormous complexity of the concept of $3h$, it cannot possibly be dealt with here on the basis of all the known examples. A noticeable contribution towards this goal has already been made by Englund *op.cit.*, although in spite of what the title of that study may suggest, only the great funerary religious compositions have been examined.⁴ Yet, this important aspect of the religious thought of the ancient Egyptians is, of course, not confined to the 'great literature'. Therefore to achieve a more complete picture we should certainly also consider other available sources.

1) See the introduction of our Chapter II, p. 9.

2) G. Englund, *Akh - une notion religieuse dans l'Egypte pharaonique* (Uppsala/Stockholm 1978); cf. the review by J. Zandee in *OLZ* 77 (1982) (1982), Nr. 5, 444-448. For literature on the Ka and the Ba see below, *Bibliography* under Barta, Goedicke, Greven, Schweitzer, Wolf-Brinkmann and Žabkar.

3) E.g. J. Spiegel, *Die Idee vom Totengericht in der ägyptischen Religion* (Glückstadt/Hamburg 1935), pp. 12ff. and 44; E. Otto, *ZAS* 77 (1942), pp. 87-91; J. Vandier, *La Religion Egyptienne* (Paris 1949), p. 74; H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin 1952), p. 4; H. Kees, *Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der alten Ägypter* (Berlin 1956), pp. 36ff.; J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy according to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions* (Leiden 1960), pp. 174, 197-198 and 297; E. Otto, *LA* I, 49-52.

4) Even so, several examples have been omitted or passed over, as will be indicated in some instances below.

1. The concept of 3h

As an introduction to our quest, let us first survey the main views held by earlier scholars concerning the word and the concept of 3h⁵, and compare these with the conclusions reached by Englund.

The word 3h is written with a hieroglyph representing a bird, the *Ibis comata*.⁶ Opinions differ as to why this bird was chosen as the hieroglyph for a concept belonging to the religious anthropology. E. Otto⁷ thinks the ancient Egyptians attributed a supernatural power to this bird which, thus, inspired to them a religious or superstitious fear or awe. H. Kees⁸ postulates that the Egyptians viewed these birds as apparitions of the dead, because of their brilliant plumage.

In spite of the passages in the Pyramid Texts in which the deceased king is said to fly up to heaven, it remains uncertain as to whether the 3hw, as such, were conceived of either as birds or bird-like creatures.⁹

5) See also Englund, *op.cit.*, pp. 14-18.

Within the framework of our present study it is not possible to review the eventual relations between 3h - be/become a spirit, WB I 15, 3, and 3h - be beneficial, useful, profitable, WB I 13, 7 - 14, 25. The WB does not make a clear distinction, while Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary*, p. 4 distinguishes only by presenting the first as a verb and the second as an adjective.

For 3h - be beneficial etc., see e.g. J.M.A. Janssen, *De traditionele Egyptische autobiografie* II (Leiden 1946), pp. 9-10; M. Plantikow-Münster, ZAS 98 (1969), pp. 121-122; cf. also the literature quoted by W.K. Simpson in JEA 52 (1966), p. 42 note 6.

6) Ch. Kuentz, BIFAO 17 (1920), p. 183; N.M. Davies, *Picture Writing in Ancient Egypt* (London 1958), Pl. IV 10; L. Keimer, ASAE 30 (1930), p. 26: "L'identification avec le *Scopus umbretta* est à rejeter" (contra L. Klebs, ZAS 61 (1926), p. 107).

Examples of the word with the two consonants written out - 3-bird and h-placenta - do occur, meaning a person only, in the Coffin Text, cf. Englund, *op.cit.*, p. 67.

7) ZAS 77 (1942), pp. 87 and 91.

8) *Totenglauben* (1956²), p. 37.

9) Cf. E. Otto, *op.cit.*, p. 87 and H. Kees, *op.cit.*, p. 38.

Whereas the nature and the function of the $3h$ are usually described as uncertain¹⁰, most authors do agree in deriving this word from a root meaning 'shine', 'be radiant'.¹¹

After summing up the more important earlier opinions concerning the $3h$, Englund states¹² that accordingly the word has different meanings,

G. Englund, *op.cit.*, pp. 201ff., gives no information, but on p. 43 she cites PT 1676c - 1677a ("Here comes the ibis as his $3h$) and concludes that he who is $3h$ is indeed seen/viewed in the form of an ibis. Of course we are reminded of the many passages in the Pyramid Texts in which the king is said to fly up to heaven ($p3i$ $ir pt$) to be amongst his brothers, the $ntrw$ (e.g. PT 459b and PT 463a). According to other passages, in the company of these $ntrw$ - in most instances the beatified dead rather than the 'gods' - he will be $3h$, e.g. PT 2197c: "You will be $3h$ together with ($m-cb$) your brothers, the $ntrw$ (so to read in spite of the damaged text). Similarly the notion of $3h$ can be found in association with other terms conveying the idea of 'being lifted up into heaven', e.g. in Utterance 582, PT 1566a-1567a: "It is the mother of NN, the great Wild Cow ..., she has lifted him up to the sky ($f3i.n.s sw ir pt$) ... amongst the $ntrw$ and the $3hw$ (or: the $ntrw$ who are $3hw$), in order that NN sees that they are $3h$ and that he is $3h$ likewise ($m3 NN 3h.sn 3h.f mi$)". Yet, nowhere in the PT it is explicitly stated that the $3h$ or $3hw$ can fly or act like birds in any other way. It should be remembered that contrary to the $b3$, the $3h$ is never portrayed as a human-headed bird or such like.

10) E.g. E. Otto, *LA I*, 49.

11) $3h$ derived from $i3hw$ - 'radiance', cf. K. Sethe, *Übersetzung Pyramidentexten I*, p. 363ff. The transcription $j3h$ given by *LA I*, 49-50, referring to the foregoing publication, should be corrected into $3h$ - see already K. Sethe, *ZAS 57* (1922), p. 137;

G. Englund, *op.cit.*, pp. 27-28.

W. Westendorf, *ZAS 92* (1966), p. 147 note 4, considers the root of the word to mean something like 'emerge', 'become' and therefore translates $3h$ by '(Wieder-)Erstandener'.

A completely different approach to the whole religious concept has lead some scholars to translate the word by 'the initiated', 'the enlightened', e.g. W. Czermak, *ZAS 76* (1940), pp. 9-24;

G. Thausing, *Das grosse ägyptische Totenbuch* (Cairo 1969), *passim*, and Th.G. Allen, *The Book of the Dead* (Chicago 1974), p. 232 note n and *passim*.

12) *Op.cit.*, pp. 17-18.

designating a creature and a state as well as a power. Her thorough study of the great religious compositions has given full support to these earlier, often diverse opinions: the word *3h* not only designates entities or beings, it is also used to denote their (spirit-)state and the power emanating from them.¹³

According to most scholars the *3h* is not one of the component parts of the human being.¹⁴ Unlike *k3*, *b3* and such concepts, the *3h* represents an independent entity, a state or a mode of existence.¹⁵

Equally the earlier authors are unanimous in connecting the *3hw* with the next world, the beyond.¹⁶ Yet, contacts with this world were not wholly lacking.¹⁷ In her conclusions, Englund states¹⁸ that as *3h* has 'un aspect virtuel', in principle every living being should possess this aspect, although this did not become apparent from the texts she studied. Likewise, these texts give no information concerning possible contacts between the *3hw* and the living, either relatives or others, on earth.¹⁹

13) *Op.cit.*, p. 206. The different usages are clearly distinct in the Pyramid Texts from the grammatical context and in the Coffin Texts by the determinative used in each case; in later texts however the distinction becomes more and more vague; see also Englund, *op.cit.*, pp. 23-27, 68, 143-144 and 177-179.

14) E. Otto, *LA I*, 49: "keine Teilkraft eines Wesens, sondern eine eigene Wesensform"; a different view is held by the *WB I* 15, 17: "Teil der menschlichen Persönlichkeit", and by F. Daumas, *La civilisation de l'Egypte* (Paris 1965), p. 575.

15) E.g. H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, p. 4: "Wesen, die sich in einem über das Irdische hinausgehende, 'lichteren' Daseinszustand befinden"; E. Otto, *ZAS* 77 (1942), p. 91: "eine nicht-irdische, transcendente Form des Toten"; C.J. Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals*, p. 126: "the deceased in his transcendent state, a sort of shining spirit". This also becomes clear from the conclusions of Englund, *op.cit.*, pp. 205ff., although her approach to the problem differs. An opposite view is held by e.g. L.V. Žabkar in his *A Study of the BA Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts* (Chicago 1968), cf. also his contribution in *LA I*, 588-590, where one of his main conclusions is that certainly after the Old Kingdom as far as "the Ba concept pertaining to man in his *post mortem* existence" goes "the Ba indicates the fullness of being, not a part of it".

16) E.g. E. Otto, *ZAS* 77 (1942), p. 90.

The question of how the state of $3h$ was attained, or how one became $3h$, has been answered mainly according to four different, though partially complementary, opinions.

H. Kees²⁰, H. Bonnet²¹ and E. Otto^{22/23} in general share the view that ritual acts 'made' the deceased into an $3h$: after the proper embalming and burial the deceased became an $3h$, while the rites transformed him. These rites were the $s3hw$ (ritual recitations, 'Verklärungen', 'glorifications', 'rites de transfiguration') derived from a verb $s3h$ - to spiritualize.²⁴

Some authors who have translated $3h$ by 'initiated', consequently consider the $s3hw$ to be either the 'illumination', 'enlightening' or the 'initiation rites'.²⁵

The opinion of J. Pirenne²⁶ that the state of $3h$ was only reached after the union of the $k3$ and the $b3$, does not seem to have been accepted in any particular by other authors.

Contrary to what Englund maintains²⁷, at least one scholar - E. Edel²⁸ - has brought forward the importance of 'knowing' or 'knowledge' in order to be or to become $3h$: in the words of Edel, it is precisely by the knowledge of spells and magical rites that the deceased attained the ability to be or become $3h$. In her conclusions Englund²⁹ elaborates

17) See especially E. Otto, *LA* I, 50-51.

18) Englund, *op.cit.*, p. 206.

19) *Op.cit.*, pp. 17-18 and 206.

20) *Totenglauben* (1956), p. 37.

21) *Reallexikon*, p. 4.

22) *ZAS* 77 (1942), p. 91.

23) *LA* I, 51; see also Englund, *op.cit.*, pp. 203-204.

24) *WB* IV 22, 12 - 23, 1 and 24, 1-4; Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, pp. 210-211.

25) See above, note 11 at the end.

26) *CdE* 68 (1959), pp. 208-213.

27) *Op.cit.*, p. 20.

28) *MDAIK* 13 (1944), p. 25 under K.

29) *Op.cit.*, pp. 202-204.

this theme of knowledge - notably present in the texts she studied from periods later than that of the Coffin Texts -, and at the same time also discusses the wanderings on the roads of the next world and the trials a deceased encounters there before reaching the final goal: transformation into an *3h*.

Finally, E. Otto³⁰ refers to the intriguing spells from the New Kingdom according to which becoming an *3h* was made dependent on moral conditions such as earthly merits.³¹

In conclusion it can be said that generally being *3h* is considered to denote the blessed or beatified state of a deceased, while the *3h* designates the 'potent dead' ('Mächtigen Toten')³², a notion which in the course of time evolved into the general meaning: spirit, demon³³, and as such lived on in Coptic **ⲓⲥ**.³⁴

Anticipating the results of our own research, it seems useful to indicate here that the state of *3h*, requiring several essentials, could only be reached after death. If certain conditions were fulfilled the deceased, as an *3h*, was allowed to lead a supernatural existence, sojourning in Heaven (especially in the vicinity of Re) or in the Realm of the Dead (as a follower of Osiris). As a group the *3hw*, as blessed dead, are already found in early texts, associated with a similar category the *ntrw*. These texts, in some cases, refer to the ability of the *3hw* to create obstacles. Much the same can be observed about the individual *3h* who from an early stage claimed to be able to take action. Certainly these concepts furthered the gradual evolution of the term *3h* into the more general notion of demon.

30) *LA* I, 51.

31) Englund, *op.cit.*, p. 204, remarks that in the texts she studied there are no indications of these ideas. See also below p. 263.

32) *LA* I, 51; Otto's views are, however, strongly determined by a 'dynamistic' conception.

33) *Op.cit.*, 51; cf. J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, pp. 197-198.

34) Cf. *WB* I 16, 10; W.E. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 89 a; J. Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*, p. 50.

After this survey of the existing opinions and views relating to the concept of $3h$ - concentrating mainly upon $3h$ /the deceased - and before we commence our overall study of the available sources bearing upon the nature and the function of $3h/3h \dot{ik}r$, a brief excursion into the meaning of the adjective $\dot{ik}r$ seems warranted.

2. The meaning of $\dot{ik}r$

The second element in the designation $3h \dot{ik}r$ has often been commented upon, and not only in connection with the subject under discussion. According to the *WB* I 137, 1-5, the adjective $\dot{ik}r$ used attributively permits such translations as 'vorzüglich', 'tadelnsfrei', 'verständlich', "oft als Beiwort des Toten" or "seiner Seele (wie später $m3^c hrw$, mit dem es auch zusammen vorkommt)".³⁵

R. Faulkner^{35a} broadened the scope of possible translations: 'trusty, skilful, excellent, pleasing, well-to-do, superior'. The most recent addition in the field of lexicology^{35b} translates $\dot{ik}r$ by: 'excellent', 'worthy', 'precious'.

J. Janssen^{35c} noted that the usual translation of $\dot{ik}r$ by 'excellent' is not always satisfactory, and then continued by stating that in many instances a translation 'perfect' fits the context - especially where

35) For $\dot{ik}r$ in the place of or together with $m3^c hrw$ - in use till the beginning of the 12th dynasty - see e.g. J. Spiegel, *Die Idee vom Totengericht*, p. 44; H.J. Polotsky, *Zu den Inschriften der 11. Dynastie* (Leipzig 1929), pp. 63-64; J. Vandier, *Mo'alla* (Cairo 1950), p. 13; *ASAE* 23 (1923), p. 14 note 1 and *ASAE* 37 (1937), p. 127. Cf. the remark by H. Grapow, *ZAS* 77 (1942), p. 72; also H.G. Fischer, *Ancient Egypt in the Metropolitan Journal* (New York 1977), p. 161 with note 31.

35a) *A Concise Dictionary*, p. 31.

35b) L.H. Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian I* (Berkeley 1982), p. 57.

35c) *De traditioneele Egyptische Autobiografie II*, p. 16.

this adjective is used to designate officials.³⁶ In Janssens's words a 'perfect' scribe is someone who knows his trade and whom we would call 'skilled', 'skilful',³⁷ or 'competent', 'expert'.

As part of the expression *3ḥ ḫr*, the adjective has been usually translated by 'trefflich', 'wirksam', 'parfait', 'excellent' or 'potent'.³⁸ But these were by no means the only translations.

J. Spiegel³⁹, opposing the usual translation 'trefflich', stated that the word *ḫr* by its very nature did not convey anything ethical or spiritual.⁴⁰ Instead, he translated *ḫr* by 'tüchtig', 'brauchbar' ('der das erfüllt, was man von ihm erwartet').

In the first edition (1925) of his *Totenglauben*, p. 149, H. Kees translated the word *ḫr* by 'gutgestellt', which in the second edition (1956), p. 100, was changed into 'bewährt'.

Other, rather more interpretative renderings of the word in this connection have been given by G. Maspero⁴¹ and B. Bruyère⁴².

More recently however, E. Edel has put forward a really satisfactory

36) Cf. too E. Blumenthal, *Untersuchungen zum ägyptischen Königtum I*, (Berlin 1970), pp. 297 and 370.

37) A similar translation is also given by Faulkner, *op.cit.*, p. 31, for *Shipwrecked Sailor* 188, *Urk.* IV 969, 14 and 974, 7; in the first quotation we find the well-known phrase *ss ḫr n ḏb^cw.f* - 'a scribe skilful with his fingers', cf. too *WB I* 137, 11 (Belegstellen).

38) E.g. E. Edel, *MDAIK* 13 (1944), pp. 19-21; E. Otto, *LA I*, 51; B. Bruyère, *Rapport* 1934-1935, p. 159; A.H. Gardiner-K. Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead* (London 1928), I 10; H.G. Fischer, *JARCE IV* (1965), p. 52.

39) *Die Idee vom Totengericht*, p. 13.

40) *Ibid.*, p. 14 note 1. Spiegel remarks that this word experienced an extraordinary change in meaning in the course of Egyptian history and in later times often had a very clearly ethical value.

41) *RT III* (1881), p. 106 and *Bibliothèque Egyptologique II*, pp. 26-27: 'instruit, éclairé, expert'.

42) *Rapport* 1934-1935, III, p. 159: 'initié, qui a reçu une révélation; see also the translations for *3ḥ (ḫr)* by G. Thausing, Th.G. Allen and W. Westendorf, above p. 191, note 11.

translation of *īkr* by 'fähig, leistungsfähig' - able, capable, skilful - based upon a comparison with the use of the Akkadian word *le'û*.⁴³

Certainly a basic meaning 'skilful' or 'able' not only surpasses the somewhat colourless and merely laudative rendering 'excellent', but it also clearly defines the nature of the word. This translation allows a better understanding of the word in a general context (*vide supra*) and even more so in connection with the expression *3h īkr*, which we shall discuss later.

In our A and B Documents, *vide* Chapter II, the word *īkr* exhibits a variety of different spellings which merit mention here.

As all of our documents date from the 9th or 20th dynasties, these spellings can be attributed to the Ramessid period. While the normal spelling *Q4* or *Q4* (four times *Q4*, A 1, A 41, A 43, A 44) is usual, in ten cases we find *Q4* or *Q4*, in A 24, A 25, A 26, A 40, A 49, A 55, B 4, B 7, B 9 and B 11 (once *Q4* in A 39) and in one case even *3A4*, in A 2. In some documents both spellings occur together.

The spelling of *īkr* without the final *r* is mentioned in the *WB* I, 137, the examples are however not specifically dated.⁴⁴

43) *Ägyptische Ärzte und ägyptische Medizin am hethitischen Königshof* (1976), pp. 57-58; followed by A. Roccati in *Hommages à Serge Sauneron* I, p. 281 - 'capace'; see also the earlier translation of the word by Janssen and Faulkner ('skilful') *supra* p. 196.

44) The oldest example known to me occurs in the writing of the name of the crocodile-god *īkr* as *īk*, cf. H.G. Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C.* (Ann Arbor 1968), p. 13 with note 59; *CT* III, 166a and 205f.; cf. J. Joyotte, *BIFAO* 56 (1957), p. 93.

An early writing *3h īk(r)* occurs in the text on the 13th dynasty stela of Horemkha^cuēf from Hieraconpolis, line 10, W.C. Hayes in *JEA* 33 (1947), pl. II.

For the omission or change of the weak consonant *r* in final position, already demonstrable in Old Kingdom texts, see E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, § 128; A.H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, § 21; A. Erman, *Neuaegyptische Grammatik*, §§ 15 and 49; M. Korostovtsev, *Grammaire du Néo-Egyptien*, p. 27; J. Vergote,

3. 3_h/3_h i_kr - historical survey

3.a.

In order to be able to observe a possible development of the concept of 3_h i_kr, it seems only logical to proceed chronologically. Although the Pyramid Texts - our oldest corpus of documentary material - do not furnish us with any example of the term 3_h i_kr as such, they do contain so much information about 3_h in general that we shall use these for a basic outline, at the same time taking into account Englund's principle conclusions.⁴⁵

Broadly speaking the concept of 3_h belongs to the divine world and the Hereafter. This becomes clear from the many passages in which we find the quality of 3_h attached to a variety of gods, among whom Re and Osiris should be mentioned especially. Re and Osiris are both called 3_h in two aspects: Re during the night in his mother Nut (PT 990a) and in the morning when he is reborn (e.g. PT 152a-d); Osiris when he is dead (in Nedit and Gehesty, PT 899a and 1487c) and when he is reborn in the form of his son Horus (PT 633a and 1637a). Englund remarks⁴⁶ that in the Pyramid Texts the term 3_h is mainly linked with the ideas of rebirth and resurrection.

Reading through all the passages from the Pyramid Texts which bear upon this subject⁴⁷, we can observe four categories of beings/entities called 3_h. To begin with the obvious, of course there are several gods, either specified or anonymous, and then there is the king who in fact becomes a god. But beside them there are two other categories which have to be mentioned. In the first place we find beings in the

Phonétique historique de l'égyptien. Les consonnes, p. 114; P. Lacau, *Etudes d'Égyptologie*, I *Phonétique*, pp. 75-77 and 81, II *Morphologie*, p. 106 (note 1).

45) *Op.cit.*, pp. 61-64 (I C).

46) *Op.cit.*, pp. 30 (I B 1.1.1) and 62 (I C).

47) And there are more than those listed and used by Englund, e.g. PT 53, 319, 403, 771, 930, 1509, 1725, 2106 a.o. They do not, however, alter any of her conclusions.

Hereafter who are placed on the same level as anonymous or unnamed gods. They can be benevolent (PT 980a) or malicious (PT 978a-c). As Englund remarks⁴⁸, their origin is unknown and they could well be deceased kings or other mortals (Sethe's opinion) as products of the creation-god. We shall encounter this type of more or less unidentified *3hw* later on.

One, more defined, entity called *3h* occurs in a spell against snakes: "Re appears against you, Horus draws his nine bows against this *3h* which has come out of the earth with head cut off and tail truncated, the *dsr*-snake *Ddi*, son of Selket-*hetu*" (PT 673).⁴⁹

Secondly, we have to consider a group called *3hw* which always appear in a special context: the king is an *3h* at the head of, or presiding over, the *3hw* (e.g. PT 833a-b) or amongst the *3hw* (PT 880c) or he is more *3h* than the *3hw* (PT 622c-624a, 813a-f, 1804a-b). In the absence of further elucidating details it remains difficult to explain the position of these *3hw*.⁵⁰ Is the expression used as a plural to denote all gods and all the deceased kings, which would mean that the king in the text is said to be not only equal but also superior to them?⁵¹ Or, does *3hw* stands for all the deceased and therefore the king is more *3h* than the *3hw*, just as on earth he was placed above all other people?⁵²

48) *Op.cit.*, p. 34 (I B 1.2).

49) Englund, *op.cit.*, pp. 34-35, observes that Apopis too possessed *3h* according to the late text of P. Bremner-Rhind 27, 18. It remains a question as to whether there is any connection with the snake *dsr-tp*, for which see J.F. Borghouts, *OMRO* 51 (1971), p. 89, note 148.

50) Cf. Englund, *op.cit.*, pp. 41 (I B 2.2.2) and 54-55 (I B 4.4.1).

51) In this respect it is perhaps noteworthy that in the Turin Canon of Kings, Col. II (esp. 2 and 8), the 'mythical' kings reigning between the dynasties of gods and the first historical dynasty, are called *3hw*. Cf. A.H. Gardiner, *The Royal Canon of Turin* (Oxford 1959), Pl. I and W. Kaiser, *ZAS* 86 (1961), p. 56.

52) It should be borne in mind that the designation *3h* for the deceased is much older than the Pyramid Texts - at least in the redaction we know them, i.e. from the later part of the Old Kingdom. Firstly, as an honorific title applied to the dead the

In our opinion it is not unlikely that for the ancient Egyptians this distinction was less of a problem than it is to us. Depending on the context both explanations are in fact equally possible and most probably would have seemed so to the Egyptian mind.

In view of the character and the purpose of the PT, it is only natural to observe that the designation $3h$ is also found attributed to the deceased king.⁵³ The king identifies himself with the gods in order to attain the state of $3h$ which they possess. Generally he can only acquire this state of $3h$ by identification or imitation (i.e. by the king taking part in the myth of Osiris or that of Re), or through the gift or by the command of the gods.⁵⁴ A single passage refers to the fact that funeral rites also played a role in the process for obtaining the blessed state: "May you (the ointment) make it agreeable for him through you, may you make him $3h$ ($s3h.t$ sw) through you"

epithet $3h$ appears on cylinder seals from the early dynastic period, cf. P. Kaplony, *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit* I (1963), pp. 37ff., and II (1963), p. 693. Secondly we can refer to the priestly title $shn-3h$ - 'spirit-seeker' ('Geist-Sucher') from the early dynastic period, cf. P. Kaplony, *op.cit.*, I, pp. 223, 368ff. and II, p. 733 note 302. This title appears once later in the Dramatic Ramesseum Papyrus, cf. K. Sethe, *Dramatische Texte* II (1928), p. 193, but had already been replaced in the Old Kingdom by other titles (cf. Kaplony, *op.cit.*).

- 53) Only once, in PT 859d, his successor on earth seems to possess the state of $3h$: $h3N 3h.ti 3h tpy.k t3$ - "O King NN, you are $3h$ and your survivor is $3h$ ". E. Edel, in § 596 of his *Altägyptische Grammatik*, concludes that $3h$ in the second part of this sentence should be "der prädikativ gebrauchte Adjektiv". Equally possible, however, is a $s\dot{d}m.f$ of the adjective verb. As a $s\dot{d}m.f$ can convey a future sense, the phrase $3h tpy.k t3$ would allow a translation "your survivor will be $3h$ ", i.e. he is more or less promised the blessed state after death.

For the king being $3h$, see further W. Barta, *Die Bedeutung der Pyramidentexte für den verstorbenen König* (Berlin 1981), pp. 104-104 ('Der Verstorbene als Ach').

- 54) It is Re who can make the king $3h$ (vb. $s3h$), PT 795b, or give him his $3h$ -being ($didi 3h.f$), PT 795c.

In an Appeal to the Visitors from the late 6th dynasty Hathor, lady of Cusae, is said to $s3h$ the tomb-owner, a private individual,

(PT 52c). The king as *3h* starts a new life⁵⁵ which is situated in the heaven (*pt*)⁵⁶, the horizon (*3ht*) or the netherworld (*dw3t*). He has to be awakened, as is clearly shown by PT 1353a (beginning of Utterance 553 - a resurrection text): "Geb raises you, he awakens this your *3h* for you". The text continues with a detailed description of the new situation of the king as *3h*: "Raise yourself, O *3h*-king NN, sit down and eat, may your *ka* sit down and eat bread and drink beer with you without cessation for ever and ever" (PT 1357); "Raise yourself, O *3h*-king NN, your water is yours, your flood is yours" (PT 1360a). Being *3h* the king possesses freedom of movement and action, he will not encounter any obstacles or opposition (PT 622-625). At the same time he has obtained power: "... that you may inherit the leadership of the lord of the gods and give orders to the westerners, because you are a *3h*, great and mighty, and those who have suffered death are united for you wherever you wish to be" (PT 1911)⁵⁷. In several instances this power is expressed by *sh̄m* - a divine quality and the most important designation for the divinity next to *n̄tr*.⁵⁸

In one of the passages quoted above - PT 813 - we find the deceased king qualified by yet another term which is of interest to us in this chapter. While the expression *3h ikr*, as already observed, does not occur in the Pyramid Texts, it is instructive to read here: "I (the king) will seat myself beside him (Re), and Re will not permit that I

cf. J. Sainte Fare Garnot, *L'appel aux vivants dans les textes funéraires égyptiens* (Cairo 1938), pp. 72-73 and 98.

55) Once he is called a living *3h*, PT 318b-c. This state is connected with resurrection and eternity, cf. PT 1929b and 2233d: "*3h*-being belongs to you, the dilapidation does not belong to you".

56) In PT 474a we read: "the *3h* is bound for the sky, the corpse is bound for the earth", a formula which later became a standard expression. For the *3hw* in the sky cf. also above note 9, p. 190.

57) Cf. R.O. Faulkner, *Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, Supplement p. 29.

58) Cf. E. Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen* (Darmstadt 1973), p. 52.

am greater than he, I am more *3h* than the *3hw*, I am more *ikr* than the *ikrw*⁵⁹, I am more *dd* than the *ddw*". In the first place we find here a significant parallelism between the qualities *3h*, *ikr* and *dd*.⁶⁰ But more important is the connection between *3h* and *ikr*. As the quality *ikr* - skilful, able, *vide supra* - seems to be inherent in the deceased king, it is not improbable that for this reason the expression *3h ikr* as such is not found in the PT - i.e. the king as an *3h* is *ikr* by nature and therefore does not have to be designated as such.

Otherwise, in the PT the word *3h* is only rarely accompanied by an adjective or epitheton. As mentioned above⁶¹, in one instance we find *3h Cnh* - a living *3h* (PT 318c) and in one other also *3h Cpr*: "The king is an equipped spirit who demands existence" (PT 1771a).⁶² This last example unfortunately is not very informative about the wherewithal with which the king is equipped.⁶³ In PT 152-166 (Utterances 217 and 218) several times we meet *3h ihm-sk* - the king being a spirit who is not acquainted with decay -, an expression stressing the indestructible nature of an *3h*, the use of which is limited to the PT only.⁶⁴

59) The only example of this word from the Old Kingdom, according to the *WB* I 137, 21, where also three examples from the Late Period are given (Buch vom Atmen 5, 8; P. Rhind I 4, 6 and I 9, 8). The last three examples are determined by the usual determinative for 'blessed dead'. See also *Urk.* I 173, 16: "an *ikr* (*42 2*) who is amongst (*imy n*) the *3hw*", cf. E. Edel, *MDAIK* 13 (1944), pp. 27-28; and *CT* V 293d and 302a.

60) For *3h* and *dd* in close association see also PT 350b-c: "for NN has not died the death; *3h*-being belongs to him in the horizon (*3h.t*), stable-being (*dd*) belongs to him in *Ddwt*", (similarly in PT 1046b and 1261b), cf. E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik* § 996.

61) Cf. above note 55.

62) See also PT 1804a-b: "Take possession of their white crown, being equipped (*Cpr*) with the shape of Osiris you are more *3h* thereby than the *3hw* by the command of Horus himself".

63) We will meet this designation *3h Cpr* later on in the funeral texts from private tombs, see below.

64) For the general implications see Englund, *op.cit.*, pp. 57-60 (I B 4.5), with a commentary upon the often discussed relation between the king and the stars, concluding: "je serais donc encliné à penser que cette destinée stellaire constitue une variante à la

In Utterance 217 the king is said to join Re-Atum, traverse the sky together with the sun-god and share the same destiny. In Utterance 218 the king is said to come to Osiris and assume authority in the Beyond - taking over Osiris' role and functions.

After this survey of the concept of $3h$ -spirit as it unfolds in the Pyramid Texts, let us now turn our attention to the other textual material concerning $3h/3h \text{ } \dot{I}kr$ from the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period. While the PT - concentrating by their very nature on the deceased king - present a picture of a royal person attaining the state of $3h$ to which the king as a god seemed to be entitled, in the other documents we shall come across private individuals as $3h/3h \text{ } \dot{I}kr$.

From several types of the offering-formulae collected by W. Barta⁶⁵, we get a clear picture of the basic ideas about becoming or being $3h$ /the deceased. The formulae 7, 26 and 30 with their variants⁶⁶ concern the following boons besought:

- 7a - "may he be $3h$, equipped (C_{prw}) and venerable ($\dot{S}pss$)" (with the great god); examples ranging from the 4th to the 8th dynasties but reappearing later in the 12th dynasty).
- 7b - "may he be $3h$, equipped and venerable in the beautiful desert of the West"; example from the 6th dynasty.
- 26a-e - "may he be truly made $3h$ [or: spiritualized] by the lector-priest (and by the embalmer, very often)", with variants; examples from the 6th to the 11th dynasties.⁶⁷ A variant from

destinée céleste solaire qui est de loin l'idée qui prédomine" (p. 60). In view of the popularity of passages from the Pyramid Texts during the Saite Period, it is not surprising to find the deceased addressed in a spell as: "You are an $3h \text{ } \dot{I}hm-sk$ ", cf. J. Assmann, *Das Grab des Mutirdis* (Cairo 1977), pp. 31-32.

65) *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel* (Glückstadt 1968).

66) *Op.cit.*, pp. 10, 17, 27, 29, 39-40.

67) The boons requested in this formula 26 can be compared with some of the texts from the great offering ritual, see below, p. 205.

the 6th dynasty reads: "may he be made 3_h, so that he be 3_h"
(s3_{hw} r 3_h.f).⁶⁸

Since the 9th dynasty a variant occurs: "may there be read
(for him) s3_{hw} ['Verklärungen', spiritualizations] abundantly".

- 30b - "may he traverse the heavenly waters (b13) amongst the 3_{hw}
īkrw who are in the necropolis (hrt-ntr)", example from the 6th
dynasty.⁶⁹

The occurrence of the honorific titles *cpr* (equipped)⁷⁰ and *šps* (venerable)⁷¹ in these formulae is noteworthy. Both refer to the special state the deceased as 3_h intends to attain. Furthermore we are informed that the abode of the 3_{hw}/3_{hw} īkrw is situated in the West, the necropolis (hrt-ntr) or in Heaven. Whenever it happens to be mentioned, it is the 'work' of the lector-priest and the embalmer which has made them 3_h.

In connection with the location of the 3_{hw} it is worth mentioning that Osiris - by far the most important divinity appearing in these formulae - is once, in an example from the 9th/10th dynasty, ornated with the epitheton hk3 3_{hw}, "ruler of the 3_{hw}".⁷²

As well as these offering-formulae other types of texts from the mastaba-chapels also constitute a source of information about the nature and function of the notion of 3_h/3_h īkr. Essentially there are four groups of texts of interest in this respect: a. some legends pertaining to scenes of the offering ritual; b. the Appeals to the

68) Barta, *op.cit.*, p. 29 (= *Urk.* I 187, 17).

69) Quoted by Barta, *op.cit.*, p. 30 note 4 after Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, p. 113e; see also Davies, *Sheikh Said*, p. 33 and Pl. XXIX.

70) For the meaning of *cpr* see note 82 below.

71) As an honorific title *šps* is already to be found in the texts on early cylinder seals, cf. P. Kaplony, *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit* I (1963), pp. 39 ff.

72) Cf. Barta, *op.cit.*, p. 42 (with note 8); see also PT 251 b-c: "May you [the deceased king in heaven] look down upon Osiris, when he governs the 3_{hw}".

Living and c. the Appeals to the Living; d. some (auto)biographical texts.

- a. Concerning the first group, a., special mention should be made of a rite of offering in the funerary cult called *snmt 3h*, "feeding the 3h", known since the early Old Kingdom.⁷³ The 3h as the object in this ceremony is clearly a designation of the deceased⁷⁴ who is to receive the food-offering and be sustained by it. The various rites which constitute the great offering ritual⁷⁵ - basically intended for the well-being and the sustenance of the deceased - also contribute two scenes which have a direct bearing upon our subject.⁷⁶ Firstly the legend relating to a standing officiant who holds a papyrus with both hands and is designated as a lector-priest, reads: "Spiritualizing" (*s3ht*) or "Recitation of the spiritualization(s)" (*šdt s3h(w)*). Secondly the business of a group of (usually) three kneeling officiants is denoted as: "Numerous spiritualizations by the lector-priest" (*s3h(w) cš3 in hry-hbt*). The object of these rites - i.e. the deceased - is clearly to be made 3h by the reading aloud of certain texts (spells) by the lector-priests.

73) Cf. WB IV 164, 2; H. Junker, *Giza II* (1934), pp. 62 ff., 187 and fig. 33; this ceremony was later to be incorporated in the Ritual of the Opening of the Mouth, cf. E. Otto, *Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual II* (1960), p. 153, scene 69A.

74) As the word 3h in this expression *snmt 3h* can be substituted by the name of the deceased, this may be one more indication that 3h refers to the deceased in his glorious state, and not to a part of his being. It should be noted that, as a kind of honorific title 3h is already to be found preceding personal names in the texts on early cylinder seals, cf. above note 52.

75) Representations of this ritual are known from the end of the 5th dynasty and they also appear regularly in tombs from later periods. Cf. the study by H. Junker in *Giza III* (1938), pp. 103 ff. Recently A. Badawy has also dealt with this ritual in his article 'The Spiritualization of Kagemni' in ZAS 108 (1981), pp. 85-93; his translation and interpretation (on page 87) of the text line *iw 3h n Mmi hr 'Inpw*, however, are to be rejected: this legend accompanying some ka-priests bringing offerings should certainly be read (in spite of Edel's translation in his AG II, § 995) as "It is (or: will be) useful for Memi with Anubis", cf. the text in F.W. von Bissing, *Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-kai II* (1911), pp. 6-7 and Pl. XIV.

76) Cf. H. Junker, *op.cit.*, p. 110, the scenes 15 and 16.

Finally, it should be noted that the wording of the legends attached to the two scenes are fully comparable with the wishes expressed in Barta's offering formula 26, quoted above.

b.-c. The next two groups of texts - the Appeals to the Visitors and the Appeals to the Living - provide us with more information about the function of the notion of $3h/3h \dot{ik}r$.⁷⁷ Concerning the first type, the elaborate study by Edel has demonstrated that visitors to the tomb were expected to be ritually pure and not to do any damage and these conditions are then followed by promised rewards or punishments respectively. The following translation of a representative example of this type of Appeal (from the tomb of Ankhmahor at Saqqara, 6th dyn.)⁷⁸ will be divided in passages each separately marked by capital letters, so as to present the most relevant variants in a convenient manner.

(A) "As to anything which you may do against this my tomb of the necropolis, the like thereof shall be done against your property.

(B) For I am an able ($\dot{ik}r$) and knowing (rh) lector-priest; never did any efficacious magic remain a secret from me.

(C) All people who may enter into this my tomb in their impurity, after they have eaten the abomination that an $3h \dot{ik}r$ abominates, and while they have not purified themselves [or: are not clean] for me as they

77) Cf. E. Edel, 'Untersuchungen' zur Phraseologie der ägyptischen Inschriften des Alten Reiches', *MDAIK* 13, 1 (1944), pp. 1-90, esp. § 5 on p. 2. Edel rightly rejects the confusion of the two types by J. Sainte Fare Garnot, *L'appel aux vivants dans les textes funéraires égyptiens* (Cairo 1938). Versions of the Appeal to the Visitors are known from the 4th until the 20th dynasties; and versions of the Appeal to the Living were in use from the 6th dynasty till the Late Period.

Texts not yet used by either Sainte Fare Garnot or Edel are to be found e.g. in *ASAE* 43 (1943), p. 503; *ASAE* 55 (1958), p. 240; *ZAS* 106 (1980), pp. 113-114.

78) *Urk.* I 202, 1-11; Sainte Fare Garnot, *op.cit.*, pp. 28-32; Edel, *op.cit.*, §§ 7 - 23. For this text from the tomb of Ankhmahor see now also A. Badawy, *The Tomb of Nyhetep-Ptah at Giza and the Tomb of 'Ankhmahor at Saqqara* (Berkeley 1978), p. 14 and fig. 23.

would purify themselves [or: like they should be clean] for an 3_h i_kr who did always his lord praises,

(D) I will seize his neck like a bird, after that the fear for me has been cast into him, so that the 3_hw and those who are upon earth⁷⁹ may see (it) and may fear for an 3_h i_kr. I will be judged with him in that noble court of the great god.

(E) But every man who may enter into this tomb as one who is pure, so that I am pleased with him, I will be his supporter (h₃y) in the necropolis in the court of the great god."

The threat in (A) following the putative crime - in other texts specified as doing something deleterious to or removing bricks from the tomb⁸⁰ - is motivated in passage (B). Usual variants of the first part of this reasoning read: "For I am an able (i_kr) 3_h", "For I am an able (i_kr) and equipped (C_{pr}) 3_h" or "For I am an able (i_kr) and equipped (C_{pr}) 3_h, a lector-priest who knows his spell (rh r.f.)".⁸¹ The deceased clearly accounts for his ability to act by referring to the

79) Edel, *op.cit.*, p. 14, rightly suggests reading 3_hw tpyw-t3 instead of C_nh_w tpyw-t3 - "the living who are upon earth". He refers to a similar threat in *Urk. I* 260, 17-18 (this text also in Gardiner-Sethe, *Letters to the Dead*, p. 10 and Pl. X 1): "I will cause all those who live upon earth to fear the 3_hw who are in the West". This last sentence is followed by a damaged passage which was translated by Gardiner: "that is far from them" (?). It is not improbable, however, that we should read: hr.ti r sn - "keep away from them"; for hr.ti as an optative old perfective, see Edel, *AG I*, § 593. In any case it is clear that the living upon earth have to fear the wrath of the 3_hw in the West whenever they rouse their anger.

80) Cf. Edel, *MDAIK* 13, 1, pp. 3-4, §§ 6-7.

81) E.g. *Urk. I* 263, 13; 143, 1; 122, 13. Cf. Edel, *op.cit.*, pp. 19-21, § 21. One other variant (*Urk. I* 116, 8 = Edel, *op.cit.*, p. 19, § 21, B2d) reads: "For I am an able (i_kr) and efficacious (mn_h) 3_h". The adjective mn_h - 'efficacious' more or less complements i_kr: both refer to the capability to act. Interesting is the occurrence of a feminine form, i_nk 3_h.t i_kr.t C_{pr}.t, quoted by H.G. Fischer, *Ancient Egypt in the Metropolitan Museum Journal* (New York 1977), p. 173.

glorious state he has attained, being equipped (*i.e.* provided with tomb equipment, offerings and knowledge)⁸², and sometimes even calls himself a lector-priest who - by nature of his function - possesses expert knowledge of efficacious magical spells.⁸³ This reference to 'knowledge' also becomes apparent in the second part of passage (B). Variants on the sentence "Never did any efficacious magic remain secret from me" read: "I know all things by which one becomes an $3h$ in the necropolis" and "I know all magic by which one becomes an $3h$ in the necropolis, there were done for me all rites through which one may become an $3h$ ".⁸⁴

82) For the meaning of Cpr cf. Edel, *op.cit.*, pp. 20 and 21 (E.), and A. de Buck, *JEA* 35 (1949), p. 96 note 2.

83) In view of the fact that not all of the deceased who call themselves $hry-hbt$ in these Appeals (cf. *e.g.* Ankhmahor - *Urk.* I 202, 2), did exercise this function during life, one may wonder whether the title in these instances carries a special meaning: being $3h/3h$ ikr Cpr the deceased knows the secret of the magical spells thereby is a $hry-hbt$ -magician, who can dispose of $hk3$ -magical power which enables him to act at his desire.

For the importance of $hk3$ to the $3h$, and the co-occurent term $3hw$ -magical power, cf. A. Klasens, *A Magical Statue Base* (Leyden 1952), p. 77 (M 59); J. Zandee in *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* VII (1953), pp. 201-202; Englund, *op.cit.*, pp. 121-122; J.F. Borghouts in *LA* III, 1139 (s.v. 'Magie'); see also below, notes 159, 166 and 176.

84) *E.g.* *Urk.* I. 218, 6 and 263, 14-15. Cf. Edel, *op.cit.*, pp. 22-29, §§ 22-24 (for the line from the tomb of Ankhmahor, = *Urk.* I 202, 2, see also Edel, *AG* II, § 872, 2b). On pp. 66-69 of the same study, the author presents his reconstruction of similar texts from the tombs of Ti (5th dyn.) and Kagemni (6th dyn.), where we find the following lines: "For I am an able $3h$... all $3h$ -making and noble rites (ht) were performed (iri) for me that are usually performed for an ikr [see above, note 59] who is amongst the $3hw$, through the offices of the lector-priest; I am initiated in all $3h$ -making and noble rites; I know all rites by which an $3h$ who has gone to the necropolis, becomes $3h$; I know all rites by which he is equipped before the great god; I know all rites by which he ascends towards the great god and I know all rites by which he is well-esteemed with the great god" and (from the last named tomb) "For I am an able and equipped $3h$, and I know every efficacious (mnh) secret of the god's words".

To what extent the deceased in his august position is able to exert his powers, can be inferred from the passages (D) and (E). An illustrative variant of the threats in passage (D) reads: "I will exterminate their survivors; I will not allow their homesteads (*Crrwt*) being settled".⁸⁵ While other texts show the following variants to the help promised in (E): "I will never allow to occur anything which he hates" and "I will intercede (*sbi hr*)⁸⁶ for them in the necropolis".⁸⁷

In the first text (from the tomb of Ti) the elaborated theme of 'knowing all rites' - *rh ht nb*, which in the other texts usually is restricted to one sentence only, is noteworthy. As the deceased claims that all rites have been performed for him, transforming him into an *3h ikr*, 'to know' in these cases would most probably mean 'to have experienced': it is because of this 'experience' he has attained his glorious state. In his § 24 (= pp. 26-30) Edel presents further evidence for the meaning of *iri ht* ('die Riten vollziehen') in connection with the state of *3h*: "The king ordered to do for me all rites (*ht*) *3h.t* (Selim Hassan, *Excavations at Giza 1930/31*, p. 231); "Beloved of the king and Anubis is the lector-priest who will do for me the rites (*ht*) because of which an *3h* may become *3h*, according to that secret writing of the art of the lector-priest" (*Urk. I* 186, 14-15).

- 85) *Urk. I* 256, 7-8. Cf. Edel, *op.cit.*, pp. 14-15, §§ 14-15.

In connection with the threats contained in these (and similar) sentences, an interesting example can be quoted from one of the so called Coptos decrees. In the decree of king *Dmd-ib-t3wy* (8th dyn.) for the monuments of his vizier *Idi*, we read: "Those who will do something harmful to your (several monuments enumerated) ... my majesty will prevent that they join the *3hw* in the necropolis ... my majesty will furthermore not order that they be at the head of the *3hw* in the necropolis" (*Urk. I* 304, 17 - 305, 17). Cf. H. Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente aus dem Alten Reich* (Wiesbaden 1967), pp. 214-215 (with note 13 on p. 217).

- 86) For the idiom *sbi hr* - 'eintreten für jemand', 'fürsprechen', cf. *WB III* 430, 6; Gardiner-Sethe, *op.cit.*, p. 20; D. Dunham, *JEA* 24 (1938), p. 5, note 14; J. Sainte Fare Garnot, *op.cit.*, p. 47; E. Edel, *op.cit.*, p. 17. Probably we find also this expression in *CT I* 176.o (near the end of Spell 40) in a mutilated context: "(... his *3hw*) who speak on my behalf (*mdw hr.i*) and who intercede on my behalf (*sbi hr.i*)".
- 87) *E.g. Urk. I* 88, 4 and 122, 12. Cf. Edel, *op.cit.*, pp. 16-17, §§ 17-18. See also the variant quoted by Edel in *ZAS* 106 (1980), pp. 113-114: "für die werde ich eintreten an dem Ort wo sich die *3hw*-Verklärten befinden und dessen Beistand (*h3j*) werde ich sein

The examples quoted above are sufficient to demonstrate the expectations that the deceased had of attaining the status of an $3h$ in the next world - through the exertion of proper care during the funeral and by his own knowledge; the occurrence of all these factors would render him equipped (Cpr). In his august state the $3h$ is in a position to dispense special powers (e.g. $hk3$) and he is able (ikr) either to punish his potential enemies or to be the protector of the interests of his benefactors.⁸⁸ Both the punishment and the reward can take place in this world or in the next. The $3h$ threatens to put fear into the living, to exterminate the descendants of his adversaries or to bring his enemy to book before the court in the netherworld. On the other hand he promises his support to the living who please him and will either always protect them from what they hate and even granting them material help, or will look after their interests in the next world, i.e. to be their supporter ($h3y$) or to intercede for ($sbi hr$) them. Being $3h/3h ikr$ the deceased is able to offer his benevolent mediation between the living, should they deserve so, and the gods.

- c. Similar ideas are to be found in the other type of Appeals. But whereas the central theme in the Appeals to the Visitors focuses on rewards or punishments meted out by the $3h/3h ikr$, in the Appeals to the Living the deceased claims that he is more or less entitled to a proper funeral and funerary offerings, by being an $3h/3h ikr$. The following examples will illustrate these claims. "O 80 men, embalmers, administrators of the necropolis, all officials, who will descend into this place. Do you desire that the king shall favour you, that you

im Kollegium des groszen Gottes". An unusual variant is given by H.G. Fischer, *Ancient Egypt in the Metropolitan Museum Journal*, p. 173, where the $3h ikr Cpr$ promises his benefactors: "I will be his supporter ($h3y$) in the tribunal of the Great God, having granted good in his business and provision in his life", and threatens any wrongdoer: "I shall bring about his grief" (Fischers's translations).

88) Cf. Edel, *op.cit.*, pp. 21 (D. and E.) and 25 (K.).

shall receive funerary offerings in the necropolis and that you will be in the glorious state of honour with the great god? Then place for me the lid of this sarcophagus on its mother, by the excellence that you know, (and) as you should do for an able (*īkr*) *3ḥ* who always did what his lord praises".⁸⁹

When addressing those people who have to take care of the proper arrangement for his funeral, the deceased reminds them of the rewards accruing to their charitable deed: royal favours while they are still alive, funerary offerings when they have passed away, and a position of honour in the next world.⁹⁰ In this Appeal nothing is said as to whether the deceased as *3ḥ īkr* will (from his august position) himself take steps in order to achieve the granting of the rewards. Another situation is met with in the next text:

"O *ka*-servants of the honoured dead. Do you desire that the king shall favour you, that you shall be in honour with your lords and fathers in the necropolis, and that you shall receive funerary offerings of bread and beer just like your fathers have done for me? Since you will desire that I will intercede for (*sbi ḥr*) you in the necropolis, you tell your children on the day when I shall have passed away, the words of making the offering-formula (*pṛt-ḥrw*) for me - for I am an able (*īkr*) *3ḥ* and I know everything by means of which one may become *3ḥ* in the necropolis".⁹¹

Just as in the Appeals to the Visitors, the deceased claims that his position as an *3ḥ īkr* enables him to act favourably for the living,

89) *Urk.* I 205, 1-8; J. Sainte Fare Garnot, *op.cit.*, pp. 34-36.

90) Cf. J. Sainte Fare Garnot, *op.cit.*, p. 52.

91) *Urk.* I 217,15 - 218,7; J. Sainte Fare Garnot, *op.cit.*, pp. 46-48; cf. D. Dunham, *JEA* 24 (1938), pp. 5-6, B. Gunn, *JEA* 24 (1938), pp. 128-129 and E. Edel, *op.cit.*, pp. 22-24.

The sentence: "you tell your children on the day when, etc." (cf. E. Edel, *AG* I, § 672) could also be translated as: "you tell your children the day I have passed away and the words for making the offering-formula for me". As the children of the *ka*-servants were expected to follow their fathers in maintaining the funerary cult of the deceased, they should know his exact date of death in order to bring special offerings on that day of the year.

provided they proceed according to his wishes: should this be the case the deceased promises to be their advocate in the next world. Similar promises - the more usual rewards on earth and the special help in the Hereafter - find expression in the next two excerpts:

"O you living who are (still) upon earth, and who shall pass by this tomb. Do you desire that the king shall favour you and that you shall be in honour with the great god? Then say: a thousand of bread, a thousand of beer for the honoured NN. You shall not destroy anything in this tomb, for I am an able (*īkr*) and equipped (*^cpr*) 3_h".⁹²

"O you living who are (still) upon earth, and who shall pass by this tomb, going downstream or going upstream, and who shall say: a thousand of bread, a thousand of beer for the owner of this tomb. I will intercede for (*sbī hr*) them in the necropolis, for I am an able (*īkr*) and equipped (*^cpr*) 3_h, a lector-priest who knows his spell (*rh r.f*)".⁹³

Characteristically, in all the excerpts from both types of Appeals quoted above, the deceased refers to his position as an 3_h/3_h *īkr*, dispensing superhuman powers, to enforce his statements, claims and promises.

Three passages from autobiographical texts of the 6th dynasty show to what extent the notion of 3_h *īkr* had become a customary expression by

92) *Urk.* I 218,7 - 219,7; J. Sainte Fare Garnot, *op.cit.*, pp. 50-51. It is noteworthy to find here the threat against any trespassers, usually met with in the Appeals to the Visitors; see above and cf. Edel, *op.cit.*, p. 3.

93) *Urk.* I 122,9 - 123,2; J. Sainte Fare Garnot, *op.cit.*, pp. 63-64. A passage in another variant (*Urk.* I 224, 1-8), *op.cit.*, pp. 71-72, reads: "Bring your gifts with your both hands (extended), make offerings with your mouth. Those who shall do according to what I have said ... I will do according to what they may desire. For I am an 3_h more equipped (*^cpr*) than any other 3_h". See also H.G. Fischer, *Ancient Egypt in the Metropolitan Museum Journal*, p. 167 (False door Fitzwilliam Museum): "As for all people who will say 'Bread to NN in this her tomb', I am an able 3_h and will not allow it to go ill with them (*n rdī.ī dw n.sn*, cf. Edel AG II, § 995)", i.e. the 3_h *īkr* claims to be able to help the survivors upon earth.

that time. In a section of the autobiography of Sabni in his tomb at Aswân, after his report on how he built two ships to transport two obelisks, the text continues: "I am an 3_h ĩkr who knows his spell. I know the spell for ascending to the great god, lord of heaven".⁹⁴ On an architrave from the tomb of Bia, also from Aswân, after a *ḥtp-dī-nīswt*-formula the tombowner affirms: "I am an 3_h ĩkr".⁹⁵ And at the end of the autobiographical inscription in his tomb at Deir el-Gebrawi the governor Henku states: "I am an 3_h ĩkr *Cpr* in this place where I am".⁹⁶

The next group of documents which provide more information, notably on the functioning of the 3_h/3_h ĩkr, is comprised of the so-called Letters to the Dead.⁹⁷ Whereas, of course, it cannot be our purpose here to

94) Cf. L. Habachi, *The Obelisks of Egypt* (New York 1977), p. 40, fig. 16. The second phrase in this passage can be compared with the formula quoted in Edel, *op.cit.*, p. 63; cf. also Barta, *Opferformel*, p. 30 ('Bitte' 31).

95) Cf. H.G. Fischer, *JARCE* IV (1965), p. 50 (with PL. XXIX). The assertion "I am an 3_h ĩkr" is followed by "I am one beloved of his father, praised by his mother, daily." It remains unclear, however, whether the deceased means to say that he is beloved of his father and praised by his mother, whilst being an 3_h ĩkr, i.e. in the next world (cf. the spells in the Coffin Texts, for reuniting a man with his family: M. Heerma van Voss in *Pro Regno Pro Sanctuario* (Festschrift G. van der Leeuw, Nijkerk 1950), pp. 227-232).

96) *Urk.* I 79,15.

97) The first collection of these texts was published by A.H. Gardiner and K. Sethe in their *Egyptian Letters to the Dead, mainly from the Old and Middle Kingdoms* (London 1928). Additional texts are conveniently enumerated by W.K. Simpson in *JEA* 52 (1966), p. 39, note 2, to which the following references should be added: W.K. Simpson, *JEA* 56 (1970), pp. 58-64, and E.F. Wente in *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 6/7 (1975/1976) = *Miscellanea J. Vergote*, pp. 595-600. W.K. Simpson in *JEA* 56 (1970), p. 58, note 1 gives further bibliographical references and rightly points out the existence of the letter to the dead in Gardiner-Černý, *Hieratic Ostraca* I, pl. 80.

Out of the total of 15 letters to the dead now known, two are dated to the end of the Old Kingdom (or the very beginning of the First Intermediate Period), seven to the First Intermediate Period,

discuss this genre anew, let it be sufficient to quote B. Gunn⁹⁸ on the meaning and purpose of these letters: "... it must have been a fairly common custom for the Egyptians, when in difficulties of a certain kind, to appeal to their deceased relatives for help by means of letters". The link between the letters to the dead and the texts from the Old Kingdom tombs discussed in the preceding paragraphs has already been noticed by Gardiner-Sethe and Gunn.⁹⁹

Deceased (usually near) relatives were considered to have wide powers - just as they themselves claim in their tomb inscriptions - and therefore in the event that one is afflicted by any malignant deceased, one could turn to departed relatives persuading them to act on one's behalf in the next world. "After all, the dead are the best people to deal with the dead, especially since they can identify the enemy when we cannot" (B. Gunn). Moreover, in other cases the deceased relatives are also asked to exert their power beneficially in earthly matters. The letters to the dead from the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period already show the deceased relative being addressed as *3ḥ* or *3ḥ ḫkr*. In the text on the Hû-bowl a sister asks her deceased brother for help against some dead person who has wronged her daughter. Her motivation for expecting this help (i.e. the brother taking action against the wrongdoer) is contained in the phrase: "One makes invocation offerings (*pṛt-ḥrw*) to an *3ḥ* in return for (*ḥr*) interceding for (*sbī ḥr*) the sake of the survivor!".¹⁰⁰ Offerings to the dead therefore

two to the Middle Kingdom (11th and 12th dynasties) and four to the New Kingdom (18th to 20th dynasties).

For a general survey of this genre see *LA I*, 864-870: 'Briefe an Tote' (R. Grieshammer).

98) *JEA* 16 (1930), p. 147.

99) Cf. Gardiner-Sethe, *op.cit.*, pp. 10-11; and the previous note.

100) Cf. Gardiner-Sethe, *op.cit.*, p. 5 and Pls. IV, IVa; a revised translation by B. Gunn, *JEA* 16 (1930), pp. 151-152; a new interpretation by A. Roccati in *Rivista degli studi orientali* 42 (1967), pp. 323-328.

For the idiom *sbī ḥr* - 'to intercede for the sake of someone', see above note 86 and below note 109.

would seem to demand a return in the form of supernatural protection for the offerer or intercession on his behalf. In fact, this would be in full accordance with the promises made by the deceased in the Appeals to the Living.¹⁰¹

The letter to the dead on the vessel in the Haskell Oriental Museum of Chicago¹⁰² contains the following request by an unnamed writer to his deceased father: "Cause now that there be born to me a healthy male child. (For) you are an *3ḥ ḫkr*". Obviously in this case the deceased relative is supposed to intervene beneficently in earthly matters. Less clear though the precise situation in the letter on the Louvre-bowl¹⁰³ may be, there can be little doubt that it was written by a mother to her deceased son appealing for help to defend her in court (most probably in the Hereafter) against an unnamed accuser. After a propitiatory introduction, the sender continues: "May you create an obstacle (?) to the enemies, male and female, of evil intent against your house, against your brother and against your mother who [...] for her able (*ḫkr*) son M. You are able (*ḫkr*) on earth, you are efficacious (*mnḥ*) in the necropolis (*ḥrt-ntr*)".¹⁰⁴ This last phrase is followed by some laudatory sentences describing the favoured position of the deceased in the other world, one in whose favour offerings are brought and festivals celebrated. Then the subject of the supplication is exhorted: "Be in your own interest the most favourable one from among my dead,¹⁰⁵ male and female!", before in the last sentences the real

101) Cf. e.g. *Urk I* 224, 1-8 quoted above in note 93.

102) Cf. A.H. Gardiner, *JEA* 16 (1930), pp. 19-22 and Pl. X.

103) Louvre E 6134: A. Piankoff and J.J. Clère, *JEA* 20 (1934), pp. 157-169 and Pls. XX, XXI.

104) For the parallelism between *ḫkr* and *mnḥ* see above, note 81. The phrase *ntk ḫkr tp-t3 ntk mnḥ m ḥrt-ntr* can be compared with closely related utterances in autobiographical texts from the 11th dynasty, quoted below on page 236.

105) Since the determinatives of *mwt/mwtt.ī* are differentiated by a tick indicating the persons as hostile, it remains uncertain whether the 'male and female dead' in this case are the deceased relatives of the sender of the letter. See however Piankoff-Clère,

reason for writing this letter follows. An unnamed person threatened, while still alive, to lodge a complaint against the sender and her children, in a future situation before a court in the other world. And now the sender asks her deceased son to take action in order to prevent this situation eventuating: "Report against it! See, you are in the place of justification".

The quality of being able (*īkr*) is also ascribed to the person addressed in the letter to the dead from Nag' ed-Deir N 3500.¹⁰⁶ The deceased relatives in this case are asked - in a situation analogous to that of the letter on the Hû-bowl - to alleviate the grievance of their children by intervening with the putative deceased instigators of trouble: "Now if you would indeed be able on your own behalf (*sk īkr.k īs n.k*), favour (?) your children. May you then take hold of this dead man and/or this dead woman".¹⁰⁷

Finally, in the letter to the dead published by E.F. Wente¹⁰⁸, a widower - who possibly suspects an unnamed dead person of being the cause of his ailment - writes to his deceased wife: "Since I am your beloved upon earth, fight on my behalf (*ḥ3 hr.ī*) and intercede on behalf of my name (*sbī hr rn.ī*). I did not garble [a spell] before you when I perpetuated (*sḥnh.ī*) your name upon earth. Remove the infirmity of my body. Then become an *3h* for me [before] my eyes that I may see you

op.cit., pp. 159(S[16]) and 162, note t(16); W.K. Simpson, *JEA* 56 (1970), p. 60, note h.

106) Cf. W.K. Simpson, *JEA* 56 (1970), pp. 58-62 and Pls. XLVI, XLVIa.

107) 11. 2-3 of the letter from Nag' ed-Deir N 3500; cf. W.K. Simpson, *op.cit.*, pp. 59-60 and the Postscript on p. 62.

For the dead as cause of trouble, a frequent subject in these letters, see also J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, pp. 198-199.

108) In *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 6/7 (1975/1976), pp. 595-600. We have cited here Wente's translation although he himself admitted that some of his restorations are conjectural - yet the general gist of the letter seems clear enough. Interestingly this letter was written on the reverse side of a limestone stela, on the front of which was a painted scene of a man making an offering. Any further details are lacking however, since the present whereabouts of the stela is unknown.

fighting on my behalf in a dream. I will (then) deposit offerings for you [as soon as] the sun has risen and furnish your offering-slab".¹⁰⁹ Just as in the letter on the Hû-bowl, here we can observe offerings being promised in return for supernatural help, in this case to be made manifest in a dream.¹¹⁰

To summarize then, the Letters to the Dead from the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period bear witness of the common practice of writing letters and bringing offerings to deceased relatives, sometimes addressing them as *3h/3h îkr*¹¹¹, in the expectation of help from them in times of need, especially when malevolent spirits are suspected of meddling in earthly affairs or when the person addressed himself (or herself) is thought to be acting malevolently. Those addressed in these letters can all be put into the categories parent, child or

109) ll. 2-5, cf. E.F. Wente, *op.cit.*, pp. 595-598. The clauses of line 2: *ch3 hr.î, sbî hr rn.î* - "fight on my behalf and intercede on behalf of my name", can be compared with the words spoken by the deceased, acting as a champion of Osiris, in CT IV 94c: "I have smitten on your behalf (*hwî.n.î. hr.k*), I have interceded on behalf of your name (*sbî.n.î. hr rn.k*)". These lines from CT Spell 314 reoccur in the later version, BD 1, cf. Budge, *BD* 19, 2-3. (text spoken by the deceased identifying himself with Horus).

Noteworthy is the early example, in line 3, of the expression *s^cnh rn* - 'to perpetuate the name of somebody' (*WB* IV 47,1-7), referring to the cult of the dead; cf. S. Schott, *Der Denkstein Sethos' I. für die Kapelle Ramses' I. in Abydos* (NAWG, 1964, no. 1), pp. 67-69.

The clause in ll.3-4: *îh 3h.t* (*t* for *t̄*, as usual in this text) *n.<î> [hft] hr.î*, is most probably to be translated: "Please become an *3h* for me (before) my eyes", in view of what follows (cf. Wente, *op.cit.*, p. 598 note j).

110) For the subject of dreams in the letters to the dead, see also W.K. Simpson, *JEA* 52 (1966), pp. 44-45.

111) The use of the, seemingly propitiatory, addressing the deceased with *3h/3h îkr* is not restricted to the Letters to the Dead from this period, as witnessed e.g. by the introduction of the famous letter Leyden I 371 (19th dynasty), see below p. 268. For the relationship between the Letters to the Dead and Spells 38-41 from the Coffin Texts, cf. R. Grieshammer in *LA* I, 867-868.

spouse, i.e. all are close relatives. From several examples we can infer that it is clearly the status or quality of $3h/3h \text{ } \dot{ik}r$ which enables the deceased relative to intervene or act, either in this world or in the Hereafter: basically the same idea which we have already encountered in the foregoing paragraphs concerning the Appeals to the Visitors and the Living.

A last, and isolated, example, from the period of the Old Kingdom, of the expression $3h \text{ } \dot{ik}r$ occurs in the hieratic inscription on a jar containing clay figurines bearing Execration Texts. The jar, one of four similar (three of them are dated from the same year, possibly of Pepi II), was found in the Giza necropolis.¹¹² The text, unfortunately, is not too informative: "Year after the fifth time, II prt, day 5 - $3h \text{ } \dot{ik}r$ ". According to J. Osing here $3h \text{ } \dot{ik}r$ almost certainly represents a personal name, although he admits not knowing any other example of this use.¹¹³ Whatever the case may be, a personal name or not, it seems impossible to offer an explanation for the occurrence of the expression $3h \text{ } \dot{ik}r$ in this context.

3.b.

Turning our attention to the textual evidence from the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period, the first and foremost source is of course provided by the Coffin Texts. Once more in our evaluation of the texts concerning the notion of $3h/3h \text{ } \dot{ik}r$ in this corpus, we shall take into account the main conclusions of Englund.¹¹⁴

112) Published by J. Osing in *MDAIK* 32 (1976), pp. 133-185, esp. pp. 154-155 for the text on the jar.

113) There is just a slight possibility that the female form of this name, as $3h.t \text{ } \dot{ik}r.t$, appears on a coffin from the 21st dynasty in the Museo Archeologico, Florence, see below p. 274 note 395. For $3h(y)$ as a personal name cf. e.g. H. Junker, *Giza I*, p. 240.

114) Englund, *op.cit.*, pp. 135-139. There are more passages in the CT bearing upon the subject of $3h$ than those listed and used by Englund; for a similar situation see above p. 198 with note 47. Wherever possible, for our survey we have made use of all the

In spite of the differences in both character and purpose of the Pyramid Texts and the Coffin Texts, generally speaking the concept of *3h* in the CT remains linked with the divine world and the Hereafter. As in the PT, in the CT we can again discern four categories of beings called *3h*, though these are not precisely the same as in the earlier corpus. The different categories can be divided thus: a. some of the great gods; b. some divinities of a lower rank; c. unspecified entities; d. the deceased.¹¹⁵

- a. Of the great gods to whom the quality of *3h* is attached, special mention should be made of Atum and Osiris.¹¹⁶ In a passage in the intriguing Spell 312, Atum is the god who, in the primeval time, created certain *ntrw* and *3hw*.¹¹⁷ In yet other instances Atum is called "more *3h* than the *3hw*".¹¹⁸ In connection with Osiris, we find more or less the same ideas that had become apparent in the PT: he is *3h* being the inert one¹¹⁹, or he is made *3h* by the intervention of his son Horus¹²⁰ or by the 'work' of Thot¹²¹.

The texts nowhere explicitly mention the god Re as being *3h*, or

relevant passages, including those not mentioned by Englund.

- 115) *Op.cit.*, pp. 74-85; although we follow Englund in distinguishing four categories, we do not agree with all her attributions and conclusions.
- 116) *Op.cit.*, pp. 74-77 and 78-79.
- 117) CT IV 75a-b: "I am one of those *ntrw* and *3hw* who dwell in the sunshine (*i3hw*), whom Atum created from his flesh ... (75f) in order that they might be with him, while he was alone in Nu".
- 118) *E.g.* CT V 293c, in the beginning of Spell 440 where the deceased identifies himself with Re and Atum.
- 119) In the beginning of Spell 74 Osiris is denoted as *nny* and *wrd wr*, CT I 306a and c, while in CT I 307c he is described as *3h pn*.
- 120) CT I 81c-e: "... this great word, which Horus made for his father Osiris, he becomes *3h* thereby (T9C)"; similarly CT I 298i-299a; CT VII 44c: "My father Osiris, be an *3h* (*3h n.k*) ...", says Horus after enumerating what he has done for him.
- 121) CT I 312e: *s3h.n tw Dhwtj* - "Thot has made you (an) *3h*"; in a speech by Isis and Nephthys addressed to Osiris after he has arisen. For Thot's expert knowledge with reference to becoming *3h*, see also below p. 249 with note 280.

possessing the state of $3\dot{h}$, but it is he who gives $3\dot{h}$ ¹²² and he does occur in connection with this notion under his name He of the Dawn ($\dot{h}\dot{d}$ -t3) and Morningstar ($n\dot{t}r$ - $\dot{d}w3y$).¹²³ Furthermore we meet Re alongside Atum in the passage in which this god is called more $3\dot{h}$ than the $3\dot{h}w$ ¹²⁴, and he is often the goal of the journeys of the $3\dot{h}$ /the deceased¹²⁵.

- b. The second category of beings called $3\dot{h}$ is concerned with divinities of a lower rank, such as the custodian of the celestial ferryboat¹²⁶ and Hetep the lord of the Hetep-fields¹²⁷.
- c. The third category consists of unspecified entities whom we meet either as a group or as separate beings. As a group we encounter the $3\dot{h}w$ for instance, alongside the $n\dot{t}rw$, as hypostases of Atum in Spell 312.¹²⁸ On another level in some cases both Re and Anubis are accompanied by a group of seven $3\dot{h}w$.¹²⁹ As a group, $3\dot{h}w$ also occur either together with

122) CT IV 62 r: " I (the deceased identifying himself with Re) am the one who gives ($\dot{i}nk \dot{d}\dot{i}\dot{d}\dot{i}$) $3\dot{h}$ to Osiris".

123) CT V 387a-388a, the title of Spell 469: "... It is he ($\dot{h}\dot{d}$ -t3) who gives (or: places) $3\dot{h}$ in the realm of the dead"; CT III 66c-d, in the title of Spell 179: "Appearing as $n\dot{t}r$ - $\dot{d}w3y$, greatly $3\dot{h}$ ($3\dot{h}$ wrt)"; CT V 306b: "I am $n\dot{t}r$ - $\dot{d}w3y$ ", says the deceased in Spell 433 after claiming in a preceding passage (304c-305a) that he is $3\dot{h}$ and equipped with $\dot{h}k3w$ -magic.

124) CT V 293c, see above note 118.

125) E.g. in the Spells 488, 491, 496, 497, 499, cf. below note 147.

126) $M3$ - $\dot{h}3.f$, or Aken the ferryman himself, CT IV 367e-h, called $3\dot{h}$ Cpr.

127) The deceased, identifying himself with Hetep, declares concerning the Hetep-fields: "I am $3\dot{h}$ in them as Hetep", CT IV 365f.

128) CT IV 75a-h, cf. note 117 above p. 219.

129) In Spell 205: "There will not look at you (the deceased) those seven $3\dot{h}w$ who lift up Re" - CT III 147b-148b. In Spell 335 the deceased addresses the members of the tribunal behind Osiris: "See, I have come to you so that you may get rid of the evil which is on me, just as you did for those seven $3\dot{h}w$ who follow after the Lord of the Nomes" - CT IV 256b-258a (in CT IV 268-272 follow the names of those seven $3\dot{h}w$). The Lord of the Nomes is Anubis, for which see M. Heerma van Voss, *De oudste versie van Dodenboek 17a* (Leiden 1963), p. 77 with note 308; cf. also *ibid*; *Anoebis en de demonen* (Leiden 1978), p. 5.

*ntrw*¹³⁰ or alternating with these divine beings, sometimes as a kind of inspectors.¹³¹ As separate beings this type of *3h* usually act as judges of a tribunal¹³² or as gate-keepers in the Netherworld¹³³. Finally we probably meet this type of *3h* in the standard phrase of many passages of a magical nature, like "as for any *ntr*, any *3h*, any dead person (*mt*)".¹³⁴ Yet, we may ask whether the *3hw* in these case are indeed meant to be entities of a divine nature, or if the *3hw*/deceased are referred to since they, too, exist in the next world and might take part in the judgement of the newly arrived dead.¹³⁵ The same

- 130) E.g. CT IV 112c: "*ntrw* and *3hw* who are in the heaven and in the desert (*smyt*)"; CT IV 391b: "those *ntrw* who are *3hw*".
- 131) The beings who pose questions to the newly arrived deceased are denoted either as *3hw* (e.g. CT III 92 l, B 1 L: *in.sn 3hw r.i*, "so they say, the *3hw* to me") or as *ntrw* (e.g. CT III 50c: *in.sn ntrw ipw r.i*, "so they say, these *ntrw* to me"). In a later version of similar interrogatory texts we read: *hr.sn ntrw 3hw r.i*, "so they say, the *ntrw* and the *3hw* to me", BD 82, Budge 179,15-180,1. For the *3hw* as beatified dead acting as examiners or judges, cf. J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, pp. 38-41. In this connection we can also refer to the *iryw sipw* - 'inspectors' functioning as judges in CT IV 321e-322a: "Save me from these inspectors (*iryw sipw*), to whom the Lord of the Universe has given *3h* ('status' or 'magical power') in order to detain his enemies"; cf. J. Zandee, *op.cit.*, p. 279.
- 132) E.g. the judges with names composed with *3h* in Spell 627, CT VI 244n-246 o.
- 133) In CT VII 476h one of the gate-keepers is called *3h Cpr*; see also CT VII 499 c.
- 134) E.g. CT I 207e, II 152c, III 8a, IV 19d, VI 204 l, VI 300j (in some cases we find the longer enumeration: "men, gods (*ntrw*), powers (*shmw*), *3hw*, dead (*mtw*)", for the *mtw*, who have a more unfavourable connotation in these enumerations than the other groups, see also J. Zandee, *op.cit.*, pp. 198-199). This was to become a standard formula in magical texts; in the Middle Kingdom we already find in such a passage "men, gods (*ntrw*) or *3hw*", see e.g. P. Ramesseum XV recto 5, cf. A.H. Gardiner, *The Ramesseum Papyri* (Oxford 1955), p. 15.
- 135) Cf. note 131 above. The beatified dead judges in the barque of Re, cf. CT II 140b-c: "I judge (*wd^C.i mdw*) in the *mCnd.t* in the crew of Re in these evenings. See, you have come, being *3h*, being *Cpr*". (For the place of the dead in the barque of Re cf. also *Lebensmüde* 142-144: "Verily, he who is yonder will be one who stands in the solar barque".)

holds true when we encounter the plural $3\dot{h}w$ as the kind of inspectors mentioned above, or in phrases like: "I have set your (the deceased) power ($3t$) among the $3\dot{h}w$ "¹³⁶; "I (the deceased) have surpassed the $3\dot{h}w$ "¹³⁷; "I (the deceased) go and come like one who is among the $3\dot{h}w$ "¹³⁸; "I (the deceased) am an $3\dot{h}$, lord of $3\dot{h}w$, and it was an $3\dot{h}$ who made me"¹³⁹.

- d. The fourth category is the most important for our subject and exclusively concerns $3\dot{h}$ /the deceased. Nearly all the relevant texts either refer to mythical precedents such as events in the primeval time¹⁴⁰, or they concentrate on the funerary environment¹⁴¹ - i.e. the tomb, the sarcophagus, the necropolis or realm of the dead, the West -, or on localities in the Hereafter which are either undefined or more specified like the Heaven, the Neserser Island, the Hetep-fields amongst others.¹⁴²

As for the funerary environment, it is clearly the main intention and purpose of the Spells in question that the deceased has either firstly to become or continue to remain $3\dot{h}$ in the necropolis/realm of the dead or the West.¹⁴³ The deceased hopes to have power there over his legs or to reassemble his members, while expecting good clean food and not to have to eat abominated food or to walk upside down. Yet, in some

136) CT I 77f-g.

137) CT II 50i.

138) CT III 211i.

139) CT IV 18e, in a Spell 'Becoming Thot'.

140) Cf. note 117 above p. 219.

141) Englund, *op.cit.*, pp. 85-86 and 92-94.

In this connection it is interesting to note the emergence, in the relevant texts, of another standard formula in later funerary and other texts: " $\dot{h}tp-n\dot{t}r$ offerings to the gods, $p\dot{r}t-\dot{h}rw$ offerings to the $3\dot{h}w$ ", e.g. CT I 171b.

142) Englund, *op.cit.*, pp. 94-101.

143) CT II 266a-d, in the rubric of Spell 154: "Knowing the Souls of On, knowing what Thot knows of protective Spells ($s\dot{d}3w$), being $3\dot{h}$ in $\dot{h}rt-n\dot{t}r$ "; similarly in the final subtitle of this Spell 154, CT II 288d; CT III 129g, in the rubric to Spell 203: "Spell for being $3\dot{h}$ in the West ($r\ n\ 3\dot{h}\ m\ 'Imnt$)".

texts, the underlying idea seems to be that one becomes *3h* only after leaving the necropolis¹⁴⁴, although generally this differentiation is not made. Wherever other undefined localities in the Hereafter are concerned, the texts mainly describe peregrinations there on certain roads. By knowing the localities the *3h*/the deceased is able to go there, passing gates¹⁴⁵ or taking a ferry-boat¹⁴⁶. In several instances the goal of the wanderings on these roads is explicitly mentioned as arriving at the place where Re is¹⁴⁷ or that where Osiris¹⁴⁸ is. The most frequently mentioned and more important defined localities in the Hereafter where the *3h*/the deceased sojourns or arrives (or intends to arrive) during his perigrinations are: the Heaven (*pt*)¹⁴⁹; the Neserser Island, a place where judgement is passed and the deceased is

- 144) CT II 47b-48a, in the rubric to Spell 83: "As for any man who knows this spell, he will never die the death again, his enemies will not have power over him, no magic (*hk3*) will restrain him on earth for ever. It means going forth by a man at his desire from the necropolis (*hrt-ntr*). It means becoming an *3h* *ikr* with Osiris".
- 145) CT VII 47a-d (cf. CT VII 262e-f): "I am one who is equipped with *3h*, one who opens gates. As for any man who knows this spell, he will be like Re in the east of the heaven, like Osiris within the netherworld (*dw3t*)".
- 146) CT IV 367e-g: "I will summon *M3-h3.f*, and he will wake Aken, he will bring me the ferry-boat"; CT V 202d: "Have the ferry-boat cross over for this *3h*", a phrase from Spell 405 for which see D. Mueller in *JEA* 58 (1972), pp. 99-125 (esp. pp. 104-105).
- 147) CT VI 69a-b (var. B 9 C): "A path is opened for my *b3*, my *3h*, my *šw.t*, and it will enter to Re within his shrine"; CT VI 78c-e: "May he (a god) prepare a path for the *3h* *Cpr* who I am, I indeed have prepared a path to the place where Re is, to the place where Hathor is".
- 148) CT V 167 D: "The *3h* *Cpr* will go down safely to the lotus-tank in front of Orion in the southern sky on every occasion at the place where Osiris is, at the staircase" (one of the captions of the boat-diagram belonging to Spell 399).
- 149) E.g. CT IV 65f-h: "Being *3h* in the sky, *3h* in the sky. Greeting to you, you gods who are in the sky, you *3hw* of the horizon"; CT VI 67i-k: "O you who are in charge of the gates of the upper sky, open the ways for my *b3*, my *3h* and my *šw.t*, so that it may support Ma'at for Re"; CT VI 71k-m: "O, o, my *b3*, my *3h*,

reborn equipped with full $3h$ -status¹⁵⁰; and the Hetep-fields, a kind of paradise under the supervision of the god Hetep with whom the deceased identifies himself, and where he leads the happy life reserved for the privileged¹⁵¹.

We have observed above¹⁵² how in the earlier periods to become $3h$, or to acquire this state, was 'carried out' either by identification with or in imitation of the gods, through the gift of the gods or at their command, or - according to the non-royal offering-formulae - by the recitations of the lector-priest. In the CT most of these operations are found again. Just as the king in the PT, the deceased in the CT identifies himself with the gods in order to attain the status of $3h$.¹⁵³ This can also be granted him, usually by a god.¹⁵⁴ A new aspect in the CT however is the fact that the gods, apart from just presenting $3h$ as a gift, in some cases intervene in favour of the deceased in

my $hk3$ and my $\check{sw}.t$, open the doors of the sky".

- 150) E.g. CT I 141e: "Since he came, being $3h$, being Cpr , from the Neserser Island" (var. B 3 Bo); cf. also R. Grieshammer, *Das Jenseitsgericht in den Sargtexten* (Wiesbaden 1970), pp. 101-103, and J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott* (Berlin 1969), pp. 271-272.
- 151) E.g. CT III 134d-f: "I (the $3h$) will live on bread of black emmer and on beer of white emmer on the Hetep-fields"; CT V Spells 464-468, for which see also L.H. Lesko, 'The Field of Hetep in Egyptian Coffin Texts', *JARCE* IX (1971-1972), pp. 86-101.
- 152) pp. 200 and 204.
- 153) E.g. with Atum, CT II 261e-262a and V 261a-c; with Re, CT II 175k-n; with Sepa-Her, the unique $3h$, CT V 303b; with Osiris, CT III 325i-n. In CT VII 20k-o the deceased declares himself to be the son of Re; likewise in CT IV 119f and V 240a-e. Englund, *op.cit.*, pp. 109-110, states that identifying oneself with something also means to experience, i.e. to gain knowledge. In fact, it would be more in accordance with Egyptian ideas to say that by knowing a certain spell, one identifies oneself with the contents. In our context this means that one identifies oneself with a god in order to attain the desired $3h$ -status.
- 154) E.g. by Atum, Re, Osiris, Anubis and others; Englund, *op.cit.*, pp. 105-107. Re - as Re-Harakhty or as He of the Dawn - endows (or places) $3h$ in the necropolis, CT V 387h - 388a and VII 289a-c. Osiris, as a kind of judge, gives $3h$ and $m3^C hrw$, CT III 328a-b.

order to permit him to attain the state of $3h$.¹⁵⁵

In a more elaborate form than in the private texts from the Old Kingdom (*vide supra*), in the CT we find the concept that the deceased can acquire the state of $3h$ by virtue of his knowledge.¹⁵⁶ Knowing the secrets¹⁵⁷ or the passwords¹⁵⁸ results in obtaining the state of $3h$ and leading an eternal existence next to the great gods.

The idea that the deceased can be made $3h$ by recitations (usually the 'work' of the lector-priests), such as we have already observed in the offering-formulae from the Old Kingdom, is not frequently found in the CT.¹⁵⁹ On a similar level, funeral rites enacted by a priest can make the deceased into an $3h$.¹⁶⁰ Once, in Spell 751, probably the officiant addressing the deceased says: "I will make you an $3h$ (*ink s3h tw*)".¹⁶¹

155) Englund, *op.cit.*, pp. 107-108.

156) *Op.cit.*, pp. 108-109. This idea of knowledge is expressed by either rh - to know - or dp - to taste, to experience. Cf. especially the Spells 443, 760, 801, 1116, 1117 and 1131. Englund's translation of Spell 1116 (*op.cit.*, p. 116) is not to be preferred to those of Faulkner and Lesko; all three clearly do not take into consideration the places where the different parts of this Spell are placed within the accompanying drawing, cf. J. Zandee, *Death*, p. 89. For the theme of knowledge see also CT IV 30g: "All the $3hw$ who know their spells are those who shall make their $hk3w$ -magic themselves".

157) CT II 360b-c: "O you who are in Nekhen, there is given to me $3h$, and I know the mystery ($s\dot{s}t3$) of Nekhen".

158) I.e. of the keepers of the $3h.t$ -horizon, CT VII 474a-e (part of the rubric of Spell 1131): "As for anyone who knows their words, he shall pass by there, he shall sit beside the great god wherever he may be, and he shall give respect to him, for he is Cpr and $3h$ entirely".

159) E.g. CT II 46a-48a (= Spell 83 which seems to be a rubric to Spell 82): "To be recited over (an amulet) ... it means becoming an $3h$ $\dot{i}kr$ with Osiris"; in CT I 296a-b the deceased is addressed as Osiris by his son Horus: "I am your son, I am Horus, I have come that I may perform these $s3hw$ -glorifications/spiritualizations for you". For the importance of the $s3hw$ cf. CT II 89c, where the deceased declares: "My $hk3$ -magical power is in my $s3hw$ "; see also note 83 above.

160) CT I 298a-299e; cf. J. Zandee, *JEOL* 24 (1975-76), p. 2.

161) CT VI 380j.

In describing either the state of $3h$ or the abode and the existence of an $3h$ in the Hereafter, the CT offer many parallels to ideas from earlier periods, while, at the same time, they give a greater variety of details.¹⁶² The state of $3h$ is often connected with the notions 'life', 'not dying again'.¹⁶³ The deceased, as an $3h$, has to be awakened.¹⁶⁴ His new existence in the Hereafter is akin to a kind of rebirth¹⁶⁵ and in some instances it is explicitly said that the deceased is either (re)born as a divine child of the Beautiful West¹⁶⁶ or welcomed as the adopted son of Isis and Osiris¹⁶⁷. Being $3h$, the deceased possesses freedom of movement and action: "Going out by day by an $3h$ to every place where his heart desires to be"¹⁶⁸; "I will not

162) Englund, *op.cit.*, pp. 166-121.

163) *E.g.* CT VII 364b-d (beginning of Spell 1087): "This is the word which is in the darkness. As for any $3h$ who knows it, he will live among the living"; CT V 261a-c (beginning of Spell 423): "Not dying a second death. I Am Atum, I am $3h$ as Ruti"; CT VII 507b (the rubric of Spell 1164): "It is the place of an $3h$ who will never die (*mnī*)".

164) *E.g.* CT I 83i (var. B 1 L, rubric to Spells 30 ff.): "To cause the $3h$ to raise himself on his left side over to his right side".

165) CT VII 289a-c (beginning of Spell 1040): "I am one who was born in Rosetau, and $3h$ is given to me by my lord Re-Harakhty".

166) *E.g.* CT I 86b-90c: (the divine world is inspired with awe seeing the deceased) "when he travels peacefully on the beautiful paths of the West in his shape (*īrw*) of an $3h$ *ntry*, having acquired all $3hw$ (magical power), when the great ones who preside over the horizon spoke to him. The young (*rnw*) god is born of the beautiful West, having come today from the land of the living (var. Welcome in peace, young god, born of the beautiful West), he has got rid of his dust, he has filled his body with *hk3w*-magic, he has quenched his thirst with it".

This passage also aptly demonstrates the importance of $3hw$ and *hk3w* - magical powers - to the $3h$, for which see above note 83. Interestingly in CT I 86c some texts give *cpr.n.f (n.f) 3hw nbw* (twice determined like it was to mean "all the $3hw$ -beings"), while others read *cpr.n.f n.f 3h nb* - "he has acquired for himself every $3h$ -quality" or "he has acquired for himself every $3h$ -being", depending on the determinative.

167) *E.g.* CT I 112b-d: "this $3h$ *ntry* whom Osiris has made into his son, whom Isis has made into her child", i.e. the deceased is identified with Horus.

restrained in my dignity ($s^C h$) of $3h$ C_{pr} "¹⁶⁹.

He will be able to bypass obstacles and other hindrances.¹⁷⁰ In his capacity as an $3h$, the deceased is said to be a 'god' (ntr)¹⁷¹, whose name is secret or hidden like that of the great gods¹⁷², and he takes part in the divine world¹⁷³. According to some texts his divine powers are even equal to those of the great gods: "... in his true shape ($\bar{i}rw$) of an $3h$ C_{pr} $ntry$, he shines like Re, he travels like Hathor"¹⁷⁴; "I am an $3h$, a lord of $3hw$, the $3h$ which I have made, it exists; the $3h$ which I hate, it does not exist"¹⁷⁵; "I have hacked up the sky, I have opened the horizon, I have passed through the sunshine ($\bar{i}3hw$), I have traversed its strides, I have taken possession of the $3hw$ of those who were older than I, for I am indeed an $3h$ equipped with his million (n ntt $\bar{i}nk$ $\bar{i}s$ C_{pr} $h\bar{h}.f$)"¹⁷⁶. Usually the existence of an $3h$ in the next

- 168) Rubric of Spell 225 in T 1 L, CT III 212b-d. It should be noted that, in this connection, several of the 'abilities' which the $3h$ possesses, are shared by the $b3$, the $\bar{s}w.t$ and the $hk3w$, cf. Englund, *op.cit.*, pp. 124-125
- 169) CT IV 119d-e (followed by: "it was Re who created me as his son"). Noteworthy is the connection between $s^C h$ and $3h$ (cf. also the texts quoted in notes 191 and 193 below), implicating the higher status of the deceased, as $s^C h$ -dignity can be granted by a god (e.g. Re, cf. WB IV 49, 5) and its corresponding term $s^C h$ -noble tends to replace $3h$ since the Middle Kingdom, cf. E. Edel, *MDAIK* 13 (1944), p. 65, M. Lichtheim, *JNES* VII (1948), p. 176; cf. below note 256.
- 170) E.g. CT VI 132 l-n: "because I am this $3h$ C_{pr} who knows his spell and who will not enter into the slaughter-houses of the god; I will not listen to $hk3w$ -magic"; CT V 308d-f: "Pass by, $3h$ $\bar{i}kr$, gladhearted ($hkn-\bar{i}b$), sit on the thrones of the gods, so they say to me".
- 171) CT VII 448c: "the seat of an $3h$ C_{pr} who will be a god himself"; cf. also CT VI 335e-f: "I am an $3h$ who ascended from the nether-world, I am this god (ntr) who lives in all his shapes ($hprw$) ...".
- 172) CT VII 213i: "The name of him who is among the gods is secret, for he is an $3h$ ".
- 173) E.g. CT IV 84o - 85i; CT VII 469h-470b.
- 174) CT V 242a-c (var. B 1 Bo).
- 175) CT VII 293a-c and 501a-c.
- 176) CT VI 183j-184d (S 1 C; in B 4 C the last phrase reads: "for she is indeed one who is equipped with her million of $hk3w$ -magical

world is comparable with the former life of the deceased on earth. He will live there on water, bread and beer¹⁷⁷, and e.g. about his existence in the Hetep-fields the deceased says: "I am powerful there, I am 3_h there, I eat there, I travel there, I plough there, I reap there, I copulate¹⁷⁸ there, I am satisfied there"¹⁷⁹. In several Spells intended to ensure the deceased a 'normal' existence in the Hereafter, being 3_h is connected with eating (offering-)food in the Hetep-fields and not eating what he detests or walking upside down.¹⁸⁰ The new life is even described as being better than the earthly existence.¹⁸¹

A new aspect, in comparison with data from earlier periods, is the

powers", while the later version in BD 10, Budge 31, 12-13, gives: "for I am one equipped with his millions of *hk3w*-magical powers").

- 177) E.g. CT I 276c, 279i, 296e, 297c, 313 (title, line 22); CT III 134b-g: "I will live on bread of black emmer and on beer of white emmer, on the Hetep-fields".
- 178) For the 3_h copulating in the realm of the dead see also Spell 576, esp. the rubric, CT VI 191 l-p; cf. J. Zandee, ZAS 90 (1963), pp. 153 ff.
- 179) CT V 365b-f; cf. also CT V 344b-345b and note 151 above.
- 180) E.g. in Spell 203, CT III 134b-c and 137j-k: "What will you live on in this land to which you have come that you may be 3_h" (*īī.n.k r.f 3_h.k*; in CT III 137k var. T 3 Be reads: *īī.n.k r.f n 3_{hw}.k* - "... because (?) of your 3_{hw}-power"), followed by assertions that the deceased will eat normal offering-food and nothing which he dislikes. In Spell 224, CT III 211d-i: "I walk on my feet and I will not walk upside down for you. I walk like Horus, my strides are like those of Atum, my tomb is like my being 3_h (? , according to T 1 Be; T 3 Be probably reads "I come like an 3_h " or "I come according as (I) am 3_h"), I go and come like one who is among the 3_{hw}".
- For the ideas behind these Spells see J. Zandee, *Death*, pp. 73-78, and D. Mueller, *JEA* 58 (1972), pp. 119-121.
- 181) E.g. in Spell 184, CT III 82d-83a: "3_h is given to me instead of copulation (*m snw nk*), joy (*3wt-īb*) instead of desire (*īwt-īb*), contentment (*h_{tp}-īb*) instead of appetite (*wnm t*)". Interestingly, in the later dialogue between Atum and Osiris in BD 175, it is Atum who answers Osiris' complaints about the undesirable situation in the realm of the dead: "You live there in contentment (*h_{tp}-īb*)" and "I have given 3_h instead of (*m-īsw*) water, air and passion (*ndmmyt*), contentment (*h_{tp}-īb*) instead of bread and beer", cf. Budge 458, 11-13. See E. Otto, *CdE* 37/74 (1962), pp. 249-256.

fact that in some of the CT Spells being or becoming $3h$ is linked with the idea of a judgement. On the one hand it appears that to become $3h$ is the happy result of passing a kind of judgement.¹⁸² It is Osiris who grants $3h$ and $m3^c hrw$.¹⁸³ Elsewhere the deceased declares: "I have gone out on this day in my true shape (irw) of an $3h^c nh$; that foe of mine having been brought to me, having been put an end to in the Great Tribunal"¹⁸⁴.

Another clear example reads: "There is not a single god or goddess who will be at law with you on the day of counting the characters before the great one, the Lord of the West, ... you are a $m3^c hrw$, you are more $3h$, more $b3$ than the southern and northern gods".¹⁸⁵

According to other texts we get the impression that the deceased can pass the judgement simply because he is $3h$, e.g.: "As for anyone who knows the $ssd3t$, he is $3h$ thereby more than Osiris. He has passed every tribunal in which Thot is".¹⁸⁶

The two rather contradictory views - becoming $3h$ after the judgement, and passing the judgement just because one is $3h$ - clearly existed side by side.

As we have seen above, in the PT the term $3h$ is only rarely accompanied by an adjective or epithet, while in the other textual material from the OK and the FIP we have found this to be more common, especially with the adjectives cpr and ikr .

182) Cf. R. Grieshammer, *Das Jenseitsgericht*, p. 70.

183) CT III 328a-b, cf. above p. 224 note 154.

184) CT II 66a-d.

185) CT I 192f-194e; cf. also J. Zandee, *Death*, pp. 263 and 270.

186) CT VII 448d-449a; $ssd3t$: 'protecting spell', J. Zandee, *Death*, p. 259; 'what is sealed' = 'the mansion of Osiris', R. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts III* (Warminster 1978), p. 163. For the last phrase of the quotation see also Spell 338, CT IV 335a-b and 336e: "O Thot, who vindicated Osiris against his foes, vindicate me against my foes in ... the tribunal which is in Abydos on that night of numbering the dead ($tnw.t mtw$) and of counting the $3hw$ ($ip 3hw$)", cf. CT VI 82e, and J. Zandee, *op.cit.*, p. 279.

Now the CT offer a greater variety of adjectives being used in connection with $3h$.¹⁸⁷ Most of these adjectives are met with in a very special and limited context:

$ntry$ - divine, is used in five cases in relation to the new existence of the deceased in the next world, as an adopted child of Isis and Osiris or as the son of the Beautiful West.¹⁸⁸

$^c nh$ - living, is used - always in the expression "in my (true) shape ($\dot{i}rw$) of an $3h$ $^c nh$ " - in text passages related to the concept of 'going out by day', i.e. leaving the next world 'alive'; or, in a similar context: leaving the netherworld ($\dot{d}w3t$).¹⁸⁹

$hkn-\dot{i}b$ - glad-hearted, is found only in the Spells concerning the meeting of the deceased with the two female companions of Re, the $Mrwty$, who try to seduce him. In addressing them, the deceased stresses his power and ability to act.¹⁹⁰

$\check{s}pss$ - august, occurs only once in an obscure context: "The gods who are in the Netherworld <and> the august $3hw$ will ennoble you ($s^c h \underline{t}w$)".¹⁹¹

$m3^c$ - true, occurs once in the rubric to Spell 66: "Giving water and bread to a true $3h$ ".¹⁹²

$m3wty$ - renewed, occurs once in Spell 36 concerning the deceased coming to Osiris: "In what manner shall he come, this renewed $3h$? - so says the Beautiful West. He shall enter into his dignity ($s^c h$) of a divine $3h$ ".¹⁹³

A common aspect of these epithets is the fact that they all refer to the higher status of the deceased as $3h$, ensuring him capabilities of

187) Cf. Englund, *op.cit.*, pp. 127-134.

188) CT I 86/87b, 112b-d, 135a-137a, 142c-e, CT V 242a ($3h$ $^c pr ntry$).

189) CT II 66a-d, 94f, 95f, VI 187a, 190a, 276f.

190) CT V 311a-c, 314a, 315k, 316i-j, 308d-f ($3h \dot{i}kr hkn-\dot{i}b$). For the two 'sirens' see E. Drioton, *BiOr* 12 (1955), pp. 63-66; D. Mueller, *JEA* 58 (1972), p. 115 and W. Guglielmi in *Acts of the 1st International Congress of Egyptology* (Berlin DDR 1979), pp. 255-264.

191) CT VI 159d.

192) CT I 279i.

193) CT I 142c-e.

of a divine nature and enabling him to take action.

We are already acquainted from our documentation on earlier periods with two more customary adjectives - *cpr* and *īkr*. One of these, *cpr*, plays a prominent role in the CT Spells. Of the more than twenty instances of *3h cpr*, the great majority are concerned with *3h*/the deceased.¹⁹⁴ Judging from the context the expression is used in relation to funerary rites, proper knowledge¹⁹⁵ and the freedom of movement and action in the Hereafter. As the same generally holds true when the deceased is designated as *3h* without any epithet, there seems to be no clear distinction between *3h* and *3h cpr*, i.e. there are no indications that an *3h cpr* might be something like an *3h* on a higher level. Only a few examples tell us what the *3h* has been equipped (*cpr*) with: *hk3w*-magic, or *cftt*.¹⁹⁶ An *3h cpr*, thanks to his knowledge, is able or entitled to take the ferry-boat¹⁹⁷, to escape or evade dangers like the slaughtering place¹⁹⁸, and he can not be obstructed¹⁹⁹. We should note that in some cases the person-inflected verb forms of *cpr* are used. The deceased is one who has acquired,

194) In CT IV 367f-j the custodian of the ferry-boat (or possibly the ferryman Aken himself) is designated as *3h cpr*, just as a gate-keeper is in CT VII 476h. In CT IV 367f-j the deceased, after summoning upon the custodian of the ferry-boat, continues to say: "I am more *3h* than your *3hw*, I am more *cpr* than your *cprw*"; for a similar phrase see PT 813, quoted above, p. 201 and note 59.

195) In Spell 78, CT IV 85a, the deceased says to the gods of the Netherworld: "I come to you as an *3h cpr*" after a lengthy discussion in which he has identified himself with a divine falcon and with the *b3* of Horus, thereby being able to take messages to Osiris.

196) CT V 304c, 312c; VI 184d and VII 470b. For the meaning of *cft(t)*, see E. Otto in *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur* (Wiesbaden 1977), p. 12: "netherworld or knowledge of the netherworld" (p. 14); see also R. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts III*, p. 131, note 1 to Spell 1034 (discarding Lesko's 'mysterious', *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Two Ways*, pp. 21 and 121); D. Meeks *Année Lexicographique I* (Paris 1977), p. 62; II (Paris 1978), p. 70.

197) CT V 154a-b: Bring him a boat, for he is an *3h cpr*.

198) CT VI 132 l-n, cf. note 170 above p. 227.

199) CT IV 199d-f, cf. note 169 above p. 227.

or has been equipped with $3h$ ($c_{pr} 3h$).²⁰⁰ Similarly the stative form of both corresponding verbs can be used: being $3h$, being c_{pr} ($3h.kwi$, $c_{pr}.kwi$).²⁰¹

The fact that $3h c_{pr}$ as such had become something of a standard expression is demonstrated by the possibility of adding another adjective: $3h c_{pr} ikr$ ²⁰², $3h c_{pr} ntry$ ²⁰³.

Contrary to the many examples of $3h c_{pr}$, the CT offer only three examples of $3h ikr$, two of these from the same Spell 83: "To be recited over the forepart of a lion made from carnelian ($?hrst$) or from the bone of a vulture; to be given to a man on his neck when he goes down to the necropolis; a protection as soul of Shu <is this>; that a man may have power over the winds of heaven, becoming this $3h ikr$ and king of all the winds of heaven. As for any man who knows this spell, he will never die the death again, his foes will not have power over him, no magic ($hk3w$) will restrain him on earth forever. It means a going forth by a man at his desire from the necropolis, it means becoming an $3h ikr$ with Osiris".²⁰⁴

The third example occurs in the epilogue of Spell 407: "O you seven knots of Mehet-weret, I know you and I know your names ... may you protect me from all things evil. Nothing evil will happen to me, because I am an $3h ikr$ who does not listen to magic ($hk3w$)".²⁰⁵

The connection $3h$ and ikr is however not restricted to the few examples of $3h ikr$ just quoted. The two elements occur side by side in other passages, as e.g.: "... it is an ikr , it is a speaker, it is an $3h$...

200) E.g. CT I 148b, IV 401g, VI 205f (equipping an $3h$ in the necropolis), VII 239m, 262e, 471a, 474e; cf. Englund, *op.cit.*, p. 131 (II B 4.7.1.4).

201) E.g. CT 140c, 141d, 142b; V 304c-305a, 315d, 394 l, 397m, 398f; cf. Englund, *op.cit.*, p. 131 (II B 4.7.1.5).

202) CT V 11b (possibly in this case Osiris is meant, cf. J. Zandee, *JEOL* 24 (1975-1976), pp. 13 and 19) and probably CT VII 26j; $3h c_{pr} ikr$ is known already from the private texts from the OK, see above pp. 210-212.

203) CT V 242a: "in my true shape (irw) of an $3h c_{pr} ntry$ ".

204) CT II 46a-48a, possibly a rubric to Spell 82.

which is pleasing to the heart of Re"²⁰⁶; "... the two *Mrwty* ... who take away the *3hw* (power) of the *ikrw*" (var. S 14 C^b reads: "who take away the *3hw* (power) of the *3h*, who take away the *ikrw* (capability) of the *ikr*")²⁰⁷; "N. has come into this land, being *3h* through *hk3w* (magic), being *ikr* through *hk3w*"²⁰⁸. Finally the link between the two exists in the two examples of *3h cpr ikr* quoted above.²⁰⁹

The great variety of ideas expressed in the CT do not represent just one clearly constructed notion of *3h*/the deceased. Yet, from all these often diverse views - rather complementary than contradictory - emerges the general picture of the deceased who intends to reach the blessed state. Towards this goal, knowledge is an essential condition. It is the possession of this knowledge which makes the deceased into an *3h* or *3h cpr*, although other conditions such as the performing of proper rites contribute to that blessed state as well. The few instances of *3h ikr* in the CT Spells confirm what we have concluded from the documentation on earlier periods: the expression is mainly used in cases where the supernatural power of/or the ability to act on the part of the *3h* is emphasized.²¹⁰

In accordance with the data for the earlier periods, the *3h* can act favourably, but he may also be regarded as a malevolent dead threatening his potential opponents in the Hereafter. However not only the *3hw*/the deceased can operate against enemies or act as judges. Other, more demon-like entities called *3hw* may take similar actions in the Hereafter, but in many cases it is not possible to differentiate sharply between these two categories.²¹¹

205) CT V 222a-224e.

206) CT I 76d-e (var. BH 5 C); *mdww* - speaker, cf. WB III 180, 1.

207) CT V 302a. For the *ikrw* as a designation of the blessed dead, and the parallelism between *3h* and *ikr*, see above page 202 and note 59. For *3hw*-power see note 83 above.

208) CT VII 8m.

209) See note 202.

210) Cf. above p. 217 and note 111.

211) Nevertheless we should realize that the *3hw*-spirits as malevolent

A second source of information from the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period concerning the notion of $3h$, is once more constituted by the offering-formulae collected by W. Barta. During the period under discussion they evince variants of the already known types ('Bitten'), while some new boons are requested.²¹² The following formulae have a bearing upon our subject:

- 2g - "A $prt-hrw$ offering ... of which the $3hw$ like to eat in the necropolis ($hrt-ntr$)"; examples from the 11th and 12th dynasties.²¹³ The funerary offerings are intended to keep the $3h$ in good condition.
- 7a-g - Variants on a central theme; examples from the 12th dynasty and the SIP.²¹⁴ The more important variants read: "may they give being $3h$, wsr , $m3^C hrw$ in the necropolis"; "may he give being $3h$ in heaven, wsr on earth"; "may they make (iri) for you being $3h$ on earth"; "may he give NN being $3h$ at the head of his $3hw$ for ever".
- 26a-f - Variants of the already known formula; examples from the 11th and 12th dynasties and the first part of the SIP.²¹⁵ The more important variants read: "may they grant that the great ones of Busiris and the suite which is in Abydos make you $3h$ ($s3h tw$)";

dead seem to be different from the identically designated demons - a fact not noted in J. Zandee, *Death*, pp. 197-198, cf. M. Heerma van Voss, *Anoebis en de demonen* (Leiden 1978), p. 5. See also note 129 above.

212) Barta, *op.cit.*, pp. 46, 48, 50, 58-61, 77 and 83.

213) *Op.cit.*, pp. 46 and 58; cf. CT V 165d. See also the standard formula since the MK " $htpw n ntrw$, $prt-hrw n 3hw$ ", cf. above note 141 and J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott* (Berlin 1969), p. 69 with note 122.

An unusual variant on an 11th dynasty stela from Balat (Dakhla Oasis) reads: $prt-hrw$ $m smt imntt mm 3hw im3hw$ - "a $prt-hrw$ offering in the western desert among the $3hw$ and the venerated", cf. G. Andreu, *BIFAO* 81 (1981), p. 3-4 (note d.).

214) *Op.cit.*, pp. 59-60, 77 and 83.

215) *Op.cit.*, pp. 48, 61 and 77; cf. page 203 with note 67.

"may he be made $3\dot{h}$ ($s3\dot{h}.tw.f$) by the lector-priest"; "may there be read for him $s3\dot{h}w$ abundantly". The last examples point to the importance of the recitations for becoming and remaining $3\dot{h}$.

- 58 - "may he recognize himself among the $3\dot{h}w$ ($r\dot{h}.f sw mm 3\dot{h}w$)";
example from the 11th dynasty.²¹⁶

A phrase in the text on an 11th dynasty false door presents, according to H.G. Fischer²¹⁷, a variant not discussed by Barta. The translation given, reads: "That invocation offerings go forth to him on the $W3g$ -feast, on the feast of Thoth and on every good feast of a spirit, the Revered $Sn-k3y$ ". It is however possible to translate the end of this clause: "... for the $3\dot{h}$, the $\dot{im}3\dot{h}w NN$ ". The expression 'on every good feast' is common in the shorter enumeration of feasts in these formulae²¹⁸, while, on the other hand, we do not know as such a 'feast of a spirit'.²¹⁹ Nevertheless, whatever the correct interpretation, the occurrence of the term $3\dot{h}$ in this phrase remains unique.

The texts of the offering-formulae listed above in general represent the well-known ideas: being $3\dot{h}$ is connected with the heaven or the necropolis, and recitations (the $s3\dot{h}w$ in formula 26) constitute a necessary requirement for keeping the $3\dot{h}$ in good condition. New ideas are found in the phrases: "may there be given to him being $3\dot{h}$ on earth" and "may they (the gods) make for you being $3\dot{h}$ on earth", both referring to the desired capability of the deceased to function as $3\dot{h}$ not only in heaven or in the realm of the dead, but also on earth.

Other sources from the MK and SIP provide us with additional views concerning the notion of $3\dot{h}/3\dot{h} \dot{ik}r$.²²⁰ In some of the Naga-ed Dêr

216) *Op.cit.*, p. 50.

217) *Ancient Egypt in the Metropolitan Museum Journal* (New York 1977), p. 165 [II, 13], with note 39.

218) Barta, *op.cit.*, p. 51 ('Die Festbezeichnungen').

219) We have to admit of course, this could be the first example, but in our opinion the proposed interpretation fits better in the known context.

220) The Letters to the Dead from this period (only two examples known)

stelae from the 11th dynasty in autobiographical texts we find phrases like: *īnk s^{ch}/nds īkr tp-t3, 3_h mn_h m hrt-ntr* - "I was a skilful dignitary/citizen on earth, I am an efficacious 3_h in the realm of the dead".²²¹

In these examples there is no evident relationship of cause and effect between existence on earth and the result which follows in the Here-after. A closer association is found in the autobiographical text on a 13th dynasty stela from Hieraconpolis: *īnk s^{ch} īk(r) tp-t3, wnn.ī m 3_h īk(r) m hrt-ntr, m-ht rdi.ī t n hkr hbs n h3y...* - "I was a skilful dignitary on earth and I shall be an 3_h īkr in the realm of the dead, since I gave bread to the hungry and clothes to the naked, etc.".²²² Here the deceased declares that during his life on earth he was able to act favourably, and that he intends to retain this ability in the Hereafter.²²³

do not contain the expression 3_h/3_h īkr, but we could expect to come across the term again if new letters of this type eventually turn up.

- 221) Cf. the remarks by H.G. Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C.* (New York 1968), pp. 87-88 (under [6]); for a similar phrase from the First Intermediate Period (*īnk nds īkr tp-t3, īnk 3_h īkr m hrt-ntr*) see J.J. Clère in *Miscellanea Gregoriana* 1941, pp. 455 ff.; cf. also the phrase *ntk īkr tp-t3 ntk mn_h m hrt-ntr* in the letter to the dead on the Louvre-bowl, see above page 215 and note 104. See too J. Spiegel, *Die Götter von Abydos* (Wiesbaden 1973), p. 167.
- 222) W.C. Hayes in *JEA* 33 (1947), pp. 4 and 7 (note 1.), and Pl. II (lines 10-13). As Hayes remarks, almost identical phrases occur in the 13th dynasty tomb of Sobk-nakhte at El-Kab, cf. J.J. Tyler, *The Tomb of Sebeknakht* (London 1896), Pl. 5. See also *Siût III* 124 (F.Ll. Griffith, *The Tombs of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh*, London 1889): "Every noble man who shall do good among men and surpass his sire therein will be lasting upon earth and be an 3_h in the realm of the dead. His remembrance will be good in the city".
- 223) It would be too much to claim, as Hayes does, *op.cit.* p. 7 (note 1), that the status of 3_h īkr is the direct result of a righteous existence on earth. This idea is not yet present in the Coffin Texts, but we do encounter similar views in texts from the New Kingdom. The idea of a reward in the Hereafter is older, cf. *Urk.* I 123, 1-2.
For the parallelism between īkr and mn_h see above note 81.

3.c.

The evidence from the two preceding periods concerning the main ideas on the concept of $3h/3h \dot{ikr}$ has shown a certain development. On the one hand it has been observed that, while the royal subject in the PT seems more or less entitled to attain the status of $3h$, being in the company of his brothers the gods and presiding over the other $3hw$, for the private individual in the CT to reach the blessed state is a far more complex matter: to achieve this end funerary rites²²⁴, proper knowledge and the rightful passing of a judgement in the Hereafter are necessary conditions. On the other hand we have seen how the deceased as an $3h$ by virtue of his blessed state is able (\dot{ikr}) to deal with potential enemies and to reward those who support him, both on earth and in the next world. His position as an $3h/3h \dot{ikr}$ has made the deceased into the ideal being to be turned to by the living in times of need, as witnessed by the Letters of the Dead. In the private texts moreover we have observed a tendency to connect a righteous existence on earth with a future blessed state as an $3h/3h \dot{ikr}$ in the Hereafter, although it would be too much to say that the last-named condition was made dependent on the first.

The expansion or broadening of the views concerning the $3h/3h \dot{ikr}$ did not, however, involve any alterations in the fundamental ideas about this concept. The most we can say is that, whereas the great religious compilations as the PT and the CT by their very nature concentrate on the vicissitudes of the blessed dead in his otherworldly state, the other texts from the same periods deal first of all with the contacts between the $3h$ /the deceased and the living upon earth - contacts which gradually become closer and more direct.

We come now to the documents of the period of the New Kingdom and its

224) Although not entirely lacking in the PT, see above page 201, quoting PT 52c. Their importance is first stressed in the private texts from the Old Kingdom, see above p. 204 ff.

aftermath. In first place we will again consider the greater religious literature. This review will then be followed by a survey of the other textual material pertaining to our main subject.

The collection of spells and other texts together making up what is called the Book of the Dead does not, as indicated by Englund²²⁵, bristle with new or fundamentally changed ideas concerning the notion of *3ḥ/3ḥ Ḳr*. In fact, the great majority of views and utterances constitute a kind of direct follow-up to those contained in the Coffin Texts. This, evidently, is only natural as many of the spells in the BD are later recensions of earlier versions in the CT. Nevertheless some different accents on the subject can be observed in texts which are either 'new' in the BD or else present elaborated or revised versions of older redactions. These will be noted below, but we will begin with the general data.

Just as before, the concept of *3ḥ* is associated above all with the divine world and the Hereafter. Likewise in the BD we can discern the four already known categories of beings designated as *3ḥ* or possessing this quality.²²⁶ Among the great gods we have to mention Atum, Re and Osiris. Atum being *3ḥ* occurs in a new redaction of an older text.²²⁷ And although Re is nowhere explicitly called *3ḥ* himself, it is certainly he - under his names Lord of the Light or Lord of the Universe - who grants *3ḥ*.²²⁸ While 'Re who has gone to rest in Osiris' is referred to in the phrase: "your *b3* extols and your corpse is *3ḥ*".²²⁹

225) *Op.cit.*, pp. 171-174.

226) See above p. 219 with note 115.

227) BD 3, Budge 27, 4-5: "Atum ... who is *3ḥ* as Ruti" (=CT II 261e-262a, cf. above note 153). For Atum creating *3ḥw* see BD 78, Budge 167, 8-9: "I am an *3ḥ* who is in the sunshine and whom Atum created himself" (= CT IV 75a-f, cf. above note 117).

228) BD 85, Budge 184, 11: "I (the deceased identifying himself with Re as the Lord of the Light (*nb šsp*) am the one who gives (*Ḳnk dīdī*) *3ḥ* to Osiris" (= CT IV 62r, cf. above note 122); BD 17, Budge 66, 7-8: "... the *īryw-sīpw*, to whom the Lord of the Universe (*nb r ḡr*) has given *3ḥ*" (= CT IV 321e-f, cf. above note 131).

229) BD 180, Budge 471, 14. In the opening lines of this Spell, which

Osiris, on the other hand, is more clearly denoted as possessing the status of $3h$. Probably it is he who is indicated in the description: "that great god ... the $3h$ C_{pr} whose name is unknown".²³⁰ It is worthy of note that, as before, in most cases Osiris receives this status as a gift.²³¹ A passage in a well-known spell²³² informs us that the result of the embrace between two gods (almost certainly Re and Osiris²³³) is that one of them - Osiris - become an $3h$ in the realm of the dead. Concerning the divinities of a lower rank, in the BD only some already know 'groups' appear who are endowed with the status of $3h$ or are designated as $3hw$.²³⁴ Similarly, examples of the category of unspecified beings in the Hereafter denoted as $3hw$, are rare.²³⁵

is based upon the royal Litany of Re, it is also stated that the sungod in this form appears as "the Lord of the $3hw$, the western gods" (Budge 470, 14-15).

- 230) BD 60, Budge 131, 14. For the earlier versions of this passage and the Spell as a whole - CT IV 398b-400a: "... this august ($\check{s}pss$) god, whose name they do not know"; CT V 11b: "because they know the god, the $3h$ $\dot{i}kr$ C_{pr} " - cf. Zandee, *JEOL* 24 (1975-1976), pp. 13 and 19.
- 231) BD 1B, Budge 24, 9: "to whom $3h$ has been given in Rosetau"; BD 85, Budge 184, 11, cf. note 228 above.
- 232) BD 173, Budge 451, 14 - 452, 3: "The greeting of Horus to his father Osiris, when he enters to see his father Osiris, going out from the great embalming hall in order that Re sees him as Wennefer, the lord of Ta-djeser. Thereupon one embraced the other from them, in order that he may be $3h$ thereby in the realm of the dead ($n-mrwt$ $3h.f$ $\dot{i}m$ m $hrt-ntr$)".
- 233) In view of the famous passage in BD 17 (Budge 60, 3-4) concerning the embrace of these two gods, resulting in a united 'He with the double $b3$ ', for which see M. Heerma van Voss, *De oudste versie van Dodenboek 17a* (Leiden 1963), pp. 78-80.
- 234) BD 17, Budge 66, 7-8: "... the $\dot{i}ryw-s\dot{i}pw$, to whom the Lord of the Universe has given $3h$ ", cf. note 228 above; BD 17, Budge 58, 3-4: "these seven $3hw$ who are in the suite of the Lord of Sepa" (= CT IV 258a, cf. above note 129; BD 169, Budge 435, 14-15: "You (the deceased) are the fourth of these four gods, these $3hw$..." (= CT I 2e-4a), possibly the sons of Horus are meant, cf. PT 1092b-c: "these four $3hw$ who are with me are Hapy, Duamutef, Imsety and Kebhsenuf, two on one side and two on the other"; they are also addressed as "these (four) $3hw$ " by the officiant in a libation-scene on a 19th dynasty stela, Kitchen, *KRI* III 2,14.

More numerous and informative for our main subject are the passages - statements and descriptions - in which we encounter the $3h$ /the deceased, the one for whose future well-being the collection of spells in the BD is intended in the first place.²³⁶ The majority of the relevant texts in the BD connect the status of $3h$, or being $3h$, with the funerary environment or certain localities in the Hereafter.²³⁷ In connection with the funerary environment, e.g. the sarcophagus²³⁸, the realm of the dead²³⁹ or the West²⁴⁰, the texts emphasize more clearly

- 235) BD 9, Budge 31, 5-6: "O, any god, any $3h$, make a path for me" (final clause in a spell to open up the realm of the dead); BD 96/97, Budge 201, 3-4: "I (the deceased) have appeased ($sh\dot{t}p.n.\dot{i}$) these four $3hw$ who are in the suite of the lord of the offerings ($nb\ h\dot{t}$)" (in a spell to cause a man to be $3h$ in the realm of the dead); BD 109, Budge 222, 3-5: (concerning the barley and emmer in the Iaru-field of Re) "It are $3hw$ - each one of them is nine cubits in height - who reap it beside the eastern $b3w$ " (= CT II 371a). For the $3hw$ created by Atum, BD 78, Budge 167, 2-3 and 8-9, see above notes 227 and 117; cf. also BD 38A, Budge 103, 3-4: "I (the deceased identifying himself with Atum) give orders to the $3hw$, those of hidden places, the $3hw$ of Ruti" (= different from the earlier version CT spell 143, CT II 176t-u). In BD 145A, Naville I 158, 37, a gate-keeper is called $3h$.
- 236) Englund, *op.cit.*, p. 151 (III B 1.4), incorrectly translates a passage in the title of BD 17 - Budge 51, 4 - as: " $3h$ belongs to the one who recites it (the spell) on earth". Without doubt, $iw\ 3h\ n\ irr\ s\ tp-t3$ here has to be translated by: "it is useful for the one who does it" (in accordance with the translations by e.g. Allen, Barguet or Hornung).
- 237) Cf. Englund, *op.cit.*, pp. 154-156. Her statements about the importance of the primeval environment for the $3h$ are based upon two text passages where, in fact, reference is made to only mythical precedents concerning Atum: BD 3, Budge 27, 3-5: "O Atum, who came forth as great one of the $hnhnw$ (either the bark or the waters), who is $3h$ as Ruti" (cf. CT II 175k-l and 261e-262a); BD 78, Budge 167, 2-3 and 8-9, for which see above notes 227 and 117.
- 238) BD 133, title, Naville II 343, 1: "Spell for making able ($s\dot{i}kr$) an $3h$ in the sarcophagus".
- 239) E.g. BD 137A, in the rubric, Budge 308, 9-10 and 14-16: "This torch makes flourishing (srd) the $3h$ like Osiris Khontamenti ... Because $ntrw$, $3hw$ and mtw see him in the shape (irw) of Khontamenti, he has power ($shm.f$) like this god"; BD 177, title, Budge 461, 8: "Spell to raise the $3h$, to keep alive (s^Cnh) the $b3$

than before the fact that the 3_h will not die or die again, he will have full freedom of movement and action, receive offerings and he will prosper. As for the localities in the Hereafter, we meet the 3_h/the deceased in Heaven²⁴¹, passing gates without hindrance²⁴² and sojourning in the Iaru- and Hetep-fields²⁴³.

in the realm of the dead (*hrt-ntr*"); BD 180, title, Budge 470, 9-13: "Spell for going out by day, adoring Re in the West, giving praise to those who are in the netherworld (*dw3t*), opening up a way for the 3_h *ikr* who is in the realm of the dead, giving him his going, making extensive his strides, entering and going forth from the realm of the dead, and making transformations (*iri.t hprw*) into a living b3".

240) E.g. BD 30A, epilogue, Budge 95, 11-12: "He (the deceased) has been buried amongst the great ones, enduring (*w3h*) on earth, not dying in the West, being 3_h there (*im.s*)"; BD 155, rubric, Naville I 180, 4-5: "To be recited over a golden *dd*-pillar ... given to the 3_h on his neck, when he enters in the gate of the West" (a variant of the last phrase reads: "on the day of funeral (*sm3-t3*)", Budge 402, 13).

241) E.g. BD 174, title, Budge 455, 6-7: "Spell for permitting an 3_h to go out from the great gate in heaven" (This spell is the New Kingdom version of the PT spells 247-250, but the title is an addition).

242) BD 147, rubric, Budge 362, 8-13: "To be recited when reaching the seven gates. This 3_h enters by this gate without being repelled or kept away from Osiris. (It means) causing that he will be amongst the 3_{hw} *mnhw*, so that he may have power over the foremost followers (*šmsw tpyw*) of Osiris. As for any 3_h for whom this will be done, he shall be there as Lord of Eternity, being one body (*m h^Cw w^C*) with Osiris".

243) BD 77, Budge 165, 1-4: "I (the deceased having transformed himself into a golden falcon) dwell in the midst of these great gods of heaven, the double Hetep-field is prepared for me before me, so that I eat in there and be 3_h in there" (the last phrase in the earlier version, CT IV 55b, reads: "so that I eat in them and drink in them"); BD 110, title, Budge, 223, 14 - 224, 3: "Beginning of the spells of the Hetep-field, the spells of going forth by day, of entering and going out from the realm of the dead, of uniting (*hnm*) with the Iaru-field and being in the double Hetep-field, (in) the great city of the Lady of the Winds, being powerful (*sh^m*) there, being 3_h there, to plough there and to reap, to eat there and to drink there, to copulate there and to do all what is being done on earth" (similar passages in Budge 225, 7-11 and 227, 4-10; for the earlier versions in CT Spells 464-468 see

We have observed in a previous paragraph²⁴⁴ that according to some passages in the CT the goal at the end of the wanderings²⁴⁵ of the 3_h/the deceased in the Hereafter is the place where Re or Osiris dwells. This theme is further elaborated in several spells in the BD. In most cases the spells are intended to establish the 3_h/the deceased in the company of Re or to allow him take to his place in the solar barque of Re: "making able (*sīkr*) an 3_h in the opinion (*hr īb*) of Re"²⁴⁶, "this means permitting him (the 3_h) to sail in the barque of Re"²⁴⁷, "Book for making able (*sīkr*) an 3_h and letting him descend into the barque of Re together with those who are in his suite"²⁴⁸. Whereas this strong link between the 3_h/the deceased and Re becomes apparent in many spells (for which see further below), according to some other spells he will be amongst the gods²⁴⁹ or amongst the followers of Osiris²⁵⁰.

above notes 151 and 179). In this spell the deceased, after having identified himself with Hetep the lord of the Hetep-fields, declares (Budge 227, 12-13): "I give abundance (*b^ch*) to the *k3w* of the 3_h*w*", a reference to the fact that it is the *k3* of the 3_h/the deceased which has to be provided with offerings.

244) Cf. above page 223 with notes 147 and 148.

245) The theme of the wanderings of the deceased in the next world, which plays such a prominent role in the CT, is still present in the BD spells but less frequently in connection with the state of 3_h.

246) BD 15, Budge 45, 10-11; BD 133, rubric, Budge 291, 11-12.

247) E.g. BD 133, rubric, Budge 291, 7-8. In this spell, as in some others, a magical procedure is used to reach the intended goal: placing a painted image (*twt*) of the 3_h in a barque (the solar barque of Re) to ensure the deceased a place in the solar barque. Cf. BD 134, rubric, Budge 294, 9-10: "This means adoring Re when his barque sails, and the one (the 3_h) who does it for him will be together with Re"; BD 136A (main text is the later version of CT Spell 1030), rubric, Budge 300, 2-3: "It means his (the 3_h) sailing in the barque of Re".

248) BD 100, title, Budge 210, 6-7.

249) BD 144, rubric, Budge 333, 1-2: "This means keeping alive (*s^cnh*) this 3_h and making that he is powerful (*sh^m.f*) amongst these gods (*n^trw*, here the keepers of the seven gates of the netherworld)".

250) BD 152, Budge 389, 2-10: "Then Osiris says to the gods who are in his suite: 'Go quickly, that you see the building of this house of this 3_h *c^pr*; he has come today, renewed (*m3w*), amongst you...

Generally speaking the documents from the earlier periods have shown that to be or become $3h$, or to acquire this state, is the result of either the benignant intervention of the gods, the identification with a god, special knowledge, or the recitation of particular formulae by qualified priests. In the BD spells these elements²⁵¹ recur, if only with a different accent. The benevolent divine intervention in favour of the deceased becomes apparent in several passages.²⁵² Basically it

This god (ntr), he has come today, renewed, amongst you"; cf. BD 183 (a hymn to Osiris), Budge 486, 6-7: "... $prrt-hrw$ offerings to the $3hw$ who are in your suite"; see also note 242 above.

251) Cf. Englund, *op.cit.*, pp. 156-158 (III B 3).

252) E.g. BD 172, Budge 449, 5: "Re makes you $3h$ in his pure place ($s3h \text{ } tw \text{ } R^C \text{ } m \text{ } w^C b.f$)"; *ibid.*, Budge 451, 1-5: "Offerings are portioned out for you in the presence of Re. The beginning belongs to you, the end belongs to you, as Horus and Thot have ordered for you. They have called NN, to see this, that he may be $3h$ there-with..."

A curious example is found in BD 149, Budge 370, 11-12, where the deceased, identifying himself with Seth as helper in the solar barque, opposes the threatening snake on the fourth hill and declares: "My two eyes have been given to me, that I may be $3h$ therewith ($3h.i \text{ } im$)", followed by "What is it? It means he is an $3h$ ($i\ddot{s}st \text{ } pw, 3h \text{ } pw$)". Now the related passage in BD 108, Budge 220, 3-4, reads: "There was given to me my $3hw$ -magical power against you. What is it? It means he is an $3h$ ", while the earlier version in CT II 383b-c gives: "There has been given (something) to me against you. What is this? It is $3h$ ". Judging from the writing, spelled out with a determinative bookroll, in this last instance $3h$ could as well mean ' $3h$ -being' or 'magical power', or even 'something useful'. In the BD versions however the determinative clearly refers to a person. (For the episode as a whole, in the CT-version, see J.F. Borghouts, *JEA* 59 (1973), pp. 114-115). Similar easily confusing situations occur in BD 148, Budge 364, 6-9 and 365, 1-2. E. Hornung, *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter* (Zürich-München 1979), pp. 299, 8-10 and 300, 19-20, translates the first passage (an address to the seven cows and one bull): "Möget ihr Brot und Bier, Nahrung und Verklärtheit dem Osiris NN geben, dem trefflichen Verklärten, der im Totenreich ist" and the second (an address to the four oars of heaven): "Möget ihr Brot und Bier, Nahrung und Verklärtheit dem Osiris NN geben". In these cases one has to translate $d\ddot{i}.tn \text{ } t \text{ } hnkt \text{ } htp-df3w \text{ } 3h \text{ } n \text{ } 3h \text{ } NN$...: "May you give bread and beer and sustenance-offerings which is useful for the $3h$ NN...".

is Re who gives $3h$ and Osiris who receives this state.²⁵³ And the deceased, by identifying himself with Re or Osiris, can be either the donor or the receiver of $3h$.²⁵⁴

The theme of knowledge is found mainly in the epilogues or rubrics of some of the spells, e.g.: "As for anyone who knows this spell, he shall be an $3h \text{ } \dot{ik}r$ ".²⁵⁵ Several spells are intended to be recited over an object which then has to be placed on the breast or around the neck of the $3h$.²⁵⁶ In these cases $3h$ refers to the mummy of the deceased²⁵⁷ and in some instances reciting the spell and placing the object can make the $3h$ into an $3h \text{ } mn\dot{h}$ in the West or an $3h \text{ } \dot{ik}r$ in the realm of the dead.²⁵⁸

253) Cf. above p. 238 and notes 228, 231 and 232.

254) BD 85, Budge 184, 11: "I (the deceased identifying himself with Re as the Lord of the Light, *nb šsp*) am the one who gives $3h$ to Osiris", cf. note 228 above; BD 144, Budge 329, 9-10: "Osiris NN is one who born in Rosetau, $3h$ has been given to him by the Lord of the Horizon (*nb 3ht*)" (= CT VII 289a-b, where one group of variants reads the last phrase: " $3h$ has been given to me by my lord Re-Harakhty").

255) E.g. BD 135, Budge 295, 8-10: "As for anyone who knows this spell, I shall be an $3h \text{ } \dot{ik}r$ in the realm of the dead, he shall not die again in the realm of the dead, he shall eat beside Osiris"; BD 176, Budge 461, 4-5: "As for anyone who knows this spell, he shall be an $3h \text{ } \dot{ik}r$, he cannot die again in the realm of the dead".

256) E.g. BD 100, rubric, Budge 211, 6-9: "To be recited over this image (*sšm*)... (it) is given to the $3h$ on his breast"; BD 101, rubric, Budge 213, 8-10: "To be recited over the piece (*sšd*) of king's linen ... (it) is given to the $3h \text{ } \dot{ik}r$ on his neck on the day of the funeral"; BD 155, rubric, Budge 402, 11-13: "To be recited over a golden *ḡd*-amulet ... given to the $3h$ on his neck on the day of the funeral"; similarly BD 156, rubric, Budge 403, 7-9.

257) Cf. already CT IV 58g; see also note 169 above. Similarly we read in BD 137A, rubric, Budge 309, 9-11: "If you use this book (*īrr.k mḡ3t tn*), this $3h$ is reconstituted (*iḡb*), made able (*sīkr*) and purified (*twr*), and his mouth is opened with the metal (*bī3*)".

258) E.g. BD 136A, rubric, Budge 300, 3-8: "As for any $3h$ for whom this will be done, he will be amongst the living, he cannot perish, he will be a sacred god (*ntr ḡsr*); nothing evil can harm him, he will be an $3h \text{ } mn\dot{h}$ in the West, he cannot die again, he will eat and drink before Osiris"; BD 155, rubric, Budge 402, 14-16: "He will

The descriptions and ideas in the BD concerning the state of $3h$ and the existence of an $3h$ in the next world in general comply with the views previously expressed, notably in the CT.²⁵⁹ The BD spells however lay more emphasis upon aspects such as the deceased having to pass a judgement, being equal to the gods and possessing their power. The $3h$ /the deceased in the next world expects to live²⁶⁰, not to die there²⁶¹, not to be hindered and to have freedom of movement²⁶². He counts on being justified and passing the judgement triumphantly²⁶³.

be an $3h$ $\dot{t}kr$ who is in the realm of the dead on the day of the New Year like those who are in the suite of Osiris".

259) Cf. Englund, *op.cit.*, pp. 162-164 (III B 4).

260) E.g. BD 136A, rubric, Budge 300, 3-4, quoted above in note 258; BD 144, rubric, Budge 332, 14 - 333, 1: "To be recited over this image which is painted, painted with Nubian ochre. The second college of the barque of Re - an offering is to be made to them consisting of food, fowl and incense. This means keeping alive the $3h$ ", see further note 249 above.

261) E.g. BD 30A, Budge 95, 11-12, see above note 240.

262) E.g. BD 144, rubric, Budge 333, 2-3 (see also above note 249): "It means he will not be kept away, he will not be hindered at the gates of the netherworld"; BD 190, Budge 497, 11-16: "As for any $3h$ for whom this book will be used, his $b3$ has come forth together with the living, he will come forth by day, he will be powerful amongst the $ntrw$, without being kept away; these $ntrw$ will surround (him), they will recognize him, he will be like one of them".

263) E.g. BD 1, Budge, 21, 13-16: "He has gone, he has spoken with you, that he may be $3h$ with you. One has not found his fault (wn) there. The balance is empty from his fault (sp)" (this is the last paragraph of the spell which did not yet appear in the earlier version CT III Spell 314); BD 89, Budge 189, 12-13: "My $b3$ takes for me my $3h$ (the glorified body), that I may be vindicated with him in any place where he is".

Elsewhere the deceased claims to be $3h$ and $\dot{t}p$ ('counted', 'recognized' in the sense of justified), cf. e.g. BD 69, Budge 154, 5-6: "I have come, being $3h$, $\dot{t}p$ and ntr " (for the earlier version see CT III 268b-272b); BD 72, Budge 159, 15 - 160, 2: "I have penetrated towards you, being $3h$ in my $\dot{t}rw$ -shape, being powerful ($shm.kwi$) with my $hk3w$, being $\dot{t}p$ in my $3hw$ ($3h$ -status or magical power?)".

264) E.g. BD 133A, rubric, Budge 291, 11-13: "It means making able ($s\dot{t}kr$) the $3h$ in the opinion of Re, giving that he is powerful with the ennead. Then the gods will see him as one of them";

All this will ensure him a beatified existence, which the *3h* intends to lead amongst the gods who will even recognize him as one of them.²⁶⁴ His way of life, as described in two spells which are later versions of texts in the CT²⁶⁵, is a kind of duplicate of life on earth: the deceased works, eats, makes love, and so forth.²⁶⁶ Yet, to stress the fact that he has become a godlike being (*ntr*) himself, the *3h* will possess divine power (*shm*).²⁶⁷

In conclusion it can be said that the deceased attains the status of *3h*, not in the least because of the powerful help of the BD spells, expecting an eternal existence in the company of the great gods, being their obedient servant and efficient helper at the same time.²⁶⁸ His new status enables him to take an active part in the divine world which in turn strengthens his position as someone endowed with so to say super-

BD 137A, rubric, see above note 239; BD 147, rubric, see above note 242.

265) BD 77 and BD 110; for the earlier versions and commentary see above note 243.

266) Cf. Englund, *op.cit.*, p. 164 (III B 4.3). To stay alive the deceased also needs food and some spells are intended to ensure him of these provisions, e.g. BD 148, rubric, Budge 366, where it is prescribed that the spell should be read over gods, *ntrw* (i.e. their painted images), to whom offerings should be brought and for whom *pwt-hrw*-offerings should be prepared, because (Budge 366, 7-8): "This is useful with Re. It means feeding (*sdw3*) the *b3* in the realm of the dead" (variant in Naville I 167, 1 reads "feeding the *3h*"), and again in the last line of the rubric (Budge 366, 15): "It means feeding the *3h*".

267) E.g. BD 137A, rubric, Budge 308, 14-16: "because *ntrw*, *3hw* and *mtw* see him in the *irw*-shape of Khontamenti, he has power (*shm.f*) like this god".

In a similar sense the deceased, identifying himself with Osiris, claims to be "an *3h*, a lord of the *3hw*", BD 144, Budge 329, 16.

268) Cf. e.g. in BD 130, which is titled "Another spell for making able (*sikr*) the *3h*...", the following description of the deceased (Budge 284, 2-9): "NN descends into your barque, Re, he occupies your throne, he receives your dignity (*sch*); NN leads the ways of Re in the morning to ward off that evil one (*nbd*) coming with fire against your barque in that great district. NN knows him and he cannot attack your barque while NN is in it" (emended after the earlier version CT Spell 1099, CT VII 413d-415d).

human powers: i.e. a concept which is in full accordance with our findings and conclusions in relation to the foregoing periods.²⁶⁹

It has been observed above²⁷⁰ that in the CT Spells the notion $3h$ is frequently provided with one or two out of a wide range of adjectives. In the texts of the BD we mainly find three adjectives or epitheta being used in connection with the word $3h$: mnh , cpr and ikr .²⁷¹

The expression $3h mnh$ is only found four times. Twice, in an adapted version of a royal text, we hear about the justification of the $b3$ of the $3h mnh$ and his triumphant reception in the next world.²⁷² The third example has already been quoted above relating to the proper recitation of a spell over an amuletic object to be placed on the $3h$ which makes him into an $3h mnh$ in the West; in the fourth example reciting a spell in the proper place causes the deceased to be amongst the $3hw mnhw$.²⁷³ These few examples are not very informative about the special function of an $3h mnh$, but at least it is linked with the notion of power, if only the power of the one who is in his hands.²⁷⁴

269) See above page 237.

270) Cf. pp. 230 ff.

271) Once the epithet hsy - praised, is used: BD 126, Budge 270, 6-9: "Do enter Rosetau, pass by the secret gates of the West; there is given to you a cake, a jar of beer and a bread; you go out and you enter as you wish, like those $3hw hsyw$ ".

272) In BD 127 which combines paragraphs from the Litany of the Sun. In BD 127B the relevant passages read (Budge 275, 5-6 and 13-14): "(An address to gate-keepers who swallow the souls and the bodies of the damned, and) who give $m3Ct$ to the $b3 mnh$ " and "How justified ($m3Cty$) is this $b3$, the $b3 mnh$ powerful of arms". The same passages in BD 127A (intended for a royal subject, Ramesses IV) read (Budge 272, 5-6 and 13-15): "Give $m3Cw$ (guidance) to the $b3$ of the $3h mnh$ " and "You are really Harakhty - how renewed ($m3C.wy$) is the $b3$ of the $3h mnh$, how powerful ($shw.wy$) is the one who is in his hands". For the corresponding passages from the 6th litany in the Litany of the Sun, cf. E. Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen (Sonnenlitanei)* I (Genève 1975), pp. 190 and 196.

273) BD 136A, rubric, see above note 258; BD 147, rubric, see above note 242.

274) For the meaning of mnh in this context see also p. 207, note 81.

Contrary to the frequent occurrence of the expression $3h C_{pr}$ in the CT, it is but seldom found in the BD texts.²⁷⁵ Almost all the examples show the traditional use of this term: "Then Osiris says to the gods who are in his suite: 'Go quickly, that you see the building of this house (hwt) of this $3h C_{pr}$; he has come today, renewed ($m3w$), amongst you' "²⁷⁶; "I am an $3h C_{pr}$, I am more C_{pr} than all the $3hw$ "²⁷⁷; "May you prepare a path for me, for my $b3$, my $3h$, my \check{swt} , I am C_{pr} ($C_{pr}.kwi$), I am an $3h C_{pr}$ and a path is prepared for me to the place where Re and Hathor are"²⁷⁸. Describing his blessed state the deceased, intending

275) Cf. Englund, *op.cit.*, pp. 169-170 (III B 4.6.2). Note the fact that probably Osiris is called $3h C_{pr}$ in BD 60, Budge 131, 14, for which see above note 230; and again in BD 124, Budge 245, 10-12: "I (the deceased) report to him (Osiris) the words of the gods: 'Come, $3h C_{pr}$, that you may present ($s^{Cr}.k$) $m3^{Ct}$ to the one who loves it'". Comparable to the relatively rare occurrence of the expression $3h C_{pr}$ in the BD Spells is the near total absence of this term in the private texts of the New Kingdom, funerary of other. An interesting exception is found in ceiling inscription in a tomb from the mid-18th dynasty at Thebes (no. 97): $n k3 n 3h ikr C_{pr} iirt.f$ - "for the $k3$ of the $3h ikr$ equipped with all that he requires, cf. A.H. Gardiner, ZAS 47 (1910), p. 90.

276) BD 152, Budge 389, 2-6, see above note 250. This passage indicates that the $3h C_{pr}$ is provided with a hwt - funerary chapel, cf. also the title of this BD 152, Budge, 388, 8: "Spell for building a hwt which is in the earth ($imy.ty t3$)".

277) BD 124, final clause, Budge 245, 12-13, taking into consideration the version of Ani: $ink 3h C_{pr} r 3hw nbw$. Yet the redaction of Nu (= Budge 245, 12-13): $ink 3h C_{pr} iw C_{pr}.n.i. 3hw nbw$, could be derived from a version reading: "I am an $3h C_{pr}$, I have acquired all $3hw$ (magical power)"; cf. CT I 86c - $C_{pr}.n.f 3hw nbw$ - discussed above note 166.

278) BD 91 (based on CT Spell 496; for this phrase cf. CT VI 78c-e and note 147 above), Naville II 206 (Ca); a variant in Naville II 206 (Ca bis) replaces $3h C_{pr}$ by $b3 C_{pr}$, while the Papyrus of Nu (Budge 194, 5) in this place reads $3h ikr$. Without going into detail, it might be observed that frequently the notions of $3h$ and $b3$ are to be found in parallel passages, having many aspects in common. And while in general the two fundamentally distinct concepts are still clearly differentiated, in some cases they seem to be interchangeable or at least so closely interwoven that the ancient Egyptians themselves were either easily confused or led into scribal errors. Cf. also Englund, *op.cit.*, pp. 123 and 165;

to reach his 'father' Osiris, claims: "I am $s^c h$, I am $3h$, I am qpr ".²⁷⁹ Only once do we find an indication as to what the deceased means by being provide (qpr): "See, I have come to you, being $3h$, $b3$, powerful ($shm.kwi$) and provided ($qpr.kwi$) with the writings of Thot".²⁸⁰ As far as the texts of the BD are concerned, the epithet which occurs most frequently in connection with the notion $3h$ referring to the deceased, is certainly ikr ²⁸¹. Whereas the expression $3h ikr$ in the earlier periods played a prominent role mainly in the more private texts, appearing only occasionally in the greater religious literature, in the BD spells this term more or less represents the designation *par excellence* for the deceased in his blessed state, referring to his position as an 'able spirit'.²⁸² The quality of ikr appears to be the most significant for the deceased, and at the same time it would seem to be the most desirable, if only because the act of $sikr 3h$ figures frequently in the titles and rubrics of the spells. With reference to the key-expression - $3h ikr n R^c$ - in the brief texts on the A and B documents collected in Chapter II, it is especially informative to observe in these titles and rubrics the close relationship between the act of $sikr 3h$ and the god

E. Otto, ZAS 77 (1942), pp. 88-89.

279) BD 9, Budge 31, 5.

280) BD 94, Budge 199, 8-10. Cf. above p. 231 with note 196.

281) For the meaning of this adjective, see above pp. 195-197.

In BD 193 the deceased are addressed: "O $3hw$, lords of secret buildings, $ikrw$ of Memphis ...", cf. M. Heerma van Voss, *De spreuk om de kisten te kennen* (Leiden 1971), pp. 69-70 and Plate.

282) Cf. Englund, *op.cit.*, pp. 167-169 (III B 4.6.1).

Noteworthy is the fact that the expression $3h ikr$ exclusively concerns the deceased, whereas the cooccurrent terms like $3h qpr$ and $3h mnh$ can also be found as designations for e.g. Osiris, cf. above note 275 and for Osiris as $3h mnh$ a line in a hymn much-copied since the Middle Kingdom: " $3h mnh$ amongst the $3hw$ ($mm 3hw$)", De Buck, *Readingbook* 110, 8-9.

The gradually increasing predominance of the term $3h ikr$ in the religious texts is to a certain extent explicable in view of the fact that the spells of the BD in comparison with the texts of the PT and the CT were more directly written and intended for the ordinary deceased.

Re. A clear example, which is to be found in several spells, sums up the desired place by the 3_h/the deceased as follows: (*md3t n*) *sīkr* 3_h *hr īb n R^C rdīt šm.f hr Tmw s^{C3}.f hr Wsir rdīt wsr.f hr Hnty Imntt rdīt šfšft.f hr psdt ntrw* - (Book for) making able an 3_h in the opinion of Re, causing that he is powerful with Atum, that he is magnified with Osiris, causing that he is influential with Khontamenti, causing respect for him with the ennead of gods".²⁸³ The privilege and august position of the deceased in this situation emerges from the assigned qualities (*īkr*, *šm*, ^{C3} and *wsr*) which he will possess either in the opinion of, or together with the great gods. The special relation of the deceased to Re also becomes apparent from a spell which really is a compilation of two spells from the CT, but in the BD has been provided with a title proving that the contents were considered to describe the status of an 3_h *īkr*: "Another spell for making able (*sīkr*) an 3_h on the birthday of Osiris (and for keeping alive the *b3* until eternity)".²⁸⁴ From this spell we learn that the deceased claims to be "a follower of Re (*šmsw R^C*)" who "will not be kept away from Re (*n hsf Osiris NN hr R^C*)" and "will not enter into the pool of the criminals (*n C_k Osiris NN m š n hbntyw*); he "has opened the horizon of Re", he "adores Re and he (Re) listens to his words and punishes his enemies for him (*hwī.f. nf. sdbw r hftyw.f*)"; furthermore we are

283) BD 190, title (= the introduction of BD 148 in the Pap. of Yuja), Budge 496, 13-16; similar phrases in BD 15 IIIB, Naville I 20, 2 and BD 15, Budge 45, 10-13. Cf. also the title of BD 100, for which see above note 248; BD 133, rubric, Budge 291, 11-16: "It means making able (*sīkr*) an 3_h in the opinion of Re and causing that he is powerful with the ennead of gods. Then the gods (*ntrw*) will see him as one of them and when people or dead look upon him, they will fall on their faces. He will be looked upon (*m33.tw.f*) in the realm of the dead by the rays of Re (*stwt R^C*)"; BD 141, title, Budge 317, 12 - 318, 1: "It means that he is made able (*sīkr.f*) in the opinion of Re and in the opinion of the gods (*ntrw*), and that (he) will be together with them (*wnn hn^C.sn*)".

284) BD 130 (based upon CT Spells 1065 and 1099), title, Budge 278, 11-12.

informed that "the name of Re is in the body of Osiris NN, and his dignity is in his mouth (*s^Ch.f m r.f*)", "he saves Re from Apopis, daily" and he "descends into your barque, Re, he occupies your throne and receives your dignity. Osiris NN leads the ways of Re in the morning, to ward off that evil one".²⁸⁵

These passages illustrate how the deceased in his position as an *3h ikr* acts as an able assistant of the sungod whose divine and benevolent grace he is therefore entitled to receive. This not only results in a beatified existence in the close proximity of Re, but also enables the deceased to a direct contact with the great god who will listen to him and, if necessary, will act in his favour: a clear reference to the importance of someone being an *3h ikr n R^C* - the one who by virtue of his privileged and august position has the power to act in the divine world. Fundamentally this idea had already become apparent in texts from the earlier periods²⁸⁶, but the spells of the BD show a closer relation between the function of the *3h ikr* and the sungod.

Closely connected with this view is the fact that the deceased as an *3h ikr* is encountered in several spells as one of the crew of the solar barque, e.g. in the rubric of spell 130 giving instructions on how to prepare things before reciting the spell over a drawing of the solar barque: "after you have placed an image of this *3h*, of whom you want that he will be made *ikr*, in this barque - it means, that he sails in the barque of Re and that Re himself sees him in it".²⁸⁷ Spell 100 is explicitly titled "Book for making able (*sikr*) an *3h* and allowing him to descend into the barque of Re together with those who are in his

285) Quotations respectively Budge 279, 4; 279, 12; 279, 15-16; 280, 14-15; 281, 1-3; 281, 7-8; 282, 3; 284, 2-6.

286) Cf. above pp. 218 and 233.

287) BD 133, rubric, Budge 291, 6-9. The earlier version of this spell, CT 1029, is entitled: "Spell for navigating in the great barque of Re" (CT VII 257c). Cf. too above note 135 for the deceased acting as a judge in the solar barque.

suite".²⁸⁸ Furthermore, in Spell 101, Re is addressed in the following phrases: "You have admitted (*īw hnm.n.k*) NN, the *3h īkr*, in your crew" and when passing Apopis "you shall keep safe (*k3.k swd3.k*) NN, the *3h īkr*, in your crew".²⁸⁹ Again, these passages stress the importance of the relationship between the *3h īkr* and the sun-god. Sailing in the solar barque together with the gods is the highest attainable goal for the deceased whose eternal well-being is thereby guaranteed and at the same time awards him a divine status (without, in fact, himself becoming a god in the true sense).²⁹⁰

From the general descriptions and statements about the existence of the *3h īkr* in the BD spells we further learn that he has power over the offerings²⁹¹, sojourns in the realm of the dead²⁹², possesses a *b3 Cnh*²⁹³; he is to receive the sacred robe (*wCbw*)²⁹⁴ and has knowledge at his disposal²⁹⁵. Yet, even in his blessed state he remains dependent

288) BD 100, title, cf. above note 248.

289) BD 101, Budge 212, 9-11 and 14-15. See also Englund, *op.cit.*, p. 169.

290) In this connection it seems appropriate to refer to the representation of the solar barque and other solar symbols, figuring on the stelae of our group of A documents, cf. above, pp. 13 and 17.

291) BD 133, rubric, Naville I 146, 21: "You have been made able (*wn.k sīkr.tī*) like every *3h* in the opinion of Re. Causing that he may have power over the sustenance-offerings with every *3h īkr*".

292) BD 180, title, Budge 470, 9-13, see above note 239.

293) BD 151, caption accompanying the figure of an adoring *b3*-bird, Budge 384, 4: "To be recited by the *b3 Cnh* of the *3h.t īkr.t* NN" (the feminine form of *3h īkr* is explained by the fact that the papyrus was destined for a woman).

294) BD 171, Budge 443, 14-16: "(addressed to a great number of gods) give the sacred robe (*dī.tn wCbw*) to the *3h īkr* NN, cause that it is useful for him, remove (*dr.tn*) the impurities that are upon him (*dwt īrt.f*)"; following Barguet, *Livre des Morts*, p. 254, note 3, we have emended the second phrase - *dī.tn 3h.sn* - into *dī.tn 3h n.f* (Cf. also Englund, *op.cit.*, p. 168 in IIIB 4.1.6, who translates however: "faites que *3h* soit à lui", which makes poor sense as the one for whom this is asked, is already *3h īkr*).

295) Cf. BD 64, final phrases, Budge 145, 3-5: "I have entered as an ignorant man (*Ck.n.ī m hm*), I have come forth (*prī.n.ī.*) as an *3h īkr*. I am seen in my *īrw*-shape as a human being forever".

on the benevolent intervention of the sun-god.²⁹⁶

In all these passages the status of the *3ḥ ḏkr* is not very much different from that of the *3ḥw* as blessed dead in general. But it is especially in his relationship with the sun-god Re that we find the deceased being designated as *3ḥ ḏkr*, the one who has reached a privileged position which enables him to act with godlike powers. In conclusion, and referring to our remarks in preceding paragraphs, it should be noted that the expressions *3ḥ ḏkr* and *sḏkr 3ḥ* in the BD mainly occur either in new spells, i.e. not based upon earlier versions in the CT, or in the titles and rubrics of some spells which are usually additions to older texts included in the BD.²⁹⁷ The importance of these expressions therefore is characteristic of the New Kingdom religious funerary literature, in which *3ḥ ḏkr* has become the designation for the deceased in his blessed state and in his capacity as an able assistant or follower of Re.

The other great religious compositions of the New Kingdom belong to the category of what has become known as the 'Unterweltsbücher'. The central theme of all these 'books' being the god Re, his nocturnal journey through the Netherworld and his union with Osiris, it is only natural to find the common deceased playing a less important role than for example in the BD spells. Nevertheless, the sometimes very detailed descriptions of the abode and the existence of the beatified deceased as *3ḥw* or *nṯrw* in these texts do provide us with some illustrative

Knowledge also results in becoming an *3ḥ ḏkr*, cf. note 255 above.

296) BD 101, Budge 212, 15 - 213, 2: "O Re, in this your name of Re, when you pass along those there (the dead) who go upside down, you shall put NN, the *3ḥ ḏkr*, on his feet". For 'going upside down' as a fate threatening every deceased, and as a concept fitting in to the Sheol-representations, see the comprehensive discussion in J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, pp. 75-78.

For the general idea compare also the seven *3ḥw* who walk upside down, mentioned in CT III 147-148.

297) Cf. also Englund, *op.cit.*, p. 173 (in IIIC).

informations pertaining to our main subject.

The four categories of beings called $3h$, or possessing $3h$, which we have become acquainted with in the preceding paragraphs²⁹⁸, are also met in the 'Unterweltsbücher'. Of the great gods being $3h$, or possessing the state of $3h$, we should mention of course Re²⁹⁹ and Osiris³⁰⁰. It is also Re who grants the state of $3h$.³⁰¹ Further the quality or the state of $3h$ is applied to divinities of a lower rank³⁰², unspecified beings in the Hereafter³⁰³ and - most important of all and usually occurring group-wise - the $3hw$ /the deceased³⁰⁴.

298) See above pp. 198-200, 219-221 and 238 (Englund's four categories *op.cit.*, p. 183 (IV B 1), differ from our classification).

299) *E.g.* "They (those who carry the twisted rope) say to Re: ... the hours belong to the great god in order that you may be $3h$, oh Re, within (or: by) the splendour of light", Book of Gates, 6th hour, upp. reg. (scene 36), E. Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits I* (Geneva 1979), pp. 218-219.

300) *E.g.* In an address by the sun-god: "May it be well with your $3h$ (-being), Osiris. May it be well with your $3hw$ you who are in the suite of Osiris", *Amduat*, 3rd hour, final text, cf. E. Hornung, *Das Amduat I* (Wiesbaden 1963), p. 60. Our translation of the introductory $3h n$ differs from that given by Hornung, *Das Amduat II*, p. 74: "Wahrlich verklärt sei dein Ach, Osiris, und verklärt seien eure Achs, Verklärte im Gefolge des Osiris". The state of $3h$ of Osiris is also due to the 'work' of his son Horus: "That what Horus did on behalf of his father Osiris: spiritualizing him ($s3h.f$) ...", cf. Book of Gates, 4th hour, low. reg. (scene 21), E. Hornung, *Buch von den Pforten I*, p. 125.

301) "I (Re) call upon you (Sokar), that you may be $3h$ ", *Amduat*, 5th hour, middle reg., cf. Hornung, *Das Amduat I*, p. 86.

302) *E.g.* Re says to the 'southern gods': "You have come into being, oh gods ($ntrw$), you are $3hw$, oh gods, on behalf of my coming into being in the realm of the dead ($\dot{s}tyt$), on behalf of my $3h$ -being in the place of which the condition is hidden", Book of Gates, 10th hour, upp. reg. (scene 61), cf. Hornung, *Buch von den Pforten I*, pp. 333-334.

303) *E.g.* a group of twelve figures who carry the twisted rope are addressed: "May there be a coming forth for your hours in order that you may be $3h$ by them", Book of Gates, 6th hour, upp. reg. (scene 36), cf. Hornung, *Buch von den Pforten I*, p. 216.

304) Cf. Englund, *op.cit.*, pp. 187-188 (IV B 1.3). They are already mentioned in the title of the *Amduat*: "Record of the hidden place, the stations ($^Ch^Cw$) of the $b3w$, $ntrw$, $\dot{s}wt$ and $3hw$ and what

Not surprisingly, in view of the central theme of these 'books', it is the sun-god Re who plays a vital role in the existence of the *3ḥw*/the deceased. Their being dependent of the sun-god is expressed in phrases like: "Hail to Re at the gate³⁰⁵ of the earth. Praise to you, who permits the *3ḥw* to breath (*srḳ*)"³⁰⁶; "(a group of gods) ...

they are the ones who give water (*ī^cb-mw*) to the *3ḥw* (like) the great god (Re) has ordered"³⁰⁷; (Re speaks to the *3ḥw* in the train of Osiris) "Your forms (*īrw*) belong to the day, I have made your (state of) *3ḥw* for the night"³⁰⁸; "Hail to you Re ... you put the *3ḥw* in their caverns"³⁰⁹.

Most informative however is a scene in the Book of Gates³¹⁰ where Re as 'He who is hidden of mysteries' awakens the blessed dead who are depicted as mummies lying on their bellies upon biers. They are denoted in an accompanying legend as *3ḥw mnḥw* and *3ḥw īkrw*, while the god addresses them: "Hail to you *3ḥw*; hail to you, dwellers of the netherworld", followed by a complete description of the awakening: "Opening for your faces, uncovering for your darkness. May it be well with your *b3w*, may it be excellent for your shades ... May there be a lifting up for your biers. May breath belong to your noses ... May there be a loosening for your mummy-wrappings. May you depart and return ... May you be satisfied with your offerings ... May you stand under the leafy roof which carries the *3ḥ* of Akhty. May you be bright

(they) do", cf. Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, p. 1. Further references in the following notes.

305) Or: "doors", as a dual, cf. Hornung, *Das Amduat* II, p. 33 - "... an den Türflügeln der Erde".

306) *Amduat*, 1st hour, final text, cf. Hornung, *Das Amduat* I, p. 20.

307) *Amduat*, 2nd hour, low. reg., cf. Hornung, *ibid.*, p. 33.

308) *Amduat*, 3rd hour, final text, cf. Hornung, *ibid.*, p. 60. In his commentary Hornung (*Das Amduat* II, p. 78 note 50) rightly concludes from this phrase that the *3ḥ* belongs to the domain of the night, the netherworld, and that the deceased can only leave in his *īrw*-shape (cf. e.g. the text quoted below with note 317).

309) Book of the Caverns, 4th div., upp. reg., cf. A. Piankoff, *Le livre des Quererts* (Cairo 1946), Pl. XLI line 23.

310) Book of Gates, 8th hour, low. reg. (scene 53), cf. Hornung, *Buch von den Pforten* I, pp. 288-292. Cf. P. Leyden I 347 (hymns to

by your clothes. May you be light by the splendour of Re. The realm of the dead opens for you, 3_{hw}. They are on their biers, sleeping on their beds. Their food offerings consist of bread, their beer consists of dsrt-beer, their libations consist of water. Offerings are brought to them on earth as to an able spirit who disposes of a shade".³¹¹

Likewise in other instances it becomes clear that the blessed dead, who in these 'books' are almost always situated in the netherworld, thank their very - beatified - existence to the sun-god: "They (the towers of the sun-boat) say to Re: Pass on, great god, lord of the hours, who provides for the earth, upon whose being (irw) the gods live and the 3_{hw} when they see his forms (hprw)"³¹²; "They (the rejoicing ones who are in the netherworld) make jubilation for Re in the West, they exalt Harakhty. Those who acknowledged (rhyw) Re when they were on earth, who brought their offerings to him on their places, their

Horus, with solar aspects) rt. 11,5: "The gods are jubilant behind me, the 3_{hw} are on their bellies (3_{hw} hr ht.sn)".

The 3_{hw} are also depicted as a group of nine blessed dead standing on the stairs in front of Osiris in his judgement-hall, Book of Gates, scene 33 between the 5th and 6th hour, cf. Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten I*, p. 197: "... the 3_{hw} who are in the West"; and p. 200: "The enemies are under him (i.e. Osiris). The ntrw and the 3_{hw} are in front of him". See also M. Heerma van Voss in *Travels in the World of the Old Testament* ('Festschrift' M.A. Beek) (Assen 1974), p. 84.

- 311) Translation following mainly that by J. Zandee in *Liber Amicorum, Studies in honour of C.J. Bleeker* (Leiden 1969), pp. 308-309. E.F. Wente, JNES 41 (1932), pp. 170-172, translates the last phrase by: "The one who offers to them upon earth is an excellent Akh, who possesses a shade", on account of a different interpretation of the grammatical construction. (Similar phrases are to be found in the texts of BD 168 published in first translation by A. Piankoff, *The Wandering of the Soul* (Princeton 1974), pp. 41-114 (The Quererts) esp. in the offering-texts pp. 88 ff.) In spite of his reasoning, *ibid.*, pp. 174 ff., I find it difficult to accept Wente's views concerning mysticism in pharaonic Egypt, especially since there seems to be hardly any evidence for it in all the textual material I studied in this chapter.
- 312) Book of Gates, 6th hour, middle reg. (scene 37), cf. Hornung, *Buch von den Pforten I*, pp. 221-222.

(state of) *3ḥw* is on the holy place of the West Re says to them: "Your offerings belong to you, *ḥtptyw* ('peaceful ones' or 'offerers')"³¹³.

Being *3ḥ* brings for the deceased the well-known advantages of the beatified state: having power over one's legs, being able to breathe, to go freely in and out of the netherworld, receiving justification before the tribunal, protection against dangers, and being provided with offerings.³¹⁴ Having received justification before the tribunal, the dead as the just also appear to judge on the sinners.³¹⁵

A means for acquiring the state of *3ḥ* which we have already become acquainted with, plays an important role in the texts of the *Amduat*: knowledge. In all cases this is a condition to bring the state of *3ḥ* to the deceased: "He who knows them (certain beings of the netherworld) is an *3ḥ cpr* whom they protect"³¹⁶; "He who knows these (the commands of Re) is a *b3 3ḥ*, who disposes of his feet, who does not enter into the place of destruction. He goes out as a shape (*īrw*) by day, he breathes air at his hour"³¹⁷; "He who knows her (the image) will participate in the state of *3ḥ cpr* in heaven and on earth"³¹⁸; "He who knows the secret images is an *3ḥ cpr*"³¹⁹.

Contrary to the earlier text groups, in these 'books' we find only few examples of the term *3ḥ* with an adjective or epithet. Three examples of the expression *3ḥ cpr* have already been quoted above.³²⁰ And one of

313) Book of Gates, 5th hour, upp. reg. (scene 23), cf. Hornung, *op. cit.*, pp. 147-150.

314) Cf. several texts quoted above and Englund, *op.cit.*, pp. 192-193 (IV B 4.1 and 4.2).

315) Cf. J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, pp. 266-268; also above p. 221 with note 135.

316) *Amduat*, 2nd hour, low. reg., cf. Hornung, *Das Amduat I*, p. 34.

317) *Amduat*, 11th hour, introduction, cf. Hornung, *ibid.*, p. 180.

318) *Amduat*, 3rd hour, final text, cf. Hornung, *ibid.*, p. 61.

319) *Amduat*, final text of the shorter version, cf. Hornung, *Das Amduat III* (Wiesbaden 1967), p. 25.

320) Cf. also Englund, *op.cit.*, p. 195. A fourth example, from the Litany of the Sun (E. Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen I* (Geneva 1975), p. 183) concerns the king identified with

the rare examples of the term $3\bar{h}$ $\bar{i}kr$ likewise occurs in a text which was cited above.³²¹

In complete accordance with our observations about earlier periods, the offering-formulae collected by W. Barta³²² add valuable information concerning the notion of $3\bar{h}$ in the New Kingdom (and the later periods). While some known types are found with several variants, the number of new types of formulae ('Bitten') are much more important. The following³²³ are relevant to our subject:

- 7 a-g - Variants on a central theme (the request for $3\bar{h}$, wsr and $m3^C-hrw$), well-known from preceding periods; examples date from the 18th dynasty up to the last stages of Ancient Egyptian history - a continuous tradition.³²⁴
- A new aspect is the introduction of the names of the gods in many of the variants, since the first half of the 18th dynasty, e.g.: $d\bar{i}.sn$ $3\bar{h}$ m pt $\bar{h}r$ R^C wsr m $t3$ $\bar{h}r$ Gbb $m3^C-hrw$ m $\bar{h}rt-n\bar{t}r$ $\bar{h}r$ $Ws\bar{i}r$ - "may they grant being $3\bar{h}$ in heaven with Re, wsr on earth with Geb, and $m3^C-hrw$ in the realm of the dead with Osiris"; $d\bar{i}w$ n R^C $3\bar{h}$ m pt n NN $d\bar{i}w$ n Gbb wsr m $t3$ n NN

Osiris, just like three examples of the expression $3\bar{h}$ $mn\bar{h}$ concern the king as the sun-god (cf. Hornung, *op.cit.*, pp. 185, 190, 196). Cf. also above p. 247 with notes 272 and 274.

321) Cf. above p. 256, text with note 310.

322) Cf. above pp. 203-204 and 234-235.

323) A 19th dynasty variant of 'Bitte' 2, not quoted by Barta, reads: $d\bar{i}.sn$ $prt-hrw$ m $\bar{h}rt-n\bar{t}r$ $m\bar{i}$ $3\bar{h}w$ $\bar{s}psw$ - "they may grant a $prt-hrw$ offering in the realm of the dead like (to) all the venerated $3\bar{h}w$ ", cf. K.A. Kitchen, *KRI* III 472, 11-12.

In some of the other formulae the blessed dead also occur as $s^C\bar{h}w$ $\bar{i}krw$ (New Kingdom - 'Bitte' 84b, *op.cit.*, p. 117 and 'Bitte' 96c, *op.cit.*, p. 147) or as $b3w$ $\bar{i}krw$ (later periods - 'Bitte' 286c, *op.cit.*, p. 182 and 'Bitte' 1a, *op.cit.*, p. 205).

For $s^C\bar{h}$ in relation to, or replacing, $3\bar{h}$ see also above note 169. Further the remarks by J. Assmann, *JEA* 65 (1979), p. 59 with note 40.

324) Barta, *op.cit.*, pp. 90, 111-112, 142-143, 164-165, 175, 187, 197, 205. Cf. above p. 179 for this formula on the stelae of our group A.

dīw (n) *Wsīr* *m3^C-hrw* n NN - granted by Re:being *3h* in heaven to NN, granted by Geb:being *wsr* on earth to NN, granted by Osiris:being *m3^C-hrw* to NN".³²⁵

- 26 a-b - Variants of the already known formula; examples from the 18th and 19th dynasties.³²⁶ New redactions read e.g.: *dī.sn s3hw m3^Cw hr smnh b3* - "may they grant true glorifications/spiritualizations while making perfect the *b3*"³²⁷;
s3h.sn b3.f - "May they make *3h* (or: glorify) his *b3*"³²⁸.
- 50 a - *dī.sn hnm 3hw m-b3h nbw nhh* - "may they grant uniting with the *3hw* before the lords of eternity"; example from the 20th dynasty.³²⁹
- 133 f - *dī.f īwīm šmsw m īst msktt m 3h šps* - "may he grant that I am follower in the crew of the night-barque as a venerable *3h*"; example from the second half of the 18th dynasty.³³⁰

325) 'Being *3h*' as a gift from Re fits in with the traditional views, cf. above notes 253 and 254. In the first cited example this notion could well be implied in the preposition *hr* which can also mean 'by', cf. Gardiner, *EG³*, § 39 end.

326) Barta, *op.cit.*, pp. 91, 113, 144; cf. above pp. 203 and 234.

327) For the relationship between *3h*, *mnh* and *īkr* see above notes 59 and 81.

328) This text, quoted by Barta, *op.cit.*, p. 144 note 5, is now also to be found in K.A. Kitchen, *KRI* III, 12, 4. The idea of 'making *3h*' or 'glorifying' the *b3* is already to be found in Coffin Texts Spell 413 - CT V 240d: "You are *3h*, my *b3* and my shade", var. "You have been made *3h*, my *b3* and my shade", cf. B. George, *Zu den altägyptischen Vorstellungen vom Schatten als Seele* (Bonn 1970), pp. 107-109; E. Otto, *ZAS* 77 (1942), p. 82 (with some further references). As the status of a fully equipped *3h* implies the possession of a *b3* and other elements, it is conceivable that the *b3* could also be called 'glorified', although this concept remains exceptional, cf. too the later version of Coffin Texts Spell 413, BD 188, Budge 491, 10; and above p. 257, note 318. See also J. Assmann, *JEA* 65 (1979), p. 61 with note 58.

329) Barta, *op.cit.*, p. 165.

330) *Op.cit.*, p. 124, The longed-for position of the *3hw*/the deceased in the solar barque also becomes apparent from several BD Spells, see above p. 252. For the adjective *šps*, referring to the beatified status of the deceased, cf. above p. 204 and note 71.

- 137 a - *b3 n pt mm h3b3s h3t r t3 m-cb 3hw* - "the *b3* belongs to the heaven among the stars, the corpse to the earth together with the *3hw*"; example from the 19th dynasty.³³¹
- 154 b - *dī.sn dm.tw rn.ī mī w^c im.sn mī 3hw ikrw m hrt-ntr* - "May they grant that my name be proclaimed like (the name of) one of them, like the (the name of) the *3hw ikrw* in the realm of the dead"; example from the 20th dynasty.³³²
- 155 a - *dī.f 3h s^ch m-cb mnw.f* - "may he grant that the mummy be *3h* together with his monument"; example from the first half of the 18th dynasty.³³³

- 331) *Op.cit.*, pp. 151, 315-316. The view that the *b3* belongs to the heaven only seems to contradict the usual wish (cf. the many versions of formula 7 above) for 'being *3h* in heaven' since the *b3* as free moving element of the *3h*/the deceased is, by its very nature, able to visit any place desired. Cf. further the commentary by Barta, *op.cit.*, p. 316. The view that the *b3* belongs to the heaven is also found e.g. in *Amduat*, 3rd hour, final text: *b3.k n pt Wsīr h3t.k n t3 Hnty-Igrt*, "your *b3* belongs to the heaven Osiris, your corpse belongs to the earth pre-eminent one of the realm of the dead", E. Hornung, *Das Amduat I* (1963), p. 60, 1. The *3hw*/the deceased as (mummified) beings 'in the earth', i.e. the place of the corpses, are also met in the BD and the 'Unterweltsbücher', cf. above pp. 244 and 254 with notes 256 and 303. All this evidence points to various conceptions as to where the *3hw* are really situated. It remains to be seen whether these conceptions are wholly contradictory or rather complementary.
- 332) *Op.cit.*, p. 168. For the *3hw ikrw* in the realm of the dead, see above p. 240, note 239; and e.g. in an address: *‘I ntrw nbw [...] smyt, 3hw ikrw [nty m] hrt-ntr* - "O, all gods [of the] necropolis, *3hw ikrw* [who are in] the realm of the dead", K.A. Kitchen, *KRI I* 351, 11.
- 333) *Op.cit.*, p. 100. For the mummy being or becoming *3h*, cf. similar views in some BD Spells, *supra* p. 244 with note 256. Noteworthy in this connection are the statements in a Late Period calendar of feasts of the deified Imhotep. After it is said that on the 4th Payni: "The *b3* of Imhotep goes to the heaven (*gb.t*)", we are informed that on the 17th Mesore there is a feast called: "Hearing of Imhotep by his father Ptah on his bier. His putrefaction (*hw33.t*) becomes *3h*, his *b3* becomes his companion", while on the 13th Mesore follows the "uniting of the *b3* with the corpse"; cf. H. Gauthier, *BIFAO* 14 (1918), pp. 33 ff., E. Otto, *ZAS* 77 (1942),

- 173 a - *dī.sn wstn rd hr w3t nhḥ m-dī* [var.: *mm*] *k3w 3ḥw špsw* - "may they grant free access on the road of eternity with [or: among] the *k3w* of the venerable *3ḥw*"; examples from the second half of the 18th dynasty.³³⁴
- 232 a - *sḏm.tn n.f sprwt rC nb mī 3ḥw nw s3ḥw.tn* - "may you hear for him (the) petitions daily like (those of) the *3ḥw* which you have made *3ḥ*"; example from the second half of the 18th dynasty.³³⁵
- 247 b - *dī.sn ḥdīt r ḏdw m b3 Cnh ḥntyt r 3bdw m 3ḥ* - "may they grant sailing downstream to Busiris as *b3 Cnh*, sailing upstream to Abydos as *3ḥ*"; examples from the second half of the 18th and 20th dynasties.³³⁶
- 253 a - *3ḥ.f m ḥrt-ntr* - "his *3ḥ* may be in the realm of the dead" (or: "he may be *3ḥ*..."); *ntrī 3ḥ.ī* - "that my *3ḥ* be divine"; examples from the second half of the 18th and 19th dynasties.³³⁷

p. 82 and D. Wildung, *Egyptian Saints* (New York 1977), p. 50. These statements in fact present the combined view that the *b3* belongs to the heaven (cf. above note 331), the mummy becomes *3ḥ* after proper embalment, followed by the unification of the *b3* and the corpse.

- 334) *Op.cit.*, p. 129. For the *k3w* of the *3ḥw*/the deceased, see also note 243 end.
- 335) *Op.cit.*, p. 133. Clearly this wish refers to the fact that the *3ḥw*/the deceased are expected to be able to communicate easily with the gods and be in a position to have their requests granted. A similar view is expressed in BD 130 (a spell describing the status of an *3ḥ īkr*), Budge 281, 1-3: "(Osiris NN) adores Re and he (Re) listens to his words and punishes his enemies for him", cf. above p. 251 and note 285.
- 336) *Op.cit.*, pp. 135, 170 ('Bitte' 247a), 321. As Barta, *op.cit.*, p. 321, rightly observes this refers to the *navigatio post mortem* of the deceased to the holy cities, ultimately based on the wish for a "Butische Begräbniss". Cf. already PT 1716b: "May you travel about Abydos in this *3ḥ*-state of yours which the gods commanded to belong to you"; Englund, *op.cit.*, p. 38 (I B 2.1.1).
- 337) *Op.cit.*, pp. 135, 157. Cf. above p. 240, note 239, and p. 260 note 331.

- 284 c - *dī.sn īrī.tw n.f Cntyw sntr mī 3ḥw nbw* - "may they grant that myrrh and incense be burnt for him like for all 3ḥw"; example from the 19th dynasty.³³⁸

Three types of formulae strictly speaking only appear in the periods after the New Kingdom:

- 84 a - *dī.f wnn.ī mm 3ḥw.s m-b3ḥ Gbb* - "may he grant that I will be among her (i.e. the *wsḥt*-hall) 3ḥw before Geb"; example from the 25th dynasty.³³⁹
- 96 a - *dī.sn Ck.k n psdt mī 3ḥw Cnhw ddw* - "may they grant that you shall enter into the ennead like the living 3ḥw of Busiris"; example from the 21th/24th dynasties.³⁴⁰
- 253 a - *dī.f 3ḥ 3ḥ.ī* - "may he grant that my 3ḥ be 3ḥ"; example from the 21th/24th dynasties.³⁴¹

This survey shows that the views expressed in the offering-formulae generally accord with those we have found in the New Kingdom corpora of religious literature: being 3ḥ is situated in heaven, in the solar barque close to Re, or else in the realm of the dead; the deceased is

338) *Op.cit.*, p. 158. Burning myrrh and incense forms part of the rituals intended for the sustenance of the deceased in his state of 3ḥ, cf. above p. 205 and notes 73 and 75.

339) *Op.cit.*, p. 189.

340) *Op.cit.*, p. 177. For the deceased in his state of 3ḥ having free access to the gods, see above p. 245 and note 264. It should be noted that Busiris is more frequently connected with the state of *b3 Cnhw*, cf. above 'Bitte' 247b.

341) *Op.cit.*, p. 181. The idea that the deceased in his state of 3ḥ still has to be made 3ḥ by the god(s) is also expressed in formula 232a: "... the 3ḥw which you have made 3ḥ", *vide supra*. In spite of these examples, it is doubtful whether Englund, *op.cit.*, p. 185 (IV B 1.1.2; following Hornung), is right to translate an address by Re in the final text of the 3rd hour of the *Amduat*: *īst 3ḥ n 3ḥ.k wsīr 3ḥ n 3ḥw.tn (3ḥw) īmyw-ḥt wsīr*, by "May your 3ḥ be 3ḥ, Osiris, may your 3ḥw be 3ḥ, (3ḥw) who are in the suite of Osiris"; cf. E. Hornung, *Das Amduat I* (1963), p. 60, 3, II (1963), p. 74 end. As in many instances, 3ḥ n is better translated by: "It is useful for" (cf. also above note 300).

made $3h$ by the gods, glorifications ($s3hw$) and the bringing of offerings are necessary conditions³⁴² in order to reach this goal. As we have observed earlier, the deceased, in his state of $3h$, enjoys a privileged position, which enables him to have direct contact with the gods - sharing their existence and partaking in their powers.

Closely related to the offering-formulae discussed in the preceding paragraph is a small group of funerary wishes from the 18th and 19th dynasties, published by H. Grapow³⁴³ who first recognized their peculiar form and special interest. In these wishes the views and ideas prevailing during the New Kingdom on how to become or to be $3h$ are aptly illustrated. On the basis of their stylistic forms the texts can be divided into two types. The first type³⁴⁴ - Grapow's 'Sprüche' 1 and 2 - begins with the phrase: "If the $3hw$ (really) become $3h$ ", followed by "my $b3$ shall follow Wenennefer, change into a divine falcon, go forth from the earth, open the netherworld to see Re when he

342) Cf. in this connection scene 69A of the Ritual of the Opening of the Mouth - "feeding the $3h$ ", E. Otto, *Das Ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual I* (Wiesbaden 1960), p. 153; and the title of a funerary liturgy in N. de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re^c at Thebes II* (New York 1943), Pl. 96: $r n \text{ } \dot{im}t \text{ } 3h \text{ } r \text{ } \dot{d}it \text{ } s\dot{s}p.f \text{ } htpt-n\dot{t}r.f$ - "Spell for summoning the $3h$ in order that he may receive his $htpt-n\dot{t}r$ -offering". In scene 71 of the ritual of the Opening of the Mouth, the $hry-hbt$ priest declares: (ff-gg) "His (i.e. the deceased) mouth is opened His name endures unto eternity, while he is an $3h \text{ } \dot{ik}r$ in the Netherworld ($dw3t$)", E. Otto, *ibid.*, p. 159.

For the function and the recitation of the $s3hw$ cf. also J.-C. Goyon, *BIFAO* 65 (1967), pp. 87-156.

343) "Ägyptische Jenseitswünsche in Sprüchen ungewöhnlicher Fassung aus dem Neuen Reich", in *ZAS* 77 (1941-1942), pp. 57-78. The grammatical construction of the opening phrases - a conditional clause followed by an apodosis mainly of future sense - was elucidated by A. Gardiner in his review of Grapow's article in *JEA* 32 (1946), pp. 104-105. Some of the texts were already mentioned briefly by J. Spiegel, *Die Idee vom Totengericht*, pp. 75-76.

344) Grapow, *op.cit.*, pp. 63 and 66 ($\dot{ir} \text{ } wnn \text{ } 3hw \text{ } hr \text{ } 3h$).

rises on the morning of the New Year" ('Spruch' 1), or "my *b3* shall follow Hathor, change into a swallow of the god's land, to gather (*kḏf*) under the myrrh-trees, change into a *b3* *Cnh* to see the sun-disk at its dawning" ('Spruch' 2). The motifs in these apodoses are of course very well known from the funerary literature of this period.³⁴⁵ The second type³⁴⁶ - Grapow's 'Sprüche' 3-11 - in each case begins with the statement: "If it be (a true generalization) that one becomes *3h* through...", continued by a certain action or quality such as "doing what is right (*irí m3C*)", "praising god (*hsí ntr*)", "being excellent (*mnh*) upon earth", "keeping silent and calm", "straightforwardness and restraint" or "able character (*bí3t iḳrt*)³⁴⁷". The conditional clauses as protases are followed by a variety of benefits the dead man promises himself. These wishes, in the apodoses, are mostly of an ordinary kind well-known from many other sources.³⁴⁸ Phrases like "I will be the first of the praised ones in the train of Osiris" or "I shall receive oblations (*3wt-C*) in the presence of the sole lord (*nb wC*)" are evidently completely traditional.³⁴⁹ Others are less common: "I shall be steersman (*iry-hmw*) in the barque of millions" and "My *b3* will be keeper of the balance in the presence of the Great God, Lord of the West".³⁵⁰ Here the deceased promises himself functions that are elsewhere exerted by Horus or Anubis. Twice we read: "My *b3* shall become divine, my *3h* shall become *iḳr*".³⁵¹ In connection will the position of

345) Notably some of the transformation spells from the BD (e.g. 78 and 86), cf. Grapow, *op.cit.*, pp. 68-72.

346) *Op.cit.*, pp. 64-67 (*ir wnn 3h.tw hr ...*). Cf. also the texts on the stela of Senenu published by E. Brovarski, *JEA* 62 (1976), pp. 57-73 (esp. 59-63).

347) In a similar text from the tomb of Amenhotep at Deir Durunka not yet included by Grapow, cf. K. Kitchen, *KRI* I 351, 9-10.

348) Elaborately treated by Grapow, *op.cit.*, pp. 72-78.

349) In 'Spruch' 4 and 'Spruch' 9 respectively.

350) In 'Spruch' 7 and 'Spruch' 8 respectively.

351) In 'Sprüche' 3 and 6, *op.cit.*, pp. 64-67 and 72. These phrases can be compared with another more useful funerary wish: "Your *b3* will not remove (*rwí*) itself from your corpse; your *b3* will be

the *3h*/the deceased as one who is able to accomplish things, it is interesting to read that his petitions will be heard by the gods.³⁵² A similar concept has already been observed in the offering-formulae discussed in the preceding paragraph.³⁵³ Furthermore the emphasis in these texts upon the relation between the *3h*/the deceased and the sun-god Re is certainly remarkable: he will see Re at his rising, he will have a place in the solar barque, he will receive meat from the altar of Re.³⁵⁴

As well as the information about the role and the function of the *3h*, in these funerary wishes we find clearly expressed views concerning how one becomes *3h* through fulfilling such ethical conditions as leading an impeccable life upon earth. Although not wholly unique, in this case these views are emphasized more than in other places.³⁵⁵

In view of the close relationship between the sun-god Re and the *3hw*/the deceased, which has become apparent from the BD Spells and the corpus of funerary wishes treated above, it is more or less to be expected that we should find the *3hw* figuring in several of the New Kingdom sun-hymns. Since it cannot possibly be our aim to treat this genre in its entirety here, we will limit ourselves mainly to quoting some of the relevant passages from the extensive collection published by J. Assmann³⁵⁶. These usually show familiar motifs, such as we read in a royal sun-hymn³⁵⁷: "He (the king) gives *htpwt*-offerings to the

divine together with the *3hw*; the *b3w mnhw* will speak to you", cf. e.g. *Urk.* IV, 114, 2-4.

352) In 'Spruch' 3, *op.cit.*, pp. 64-67: *sḏm n.f ntrw sprwt.f.*

353) Cf. above p. 261 ('Bitte' 232a) and note 335.

354) Respectively in 'Sprüche' 1 and 2, quoted in full above; in 'Spruch' 7 *īp.tw.ī m msktt r mḥndt m šmsw n R^C* - "I will be counted, from the night-barque to the day-barque, in the suite of Re"; in 'Sprüche' 3 and 5 *w3ḏ ps hr ḥ3t R^C* - "boiled fresh meat from the altar of Re".

355) See above p. 236 with note 222.

356) *Agyptische Hymnen und Gebete* (Berlin 1975).

357) *Op.cit.*, p. 120, text 20, lines 36-37: *īw.f ḏī.f ḥtpwt n ntrw*

gods (*ntrw*) and *pṛt-ḥrw*-offerings to the *3ḥw*", or in another³⁵⁸:

"Come to pharao, o Re, may you grant that he is *3ḥ* in heaven, *wsr* on earth". In the private sun-hymns these themes are likewise well-known: "the *3ḥw* and the western *b3w* come to meet your (= Re's) majesty in jubilation"³⁵⁹; "may you (Re) grant ... that I see the sun-disk, in the presence of (*ḥft*) *3ḥw* *īkrw* of the realm of the dead who sit in front of Wenennefer, who provide for (*īrryw mḥrw*) the Two Lands"³⁶⁰; "the activity of *3ḥw* and deceased does not attain you, you are very far from them"³⁶¹; "When you go down in the evening (*d3w*) the *3ḥw* and the

pṛt-ḥrw n 3ḥw, cf. J. Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester* (ADAIK 7, Cairo 1970), p. 36. See also above note 213 and for a list of references to this standard phrase, J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott* (Berlin 1969), p. 69 note 122.

- 358) *Op.cit.*, p. 125, text 22C, lines 26-28 = P. Berlin 3050, VII 8 (*Hieratische Papyrus Berlin II*, Taf. 7): *mī īr.k n pr C3 R^C dī.k 3ḥw.f m pt wsrw.f m t3*.
- 359) *Op.cit.*, p. 171, text 61, lines 22-23 = stela Berlin 7306, 10: *3ḥw b3w īmntyw ḥCyw m ḥsfw ḥm.k*.
- 360) *Op.cit.*, p. 174, text 62, lines 45-47 = stela Berlin 7317, 17-20. The text as a whole treats the familiar theme of the sun-god taking care for the *ḥrrwt*-dwellers in the netherworld who are jubilant when Re comes to them. The statement that the *3ḥw īkrw* provide for the Two Lands points to their ability to do something for the living upon earth - a concept known from other instances but nowhere as clearly stated as here.
- 361) *Op.cit.*, p. 245, text 108, line 3 = a hymn to Re as he rises, in the tomb of Tjanefer: *n ph.tw st-^C n 3ḥw mtw īw.k ḥr.tw r.r.sn C3 wr*. Cf. K.A. Kitchen, *KRI* V 404, 4 and J. Zandee, *JEOL* 16 (1959-1962), pp. 58-61; for the meaning of *st-^C* see D. Meeks, *Année Lexicographique I* (Paris 1977), p. 299. The idea expressed in this hymn that the *3ḥw* who are dwelling in the netherworld cannot see the sun after his rising high in the sky (*n m3.sn tw īs tw.k m pt*), can be compared with the general concept in the 'Unterweltsbücher' that the *3ḥw* only see Re during his nightly travels, see above; cf. also the phrase in a short hymn to Re as he sets: *īnd-ḥr.k Tmw īmy 'Imntt shd dw3<t> n 3ḥw* - "Hail to you, Atum, who are in the West, who lightens the netherworld for the *3ḥw*", Bruyère, *Rapport* 1933-1934 I, p. 30 (north side of pyramidion of Turobaī). In line 8 of the hymn in the tomb of Tjanefer it is said (*KRI* V 405, 3-4): "you have trampled upon your enemies - men, gods (*ntrw*), *3ḥw* and the dead". Here once again we find the idea that being *3ḥ* is in itself no absolute guarantee for a beatified

dead are at their stations (*CḥCw*)"³⁶². In an early-19th dynasty sun-hymn³⁶³ it is said: "Gods kneel in jubilation for you, all people kiss the earth, and the *3ḥw* likewise"; while in another hymn to the rising sun the deceased asks: "let me be amongst the ancestors, the *3ḥw iḳrw*"³⁶⁴. In hymns to Osiris we encounter the *3ḥw* in a similar way. To quote an example from a hymn to Osiris-Sokar: "May he give following the god to the *Šty.t* amongst the *3ḥw iḳrw*".³⁶⁵ While in another hymn to Osiris on a 19th dynasty stela the god is invoked: "May you exalt me (*sk3.k wī*) amongst the *3ḥw*".³⁶⁶

Having considered the religious and funerary literature, we shall now turn our attention to the more private texts from the New Kingdom which can also provide us with information concerning the notion of *3ḥ*.³⁶⁷

existence, since the *3ḥw* can also be found among the enemies of the sun-god; cf. too J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, p. 297.

362) G. Nagel, *BIFAO* 29 (1930), p. 68, line 8 of the text. For the 'stations' cf. above note 304.

363) J. Cerny, *Egyptian Stelae in the Bankes Collection* (Oxford 1958), nr. 5, lines 4-5 (from Deir el-Medīna) (= Kitchen, *KRI* III 721, 9-10). In another hymn to the setting sun, Re-Harakhty is addressed as: "Re who is within his disk, lord of rays, maker of light, who keeps alive (*sCnh*) men, *3ḥw*, ordinary men and sun-folk ...", cf. N. de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Neferhotep at Thebes* (New York 1932), Pl. XXXVII, line 2 of the text. A similar idea is found in an epithet of Amun-Re: "who keeps alive (*sCnh*) men, gods (*nṯrw*) and *3ḥw*", K.A. Kitchen, *KRI* III 743, 14-15.

364) K.A. Kitchen, *KRI* III 6, 9-10: *dī.k wn.ī m-m tpyw-C 3ḥw iḳrw*. (Theban Tomb 106 of the vizier Paser). See below p. 288 with note 41. The fragmentary text of yet another sun-hymn conveys the known concept of the *3ḥ iḳr* having a place in the solar barque: *īw.k ... m 3ḥ iḳr m īst n nb nḥḥ* - "You will be ... as *3ḥ iḳr* amongst the crew of the lord of eternity" (*KRI* III 178, 11-12).

365) *dī.f šms nṯr r Šty.t m-m 3ḥw iḳrw*; in a 19th dynasty hymn on a pyramidion from Memphis, cf. K. Myśliwiec, *SAK* 6 (1978), pp. 148-150 (see also pp. 146-147 for Osiris as *nb 3ḥw*). In view of the presence of the *3ḥw iḳrw*, the *Šty.t* here should be the (part of the) netherworld, cf. *WB* IV 559, 20, where the deceased hopes to dwell in the suite of the god.

366) K.A. Kitchen, *KRI* III 492, 2-3.

367) It seems appropriate to quote here the wishes for the welfare of

First of all a phenomenon observed from an earlier period still persists: the custom of propitiating a deceased relative who is haunting one by addressing him or her as *3ḥ ḫkr*.³⁶⁸ Thus we read in the introductory line of the well-known letter Leyden I 371: "To the *3ḥ ḫkr* Anchiry".³⁶⁹

As we have seen in the Letters to the Dead from the earlier periods, one could turn to deceased relatives when in need and especially when it is the deceased him or herself who seems to be the cause of the trouble. The letter of Pap. Leyden I 371 proves that this practice was still very much alive during the 19th dynasty. The writer addresses his deceased wife who is clearly haunting him, for some reason: (rt. 1-3) "What crime have I committed against you, that I have come into this evil situation in which I am? What have I done against you? What you have done is lay (your) hand upon me (*p3 rdīt dṛt ḫm.ī*)³⁷⁰, although I had done nothing wrong against you". He plainly asks her to stop plaguing him while at the same time he threatens her with a court-case before a divine court: (rt. 5-7) "What you have done is that I

the writer's adversary in the preamble of the satirical letter P. Anastasi I 3, 3: *Cḳ.k r (m)CḥCt.k m dsrt šbn.k 3ḥw ḫkrw* - "may you enter into your tomb in the sacred area and may you mingle with the *3ḥw ḫkrw*". The latter half of this wish often occurs in the form *šbn.k b3w ḫkrw* - "may you mingle with the *b3w ḫkrw*", e.g. in R. Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* (Oxford 1954), pp. 143-144 and 146 (see also above p. 248 note 278). Cf. similar expressions in texts in the tomb of Paser (Theban Tomb 106): "... mingle with the forefathers, the *3ḥw ḫkrw*", K.R. Kitchen, *KRI* I 293, 4-5 and probably 301, 6 (see also above note 364).

368) See above p. 217.

369) Cf. Gardiner-Sethe, *Letters to the Dead*, pp. 8-9, 23-25 and Pls. VII-VIII. More recent discussions of this letter by M. Guilmot in *ZAS* 99 (1973), pp. 94-103, and H.D. Schneider, *Een brief voor Anchiry* (Zutphen, 1981).

370) 'To lay a hand upon someone' in this case must have an unfavourable meaning.

will bring accusation against you (*p3.ī smī tw*)... I will lodge a complaint against you (*īw.ī shn hn<.t>*) with words of my mouth, in the presence of the Divine Ennead of the West, and one shall decide between you and me (*mtw.tw wpi.t hn<.ī>*"); (rt. 13-14) "And behold, you do not allow my heart to take comfort. I will be judged (*wpi*) with you and one shall discern wrong from right (*mtw.tw ptr Cd3 r m3Ct*)"; (vs. 37-38) "You do not know good from bad. It shall be decided between you and me (*īw.tw r wpi.t hn<.ī>*)".

Since the writer seemed to expect to benefit from writing this letter, while he was still alive upon earth, it appears to have been thought possible to bring a court-case against an *3h* before the gods of the West even before the death of the plaintiff. In any case this letter gives a clear example of the influence of the *3hw*/the deceased into earthly matters.³⁷¹

The idea that the *3h/3h ikr* could be active on earth, whether beneficently or maleficently, also represents the fundamental thought behind some other texts from this period. In the 'Instruction of Any' a brief chapter is specially devoted to the *3h*.³⁷² Here we encounter the *3h* as a kind of ghost roaming on the earth, for whom one should be beware.³⁷³ The chapter runs:

371) Dating from the end of the 20th dynasty is a presumably similar sort of letter on an ostrakon (Černý-Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, Pl. LXXX) written by Butehamon, the scribe of the necropolis, to his deceased wife Akhtai.

372) P. Bulaq IV 8,20 - 9,3 (= P. Guimet a,4 - b,1). This chapter was misunderstood by E. Suys, *La Sagesse d'Ani* (Rome 1935), pp. 86 ff.; a better translation was given by A. Volten, *Studien zum Weisheitsbuch des Anii* (Copenhagen 1937), p. 55. Most recently it was the main object of an admirable study by G. Posener in *MDAIK* 37 (1981), pp. 393-401. He not only gives the correct translation, but also adds a rich commentary full of information on the 'āfārit' in ancient Egypt. Cf. also J.F. Borghouts, 'The annoyances of a revenant', in *CdE* forthcoming.

373) We have already come across the *3hw* as ghosts in the magical literature, see above p. 221 with note 134.

"Appease (*šḥtp*³⁷⁴) the *3ḥ*, do what he likes and abstain from what he detests. May you be spared from his many evil deeds; his is (= from him comes) all misfortune. Is there an animal taken away from the field? It is he who has done such a thing (*litt.*: the like). Is there any damage on the threshing-floor in the fields? 'It is the *3ḥ*', they say again. Storm in the house? Hearts in discord? All this he has caused."

In spite of the little difficulties that still remain, it is clear from this text that the living upon earth should fear or, at least, beware of the activities of ghosts or spirits. This is also demonstrated by the two Late-Egyptian stories which share a central theme namely the relations, or rather contacts, between the *3ḥw* and the living. In the first we are told how the ghost Nebusemekh, who throughout in the story is designated as *3ḥ špsy*, is invoked by the high-priest of Amun Khonsemhab.³⁷⁵ Clearly this ghost is the cause of some undefined trouble in the necropolis. The high-priest asks for the name of this ghost and the names of his parents. He then tries to appease him by promising to (re)install their funerary cult and having a new tomb built for Nebusemekh.³⁷⁶ All this is done with the intention of

374) Or 'propitiate, please', cf. Posener, *op.cit.*, p. 395 commentary on line 1. See also line 1 of the text on a fragmentary royal stela published by G. Gaballa in *JEA* 63 (1977), p. 124, where it is certainly better to read: *šḥtp.f ib 3ḥw iḳrw* ... "he pleases the heart(s) of the *3ḥw iḳrw*" (? with wine and milk ?).

375) Cf. A.H. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Stories* (Brussels 1932), pp. 89-94. Additional fragments of this story are published in G. Posener, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el-Médineh* II 3 (Cairo 1972), nrs. 1251 and 1252. See also G. Posener in *Drevniy Vostok* 1 (Moscow 1975), pp. 110-112. The meaning of *šps*, referring to the beatified state of the deceased, has already been discussed above p. 204 with note 71.

376) "<I> may offer to them and do for them all that has to be done for [one in their position]", Gardiner, *op.cit.*, p. 90, 9 with notes; and "I shall have a sepulchre prepared (anew) for you and have a coffin of gold and *nbs*-wood made for you ...", O. Gardiner 306, 3 (Černý-Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, Pl. XLI 4). The importance of a coffin of *nbs*-wood can be inferred from a section

granting the ghost his place and preventing him from haunting the living. The funerary cult therefore is a necessary element in the process of keeping the *3h* in good condition.³⁷⁷

From the second story, much more fragmentary alas, we can only tentatively reconstruct the course of events.³⁷⁸ This much seems clear: one of the main protagonists, a king, apparently invoked a 'spirit',³⁷⁹ to whom an offering is brought by a commoner (*nḡs*). The ghost then appears in front of the king and states his name.³⁸⁰ The few main elements of this story that are known seem comparable with those of the first 'ghost' story: bringing offerings is important for the appeasement and the eternal rest of the 'ghost' whose name has to be revealed before anything can be done.^{380a}

Whereas in these folktales the living upon earth have direct contact with, and even talk to 'ghosts', a more personal connection between the living and 'spirits' of deceased relatives becomes apparent in

in BD Spell 193 (known from the 21st dynasty): "As for a coffin (*krsw*) of *nbs*-wood - it is the divine wood, wherein Osiris lives ... He who is in it, is an *3h* ...", cf. M. Heerma van Voss, *De Spreuk om de kisten te kennen* (Leyden 1971), p. 70 (5.). Later in the story Khonsemhab promises to appoint people who will have to bring offerings to the *3h*: Gardiner, *op.cit.*, p. 93, 1-6. Doubt as to whether the maintenance of the funerary cult was always guaranteed, is expressed in the pessimistic Antef-song: "The noble ones (*sCḥw*) and the spirits (*3ḥw*) are also buried in their pyramids ... Their places do not exist anymore. What has become of them?", P. Harris 500, VI 4-5, cf. M. Lichtheim, *JNES* 4 (1945), pp. 192-193.

377) Cf. already above p. 205 with note 73.

378) G. Posener, *RdE* 12 (1960), pp. 75-82.

379) The word *3h* in this text is determined by the *šps*-sign, comparable to the writing *3h špsy* in the first story.

380) Certainly unique, and clearly a typical element of folklore, is the description of the appearance of the spirit, in frgts. Bx+7: *ḥī ḥr stš šw* - "[while] mounting along the Elevations of Shu", i.e. he kept himself hovering in the air; and Ax+7: *nn sw m pt nn sw m t3 w3w rdwy.fy r s3tw* - "he was not in the sky, he was not on earth, his feet were far off the ground".

380a) Compare the importance of 'knowing the name' in magical texts, cf. J.F. Borghouts, *OMRO* 51 (1971), p. 134 (note 312).

several of the entries in the Calendars of Lucky and Unlucky days.³⁸¹
The following, which have a direct bearing upon our subject, can be cited:

"II 3_{ht}, day 14. Favourable (3 times) ... Offer to your local gods and appease (*shtp*) the 3_{hw}".³⁸²

"II 3_{ht}, day 17. Favourable (3 times) ... Give bread and beer; [burn incense to Re. A *p_{rt}-h_{rw}*-offering to the 3_{hw}. It is important so that your words may be heard by your local gods".³⁸³

"IV 3_{ht}, day 30. Favourable (3 times) ... Offer to the gods and to the assistants of the ennead. Make a *p_{rt}-h_{rw}*-offering to the 3_{hw} and give food in accordance with their list".³⁸⁴

"I *p_{rt}*, day 9. Favourable (3 times) ... Establish the *p_{3wt}*-offerings and repeat (*w_{db}*) the offerings (*ht*). It will be pleasing in the opinion of the gods and the 3_{hw}".³⁸⁵

"II *p_{rt}*, day 4. Favourable (3 times). Direct your heart to your local gods; appease (*shtp*) your 3_{hw}, exalt (*s^c3*) your crew during the day on this day".³⁸⁶

"II *p_{rt}*, day 7. Favourable (3 times). Make *p_{rt}-h_{rw}*-offerings to the 3_{hw} in your house; make *c_{3bt}*-offerings to the gods. They will be accepted on this day".³⁸⁷

"II *p_{rt}*, day 28. Favourable (3 times). Wenennefer is pleased, the 3_{hw}

381) Quoted after A.M. Bakir, *The Cairo Calendar* (No. 86637) (Cairo 1966).

382) Bakir, *op.cit.*, p. 20 (Rt. X, 4-5). For the meaning of *shtp* see above note 374.

383) *Op.cit.*, p. 20 (Rt. X, 8-10). See also above p. 261, note 335.

384) *Op.cit.*, pp. 29-30 (Rt. XIX 12 - XX 3).

385) *Op.cit.*, p. 31 (Rt. XXI 3-5). For the *p_{3wt}*-offerings in this connection cf. also Stela BM 278, ll. 3-4: *w_{nm}.i m p_{3wt} (...)* *r-gs 3_{hw} c_{3yw}* - "I have eaten from the *p_{3wt}*-offerings ... beside the 3_{hw} *c_{3yw}*"; cf. M.L. Bierbrier, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc.* 10 (London 1982), Pl. 86; and BD 125, Negative Negative Confession: "I have not damaged (*h_d*) the *p_{3wt}*-offerings of the gods (*n_{trw}*), I have not taken away (*n_{hm}*) the *h_{nf}*-offerings from (*r*) the 3_{hw}", cf. E.A. Wallis Budge, *The Papyrus of Ani* (London 1895), p. 203 (Pl. XXXII 39-40).

386) *Op.cit.*, p. 33 (Rt. XXIII 8-9).

387) *Op.cit.*, p. 33 (Rt. XXIII 11).

are joyful, the dead are also feasting".³⁸⁸

"IV prt, day 23. Adverse, adverse, favourable ... prt-hrw-offerings to the 3hw".³⁸⁹

"IV šmw, day 19. Favourable (3 times). Celebrate your feast of your god. Appease (šhṭp) your 3h".³⁹⁰

While most of the tasks to perform on a certain day are of an ordinary kind, some point to a direct personal interest and relationship:

"appease your 3hw", "make prt-hrw-offerings to the 3h in your house".³⁹¹ Clearly one has to keep the 3hw satisfied, especially those with a close relation to the family, to prevent them from becoming haunting spirits. In this guise they are well-known from the magical literature.³⁹² Another familiar example is found in the Stela of Bentresh, where the diagnosis of a doctor concerning the ailing princess of Bakhtan is formulated as "she is possessed by an 3h (hry 3h)".³⁹³ In general there appears to be a gradual tendency, demonstrable certainly, but by no means only, in the magical literature³⁹⁴, to attach the meaning 'ghost' or 'demon' to the word 3h when used without qualifying adjectives. After the New Kingdom the notion of 'blessed dead' was expressed more and more, though by no means exclusively, in

388) *Op.cit.*, p. 35 (Rt. XXV 5-6).

389) *Op.cit.*, p. 39 (Rt. XXIX 9-11).

390) *Op.cit.*, p. 48 (Vs. VIII 11-12).

391) Cf. also G. Posener, *MDAIK* 37 (1981), p. 400, referring to the troubles caused by an 3h which constitute the subject of a chapter from the 'Instruction of Any', quoted above p. 270.

392) For a recent survey see Y. Koenig in *BIFAO* 79 (1979), pp. 103-119 (esp. 113-117). Cf. also the remarks by J.F. Borghouts, *OMRO* 51 (1971), pp. 136 (note 317) and 178 (note 437); and I.E.S. Edwards, *Oracular Amuletic Decrees of the Late New Kingdom*, (London 1960), pp. 20-21, note 27.

393) Cf. K.A. Kitchen, *KRI* II 285, 12. For the general theme: 'being possessed by a spirit', see also S. Sauneron, *BIFAO* 60 (1960), pp. 111-115 and G. Posener, *MDAIK* 37 (1981), p. 398.

394) Cf. above note 392; also e.g. a phrase like "The shadow (šwt) of a spirit (3h) will not hover (phr) over him" in a formula on a magical stela (BM 190) from the Ptolemaic period, quoted by

terms such as *3ḥw iḳrw*³⁹⁵ and *3ḥw špsy*.³⁹⁶ It would seem like a natural and logical process to observe during the same period the evolution of the term *3ḥ* finally into the Coptic **ⲓⲥ** - 'demon'.³⁹⁷ All these developments, however, take place after the period proper

J.F. Borghouts in *RdE* 32 (1980), p. 44.

- 395) The ownership of a coffin of the 21st dynasty (Florence, Museo Archeologico 8522, mentioned in Porter-Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* I 2, p. 637) is ascribed to a certain 'Akhet iḳert'. Since this coffin is unpublished it remains uncertain, however, whether we are actually dealing with the name of a woman or with a designation. See also above p. 218, note 113.

- 396) See e.g. the phrases in the late copies of BD 125, quoted by C. Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts* (Berlin 1976), pp. 79 and 111 (note 448): "her heart is faultless on the scales like that of the *3ḥw iḳrw*" and "he has been found faultless like the *3ḥw iḳrw*".

In the text on a funerary bed from the Roman period the deceased is thus addressed: "You go out as *b3*, you fly as a *šwt*, you move (*ḥnī.k*) like an *3ḥ iḳr* to see your corpse", cf. B. George, *Zu den altägyptischen Vorstellungen vom Schatten als Seele* (Bonn 1970), p. 84 (for the idea cf. also above note 333).

Likewise these expressions are found in Demotic, cf. e.g.

W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (Copenhagen 1954), pp. 42 (under *iḥy*) and 45 (under *iḳr*); J.-C. Goyon, *Le papyrus du Louvre N. 3279* (Cairo 1966), p. 48 note 7 (*3ḥ šps*); G. Botti, *JEA* 54 (1968), p. 227 (in a demotic Book of Breathings the wish: "May he drink and eat together with the *iḥ.w* [for *iḥy.w*] *3ḳr.w* from the great offering-table, that one of the Creator of the Heart [Osiris]").). Of special interest is a passage in the well-known Second Story of Setne, viz. II Setne 2, 6-8, describing the seventh hall in the netherworld where Osiris judges the deceased: "He who would be found to have more good deeds than misdeeds is taken in among the gods of the tribunal of the lord of the netherworld, while his *ba* goes to the sky together with the *iḥy.w šps.w*. He who would be found to have good deeds equal to his misdeeds is taken in among the *iḥy.w iḳr.w* who serve Sokar-Osiris"; cf. F. Ll. Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis* (Oxford 1900), p. 152 and M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature III* (Berkeley 1980), p. 140. The difference in status between the *3ḥw špsw* and the *3ḥw iḳrw*, depending on their moral condition, is not to be found in texts from earlier periods.

- 397) See above p. 194; also note 394; cf. W. Erichsen, *op.cit.*, p. 42 - *iḥy* - "Auch: Gespenst o.ä."; H. Thompson, *JEA* 26 (1941), pp. 76-77.

from which date our main documents as listed in Chapter II. Therefore we have chosen not to deal exhaustively with these later developments here, as they do not appear to have any direct bearing upon our principal subject.

4. 3_h i_kr n R^C

The, admittedly, terse inscriptions on the stelae and other objects documented in Chapter II have made us aware of a clearly special designation or epithet for the deceased. This designation occurs in a variety of forms, the most complete being 3_h i_kr n R^C which is also the most common. 'Abbreviated' forms are: 3_h n R^C (on our Docs. A 7, 10, 13 and 42) and 3_h i_kr (our Docs. A 9 and 55; B 1, 2, 4 and 5). In the most common formulation of this designation, the special relationship of the deceased as an 3_h/3_h i_kr to the sun-god Re is expressed by the indirect genitive constructed n R^C - 'of/belonging to Re': i.e. referring to the position of the 3_h/3_h i_kr in the close vicinity of the sun-god. Similarly this relationship also finds expression in the only differently worded designation for the deceased which occurs in our A and B documents: i.e. 3_h i_kr mri R^C - "the 3_h i_kr, beloved of Re".³⁹⁹ It is a remarkable fact, however, that the use of the expression 3_h i_kr n R^C, with the possible exception of one other example⁴⁰⁰, is limited to the brief texts on the stelae and other

398) Cf. the description of this position in BD 130, above pp. 250-251 with note 285.

399) For the epithet mry R^C being applied to Osiris cf. J. Zandee, *An ancient egyptian crossword puzzle* (Leiden 1966), p. 15. In a similar way Seth, as the helper of the sun-god in his solar barque, can be called mri n R^C - "chosen of Re", cf. H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion* (Leiden 1977²), p. 107.

400) On a coffin from the 21st dynasty, published by G. Lefebvre, *Histoire des Grands Prêtres d'Amon de Karnak jusqu'à la XXI^e Dynastie* (Paris 1929), pp. 203-204; this text however is rather

documents which make up our groups A and B. While a clear picture of the close association between the $3\dot{h}w$ ($\dot{i}krw$) and Re has emerged from other textual material⁴⁰¹, this relationship is nowhere embodied in suchlike designations of the deceased. The latter's favourable position as an $3\dot{h} \dot{i}kr$ existing in close contact with the sun-god - to whom he also owes his status - forms the principal reason for referring to him as: "able spirit of Re". It is precisely in this quality that he is portrayed on the stelae⁴⁰² and designated thus also on the other relevant documents.

5. Conclusions

A number of conclusions can be drawn from all the evidence presented in this chapter. In view of our main search into meaning and purpose of the $3\dot{h} \dot{i}kr n R^C$ -stelae, we will only formulate here those conclusions which are of direct importance to this subject.⁴⁰³

- a. The notion of $3\dot{h}$ as a designation refers to the special status of several categories of gods, including those who can exercise a malign influence, and especially to the blessed state of deceased human beings who have been 'admitted' among the company of the gods.
- b. The term $3\dot{h}$ by itself can be applied to gods as well as to deceased

obscure: $\dot{i}m3\dot{h}w \dot{h}r 3\dot{h} \dot{i}kr n R^C$, $Ws\dot{i}r$ followed by several titles and the name of the owner of the coffin, Amenhotep.

401) See especially above pp. 249-252 with notes.

402) The tomb-scene of our Doc. B 11, similar to several of the scenes on the stelae, indicates the close association between funerary cult and (house-)cult of venerated persons.

403) Cf. the general survey on pp. 189-191.

404) In this connection we should refer to the many instances where the $3\dot{h}w$ are mentioned next to the $n\dot{t}rw$ - as a collective also used to denote the 'blessed dead', especially in the 'Unterwelts-bücher'. Cf. above pp. 220, 224, 227 (note 171), 230, 254 (note 302) and 272 (note 385).

human beings, whereas the terms $3h \text{ } \dot{ik}r$, $3h \text{ } cpr$, $3h \text{ } mn\dot{h}$ and $3h \text{ } \check{s}ps$ with very few exceptions are only used to denote the 'blessed dead'.⁴⁰⁵

- c. By various means - ranging from the proper funeral and performing of rites to the possession of special knowledge, the leading of a life of good conduct and, above all, the benignant divine assent - a deceased can become an $3h$ or obtain the status of $3h$.
- d. The special status of the deceased in this position can be expressed by several adjectives attached to the word $3h$: an $3h \text{ } cpr$ is an 'equipped spirit', the deceased provided with the necessary funeral care and knowledge; an $3h \text{ } \check{s}ps$ in a more general sense is a 'venerable or august spirit'.
- e. The $3h\dot{w}$ ($\dot{ik}rw$) are thought to lead their existence in the next world, either in the netherworld, the realm of the dead or - most important of all - in heaven sojourning in the vicinity of Re. The latter view is notably to be observed in textual material from the New Kingdom.⁴⁰⁶
- f. From his august position the deceased is able to function, not only in the hereafter but also in the world of men. The ability to act, whether favourably or malignantly, is expressed by the adjective $\dot{ik}r$: the $3h \text{ } \dot{ik}r$ is an 'able spirit' insofar as he has the power to help his supporters and to act against his antagonists.
- g. When in need of any sort, people turn to their deceased relatives, who in their capacity or through their quality as an $3h \text{ } \dot{ik}r$ are expected to be their advocate and powerful help on a supernatural level.
- h. The deceased as $3h\dot{w}$ ($\dot{ik}rw$) have to be sustained in their lofty

405) For cpr see above p. 208 note 82; for $mn\dot{h}$ p. 207 note 81; and for the specific adjective $\check{s}ps$ pp. 230 (note 191), 259 (note 330), 271 (note 379) and 275 (note 396).

406) For the place where the $3h$ is situated see also above pp. 235 and 260 (note 331).

position by special cultic practices, which also can take the form of a house-cult beside the more general funerary cults.⁴⁰⁷

- i. The deceased as *3hw* (*ikrw*) have to be kept satisfied or appeased, for fear that they might become a kind of 'haunting spirits'.

407) Cf. also the remarks by H.G. Fischer on the cult of a 'deified' person in relation to the funerary cult of the same person, *JARCE* IV (1965), p. 52; and above note 402.

V THE MEANING AND FUNCTION OF THE *3ḥ ṯkr n R^C*-STELAE

At the end of our introductory first chapter we set out the principal aims and main questions which formed the starting-point of our study. Therefore it seems appropriate in this final chapter to try to see whether or not our researches and the discussions arising from them as set out in the ensuing chapters have indeed given answers at least to some of these questions.

- a. To begin with, from the evidence available we have been able to conclude¹ that the great majority of the *3ḥ ṯkr n R^C*-stelae do indeed originate from Deir el-Medīna² - no less than 47 out of 55. Of the other eight stelae, six come from the Theban region and two from Abydos.³

As far as can be ascertained most of these Deir el-Medīna stelae appear to have been found in the Village itself, i.e. not in the adjacent necropolis. It is worthy of note that this fact has been established for the eleven stelae found as a result of 'official' excavations.

The phenomenon that so many of these typical stelae come from Deir el-Medīna, which at first sights appears so striking, may be accounted for in several ways:

1. First and foremost Deir el-Medīna is about the only well-known

1) Cf. Chapter III 4. *Provenance*, above pp. 181 ff.
 2) As already observed in the paragraphs quoted above in note 1, this holds just as true for the documents of our group B.
 3) In this connection we should point out that some of the documents in our group C show a notable resemblance to the stelae of our group A, which means that, in all probability, similar stelae from several sources in museum collections may well have escaped notice up to now by the very fact that either they are uninscribed or they lack the intrinsic quality to form the subject of publication. An obvious example would be our Doc. C 7, cf. above p. 164.

and richly documented 'living area' from the Ramessid period, or the New Kingdom as a whole for that matter⁴; the excavations - unofficially pursued last century and officially carried out this century by the French mission - have produced an overwhelming amount of material of all sorts.⁵ In general very few towns or villages of Ancient Egypt have been excavated, which means that our knowledge about many aspects of 'domestic life' is certainly incomplete and one-sided.

2. Secondly, because of the nature of the work of its inhabitants the Village also functioned as a kind of 'atelier' for all sorts of different products, including stelae.⁶ In other words the villagers were capable of producing for themselves objects of a nature and quality which, as far as our knowledge extends, were reserved for official use in the temples or public buildings or for the funerary equipment of those people in the society who could either afford it or were presented with it for some reason. In this respect Deir el-Medīna must have been an exceptional community (though probably not the only one). The great amount of

4) See also above pp. 181-182, note 19.

5) Clearly we should not forget to mention Tell el-Amarna and Gurob as more or less comparable sites. However from the first-mentioned we are bound to obtain an incomplete picture as the city was deserted at the end of the Amarna period, the inhabitants probably taking all their more important personal belongings with them (yet, see our Doc. C 7, above p. 164, from the Workmen's Village there which, incidentally, is the object of 'modern' excavations by the Egypt Exploration Society under the direction of Mr. B.J. Kemp, cf. *JEA* 66 (1980), pp. 8-10, *JEA* 67 (1981), pp. 5-20). The other 'town' was excavated in the period when the principal objective of excavations was digging for objects of quality and little or no attention was paid to small finds, certainly not if uninscribed. More recent excavations of town-sites, such as at Mendes or Tell el-Dab'a, are still awaiting their completion and final publication.

6) Cf. J.J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period* (Leiden 1975), pp. 388 and 389 note 6; also the contributions by R.J. Demarée and R. van Walsem in *Gleanings from Deir el-Medīna* (Leiden 1982), pp. 101-108 and 193-195 respectively.

material of all sorts from the Village could - at least to a large degree - be explained by the fact that the inhabitants were self-supporting even to the extent of producing their own funerary and cultic objects and providing them with inscriptions.

3. In the third place, these stelae are distinguished from other stelae by a combination of characteristics⁷, of which an important element is the fact that they bear brief inscriptions containing the designation of the dedicatee as $3h \text{ } \dot{ik}r \text{ } n \text{ } R^C$. As a result of this element they are easily recognizable among material from excavations or in museum collections. Therefore, similar stelae not only of an even simpler quality than many of those of our group A but also uninscribed, could easily have escaped notice. This point is clearly demonstrated by some of the documents in our group C which, if they had not been brought within the scope of our study would hardly have attracted any special attention.⁸ Once again we should stress that the inhabitants of Deir el-Medīna were capable of furnishing their own monuments, even the minor ones, with well-executed inscriptions, whereas we might well expect similar objects from other settlement areas to be of a poorer quality and uninscribed.⁹

- b. The second main point introduced as a subject of our researches was the question about who were the people to whom the $3h \text{ } \dot{ik}r \text{ } n \text{ } R^C$ -stelae have been dedicated. From the considerations raised in the Commentaries to the documents of our group A, we can infer that, in the case of the majority of the dedicatees, we are dealing with some of the inhabitants of ancient Deir el-Medīna who are known to us from other sources which have been discovered in and around the Village. As far as we were able to conclude with any certainty, the dedicatees

7) Cf. Chapter III 2. *Typology*, above pp. 175 ff.

8) *E.g.* C 7-10, for which see pp. 164-166; cf. also above note 3.

9) For the aspect of literacy in Deir el-Medīna see M.L. Bierbrier,

did not belong to any single 'family' or group within the community which was especially distinguished for any particular reason, although it must be admitted that our knowledge about family-structure and terms of relationship in Deir el-Medīna is still too inadequate to make unequivocal statements with absolute certainty.¹⁰

It is remarkable that in several instances more than one stela is dedicated to one and the same person, which clearly shows that these persons enjoyed a special devotion or reverence within a wider section of the community.¹¹ Furthermore, the evidence collected permits us to conclude that, in spite of many uncertainties, the dedicatees were close relatives of the dedicators or adorers whenever these happen to be named on the stelae, in any case they were not members of generations of the remote past. It is not too much to say that they most probably were part of the living memory.¹²

The Tomb-builders of the Pharaohs (London 1982), pp. 78 and 80.

- 10) Some of the dedicatees definitely belong to the more important families of the Village, e.g. Amennakht (A 4), Anḥotep (A 5), Baki (A 7) or Neferḥotep (B 11), but the evidence is not sufficient to permit general conclusions to be drawn.
For terms of relationship see the relevant observations by M.L. Bierbrier in *JEA* (1980), pp. 100-108; the problems of kinship terminology, which constitute one of the main obstacles in this respect, are also treated by G. Robins, 'The Relationships specified by Egyptian Kinship Terms of the Middle and New Kingdom', *CdE* 54/108 (1979), pp. 197-217.
- 11) I.e. Panakht of Docs. A 13 and 14, Ḥapy'o of Docs., A 29 and 30, and Khamuy and Pennūb of Docs. A 33-38.
- 12) Whenever the relevant data are available - through textual evidence on the particular stela - the dedicatee fits into either of the categories father, husband, brother or son (cf. our Docs. A 2, 8, 25, 26, 29, 40, 49, 50, 55).
A similar situation was observed in connection with the addressees of the Letters to the Dead, cf. above pp. 217-218. For the subject of 'living memory' see also the interesting remarks by H. te Velde in his article 'Commemoration in Ancient Egypt', *Commemorative figures* (Papers presented to Dr. Th.P. van Baaren on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, May 13, 1982, = *Visible Religion*, Annual for Religious Iconography, I, Leiden 1982), pp. 135-153. See

Finally, the dating of the individual documents constituting our group A - however difficult - leads to the conclusion that the $3h$ \dot{ikr} $n R^C$ -stelae date from the end of the 18th, 19th and 20th dynasties, with an obvious preponderance in the 19th dynasty.¹³

c. As for the third question - concerning the meaning of the designation $3h$ \dot{ikr} $n R^C$ - our extensive discussions in Chapter IV have led to a number of conclusions summed up at the end of that particular chapter. From these we can infer that, in general, the designation $3h$ \dot{ikr} $n R^C$ denoted the august position of a deceased person. Namely as one:

- who in his status as $3h/3h$ \dot{ikr} , acquired by various means, had to be sustained¹⁴ and the exercise of this duty formed part of a funerary cult as well as a house-cult¹⁵;
- who was able (\dot{ikr})¹⁶ to act not only in the hereafter but also in this world.¹⁷ In a few instances a relationship could be observed between the possession of the quality of \dot{ikr} by someone initially while still alive and then again later as an $3h$ in the next world¹⁸;

also the remarks by D. Wildung in *LA* I, 111.

- 13) Cf. Chapter III 6. *Dating*, above pp. 186 ff. Bruyère's statements concerning the date of the stelae, as quoted above p. 4 with note 14, are definitely incorrect.
- 14) As witnessed by the often-repeated wishes or requests for offerings and e.g. an expression such as *snmt 3h*, see above p. 205.
- 15) Cf. the evidence from some of the entries in the Calendar of Lucky and Unlucky Days, quoted above pp. 272-273; also below p. 288 with note 36.
- 16) See above pp. 195-197.
- 17) Exemplified in the texts from the Appeals to the Living and to the Visitors, as well as in several of the Letters to the Dead, cf. above pp. 206-212 and 214-218 (noteworthy are terms like *h3y* and *sbi hr*, while the $3h$ \dot{ikr} further claims to be *Cpr* and *rh r.f.*, i.e. he is equipped also with special knowledge which may prove of use).
- 18) See above p. 236 with note 221. In this connection one is strongly reminded of the position of the later Greek *heros*, whose special qualities while a living human being led to his veneration after

- who held a privileged position in the company of the gods and had a close connection with Re, a connection which was given special emphasis during the New Kingdom and which culminated so to say in the designation *3ḥ ḫkr n R^c*.¹⁹ His place in the solar barque as one of the crew of the sun-god, a position through which he could also act as a judge on those deceased newly-arrived, was particularly remarked upon;
- whose prayers and intercessions were heard by the gods and therefore someone who potentially could act as a 'mediator' between the living upon earth and the gods²⁰;
- to whom the living upon earth could express their wishes when in need or distress, but to whom they also had to show regularly their devotion by presenting offerings.²¹

In addition to these fundamental notions concerning the beatified state of the deceased as an *3ḥ/3ḥ ḫkr*, it should be noted that especially New Kingdom non-religious sources give vent to popular

death in the expectation that he would still be able to exercise these qualities in his situation in the next world, cf. M.P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* I 2 (München 1955), pp. 184-191 and 715-719. Comparable remarks have been passed about the 'deification' of Amenhotep son of Hapu, cf. D. Wildung, *Egyptian Saints* (New York 1977), p. 109. Essential to this subject is of course still the contribution by K. Sethe, 'Heroes and Hero-Gods' in *Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* (London 1913), pp. 646-652; cf. also E. Otto, 'Gehalt und Bedeutung des ägyptischen Heroenglaubens', *ZAS* 78 (1942), pp. 28-40, and the articles by Fischer and Quaegebeur quoted below in note 26.

- 19) Cf. e.g. the BD Spells 130 and 133, discussed above pp. 251 ff., and Chapter IV 4 on p. 165.
- 20) In this respect we should mention the terms *ḥ3y* and *sbī ḥr*, for which see above note 17, and *sḏm sprwt* figuring in the texts discussed above on p. 261 with note 335 and p. 272 with note 383; cf. also H. te Velde in *LA* IV, 161-162 (s.v. 'Mittler').
- 21) In several instances the *3ḥ ḫkr* is the one who acts according to the wishes of those who appeal to him, cf. the quotations from the Appeals to the Living, the Letters to the Dead and an entry in the Calendar of Lucky and Unlucky Days, above pp. 210, 214 and 272. Clearly therefore, survivors upon earth could appeal to deceased

beliefs according to which the $3\dot{h}w/3\dot{h}w \dot{i}krw$ had to be kept 'appeased' - $\dot{s}h\dot{t}p$ (i.e. with offerings) - in order to stop them from becoming 'haunting spirits'.²²

d. The conclusions and answers summed up so far more or less automatically lead us to our fourth main question: the meaning and function of these $3\dot{h} \dot{i}kr n R^C$ -stelae.

1. In the first place we should note that on every stela the dedicatee, bearing the attributes of his august position, in most cases is represented placed behind an altar, often while being presented with offerings. The symbols of this 'elevated' position range from the attitude of smelling a lotus-flower, the holding in one of his hands various objects such as a cloth, a scepter or an *ankh*-sign, to the placement of the dedicatee²³ sometimes set upon a reed mat and in some instances even seated on a $\dot{h}wt$ -throne.²⁴ The offerings, as we have seen, are in complete accordance with a fundamental idea of the sustenance of the $3\dot{h}w/3\dot{h}w \dot{i}krw$ especially as an element of the house-cult.²⁵

2. Secondly, the dedicatees are denoted as $3\dot{h}w/3\dot{h}w \dot{i}krw$, 'able

relatives and have their requests granted, which would constitute a basic element for the functioning of a house-cult.

22) See e.g. the chapter from the 'Instruction of Any', above p. 270 and some of the entries in the Calendar of Lucky and Unlucky Days, above pp. 272-273.

23) G.T. Martin's view, *JEA* 68 (1982), p. 83 note 18, that "(two children) are presumably offering and praying to a statue of their father rather than to the deceased himself", seems highly dubious as no such statues (i.e. with the person represented sniffing a lotus-flower) are known, whereas it would be sufficient that the offerings were being brought to an 'image' of the deceased, which is precisely what is happening on the stelae.

24) For the $\dot{h}wt$ -throne cf. note 2 on our Doc. A 19, above p. 59. Furthermore the frequent representation of solar symbols on the stelae has already been explained as referring to the status of the $3\dot{h}/3\dot{h} \dot{i}kr$ as a member of the crew of the sun-god, cf. above p. 252.

25) See especially an exhortation such as: "Make $\dot{p}rt-\dot{h}rw$ -offerings to

spirits'. As has been shown by the evidence summarized in a preceding paragraph, they were those deceased who required and deserved to be taken care of through the medium of offerings from their relatives upon earth, but who, on the other hand, could also act in the favour of those relatives, in which role they sometimes functioned as 'mediator'.²⁶

This two-way communication evidently required what we might describe as a 'place of contact', a function which in other similar instances was fulfilled by a stela. The stela was the point to which offerings could be brought and contact established between living and deceased relatives through prayers and supplications.²⁷

3. In the third place, in those cases where the original find-spot - even though not exactly *in situ* in the strict sense of the word - is known, this is either situated inside one of the houses of Deir el-Medīna or in one of the votive chapels in the valley of the Village. In at least two cases it has been possible to ascertain a connection with a niche in the wall of a room in the house where the stela was found (*i.e.* the niche most probably was the place

the *3ḥw* in your house", quoted above p. 272; and the bringing of incense-offerings to the *3ḥw* as mentioned in the Offering-formulae (above p. 262 with note 338) which is also represented on some of the stelae of our group A, *e.g.* A 21, 25, 40, 49, 50 and 55.

- 26) Cf. above notes 16, 17 and 19. For the role of mediator exercised by what is often denoted as 'deified' - though we would prefer in most cases to speak about 'hero-ized' - human beings, see also the remarks by H.G. Fischer in *JARCE* IV (1965), p. 52 ("... any deceased individual might receive an appeal from a surviving kinsman ... that recognizes the ability of the "potent spirit" to provide effective help."), and the important article by J. Quaegebeur, 'Les "saints" égyptiens préchrétiens' in *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 8 (1977), pp. 129-143 (*e.g.* p. 131: "... la vénération publique des personnes, pour la plupart décédées ... émane de la population elle-même et voit dans le "saint" une sorte de médiateur qui peut faire se réaliser leurs suppliques.").
- 27) For contacts with the realm of the dead in general see also P. Leiden I 348, rt. 12,3, J.F. Borghouts, *OMRO* 51 (1971), p. 123 (note 273, referring *e.g.* to well-known parallels from the Ancient

where the stela had originally stood)²⁸, while in another case a stela was discovered - together with other votive stelae - on one of the benches in a votive chapel.²⁹

In this connection we should pay attention to the fact that most of the offering-tables/libation-basins from our group B, all of which feature the designation of the dedicatee as $3h \text{ } \bar{i}kr/3h \text{ } \bar{i}kr \text{ } n \text{ } R^C$, were found in the living-quarters of the Village.³⁰ These objects evidently also constituted a necessary element in the cultic practices.

To conclude therefore, it would seem that the $3h \text{ } \bar{i}kr \text{ } n \text{ } R^C$ -stelae had an important function especially in the house-cult for deceased relatives. This aspect of the house-cult (which also comprised the cult of the gods - notably minor deities³¹ such as Shed,³² Thueris,³³ Renenutet and Mertseger³⁴ - as well as the patron saints of the Village Amenophis I and Ahmose-Nefertari³⁵) consisted of the bringing of offerings to place in front of the stela for the benefit of the deceased represented on that stela, at the same time in the

World such as the invocation scenes in I Samuel 28:8 sqq. and Odyssey 11, 23 sqq., and quoting further literature); cf. too above pp. 216-217 with notes 108-110.

28) Cf. the data concerning our Docs. A 7 and 40, above pp. 30 and 106-108. For the general function of the 'niches' see Bruyère *Rapport* 1934-1935, pp. 193 ff.

29) Cf. our Doc. A 13, above pp. 43-44.

30) See the data for these objects, above pp. 145-156, and Chapter III 4. *Provenance*, pp. 181 ff.

31) Cf. B. Gunn, 'The Religion of the Poor', *JEA* 3 (1917), pp. 83-92; S. Morenz, *Ägyptische Religion* (Stuttgart 1960), p. 115; C. Traunecker, 'Manifestations de piété personnelle à Karnak', *BSFE* 85 (juin 1975), pp. 22-31, pp. 22-31; G. Posener, *RdE* 27 (1975), pp. 195-210; J. Assmann, *RdE* 30 (1978), pp. 22-50.

32) Cf. B. Bruyère, *Rapport* 1935-1940, III (1952), pp. 138-170.

33) *Ibid.*, *Rapport* 1935-1940, III (1952), pp. 72-82.

34) *Ibid.*, *Mert Seger à Deir el Médineh* (Cairo 1930); see also J. Broekhuis, *De godin Renenwetet* (Assen 1971), pp. 70-71.

35) Cf. e.g. our Doc. A 27, above pp. 78-79, and J. Černý, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), pp. 159-203. See also our Doc. A 42, above pp. 112-114, figuring Prince Ahmose-Sipair denoted as $3h \text{ } n \text{ } R^C$, and the documents

expectation of reciprocation in the form of help from the side of the deceased whenever it should be deemed necessary.³⁶

- e. Having established, in our opinion beyond doubt, that the stelae under discussion, together with the offering-tables/libation-basins, functioned in a house-cult for deceased relatives, it now remains to be seen whether our fifth and last question can be answered positively.

We have already mentioned the opinion of Bruyère and others that there was indeed a clear connection between the *3ḥ ikr n R^C*-stelae and an ancestor cult in Deir el-Medīna.³⁷

On the other hand we have also noted the statements by Allam³⁸ and Wildung³⁹ who deny the existence of an elaborate ('ausgeprägte') ancestor cult in Ancient Egypt. Now, of course, it depends on what we would call an 'elaborate' ancestor cult.⁴⁰ It has become clear, however, from our researches that deceased relatives - ancestors⁴¹ - were revered not only in a more general cult of the dead, but also

quoted under C 11, above ppp. 167 ff.

- 36) For house-cult in general see e.g. S. Morenz, *Gott und Mensch im alten Ägypten* (Leipzig 1964), p. 114; J.F. Borghouts, *OMRO* 51 (1971), pp. 44-45. Morenz, *op.cit.*, has remarked that many of the small bronze-figures of gods may derive from a house-cult, cf. also G. Wessetzky, *Bulletin du Musée hongrois des Beaux-Arts* 44 (Budapest 1975), p. 10.
The basic principles of this subject have been discussed by D. Wachsmuth, 'Aspekte des mediterranen Hauskults', *Numen* Vol. XXVII (1980), pp. 34-75.
- 37) Cf. above p. 5.
- 38) *LA* II, 102: (s.v. 'Familie') "Ein ausgeprägter Ahnenkult hat sich aber nie gebildet".
- 39) *LA* I, 111: (s.v. 'Ahnenkult') "Einen ausgeprägten Ahnenkult hat es im Rahmen des äg. Totenkults nie gegeben".
- 40) Cf. the remarks by I. Kopytoff in 'Ancestors as Elders in Africa', *Africa* (Journal of the International African Institute) XLI (1971), pp. 129-142 (esp. on pp. 140-141). In this connection see above p. 282 with note 10.
- 41) By no means insignificant in this respect is the expression, quoted above in notes 364 and 367 on pp. 267-268: "the forefathers (*tpyw^{-C}*)",

specifically in a house-cult; that they could be invoked and asked to intervene when necessary; and that they were feared for their powers which they could exercise in affairs upon earth and because of which they had to be appeased.⁴²

The cultic practices effected in the houses by means of the stelae and other objects would seem - in connection with the other evidence adduced - a clear reference to the existence of an ancestor cult (at least certainly in Deir el-Medīna), even if on a rather modest scale. In this respect we should mention the many so-called 'ancestral' or 'anthropoid' busts that have also been found in the houses of Deir el-Medīna (as well as on several other sites).⁴³ In view of the fact that these busts are the subject of recent, some as yet unpublished, studies⁴⁴, this is not the proper place to study their meaning and function in detail.⁴⁵ However, the particular find-spot

the *3ḥw iḳrw*", i.e. the *3ḥw iḳrw* are 'forefathers' or 'ancestors'.

- 42) Elements known from ancestor cults elsewhere, cf. e.g. 'Ancestor-worship' in *Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* (London 1908-1926), pp. 425-467; F. Bömer, *Ahnenkult und Ahnenglaube im alten Rom* (Leipzig 1943); S.G.F. Brandon, *Man and his Destiny in the Great Religions* (Manchester 1962); C.J. Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals* (Leiden 1967), pp. 124-140; G.D. Hornblower, 'Ancestor Cult in Ancient Egypt', *Ancient Egypt* 1930, pp. 20-22 and 43-44.
- 43) B. Bruyère, *Rapport 1934-1935*, pp. 168-174 (quoting earlier literature on the subject); J. Vandier d'Abbadie, 'a propos des bustes laraires', *RdE* 5 (1946), pp. 133-135.
- 44) J.L. Keith-Bennett, 'Anthropoid Busts: II Not from Deir el Medineh alone', *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 3 (1981), pp. 43-72; *ibid.*, *Anthropoid Busts from Deir el-Médineh* (a descriptive catalogue, forthcoming and to be published by the IFAO, Cairo); *ibid.*, 'Some unconventional Egyptian sculptures and their roles in popular religion', paper read at the Third International Congress of Egyptology, Toronto, September 5-11, 1982; F. Friedman, 'On the meaning of Deir el Medina busts and related figures', paper read at the Third International Congress of Egyptology, Toronto, September 5-11, 1982 (a revised version of this paper will be published; Dr. Friedman kindly sent me the draft of that article which I received just before my final manuscript went to press).
- 45) It should be noted that in our opinion not all the busts as collected by J.L. Keith-Bennett necessarily performed the same function. It

of a great number of the busts and the scenes of adoration of similar on two small stelae⁴⁶ make it almost certain that these too were an element of the house-cult for deceased relatives. In summation therefore we can say that the worship of elders/ancestors definitely formed part of an ancestor cult in Ancient Egypt.⁴⁷

remains to be seen, for example, whether the more amuletic objects and others really belong to the same category.

- 46) One was published in line-drawing by J. Vandier d'Abbadie in *RdE* 5 (1946), p. 135, fig. 1; the other is illustrated in M.L. Bierbrier, *The Tomb-builders of the Pharaohs* (London 1982), p. 95, fig. 69 (= stela BM 270).
- 47) Cf. also note 1 on our Doc. B 11, above p. 155.

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Bierbrier
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* Ḥmose	145, 146, 165
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* Amenemhemu(?)	169
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- father of Baki	16
- son of Pashedu	16
Amenemopē	
- son of Pay	35
- son of Mose	68
Amenemopē(?), workman	171
* Amenemopē	170
Amenhotep, draughtsman	114
Amen-men	57
Amenmose	18
- son of Pashedu	19
- son of Penbuy	19
- father-in-law of Baki	19
- grandson of Baki	19
Amennakht	
- chief draughtsman, son of Ipuy	21, 22, 51
- (Nekh) son of Bukentef	33
- 'brother' of Pennūb	92
* Amenophis I (Djeserkare)	44, 55, 57, 160, 171, 172
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Anherkhew, chief workman	118
Anhotep	23
- son of Sennedjem	24, 26
- son of Khabekhnet	24
- brother of Nefer'abet	24
Any	11, 12, 13
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- son of Kasa	13
- brother of Neferhotep the Younger	13
- son of Ipuy	13
- son of Nakhy	13
- father of Mose	68
* Ba'aref	162
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* Bakwerel	76

Bukentef	
- father of Amennakht (Nekh)	31
- husband of Iy	32
- father of Nakhy	33
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* Dedia, chief draughtsman of Amun	160-161
* Djadjay	124
Djay	126-127
- son of chief workman Nekhemmut IV	127
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Hori	86
- father of Iuy	147
- 'grandfather' of Pennūb	92
Huy	
- son of Sebay (Duay)	130
- brother-in-law of Ken	147
- father of Paherypedjet	152
* Iahmay	161
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Ipuy	
- father of Roma	81
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- father of Amennakht	22, 51

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- daughter of May	149
- wife of Penbuy	149
Iuy	147
- wife of Setau	147
- daughter of Hori	147
- sister(?) of Nedjembehde	147
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- wife of Neferesenut	148
* - wife of Dedia	160
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Kasa	
- father of Any	13
- father of Nebamente	153
- father of Sherire	111
Ḳenḥerkhepshef, scribe of the necropolis	44, 45
Ḳedakhtef	
- father of Sem	144
- 'father' of Neferḥer	144
Ḳen	115-116, 122, 147
Ḳenna, 'brother' of Takhy... ..	121
Ḳenymin, workman	114
Ḳhabekhnet	
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- father of Sennedjem	81
- son of Nebnakht	72
- father of Mose	68
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Ḳha'emope, workman	118
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* Ḳhnummose(?)	126-127
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- father of Wesekh-nemte and Pennē	127, 128
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* Kynebu	
- w ^{cb} -priest	112-114
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- son of Baki	67
- son of Khabekhnet	68
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Nakhhy	168
- father of Any	13
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- son of Nebamente	148, 153-155
- grandson of Khnummose	128
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- chief workman	70
- brother of Erenūfe	70
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- son of Pennūb	90
- brother of Wennekhu	71, 72
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- father of Khabekhnet and Montumin	72
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Penamun	59
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* Penernūte, guardian	61
Penernūte	62
- son of Nakhtmin	62
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* Penpa... ..	55, 56
Penpakhenti, son of Wennekhu	73
* Pentawere, w ^{Cb} -priest	141
Peroy, scribe, 'brother' of Dhutmose	132
Play	130
Pre'emḥab, son of Pay	35
* Ptaḥ-ḥesi	60-61
Ptaḥmose, husband of Sherire	111

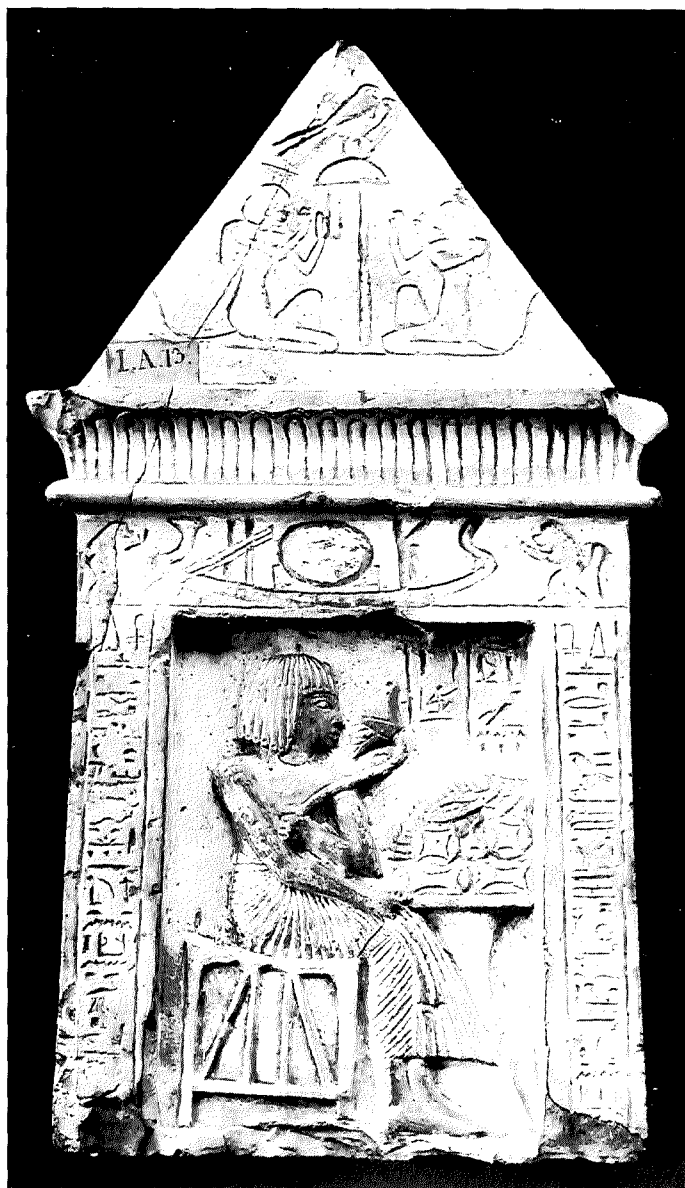
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Roma	80
- brother of Sennedjem	81
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* Sem	142-143
- son of Kedakhtef	144
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* Sethmose	76-77
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Thuthermakhtef	90
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Twertemḥab, mother of Panakht	44
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* Wadjmose, prince	172
Webkhet	104
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Wia	
* - son of Sem	142-143
- mother of Nedjembeḥde	107
...an-sheret	135

EGYPTIAN WORDS

3hw	magical power	208, 226, 233, 248
ip	to count	229, 245
iryw-sipw	inspectors	221, 238, 239
iri ht	to perform the rites	208-209
irw	shape	230, 232, 245, 246, 252
ikr	able, capable, skilful	195-197, 202, 206-207 210, 216, 232, 236, 247, 277
ikr	blessed dead	202, 233, 249
^c b3	sceptre	18
^c pr	equipped, provided with, to equip	202, 204, 207, 208 210, 231, 239, 242, 247, 248
^c ftt	(knowledge of) that what is there	231
^c h3 hr	fight on behalf of someone	216, 217
mnh	efficacious	207, 236, 241, 247, 249
h3y	supporter ('Beistand')	207, 209, 210
hsy	praised	247
hk3(w)	magic(al power)	208, 210, 225, 231, 233
hrp	sceptre	19
s3hw	glorifications/spiritualizations	225, 235
sikr	to make able, perfect	244, 246, 250, 251, 253
^s nh rn	to perpetuate the name of someone	216, 217
^s h	dignity; noble man	227, 230, 246, 271
sbi hr	to intercede on behalf of someone	209, 210 211, 212, 214, 217
snmt 3h	to feed the 3h	205
shtp	to appease	240, 270, 272, 273
shn-3h	'spirit-seeker'	200
ssd3t	protecting spell (?)	229
sd3w	protective spells	222
sdm sprwt	to hear petitions	261, 265
sbn	to mingle	268

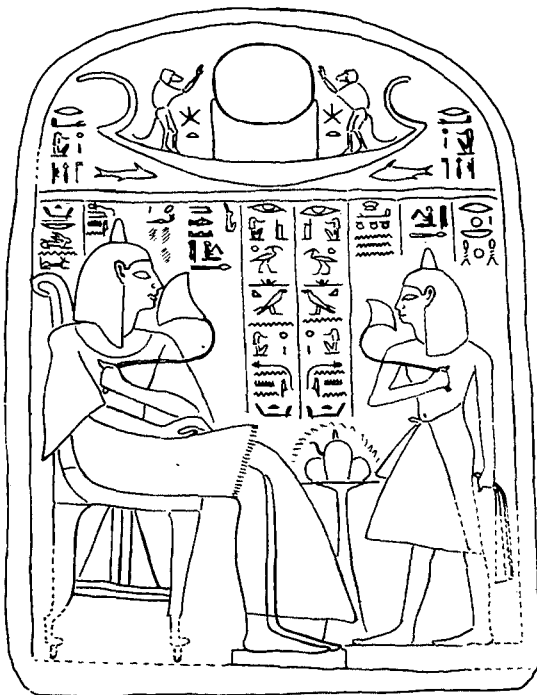
<i>šps/špss</i>	august, venerable	270
<i>šdt s3h(w)</i>	to recite glorifications	205
<i>gsw</i>	loaves of bread	19
<i>tpyw^c</i>	forefathers, ancestors	267, 268, 297
<i><u>dr</u></i>	(bundle of flax stems)	25

PLATES



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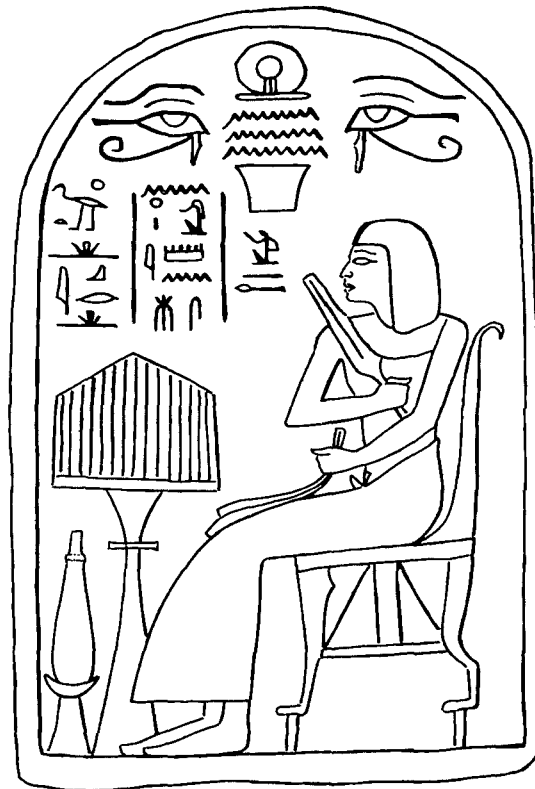
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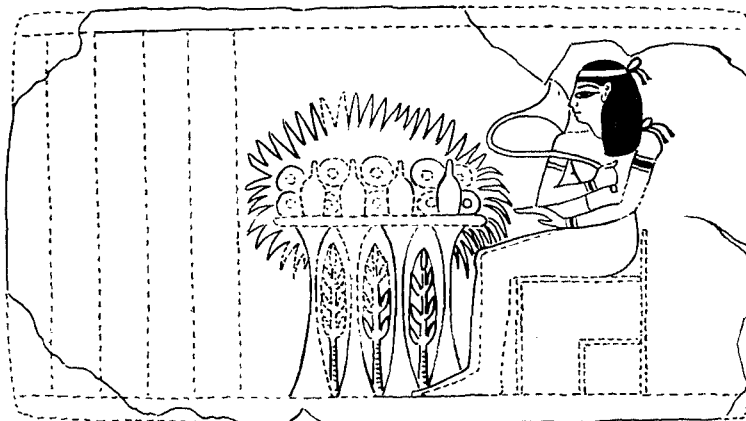
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Plate II



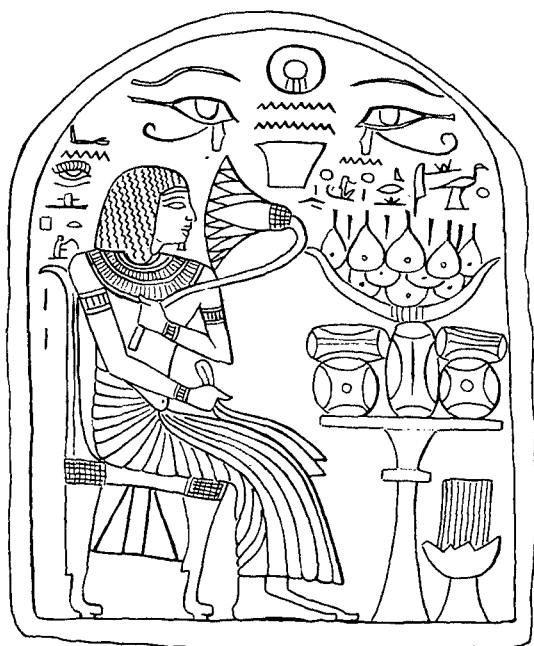
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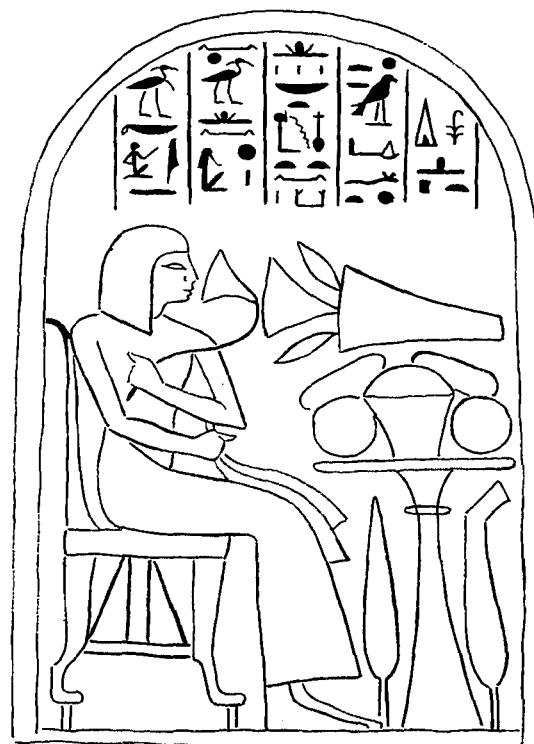


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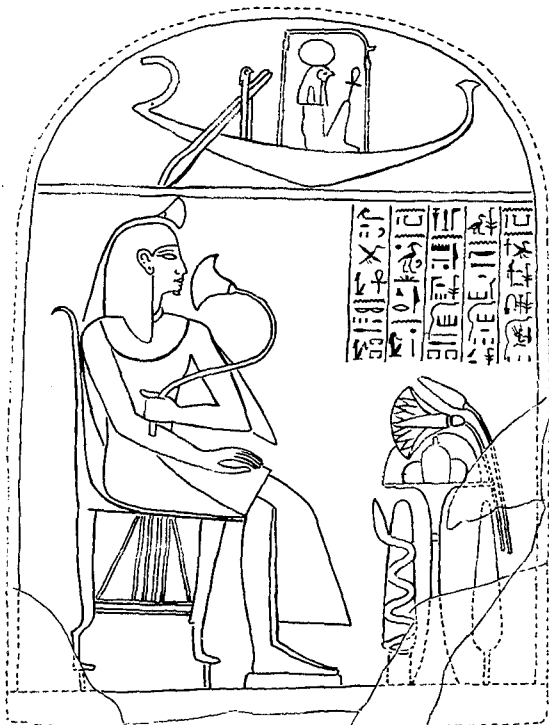
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Plate IV



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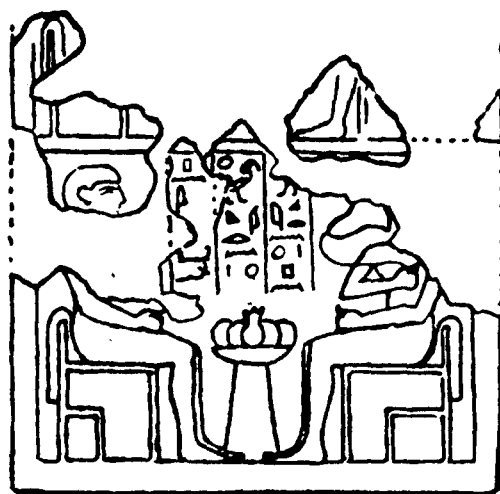
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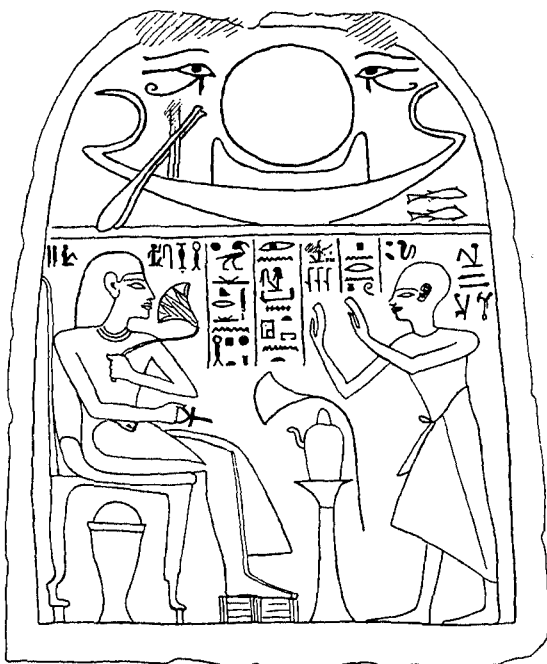
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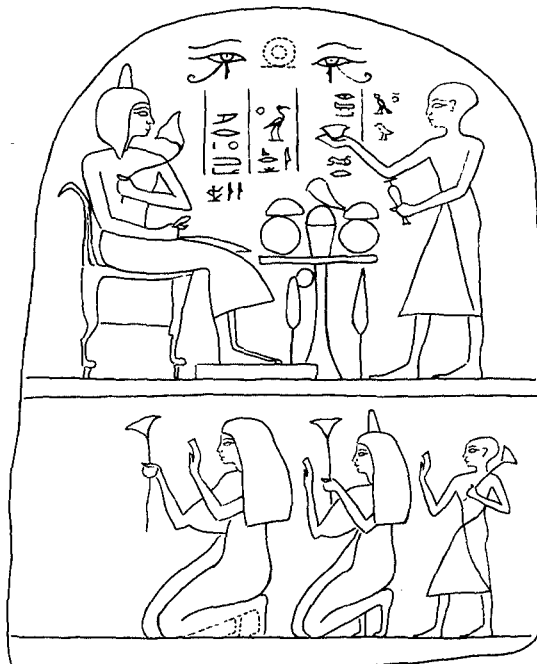


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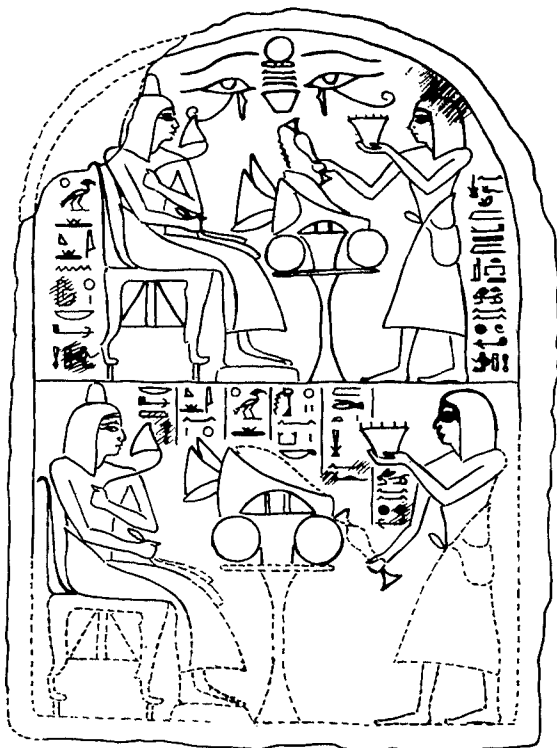
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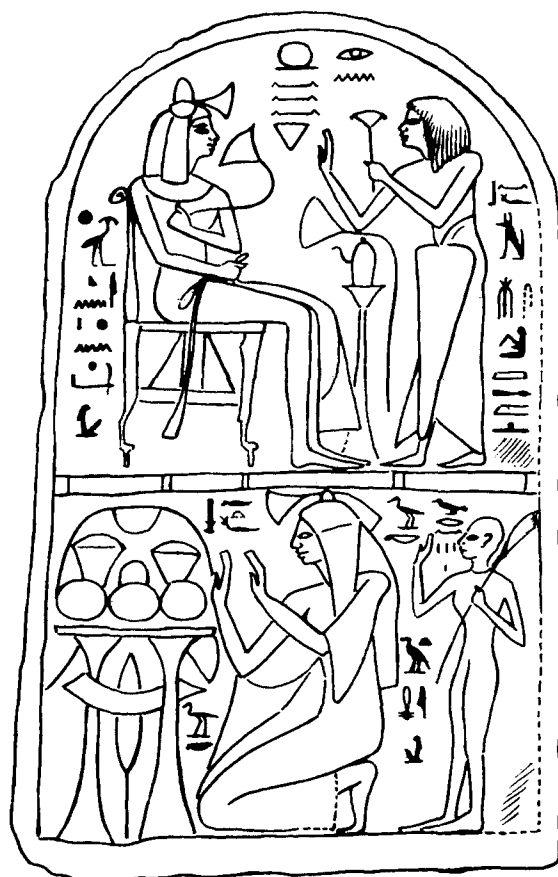
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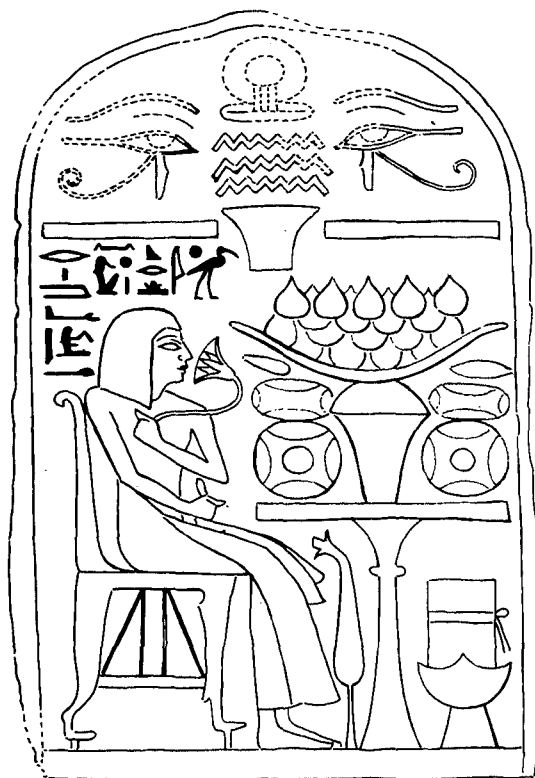
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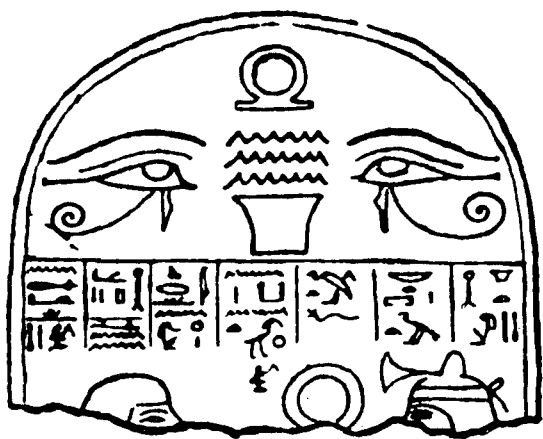
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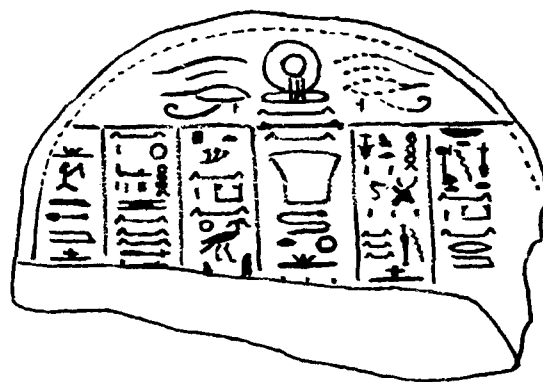
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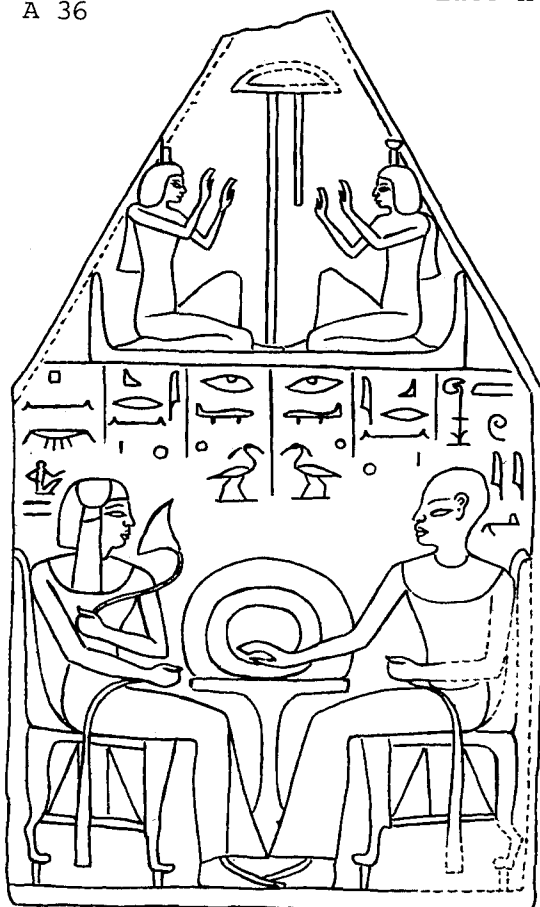
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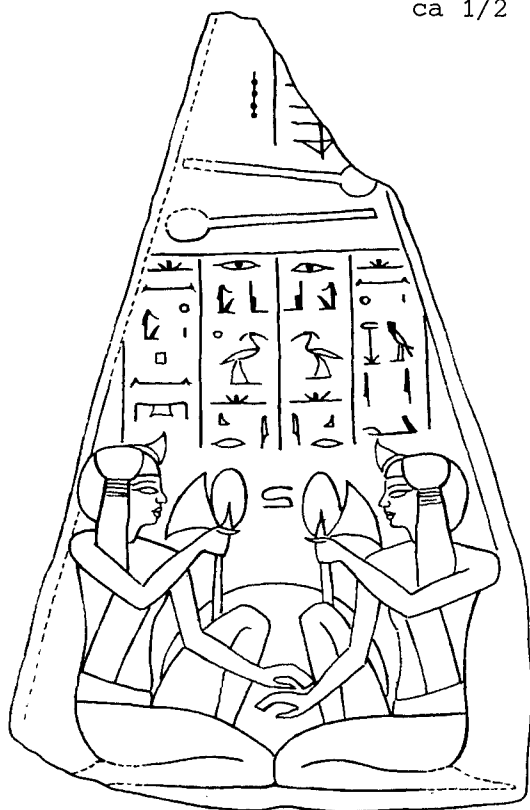
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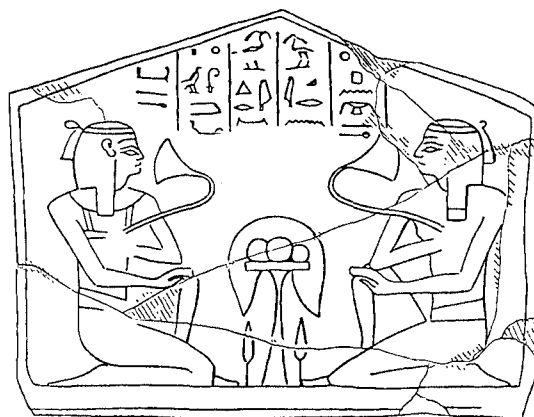


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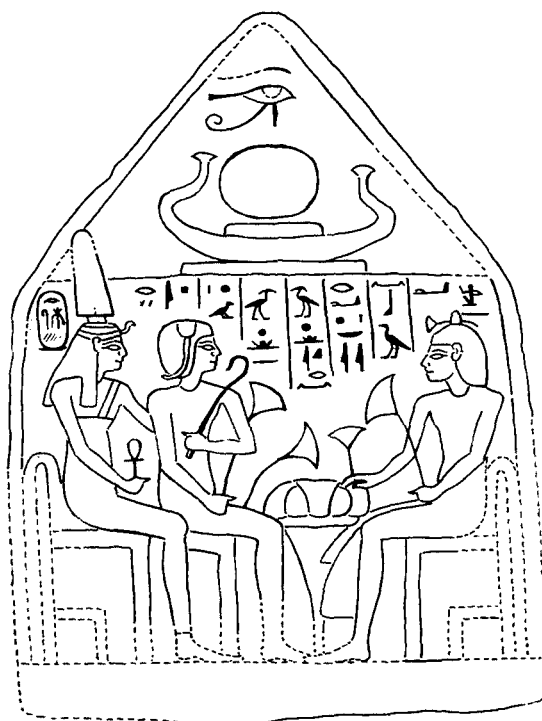


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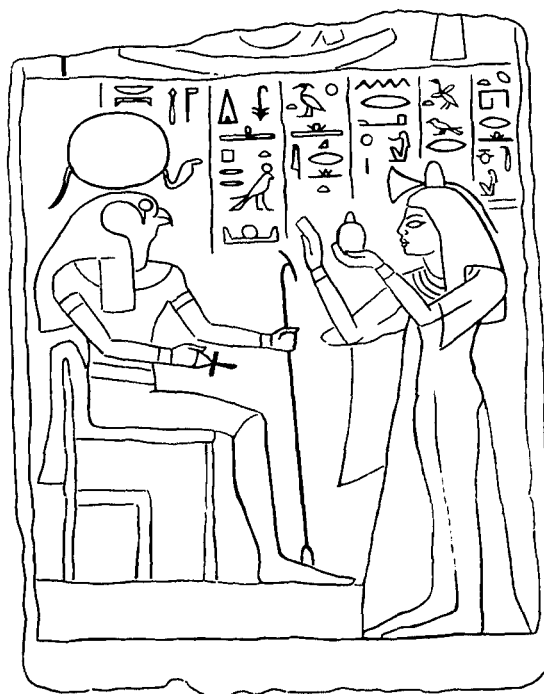


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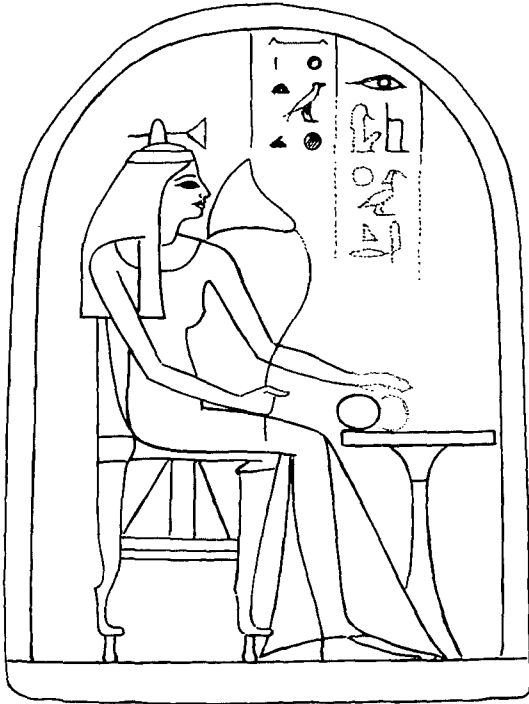
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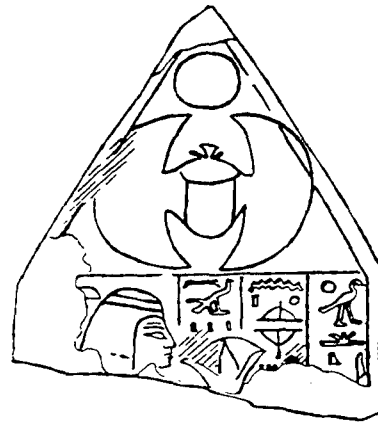
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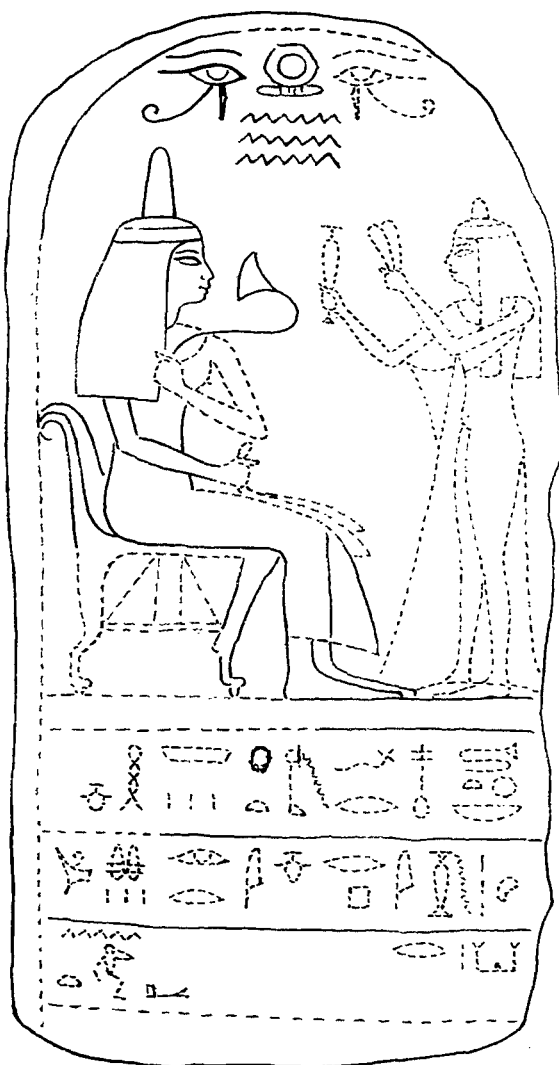
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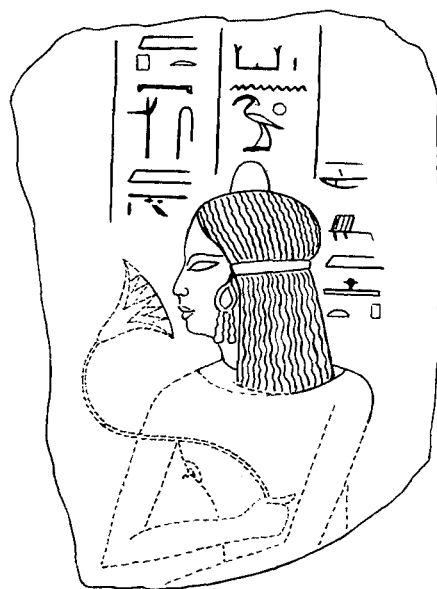
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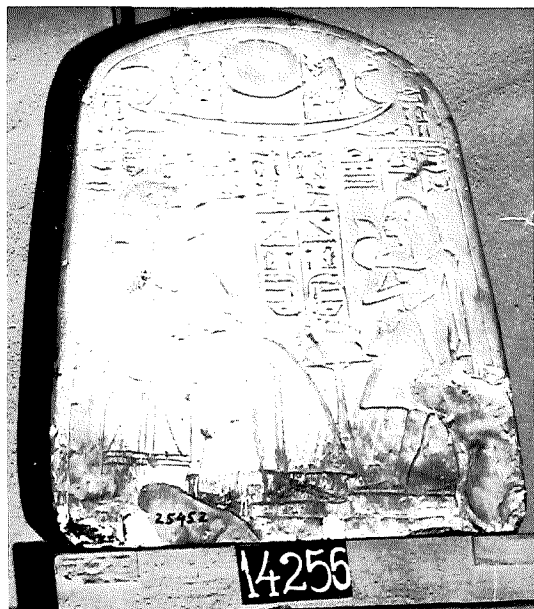


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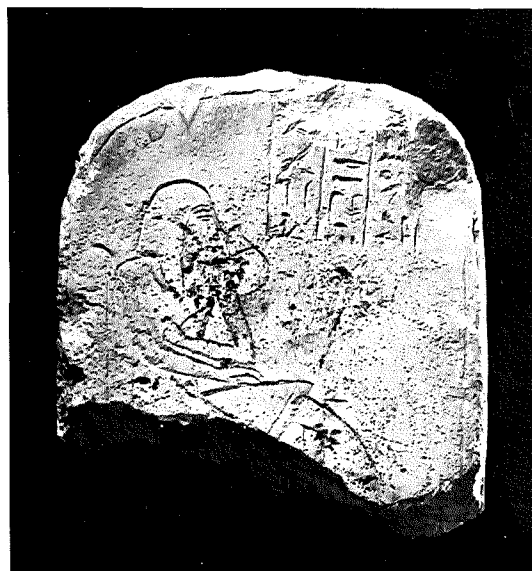
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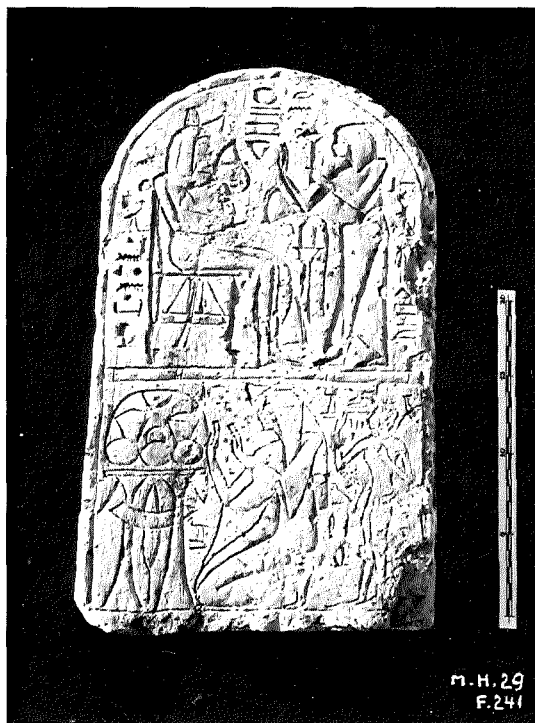
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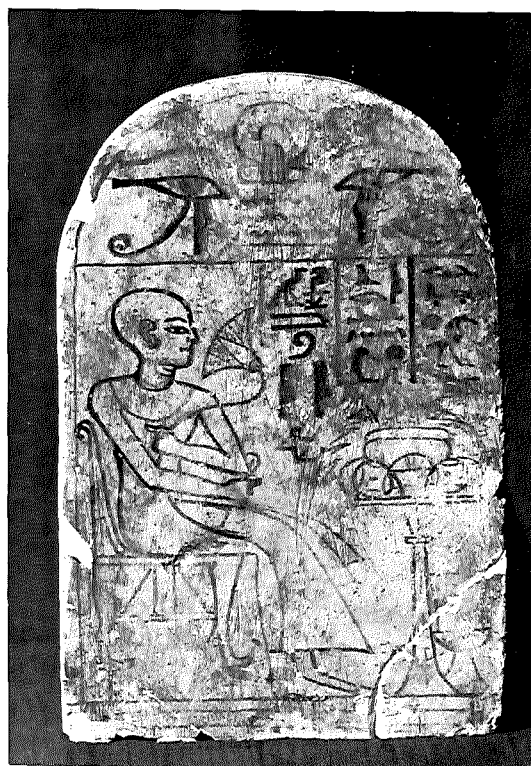
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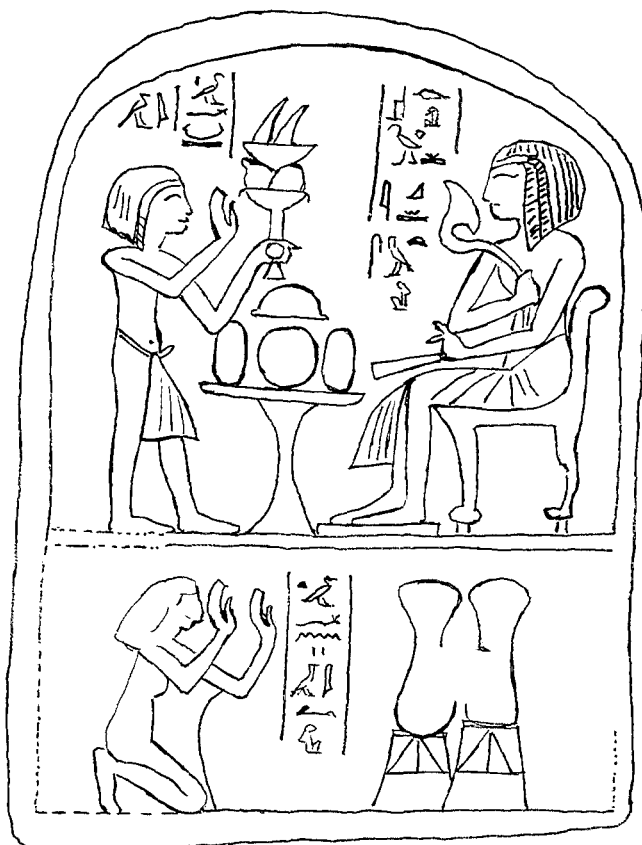
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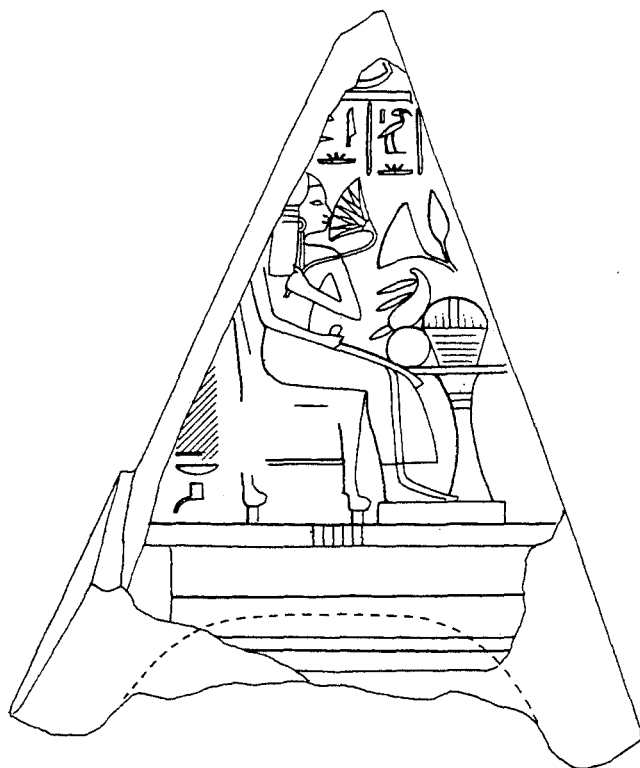
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A 18



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B 10





C 6



C 11b



C 7

ADDITIONS

Two more stelae, in general terms belonging to our group A, came to notice during our researches. However, as it proved impossible to trace their present whereabouts, or even their very existence¹, they were at first omitted from our list. Yet, since these two stelae were kindly brought again to our notice by Prof. H. de Meulenaere², it might be useful to present the known facts here. Both stelae were listed by A. Mariette in his *Catalogue des monuments d'Abydos*, Paris 1880, and both most probably entered the collections of the Bulaq Museum in 1862. The data given by Mariette unfortunately only enable us to draw up an incomplete list according to the standard pattern used for our catalogue A.

A 56

Name: Nubkhesbed - *Nwb-hsbd*.

Date: 20th dynasty (according to Mariette).

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: 0,21 x 0,18 m.

Technique: no information available.

Colours: no information available.

Conservation: lower part damaged, no further details available.

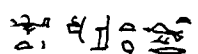
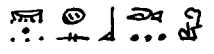
Type: according to the description resembling our type *h*.

Provenance: Abydos, "Necropole du centre - zone du nord-ouest".

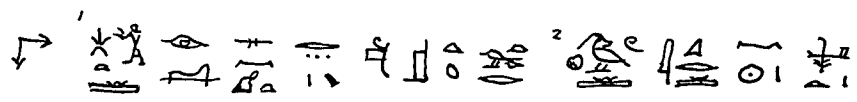

Present location: Cairo, Egyptian Museum (?).

Description: "Stèle dont le bas est mutilé. Osiris de l'Occident est

debout. Une femme joue du sistre devant lui. Elle est

 (sic! see text below); elle s'appelle 

L'invocation à Osiris est conçue en ces termes:

Text: 


1) Cf. the situation sketched in note 1 on p. 125 above.

2) To whom I express my most sincere thanks for his letters d.d. 9-5-1983 and 13-6-1983.

Bibliography: A. Mariette, *Catalogue des monuments d'Abydos*, pp. 448-449, No. 1192; PM V, 53-54 ('Cemetery of Songstresses').

Commentary: In view of the provenance, a date in the 21st dynasty would seem more probable. As the name of the female dedicator of the stela is rather common, it seems impossible to identify this lady. This stela and the next, A 57, together with our Doc. A 44, form a kind of small group (all of our type h) which differs from the other documents of our group A as the private persons represented are rather dedicator than dedicatee. Likewise, the probable find-spot of two of these stelae would seem to point to a different use and purpose.

A 57

Name: P3-dg3-r-d(n)ḥwt

Date: 26th-31rd dynasty (according to Mariette).

Material: limestone.

Dimensions: 0,35 x 0,28 m.

Technique: no information available.

Colours: no information available.

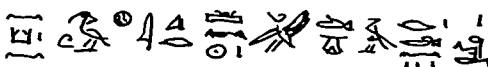
Conservation: no information available.

Type: according to the description resembling our type h.

Provenance: Abydos, "Necropole du Nord".

Present location: Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 19783.¹

Description: "Un homme et une femme sont devant Harmachis debout, marchant. Il est nommé ḥwt-nḥr. Légende de

l'homme: 

Légende de la femme: 

La femme a, comme sur les stèles des chanteuses de la XXe dynastie, la longue robe flottante et les deux fleurs sur le sommet de la tête. Rien dans le cintre."

Bibliography: A. Mariette, *Catalogue des monuments d'Abydos*, p. 478,

1) But see note 1 on p. 125.

No. 1268; J. Lieblein, *Dictionnaire de noms hiéroglyphiques* ..., No. 1082 (referring to our stela as Bulaq 141).

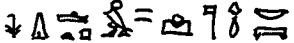
Commentary: The date as given by Mariette is questionable. In spite of the uncommon name (cf. Ranke, *PN II*, 285, 10: 'der auf das Geschrei hinblickt?'), it seems impossible to identify the principal dedicator. See further the Commentary to Doc. A 56 above.

In the recently published part-catalogue of the Petrie Collection in the University College London, two objects are of interest in connection with our researches: UC 14431 and UC 14734, cf. H.M. Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings* ..., III, *The Late Period* (Warminster 1983), p. 12, n. 36 (pl. 18) and p. 32, no. 117 (pl. 40) respectively.

The first, UC 14431, is the upper part of a limestone, uninscribed stela of false-door type, from El-Lahun, in style similar to our type e and comparable with our Doc. C 10 (p. 166 above), as also observed by Stewart. The second object, UC 14743, is a small wooden base from a statuette, of unknown provenance, dated to the 19th-20th dynasty, and to some extent comparable with our Doc. C 5 (p. 161 above). According to the description, "The top ... bears an incised *ḥtp-dī-nsw* prayer in two lines invoking Re-Harakhti and Atum on behalf of 'the 3_h Khonsu, justified'. Further, "round the sides, from front to back, are two more *ḥtp-dī-nsw* prayers, that on the right invoking Re-Harakhti for" 'the 3_h, the oarsman (*ḥnw*)¹ of Re, Khonsu', "and that on the left invoking Atum with a dedication by the dead man's father, 'the builder (*kḏ*) *B3k-n-'Imn*, justified'." It is interesting to witness here the privileged position of the deceased as an 3_h, denoted by the designation 'oarsman of Re', cf. our discussion on p. 251-252 above in connection with the place of the deceased in the solar barque.

1) My original idea that the designation possibly was to read 3_h *īkr n R^c* proved wrong, thanks to Miss R. Hall who was kind enough to check the inscription line on my request, thereby confirming Stewart's reading.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS

- p. 4 - line 20 - read: "...prétention..."
- p. 11 - line 6 - read: "...scenes..."
- p. 12 - line 4 - read: "...Re-Harakhty Atum, Lord of..."
- p. 19 - add to note 1: "See now also R. Hall, *GM* 64 (1983), pp. 25-33
- p. 23 - line 22 - read: "...Anḥotep..."
- p. 29 - line 2 - read: "...B3kī."
- line 23 - read: "...for the ka of..."
- p. 32 - line 22 - read: "MIFAO 71, p. 9..."
- p. 36 - add to note 4: "See also M.L. Bierbrier, *JEA* 68 (1982), pp. 85-92
- p. 39-40 - Doc. A 11 - In the *Bulletin of the Société d'Égyptologie*, Genève No. 7 (1982), pp. 39-46, R. Hari publishes a grey granite statue inscribed with texts, on back pillar and around the base, very similar to those on our Doc. A 11. It should be noted, however, that the authenticity of both statue and inscriptions is not wholly beyond doubt.
- p. 40 - line 1 - read: "For the ka of..."
- p. 84 - line 22 - read: "...ḥtp (?)..."
- p. 90 - For 'Pennūb the Elder' see also the remarks about this workman by J.J. Janssen in *SAK* 8 (1980), p. 137.
- p. 91 - line 16 - read: "...named..."
- p. 102 - line 24 - read: "...Kham(uy)..."
- p. 113 - Doc. A 42 - add to Bibliography: "Kitchen, *KRI* VI 447, 10-13; Amin A.M.A. Amer, *GM* 49 (Göttingen 1981), pp. 9-12."
- p. 124 - Doc. A 47 - add to Bibliography: "Kitchen, *KRI* VI 220, 5-8 (it is highly uncertain whether Kitchen is right to equate this Djadjai with a similar, but not exactly the same, named workman mentioned in Pap. Geneva 15274, verso III,2)."
- p. 148 - line 13 - read: "...Kitchen, *KRI* III 744, 5-10."
- p. 152 - line 16 - read: "...'Ramessid'..."
- p. 153 - Doc. B 10 - add to Bibliography: "A. Rammant-Peeters, *Les Pyramidions Égyptiens du Nouvel Empire*, OLP 11, Leuven 1983, pp. 50-52 (Doc. 46)."
- p. 161 - Doc. C 5 - add to Bibliography: "B. van de Walle, L. Limme, H. de Meulenaere, *La collection égyptienne* (Brussels 1980), p. 66."
- p. 167 - line 5 - read: "... Since there is insufficient space for any type of crown above..."
- p. 171 - add to note 2: "Kitchen, *KRI* VI 219, 7."
add to note 3: "Kitchen, *KRI* VI 219, 9-13."
- p. 174 - note 6 - read: "...on alle but one (no. 32)..."
- p. 175 - line 8 - read: "...traditional šn-ring..."
- p. 177 - line 8 - read: "...RC..."
- p. 178 - line 19 - read: "A 44 (our type h) 
- p. 179 - line 15 - read: "being 3_h in heaven and having power on earth [...] for the ka of NN"
- p. 181 - line 14 - read: "...period', since such formulae..."
- p. 182 - note 21, line 5 - read: "...cemetary..."
- p. 195 - line 1 - read: "...survey of the prevailing opinions..."
- p. 197 - line 12 - read: "...the 19th or 20th..."

- p. 201 - line 22 - read: "...and Re will not permit that I put myself on the ground, for he knows that I..."
- p. 205 - line 1 - read: "Visitors and c. the..."
- p. 207 - line 2 - read: "...always what his lord..."
- p. 215 - line 14 - read: "...create an obstacle (? , *iri* *dr*)..."
- p. 217 - note 109, line 15 - read: "...*ih* *3h.t* ..."
- p. 226 - line 8 - read: "...explicitly..."
- p. 227 - line 1 - read: "...be restrained..."
- p. 230 - note 190 - read: "...Guglielmi..."
- p. 237 - line 19 - read: "...made wholly dependant..."
- p. 238 - line 20 - read: "...explicitly..."
- p. 239 - line 9 - read: "known..."
- p. 242 - line 5 - read: "...establish..."
line 14 - read: "...after"
- p. 247 - note 272, line 8 - read: "... - how righteous..."
- p. 248 - note 275, line 8 - read: "...funerary or"
- p. 249 - line 3 - read: "...provided..."
- p. 250 - line 7 - read: "...privileged..."
line 21 - read: "...*hwf* n.f ..."
- p. 251 - line 20 - read: "...spell 133..."
- p. 260 - note 331, line 3 - read: "...being *3h*..."
- p. 267 - note 362 - add: "Interestingly a little further in the same text concerning the arrival of the sun-god in the netherworld we read:
'The *3hw* are jumping (*3hw<hr>ftft*)', cf. J. Assmann, *Re und Amun* (Göttingen, 1983), pp. 91-93."
- p. 272 - note 385 - for the text of stela BM 278 see now also K.A. Kitchen, *KRI VI* 275-276.
- p. 277 - line 24 - read: "...*3h* *ikr*..."
- p. 281 - add to note 9: "cf. now also *GM* 61 (1983), pp. 65-96 (esp. 86-91)."
- p. 284 - note 19 - read: "...Chapter IV 4 on p. 275."

Addition to the index of quotations, p. 314

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