

DEIR EL-MEDINA

THROUGH THE KALEIDOSCOPE

Proceedings of the International Workshop Turin 8th-10th October 2018





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Serie a cura di

Christian Greco

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INTRODUCTION

Christian Greco (Museo Egizio)

This volume is the outcome of a workshop held at the Museo Egizio from the 8th to the 10th October 2018. The Turin international workshop "Deir el-Medina Through the Kaleidoscope" highlighted ongoing research focusing on the history of the archaeological excavations and recent field activities as well the investigation of written and non-written material culture. Museum collections, archives, material culture, philological and archaeological data are put in multidisciplinary dialogue with one another in an attempt to reconstruct the socio-economic history of Deir el-Medina. The main aim is to understand how the village was functioning, what kind of social structures were in place, how life developed over time. Only by observing Deir el-Medina through a kaleidoscope can new data be gathered and can one analyse old evidence to "extract" new information. Attention to materiality, craftmanship, and technology can add layers of understanding, in the awareness that new insights do not necessarily result from new material but also from new perspectives and reflections on material, whether new or already known.

The volume is organized into four main parts, following the structure of the workshop: the community, writing and writers, art and crafts, the funerary and religious landscape.

THE COMMUNITY

This first section features attempts to understand how the village of Deir el-Medina developed, how its landscape changed, what the role of its inhabitants was, where they were living, and what the power structure was within the village. Given the complexity of the socio-economic history of the village, archaeological work, philological analyses, art-historical considerations, and archive studies are all necessary in order to answer these questions.

Cédric Gobeil revisits our overall understanding of the site through its main occupation phases by analysing the post-Bruyère work and showing how recent field activities can help to reconstruct the archaeological landscape of the village. Since the French archaeologist Bruyère did not completely excavate the site down to the bedrock, current field work can shed light on some grey areas.

The general assumption that the village was abandoned at some point in the reign of Ramesses IX and the community went to live within the temple precinct of Medinet Habu should be reconsidered, as Ben Haring demonstrates by studying ostraca found at the site. The evidence that the entire community moved away from the settlement is circumstantial and recent investigations actually point to the continued presence at Deir el-Medina of a group of persons during the "Renaissance" (whm msw.t) period.

In general, archives have proven to be of vital importance as a means to assign an archaeological context to artefacts held in museums. As Guillemette Andreu-Lanoë shows, they can also help us to realize how our approach to the material has changed over time and force us to reconsider the way we should define the members of the community in relation to their creativity – workmen, craftsmen or artists.

Indeed, who were the inhabitants of the houses in Deir el-Medina? Kathrin Gabler and Anne-Claire Salmas carefully set up in this joint article different criteria to establish secure attributions and, combining archaeological, textual and prosopographic sources, reconstruct the "biographies" of a few houses of the Ramesside Period.

A careful cross-examination of door lintels, jambs and cultic cupboards discovered throughout the site can allow them to be reconstructed and contextualized, and provide information about the social structure of the village. Julie Masquelier-Loorius shows that a sound methodological approach can yield new and promising results.

Seven peculiar statues or statue-fragments excavated in the area of the Hathor temple and associated chapels could have served as a means to strengthen the bond between the king and the community of royal tomb builders at the village. Margaret Maitland shows how this innovative Ramesside statuary found exclusively at Deir el-Medina can shed some light on the power structure of the village.

Histories of the past are intertwined with that of more recent times. The letters written to or from Djehutymes or his son Butehamun constituted an archive started by Djehutymes and maintained by his son. John Gee brings us back to the time

when English and French agents were active in Thebes, two hundred years ago, in an attempt to identify the probable findspot of these letters, which were part of a larger archive and are now housed in different collections around Europe.

The dynamics of the ancient community is still a promising field of investigation. By observing the representation of the tomb-owners' *sn*-relatives (brothers, uncles, cousins, nephews and male in-laws) and sons, Deborah Sweeney describes the tasks performed by the members of each group in funerary processions and rituals performed at the tomb in order to understand their roles.

Finally, Danièle Michaux-Colombot analyses the peculiar heart-shaped apron, a peculiar front-piece worn over the kilt that is not a typical item of Egyptian clothing and appears to be worn exclusively by Medjay. Combining textual and visual sources can lead to a new interpretation of their role in the Theban area.

WRITING AND WRITERS

We still have so many primary sources to study and publish and this should become a priority, since our conclusions and interpretations could change considerably. The study of the materiality of writing, going hand in hand with text editions and philological studies, will offer us a better understanding of the fundamental role that the scribes had within the community of Deir el-Medina. This section contains clear examples of the quality and quantity of the information that may be still derived from them.

When Djehutymes joined the workforce of the tomb around regnal year 15 of Ramesses IX, he may have dreamed of developing a career similar to those of his forefathers. The discovery and interpretation of new documents allows Robert Demarée to show how the tasks of a senior scribe changed significantly under the last three Ramesside rulers and after the beginning of the whm msw.t or "Renaissance" period (cf. Ben Haring's article). Until quite recently, our information about Djehutymes and his family during the later years of Ramesses XI and the so-called Renaissance Period was based on the Late Ramesside Letters corpus and a substantial amount of graffiti. This situation changed in 2013 with the discovery in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna of a papyrus. Regina Hölzl and Michael Neumann present this document, which turned out to be a sort of private notebook of the scribe Djehutymes.

Martina Landrino is conducting her research with the aim of providing the first complete publication of administrative papyri dating to the reign of Ramesses IX and kept at the Museo Egizio. The manuscripts preserved in the collection cover almost every year of his 19-year reign. The corpus offers an opportunity to analyse archival practice at Deir el-Medina and address the question of whether a central archive existed in the village. Her research can be seen in connection to the article by Ben Haring.

The publication and study of literary ostraca from Deir el-Medina, particularly within the editorial programme of the IFAO, is yielding an enormous amount of information. This additional material allows for the development of a whole new field of study. Annie Gasse shows how we might now have the opportunity to gain a better understanding of the personal beliefs of some famous individuals living and working in Deir el-Medina.

Letters are a particularly important source of information. Nathalie Sojic analyses the material and archaeological evidence regarding letter-bearing ostraca. This aspect of the description of text-bearing objects has been neglected in the past, but is gaining more and more importance alongside the more traditional identification and classification of texts, and palaeographical and linguistic studies. This new material opens up new research perspectives.

The IFAO holds the largest collection of literary ostraca from Deir el-Medina. The institution is developing different strategies to provide editions of its nearly 7,000 still unpublished ostraca. Florence Albert describes all the efforts done within the scientific programme of the IFAO to push forward the publication of literary ostraca from Deir el-Medina.

Through autoptic observation, Andreas Dorn and Stéphane Polis realised that O. Turin CGT 57002 is much better preserved than could be inferred from its publication by Jesus López. They not only provide a revised hieroglyphic transcription, a translation and commentary, but manage to attribute the text to the growing corpus of Amennakht's literary compositions.

ART AND CRAFT

Once again, it is worth stressing that the study of unpublished material is of fundamental importance. Careful analyses of artefacts, contextualization and

a multidisciplinary approach are crucial for a comprehensive understanding of material culture. By combining texts and archaeology, we can shed light on how objects were produced and what their economic and social value was.

The Museo Egizio houses numerous examples of blue-painted pottery coming from the excavations of Ernesto Schiaparelli at Deir el-Medina. Maria Cristina Guidotti shows how this style of pottery seems to be particularly widespread in the Theban area and stresses the need to increment the publication of pottery from the site.

The woodcraft production from Deir el-Medina is mainly known through the study of wooden furniture preserved in museum collections. The project directed by Gersande Eschenbrenner-Diemer is focusing on wooden furniture from the village, which is still housed in the storerooms on the site. By combining archaeometric analyses with technical, stylistic and prosopographical studies, the project strives to throw light on economic and social dynamics at Deir el-Medina.

The Museo Egizio houses a large collection of textile tools, most of them from Schiaparelli's excavations at Deir el-Medina. Textiles are frequently mentioned in the written sources as a means of payment. Chiara Spinazzi Lucchesi underlines that, although household production of textiles is rarely mentioned in texts, the archaeological record provides a completely different picture.

In-depth investigations of groups of objects may be extremely productive. The IFAO has a very important collection of female figurines, most of them still unpublished. Marie-Lys Arnette is working at an exhaustive catalogue that will produce new important data and widen the corpus of statuettes of this type. This study will not only shed new light on the beliefs and practices surrounding the female body, but also broaden our understanding of specific aspects of daily life.

A well-attested corpus of small figurines depicting monkey imitating various human activities is well known from the second half of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Among them there are twenty-eight figurines depicting monkeys driving chariots. Renaud Pietri analyses the iconographical variants and discusses their satirical nature and their possible use as toys.

Additional studies of known objects may produce fresh results by the use of new tools. The creation of a digital dataset of the painted hieroglyphs in the tomb of Anhurkhawy (TT359) will include multi-faceted annotations and images in various formats capturing the morphology, orthography and *ductus* of the painted signs. Elisabeth Bettles shows how such a tool will allow for com-

parative analysis and thus the ability to distinguish the different "hands" that decorated the tomb.

The discovery of the tomb of Kha on 15 February 1906 was probably the most important result of the Italian Archaeological Mission in Egypt. The tomb of Kha and Meryt with all its content was published by Ernesto Schiaparelli twenty years later. A comprehensive and cross-disciplinary study of this burial assemblage is still a long-awaited desideratum. Enrico Ferraris presents the plan for a comprehensive study of TT8.

A very important part of this project is the publication of the pottery found in TT8. Studies of the photo archive allows scholars to identify the original location of individual artifacts in the tomb, while archaeometric test can help in identifying the content of the vessels. Federica Facchetti presents the unique opportunity of studying an untouched grave assemblage to understand the technique used to produce these vases, their function and their funerary significance.

Inside the tomb of Kha and Meryt the archaeologists retrieved an important collection of textiles, more than 150 items. Matilde Borla, Cinzia Oliva and Valentina Turina are working on a systematic publication of the material, which includes a careful description of technical data, archaeometric analyses and conservation problems.

THE FUNERARY AND RELIGIOUS LANDSCAPE

The study of funerary and religious iconography can help us to understand who the artists were, how they were working, how certain topics and ideas became trendsetters and were copied in other monuments. We can identify forms of personal piety, reconstruct family ties, and see how the ancient Egyptians represented the Theban necropolis and its landscape. Re-examining archaeological evidence with a multidisciplinary approach may be the key to advancing our knowledge.

Careful study of three Eighteenth Dynasty chapels at Deir el-Medina can help us understand the degree of freedom the artists enjoyed, their knowledge and training, and their identity. Marina Sartori shows how systematic morphological analysis, a study of the distribution of different types of representation within the tomb, the consideration of individual pictorial elements, and iconographical comparison are fundamental to the reaching of valuable results.

The decoration of Ramesside queens' tombs influenced the introduction of religious and iconographic innovations at Deir el-Medina. Heather McCarthy shows how the originality of the decorative programme of the Valley of the Queens is underappreciated and investigates the path of transmission from queens' tombs to private tombs and papyri.

The tomb and its location in the Theban area can be studied through ancient Egyptian iconography. Aude Semat concentrates on the representation of the funerary landscape and the necropolis during the New Kingdom and the early Third Intermediate Period. Her documentation consists of 250 representations, 108 in wall decoration in Theban tombs, thirty-four in Book of the Dead manuscripts and, after the New Kingdom, on seventy-four yellow coffins.

TT216 was cleared by Bruyère in the early 1920s but was never fully published. Cédric Larcher has gathered a team to study the architecture and decoration of the monument, and to ensure its preservation. Thanks to a truly multidisciplinary approach, all the data deriving from archives, geology, and the historical environment contribute to a better understanding of the tomb.

Sasca Malabaila focuses on personal piety with the aim of understanding how and to what extent the artifacts coming from Deir el-Medina and now displayed at the Museo Egizio can shed some light on the religious practices and beliefs in the private sphere. She analyses a group of private stelae, focusing on both iconographical features and textual evidence.

The seven rock-cut chapels in the cliff between Deir el-Medina and the Valley of the Queens were excavated by Schiaparelli in 1905, but his work remained unpublished. In 1926, Bernard Bruyère re-excavated and published the site. Ikram Ghabriel re-examines the preserved scenes, the objects found there, and the archival material related to it, coming to surprising and interesting conclusions.

Sandrine Vuilleumier presents a preliminary study of the sequence of twelve guardians represented on the external doorjambs of the southern chapel in the Ptolemaic temple at Deir el-Medina. While no immediate parallel is at hand, an analysis of the decoration of the structure as a whole allows some conclusions to be drawn.

North of the enclosure wall of the Ptolemaic temple of Hathor, in February 1905 Ernesto Schiaparelli discovered the archive of Totoes and his wife Tatehathyris. It consists of sixty-one documents, for the most part legal acts of a priest-

ly family, dating to the second century BCE. Lorenzo Uggetti analyses the dossier in an attempt to understand how the archive was organised.

The core argument of the last essays is that a clear picture of life in Western Thebes in the sixth and eighth century CE can only be achieved by adopting a multidisciplinary approach. Anne Boud'hors offers an overview of the current research on this subject across a variety of disciplines: archaeology, papyrology, epigraphy and history.

Observing Deir el-Medina through a kaleidoscope has provided a valuable occasion for different specialists to contribute their original viewpoint to current research. Material culture, written sources, the archaeological context, and archives are all part of the puzzle of the life of the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina. There is still a large amount of unpublished material, and it is refreshing to see how many projects are concentrating on the study of primary sources.

My heartfelt thanks go to all the scholars who have agreed to share the results of their research during the workshop and some in form of their contribution with us, and have borne with us through the laborious editing process, made longer by the Covid-19 pandemic. I would also like to express my gratitude to Paolo Del Vesco, Federico Poole and Susanne Töpfer for their careful editorial work, and Todd Gillen for the English proofreading. Thanks to all of you, we can now welcome this important publication, which will hopefully be a starting point for further discussion.

REDISCOVERING AND RECONSTRUCTING THE RAMESSIDE LANDSCAPE OF DEIR EL-MEDINA. THE NORTHERN PART OF THE SITE

Cédric Gobeil* (Museo Egizio)

ABSTRACT

In an article published in the proceedings of the last international conference on Deir el-Medina Outside the Box, the author presented a work of "archaeology in the archives" focusing on a part of the cultic zone of Deir el-Medina (northern area of the site) through the lens of Bernard Bruyère's documentation (notebooks, published reports, and photographs). The main outcomes of this research were the location of Deir el-Medina's zir-area and an alternative proposal for the location of the khetem, where B. Bruyère unearthed a massive Ramesside building that he interpreted at the time as a house. In March 2017, with the permission of the Egyptian Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, the opportunity was given to excavate a defined and targeted sector in front of the Ptolemaic temple enclosure and verify the hypotheses recently offered. The results of the survey, given in this article, differ from the initial assumptions, for the re-explored remains are neither those of a Ramesside house, nor those of (part of) the khetem. They actually belong to the front-end of the temple of Amun of Ramesses II, a feature that was totally overlooked by B. Bruyère. The temple of Amun, along with other structures of the area (cultic or not), are directly oriented towards a Ramesside street, whose few existing remains were uncovered. During the Ramesside period, the workmen of the village used the natural environment (the narrow line of the Talweg and slopes of the hills) to implement the main installations of the cultic area (street, temples, "brotherhood chapels", and zir-area), resulting in a conscious effort of spatial organization, if not of landscape or urban planning.

^{*} Unless otherwise stated, photos and drawings are by the author and are subject to his copyright.

1. INTRODUCTION

After Bernard Bruyère's crucial fieldwork, only a few excavations were conducted at or around Deir el-Medina. Despite the satisfactory outcomes of these archaeological missions, some however assumed that the site was no longer worth investigating and would not yield any new archaeological remains.² When I was appointed director of the French mission (IFAO) in 2011, the main tasks at hand were therefore to pursue the study of unpublished monuments and artifacts, and develop an overall program of site management and conservation. While proceeding along these lines, I nevertheless reflected on various areas of the site and conducted minor, albeit informative archaeological work.³ As such, I had the opportunity to more precisely map the village and revisit parts of it during a thorough cleaning operation, while I began the reexamination of some "brotherhood chapels" and implemented a steady conservation policy for these monuments.⁵ Both these interventions led to the gathering of new material that deepen the knowledge of the site and the community of workmen it sheltered. The results achieved so far owe much to the benevolence, advice, and constant support of some pillars of the Deir el-Medina community, particularly, but not solely, Charles Bonnet, Dominique Valbelle, and Guillemette Andreu-Lanoë, who contributed their knowledge to my activities in the field.

Reassessing archaeologically the site of Deir el-Medina forces us to constantly navigate back and forth between the field and the kaleidoscopic existing documentation on the settlement, especially that of B. Bruyère (notebooks, pub-

¹ Castel, *Deir el-Médineh* 1970, 1980; Bonnet and Valbelle, *BIFAO* 75 (1975), pp. 429–46; Bonnet and Valbelle, *BIFAO* 76 (1976), pp. 317–42; Andreu, in Mathieu (ed.), *Travaux de l'IFAO en* 2003-2004, *BIFAO* 104 (2004), pp. 640–42; Andreu, in Pantalacci (ed.), *Travaux de l'IFAO en* 2004-2005, *BIFAO* 105 (2005), p. 450.

² In one of his last published reports (*Rapport Deir el-Médineh* [1935-1940], 1948, p. 126), B. Bruyère himself wrote that archaeological investigation at Deir el-Medina would be soon complete.

³ For a summary of the works conducted under my directorship of the French mission of Deir el-Medina (IFAO, 2012 –2017), see *Rapports d'activités annuels IFAO*, 2012 –2017, online, s.v. "Deir el-Medina". http://www.ifao.egnet.net/recherche/rapports-activites/

⁴ The publication of the updated plan of the village, along with the results of observations made in the field at that time, is under preparation by C. Gobeil and O. Onézime. With the support and advice of Charles Bonnet and Dominique Valbelle, I have already planned to further my preliminary investigation of the village.

⁵ These on-going conservation operations and study have been and still are conducted within the framework of the project "Archéologie des dévotions locales individuelles et collectives à Deir el-Medina" which I launched and for which a grant from the Michela Schiff Giorgini Foundation was awarded in 2015.

lished reports, and photographs). Such a painstaking research process is however rewarding in many cases, as evidenced for instance by the (re)discovery of the *zir*-area and the hypothesis concerning the possible location of the *khetem* published in the proceedings of the previous international conference on Deir el-Medina. In the wake of this "archaeological work in the archive," I was granted permission by the Egyptian Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities to excavate a defined sector in the northern part of the site, which had already been explored yet misunderstood by B. Bruyère. This paper focuses on the work that was conducted there in March 2017 and has revealed new features of the cultic area of the settlement. The outcomes of both the paper published in *Outside the Box* and the 2017 excavation, which go hand-in-hand, clearly demonstrate that there is still much to be found—or amended—at Deir el-Medina, in particular when it comes to the archaeological landscape of the site over its main occupation phases.

2. PREAMBLE TO THE 2017 ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION

When discussing the results of my research on the *zir*-area and the *khetem* with G. Andreu-Lanoë, she stressed, in a jocose way, how insightful it would be for the knowledge of the Ramesside (cultic) landscape of Deir el-Medina if one could explore what lies beneath the Graeco-Roman and Coptic buildings at the northern part of the site. I could not but agree with her; unfortunately, an <u>extensive</u> archaeological operation in the area could not be envisioned without impairing any existing monuments and would therefore have to remain wishful thinking. However, fieldwork in definite and targeted spots was possible.

In his published report on the cultic area (1935–40), B. Bruyère summarized the results of his work in the form of a chronological phasing and outlined it in as many as six different maps.⁷ On the map displaying the state of the sector during the Ramesside period,⁸ a peculiar construction features prominently. It is

⁶ Gobeil, in Andreas Dorn and Stéphane Polis (eds.), Outside the Box, 2018, p. 191–216.

⁷ Bruyère, *Rapport Deir el-Médineh* (1935-1940), 1948, pls. 1–6.

⁸ Bruyère, Rapport Deir el-Médineh (1935-1940), 1948, pl. 3.

a massive rectangular building made, by all accounts, of nine different rooms and identified by the archaeologist in 1940 as a Ramesside house. I previously demonstrated that, given the location of this structure, its size, and mode of construction, B. Bruyère's interpretation was mistaken and that the place could have originally been the *khetem*. The excavations conducted in the area in March 2017 have led me to revisit my own interpretation.

3. THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY

The purpose of the 2017 survey was to excavate an area of 5x5 meters located east of the Ptolemaic temple entrance and to reassess the archaeological remains previously found by B. Bruyère, in particular the massive Ramesside building. The implementation of the survey was based on a sketch made in 1940 by the archaeologist and shows the approximate location of the structures in relation to the Ptolemaic temple entrance (see **Fig. 1**).¹¹

The survey included part of a Ptolemaic platform or podium (blue square on the sketch), connected to the entrance of the Ptolemaic temple, as well as some of the "rooms" inside and outside the Ramesside building—A, B, F, and L (in red on the sketch, see **Fig. 1**).

3.1. Backfill material and the Ptolemaic platform

A survey trench was excavated down to a depth of 2.77 meters, from the surface (level at 133.15) to the bedrock (level at 130.38), a level already reached by B. Bruyère¹² (see **Figs. 2a-b**). The main thickness of debris removed during the survey comprised almost entirely of a single layer (context 6) of B. Bruyère's backfill (*khedim*) (see **Fig. 3**). B. Bruyère used debris from the foothill of Gurnet Muraï to

⁹ Bruyère, *Rapport Deir el-Médineh (1935-1940)*, 1948, pp. 119 and 125. A complete account of Bruyère's work on this structure, as well as its full description, has already been given by Gobeil, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, pp. 204–06.

¹⁰ Gobeil, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), Outside the Box, 2018, pp. 208–13.

¹¹ Bruyère, carnet 4, année 1939–1940, opposite p. 4 (plan).[http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/bruyere/?id=MS_2004_0161_009].

¹² Bruyère (carnet 4, année 1939–1940, p. 3 and p. 5) mentioned that he excavated this whole area down to the bedrock mostly made of *tafl*. [http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/bruyere/?id=MS_2004_0161_006]; [http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/bruyere/?id=MS_2004_0161_010].

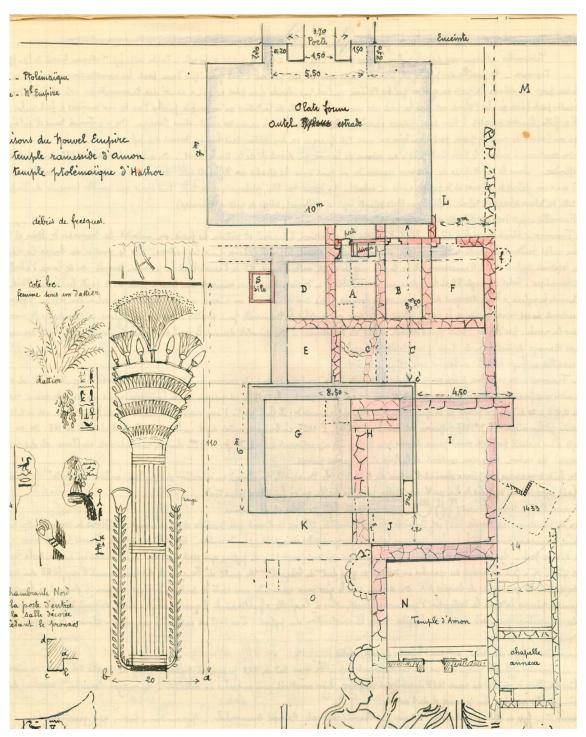


Fig. 1 Bruyère's sketch plan of the structures excavated in front of the Ptolemaic temple in 1940 (Bruyère, carnet 4, année 1939–1940, opposite p. 4. [http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/bruyere/ ?id=MS_2004_0161_009]).

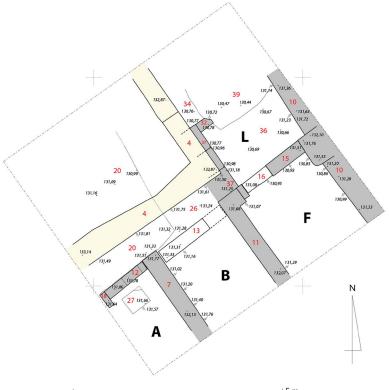


Fig. 2a Plan of the 2017 archaeological survey (final state).

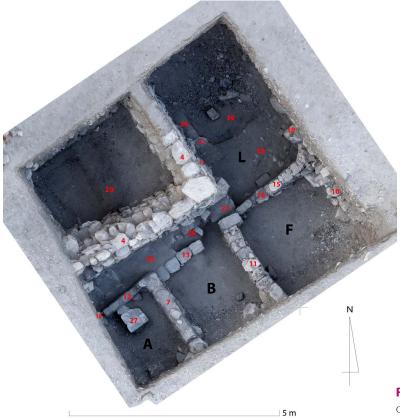


Fig. 2b Photogrammetry of the 2017 archaeological survey (final state) (Photo by O. Onézime, IFAO).

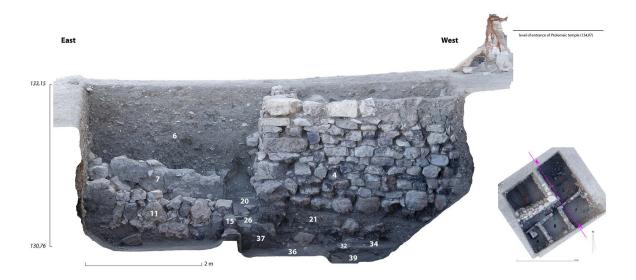


Fig. 3 E-W section of the 2017 archaeological survey (final state) (Photo by O. Onézime, IFAO).

backfill his survey in front of the Ptolemaic temple, ¹³ meaning that every artefact that we found in context 6, such as ostraca of different sizes and dates, fragments of stelae, and pieces of plaster decoration made of lime or *muna*, do not have any original archaeological context. Even if these artifacts cannot be associated with a precise location, one can however assume, based on B. Bruyère's writings, that they originate from the immediate vicinity of the excavated area. ¹⁴

The sketch made by B. Bruyère has proven to be fairly accurate, as the survey quickly revealed the northeastern corner of the Ptolemaic platform (context 4, levels from 133.10 to 131.50). The platform is almost exclusively made of dry limestone blocks (average size 50 x 30 x 30 cm), and the batter of its eastern and northern walls has a slope of a few degrees (see **Fig. 3**). The platform is erected on an unevenly levelled layer of debris, 30 cm thick, sloping down towards the north and containing *tafl* as well as brown sand mixed with fragments of limestone (context 21, levels from 131.81 to 131.17, see **Figs. 3 and 4**). The layer of debris 21, clearly used as a foundation level for the platform, was laid over and against the remains of earlier structures made of stones and/or mud bricks—B. Bruyère's Ramesside house (see **Figs. 5 and 6**).

¹³ B. Bruyère, carnet 4, année 1939–1940, p. 5. [http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives bruyere/?id=MS 2004 0161 010].

¹⁴ These artifacts will be studied in detail during future seasons.



Fig. 4 E-W view of the Ptolemaic platform (context 4) over its foundation layer (context 21).



Fig. 5 S-N view of the 2017 archaeological survey (final state) (Photo by O. Onézime, IFAO).



Fig. 6 N-S panoramic view of the 2017 archaeological survey (final state) (Photo by O. Onézime, IFAO).

3.2. New Kingdom structures: the walls of the "Ramesside house" ("rooms" A, B, and F)

Six walls were rediscovered that delineated B. Bruyère's rooms A, B, and F. E-W walls 7 (between "rooms" A and B), 10 (lateral wall of "room" F), and 11 (between "rooms" B and F) were built following an E-W slope (from 131.76 (E) to 131.02 (W)). N-S walls 12 (front wall of "room" A), 13 (front wall of "room" B), and 15 (between "rooms" F and L) each have a fairly horizontal base that however follows the slight general S-N slope of the soil in this area (foundation levels from 131.51 to 130.85). The state of preservation of these walls enables us to ascertain that a coat of white plaster (1 to 2 cm thick) covered both the walls and the associated floors; moreover, there is evidence that some walls were plastered more than once (see Fig. 7). E-W walls 7 and 11 are of a similar thickness (40 cm), while N-S walls 12, 13, and 15 are a little thinner (20 to 25 cm). Wall 10 stands out (see Fig. 8), as it is entirely made of large stones—up to 80 x 70 x 68 cm—as already noticed by B. Bruyère. The latter considered at that time that this prominent feature might very well have been erected as a retaining wall, against which both the temple of Amun and "room" F of the Ramesside house were built.

¹⁵ Already noticed by B. Bruyère: Bruyère, carnet 4, année 1939–1940, p. 5. [http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/bruyere/?id=MS_2004_0161_010].

¹⁶ Bruyère, *Rapport Deir el-Médineh* (1935-1940), 1948, p. 125. Also Bruyère, carnet 4, année 1939–1940, p. 3. [http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/bruyere/?id=MS_2004_0161_006].



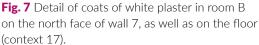




Fig. 8 S-N view of wall 10 in room F.

Both in his notebook and published report, B. Bruyère wrote that wall 10 continued to the Ptolemaic enclosure wall, ¹⁷ which he marked using dotted lines on the sketch from the notebook (see **Fig. 1**). However, in what seems to be the final plan of the area in the published report, the wall is not drawn at all, although it was considered a significant feature by the archaeologist. ¹⁸ During the 2017 survey, part of this wall was rediscovered along the northern limit of "rooms" F and L. Nevertheless, in L, wall 10 abruptly ends at 1.65 meters northwest of wall 15 (see **Fig. 2a**). The survey reached a level of 130.44, which is 42 cm below the lowest foundation level of wall 10, but no further sections of wall 10 were found west of L. As such, there is currently no continuation of wall 10 up to the enclosure wall of the Ptolemaic temple. The question arises as to whether B. Bruyère removed parts of the western section of wall 10 when cutting a trench in an attempt to reach the bedrock (context 39).

3.3. The New Kingdom structures: the "Ramesside house" ("rooms" A, B, and F)

The spaces delineated by walls 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 15 were interpreted as rooms by B. Bruyère and numbered, from south to north, rooms A, B, and F (see **Fig. 1**).

¹⁷ Bruyère, *Rapport Deir el-Médineh* (1935-1940), 1948, p. 125. Also Bruyère, carnet 4, année 1939–1940, p. 3. [http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/bruyere/?id=MS_2004_0161_006].

¹⁸ Bruyère, *Rapport Deir el-Médineh* (1935-1940), 1948, pls. 1 and 3.

All floor levels had supposedly been removed by the archaeologist, who wanted to make sure that no other structures, such as tomb entrances, were hidden in the bedrock.¹⁹ It was therefore assumed that no traces of original floors would be found during the 2017 excavation; this assumption proved incorrect. Midway through the survey of room B, a thick layer of limestone blocks was found near wall 11 (context 9 that had to be removed, levels from west to east: 131.13 to 131.66; see Fig. 9); it was assumed that context 9 was the collapse of this feature. However, the interpretation of this context rapidly changed in light of further elements revealed as excavation progressed (see 4. Interpretation, in particular 4.1.). The removal of context 9 enabled a close examination of the north side of wall 7, which led to the discovery of traces of a floor level (context 17), one that was not entirely removed by B. Bruyère. Floor 17, whose traces consisted of smoothed white plaster, abutted wall 7 following a similar E-W slope, though on different levels (from 131.85 [E] to 131.46 [W]) (see Fig. 7).

No such manifest traces of floor levels have been found in rooms A and F. Yet, room A yielded indirect evidence of a former floor level in the form of a rectangular limestone base (context 27, top level at 131.66, foundation level at 131.57) located near wall 12 (see **Fig. 10**). This limestone base is made of four reused limestone blocks, joined together with white mortar; they probably originate either from a threshold or a doorjamb.²⁰ B. Bruyère interpreted these remains as a sofa ("divan"), with the limestone base forming the seat bottom and one or several mud-brick(s) forming the armrest (context 18). In his sketch however, B. Bruyère seems to extrapolate, adding two (stone?) slabs on both sides of the limestone base,²¹ in order for what he considered to be the sofa to extend over the entire length of wall 12 and, as such, connect with the mud-brick(s) in context 18 (see **Fig. 1**). Neither of the two added slabs were retrieved during the 2017 survey, and context 18 may very well be a mere collapse. There is therefore no direct evidence of the existence of the so-called sofa ("divan"). However, the

¹⁹ Bruyère, carnet 4, année 1939–1940, p. 5. [http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/bruyere/?id=MS 2004 0161 010].

²⁰ One of the reused limestone blocks has a circular groove, either for a lock (door jamb) or a door socket (threshold), see **Fig. 10**.

²¹ Bruyère christened this room "salle du divan". Bruyère, *Rapport Deir el-Médineh* (1935-1940), 1948, p. 119; also Bruyère, carnet 4, année 1939–1940, p. 5 and opposite p. 5 (sketch: in red, what seems to have been actually seen by the archaeologist). [http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/bruyere/?id=MS_2004_0161_010].

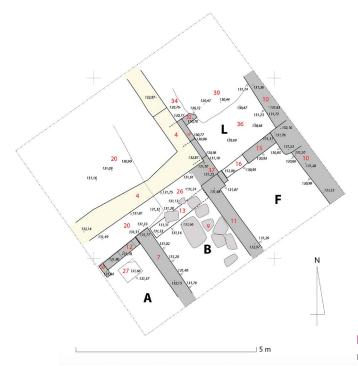


Fig. 9 Collapse of limestone blocks in room B (context 9).



Fig. 10 E-W view of the limestone base in room A (context 27).

foundation level of the limestone base is most likely the original floor level of "room" A, for it more or less corresponds to those of rooms B and F. It is worth mentioning that not far from the limestone base, at the same level, a small ovoid stamp impression on a piece of dark clay was found (see **Fig. 11**).

The rear side of the artifact is partly flat with negative imprints of a string, thus showing that it had been used most certainly to seal an object, perhaps a



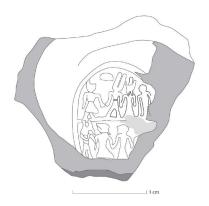


Fig. 11 Photograph and drawing of a seal impression found in room A.

box lid or a door. The decoration of the seal impression is divided in two registers: the upper one depicts the king offering to the Theban triad, Amun, Mut, and Khonsu, while the lower one depicts the king surrounded by Seth and likely Horus—the identification of the latter deity is not entirely certain. Despite its small size, this artifact constitutes substantial evidence for interpreting the (re) excavated remains (see below, 4.1.).

Between "rooms" F and L, the opening in wall 15, previously uncovered by B. Bruyère, was once more unearthed (context 16, width 70 cm); it seems to be a doorway. The equivalent of this doorway in "room" A, also located by B. Bruyère (see Fig. 1), could not be reached in 2017 due to the current preserved elevation of wall 12, as well as the limits of the survey. As for "room" B, no such opening was identified in wall 13, the visible gap in this wall being obviously due to the removal of a stone.²²

²² No traces of foundation of any kind for an opening have been discovered where the gap lies.

3.4. The New Kingdom structures: outside the "Ramesside house"

Abutting walls 7, 12 and 13 to the west of rooms A and B and going beneath the Ptolemaic platform, there is a layer of white plaster or mortar (context 20, thickness ranging from 4 to 9 cm, average level from 131.43 to 131.33). It follows the general SE-NW slope of the area and abruptly stops in front of wall 13 (see **Fig. 12**). It does not seem to be the result of B. Bruyère's work, as the above layer of collapsed mud-bricks (context 19) had undeniably not been cut during his excavation (see **Fig. 12**).

The removal of context 20 in front of "rooms" A and B yielded hundreds of decorated plaster fragments (see Figs. 13, 14 and 15), while beneath the Ptolemaic platform, it yielded a similar harvest of decorated plaster fragments, as well as tiny fragments of gold leaf (see Fig. 16) and small fragments of limestone artifacts (see Fig. 17). Part of these findings has to be connected with similar ones made by B. Bruyère in 1940 in "room" A, which he interpreted as coming from the decorated ceiling of the place and described as "débris de plafond en plâtre peint divisé en carrés alternant des scènes à personnages et des carrés de tapisserie (salle A)".23 During the 2017 survey, only a few pieces of decorated plaster were found in "room" A, most likely because B. Bruyère removed most of them. The fate of the fragments unearthed by B. Bruyère is unfortunately unknown, whereas the ones discovered in 2017 (in "room" A, in front of "rooms" A and B, and beneath the Ptolemaic platform) are now kept in TT 217 and will be studied by the author in the near future. The heterogeneous nature of the pieces of plaster discovered both in "room" A and outside (in front of "rooms" A and B, beneath the Ptolemaic platform) contradicts B. Bruyère's interpretation: they cannot originate from the decorated ceiling of "room" A. The reason as to why such a huge amount of decorated plaster, along with fragments of limestone monuments, was uncovered in the area is to be found elsewhere. In both his notebook and published report, B. Bruyère indicated that he found, a few meters away from the Ptolemaic platform, to the south of the temple of Amun of Ramesses II, a structure that resembled a Ptolemaic lime kiln.²⁴ One could assume that the remains of decorated plaster and limestone artifacts were evidence for a lime plaster industry;

²³ Bruyère, carnet 4, année 1939–1940, p. 5. These findings are not mentioned in the published report. [http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/bruyere/?id=MS_2004_0161_0010].

²⁴ Bruyère, *Rapport Deir el-Médineh* (1935-1940), 1948, p. 125. Also, Bruyère, carnet 4, 1939–1940, opposite p. 6 (location of the kiln on the sketch). [http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/bruyere/?id=MS_2004_0161_011].



Fig. 12 E-W view of the lower Ramesside contexts inside and outside rooms A and B, to the east of the Ptolemaic platform.



Fig. 13 Decorated fragments of white plaster as found in situ in the context 20.



Fig. 14 Decorated fragments of white plaster found in context 20.



Fig. 15 Decorated fragments of white plaster found in context 20.



Fig. 16 Fragments of gold leaves found in context 20 beneath the Ptolemaic platform.

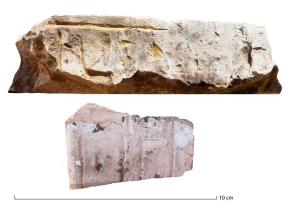


Fig. 17 Fragments of limestone artifacts found in context 20 beneath the Ptolemaic platform.

gathered from nearby monuments, they would have been ground in context 20 to produce the lime plaster necessary to cover the walls of both the Ptolemaic temple and its enclosure.²⁵ This idea matches the one developed by B. Bruyère, who mentioned that a few dwellings were installed next to the Ptolemaic platform, but at the Ramesside level, most likely in connection with the construction and decoration of the Ptolemaic temple.²⁶

In front of "room" B, the survey revealed a floor level left untouched by B. Bruyère (context 26, levels from 131.24 to 131.35). Made of smoothed white plaster, this floor is at the same level as the topmost part of wall 37, which is perfectly aligned with wall 11 and goes below the Ptolemaic platform [Figs. 2a-b]. Wall 37, oriented on an E-W axis and made of mud-brick and stone, has a horizontal foundation (level 130.76), while its visible top section is sloping (levels from 131.25 [E] to 130.76 [W]). Its western end abuts a rectangular limestone threshold (context 32, level 130.78, see Figs. 2a-b, 6, and 18). The whole installation is explained below (see 4. Interpretation).

The definition of L, located outside the "Ramesside house", is fairly unclear: it is treated either as a proper room or a blank space.²⁷ During the 2017 survey, several layers of occupation were highlighted. Contexts 19, 28, and 29 (not on the main plan) comprised collapsed stones and mud-bricks from surrounding New Kingdom walls (see **Fig. 19** for collapses 28 and 29). Beneath these features were two floor levels abutting one another (context 33 and 36, level 130.77, and context 34, level 130.76; only 36 and 34 on the main plan). Context 33 + 36—33 being a refurbishing of 36—is made of smoothed white plaster, whereas 34 is made of hard packed dirt mixed with small fragments of granular white plaster. Spatially closed yet separated by context 32 (a sole limestone block), they do not constitute the same archaeological feature (see **Fig. 18**). All these contexts were punctured by another one (context 39, level reached 130.44), which in fact resulted from B. Bruyère's excavations; in other words, context 39 is a mere archaeological trench. However, the survey benefited greatly from the latter, for

²⁵ Bruyère, Rapport Deir el-Médineh (1935-1940), 1948, pp. 52-5 and figs. 29-30.

²⁶ Bruyère, Rapport Deir el-Médineh (1935-1940), 1948, p. 30.

²⁷ Bruyère, carnet 4, année 1939–1940, p. 5 (list of rooms in the text) *versus* opposite p. 5 (drawing). [http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/bruyere/?id=MS_2004_0161_0010].

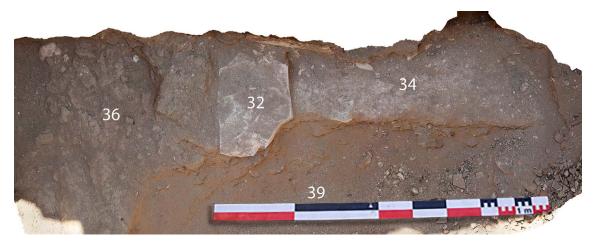


Fig. 18 N-S photogrammetric view of the lowest part of the survey showing contexts 32, 34, 36 and 39 (Photo by O. Onézime, IFAO).

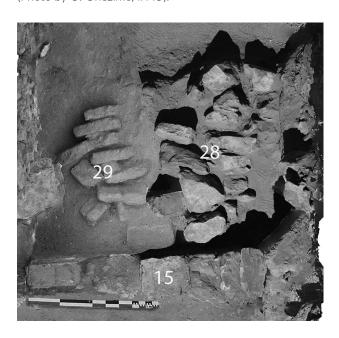


Fig. 19 E-W photogrammetric view of the collapses 28 and 29 at the foot of wall 15 (Photo by O. Onézime, IFAO).

it enabled us to assess that a thick leveling layer made of *tafl* mixed with small chips of limestone and a few sherds lay beneath context 34, thus providing evidence that context 34 was man-made. It is worth mentioning that three fragmentary stelae were found lying face down on the ground in context 33 immediately beneath the collapses 28 and 29: the first stela is dedicated to Hathor, the second to Montu (two pieces, see **Figs. 20 and 21**), and the third depicts a vizier (see **Fig. 22**).²⁸

²⁸ The fragmentary stela depicts, along with the representation of the goddess Hathor, members of the community already known from other sources. As it is under study by the author and will be published soon, no photograph is given in this article.



Fig. 20 Fragment from the top of a sandstone stela dedicated to Montu (Photo by O. Onézime, IFAO).



Fig. 21 Fragment of a sandstone stela dedicated to Montu (Photo by O. Onézime, IFAO).



Fig. 22 Fragment of a limestone stela depicting a vizier (Photo by O. Onézime, IFAO).

4. INTERPRETATION

As mentioned above, the main objective of the survey was to revisit the remains once excavated by B. Bruyère in light of the results achieved in my "archaeology in the archives" and verify whether the massive Ramesside building first unearthed by B. Bruyère was indeed (part of) the *khetem*. The opportunity of observing the remains—in particular their positioning—in their actual context led me to revise my first hypothesis.

4.1. The front of the temple of Amun of Ramesses II

The main clue that led me to revise both B. Bruyère's and my own hypothesis is the positioning of the E-W walls 7 and 11: located right on the central axis of the temple of Amun of Ramesses II (W-E axis), they are perfectly aligned with the main doorways of the temple, as well as its central shrine. As for N-S walls 12, 13 and 15, they are parallel to the N-S walls of the same temple (see Fig. 23).

²⁹ Gobeil, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), Outside the Box, 2018, pp. 191–216.

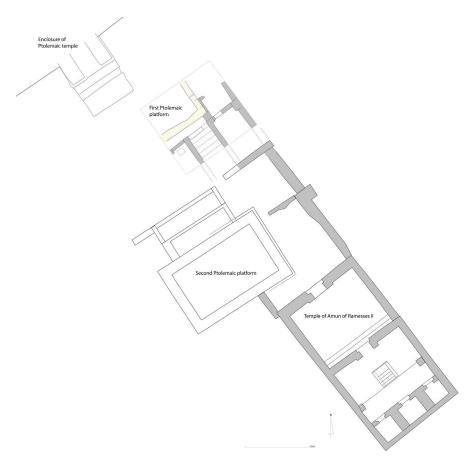


Fig. 23 Plan of the north part of the site showing the survey in relation with the temple of Amun of Ramesses II (© Cédric Gobeil).

All this evidence pointed to the fact that the structures re-excavated in 2017 were neither part of a Ramesside house (B. Bruyère's proposition) nor part of the *khetem* (my own proposition), but that they form, with the visible remains of the temple of Amun, one architectural *ensemble*.

We now have a better understanding of these structures and how they stood: the temple of Amun originally comprised two front staircases or ramps, one leading to the other, as is the case, for instance, with the temple of Hathor of Seti I (see **Fig. 24**).

B. Bruyère's "room" B is actually the second staircase of the temple, whose side slides or balustrades are constituted by "walls" 7 and 11. Context 17, abutting "wall" 7 and unfolding on different levels, marks the foundation of the steps, themselves likely being made of the stones found in context 9 (see Figs. 9 and 25). As for "wall 13", it is not actually a wall, but the first step of the staircase that is encountered when climbing it.



Fig. 24 E-W view of the temple of Hathor of Seti I (Photo by O. Onézime, IFAO).

One wonders whether this staircase originally comprised two flights of steps on both sides of a central slide or a mere flight of steps as in the temple of Hathor of Seti I (see **Fig. 27**, second staircase). By overlaying the design on the model provided by the temple of Seti I,³⁰ it can be seen that B. Bruyère's "rooms" A and F correspond in fact to two side-rooms flanking the second staircase of the temple of Amun of Ramesses II (see **Figs. 6 and 26**, with and without reconstructed outlines of the structures).

³⁰ The final plan provided by B. Bruyère (*Rapport Deir el-Médineh* (1935-1940), 1948, pl. 10, with drawing section) is far from being accurate when compared with the remains still visible in the field **[Fig. 23]**.

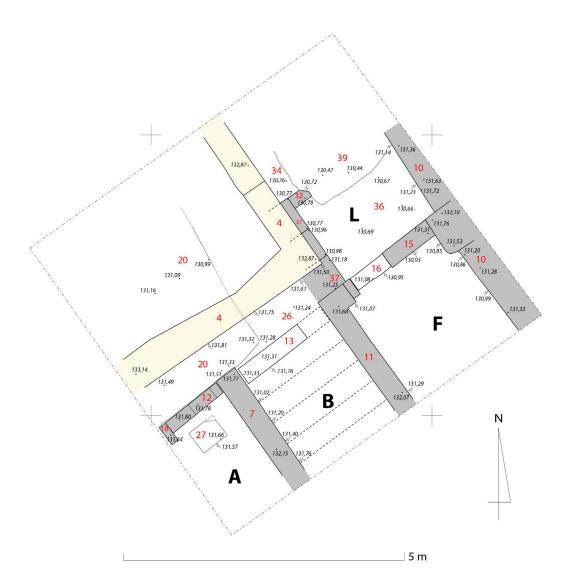


Fig. 25 Plan of the 2017 archaeological survey showing the reconstruction of the steps from the second staircase.

Even in its reconstructed state, the temple of Hathor of Seti I ³¹ offers an interesting point of comparison for interpreting the limestone base (context 27) found in room A of the temple of Amun of Ramesses II. It may very well be a mere base for displaying a statue or a stela rather than the bottom seat of a "divan"; in such a context, it seems very doubtful indeed to find a sofa. Due to the limits of the 2017 excavation, it was not possible to confirm the trajectory of the second staircase, but there is little doubt that it leads to the first courtyard of the temple still covered by B. Bruyère's backfill (see **Figs. 26 and 27**).

³¹ Bruyère, Rapport Deir el-Médineh (1935-1940), 1948, pl. 10.



Fig. 26 N-S panoramic view of the 2017 archaeological survey with the reconstitution of the features found (final state) (Drawing by the author; Photo by O. Onézime, IFAO).

The second staircase of the temple of Amun of Ramesses II is connected to another one, comprising contexts 26 + 37 and 32. Most of this architectural feature is now-adays concealed by the Ptolemaic platform erected above it (context 4). Context 26 corresponds to the final level of the staircase—its last step—, whereas context 37 corresponds to its northern side slide. In such a configuration, context 32 is either the threshold of the first staircase or the lowest layer of the side slide projecting outward (see **Figs. 18 and 26**; also **Fig. 24**, temple of Seti I for comparison).

This overall reinterpretation of the remains enables us to contextualize the 2017 findings. The seal impression, depicting the king offering to the Theban triad (see **Fig. 11**), could be evidence of the presence in the sanctuary of a sealed wooden artifact, likely used in relation with the cult of the deities. The three fragmentary stelae [**Figs. 20, 21 and 22**], found lying face down in context 33 in blank space L, were most likely fixed onto wall 15 of side room F.³² As such these artifacts were located on the facade of the temple and visible to everyone passing by. An in-depth study of these (fragmentary) objects and their meaning in relation to the temple of Amun will be conducted in the near future.

³² For a comparison, albeit in the rear wall of a side room, see Bruyère, *Rapport Deir el-Médineh* (1935-1940), 1948, pl. 10.

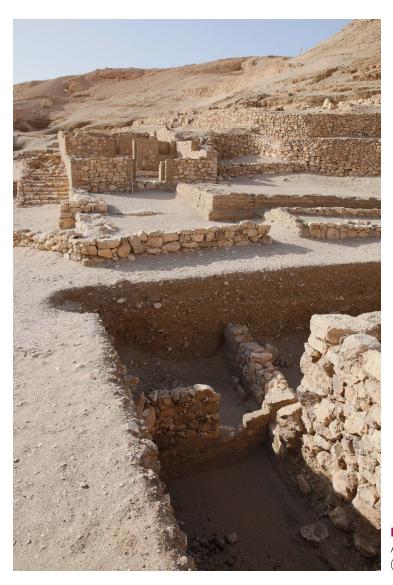


Fig. 27 W-E view of the temple of Amun of Ramesses II with my survey (Photo by O. Onézime, IFAO).

It is unclear why B. Bruyère did not link the Ramesside structures he found with the front part of the temple of Amun of Ramesses II and incorrectly interpreted them as a house; he definitely understood that the building, similar to its counterparts elsewhere at the site, was erected in terraces.³³ Yet he missed the lowest section of the sacred building. Given that the archaeological investigation of the whole site of Deir el-Medina was a major endeavor, he conceivably did not benefit from the necessary hindsight with which to properly interpret all remains. Who could have done so at the time and can now pretend to do so? In the case of the temple of Amun of Ramesses II, B. Bruyère seems to have misevaluated the

³³ See for instance his proposed reconstruction of the temple (plans and sections), Bruyère, *Rapport Deir el-Médineh* (1935-1940), 1948, pl. 11.

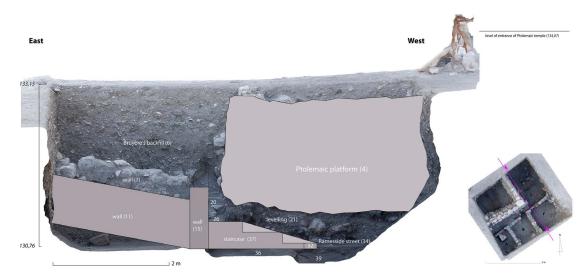


Fig. 28 E-W section of the 2017 archaeological survey showing my interpretation of the features found (final state) (Photo by O. Onézime, IFAO).

actual proximity between the visible front of the temple and the remains of his "Ramesside house". Indeed, on the map of the area that he published in 1948,³⁴ both structures are drawn as being 13 meters apart and are positioned on a different axis—thus logically implying no connection between them—, whereas they are in fact connected to one another along the same axis and belonging to the same architectural *ensemble*, as evidenced by the 2017 survey. It is possible that despite all the care B. Bruyère took in recording his fieldwork, certain elements sometimes escaped his attention, forcing him to (regrettably) rely on his memory when writing his final reports, either in Cairo or in France.

4.2. The Ramesside street at the entrance of the site

The foot of the first staircase of the temple of Amun of Ramesses II is connected to a flat and hard surface (context 34), which may very well be the last visible remains of a N-S street or alleyway. This feature, whose existence has already been suggested in a previous article,³⁵ is now likely identified on the ground (see **Figs. 26 and 28**). It constitutes by all accounts the path leading from the entrance of the settlement to that of the workmen's village and *vice versa*. Since the 2017

³⁴ Bruyère, *Rapport Deir el-Médineh* (1935-1940), 1948, pl. 1.The IFAO master plan of Deir el-Medina—a reconstitution based on several of B. Bruyère's own plans—also shows a distance of 13 meters between the front of the temple of Amun and the "Ramesside house".

³⁵ Gobeil, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, p. 208, fig. 15, following one of B. Bruyère's intuitions (*Rapport Deir el-Médineh* [1935-1940], 1948, p. 11).

survey confirmed B. Bruyère's assumption that all low-level structures date to the Ramesside Period, it is therefore logical to assume that the street (context 34) would also have been of the same period, or at least have been in use during the same time.

The foot of the lower staircase/ramp of the temple of Hathor of Seti I, probably still in use during the reign of Ramesses II, was in all likelihood also connected to this significant path. If one calculates the slope of the terrain between the foot of the lower staircase found during the 2017 survey and that of the lower staircase of the temple of Seti I (level 130.01), located 24 meters away from each other, one obtains a slope of 4.23%, which more or less corresponds to a low gradient incline. In fact, all Ramesside temples—the temple of Amun of Ramesses II, the temple of Hathor of Seti I, but also the temples of Hathor of Ramesses II and that of Merenptah—were most likely erected on both sides of the street and their facades oriented towards it (see Fig. 29 below).³⁶ This street hence was a significant and prominent feature of the landscape, around which temples and other installations developed. It is doubtless no coincidence that the zir-area of Deir el-Medina was located in this part of the site, at about the same level as the lower staircase of the temple of Hathor of Seti I, but opposite the street (see Fig. 29 below).³⁷ In practical terms, the location of the zir-area, right along the street, was fairly convenient for deliveries of water and other commodities.

4.3. The never-ending issue of the location of the khetem

When considering the level at which the remains of the Ramesside street were identified, the foothill of the Theban mountain and that of the hill of Gurnet Muraï, rising up on both sides of the way, were obviously at a much deeper level than that visible today. The 2017 survey has furthermore revealed that the *talweg*, in which the street was implemented, was much narrower than it is today; this "bottleneck" effect might have increased the impression that this part of the site served as a natural entrance, one that was moreover easy to "lock down". For this reason, there would not be a better place to erect the *khetem*, that is, the place

³⁶ As previously suggested in Gobeil, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), Outside the Box, 2018, p. 208, fig. 15.

³⁷ Gobeil, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, p. 200, figs. 10-11, and p. 201, fig. 12.

where commodities and other precious/important material were kept. Furthermore, textual evidence points to the fact that workmen had to pass through the *khetem* when entering or exiting the settlement; the street was in all likelihood the path they usually took. Given these facts, the *khetem*, if it was not destroyed by the Ptolemaic (or later) constructions, must be very close to the 2017 survey. By using the street as a guideline, I intend to pursue my archaeological investigation in this part of the site and verify the existence—or absence—of missing structures such as the *khetem*.

5. CONCLUSION: ANOTHER IMAGE OF THE LANDSCAPE IN THE CULTIC AREA

In many ways, and for a large part of the archaeological work he conducted, B. Bruyère correctly understood and interpreted the structures he excavated; he even had some correct intuitions about particular spatial arrangements and edifices, of which he could not know (much) at the time. For instance, he was right when he located "the citadelle gardant la sortie nord du défilé", 38 that is, the *khetem*. However, he could not reasonably get a clear image of all the remains from every phase, especially for a site of such magnitude and intricacy. It explains why revisiting Deir el-Medina archaeologically—one section at a time—is essential: it enables us to correct some of B. Bruyère's inaccuracies, which are widespread from one publication to another, and amend some of his results.

The re-excavation of an area in the northern part of Deir el-Medina—between the Ptolemaic temple enclosure and the temple of Amun of Ramesses II—has helped to ascertain that two previous hypotheses suggested were incorrect. The remains first found by B. Bruyère and re-examined by the author are neither those of a Ramesside house (B. Bruyère) nor those of the *khetem* (the author), but they form the front-end of the temple of Amun of Ramesses II, which was directly oriented toward the Ramesside street that originally led to the entrance (or exit) of Deir el-Medina.

³⁸ Bruyère, carnet 4, année 1939–1940, p. 3. [http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/bruyere/?id=MS_2004_0161_006].

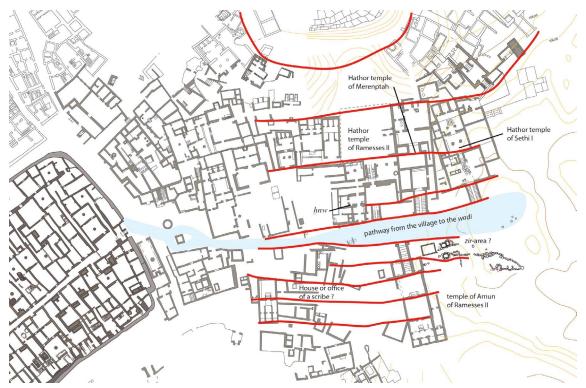


Fig. 29 Map of the north part of the site showing the proposed pathway of the Ramesside street (in blue) and the antique terrace levels on both sides of the street (lines in red) (Map by the author and O. Onézime, IFAO).

The rediscovery and rightful interpretation of these features, in conjunction with the nearby other structures—be they cultic or not—, allow the reevaluation of the landscape as it might have stood in this part of the site during the Ramesside period. Envisioning how the northernmost part of Deir el-Medina actually looked before the major modifications from the Graeco-Roman period is not straightforward, neither for the modern-day visitor who wanders around the cultic zone nor for the scholar whose work relies almost solely upon B. Bruyère's notebooks and published reports. Not only did the work conducted in Graeco-Roman times heavily disturb the sector—destroying earlier structures and flattening the level of the ground³⁹—, but B. Bruyère's rendering of the landscape in both his publications and on-site reconstructions can also be misleading.40

In the topography of the northern area of Deir el-Medina, the most striking feature lies in the alignment of the New Kingdom cultic structures—in particular the royal temples, but also some "brotherhood chapels"—with one anoth-

³⁹ Bruyère, *Rapport Deir el-Médineh* (1935-1940), 1948, pp. 11, 52 and 54.

⁴⁰ Compare B. Bruyère's plan (Rapport Deir el-Médineh [1935-1940], 1948, pl. 1) with Fig. 23 of the present article.

er as well as with the Ramesside street. Evidence suggests that the Egyptians from the New Kingdom used the configuration of the natural environment (the narrowness of the *talweg* and the slopes of the mountains/hills),⁴¹ but made some significant alterations to it (implementation of terraces) so as to give a specific layout to this sector of Deir el-Medina. Nestled in a naturally constricted space, the Ramesside street seems to have conditioned the implementation of the surrounding installations and edifices. The latter were erected in manmade terraces (red lines in **Fig. 29**), following the natural slope of both the Theban mountain and Gurnet Muraï hill and connected from one level to another through a system of staircases. Such uniformity in the setting of these installations and buildings is evidence of an effort at spatial organization, if not landscape and urban planning.

⁴¹ Bruyère, *Rapport Deir el-Médineh* (1935-1940), 1948, pp. 15–6: "le pied de la montagne (de l'ouest) avait primitivement un autre contour."

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LATE TWENTIETH-DYNASTY OSTRACA AND THE END OF THE NECROPOLIS WORKMEN'S SETTLEMENT AT DEIR EL-MEDINA¹

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ABSTRACT

An often-repeated statement in Egyptological literature with respect to the necropolis workmen's community at Deir el-Medina is that the entire community moved away from their settlement at Deir el-Medina at some point in the reign of Ramesses XI, and went to live within the temple precinct of Medinet Habu. But evidence so far presented for this development is circumstantial, and recent investigations point to the continued presence at Deir el-Medina of a group of persons, possibly a large group, after the beginning of the whm-msw.t. Indications for their presence are provided by ostraca found at the site, some in hieratic, and some in a pseudo-written code including workmen's identity marks. The ostraca of both categories follow documentary conventions that are well-known from earlier parts of the Twentieth Dynasty.

¹ I wish to thank Rob Demarée for reading a draft version of this paper and suggesting improvements. Elizabeth Bettles has kindly corrected my English. The flaws that remain are, of course, my own.

1. DEIR EL-MEDINA ABANDONED?

In a well-known passage in one of the so-called Late Ramesside Letters, the senior scribe of the Tomb Thutmose describes his and a fellow scribe's situation as follows:

Now we are dwelling here in the Temple, and you know the manner in which we dwell, both within and without. Now the young of the Necropolis have returned. They are dwelling in Thebes, while I am dwelling here alone with the scribe of the army Pentahutnakht. Please have the men of the Necropolis who are there in Thebes assembled and send them to me to this side. List of them: ...²

The letter was dated by Edward Wente to the early years of the *whm-msw.t* or "Renaissance", that is, in the early eleventh century BCE. The situation it refers to appears to be an exceptional, or at the very least an undesirable one in the mind of Thutmose. Indeed, the actual dwelling place of the royal necropolis workforce and its administration used to be the settlement of Deir el-Medina throughout the Ramesside Period. Egyptologists have long adhered to the idea that the community of royal necropolis workmen and their administrators moved from that settlement to the temple precinct of Medinet Habu in the late Twentieth Dynasty. According to Dominique Valbelle's outstanding book *Les ouvriers de la Tombe* of 1985, the workmen were living there by year 17 of Ramesses XI at the latest; that is, even before the *whm-msw.t.*³ The evidence adduced for that assertion consists of mentions of food distribution to the workmen in the temple in year 17,⁴ remarks concerning the necropolis scribes Thutmose and Nesamenope as interrogators in tomb robbery investigations,⁵ and supposed allusions to the abandonment of the workmen's settlement in the Late Ramesside Letters.⁶

In fact, none of these textual references constitute real evidence, and even as mere indications they are rather unsubstantial. That food distributions took

² P. Berlin P 10494 (= LRL no. 12) recto 6-10; this translation by Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 1967, p. 44. See *The Deir el-Medina Database* for references to editions of hieratic documentary ostraca and papyri relating to the royal necropolis workmen of the Ramesside Period.

³ Valbelle, Ouvriers de la Tombe, 1985, p. 125.

⁴ P. Turin Cat. 1888 recto I 2 and 7. Note, however, that the functionaries mentioned in the context of the distributions are the vizier and treasury officials.

⁵ P. BM EA 10052 recto I 19 (Nesamenope), V 14 (Thutmose): Peet, Great Tomb-Robberies, 1930, pp. 143 and 148.

⁶ Letters 4, 5, 8, 9, 12, and 28; see note 9 below.

place in the temple may mean nothing more than that the food was (temporarily) stored there, as two slightly earlier papyri make clear for shipments of grain. Even if tomb robbery interrogations took place in the temple (which is by no means certain), this does not say anything about the living quarters of the necropolis administrators as interrogators, or of their workmen, at that time. In addition, the references in the Late Ramesside Letters are rather vague, perhaps with the exception of the one quoted above.

Jaroslav Černý already stated, in his posthumously published work *A Community of Workmen at Thebes* (1973), that the workmen were living within the Medinet Habu temple enclosure during the reign of Ramesses XI, and explained the disappearance of water-carriers from grain distribution lists as a consequence of the workmen's move from their own settlement to the temple. As opposed to the workmen's settlement, the temple complex had a water well, so that the services of water-carriers, an important feature of life at Deir el-Medina in earlier years, were no longer necessary. Other possibly relevant observations have been made in recent discussions. These include the virtual or complete disappearance from the records of woodcutters, the workmen's own supposed administrative centre (htm) and their watch rota (wrš). Another possibly relevant circumstance noted is the reduced size of the workforce under Ramesses XI as

⁷ Temple storerooms filled with grain for the necropolis workforce are mentioned in P. Turin Cat. 2018 verso A II 1 and verso C 8 (years 8-10 of Ramesses XI); P. Turin Cat. 1895 + 2006 ("Taxation Papyrus") recto II 6, III 7, V 4 (year 12 of Ramesses XI). See also Haring, *Divine Households*, 1997, pp. 278–79, where I still adhered to the idea of the workmen dwelling within the temple precinct.

⁸ The location is specified in P. BM EA 10052 recto I 3 as *ft*, tentatively translated as "forecourt(?)" by Peet, *Great Tomb-Robberies*, 1930, p. 142 with note 1.

⁹ In nos. 4 (P. Turin Cat. 1972) and 5 (P. Leiden I 370), Thutmose asks his son Butehamun and others to pray to the gods of Medinet Habu. I fail to see the relevance of the "soldiers" in these letters, who are not to flee or to hunger, or the well-being of "people" in no. 8, to the whereabouts of the necropolis workmen. In no. 9 (P. BM EA 10326), Thutmose talks about papyri having been retrieved from his grandfather's ".t, where they had become wet by rain, and deposited in the tomb of his great-grandfather. The word ".t may refer to a workshop or office (Demarée, in Dorn and Hofmann [eds.], Living and Writing, 2006, pp. 65–66), rather than a "house" as it was translated by Wente, Late Ramesside Letters, 1967, p. 38. The retrieval of papyri from there does not necessarily indicate that the ".t itself had been abandoned, nor that it was located in the workmen's settlement. No. 12 (P. Berlin P 10494), already mentioned above, was sent by Thutmose and Pentahutnakht; according to the same text, the latter was attached to the temple. In no. 28 (P. BM EA 10375), the necropolis scribe Butehamun talks about "people" he brought back from Thebes.

¹⁰ Černý, Community of Workmen, 1973, p. 190. See, however, the discussion of O. DeM 256 below.

¹¹ Very few of which are known from the reign of Ramesses XI: Gabler, Who's Who, 2018, pp. 544-45.

¹² Eyre, *Use of Documents*, 2013, pp. 248–49. The latest known attestation of men on *wrš* duty is in year 3 of Ramesses X; see Haring, in Julia Budka et al. (eds.), *Non-Textual Marking Systems*, 2015, pp. 136–37.

adduced from P. Turin Cat. 2018 dated to his year 10, which lists a group of merely sixteen workmen, whereas there were forty in year 17 of Ramesses IX.¹³ It is thought that the larger size of the workforce under Ramesses IX would have made it difficult to live within the limited space of the temple enclosure.¹⁴ However their reduction in later years does not necessarily mean that the workmen were indeed living at Medinet Habu.

Evidence exists for *smd.t*, the supporting personnel of the necropolis workforce, living at or near Medinet Habu, in the form of lists written on the back of two Tomb-Robbery papyri. These lists do not include any explicit references to necropolis *workmen*. The list of P. BM EA 10068, dated to year 12 of Ramesses XI, includes houses of a "scribe Thutmose" (verso VI 21) and the "scribe of the Tomb Iufenamun" (verso VII 8). It is possible, but not certain, that the former is the necropolis scribe Thutmose. The latter must be the *smd.t* scribe Iufenamun, who is well-attested in necropolis records. The list also mentions houses of the 3t. w Anuynakht and the physician Minkhau (verso III 8-9). The latter title is known to have been borne by necropolis workmen in addition to their daily tasks, and indeed, a workman/physician Minkhau is well-known from necropolis records. The combination workman/3t. w is less certain, and an 3t. w Anuynakht is otherwise unknown. An 3t. w called Amenkhau is also mentioned (verso III 9), but equally difficult to connect with the necropolis workforce. The lists workforce.

In addition to (possible) textual references to the necropolis workmen, their *smd.t* and their administration, there are several historical circumstances in the

¹³ For changes in the size of the necropolis workforce see Davies, in Di Biase-Dyson and Donovan (eds.), *Cultural Manifestations*, 2017, pp. 205–12. See also Peden, in Demarée and Egberts (eds.), *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium*, 2000, pp. 287–90.

¹⁴ Valbelle, Ouvriers de la Tombe, 1985, p. 124.

¹⁵ P. BM EA 10054 verso II-V (list of persons) and 10068 verso II-VIII (list of houses): Janssen, *AltorForsch* 19 (1992), pp. 8–23; Haring, *Divine Households*, 1997, pp. 279–80; Gabler, *Who's Who*, 2018, pp. 24, 513–24, 545–46.

¹⁶ Given the occurrences of a "scribe Thutmose, son of Userhat" in documents of the late Twentieth Dynasty: Černý, *Community of Workmen*, 1973, p. 361; Janssen, *AltorForsch* 19 (1992), p. 12. The father of "our" Thutmose was Khaemhedjet.

¹⁷ Gabler, Who's Who, 2018, pp. 413, 429, 514 (note 1944), 714.

¹⁸ Gabler, Who's Who, 2018, pp. 400-01, 405, 513-14, note 1944.

¹⁹ Gabler, Who's Who, 2018, pp. 431-32.

²⁰ A man with the same name and the title "<u>3</u>t.w of Western Thebes" is mentioned in a list of witnesses (P. Geneva D 409 + Turin Cat. 2021 recto IV, late Twentieth Dynasty), together with other <u>3</u>t.w, policemen, a district scribe, a mayor, priests of Medinet Habu, necropolis and army administrators.

late Twentieth Dynasty that might be regarded as encouraging, or even as effectively compelling the workmen to move out of their desert settlement near the Valley of the Kings. One such circumstance is the termination of royal tomb construction in the Valley of the Kings under Ramesses XI (KV 4), whose own tomb remained unfinished like that of his predecessor Ramesses X (KV 18). Since the tombs of these kings do not seem to have been made ready for burial, ²¹ and their mummies were not among the royal mummies discovered in the two caches where these had been reburied after the end of the New Kingdom, it is even doubtful whether they were buried in the Theban royal necropolis. If royal tomb construction no longer provided workmen with employment in the Valley of the Kings, there was perhaps less reason to maintain the settlement of Deir el-Medina, which was adjacent to it.

Other reasons may have been insecurity, and perhaps even danger, caused by an attack on the high priest of Amun-Re by the viceroy of Nubia (even involving a raid or siege on Medinet Habu),²² and by the presence of Libyan groups as mentioned in necropolis records from the reigns of Ramesses IX and X.²³ It remains unclear if these groups genuinely presented a threat to the workmen, but work at the royal tomb was interrupted whenever they appeared. References to Libyans (*Mšwš*) in the Late Ramesside Letters seem rather to relate to soldiers in the service of General Payankh, who were to be given food rations.²⁴ Even as such, their presence may have been intimidating or outright dangerous, as the viceroy's Nubian soldiers had been before.²⁵

Just like the references to the necropolis workforce and their administrators during the reign of Ramesses XI, the historical developments outlined in the previous two paragraphs constitute circumstantial evidence. The former may hint at the abandonment of Deir el-Medina, and the latter may provide an explanation for the supposed abandonment, but both do not necessarily substantiate

²¹ Dodson, in Wilkinson and Weeks (eds.), Oxford Handbook, 2016, pp. 225–27.

²² Perhaps in the early reign of Ramesses XI; Barwik, Twilight of Ramesside Egypt, 2011, pp. 77–110.

²³ Haring, in Demarée and Egberts (eds.), Village Voices, 1992, pp. 71-80.

²⁴ As is especially clear from no. 19 (P. Bibliothèque Nationale 196, I), in which the necropolis scribe Thutmose is ordered by the general to have rations of bread supplied to the *Mšwš*. Cf. the references to soldiers in nos. 4 and 5 (see note 9 above). The "great ones of the *Mšwš*" in P. BM EA 75019 + 10302 were probably Payankh's troops or allies; see Demarée, *Bankes Late Ramesside Papyri*, 2006, pp. 14–19.

²⁵ A foreigner (lit. "jabberer", $3^{\circ \circ}$) of the "battalion of Kush" is mentioned in P. BM EA 10052 verso I 25 (= "page 8" in Peet, *Great Tomb-Robberies*, 1930, pl. XXX). The raid on Medinet Habu was also by $3^{\circ \circ}$. w according to P. Mayer A verso I 4 (= "page 6" in Peet, *Mayer Papyri*, 1920, p. 13 with plate).

that scenario. In fact, it remains unclear what exactly happened to the royal necropolis workforce at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty.

Thutmose's reference to his "dwelling" in the temple of Medinet Habu, with which we started this section, possibly finds archaeological support. Both he and his son, the necropolis scribe Butehamun, seem to have left inscribed monuments within the Medinet Habu precinct. In 1898, Georges Daressy published two stone doorjambs that had been found reused in a Coptic house, and which were inscribed with funerary (htp di nswt) spells. The name of the original owner had been scratched away, and over it was written that of Thutmose, preceded by the titles "scribe in the Horizon of Eternity", "scribe of the House of Amun", and "scribe [of?] all the gods of [the South and] the North [...]". The first of these titles, which was apparently the most prominent one, indeed refers to a necropolis scribe, and so "our" Thutmose might very well be meant here, and the jambs may once have been part of a house, office or chapel of his. 27

More strongly identifiable as monumental remains of a house, office or chapel belonging to Thutmose's son Butehamun are the stone columns on which his name, his father's and the titles of a necropolis scribe can be read.²⁸ The interpretation of this structure as a house is consistent with the identification by Uvo Hölscher of its immediate surroundings as a residential area of the Third Intermediate Period, but it is difficult to be certain about the precise function of the building during or after Butehamun's life. Indeed, different, even multiple functions (house, office, cultic space) have been ascribed to the structure in recent discussions.²⁹

Additional archaeological material for Thutmose at Deir el-Medina includes a fragment of a faience canopic jar of this scribe, which was found in house C

²⁶ Jambs Cairo JE 48832 and 48833: PM I²/2, p. 777; Daressy, *RecTrav* 20 (1898), pp. 75–76; KRI VI, 876–77 and KRI VII, 463; Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu*, V, 1954, p. 5, note 25.

²⁷ Filiations are not given, except perhaps at the bottom of the right jamb, where "Thutmose" is followed by "Khaemwaset"(?), which according to KRI VI, p. 877, may either be the name of the original owner, or a mistake for "Khaemhedjet", the name of Thutmose's father (provided the inscription really has "Khaemwaset" – note the question mark in Daressy, *RecTrav* 20 [1898], p. 75). Thutmose's namesake (the son of Userhat, see note 16) is never mentioned with a title more specific than "scribe".

²⁸ Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu*, V, 1954, pp. 4–5, pl. 5; texts in KRI VII, 401–3. Two inscribed lintels may be from the same structure: KRI VII, 399–400; Kikuchi, MDAIK 58 (2002), pp. 361–63.

²⁹ See Valbelle, Ouvriers de la Tombe, 1985, p. 225; Lacovara, New Kingdom Royal City, 1997, p. 61; Kikuchi, MDAIK 58 (2002), pp. 357–63; Cavillier, in Rosati and Guidotti (eds.), Proceedings of the XI International Congress of Egyptologists, 2017, pp. 95–99.

V by Bernard Bruyère, ³⁰ and a stela mentioning the same scribe (and possibly his father Khaemhedjet) found by Bruyère in the Hathor temple area. ³¹ These two finds suggest that the site was not entirely abandoned late in the reign of Ramesses XI. Obviously, they do not prove that anyone still lived there at that time, either. But in the next section we will see some indications for the presence of a body of workmen present there in the early years of the *wḥm-msw.t*. It is not known when Thutmose passed away, and where he was buried – although the fragment of one of his canopic jars from Deir el-Medina is suggestive of that site as his place of burial. It is possible that Butehamun was a senior scribe for some years together with his father, maybe already during the early *wḥm-msw.t.* ³² By the early years of the Twenty-first Dynasty, Thutmose was probably deceased, and Butehamun was taking charge of the reburials of royal mummies under the high priest Herihor. ³³ Theban Tomb 291 at Deir el-Medina was possibly the place where Butehamun was buried and where his funerary equipment was found in the early nineteenth century. ³⁴

2. PAPYRI AND OSTRACA OF THE LATE TWENTIETH DYNASTY

It has long been assumed that the late Twentieth Dynasty saw an explosive growth in the production of hieratic documentary papyri in the Theban necropolis, whereas the production of ostraca declined. Indeed, many more papyri have survived from the final reigns of that dynasty than from the earlier Ramesside reigns. This is partly due to specific historical circumstances. The investigations of tomb and temple robberies under Ramesses IX and XI have left us the collection of papyrus documents known as the Tomb Robbery Papyri. From the late years of Ramesses XI also comes a sizeable body of correspondence on papyri, known as the Late Ramesside Letters. Apart from these two corpora there is the "regular" output of the necropolis scribes in the form

³⁰ Bruyère, *Rapport* 1934-1935, III, 1939, p. 306, no. 2, fig. 174; KRI VI, 875.

³¹ Bruyère, *Rapport* 1935-1940, II, 1952, pp. 118-20, no. 280, pl. XLIV, fig. 200; KRI VI, 875-76.

³² Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 138.

³³ See e.g. Haring, *SAK* 41 (2012), p. 146.

³⁴ Bruyère and Kuentz, *Tombes thébaines*, 1926, p. 76; Barwik, *Twilight of Ramesside Egypt*, 2011, p. 286; Guérin, EAO 48 (2007), p. 18.

of journals, accounts, lists and other sorts of administrative papyri. Although papyri have been preserved from the entire Twentieth Dynasty with exception of its earliest years, ³⁵ it is the second half of that Dynasty (Ramesses IX-XI) that has left us the greatest numbers, the reign of Rameses IX being particularly well-represented. ³⁶ This observation has been connected with the supposed moving of the necropolis workmen to Medinet Habu, where papyri might have been available for their administration from the temple archives, but ostraca (at least those of limestone) would have been rarer. ³⁷ The same move has been adduced as a partial explanation for the decrease of rock graffiti in the Theban necropolis under Ramesses IX-XI. ³⁸ Yet even if such a move did indeed occur, it is not likely to have done so as early as the reign of Ramesses IX. As we have seen in the previous section, all *possible* references to it are from the reigns of his successors.

As I have recently argued, Egyptologists have probably been misled by the material preserved. The frequent reuse of papyrus as writing material has caused earlier texts to be literally "hidden" underneath later ones on the same papyri. At least forty percent of the surviving Ramesside documentary papyri have been reused. Even so, almost every single regnal year of the Twentieth Dynasty, from the late years of Ramesses III onward, is represented in one or more texts on papyrus. It is the reuse, together with the specific groups of the Tomb Robbery Papyri and the Late Ramesside Letters, that has given us the impression of an increasing production of documentary texts on papyri during the final reigns of the Twentieth Dynasty, whereas in fact no such escalation may have occurred.³⁹

The extremely low number of ostraca datable to the same time is more difficult to understand, but also in this respect the late Twentieth Dynasty was probably not a period of sudden change. Judging from the numbers of datable hieratic documentary ostraca preserved, the decline in their production must

³⁵ There are no papyri from the reign of Setnakht, and only a few from the first two decades of Ramesses III.

³⁶ See Haring, in van Gompel and Hoogendijk (eds.), *Materiality of Texts*, 2018, pp. 47–49, for an overview. The documents dating to the reign of Ramesses IX are currently the topic of a PhD research project by Martina Landrino; see her contribution to this volume.

³⁷ Eyre, Use of Documents, 2013, pp. 248–49.

³⁸ Peden, in Demarée and Egberts (eds.), Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium, 2000, pp. 288–89.

³⁹ Haring, in van Gompel and Hoogendijk (eds.), *Materiality of Texts*, 2018, pp. 48–50.

already have begun after the reign of Rameses IV, that is, well before the middle of the Twentieth Dynasty. Reasons for this decline are difficult to see, but the decrease itself is notable with 621 ostraca datable to Ramesses III (mainly to his later years); 338 to Ramesses IV (a six-year reign), only 115 to the twenty years covered by Ramesses V-VIII, fourty-four to the reign of Ramesses IX (which lasted nineteen years), and a maximum of eight to the reigns of his two successors (together lasting over thirty years).⁴⁰

It should be noted at this point that some Ramesside documentary ostraca kept in the Oriental Institute Museum (Chicago) and the French Archaeological Institute (IFAO, Cairo) are reported to have come from Medinet Habu. At first sight this strengthens the idea that necropolis workmen or their administrators were staying there. However, some of these ostraca have been ascribed to the reigns of Merenptah, Ramesses III, IV or V;⁴¹ these dates are thus too early for the ostraca to be associated with the supposed move to the temple. Others do seem to belong to the late Twentieth Dynasty; one of these is actually a stone weight bearing one line of hieratic: "weight of the copper of the scribe Thutmose".⁴² Assuming this is our necropolis scribe, we might see this find as evidence of his stay at Medinet Habu. The truth is, however, that we cannot be certain about the provenance of any of these ostraca, since some of them were not excavated but purchased.⁴³

Although ostraca from the late Twentieth Dynasty are represented in much smaller numbers than those of earlier years, their production did not cease altogether. Among the ostraca mentioned previously, there is one from the Valley of the Kings dated to year 20 of Ramesses XI or later, and some Turin ostraca from Deir el-Medina may be from the same reign but may also be older. Furthermore, there is a separate group of approximately a hundred ostraca that may date to the very final years of the Twentieth Dynasty, and/or to the beginning

⁴⁰ Haring, in van Gompel and Hoogendijk (eds.), *Materiality of Texts*, 2018, p. 49. Note that this is an indication on the basis of datable ostraca only, there being numerous ostraca (published and unpublished) that cannot be dated more precisely than "Ramesside" or even "New Kingdom".

⁴¹ O. DeM 870 and O. OIM 13512.

⁴² O. OIM MH 1866 and W. DeM 5155; the latter is the Thutmose weight.

⁴³ See Wilfong, in Teeter and Larson (eds.), *Gold of Praise*, 1999, p. 419, on O. OIM 13512: "... acquired by purchase in Egypt along with a large group of ostraca in various scripts during the excavation of Medinet Habu by the Oriental Institute". This makes "Medinet Habu" a doubtful provenance if no more precise information is available

⁴⁴ O. Cairo CG 25232, O. Turin CG 57372 and 57387; see Haring, in van Gompel and Hoogendijk (eds.), *Materiality of Texts*, 2018, p. 49, for details.

of the Twenty-first. They come from different findspots in the Theban mountains, including Deir el-Bahri, the Valley of the Kings, and Deir el-Medina. They are mainly lists of names, many of which are known from the Late Ramesside Letters but not from the earlier necropolis workforce. Together they possibly represent three generations, the earliest of which is associated with years seven to fourteen of the *wḥm-msw.t*(?) and the scribe Butehamun, under whose supervision they may have been involved in the emptying of tombs and the reburying of mummies.⁴⁵ Probably belonging to this corpus is one ostracon found at Deir el-Medina that bears a list of names that are difficult to connect with the necropolis workforce of earlier years, together with anonymous priests, maidservants and water-carriers (O. DeM 256; **Fig. 1**). Kathrin Gabler rightly questions if the latter were still part of a *smd.t* serving a locally resident tomb workforce,⁴⁶ but the fact remains that the ostracon was excavated at Deir el-Medina, therefore probably discarded there, and it mentions at least sixteen persons by name, and some more anonymous ones, as the recipients of loaves.

There is another category of ostraca from Deir el-Medina supporting the idea that a group of workmen was still based there shortly before and after the beginning of the *whm-msw.t.* A group of fifteen limestone ostraca from the site, and apparently dating to these very years, uses a notation that is reminiscent of earlier Twentieth Dynasty examples.⁴⁷ This notation system combines workmen's identity marks with signs depicting commodities delivered, such as firewood and fish, and with numbers and calendar dates in hieratic, these components together forming a sort of pseudo-writing that mimics the style and content of hieratic documentary texts.⁴⁸ The group includes several that have been marked by

⁴⁵ Most of these remain unpublished; see Demarée, in Andreu (eds.), *Deir el-Médineh et la Vallée des Rois*, 2003, pp. 235–51.

⁴⁶ Gabler, Who's Who, 2018, p. 545, note 2092.

⁴⁷ O. IFAO ONL 1409, 6178-6185, 6239, 6242, 6282, 6685, 6711 and 6832, all unpublished. I wish to thank the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo, for allowing access to this material during stays in 2013 and 2014. An edition of all IFAO ostraca bearing workmen's marks is being prepared by the author together with Kyra van der Moezel and Daniel Soliman (see also next footnote).

⁴⁸ For this type of record see in general Haring, *Single Sign*, 2018, and for a brief overview, Haring, in Rosati and Guidotti (eds.), *Proceedings of the XI International Congress of Egyptologists*, 2017, pp. 266–70. See also the contribution by Daniel Soliman to this volume. The necropolis workmen's marking system and its use on ostraca has been the topic of a research project at Leiden University under the supervision of the author, and supported by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) from 2011 to 2015. Apart from the publications mentioned here and several articles, the project's deliverables include two PhD theses, as yet unpublished: Van der Moezel, "Of Marks and Meaning", 2016; Soliman, "Of Marks and Men", 2016.



Fig. 1 O. DeM 256 (23 x 13 cm). (From Černý, *Ostraca hiératiques*, IV, 1939, pl. 5A).

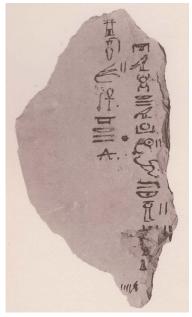


Fig. 2 O. Cairo CG 25317 (41 x 21 cm). (From Daressy, *Ostraca*, 1901, pl. LIX). The damaged mark X of Qaydjoret can be seen beneath \overline{A} (right column).

the excavators as coming from the Grand Puits at Deir el-Medina,⁴⁹ and it is likely that they are all from that locality because their distinctive style makes them a coherent group which was probably produced by one person. The producer's writing abilities must have been very limited, and in this sense, the ostraca are comparable to earlier Twentieth Dynasty records of the same type, which were probably also made by one or more semi-literate administrators.⁵⁰ As opposed to those earlier ostraca, however, they lack hieratic counterparts bearing the same or similar sorts of data. As a result of this lack, and of their idiosyncratic style, they are exceedingly difficult to decipher.

Some of the ostraca mention regnal years 16, 18 and 20. Careful research of the entire group by Daniel Soliman has made it likely that these years belong to the reign of Ramesses XI.⁵¹ This means that the ostraca were made in the years preceding and following year one of the *whm-msw.t* (which corresponds with regnal year 19 of Ramesses XI). The main reasons for assigning the ostraca to this pe-

⁴⁹ O. IFAO ONL 6185, 6282, 6685, 6711 and 6832, all marked "GP", and bearing excavation dates in February-April 1949.

⁵⁰ Haring, *Single Sign*, 2018, p. 194.

⁵¹ Soliman, "Of Marks and Men", 2016, pp. 331-41.

riod are the high regnal years (which limit the possible Twentieth Dynasty reigns to Ramesses III and XI) and the identity marks incorporated in their entries. These include several abstract, pictorial and pseudo-hieroglyphic signs that are known from earlier parts of the Ramesside Period (∠ ♥ ♣ ♥), some even already from the Eighteenth Dynasty ($\Lambda \cong \forall \nabla$). However they also include anthropomorphic marks that are characteristic of the mid- to late Twentieth Dynasty. The best known of these is $\frak{1}{3}$, a mark no doubt inspired by the hieroglyphic or hieratic sign for q3y "high", which was used by the workman and doorkeeper (later guard) Qaydjoret (i). We find this mark on ostraca from the reigns of Ramesses IX-XI, for instance at the bottom of a column of marks (as is to be expected for a low-status doorkeeper), or higher up (perhaps indicating his elevation to guard; see Fig. 2).52 Oaydjoret himself is known from hieratic texts to have been a doorkeeper from the mid-Twentieth Dynasty onward; his last known appearance is as a guard in or around year 6 of the *whm-msw.t.*⁵³ Other anthropomorphic marks are: \(\frac{\psi}{\psi} \) , presumably belonging to the workman Akhpet (iii), whose name in hieroglyphic and hieratic is written with a similar sign, a man "lifting" the sky (h p.t), and who is known from mid-Twentieth Dynasty texts;⁵⁴ 1, a Ptah figure possibly for Ptahkhau (i) who was probably active in the mid- to late Twentieth Dynasty.⁵⁵

Together, the marks connect this group of ostraca of years 16-20 with the workmen's community as known from the mid- to late Twentieth Dynasty. They do not seem to be related to persons mentioned in the late group of ostraca of the late Twentieth or early Twenty-first Dynasty such as O. DeM 256,⁵⁶ but together with the latter ostracon, they suggest that administration, and indeed life, continued at Deir el-Medina late in the reign of Ramesses XI. Although they use the same type of entries as earlier Twentieth Dynasty ostraca (composed of calendar dates, marks, pictograms for commodities, hieratic numbers, perhaps

⁵² Haring, *Single Sign*, 2018, p. 202. For doorkeepers, their duties and status, see Goecke-Bauer, in Janssen *et al.* (eds.), *Woodcutters*, *Potters and Doorkeepers*, 2003, pp. 138–46; for Qaydjoret, see Davies, *Who's Who*, 1999, pp. 200–02.

⁵³ Qaydjoret is one of the addressees in a letter by the scribe Thutmose (P. Leiden I 369 = Late Ramesside Letter no. 1, dated to year 6 of the **whm-msw.t** or later by Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 1967, pp. 6–7, 16). He was assisting Thutmose in a search for some lost property of the latter in the same year 6 according to P. Vienna ÄS 10321 verso 5: Demarée, *The Notebook of Dhutmose*, 2018, pp. 21–22.

⁵⁴ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 209.

⁵⁵ Being a son of the draughtsman Nebnefer (ix), who is known from the reigns of Ramesses III-V and was possibly still active under Ramesses VII: Davies, *Who's Who*, 1999, p. 169.

⁵⁶ See footnotes 44-45 above.

signs for other administrative notions), their style is different, with horizontal but slightly undulating lines of text, on some ostraca being separated by drawn lines. Especially striking are the numerous hieratic signs for "hundred" following the commodities. The numbers rise as high as 900, but it is not always clear which commodities are being referred to. They do seem to include firewood and fish, supplies of which at Deir el-Medina are well-known from earlier Ramesside records. Even some of the quantities delivered are quite comparable with those recorded in the earlier Twentieth Dynasty.⁵⁷ These quantities suggest that they served the upkeep of a sizeable community, and not merely a handful of people left behind in a crumbling village.⁵⁸

3. THE EVIDENCE RECONSIDERED

What happened to the community of necropolis workmen and their settlement at Deir el-Medina at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty? Although it is still very difficult to be precise about local developments during the reign of Ramesses XI, the combination of old and newly acquired data gives us enough reason to throw doubt on the often-repeated assertion that the entire workforce left the settlement for Medinet Habu at some point in that reign. Let us readdress the points raised in support of that assertion one by one.

(1) The decline in the production of ostraca seems to have been indeed notable, but actually had begun already before the middle of the Twentieth Dynasty. Recent investigations have shown, moreover, that ostraca bearing a semi-literate notation incorporating workmen's marks were still being produced at Deir el-Medina around the beginning of the *wḥm-msw.t*, and that hieratic documentary ostraca belonging to a very late group (possibly including the early years of the Twenty-first Dynasty) have been found at the same site.

⁵⁷ Firewood and fish appear to be mentioned in O. IFAO ONL 6239 and 6685; in each of these texts one line has the number "700" after the symbol for firewood and one or two marks. Firewood quota of 700 and 750 units for ten days frequently appear in texts from the reigns of Ramesses III and IV (e.g. O. DeM 36, 43, 46, 47, 151, 154, 161 + Strasbourg H 82, O. DeM 172).

⁵⁸ The mention of rain in Harshire's hut in Late Ramesside Letter no. 9 made Valbelle, *Ouvriers de la Tombe*, 1985, p. 225, think of Deir el-Medina as a ruinous village, but cf. note 9 above.

- (2) A substantial increase in the production of documentary papyri at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty cannot be proved as far as the administration of the necropolis workforce itself is concerned. Many papyri have been reused, and if all earlier texts on these papyri could be revealed again, they might include many of earlier Twentieth Dynasty date. The Tomb Robbery Papyri and the Late Ramesside Letters are not documents of regular necropolis administration, but corpora connected with specific developments at the end of the dynasty.
- (3) There is no conclusive evidence for Medinet Habu being the findspot of Ramesside documentary papyri or ostraca.
- (4) The reduction of the royal necropolis workforce, as suggested by lists of workmen on papyri from the final reigns of the Twentieth Dynasty, is best explained by the fact that tomb construction in the Valley of the Kings came to an end: the tombs of Ramesses X and XI remained unfinished, and perhaps were never used for the burial of these kings.
- (5) The storage of grain for the rations of the necropolis workmen in temple storerooms, presumably at Medinet Habu, and the distribution of food to the men at that location, is no proof that they were living there. As is shown by several papyri from the reign of Ramesses XI, the necropolis scribe had become responsible for the collection of the grain, something that had not occurred under previous kings,⁵⁹ and this exceptional development may also have been the reason for using temple storerooms, if that also was a new practice. In fact, we do not know where the grain for the workmen's rations was stored before it arrived at their village before the reign of Ramesses XI.⁶⁰
- (6) The absence of watercarriers, the duty roster and the *htm* from the extant documentary texts of the royal necropolis workforce in the reign of Ramesses XI does not mean, strictly speaking, that they vanished entirely. In fact, water-

⁵⁹ See note 7 above, and Demarée, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, pp. 131–40; idem, *The Notebook of Dhutmose*, 2018, p. 12. See also the contribution by Rob Demarée to this volume.

⁶⁰ Incidental food deliveries from, or distributions at memorial and other temples (such as the Karnak temple of Ma'at) to necropolis workmen were in fact recorded throughout the Ramesside Period; see Haring, *Divine Households*, 1997, pp. 256–63. Temples were, however, reluctant with respect to requests for grain by the workmen when their regular rations did not come; Haring, *Divine Households*, 1997, pp. 268–73.

carriers are still mentioned in O. DeM 256 and in the Tomb Robbery Papyri (but not in the Late Ramesside Letters).⁶¹ Their absence may point to a change in the organization of the necropolis workforce, but it remains obscure precisely what change that might have been.

- (7) The fact that members of the *smd.t* personnel of the royal necropolis are mentioned in the lists on Tomb Robbery Papyri BM EA 10054 and 10068 as living at or near Medinet Habu does not say anything about the living quarters of the necropolis *workmen* at the time. As far as we can tell, *smd.t* personnel were never based in the Deir el-Medina settlement, and so probably they had been living elsewhere on the West Bank earlier, some possibly near Medinet Habu.
- (8) The only necropolis functionary whose dwelling place is explicitly said to have been within the walls of Medinet Habu, and this in a letter written by himself, is the senior scribe Thutmose. But the letter does not say if his dwelling there was a long-term situation. As we have seen, Thutmose is represented archaeologically both in Medinet Habu and in Deir el-Medina. From the former site come two reused doorjambs bearing his name; at the latter were found a stela and a fragment of a canopic jar of his. In addition, Deir el-Medina is very probably the provenance of many, if not all, of the papyrus documents produced by this scribe. As a descendant of the famous senior scribe Amennakht, he may even have been one of the producers and keepers of a family archive of papyri, substantial portions of which are currently part of the papyrus collections of the Museo Egizio, the IFAO, and other institutional collections.⁶²

We still do not know what precisely *did* happen to the community of royal necropolis workmen in the last years of the Twentieth Dynasty, but the evidence available does not suggest that their settlement at Deir el-Medina was at any point suddenly and deliberately abandoned for good. If such a thing happened

⁶¹ A watercarrier Pakharu is mentioned in P. Turin Cat. 2003, which is dated by some to year 3 of Ramesses XI (Valbelle, *Ouvriers de la Tombe*, 1985, p. 124, note 6; Gabler, *Who's Who*, 2018, pp. 114–15, 544), but may alternatively be from year 3 of the *whm-msw.t* (Davies, *Who's Who*, 1999, p. 137; Demarée, *The Notebook of Dhutmose*, 2018, p. 10).

⁶² See Soliman, in Bausi *et al.* (eds.), *Manuscripts and Archives*, 2018, pp. 151–52, on the deposition of papyri in the tomb of Amennakht according to Late Ramesside Letter no. 9; cf. note 9 above, and Haring, in van Gompel and Hoogendijk (eds.), *Materiality of Texts*, 2018, p. 44.

at all, it must rather have been at some point in the early Twenty-first Dynasty. Alternatively, the desertion of the settlement may have been a gradual process.⁶³ Also, there is no clear textual reference to, nor any archaeological evidence supporting, a move of the entire necropolis workforce to the Medinet Habu temple precinct. I therefore suggest that we stop telling the world and each other that that is what happened.⁶⁴

⁶³ Cf. Valbelle, *Ouvriers de la Tombe*, 1985, p. 225, and Peden, in Demarée and Egberts (eds.), *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium*, 2000, p. 288, note 12, saying that places at Deir el-Medina were inspected and used for storage until at least the early Twenty-first Dynasty. The basis for this assertion are – again – Late Ramesside Letter no. 9 together with graffiti left by Butehamun in TT290 and by his son Ankhefenamun in the adjoining TT291; see Bruyère and Kuentz, *Tombes thébaines*, 1926, pp. 56–58, 71, 75–76; Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* I, 2007, p. 41. See note 34 above for TT291 as the possible place of burial of Butehamun.

⁶⁴ An important article on the papyri from Deir el-Medina appeared after this paper had been submitted: Demarée, Dorn and Polis, "Les listes de maisonnées de Deir el-Médina", 2020.

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"WORKMEN", "CRAFTSMEN", "ARTISTS"? UNKNOWN ARCHIVES HELPING TO NAME THE MEN OF THE COMMUNITY OF DEIR EL-MEDINA

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ABSTRACT

Recent research in the archives of Bernard Bruyère and in private collections are very relevant to a more accurate understanding of the archaeological context of our museum collections. The first previously unknown archive document presented in the workshop was the screening of a short film, shot in 1939 and showing the discoveries of two famous statues now on show in the Louvre galleries.

The second archive document concerns the statue of Penmernab, held in the Museo Egizio in Turin (C. 3032), which Champollion observed, copied, sketched and described in 1824; the document is held today in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Paris). In it, Champollion expresses his opinion on Egyptian statuary and his eagerness to secure a prominent position for Egyptian Art.

The third previously unknown archive document consists of a letter sent to me by Prof. Jack J. Janssen in the 2000s concerning the status of the men of the community of Deir el-Medina. The words "workmen", "craftsmen", and "artists" frequently alternate in the titles of books or articles, even though they refer to the same people. Janssen concludes that the French word "artisan" is the most appropriate.

The artefacts produced in Deir el-Medina raise a number of questions that deserve research and reflection and require specific tools. Some of these questions are addressed here, reaching the conclusion that some individuals belonging to the community were capable of creating fancy artistic and imaginative artefacts. There are strong links between the Museo Egizio in Turin and the Louvre Museum in Paris, particularly in their respective collections of objects coming from Deir el-Medina, and it is a sister relationship that is well-known since the time of Jean-François Champollion.¹

¹ Many thanks to Christian Greco, director of the Museo Egizio, for his invitation to participate in the Deir el-Medina Workshop and to the editors of this volume, Susanne Töpfer, Paolo Del Vesco, Federico Poole and Christian Greco for their work and patience.

1. AN UNKNOWN ARCHIVE DOCUMENT OF BERNARD BRUYÈRE, NOW IN THE IFAO

The artefacts from Deir el-Medina kept in Paris arrived initially in 1827 as part of the second Drovetti Collection. More than one thousand further artefacts arrived in the first half of the twentieth century as a result of the "partages de fouilles" which followed the archaeological explorations of the IFAO. Recent research in the archives of Bernard Bruyère² and in private collections are very relevant to a more accurate understanding of the archaeological context of our collections.

To evoke the commemoration of the Centenary of the IFAO in Deir El-Medina (2017) in the context of the Turin international workshop, I would like to start with a short (five-minute) archive film shot in 1939 during the excavations of the <code>hnw</code>, room 9, pit 1414, showing the French Archaeologist and his team³ discovering two famous statues – Louvre E 16277 of Amenhotep I or Ramesses II wearing the <code>khepresh</code> crown and the statue of the scribe Ramose E 16346 [Figs. 1 and 2] – presently on display in the Louvre galleries. The original is held by the Centre d'Histoire de l'art Bernard Bruyère de Chatou (Yvelines), which kindly presented me with a copy. After screening the film during the celebrations of the Centenary, I gave a copy to the IFAO archives department.

² Kept at the IFAO. Larcher, in Gaber *et al.* (eds.), À *l'œuvre on connait l'artisan...de Pharaon*, 2017, pp. 325–44 and especially n. 9, 10 and 11.

³ Beside Bernard Bruyère, we recognize Jaroslav Černý and Christiane Desroches (not yet Desroches Noblecourt) working on the fieldwork.





Figs. 1-2 Photogramme of the film shot in 1939 showing the discovery of the statue of the scribe Ramose, now in the Louvre Museum, E 16346 (© Musée du Louvre, dist. RMN-Grand Palais).

2. AN UNKNOWN ARCHIVE DOCUMENT OF JEAN-FRANÇOIS CHAMPOLLION CONCERNING A STATUE IN TURIN

But the study of the documentation and artefacts from Deir El-Medina began a long time before the work of the IFAO on the site. In Turin, almost two hundred years ago, in 1824, Jean-François Champollion examined the first objects that Drovetti's workers excavated at the site. As we know, his intention was primarily to check via inscribed objects what he had so brilliantly understood about the hieroglyphic system. Each day he spent in Turin confirmed his ability to decipher hieroglyphs, and this immense satisfaction was coupled with an active willingness to secure a prominent position for Egyptian art in the universal history of art:

Il sortira, je l'espère du moins, de cette masse imposante de statues, de stèles, de bas-reliefs, de tableaux peints, une théorie de l'art égyptien fondée enfin sur des faits bien observés, et l'on appréciera, peut-être, avec un peu plus d'équité qu'on

ne l'a fait jusqu'ici, les efforts persévérants d'un peuple qui, jetant les premiers fondements de la civilisation humaine, entra le premier dans la carrière des arts, et construisit de superbes temples à ses dieux, érigea de majestueux colosses à ses rois, dans le temps même que le sol de la Grèce et celui de l'Italie (...) étaient couverts de forêts vierges encore (...).⁴

The Département des manuscrits in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BNF, Paris) is rich in notes, notebooks, and atlases, all manuscripts left by Champollion, giving an outstanding impression of the production of this Egyptologist. As I was consulting the *Atlas NAF 20339*, *suppl. 17: Histoire*, I was happy to recognize on pp. 92-93 two pages [Figs. 3, 4, 5, and 6] concerning a well-known sculpture in Turin, the famous statue of Penmernab (Cat. 3032).

Besides perfect copies **[Fig. 1]** of the hieroglyphic inscriptions of this statue, Champollion provides a quite interesting description of, and comments on, this masterpiece **[Figs. 7 and 8]**.

The description is:

monolithe
Calcaire blanc-fin
Hiéroglyph. Silhouette creux
peints en Bleu_
Cadres rouges
Cornes du Bél. noires
Coiff. du bélier bleue
Chev. du Personn. noirs
Lèvres rouges
(Trav. Passable)

⁴ Champollion, Lettres à M. le Duc de Blacas d'Aups, I, première lettre, 1824, p. 9.

⁵ Many thanks to Isabelle Le Masne de Chermont, directrice du Département des manuscrits in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, and to Guillaume Fau, conservateur en chef, chef du service des manuscrits modernes et contemporains au Département des manuscrits, for their hospitality during an exciting visit to their institution in June 2018, and for authorizing me to use some of these valuable documents in this article.

⁶ Statue presented by Connor, *Le statue del Museo Egizio*, 2016, pp. 12–13, as a relevant illustration of "come guardare une statua egizia" (how to look at an Egyptian statue).

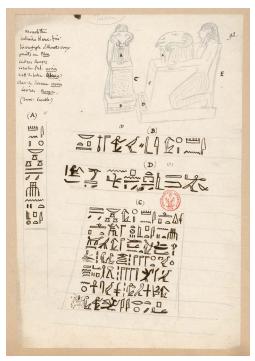


Fig. 3 Sketch and copy of the statue of Penmernab by Champollion in 1824. From Champollion, *Atlas NAF 20339*, *suppl. 17* : *Histoire*, BNF, département des manuscrits, p. 92 (© reproBNF, Paris, 2019).



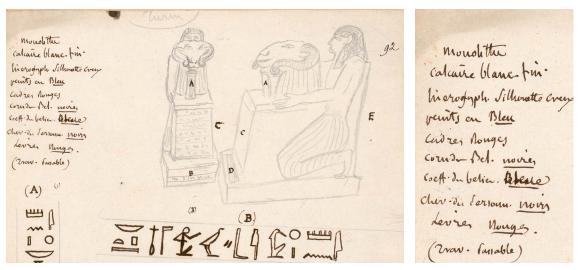
Fig. 5 Sketch and copy of the back pillar of the statue of Penmernab by Champollion in 1824. From Champollion, *Atlas NAF 20339, suppl. 17: Histoire*, BNF, département des manuscrits, p. 93 (© reproBNF, Paris, 2019)



Fig. 4 Statue of Penmernab, Turin, Museo Egizio, Cat. 3032 (Photo Museo Egizio).



Fig. 6 Back pillar of the statue of Penmernab, Turin, Museo Egizio, C. 3032 (Photo Museo Egizio).



Figs. 7-8 Sketch and detail of the description of the statue of Penmernab, Turin, Museo Egizio, C. 3032, by Champollion in 1824. From Champollion, *Atlas NAF 20339*, *suppl. 17*: *Histoire*, p. 92 (upper part), BNF, département des manuscrits, Paris (© reproBNF, Paris, 2019).

The last observation, "trav. passable", is an unusually harsh comment by Champollion on an Egyptian artwork. In one of his letters from Turin to the Duc de Blacas (August 1824),⁷ after having observed some of the limestone and black stone statues brought to Turin through the Drovetti collection, he writes: (...)

Ainsi les têtes humaines de la collection Drovetti sont en général d'une très bonne exécution, et plusieurs d'entre elles d'un style grandiose, plein d'expression et de vérité. L'on n'observe dans aucune ce visage mal contourné, cette face presque chinoise que Winckelmann regardait comme le caractère des statues véritablement égyptiennes. Il reste donc à expliquer comment il put arriver, et le fait est incontestable, que ces belles têtes, dont le travail est si fin et si soigné, se trouvent pour l'ordinaire placées sur des corps d'une exécution en général très faible et très négligée.

3. AN UNKNOWN PRIVATE ARCHIVE DOCUMENT OF JACK J. JANSSEN CONCERNING THE STATUS OF THE MEN OF THE COMMUNITY OF DEIR EL-MEDINA

Until the present day, Egyptologists have not really used the same terms to designate the men who produced the artefacts (sculptures, paintings, drawings,

⁷ Champollion, Lettres à M. le Duc de Blacas d'Aulps, I, 1824, p. 9.

reliefs, ostraca, etc.) found in Deir el-Medina. The words "workmen" (French: "ouvriers), "craftsmen" (French: artisans), or "artists" frequently alternate in the titles of books and articles, even though they refer to the same people. The personal sensitivity or Egyptological interests of scholars often influence the words we use.

To help us to make up our minds about this issue, I will refer to my private archives so as to give voice to a scholar well known in recent decades and considered to be until his death the "Pope" of Deir el-Medina Studies. This gentleman was Prof. Jack Janssen (1922-2011).

During the preparation of the exhibition "Les artistes de Pharaon. Deir el-Médineh et la Vallée des Rois", first on show at the Louvre museum in 2002,¹¹ Prof. Janssen agreed to contribute to the catalogue and expressed his enthusiasm for the project in several letters he wrote to me during the year 2001. Subsequently, we carried on a correspondence. I remember that very often, especially on Saturday morning, the postman left in my mailbox a letter (2-3 pages, handwritten) from this great scholar, who was always generous and willing to help and answer my questions.

In the final part of his first letter **[Fig. 9]**, dated 17 Jan. 2001 – an answer to my first one, in which I had explained the whole project and design of the forthcoming exhibition – Prof. Janssen specifically addressed the above-mentioned terminological issue:

I hardly have to add that I am really interested. May I also add a small point of criticism? You intend to call the exposition "Le village des Artistes de la Vallée des Rois". Now, apart from that they also built the tombs in the Valley of the Queens, I think that "artists" gives a wrong impression. In our time there are, or at least used to be, villages inhabited by painters and other artists, which are famous in

⁸ "Workmen" is used by many scholars. For example, Valbelle, *Les ouvriers de la Tombe*, 1985; Černý, A *Community of Workmen*, 2001, and all the monographs of the Egyptologische Uitgaven, Leiden. See for example Donker van Heel and Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village*, 2003.

⁹ "Craftsmen" is found in some titles: Andreu and Gombert, *Deir el-Medineh*: *Les artisans de Pharaon*, 2002, and in many chapters in Gaber *et al.* (eds.), À *l'œuvre on connait l'artisan…de Pharaon*, 2017.

¹⁰ "Artist" is currently used in titles of exhibition catalogues or books on Egyptian art history: Andreu (ed.), *Les artistes de Pharaon*, 2002; Andreu and Donadoni Roveri (eds.), *Gli artisti del Faraone*, 2003; Valbelle and Gout, *Les artistes de la Vallée des Rois*, 2002.

¹¹ Andreu (ed.), Les artistes de Pharaon, 2002; Andreu and Donadoni Roveri (eds.), Gli artisti del Faraone, 2003.

I hearly hen to arise that I am treetly in truster. May I also and a small point of criticeson? You intent to call the exposition "he village des arbeits du la Valles des Frons. Nour apass from that they about but the bench in the Valles of them. I think that extents gives a wrong impression. In our time there are, or as least used to be, willages in habitated by pointers and other artests, which are famous in art history, but that is not what their est. Medica was. Most of its wishest out, were sought actives. The drawptismen (two as a time) may have had activitie qualities, but that was almost all. Pechage there were one or two bogs who create arem, as in every willage, but as a whole the common unity was need an of estiviti, but of stone-cutters and competition.

Dhape you do not mind this remarks, and will take it as a kerry of my intent and. For the time bring I been it whith this.

People of my intent only. For the time bring I been it whith this.

Property soon to keen from you, with my kindustry gents as look with mind and seems.

Fig. 9 The end of Prof. Janssen's first letter to G. Andreu (dated to 17 Jan. 2001) (© G. Andreu-Lanoë).

Art History, but that is not what Deir el-Medina was. Most of its inhabitants were simple <u>artisans</u>. The draughtsmen (two at a time) may have had artistic qualities but that was almost all. Perhaps there were one or two boys who could draw, as in every village, but as a whole the community was not one of artists, but of stone-cutters and carpenters.

I hope you do not mind this remark and will take it as a proof of my interest only. For the time being, I leave it with this. Hoping soon to hear from you, with my kindest regards and best wishes.

Yours sincerely, Jack Janssen

In the end, the title was not exactly the one Prof. Janssen criticized in his letter; it was "Les artistes de Pharaon, Deir-el-Médineh et la Vallée des Rois", maintaining the word "artists". That choice was made by the Communications Department of the Louvre, who argued that it would have been very attractive to include the

magic words "artists" and "Valley of the Kings".

Today, can we add any comments to the letter of Prof. Janssen? Not that much. He is right when he says that Deir el Medina is a village, though I prefer the English word "settlement" (not that easy to translate into French), which defines this place better than "village". And it is true that the inhabitants were not all artists, as in any community, and that many artefacts are just a production of simple "artisans". The notions of Art and artists are modern ones, ¹³ widely known in the Western world, but the main intention of the Egyptians was to produce objects and monuments for a specific purpose, namely, to be in harmony with Maat.

When studying Egyptian Art, we must first start with the actors (the people involved), the tools and the workshops of what we now call, with our eyes and culture, artistic production.

In Deir el-Medina, this production raises a number of questions that deserve research and reflection and require specific tools. We have the good fortune of often having detailed evidence about the actors of this production. But this good fortune also provides opportunities to pose questions to which neither the archaeological remains nor the textual sources give appropriate answers.

To begin with textual questions, the men of the community are called only $s\underline{d}m$'s m s.t m s'.t in the hieroglyphic inscriptions, and this term is currently translated by "servant". This title does not indicate an occupation, it just indicates that they belong to the community, so that under this title you can find stonecutters as well as members of the elite of the community. Take for example the famous Sennedjem (TT1), or the family of Nebenmaat, Amennakht and Khaemtir (TT 218/219/220), all of them owners of exceptional tombs in the necropolis, with outstanding funerary equipment and well-located houses in the settlement. But they are known on their stone monuments simply as $s\underline{d}m$'s m s.t m s'.t, which does not indicate their social and professional status.

Another question is that of the archaeological context, which is not documented for the objects collected during "l'ère des consuls" (Drovetti, Salt etc.) in the nineteenth century, and is therefore questionable. The colleagues of the Museo

¹² Not that easy to translate in French: "campement"? "agglomeration"?

¹³ Laboury (a) in Andreu-Lanoë (ed.), *L'art du contour*, 2013, pp. 28–35 and Laboury (b) in Andreu-Lanoë (eds.), *L'art du contour*, 2013, pp. 36–41.

Egizio in Turin are performing a very accurate job on the photographic archive of the Schiaparelli excavations, ¹⁴ resulting each year in an improvement in our knowledge of the archaeological context of the objects in Turin. As examples of this crucial topic, we can consider the question of the find-spot of the numerous wooden votive statues of queen Ahmes Nefertari, ¹⁵ many of them dedicated to the ka of a member of the community of Deir-el-Medina, which were so carefully executed, and most of which lack a known archaeological provenance.

Another question is: Where does the material (stone, wood, linen) come from? Thanks to ongoing archaeometric investigations, our knowledge in this regard is increasing. I cite for example the studies on Theban limestone by Thierry de Putter, Christina Karlhausen and Christian Dupuy. Recently they have worked with the Louvre staff to help us characterize, where possible, the limestone from Deir el-Medina and that from the Valley of the Kings.

Concerning woodcraft, the studies presented during this workshop by Gersande Eschenbrenner-Diemer¹⁷ and Anna Giulia de Marco are quite relevant. And of course, the questions about the material lead to the question of the location of the workshops where artefacts were produced and the question of who or which workshop was involved in this production.¹⁸

Finally, it is not that easy to tell which artefacts found at Deir el-Medina can be ascribed to the hands of the craftsmen living inside the Community, the main reason being that the artistic or aesthetic quality of the woodwork differs from one object to another. To illustrate the sentence in J. Janssen's letter, "*Perhaps there were one or two boys who could draw, as in every village*", I offer this flint fragment **[Fig. 8]**, held in the Louvre collection.¹⁹

Was this fragment drawn upon by such a "boy", who took advantage of the contours of the stone to outline the head of a hippopotamus, creating a fancy artistic and imaginative artefact? And was he on his way to become an artist?

¹⁴ Del Vesco and Poole, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), Outside the Box, 2018, pp. 97–130.

¹⁵ Gitton, L'épouse du dieu Ahmès Néfertary, 1975, pp. 61–62. Andreu and Donadoni Roveri (eds.), Gli artisti del Faraone, 2003, pp. 234–43, n° 203–206; Del Vesco and Poole, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), Outside the Box, 2018, pp. 106–07 and 113, n. 70.

¹⁶ De Putter et al., Memnonia 24 (2013), pp. 81-90.

¹⁷ Eschenbrenner-Diemer *et al.*, in this volume.

¹⁸ Cooney, in Dorn and Hofmann (eds.), Living and Writing, 2006, p. 43–55.

¹⁹ Many thanks to Vincent Rondot director of the département des Antiquités égyptiennes du Louvre, for permitting me to obtain and publish a photograph of this object.



Fig. 10 Flint fragment. Musée du Louvre, département des antiquités égyptiennes, E 16283. H. 7,5 cm, W. 13 cm (Photo 2012 Musée du Louvre, dist. RMN-Grand Palais/Christian Décamps).

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"MAKE YOURSELF AT HOME": SOME "HOUSE BIOGRAPHIES" FROM DEIR EL-MEDINA, WITH A SPECIAL FOCUS ON THE DOMESTIC (AND FUNERARY) SPACES OF SENNEDJEM'S FAMILY¹

Kathrin Gabler (University of Basel), Anne-Claire Salmas (The American University in Cairo)

ABSTRACT

The assignment of houses from Deir el-Medina to their former inhabitants began with Bernard Bruyère in the 1930s. This paper discusses some of the houses identified thus far according to a structured methodology. The authors (a) set up different criteria in order to establish how secure such identifications may be; (b) adopt a diachronic perspective in order to determine whether some families remained in the same houses over decades; and (c) show, through a specific case study, that spatial connections existed between domestic and funerary plots in the settlement. This case study, which focuses on the monuments belonging to members of Sennedjem's family, represents an attempt to identify a trend in the negotiation of "institutionalized" space in the village and the Western necropolis. This paper's combined archaeological, textual, and prosopographic approach discloses the "biographies" of certain houses, quarters, and clusters of dwellings and tombs throughout the 250 years of the Ramesside period, opening up further avenues of research for other parts of the site.

¹ For improving the English of this contribution, we would like to thank R. Parkinson, C. Ragazzoli, A. Travis, and D. Waller. For important and critical remarks, we are grateful to C. Bonnet, R. Demarée, C. Gobeil, J. Masquelier-Loorius, and D. Valbelle.

1. INTRODUCTION (KG and ACS)

Research on Deir el-Medina yields a rainbow of possibilities that embrace many aspects of Egyptology. Different perspectives on the site and different combinations of information enable the creation of a kaleidoscopic picture of Deir el-Medina and its community of workmen (and their families). Drawing on a polymorphic documentation, both tangible and intangible, this paper resorts to a multi-perspective analysis on the phenomenon of spatial negotiation in the village of Deir el-Medina. It examines archaeological, textual, and prosopographic data using both a synchronic and diachronic approach. In particular, this paper aims to question how workmen appropriated the "institutional" spaces of the village and, to a lesser degree, the Western necropolis, crawling into the cracks of the official spatial system, in order to produce their own domestic (and funerary) places.² The following discussion sets out to establish relevant and reliable criteria for the assignment of houses to their inhabitants during a given period. It further recounts the "biographies" of some houses and traces their ownership back over several generations. A case study follows pertaining to the domestic (and funerary) spaces occupied by a specific family, that of Sennedjem $(\acute{S}n-ndm)$ (i). This case study highlights the existence of a family cluster of houses in the village, a design that is mirrored in the Western necropolis by a family funerary plot. Chronologically, this paper focuses on the Ramesside period, as most of the available documentation dates to this time. However, special emphasis is given to the early Nineteenth Dynasty, during which Sennedjem (i) and his direct descendants lived in Deir el-Medina.

2. THE DOMESTIC SPACE OF DEIR EL-MEDINA: OVERVIEW OF THE DIFFERENT SECTORS IN THE VILLAGE AND ESTABLISHMENT OF CRITERIA FOR ATTRIBUTING HOUSES (KG)

The domestic space of Deir el-Medina and its history of research are briefly presented (2.1). Then follows an outline of the methodology and criteria used to

² Salmas, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, pp. 421–45, for a survey of tactics for spatial negotiation at site level.



Fig. 1 N-S view of the village and the Western necropolis (Photo by C. Gobeil).

assign the houses in the village to their former inhabitants (2.2). Finally, a summary of the inhabitants (newly) identified on the basis of the criteria established in 2.2 is provided (2.3).

2.1. Overview of the different sectors of the village

In his archaeological report on the village of Deir el-Medina published in 1939, Bernard Bruyère divided the area into different sectors or quarters, which he named after the cardinal directions.

- Sector N.O. (north-west, in yellow in Fig. 2) consists of twenty-seven houses, of which thirteen³ were excavated between 1906 and 1912 (with much activity taking place in 1909) by the Italian mission directed by Ernesto Schiaparelli;
- Sector N.E. (north-east, in green in **Fig. 2**) consists of nineteen houses, of which six were partly investigated by E. Schiaparelli in 1909 (see above), and a

³ N.O. I to XII, XX, as well as parts of N.E. I to VI: Bruyère, *Rapport 1934–1935*, 1939, pl. VII; Tosi and Roccati, *Stele e altre*, 1972, pp. 24–30; Del Vesco and Poole, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, pp. 107–11, 122–24, also referring to the finds.

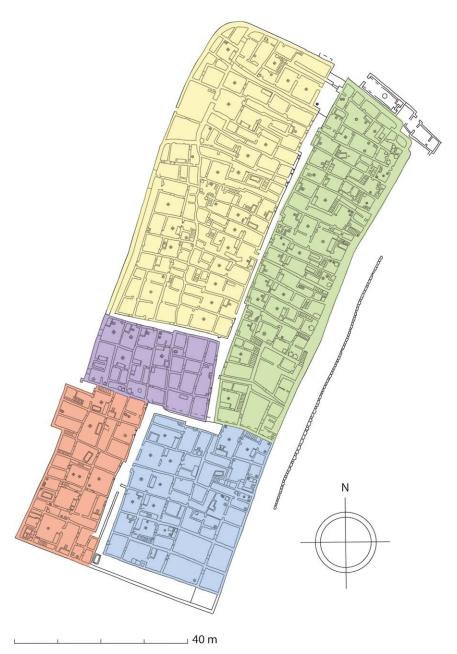


Fig. 2 Plan of the workmen's village of Deir el-Medina highlighting the different sectors (© IFAO, B. Bruyère, G. Castel, and M. Gaber; colorization: C. Gobeil).

further 10/11⁴ were excavated in 1913 by the German mission directed by Georg Möller;

- Sector C. (central part, in purple in Fig. 2) consists of seven houses;
- Sector S.E. (south-east, in blue in Fig. 2) consists of nine houses;
- Sector S.O. (south-west, in red in Fig. 2) consists of six houses.

⁴ N.E. VII to XVII: Anthes, MDAIK 12 (1943), pp. 1–71, published Möller's excavation reports posthumously.

The central and southern sectors were excavated in 1934–1935 by B. Bruyère on behalf of the Institut français d'archéologie orientale (IFAO).⁵ These figures add up to a total of sixty-eight houses, which does not include other surrounding dwellings.

According to archaeological observations made in the field by B. Bruyère, and, later on, by Charles Bonnet and Dominique Valbelle, changes occurred in the village (which was founded in the Eighteenth Dynasty) during the early Ramesside period, in particular during the reign of Seti I. In the central quarter, some earlier Eighteenth Dynasty houses and their storage areas (C. IV to VII) were rebuilt anew,⁶ while the southern quarters were erected upon Eighteenth-Dynasty landfills.⁷ The Ramesside houses were standardized to a certain degree, more or less following a general pattern of three successive rooms (the so-called three-stripe houses). The degree of standardization, though, depends on whether the houses were modified/(re-)built (in the northern sectors) or newly constructed (in the southern sectors) at the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty. The ground plan of the houses in sectors S.E. and S.O. differs somewhat from that of the houses in the northern sectors insofar as the latter follow the shape of the wadi.⁸

2.2. Establishment of criteria for attributing houses

Using the evidence and documentation at his disposal, B. Bruyère was the first to attempt to assign some of the houses in Deir el-Medina to their former inhabitants. Since then, the attribution of houses has been variously discussed and further extended in some cases. The assignment of houses to specific individuals often relies on inscribed architectural elements or installations—e.g. doorjambs and lintels—that provide names and titles. When these architectural components are found in place or even *in situ*, or, more or less, in their original location, they are solid evidence for the assignment of houses. Oth-

⁵ Bruyère, *Rapport* 1934–1935, 1939, pl. XXVI; Andreu, *Les artistes de Pharaon*, 2002, pp. 36–41. During the early days of the French concession, parts of the structures N.O. XVI, XVII, XVIII, XXIII, and XXIV were investigated by Henri Gauthier (between 1917 and 1919), while parts of N.E. I to VI were explored by Charles Kuentz (in 1921).

⁶ Andreu, Les artistes de Pharaon, 2002, p. 25; Dorn, MDAIK 67 (2011), pp. 31-52.

⁷ Bonnet and Valbelle, *BIFAO* 75 (1975), pp. 429–46, esp. pp. 440–41; Bonnet and Valbelle, *BIFAO* 76 (1976), pp. 317–42; Haring, in Toivari-Viitala *et al.* (eds.), *Deir el-Medina Studies*, 2014, pp. 89–90; Müller, in Toivari-Viitala *et al.*, *Deir el-Medina Studies*, 2014, pp. 154–67. For further information, I would like to thank Cédric Gobeil.

⁸ Andreu, Les artistes de Pharaon, 2002, pp. 24–38; Müller, in Toivari-Viitala et al. (eds.), Deir el-Medina Studies, 2014, pp. 154–67; Weiss, Religious Practice, 2015, pp. 26–31.

er inscribed artifacts whose exact provenance is not necessarily known, such as elements from cultic equipment, need to be considered more carefully, as they constitute only indirect evidence. The houses S.O. VI, V, and IV, which are the foci of the case study developed below, provide examples relevant to both these categories. When (reliable) archaeological documentation is lacking, in particular for the later Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, the identification of houses is a rather delicate issue. **Table 1**, based on the publications by B. Bruyère, Benedict G. Davies, Julia Budka, Gregor Neunert, and Lara Weiss, summarizes the attribution of twenty-one particular houses established so far and for specific times. 10 It appears that most of the identified inhabitants (fifteen out of twenty-one) lived during the reigns of Seti I and Ramesses II, on the one hand, and that fourteen of the houses assignable to these people are located in the central and southern quarters and were (re-)built during these reigns on the other. Eleven out of twenty-one identified inhabitants bore influential titles, such as foreman, scribe, guardian, sculptor, or draughtsman, and most of these individuals (eight out of eleven) lived in the southern quarters.

Further attribution of houses to individuals at given periods is possible, but it requires a coherent set of criteria—by categories of evidence—and a sound methodology. These tools may also enable the reconstruction of genuine "house biographies" over time. The four categories of evidence used to assign houses are distributed as follows:

– **Category A.** Inscriptions on (fixed) architectural elements or cultic installations, discovered either *in situ* or (well-)documented in excavation reports. Inscriptions are to be found on, e.g. doorjambs and lintels, mostly made of limestone; column bases, usually in limestone; cultic emplacements, such as niche frames, made of stone; or false doors, made of painted mudbrick and *muna*.

⁹ All known doorframe fragments are currently being re-investigated (with particular attention to the architectural perspective) within the framework of an IFAO-based project by Marie-Ange Bonhême & Julie Masquelier-Loorius. Their study will bring new details to light. For a presentation of their project, as well as preliminary results, see Masquelier-Loorius, *BIFAO* 106 (2006), pp. 377–78; Masquelier-Loorius, in Gaber *et al.* (eds.), À *l'oeuvre on connaît l'artisan...*, 2017, pp. 41–44; Masquelier-Loorius, contribution in this volume.

¹⁰ See first, though with some limitations, Bruyère, *Rapport* 1934–1935, 1939, as well as his excavation diaries, which are available online (http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/bruyere/). See also Anthes, *MDAIK* 12 (1943), pp. 1–71. For more recent work, Davies, *Who's Who*, 1999; Budka, *König an der Haustür*, 2001; Neunert, *Prestige*, 2010; and Weiss, *Religious Practice*, 2015, who also deals with the finds recorded in Möller's notebooks (now in Berlin). A project, under the aegis of the Egyptian Museum of Berlin, aims to digitize and publish Möller's notebooks and finds from Deir el-Medina (Jan Moje, personal communication).

- **Category B.** Inscriptions on walls, discovered either *in situ* or (well-)documented in excavation reports. These comprise graffiti or *dipinti*, written in ink or painted, often as secondary inscriptions.
- **Category C.** Inscriptions on movable objects, such as (fragments of) stelae, statues, doors (of shrines, cultic emplacements etc.), ostraca, etc. Given their movable nature, these serve as indirect evidence, which, when corroborated, may lead to the attribution of a house, though this attribution may not necessarily be secure. The people named in such inscriptions might have lived in the building in which the object was found or in its (near) surroundings. Alternatively, they may have had no relation to this building at all, in cases where objects were dedicated by colleagues or friends, or were moved, or left behind by previous visitors or excavators of the site.
- **Category D.** A negative category of evidence, used to indicate a total lack of inscriptions attributable to inhabitants. Uninscribed, domestic artifacts however sometimes offer clues about the daily activities conducted by the inhabitants in the house.

The degree of reliability of artifactual evidence decreases from one category to the next. Objects from category A are considered more reliable for the assignment of a house than objects from category B, and so on. The categories are not exclusive, and combinations of artifacts from different categories may be used to confirm, support, or reject the attribution of a house. The same evidence as distributed in these categories can also be used in mortuary contexts to help identify the owners of undecorated tombs or the members of an extended family—whether they were buried in the same place (e.g. TT1) or not—as well as to recount the history of some funerary monuments.

¹¹ For examples, see the case study developed below in section 4.

¹² In the case of the undecorated tombs and shafts in the Eastern necropolis, the identification of their occupants can be based solely on the evidence of category C (movable objects, such as funerary equipment). The assignment of these tombs to specific individuals is thus usually uncertain.

¹³ See sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2, which include artifacts that bear the names of members of the family buried there as well as those of members of the family buried elsewhere.

¹⁴ For an overview, see Soliman, in Budka et al. (eds.), Non-Textual Marking Systems, 2015, pp. 109-32.

The available information is complex and has to be considered both carefully and critically. Nonetheless, certain data are relatively firm: some category A objects, for instance, especially architectural elements such as stone lintels and doorjambs, were probably too heavy to transport for reuse. Installed and decorated during the time of Seti I and the early reign of Ramesses II, these elements usually remained in place until the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, and for some even until modern times. In addition to the practical and economic reasons for keeping these objects (in place) over the years, they probably gained symbolic value over time and may thus have been left untouched for this reason (cf. section 4.1.4). In all likelihood, these different inscribed artifacts did not stray far from their primary location, if they were displaced at all. The same may be true of elements of cultic equipment, such as stelae, offering tables, or slabs. In this respect, even though category C objects were distributed within a certain radius, their find-spots may still provide valuable information when examined in relation to the surrounding areas.

2.3. Results of the implementation of the criteria

When applying these criteria to the sixty-eight houses of Deir el-Medina village, preliminary results indicate that fourteen of these houses may be assigned to an individual at a given time, using objects from category A.¹⁷ These houses usually date to the early Ramesside period, when the entire settlement was re-structured and the door elements (jambs and lintels) of the houses were set for the next 250 years. In most cases, the identified inhabitants were therefore the first occupants of the refurbished or new buildings; they lived during the reigns of Horemheb, Seti I, and Ramesses II. Inscriptions from category B constitute evidence for the secure attribution of only two houses at a given period: C. IV and

¹⁵ Weiss, *Religious Practice*, 2015, p. 23. Many relations and connections remain visible, even after long periods of time, different excavators, and lost documentation. The fact that the former inhabitants also left so many objects in their houses is surprising and sheds new light on the end of the occupation phase of Deir el-Medina, cf. Haring's contribution to this volume.

¹⁶ The material from which these elements were made (stone) was costly, and their installation and decoration required some effort; as long as the doorframes worked, why would they merit replacement, especially when the new/next occupant was family? Moreover, the early Nineteenth Dynasty was a period of wealth and stability in comparison to the later Ramesside period—another reason to keep these elements during the Twentieth Dynasty, cf. Beck and Gabler, in Brose *et al.* (eds.), *En détail*, 2019, pp. 29–35.

¹⁷ Preliminary results for the houses: N.E. VIII, XV, N.O. IX, X, XV, XVI, XXVII, C. II, V, S.E. II, VII, S.O. IV (under debate, see below), V, VI.

S.O. II.¹⁸ These dwellings were occupied by Amennakht (*Imn-nht*) (v) and Harshire (*Ḥrj-šrj*) (i), a father and son, between the mid to the end of the Twentieth Dynasty. This would suggest that these two men were among the last inhabitants of the village before it was vacated. Finally, nineteen houses can be assigned to specific individuals using only artifacts from category C.¹⁹ The dates for these houses span the entire Ramesside period.²⁰ In total, fourteen further houses can be added to the twenty-one houses previously attributed (cf. **Table 1**), meaning that a total of thirty-five houses (or 51%) can now be assigned to at least an individual, at one point in time. The other thirty-three houses (49%) cannot be attributed to any individual (category D).²¹ These category D dwellings are to be found especially in the N.E. and N.O. sectors (cf. **Table 2**).²²

In the following section, I show that, besides contributing to a higher number of assigned houses, the combination of different sources of information can offer even more insights into the history of occupation of some houses.

3. "HOUSE BIOGRAPHIES" (KG)

It is possible to go beyond the mere attribution of particular houses to single individuals during a given period. By combining archaeological and prosopographic evidence and examining it in a diachronic perspective, one can determine whether a particular family stayed in the same house over time. Such a diachronic approach is possible because, in most cases, a variety of category C objects originate from structures that were identified in the first place via category A or B evidence.

¹⁸ Ragazzoli, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), Outside the Box, 2018, pp. 411–14.

¹⁹ Preliminary results for the houses: N.E. III, IV, IX, XI, XII, XIII, XVI, XIX, N.O. XIII, XVIII, C. VI, S.E. I, III, V, VI, VIII, IX, S.O. I, III.

²⁰ A chronological pattern appears according to the nature of category C objects used in the process of assignment: stelae and statues tend to date to the first half of the Nineteenth Dynasty, whereas ostraca rather date to the Twentieth Dynasty; see Gabler, *Who's Who*, 2018, pp. 440–42, 525; and more detailed in Beck and Gabler, in Brose *et al.* (eds.), *En détail*, 2019, pp. 29–30.

²¹ Preliminary results for the houses: N.E. I, II, V, VI, VII, X, XIV, XVII, XVIII, N.O. I, II, III–VIII, XI, XII, XIV, XVII, XIX–XXVI, C. I, III, VII, S.E. IV.

²² While clearing the village, C. Gobeil uncovered some new inscribed artifacts that bring additional data to light, and will hopefully lead to new attributions (personal communication, under publication).

So far, I have assembled fifteen different "house biographies" over several generations (cf. Table 4).23 In the early Ramesside period, nine of these houses appear to have been consecutively occupied by relatives of the first attested inhabitants.²⁴ In a further six buildings, occupied from the reign of Ramesses II onwards, particular families can be traced over an even longer period of time.²⁵ In these cases, evidence pertaining to Twentieth-Dynasty occupants of houses confirms that they were related in some way to the original inhabitants of the same houses. One can assume that similar family connections existed in dwellings across the village, probably over its entire phase of its occupation. Even after criminal incidents, as in the "worst-case scenario" of Paneb (P3-nb) (i), the family retained their house; only the individual involved in the crime(s) had to leave the settlement—though the family was no longer permitted to hold important offices and functions within the community.²⁶ As far as my analysis goes, not a single break in the continuity of occupation of specific houses by identified families is evident thus far. The question remains as to whether this phenomenon was widespread.²⁷

3.1. Life stories of some houses

In what follows, I offer four illustrations of the spatial patterns highlighted by my broader study of the village (cf. **Table 3**). Each of the four examples recounts part of the life story of one or several family house(s), along with the stories of some related funerary monuments. Each reflects specific trends in the spatial organization of the village.

Example 1, or "a father's will"

Houses N.O. IX and X can be assigned to two brothers-in-law, Wennekhu ($Wn-n\hbar w$) (i) and Irynefer (Irj-nfr) (i), son of Siwadjet ($S_3-W_3\underline{d}j.t$) (i). This assignment is possible on the basis of artifacts belonging to category A, namely two inscribed

²³ Preliminary results for the houses: N.E. III, VIII, XV, (XVI), XIX, N.O. XXVII, C. (IV), V, VI, S.E. III, S.O. (II), III, (V?).

²⁴ Preliminary results for the houses: N.E. III, VIII, XV, N.O. XXVII, C. V, VI, S.E. III, and maybe S.O. (V?), (VI?, see **Table 6**).

²⁵ Preliminary results for the houses: N.E. (XVI), XIX, C. (IV), S.O. (II), III and maybe (V).

²⁶ Meurer, *Penbui*, 2015, p. 179; Beck and Gabler, in Brose et al. (eds.), *En détail*, 2019, p. 68.

²⁷ The full list and a discussion of all the houses and their previous habitants will form part of a more elaborate study.

column bases found in each house.²⁸ Wennekhu (i) and Irynefer (i)'s ownership over these dwellings was the result of their respective union with two sisters, Mutaat $(Mw.t^{-c_3}.t)$ (i) and Mehyt-khati (Mhj.t-hc.tj) (ii).²⁹ According to B. Bruyère, the two buildings result from the division of a single Eighteenth-Dynasty house at the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty.³⁰ Unfortunately, we do not know the name of the two sisters' father, but it is likely that it was this man who split the house into two smaller units for his daughters, who then occupied them with their husbands. Both families also appear to have shared a common burial place in TT290, the tomb of Irynefer (i), as noted by B.G. Davies.³¹

Example 2, or "we are family"

During the reigns of Seti I and Ramesses II, Wadjetronpet ($W_3dj.t-rnp.t$) (ii), the daughter of Amek (${}^c_3-mk$) (i), who lived in house S.E. VI, moved with her husband Amenemwia (Imn-m-wj3) (i) into house N.E. XI, while her brother Pakharu (P_3-h_3rw) (ix) appears to have remained in their father's house. ³² In addition, Amenemwia (i) inherited his father-in-law's title c_3 n c . However, we lack information about Amenemwia (i)'s background and how he acquired the dwelling N.E. XI. ³³ Subsequently, Amenemwia (i)'s son, the guardian Amenemone (Imn-m-jn.t) (iv), lived with his wife Mertseger (Mrj=s-gr) (iii) in house N.E. XI—probably after Amenemwia (i)'s death in the later part of the reign of Ramesses II. Amenemone (iv) lived there with, among other relatives, his mother Wadjetronpet (ii) and his sister Nodjemka (Ndm.t-k3j3) (i). ³⁴ Amek (i)'s

²⁸ Bruyère, *Rapport* 1934–1935, 1939, pp. 283–85.

²⁹ Davies, *Who's Who*, 1999, chart 26.

³⁰ Bruyère, *Rapport* 1934–1935, 1939, pp. 283–85.

³¹ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, pp. 218–19.

³² Davies, *Who's Who*, 1999, § 53, chart 19. The house is assigned via category A and C objects: Bruyère, *Rapport* 1934–1935, 1939, pp. 271–72; Davies, *Who's Who*, 1999, p. 206; Weiss, *Religious Practice*, 2015, pp. 256–57, in particular the limestone doorpost Warsaw, 141 484 MN which shows the name of Amek.

³³ Weiss, *Religious Practice*, 2015, p. 390, stela ÄMP 21538 = a C-criteria object; Davies, *Who's Who*, 1999, pp. 206–07; Davies, in Haring *et al.* (eds.), *The Workman's Progress*, 2014, pp. 33–41.

³⁴ Weiss, *Religious Practice*, 2015, p. 390; Demarée and Valbelle, *Stato Civile*, 2011, pp. 93–95; Hagen, *JEA* 102 (2016), pp. 208–11. According to the house list O. Uppsala 3001, Amenemone (iv) shared his household with a *s3.t=f W3dj.t-rnp.t*, *s3.t=s Mrj=s-gr*, *s3.t=s Nfr.t-jrj*, *s3.t=s Ndm.t-k3j3*, *s3.t=s Hnw.t-w^c.tj* and a *Mw.t-ndm.t*. The reverse of the ostracon mentions at least three more people: *Hnw.t-NN*, *Hnw.t-dww?* and *Šrj.t-R^c*. F. Hagen discusses the unusual ordering of, and relationship amongst, these persons. Either we are dealing with several otherwise unattested female relatives of Amenemone (iv), or these kinship terms are being used in a highly flexible way. Comparing this house list with other lists, the *Stato Civile* in particular, I suggest interpreting the attested relationships as follows: the first *s3.t=f* is rather a mistake for *mw.t=f* (Wadjetronpet (ii)); the second *s3.t=s*

other grandson, whose name was probably Harmose (*Ḥr-ms*), possibly inherited the family's house, S.E. VI,³⁵ after his father Pakharu (ix) died. The title ^{c3} n ^c was also used by Amek's son, Pakharu (ix), and his grandson, Harmose (i).³⁶ S.E. VI was occupied for at least 90 years (from the time of Seti I to Seti II) by the same family.³⁷ P1164, the shaft tomb of Amek (i), is part of the courtyard of TTT356, the tomb of his son-in-law Amenemwia (i). The area around TT356 seems to also comprise the burial cluster of another branch of the family;³⁸ interestingly, it is on the same topographic level as Amenemwia (i)'s house, N.E. XI.³⁹ The shared domestic and funerary spaces of this family provide a clear example for the spatial layout according to family bonds in both the village and the Western necropolis (see also the case study on Sennedjem (i)'s family developed below).

Example 3, or "when you love someone (else)"

Nebdjefa (Nb-df3.w) (i) and his son Harnefer (Hrj-nfr) (i) occupied house S.E. II. This can be established on the basis of a category A artifact: the lintel of a cultic emplacement that records the names of both father and son and the title they shared: 3n 40 Once married, Harnefer (i) moved to live with his first

refers to her daughter-in-law (Mertseger (iii)); the next s3.t=s to an unattested granddaughter of Wadjetronpet (ii) or a sister of Mertseger (iii); Nodjemka (i) is however Wadjetronpet (ii)'s real daughter and sister of the head of the household, Amenemone (iv); the several women that conclude the list were probably further female relatives, whose identity in relation Amenemone (iv) is impossible to determine, cf. Gabler, RiME 1 (2017), pp. 1–39.

³⁵ Bruyère, *Rapport* 1934–1935, 1939, p. 358; Davies, *Who's Who*, 1999, p. 206. Only the beginning, Har-NN, of the son's name is preserved on the door lintel (which shows three generations of the family: Amek, Pakharu, and Har-NN). An addition to the name Harmose would explain why an Amenemwia was involved in the mummification of a Harmose (recorded on O. BM EA 5634) in year 40 of Ramesses II, cf. Demarée, *Ramesside Ostraca*, 2002, pls. 27–28. In this case, Amenemwia (i) would have taken care of the funeral of his nephew Harmose (i = iv), cf. Davies, *Who's Who*, 1999, pp. 226–27.

³⁶ Bruyère, *Rapport* 1934–1935, 1939, p. 358; Davies, *Who's Who*, 1999, p. 206.

³⁷ If the identification of Harmose (see above) is correct, the family must have been related to Harmose (i = iv) and Pennub (ii/iii), Davies, *Who's Who*, p. 206, charts 19 and 40. This suggestion is supported by two stone fragments bearing the hieratic names Pennub and Nebnakht. These fragments were found in S.E. VI (Bruyère, *Rapport 1934–1935*, 1939, pp. 271–72) and probably refer to Pennub (*Pn-nwb*) (i) and Nebnakht (*Nb-nht*) (iii)). Opposite house S.E. VI, a stela belonging to a Pennub was found in house S.O. V. The object might have been moved there, cf. Weiss, *Religious Practice*, 2015, p. 108. The families of Amek and Pennub may have been linked by the unknown wife of Harmose, who might have been a member of the Pennub-clan.

³⁸ Neunert, *Prestige*, 2010, p. 175, pl. 3.

³⁹ Burial areas closer to house S.E. VI were either already occupied by older structures like P 1352, or taken by/given to other families, as in the case of Sennedjem (TT1) and Qaha (TT360).

⁴⁰ Bruyère, *Rapport* 1934–1935, 1939, pp. 265–67, today Louvre E. 14388 bis. Weiss, *Religious Practice*, 2015, pp. 98, 254–55, 284, 324, doubts this assignment as further objects with the name Nebdjefa were found in the houses N.E. XII and S.O. III. The relevant objects from S.O. III (an offering grill Cairo JE 72008 and a base of cultic emplacement Louvre E. 16375) were category C movable artefacts. According to L. Weiss, the

wife, Webkhet (Wbh.t) (i/iv), in N.E. XII. Webkhet (i/iv) was the daughter of Baki $(B \ni kj)$ (i), foreman of the left side in the reign of Seti I. She thus belonged to an influential family. Several of her brothers joined the crew in the reign of Ramesses II and would have occupied different houses. 41 Webkhet (i/iv) was also probably given a house, N.E. XII, even though no information on how she acquired it is available.42 The marriage between Harnefer (i) and Webkhet (i/ iv) did not last long. After they separated, Harnefer (i) married a second time, to Hemtneter (Hm.t-ntr) (ii), with whom he probably had two children.43 Despite having come into possession of N.E. XII via the Baki-Webkhetline, Harnefer (i) and his second wife nevertheless kept this dwelling.44 Webkhet (i/iv = ii)45 also married again: her second husband was the foreman of the right side, Neferhotep (Nfr-htp) (ii). She moved into his house, S.E. III, where her new neighbours were the relatives of her first father-in-law Nebdjefa (i). Neferhotep (ii) assumed both the position and the house of his father Nebnefer (Nb-nfr) (i),46 when the latter died around year 40 of Ramesses II. Both father and son were buried in a family burial cluster, which comprises TT6 (Nebnefer (i)) and TT216 (Neferhotep (ii) and his wife Webkhet (i/iv)).47 The couple had a son, the sš-kd Hesysunebef (Hsj-sw-nb=f) (i), whose offspring can be traced until the

offering grill bearing the name of Nebdjefa was later assigned to S.O. III by B. Bruyère; the exact circumstances of its discovery are doubtful. The base Louvre E. 16375 is partly preserved and states that "...it was made by the servant of place of the truth Harnefer," who did not necessarily live in S.O. III. If the offering table found in S.O. III (Weiss, *Religious Practice*, 2015, cat. 5.18, 314), which records an Amenmose, refers to *Imn-ms* (i) son of Baki (i), he would have been the brother-in-law of Harnefer, who could have presented the base to him. Because Harnefer moved into N.E. XII, objects with his name were found there.

⁴¹ For Haremwia (i) no house can be assigned so far; Amenmose (i) possibly took over S.O. III, while Penamun (ii) possibly took over S.E. I (preliminary results). For the genealogy, see Davies, *Who's Who*, 1999, charts 1 and 2.

⁴² However, stela Berlin ÄMP 21565 of Webkhet (i/iv) (Weiss, *Religious Practice*, 2015, pp. 391–92, cat. 11.10 and 11.11), a category C object found in N.E. XI, could have been moved from N.E. XII in which the fragment of another stela recording the 3 n Harnefer (i) was discovered. A door lintel from N.E. XI that shows the names Mose and Ipj is discussed by Bruyère, *Rapport* 1934–1935, 1939, pp. 257–58. There, B. Bruyère convincingly suggests that the objects come from the next house N.E. XIII.

⁴³ Davies, *Who's Who*, 1999, p. 10, 87, chart 22. Hemtneter (ii) may be identified with her namesake, Hemtneter (i), the daughter of Huy (iv).

⁴⁴ Weiss, *Religious Practice*, 2015, pp. 391–92. House S.E. II was apparently inhabited by another branch of the family.

⁴⁵ Similar Davies, Who's Who, 1999, pp. 2, 32, 75, 87, discussing the case of Webkhet (i/iv).

⁴⁶ S.E. III can be assigned to the Neferhotep-family via the doorjamb Cairo JE 68800 showing the name of the *hrj js.t m s.t-M3^c.t Nfr-htp*, likely (i), who was probably the first inhabitant of the house in the early Nineteenth Dynasty, Bruyère, *Rapport* 1934–1935, 1939, pp. 267–69, pl. XVIII, 1.

⁴⁷ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, pp. 31–32; Neunert, Prestige, 2010, pl. 3.

end of the Twentieth Dynasty.⁴⁸ However, Hesysunebef (i) cannot yet be connected to the "family monuments" (house S.E. III and the funerary cluster on the northern top of the Western necropolis).

Example 4, or "my house, my position, my family"

The foreman Qaha (*K̄ṣḥṣ*) (i) occupied house N.E. VIII with his family. Category A objects allow this assignment, and include the base of a column, alongside other objects that bear his name and title. Using category C artifacts, also found in the dwelling, we find that N.E. VIII may have been subsequently taken over by a grandson of Qaha (i), called Hay (*Ḥṣ*y) (iv). O. Berlin ÄMP 21439, which originates from N.E. VIII according to G. Möller's notebooks, suggests indeed that the house remained within the same family. This figurative ostracon depicts a Hay, probably (iv), who was foreman of the left side at the beginning of the Twentieth Dynasty. The house then probably passed on to a son of Hay (iv), Anhurkhawy (*In-ḥr-ḥ*r) (ii), who also assumed the position of foreman of the left side in year 22 of Ramesses III. The family of Qaha (i) featured several foremen of the left side, all of whom may have lived in N.E. VIII. The Qaha family possessed a burial cluster at the southern end of the Western necropolis consisting of the tombs TT359 for Ankhurkhawy (ii), TT360 for Qaha (i), TT361 for the father of Qaha (i), Huy (*Ḥwj*) (ii) and his wife Tanehsy (*T₃-nhṣi*) (i).

These "house biographies", which in some instances are intricate, nevertheless reveal several significant distribution patterns throughout the village. These patterns accord with the following models:

– Upon his employment in the crew, a son leaves his childhood house, while his father remains active in the community. The son moves into the house of his wife, either because his father-in-law is retired (example 2) or already dead (example 3). Meanwhile, his brother-in-law follows the same path, moving from his childhood house into that of his wife (example 1). In such cases, the wives

⁴⁸ Davies. Who's Who. 1999. charts 6 and 20.

⁴⁹ Weiss, Religious Practice, 2015, pp. 94–95 with further references; Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 279.

⁵⁰ Bruyère, *Rapport* 1934–1935, 1939, pp. 251–53; Weiss, *Religious Practice*, 2015, pp. 94–95; Davies, *Who's Who*, 1999, chart 3, pp. 12–30, 279. In his case, the only known sandstone lintel belonging to an Anhurkhawy may originate from this structure, cf. Budka, *König an der Haustür*, 2001, pp. 165–66, cat. 106.

⁵¹ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, chart 3, pp. 12–30.

often come from an important family, such as those of scribes and foremen (as in examples 2 and 3).⁵²

- A son succeeds his father and, at the same time, inherits his house, whether upon his father's retirement or death. In this case, the new household comprises the son, his wife, their children, as well as other relatives, such as unmarried sisters and brothers of the son and his (paternal) (grand-)mother (if still alive) (examples 2, 3 and 4).
- Finally, a grand-child (grandson or granddaughter) occupies his/her grand-parents' house (examples 2 and 4).⁵³ This pattern parallels the principle of name-giving in Deir el-Medina and in ancient Egypt more broadly.
- Similar title holders remain in the same houses or quarters because their jobs were often passed on within their families. This pattern is traceable as far as the mid Twentieth Dynasty, for e.g. draughtsmen, sculptors, guardians, scribes, foremen, and ordinary workmen (examples 2, 3 and 4).⁵⁴

In all examples, a relation in the spatial distribution can be noted between the house(s) in the village and the burial cluster(s) of the same families in the Western necropolis. The families shared their dwellings not just in life, but for all eternity, cf. the detailed case study pertaining to Sennedjem and his family. In addition, the patterns may be visible (or may have developed) because we deal with a limited number of houses, probably also a result of the lack of space in the *wadi* in which the village was built.

3.2. Spatial distribution

When combining previous attributions of houses with the attributions that stem from my own study, and when laying the results out on the map of the village, one observes the following trends (summarized in Tables 2 and 4). Half of the houses

⁵² The influence of female inhabitants on these patterns is discussed by Gabler, in Ayad (ed.), Women, forthcoming.

⁵³ Besides the examples presented above, the inhabitants of N.E. III and N.O. XXVII also follow the same pattern.

⁵⁴ Details will be presented in a separate study. For the guardians, cf. Beck and Gabler, in Brose *et al.* (eds.), *En détail*, 2019, pp. 29–78.

assigned to specific individuals lie in the southern sectors. Fourteen of the fifteen structures (90%) of sectors S.O. and S.E. can be assigned to a specific individual or a specific family, either at a given moment or for a longer period during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties. In sector C, the occupants of 60% of the houses can be identified, whereas in the northern sectors, the possibility of assignment however falls rapidly. Here the criteria for identification are less secure, for they consist usually of artifacts from category C. For the northern sectors, 25% of the houses may potentially be assigned to some individuals in sector N.O, and 50% in N.E. The difference between the number of assigned houses across the sectors can be explained as follows. Sector N.O. was largely destroyed by a flash-flood, as were parts of the central sector; the remains of structures currently visible on-site result from reconstructions by B. Bruyère.⁵⁵ Moreover, little to nothing is known of the artifacts that may have been preserved in the N.O. area, for the Italian mission directed by E. Schiaparelli did not document their find-spots when working the site in 1909.⁵⁶ By contrast, sectors N.E., parts of C., S.O., and S.E. are better preserved. The structures were excavated by G. Möller's and B. Bruyère's teams, who usually—albeit partially—recorded most of their finds and some find-spots.

Finally, a specific spatial trend emerges when the spatial distribution of the houses across the village is compared with the title/function of their inhabitants during the early Ramesside period. It seems that skilled specialists, like scribes, draughtsmen, and sculptors, when settling in the village, had a preference for the newly-built southern quarters, S.E. and S.O., as well as the rebuilt houses C. IV to VII.⁵⁷ However, the same sectors were also occupied by individuals who only bore the title of "Servant in the Place of Truth". This "cultic" title, which is traditional for members of the community, does not reveal any information about individuals' real occupation, unlike other functional titles (e.g. sš-kd).⁵⁸ Both

⁵⁵ Bruyère, Rapport 1934-1935, 1939, pp. 30-32, 292, 294-95 and information provided by C. Gobeil.

⁵⁶ Investigation of the objects found in the village in 1909 and stored in the Museo Egizio is still ongoing. I am grateful to P. Del Vesco and F. Poole for information about the objects found in 1909, as well as the opportunity to study them.

⁵⁷ For an overview, see Tables 2 and 4. The need of these specialists is explained by a necessity in the construction of the royal tombs: the change in the style of tomb decoration (from a painted pillar and burial chamber in the Eighteenth Dynasty to an entirely carved and painted monument in the early Nineteenth Dynasty) required more workmen with special skills in order to maintain the smooth running of this processes.

⁵⁸ Černý, Community, 2001², pp. 191–93; Gabler, Who's Who, 2018, p. 412. It has to be pointed out that often only one doorframe per house is known or (partly) preserved. More commonly, in inscriptions on statues, stelae, in tombs, or on doorframes and lintels, the religious or cultic title sdm-sm m s.t-msms.t is used. In a few cases, we

Sennedjem (i) and his son Khabekhenet (H^c-bhn.t) (i) are solely identified by the title sdm-(s) (m s.t-M(s)), but given the location of their houses and the pattern just highlighted, the question arises as to whether Sennedjem (i) and Khabekhenet (i) may have been skilled workmen themselves, even though it is never explicitly mentioned in the documentation.⁵⁹ They may have been sš. w-kd, which is all the more possible as they were specifically brought into the community of Deir el-Medina at the beginning of the Ramesside period (undoubtedly due to their skills, see below). 60 Moreover, Sennedjem (i) possibly refers to himself as a "scribe" in a letter, O. UC 32003, thus somehow underlining his status of literate man, 61 although it could only be a matter of formal self-presentation. However, the presence of the Sinuhe ostracon in Sennedjem (i)'s tomb (TT1), if it was copied by him,62 could add weight to the fact that he was more than a simple workman and possessed other high skills. In summing up these preliminary results, it is tempting to suggest that skilled workmen favored the newly-built southern sectors, while the northern part of the settlement was likely to have been inhabited by "simple" workmen, along with some foremen though, such as Qaha (i) in house N.E. VIII. Admittedly, this proposal, according to which there could have existed a spatial separation by profession in the village in the early Ramesside period, can only be postulated as a working model. Firstly, the subsequent movements between

know of both frames (left and right), sometimes two different titles can be observed: a cultic and a functional title, e.g. s_3w , s_5^* -kd or hrj $j_5.t$, sometimes together in two columns on one jamb, sometimes separated on two frames, e.g. for Khawy (ii) as s_5^* -kd or s_5^* -kd on the jambs Turin N. 50207 and 50211 (= Suppl. 9512 & 9503); Bruyère, s_5^* -kd or s_5

⁶⁰ Soliman, "Marks and Men", 2015, pp. 485–92, following Davies, *Who's Who*, 1999, pp. 76, 149, 274 and Bogoslovsky, *CdE* 57 (1982), pp. 276–77.

⁶¹ http://petriecat.museums.ucl.ac.uk/detail.aspx#.

Černý, Community, 2001², pp. 191–93; Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 123; Gabler, Who's Who, 2018, p. 412. If this assignment to Sennedjem (i) is correct, we might be able to trace Sennedjem's handwriting to further documents.

⁶² Parkinson, Reading Poetry, 2009, pp. 193–96.

houses from the reign of Ramesses II onward and according to the evolution of family bonds (examples provided above) prevent us from assuming a prevalent and widespread pattern. Secondly, even though it seems from the available data that some people with high skills and/or scribal abilities lived in a higher concentration in the southern quarters in the reign of Seti I, others with the same competencies could very well have lived in other sectors of the village, especially with the increase of scribal ability in general during the Nineteenth Dynasty. Nevertheless, the proposed model opens up new perspectives on the development of the settlement.

Excursus:

Possible contribution of administrative texts to the assignment of houses (KG)

In my PhD research focusing on the service personnel of Deir el-Medina, I dealt with several hundreds administrative texts, including water accounts.⁶⁴ So far, twelve of eighteen water accounts date to the Nineteenth Dynasty, of which eight date to the reign of Ramesses II (during which time we can identify most of the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina). At this time, one water-carrier was responsible for three to six households, depending on the distribution of households. 65 The water accounts proceed in a similar fashion to the lists of grain ration:⁶⁶ they show the name of the water deliverer first, followed by the name of the supplied workmen (representing a household), and then the quantity of water delivered. The accounts might have been ordered randomly to take a quick note, or a system may have been behind them. Until now, only Jac. J. Janssen has suggested, on the basis of O. Medelhavsmuseet MM 14126, that one might "expect to find the houses enumerated in the order in which they are situated along the street",67 but he was not able to confirm his intuition due to the lack of information for the later Nineteenth Dynasty (to which period he dates the ostracon). I believe that, during the reign of Ramesses II, these lists show a spatial ordering according to the location of the houses delivered. Indeed, when the names listed in the accounts are compared with those of the inhabitants of the houses identified thus

⁶³ Haring, *JESHO* 46/3 (2003), pp. 249–72.

⁶⁴ Gabler, Who's Who, 2018, pp. 119-20.

⁶⁵ Gabler, Who's Who, 2018, pp. 126, 330, Fn. 1339. Laundry lists also share common features.

⁶⁶ Gabler, Who's Who, 2018, pp. 127-29, e.g. O. DeM 189.

⁶⁷ Janssen, BMMNEA 14 (1979), p. 14.

far, five out of the eight existing accounts from the reign of Ramesses II indicate a spatial organization of the deliveries (cf. **Table 5**):⁶⁸ O. Ashmolean Museum 87 (K*RI* III, 563) likely shows a (delivery) sequence in the central quarter; O. Ashmolean Museum 116 (K*RI* III, 562) appears to include in column I a sequence from sector S.E., while column II includes a sequence from sector S.O.; the sequence on O. DeM 60 (K*RI* III, 563) appears to reflect a delivery crossroads,⁶⁹ from S.O. IV across S.E. VII and back to S.O. V). O. DeM 189 (K*RI* III, 564) may reflect a N.E. sequence, as might O. DeM 370 (K*RI* III, 564).⁷⁰

Such lists may contribute to the assignment of houses to specific individuals, either by confirming an attribution based on other evidence or by suggesting a possible attribution (in the case of houses without any inscribed material). Unfortunately, the practices of recording water (and also laundry) changed rapidly in the Nineteenth Dynasty: instead of documenting the quota for individual households, scribes noted deficits or problems in delivery or in the work of a particular carrier.⁷¹ There are a few lists available from the later Nineteenth Dynasty, which can be compared with the identified houses, but any further correlation is fairly delicate because potential inhabitants of these houses are largely identified via category C objects. Another important factor that has to be taken into account is the naming of houses after prominent inhabitants ("house names") that lived in periods earlier than the lists of the late Nineteenth Dynasty.72 "House names" are often used in rural areas to designate houses in settlements and villages, and trace back, sometimes over decades or centuries, to a specific individual. Such a practice seems attested in the village of Deir el-Medina, but there are also cases in which later inhabitants, without familial reference to the former occupants, still used the "house name". These different traditions make the correlation of lists with houses in periods other than the time of Ramesses II more difficult, if not impossible.

⁶⁸ More information on the texts is included in the Deir el-Medina Database Leiden (https://dmd.wepwawet.nl).

⁶⁹ The text lists workmen from the left side alongside the responsible *smd.t* scribe.

⁷⁰ Two further lists (O. Ashmolean Museum 195 = KRI VII, 197 and O. Varille 34 = Černý Notebook 43.45) cannot yet be identified.

⁷¹ See Gabler, Who's Who, 2018, p. 754.

⁷² Janssen, *BMMNEA* 14 (1979), pp. 9–15.

⁷³ Grohne, Hausnamen, 1912.

4. THE DOMESTIC AND FUNERARY SPACES OF SENNEDJEM (I)'S FAMILY (ACS)

In an article entitled "Spatial Analyses of the Deir el-Medina Settlement and Necropoleis", Lynn Meskell underlined that at Deir el-Medina "settlement and cemetery cannot be studied in isolation given the significant overlap between the contexts of life, death and commemoration at the site."⁷⁴ This is particularly true in relation to members of Sennedjem (i)'s family, whose domestic and funerary monuments are spatially intertwined and whose memory is perpetuated from one monument to another.⁷⁵

4.1. The domestic spaces of Sennedjem (i)'s family

The grant of a house in the village of Deir el-Medina was a royal prerogative. Therefore, the spatial organization of the village was theoretically random, for it was left at the discretion of the authorities, but it also depended on which houses were available at a given moment. However, if one examines the spatial arrangement of the village closely, further mechanisms and spatial setting strategies seem to have come into play during the allocation of the houses, in particular when the community was reorganized and the village expanded towards the south in the early Ramesside period. This is particularly striking in the southwestern sector of the village (**Fig. 3**).

Following K. Gabler's established methodology, this section of the article explores the phenomenon of spatial negotiation in Deir el-Medina village through the lens of family strategy, by focusing on houses labelled S.O. VI, V, and IV by B. Bruyère and traditionally assigned to Sennedjem (i) and one or two of his sons.⁷⁷ The documentation at hand is admittedly reliable only to a certain extent, for B. Bruyère worked quickly when excavating the village,⁷⁸ often overlooking both the stratigraphy of the place and the exact positioning of the artifacts he discovered. Moreover, the village continued to be inhabited long after the time of Sennedjem (i) and his direct descendants, hence involving several phases of oc-

⁷⁴ Meskell, in Demarée and Egberts (eds.), Deir el-Medîna in the Third Millenium, 2000, p. 259.

⁷⁵ In TT2-TT2B (see below) for instance, seven, if not eight generations of the family are recorded.

⁷⁶ On the attribution by the central authority (the vizier and his representatives) of a house and a funerary plot for each member of the team, see e.g. Valbelle, *Les ouvriers*, 1985, p. 99.

⁷⁷ S.O. IV is an item of debate, see below.

⁷⁸ Mainly for fear of lootings by his own admission (Bruyère, Rapport 1934–1935, 1939, p. 239).

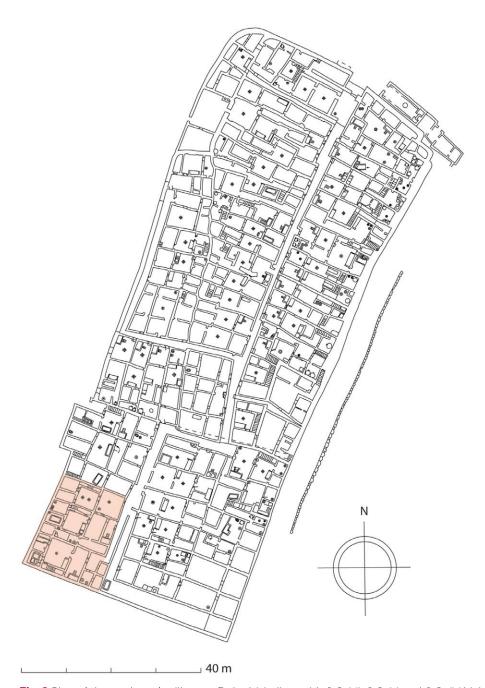


Fig. 3 Plan of the workmen's village at Deir el-Medina, with S.O. VI, S.O. V, and S.O. IV highlighted in red (© IFAO, B. Bruyère, G. Castel, and M. Gaber; colorization: C. Gobeil).

cupation (and destruction), of which little to nothing is known. The point is consequently to revisit this case study and determine from the available data some points of convergence in the setting process of the houses S.O. VI, V, and IV.

4.1.1. House S.O. VI

In his archaeological report on the village published in 1939, B. Bruyère wrote

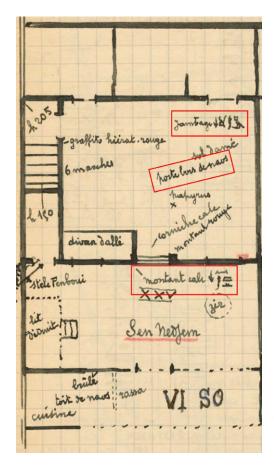


Fig. 4 Plan of S.O. VI, showing locations of the findings (the findings dealt with in the article are underlined in red) (© IFAO, Archives et Collections, B. Bruyère, carnet 3, année 1934–1935, opposite p. 5).

that house S.O. VI had been "identified by a column base, [and] doorjambs"⁷⁹ and attributed to Sennedjem (i). In fact, the inscription painted in black ink on the column base is extremely faint and does not seem to refer to Sennedjem (i).⁸⁰ The assignment of the house is actually based on a fragmentary doorjamb, as well as pieces of a cultic emplacement, all falling under category A established by K. Gabler (see above, and **Fig. 4** for the location of the artifacts).

The first monument (**Table 6**, doc. 1; **Fig. 5**), a fragmentary doorjamb made of limestone and painted in red, was discovered at the entrance of the second room ("la grande salle"), seemingly still in place.⁸¹ It records, in a single column

⁷⁹ Bruyère, *Rapport* 1934–1935, 1939, p. 329: "(...) identifiée par une base de colonne, des montants de portes". In the same publication (p. 325), he however notes that the column base had actually been retrieved from the second room ("salle II") of S.O. V.

⁸⁰ Bruyère, carnet 3, 1934–1935, opposite p. 5 (drawing); Bruyère, *Rapport* 1934–1935, 1939, p. 333, fig. 205. Bruyère's notebooks are available online: https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/bruyere/.

⁸¹ Bruyère, carnet 3, 1934–1935, p. 6 and opposite p. 6 (drawing); Bruyère, *Rapport* 1934–1935, 1939, p. 44 (the monument is however not mentioned in the description of the finds, pp. 329–35); Bruyère, *Sen-Nedjem*, 1959, pl. XIV, 4; Budka, *König an der Haustür*, 2001, p. 164, cat. 102; Masquelier-Loorius, in Gaber *et al.* (eds), À *oeuvre*, *on connaît l'artisan...*, 2017, p. 42, fig. 2; Bonhême & Masquelier-Loorius, study on Deir el-Medina's door frames, under preparation, doc. 41.



Fig. 5 Fragmentary doorjamb with the name and title of Sennedjem (i) followed by the name of his son, Ramose (iv) (found *in situ* in S.O. VI) (© IFAO, Archives et Collections, nu_2008_03914).

The second monument (**Table 6**, doc. 2; **Fig. 6**) is the frame of a cultic emplacement (for a naos?), which comprises several fragmentary pieces that were retrieved at different, yet adjacent spots in and around the house:

- A lintel with a double depiction of Sennedjem (i) and his son Khonsu (*Ḥnsw*) (ii) worshipping Meretseger and Sobek⁸² respectively (partly in Warsaw National Museum, 140 749 MN);⁸³
- **2.** An almost complete right doorjamb, preserving an invocation to Meretseger by the *sdm-*^cš *n nb t3.wy*⁸⁴ Sennedjem (i) (Warsaw, National Museum, 140 749 MN);⁸⁵

⁸² Contrary to Meretseger, Sobek is not a local and favored deity at Deir el-Medina. For L. Weiss (*Religious Practice*, 2015, p. 111), the presence of this deity in a house falls under the concept of *decorum*; I do not necessarily agree on this point and rather think that it could stem from a personal choice. On personal gods at Deir el-Medina, see Sweeney, in Landgráfová and Mynářová (eds.), *Rich and Great*, 2016, pp. 299–312, in particular pp. 300–02 for Sennedjem (i)'s family, and information provided by Deborah Sweeney.

⁸³ Retrieved in the area around TT1, probably at the northeastern corner of the terrace of TT359, and first attributed by B. Bruyère to TT1.

References: Bruyère, carnet 2, 1930, p. 6 and opposite p. 6 (drawing); Bruyère, *Rapport* 1930, 1931–1933, pp. 93–94 et pl. XXV, 1; Bruyère, *Sen-Nedjem*, 1959, pl. XIV, 4; Dolinska, *RMNW* 33–34 (1989–1990), pp. 48–51, figs 2 and 3; Weiss, *Religious Practice*, 2015, pp. 292–93, cat. 4.59 (with a wrong reference to plates in Bruyère's report).

⁸⁴ On this terminology in general, see Steinmann, ZÄS 109 (1982), pp. 152–53; on this terminology used in the title of Deir el-Medina workmen and referring to the deified king Amenhotep I and not to the current ruling king, see Černý, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), pp. 191–92 and Davies, in Haring *et al.* (eds.), *The Workman's Progress*, 2014, p. 37.

⁸⁵ Retrieved in room II, most likely near the entrance of room III.

References: Bruyère, carnet 3, 1934–1935, p. 4 and opposite p. 5 (drawing); Bruyère, *Rapport 1934–1935*, 1939, p. 333, pl. XV, 1 (wrong reference to the plate in the text); Bruyère, *Sen-Nedjem*, 1959, pl. XIV, 4; Dolinska, *RMNW* 33–34 (1989–1990), pp. 48–51, figs 2 and 3; Weiss, *Religious Practice*, 2015, pp. 290–91, cat. 4.57.

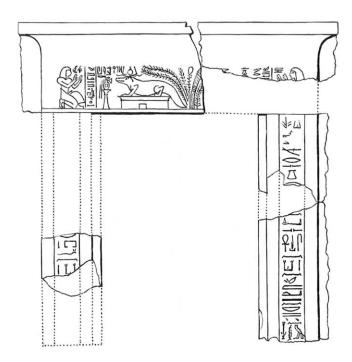


Fig. 6 B. Bruyère's rendering of a cultic emplacement, recording the names of Sennedjem (i) and Khonsu (ii) (pieces found in and around S.O. VI) (After Bruyère, *Sen-Nedjem*, 1959, pl. XIV [4]).

3. A fragment of the left counterpart of the previous artifact, without any name; 86 it seems only logical to assume that the text originally contained an invocation to Sobek by Khonsu (ii).

Documents 1 and 2 support the attribution of the house to Sennedjem (i), and they bring, it seems to me, further information as to the inhabitants of the house. According to the text in doc. 1, S.O. VI was likely inhabited by Sennedjem (i) and his son, Ramose (iv), at least for some time. The latter is probably to be identified with the water-carrier of the same name. To could be interpreted in the same way, but it could also imply that Khonsu (ii), as workman of the crew, took over his father's house upon his retirement or after his death.

Among the other inscribed artifacts discovered by B. Bruyère in S.O. VI is the fragmentary wooden door of a house shrine (category C), depicting the goddess Mut ($Mw.t~wr.t~nb.t~p.t~\dot{h}nw.t~n\underline{t}r.w~[...]$ "Mut, the Great One, Mistress of Heaven, Lady of the Gods [...]") (Table 6, doc. 3; Fig. 7); the name of the individual who ded-

⁸⁶ Retrieved in room II, most likely near the entrance of room III.

References: Bruyère, carnet 3, 1934–1935, opposite p. 5 (drawing); Bruyère, *Rapport* 1934–1935, 1939, p. 333, pl. XV.1; Weiss, *Religious Practice*, 2015, p. 291, cat. 4.58.

As it is preserved, the text does not make much sense: [...] pr=f n k n [...] "[...] his house for the ka of [...]".

⁸⁷ Gabler, *Who's Who*, 2018, pp. 165–67.

⁸⁸ He bears the title *sdm-'š m s.t-M3'.t* in several monuments, such as the pyramidion of his chapel (TT1) now in Turin, Museo Egizio cat. 1622 (see Bruyère, *Sen-Nedjem*, 1959, p. 14–16, pl. IX).

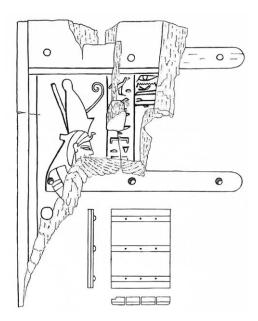


Fig. 7 B. Bruyère's rendering of the fragmentary wooden door depicting Mut (found in S.O. VI) (After Bruyère, *Rapport* 1934–1935, 1939, p. 332, fig. 204).

icated this monument is unfortunately lost. So As an individual deity, Mut is rarely singled out on Deir el-Medina's monuments or objects, except precisely within the circle of Sennedjem (i)'s family. The cult of the goddess is, for instance, particularly emphasized in the decoration of the chapel TT2, in a tableau representing the sacred landscape of Mut temple in Karnak and its related festival, while two sons of Sennedjem (i), Bunakhtef/Bennakht[uf] (i) (Bw/n-nht.w=f) and Khonsu (ii), are called "Servant of Mut", respectively in a stela kept in Turin (Museo Egizio, CGT 50135) and in the decoration of TT2. It therefore seems that Mut was a favored deity within the circle of the family, and the presence of the wooden door in S.O. VI could be a hint as to the ownership of the place. The artifact is insufficient evidence to assign the house to Sennedjem (i) himself, but given the rarity of the mentions of the cult of Mut at Deir el-Medina, it tends to indicate that the

⁸⁹ Retrieved from room II ("grande salle"), where it could have been associated with the niche dug into the western wall.

References: Bruyère, carnet 3, 1934–1935, p. 5 and opposite p. 5 (drawing); Bruyère, *Rapport* 1934–1935, 1939, p. 332 and fig. 204; Weiss, *Religious practice*, 2015, pp. 91–92 and pp. 288–89.

⁹⁰ Sweeney, in R. Landgráfová and J. Mynářová, *Rich and Great*, 2016, pp. 300–02.

⁹¹ TT2 (chapel), east wall, southern half, upper registers: Černy, *Répertoire onomastique*, 1949, pp. 25–27; Cabrol, *CahKarn* 10 (1995), pp. 51–56, pls. V–VI; Cabrol, *Les voies processionnelles*, 2001, pp. 262–66 and 443; also Clère, unpublished archive material, The Griffith Institute, University of Oxford, MSS 01.01. For the attribution of TT2–TT2B, see below.

⁹² On the reconstruction of the name, see Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 44.

⁹³ For Turin CGT 50135, see Tosi and Roccati, *Stele e altre epigraf*i, 1972, pp. 144–45 and 316, as well as *KRI* III, 701: 15; for the decoration of TT2 (east wall, southern half, lower register, right bark), see Černý, *Répertoire onomastique*, 1949, p. 24, as well as *KRI* III, 810, 9–10.

inhabitants of S.O. VI belonged to this family, whether it was Sennedjem (i) or one/some of his descendant(s) who kept the worship of the favored deity alive.⁹⁴

B. Bruyère apparently found two other relevant inscribed artifacts in S.O. VI. Although they do not record the name of Sennedjem (i), they mention those of some of his children. On the first object (Table 6, doc. 4; Fig. 8a), found in room II and most likely originating from a stela stand, one reads the inscription jr(y) n sdm-'s m s.t-M3'.t H'-b[hn.t...] "Done by the Servant in the Place of Truth, Khabe[khenet...]",95 whereas the second object (Table 6, doc. 5; Fig. 8b) only preserves the names of Anhotep (v) and Ta-ashen (ii): 'n-htp m3'-hrw T3-'s[=sn m3'hrw?]. 96 In both his notebook and published report, B. Bruyère associated the two fragments and postulated that they originated from one single cultic installation. In the notebook, doc. 4 is drawn twice, alone on one occasion and associated with doc. 5 on another.⁹⁷ It seems that when writing his published report, B. Bruyère chose to retain the second solution, leading to a mistake that has been repeated ever since. 98 In fact, both fragments belong to two different artifacts, as evidenced by the photographs provided in the illustrations [Figs. 8a-b]: the type of engraving is fairly different, as is the palaeography. Given the disturbed archaeological context, it is difficult to precisely determine where the fragments originate from. In all likelihood, doc. 5 belongs to a cultic emplacement erected in S.O. VI by/ to Anhotep (v) and Ta-ashsen (ii) in the house of their father. The presence of the expression m3'-hrw after the name Anhotep (v)—it could most likely be reconstructed after that of Ta-ashsen (ii) as well—may suggest that the installation was erected in S.O. VI in memory of two of Sennedjem (i)'s children, who would have died prematurely. The artifact would therefore constitute another indicative, albeit indirect piece of evidence as to the ownership of S.O. VI. As for doc. 4, the monument from which it derives could have originally been erected either in S.O. VI—and was then dedicated by Khabekhenet (i) in the house of his father—or in S.O. V once owned by Khabekhenet (i) himself.

⁹⁴ Weiss, *Religious Practice*, 2015, p. 93, cautiously suggests to assign a fragment of a stela dedicated to the "cat of Mut" and found in "Kom Sud"—not far away from S.O. VI—to the *apparatus* of the religious activities held in the house.

⁹⁵ Bruyère, carnet 3, 1934–1935, p. 5; Bruyère, *Rapport* 1934–1935, 1939, pl. XIX, 6.

⁹⁶ Bruyère, carnet 3, 1934–1935, opposite p. 5 (drawing); Bruyère, *Rapport* 1934–1935, 1939, p. 333, pl. XIX, 5–6; Weiss, *Religious Practice*, 2015, pp. 294–95, cat. 4.61.

⁹⁷ Bruyère, carnet 3, 1934–1935, opposite p. 5

⁹⁸ E.g. Weiss, *Religious Practice*, 2015, pp. 294–95, cat. 4.61.



Fig. 8a Photograph of a fragment recording the name of Khabekhenet (i) (found in S.O. VI, room II) (Photo by IFAO, Archives et Collections, nb_1985_00172).



Fig. 8b Photograph of a fragment recording the names of Anhotep (v) and Ta-ashen (ii) (most likely found in S.O. VI) (Photo by IFAO, Archives et Collections, nb_1981_01813).

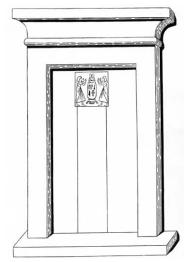
4.1.2. House S.O. V

The attribution of the house numbered S.O. V to Khabekhenet (i) relies mostly on the presence of one particular false door (northeastern false door), the only one with preserved inscriptions out of the four included in the decoration of the place (category A) (Table 6, doc. 6; Figs. 9a-b).99 The tableau depicts two men worshipping the cartouche of the deified queen Ahmes-Nefertari: one of the worshippers is identified as Khabekhenet (i), whereas the name of the other has disappeared. Even though the latter is traditionally believed to be Sennedjem (i), I wonder whether it could not be Khonsu (ii), with whom Khabekhenet (i) is associated in the funerary complex TT2-TT2B. 100 The issue of the identity of the second worshipper is important when it comes to attributing the house S.O. V. Should he be identified as Sennedjem (i), the whole tableau would merely show the owner of the house, Khabekhenet (i), and his father united in the adoration of an important divine figure of the settlement, Ahmes-Nefertari. However, should he be identified as Khonsu (ii), the question arises as to who once owned the house. Other artifacts inscribed in the name of Khabekhenet (i) were found nearby (see below) and could support the traditional attribution of the place. Furthermore, Khabekhenet (i) likely being the eldest of Sennedjem (i)'s sons, 101 he would logically have been the one who lived independently in the dwelling next to his father's, all the more so as he probably joined the community of

⁹⁹ Bruyère, carnet 3, 1934–1935, opposite p. 5 (drawing) and p. 6 (detail, drawing); Bruyère, *Rapport* 1934–1935, 1939, pp. 324–25 and p. 329, figs 196–197.

¹⁰⁰ On this monument, see below.

¹⁰¹ See for instance TT1, south wall, eastern half, lower register (Khabekhenet, seated, depicted at the head of a procession of Sennedjem's progeny, just after the images of two of Sennedjem's brothers); TT1, wooden door, Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 27303 (Khabekhenet depicted and named first in a list of Sennedjem's progeny). Contra Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 44, n. 567, who postulates that Khonsu (ii) is the eldest son.





Figs. 9a-b B. Bruyère's rendering of the northeastern false door in S.O. V and its central panel (found *in situ* in S.O. V) (After Bruyère, *Rapport* 1934–1935, 1939, p. 326, fig. 196, and p. 327, fig. 197).

workmen at the same time as his father. Lastly, apart from the aforementioned lintel (doc. 2), no artifacts acknowledging Khonsu (ii) were discovered in the vicinity, which could corroborate the fact that he once inhabited S.O. V.¹⁰²

At the time of the excavation the opposite northwestern false door still had part of its decoration: it consisted of a similar central panel that depicted two anonymous worshippers on both sides of a lost object of adoration (a cartouche?). ¹⁰³ Both false doors—the northeastern and northwestern ones—might have been dedicated by the same people (Khabekhenet (i) and Sennedjem (i), or Khabekhenet (i) and Khonsu (ii)), and functioned together, with one devoted to the cult of Ahmes-Nefertari and the other most likely to the cult of her son, the deified king Amenhotep I. The latter is a possibility supported by the fact that the figure of Amenhotep I plays an important role in the decoration of TT2-TT2B, which is generally attributed to Khabekhenet (i), ¹⁰⁴ as well as in the cultic life of members of Sennedjem (i)'s family, who often used the title *sdm-rš n nb t3.wy* connected to precisely this deified king. ¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Contrary to what B. Bruyère first thought (Bruyère, *Rapport 1934–1935*, 1939, p. 317, fig. 186 and p. 318), the stela found in S.O. II does not belong to Khonsu (ii), son of Sennedjem, and as such S.O. II cannot be attributed to him. For the attribution of this stela, see Demarée, *The 3h ikr n R^c stelae*, 1983, pp. 106–09.

¹⁰³ Bruyère, carnet 3, 1934–1935, p. 5.

¹⁰⁴ Amenhotep I is attested eight times in the decorative program of TT2-TT2B: four times in the chapel, including the mention of the king in the royal list now in Berlin (ÄM 1625), and four times in the burial chamber.

¹⁰⁵ On the link between the title and Amenhotep I, see *supra*, n. 84. For examples of the use of this title within Sennedjem (i)'s family, see, for instance, *supra*, doc. 2 (Sennedjem); TT2, north wall, upper register, right scene (precisely a procession of the statue of Amenhotep I) (Khabekhenet); TT2, west wall, southern half, solar hymn (Khonsu).

While working in the village, Cédric Gobeil revisited briefly the case of the false doors, some of which are still visible. It led him to question the date of these decorative elements. Had they been designed by those whose names featured in the inscriptions? Or had they been designed later on as a symbolic passage for those whose names were mentioned? It is a question worth asking. In the latter case, false doors would only be indirect evidence as to the ownership of the house, but they would however advocate for the occupation of the place by several generations of the same family. It is indeed hardly conceivable that such a prominent cultic component would have been dedicated to people who did not belong to the (close) circle of the inhabitants of the house.

In both his notebook and published report on the excavation of the village, B. Bruyère mentions three other fragmentary artifacts inscribed with the name of Khabekhenet (i) (category C). One has a recorded provenance: it was found in S.O. IV, albeit in a disturbed archaeological context, so that it may actually originate from S.O. V.107 This object (Table 6, doc. 7; Fig. 10) is a piece of a cultic emplacement, which bears the inscription jr(y) n sdm-s m s.t-Msst ttt-bhn.t mss-hrw $sn.t=f \acute{S}_3[h=tj \ m_3^c-hrw?]$ "Do[ne by] the Servant in the Place of Truth, Khabekhenet, justified, his 'sister' Sa[hti, justified?]". 108 B. Bruyère does not report where the other two artifacts come from. 109 One of them (Table 6, doc. 8; Fig. 11a) was kept in Deir el-Medina's storerooms before being moved to the IFAO where it still remains. 110 It is a fragmentary doorjamb from a small cultic emplacement that records inter alia: (...) $n \ k3$ $n \ sdm$ -cs $m \ s.t-M3$ cs. $t \ Hc$ - $bhn.t \ m3$ cs- $hrw \ m \ nfr \ htp$ "(...) for the ka of the Servant in the Place of Truth, Khabekhenet, justified, perfect in peace." The other object (Table 6, doc. 9; Fig. 11b), also probably from a cultic emplacement, is only briefly alluded to in B. Bruyère's published report in the form of a small drawing, which gives the fragmentary text: [...lost...sdm-'s

¹⁰⁶ Personal communication.

¹⁰⁷ Bruyère, *Rapport* 1934–1935, 1939, pp. 324–25.

¹⁰⁸ Bruyère, carnet 3, 1934–1935, p. 8 and opposite p. 8 (drawing); Bruyère, *Rapport* 1934–1935, 1939, pp. 324–25 and pl. XIX, 13; Weiss, *Religious Practice*, 2015, p. 286 (cat. 4.51), who also discusses the function of the object.

¹⁰⁹ Despite their apparent cultic nature, none of them is mentioned in L. Weiss' study.

¹¹⁰ Bruyère, carnet 3, 1934–1935, opposite p. 9 (drawing under the title "Fragments des magasins de Deir el-Médineh", but with the mention "Mounira"); Bruyère, *Rapport 1934–1935*, 1939, p. 194, fig. 86 (second row from the left, upper part).



Fig. 10 Photograph of a fragmentary artifact from a cultic emplacement, recording the names of Khabekhenet (i) and his wife Sahti (i) (found in S.O. IV, but originating most likely from S.O. V) (Photo by IFAO, Archives et Collections, nb_1981_01861).

m] s.t-M3°.t H°-bhn.t "[...lost...Servant in the] Place of Truth, Khabekhenet." 111 For the object whose provenance is recorded (doc. 7), two alternatives are possible: either it was originally erected in S.O. IV and dedicated by Khabekhenet (i) to the owner of the house—which would advocate for the closeness between these two individuals—or it originally belonged to the cultic apparatus of S.O. V but was displaced at some point in time. As for the unprovenanced objects (doc. 8 and 9), one can only assume that they come from the nearby S.O. V and indicate Khabekhenet (i)'s ownership over this house.

Two other inscribed artifacts (**Table 6**, doc. 10 and 11; **Figs. 12a and 12b** respectively), which do not strictly record the name of Khabekhenet (i), were found by B. Bruyère in S.O. V, although without any further specification as to their exact location. B. Bruyère mentions repeatedly in his diary that these pieces could belong to "la suite du grand socle de lucarne" without specifying to which element the latter refers. Drawing on B. Bruyère's (contradictory 114) information, L. Weiss reckons that these artifacts may have been joined, hence forming part of the base of a cultic emplacement. She then reconstructs and reads the fragmentary inscriptions as follows: (fragment 1115) [...lost...j]t=f sdm-cs m s.t-M3c.t [Śn-ndm] + (fragment 2) m3c-hrw mw.t=f nb.t-pr Ty-nfr=tj m3c-hrw s3.t=s Trw-nfr(.t) [...lost...] "[...lost...his fa]ther, the Servant in the Place of Truth [Sennedjem] + "justified, his mother, the lady of the house, Iyinofreti, justified, her daughter Irtnofret

¹¹¹ Bruyère, *Rapport* 1934–1935, 1939, pl. XIX, 7.

¹¹² Bruyère, carnet 1934–1935, p. 5 (drawing with misplacement of the two fragments) and p. 6; Bruyère, *Rapport* 1934–1935, 1939, pl. XIX, 10–11; Weiss, *Religious Practice*, 2015, pp. 286–87, cat. 4.52.

¹¹³ Bruyère, carnet 3, 1934–1935, pp. 5 and 6.

¹¹⁴ In his diary (carnet 3, 1934–1935, p. 5), B. Bruyère draws both objects as one, even though he apparently mistakes their order, whereas he is more cautious in his published report (Bruyère, *Rapport 1934–1935*, 1939, pl. XIX, 10–11) where he draws them apart from one another.

¹¹⁵ Inventory storerooms Deir el-Medina A1598 = Carter magazines 16A; the fate of the second fragment is unknown.

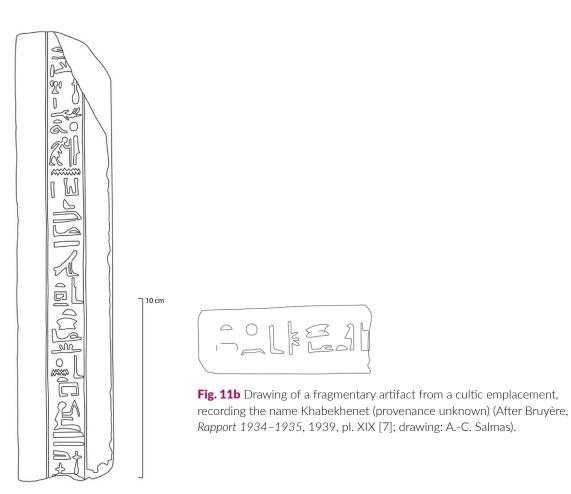


Fig. 11a Drawing of a fragmentary doorjamb from a cultic emplacement, recording the name Khabekhenet (provenance unknown, kept at the IFAO, Archives et Collections) (© Drawing A.-C. Salmas from a photograph of the artifact).

[...lost...]."¹¹⁶ However, there is definitely too much space in the breaks at the end of fragment 1 and beginning of fragment 2 to *solely* contain the name Sennedjem (i) and the epithet ms^c -hrw. Consequently, I would rather consider these two fragmentary pieces as belonging to two different cultic emplacements. That being said, one artifact preserves the name of Khabekhenet (i)'s mother and that of one of his sisters, Irtnofret (i), whereas the second one could have preserved the name of his father. One of them, if not both (depending on the restoration of the name of the sdm-rš m s.t-Ms-rš, therefore provide(s) indirect evidence as to the attribution of the house, where an individual associated some of his relatives to the domestic cults held in his dwelling.

A last object (**Table 6**, doc. 12; **Fig. 13**), found in the cellar of S.O. V, deserves to be mentioned for the sake of an exhaustive discussion: it is a fragmentary

¹¹⁶ Weiss, Religious Practice, 2015, pp. 286–87.

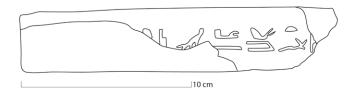


Fig. 12a Drawing of a fragmentary artifact from a cultic emplacement, recording the mention *jt=f* (After Bruyère, *Rapport 1934-1935*, 1939, pl. XIX [11]; drawing: A.-C. Salmas).



Fig. 12b Fragmentary artifact from the base of a cultic emplacement, recording the names of Khabekhenet (i)'s relatives, his mother lyinofreti (iii) and sister Irtnofret (i) (found in S.O. V) (Photo by IFAO, Archives et Collections, nb_1981_01844).

red-painted doorjamb preserving an offering formula: 117 htp-dj-nswt Mrstgr (sic) hnw.t jmnt.t dj=s j3.t nfr(.t) n k3 n nb.t-pr [W3]d-rnp.t [...] "A royal offering to Meretseger, Mistress of the Occident, so she may give a beautiful place for the ka of the lady of the house [Wa]djetronpet [...]." B.G. Davies has identified seven women named Wadjetronpet at Deir el-Medina. 118 If the artifact actually records the name of a known Wadjetronpet—a unique mention of a woman not known elsewhere is always a possibility—, one of them, Wadjetronpet (vi), could be a potential candidate, although the link with Khabekhenet (i) is tenuous at best. Wadjetronpet (vi) is a female descendant of Khabekhenet (i) by marriage (with Sahti (i)); she is the granddaughter of Reweben (R^c-wbn) (iii), one of Sahti (i)'s brothers. 119 Providing that the Wadjetronpet of the artifact is indeed Wadjetronpet (vi), the house S.O. V would have passed at some point, later on during the Nineteenth Dynasty, into the hands of an indirect descendant of the original owner. However, such a "house biography" over several generations is very uncertain, all the more so as Khabekhenet (i) and Sahti (i) had numer-

¹¹⁷ Bruyère, carnet 3, 1934–1935, p. 6 (drawing with a short caption); Bruyère, *Rapport* 1934–1935, 1939, p. 44 and p. 327; Budka, *König an der Haustür*, 2001, p. 106, cat. 108; Bonhême and Masquelier-Loorius, study on Deir el-Medina's doorframes, under preparation, doc. 14.

¹¹⁸ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 307 (indices).

¹¹⁹ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, chart 14.



Fig. 13 Photograph of a fragmentary doorjamb preserving an offering formula to Meretseger and the name Wadjetronpet (found in the cellar of S.O. V) (Photo by IFAO, Archives et Collection, nu_2008_03917).

ous offspring—seventeen children are listed in Davies' publication, ¹²⁰ to which more can be added from the study of the decorative program in TT2–TT2B. Khabekhenet (i) and Sahti (i)'s own progeny would have suffered great misfortune if they could not have retained the family house in one way or another. When discussing the object found in the cellar of S.O. V, one must therefore be extremely cautious: in our enthusiasm to identify the owners of Deir el-Medina's houses, we do not want to fall victim to the danger of overreaching and making the documentation say more than it in fact does, even if we are dealing with category A objects such as doc. 12.

¹²⁰ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, chart 7.

4.1.3. House S.O. IV

Assigning the house S.O. IV to its (original) owner is problematic. The attribution relies first and foremost on two fragmentary left doorjambs (a priori category A) published by B. Bruyère in his report on the village. Both record the name Prehotep (= Rahotep¹²¹) (**Table 6**, doc. 13 and 14; **Fig. 14** and **Fig. 15** respectively). 122 From this evidence, B. Bruyère assumed that the house once belonged to Prehotep (P_3-R^c-htp) (v), another of Sennedjem (i)'s sons. However, one of these artifacts (**Table 6**, doc. 14; **Fig. 15**) mentions a *sš-kd* Prehotep, a position that Prehotep (v) supposedly never held. 123 Consequently, B.G. Davies has reattributed S.O. IV to Prehotep (i), son of Pay (i).124 This identification is now largely followed. But this is without counting on pieces of information that have been overlooked by scholars or left unsaid by B. Bruyère and that could modify once again the attribution of house S.O. IV. Firstly, a relief, likely found around the area of TT1 during the early French excavations ("fouilles Gauthier"), could support the existence of a scribe/draughtsman Prehotep, son of Sennedjem (Figs. 16a-b). 125 It depicts a funerary scene where four overlapping male figures drive several oxen to the chapel of a tomb. Only two names are preserved in the columns of text in front of the group of people: sn=f 'n-htp sš(-kd?) P3-R'-htp "his brother Anhotep, the scribe (draughtsman?) Prehotep." B. Bruyère considers this fragmentary relief to come from Sennedjem's chapel (TT1), even suggesting the idea that it could be part of the cultic stela of the monument. 126 I wonder whether the relief could not rather be part of Khonsu (ii)'s stela and come from his nearby chapel; 127 it would better explain the presence of the expression sn=f. In any

¹²¹ On the equivalence, see Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 44.

¹²² (13) Bruyère, carnet 3, 1934–1935, p. 8 and opposite p. 8 (drawing); Bruyère, *Rapport 1934–1935*, 1939, p. 44, pp. 324–25, fig. 195; Bonhême and Masquelier-Loorius, study on Deir el-Medina's doorframes, under preparation, doc. 250.

⁽¹⁴⁾ Bruyère, *Rapport 1934–1935*, 1939, p. 325, fig. 195; Davies, *Who's Who*, 1999, p. 150; Bonhême and Masquelier-Loorius, study on Deir el-Medina's doorframes, under preparation, doc. 13.

Also, for both artifacts, Budka, König an der Haustür, 2001, p. 165, cat. 105; the author incorrectly regards these two fragments as parts of the same object.

¹²³ On the possibility that Prehotep (v) could have been a *sš* or *sš-kd*, see below.

¹²⁴ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 150; also Davies, Life within the five walls, 2018, p. 233 and p. 408.

¹²⁵ Bruyère, carnet 4, 1948–1949, opposite p. 3 (drawing); Bruyère, Sen-Nedjem, 1959, pp. 9–10 and fig. 4.

¹²⁶ Bruyère, Sen-Nedjem, 1959, pp. 9-10.

¹²⁷ For the monument, see below.

The hypothesis is also based on a similar scene still preserved in the chapel of Khonsu, where Anhotep (v) and Prehotep (v) are among the people hauling the funerary sledge of their brother: Bruyère, *Sen-Nedjem*, 1959, pp. 13–14 and pl. VIII.



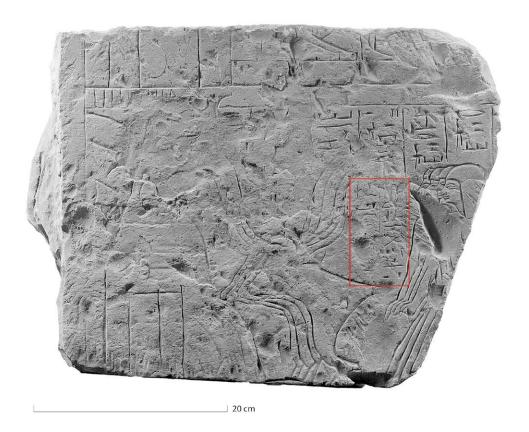
Fig. 14 Photograph of a fragmentary doorjamb recording the name of a Prehotep (found in S.O. IV) (Photo by IFAO, Archives et Collections, nu_2009_3875).

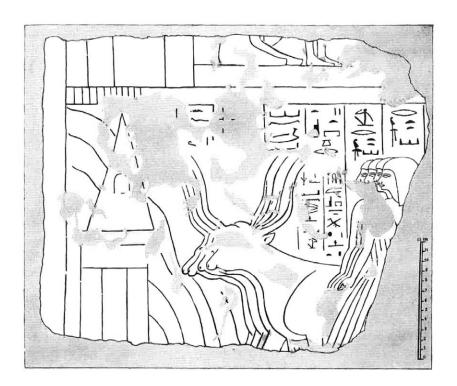


Fig. 15 Photograph of a fragmentary doorjamb recording the name of a $s\check{s}$ - $\not{k}d$ Prehotep (coming from earlier excavations and matched by B. Bruyère with S.O. IV) (Photo by IFAO, Archives et Collections, nu_2008_03918).

case, it seems to demonstrate that Prehotep (v) once held the title of $s\check{s}(-kd?)$. Secondly, the problematic doorjamb mentioning a $s\check{s}$ -kd Prehotep (doc. 14 and **Fig. 15**) was not found in S.O. IV, but originates from excavations earlier than those of B. Bruyère. The finds were at first kept in the house of the *Service des antiquités* at Medinet-Habu, before being brought back to Deir el-Medina by the archaeologist. It is only then that the latter matched it with house S.O. IV. Hence, the doorjamb mentioning a $s\check{s}$ -kd Prehotep does not belong to the corpus of findings from S.O. IV and should not be considered as a relevant piece

¹²⁸ J. Masquelier-Loorius (personal communication) thinks that the large mark painted in black ink ("escalier S N°1") on the doorjamb may relate to Italian excavations, whereas I would rather consider it as a mark left by French excavators (H. Gauthier or C. Kuentz) operating the site before Bruyère's arrival. During these early years of the French concession, the area around Sennedjem's tomb (N°1 in the mark?) was explored.





Figs. 16a-b Photograph and drawing of a relief depicting a funerary scene, with the mentions of the *sš*(-*kd?*) Prehotep (v) and his brother Anhotep (v) among the overlapping male figures (Photo by IFAO, Archives et Collections, nb_1980_03468; Drawing after Bruyère, *Sen-Nedjem*, 1959, p. 10, fig. 4).

of information when attempting to assign the place to an individual.¹²⁹ Consequently, one can no longer exclude the possibility that Prehotep (v), son of Sennedjem and *sš*(-*kd?*), was once one of the owners of S.O. IV, if not the original owner of the house. It is all the more possible given archaeological observations made by B. Bruyère, who noted that S.O. IV was once in close connection with S.O. V: these entities were in communication through a door (later blocked).¹³⁰ Providing that S.O. V and S.O. IV had been built/adapted to be closely connected to one another, at least at the beginning of their existence, it seems reasonable to assume that both belonged to members of the same family at that time, and that these would be Khabekhenet (i) and his brother, the scribe/draughtman(?) Prehotep (v).

In his publication of house S.O. IV, B. Bruyère considers together the decoration of the walls and the inscribed material (ostraca and papyri) found there, drawing the conclusion that the house was once inhabited by a scribe. Such an assumption does not take into account the history of the place over two centuries. Actually, the inscribed material, the ostraca at least, date to the Twentieth Dynasty and therefore cannot be linked to the original inhabitant of S.O. IV. However, the *dipinti*, in particular the one depicting Amenhotep I (**Table 6**, doc. 15; **Fig. 17**), and may be evidence of its ownership by Prehotep (v). It has already been mentioned that the cult of the deified king was particularly predominant within the circle of Sennedjem (i)'s family, especially in the monuments of one of his sons, Khabekhenet (i). One could assume that the scribe/draughtsman Prehotep (v) decided to follow a family cultic trend in the decoration of his own house, a decoration that would then have echoed that of his brother's dwelling (S.O. V). B. Bruyère goes even further when he writes that the *dipinti* found in

¹²⁹ On the possible origin of the artifact (P1354 = probable tomb of Prehotep (v)), see below.

¹³⁰ Bruyère, *Rapport* 1934–1935, 1939, p. 325 (about S.O. V: "fermeture d'une porte de communication avec la maison IV qui se confondait d'abord avec la maison V").

Bruyère also notes that S.O. IV was originally larger, comprising what is now identified as S.O. III: the transformation of the place into two different entities would date to the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty.

¹³¹ Bruyère, *Rapport* 1934–1935, 1939, p. 322 ("Ce depôt, s'ajoutant aux *dipinti*, pourrait constituer une preuve que l'habitant était bien un scribe").

¹³² S. Polis, personal communication, based on his and Andreas Dorn's study of the material.

¹³³ For the dipinto of Amenhotep I in S.O. IV, see Bruyère, *Rapport Deir el-Médineh 1934–1935*, 1939, pp. 321–22, in particular fig. 192.

¹³⁴ See above.



Fig. 17 Dipinto depicting Amenhotep I (found in S.O. IV) (After Bruyère, *Rapport 1934–1935*, 1939, p. 322, fig. 192).

S.O. IV seem to be by the same hand as that in the decoration of TT1 and its funerary equipment.¹³⁵ That hand is, according to B. Bruyère, the hand of Prehotep (v). However, the identification of hands in the decorative program of Deir el-Medina tombs and funerary paraphernalia is a lengthy and arduous endeavor. More investigation ought to be carried out in order to ascertain the parallel drawn by B. Bruyère between S.O. IV and TT1 and allow the possibility of recognizing Prehotep (v)'s *manière*.

B. Bruyère adds to the corpus of findings belonging to S.O. IV another artifact that records the name Prehotep (**Table 6**, doc. 16; **Fig. 18**).¹³⁶ Actually found in house C. V, the object is a fragmentary limestone stand for a naos or a stela (category A), on which is inscribed: [...] *wd nfr n Tmn-R^c n Tpt jr(y) n sdm-^cš m st-M3^c.t P3-R^c-ḥtp m3^c-ḥrw "[...] the perfect stela of Amun-Re of Luxor done by the Servant in the Place of Truth Prehotep, justified." Including this object in the cultic <i>apparatus* of S.O. IV on the sole basis of the mention "Prehotep" seems too much of a stretch, given the fact that S.O. IV is fairly distant from the place of finding, C. V. Furthermore, in C. V, a fragmentary *ex-voto* (category C) with the name of Piay was unearthed.¹³⁷ The association is probably not coincidental and the two names most likely refer to Piay (i) and his son Prehotep (i),¹³⁸ although it does not mean that they inhabited the place. Consequently, it would be prudent to exclude this object from the corpus pertaining to S.O. IV and Prehotep (v).

¹³⁵ Bruyère, Sen-Nedjem, 1959, p. 14, n. 1.

¹³⁶ Bruyère, carnet 3, 1934–1935, p. 8 and opposite p. 8 (drawing); Bruyère, *Rapport* 1934–1935, 1939, p. 193, p. 306, and pl. XIX, 2; Weiss, *Religious Practice*, 2015, p. 279, cat. 4.43.

¹³⁷ Bruyère, *Rapport* 1934–1935, 1939, p. 307 and fig. 177.

¹³⁸ Weiss, Religious Practice, 2015, p. 279.

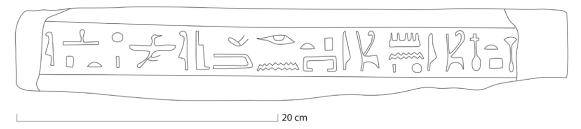


Fig. 18 Drawing of a fragmentary stand for a naos or a stela, recording the name Prehotep (found in C. V) (After Bruyère, *Rapport 1934-1935*, 1939, pl. XIX [2]; drawing: A.-C. Salmas)

4.1.4. Summary

In the early Ramesside period, when new sectors of the village were built, it was possible for members of the same family—e.g. a father and his son, each active in the crew and with their own household—to settle next to one another. S.O. VI and S.O. V offer examples of this setting pattern; the addition of a third dwelling (S.O. IV) is unusual, but not impossible *a priori*.

By adopting a relative chronology, the following "house biography" can be reconstructed (see **Table 6**). Sennedjem (i) was probably already old when he was incorporated into the community of workmen, along with his brother Tjaro (T_3-r_3) (i) and his eldest son Khabekhenet (i). Of what we can gather from the available documentation, father and son each received a house in the newly built southwestern sector of the village (S.O. VI and V). Other children of Sennedjem (i), Khonsu (ii) and Ramose (iv), may very well have lived with him, at least for some time, and it is likely that Khonsu (ii) did "inherit" the place upon his father's retirement or death. The core of the familial cluster was formed, with Sennedjem (i), then Khonsu (ii), and Khabekhenet (i) occupying houses S.O. VI and S.O. V. Such a design is mirrored opposite the street, with the family cluster S.E. VIII and VII, respectively inhabited by Nebamentet (Nb-jmnt.t) (iii) and his son Nebamun (Nb-Imn) (i).140 Moreover, the two clusters seem to have even been separated by a wall in the street (see Fig. 3); provided that this feature is contemporaneous with the clusters, it probably served as a spatial delineation, if not a screen of some sort between the two familial plots.¹⁴¹ Another son of Senned-

¹⁴⁰ Valbelle, Les ouvriers, 1985, p. 122: traditionally a family cluster of dwellings comprised two houses.

¹⁴¹ C. Bonnet and D. Valbelle have detected a lot of reconstructions by B. Bruyère in this part of the village

jem, Prehotep (v), presumably joined the crew. The latter began his career as a delivery boy¹⁴² before being incorporated into the community of workmen *per se*, maybe as a draughtsman.¹⁴³ As such, he also received a dwelling in the village, conveniently but probably not coincidently, next to his relatives. In the current state of the available documentation, the design of this cluster, with three adjacent houses, is unique.¹⁴⁴

This design of family compounds at Deir el-Medina can be paralleled with a practice found elsewhere in Egypt, much later in time though, for instance in Balat or el-Qasr (Dakhla oasis). There exists what is called a "darb", that is, a private/privatized alley around which houses belonging to members of the same family are clustered. 145 The comparison is all the more interesting in that there seems to have originally existed a narrow alley between S.O. VI and S.O. V, which was closed later on, appropriated by S.O. V, and turned into a kitchen and narrow service rooms. 146 However, the design is not exactly the same, for the darb usually possesses a gate that is closed when necessary. That being said, all this clearly underlines the urge for people of the same family, living within small and/or rural communities, to gather and settle in the same spot. Both examples refer to the same form of sociability, which places familial relationships at the heart of the spatial strategy. 147 Balat and el-Qasr also provide another relevant point of comparison with Deir el-Medina. Entrance doors of some oasite houses are topped by an inscribed wooden lintel, giving the name of the carpenter, some words from the Quran, and recording a more or less developed genealogy

⁽personal communication to C. Gobeil); however, given that B. Bruyère restored the place as he thought it looked like in antiquity, that is, quite homogeneous and on a rational design, he logically could not have erected a wall in the middle of the street.

¹⁴² O. DeM 698 (= O. IFAO 1018 = O. IFAO inv. SA 1570), I. 3: *m dr.t P3-R^c-htp s3 Śn-ndm h3r 1*4. See, for the document, https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ostraca/?inv=698&prov=Deir+el-Medina&os=7#galerie; https://dmd.wepwawet.nl (with bibliography); Gabler, *Who's Who*, 2018, pp. 132–35, 166–67.

¹⁴³ Could he be the Rahotep mentioned in O. BM EA 5634, v° 17, along with a Khonsu (his brother?), and/ or the one mentioned in O. DeM 706 (= O. IFAO 1606), col. II, 12, along with a Khabekhenet, most likely his brother? If so, all brothers seem to have belonged to the left side of the gang. The absence of Khabekhenet (i) in O. BM EA 5634 is striking, all the more so as he is listed in O. DeM 706 (= O. IFAO 1606), of a later date. For these documents, see the information and bibliography provided in https://dmd.wepwawet.nl.

¹⁴⁴ Valbelle, Les ouvriers, 1985, p. 122.

¹⁴⁵ Hivernel, Balat: Étude ethnologique, 1996, pp. 16–17.

¹⁴⁶ Bruyère, Rapport 1934-1935, 1939, p. 325.

¹⁴⁷ See also Fathy, *Architecture for the Poor*, 1973, p. 58, who analyses such a spatial setting as one that helps "to cement together the family group by a constant gentle emphasis on its oneness, and in numerous practical ways."

of the people who erected or restored the place. 148 These artifacts could be connected, cautiously though, with the various inscribed elements of doorframes, cultic emplacements, and false doors collected in the village of Deir el-Medina. In the case of the monuments retrieved at Deir el-Medina, one could easily imagine that they fell into disuse at the death of the named individuals, when houses passed into someone else's hands. Yet, they do not seem to have been removed, white-washed, or covered in any way. 149 On the contrary they were preserved and left untouched before being unearthed in the twentieth century more or less where they had originally been erected/painted. As such, they were considered crucial and likely viewed as identity reserves, recollecting, if not embodying, the memory of the family and reminding people, generation after generation, of who were the first or most prominent members of the line. If so, it would be tempting to suggest that houses at Deir el-Medina were consecutively occupied by members of the same family, as long as such a practice could be maintained.

4.2. The funerary spaces of Sennedjem (i)'s family

At Deir el-Medina, members of Sennedjem (i)'s family were allocated—or chose—plots in the southern part of the Western necropolis to establish their tombs. As in the village, their "houses of eternity" are close to one another, forming what I have christened a "family funerary plot".

4.2.1. TT1 and its adjacent monuments

The first spot that needs to be considered is where Sennedjem (i)'s tomb stands: it is located on the lower level of the Western necropolis. Monuments erected next to or around Sennedjem (i)'s tomb are often overlooked, when in fact they all belong to the same funerary parcel [Figs. 19 and 20].

B. Bruyère attributed the southern chapel to Sennedjem (i)'s father, whom he

¹⁴⁸ Décobert and Grill, Linteaux à épigraphes de l'oasis de Dakhla, 1981; Hivernel, Balat: Étude ethnologique, 1996, pp. 16–17.

¹⁴⁹ According to J. Masquelier-Loorius (personal communication), only one piece of doorframes from the group of artifacts she studies was once re-engraved, and it seems that it did not even come from the village. Therefore, the elements of the *corpus* of doorframes from the village do not bear any traces of re-plastering or re-engraving.

¹⁵⁰ On the whole group of monuments, but in particular on Sennedjem (i)'s tomb, see Bruyère, carnet 2, 1924–1925, p. 23 (only a few general observations); Bruyère, *Rapport* 1924–1925, 1926, pp. 190–92; Bruyère, *SenNedjem*, 1959; a summary, with revisions, is given in Mahmoud, *Catalogue of Funerary Objects*, 2011, pp. 11–13.

identified at the time as Tjaro (i),¹⁵¹ and the northern chapel to Khonsu (ii).¹⁵² Parts of the decoration of Sennedjem (i)'s and Khonsu (ii)'s chapels, still preserved *in situ* or retrieved in the vicinity, validate their identification. As for the attribution of the southern pyramid to Sennedjem (i)'s father, it draws on similar spatial arrangements found elsewhere in the Western necropolis, where various series of familial tombs are oriented south-north, from the most ancient to the most recent.¹⁵³ Although I fully concur with B. Bruyère's assignment, I nevertheless suggest a revision of the attribution of the southern chapel to Khabekhenet (iii), who is actually Sennedjem (i)'s father. There is evidence for this in two scenes from TT1 and TT2 respectively, where Khabekhenet (iii) is clearly depicted and identified as the head of the family line.¹⁵⁴

The core of the "family funerary plot" therefore comprises Sennedjem (i)'s tomb, with the chapel dedicated to his father to the south and the chapel of one of his sons to the north. ¹⁵⁵ It seems however that the southern monument was never intended to be Khabekhenet (iii)'s final resting place, as he most certainly never lived at Deir el-Medina and was never buried there. In the aforementioned scene in TT1, Khabekhenet (iii) is called 'š n' Imn n' Ip.t-rsy.t "Servant of Amun in the Southern City", acknowledging the fact that he served in the workshops of the East bank religious complexes. ¹⁵⁶ In TT2 though, he bears the title sdm-'š m st-M³.t, but I believe that the use of the latter is artificial and only serves to establish a lineage of workmen at Deir el-Medina, founded by a chosen "referent-ancestor". The southern chapel plays on an architectural level the same role

¹⁵¹ Bruyère, *Rapport 1928*, 1929, p. 134 (without suggesting a name for Sennedjem (i)'s father); Bruyère, *SenNedjem*, 1959, p. 8 (cautiously "chapelle du sud, présumée de Taro") and pl. V (the identification is established). However, earlier on, B. Bruyère (Bruyère, *Rapport 1928*, 1929, p. 133 (8) and p. 134, fig. 77 (1)) suggested that an individual named Tjaro and depicted in TT1 could be a son or son-in-law of Sennedjem (i) ("fils ou gendre de Sen Nedjem"). Kitchen (*KRITANC* I, p. 302) attributes the southern chapel to Tjaro, "Sennedjem's (elder?) brother".

¹⁵² Bruyère, *Rapport* 1924–1925, 1926, pp. 191–92; Bruyère, *Rapport* 1928, 1929, p. 135; Bruyère, *Sen-Nedjem*, 1959, pp. 11–16 (including Khonsu's pyramidion).

¹⁵³ Bruyère, *Sen-Nedjem*, 1959 p. 8: "(...) à Deir el-Médineh, une tradition presque générale dans les tombes de famille à plusieurs chapelles voudrait que, orientées vers l'orient, celle du père se trouvât au Sud, celle du fils, à la gauche de la précédente et, s'il y a un petit fils, encore plus à gauche, c'est-à-dire au Nord du groupe."

¹⁵⁴ TT1, burial chamber, south wall, western half, lower register (Khabekhenet (iii), with his mother and his wife, before Tjaro (i) and his wife and Sennedjem (i) and his wife); TT2, east wall, northern half, third register (Khabekhenet (iii) and his wife, with his son, Tjaro (i), and his mother, Rosau).

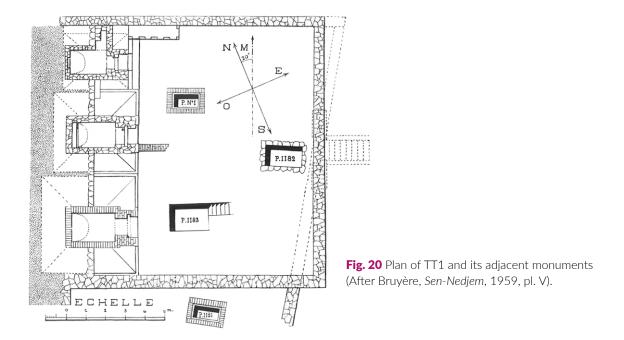
Kitchen (KRITANC I, p. 302) adds to the evidence a "lintel-fragment", where Sennedjem (i) is supposedly said to be "son of Khabekhenet": this artifact, in fact a fragmentary stela (Bruyère, Sen-Nedjem, 1959, pl. XXXIII, 5), mentions Śn-ndm s³=f Ḥ̄^c-bḥn.t, namely Sennedjem (i) and his son, Khabekhenet (i).

¹⁵⁵ On the other monuments included in the parcel, see below (P1182 and 1183).

¹⁵⁶ See also Soliman, "Marks and Men", 2015, pp. 489–90.



Fig. 19 E-W view of the "funerary family plot" belonging to members of Sennedjem (i)'s family (Photo by O. Onézime).



as that of Khabekhenet (iii)'s figure on a decorative level in scenes from TT1 and TT2. The southern chapel proclaims, on a monumental scale, the identity of the one deemed to be the founder of the line and preserves his memory in this world and the hereafter. The very fact that this is the sole monument of the three that does not bear any decoration or trace thereof could support this hypothesis: 157 there would have been no need for visual support for a funerary cult, since there

¹⁵⁷ Bruyère, *Rapport* 1928, 1929, p. 134 ("entièrement blanchie (…) pas de traces d'une stèle de fond"); Bruyère, *Sen-Nedjem*, 1959, p. 8 ("sans décoration apparente et sans trace de stèle de fond").

would have been no actual funerary cult held within the place. Furthermore, as B. Bruyère noted, the southern chapel was somewhat disconnected from the other two by a small mud-brick wall (not mentioned in **Fig. 20**), thus preventing any access to it. ¹⁵⁸ If this wall is actually contemporaneous with the erection of the southern chapel, or slightly more recent, it could suggest that the monument, although the larger of the three, was never used, ¹⁵⁹ but rather stood as a token of memory, maintaining familial cohesion even (or above all) unto death.

Three pits, labelled P1181, P1182, and P1183 by B. Bruyère, are either included in the core "family funerary plot" (P1182 and P1183) or located nearby (P1181, just outside) (see Fig. 20). Two of them (P1181 and P1182) had been excavated in 1917 before being revisited by B. Bruyère in 1928. They could predate Sennedjem (i)'s family plot; as such they would be reused Eighteenth-Dynasty pits. P1181 did not actually belong to the "family funerary plot", 161 whereas P1182 and P1183 however are likely to be parts of the original design. P1182 is an important feature, of 6.1 metres in length, leading to two adjoining subterranean rooms. 162 Contrary to B. Bruyère's assumption, there is no genuine spatial connection between P1182 and the southern chapel, so that they cannot function together. 163 Several artifacts were found in P1182 by B. Bruyère, among which two are inscribed with the name of individuals: a fragment of a large kneeling statue recording the name Bunakhtef/Bennakht[uf] and a broken vase recording part of the name Tjaro (Fig. 21).164 Both are attested as members of Sennedjem (i)'s family. The first one is most likely one of Sennedjem (i)'s sons, "the Servant in the Place of Truth" Bunakhtef/Bennakht[uf] (i),165 while the second one is probably Sennedjem (i)'s elder brother, "the Servant in the Place of

¹⁵⁸ Bruyère, *Rapport* 1928, 1929, p. 134; Bruyère, *Sen-Nedjem*, 1959, pp. 8–9.

¹⁵⁹ Contra Bruyère, *Sen-Nedjem*, 1959, pp. 8–9, for whom the wall had served to separate a disused chapel (Khabekhenet (iii)'s) from the two others still in use (Sennedjem (i)'s and Khonsu (ii)'s).

¹⁶⁰ For the history of the excavations of the pits, see Bruyère, *Sen-Nedjem*, 1959, p. 4. It seems that pit P 1183 was also revisited during this campaign (Bruyère, *Rapport 1928*, 1929, p. 135).

¹⁶¹ Bruyère, *Rapport* 1928, 1929, p. 132; Bruyère, *Sen-Nedjem*, 1959, p. 7.

¹⁶² Bruyère, Rapport 1928, 1929, p. 132 ("Puits N° 1182", 2°); Bruyère, Sen-Nedjem, 1959, p. 7.

¹⁶³ Bruyère, *Sen-Nedjem*, 1959, p. 77.

¹⁶⁴ Bruyère, *Rapport 1928*, 1929, pp. 132–33, 2° and 8°, and p. 134, fig. 77, 1 (vase); these artifacts are not included in the publication of Sennedjem's tomb by the archaeologist. To my knowledge, no drawing or photograph exists for the kneeling statue.

¹⁶⁵ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 44.

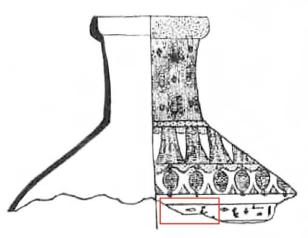


Fig. 21 Upper part of a broken vase found in P 1182, seemingly recording the name Tjaro (After Bruyère, *Rapport 1928*, 1929, p. 134, fig. 77 (1)).

Truth" Tjaro (i). 166 As members of the crew, they should have benefited from a tomb at Deir el-Medina. What led to them having only a subterranean funerary structure is conjectural. Age precedence—the eldest having a "complete tomb" while the younger only has a burial chamber—is excluded, since Tjaro (i) seems to have been older than Sennedjem (i). 167 In this case, one could argue that Tjaro (i) died before being given the chance to erect his own "house of eternity". Tjaro (i)'s last resting place was then included in what was at the time the embryo of the "family funerary plot" (TT1), 168 maybe on the initiative of Sennedjem (i). The same "identity marks", which B. Bruyère identified as Sennedjem (i)'s, were found on vases deposited in TT1 and on inscribed stones in the three last meters of P 1182. 169 Moreover, P1182 is located on the central axis of the courtyard, almost exactly in front of Sennedjem (i)'s chapel, which could have thus served, at least for some time, as a rallying point for the funerary cult of members of the family. 170 Bunakhtef/Bennakht[uf] (i), who probably also died before his father, was laid to rest with his uncle.

¹⁶⁶ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 43.

¹⁶⁷ See the distribution of characters (Khabekhenet (iii), Tjaro (i), and Sennedjem (i)) in a scene from TT 1, already mentioned (n. 154).

¹⁶⁸ It is all the more likely given the location of P 1182, which however varies slightly from one publication to another. In that pertaining to Sennedjem's tomb (*Sen-Nedjem*, pl. V), P 1182 is situated in the courtyard, just west of the staircase, whereas in *Rapport 1933–1934*, 1937, pl. IV, it is said to lie under both the staircase and the enclosure wall of the tomb.

¹⁶⁹ Bruyère, *Rapport* 1928, 1929, p. 132. These marks, also found in TT2–TT2B, could be family marks, passed on from one generation to another; see Soliman, "Marks and Men", 2015, pp. 399–402 and p. 521 (precisely on the marks found in monuments belonging to members of Sennedjem (i)'s family).

¹⁷⁰ The decoration of Sennedjem's chapel being for the most part lost, there is no evidence to validate or reject this hypothesis.

P1183 is unfinished:¹⁷¹ barely dug, it does not lead to any burial chamber. The location of the rough-hewn monument—in the courtyard of the "family funerary plot" in front of Khabekhenet (iii)'s chapel—could however be indicative of the fact that other members of the family—direct descendants or subsequent generations—would have wanted to associate themselves in death with the core members of the line, if not its founder himself.¹⁷²

4.2.2. TT2-TT2B

The "family funerary plot" was extended later on, by the third generation (that of Sennedjem (i)'s children), with the addition of another monument, TT2–TT2B, on the median level of the Western necropolis, just above TT1 (see **Fig. 19**). This tomb, whose publication I am preparing,¹⁷³ is traditionally attributed to the workman Khabekhenet (i). This attribution draws on the decoration of the burial chamber TT2B, where Khabekhenet (i) is the sole protagonist, whereas the decoration of the chapel TT2, with two main protagonists, offers a more complex version of the history of the monument.

The plan of the tomb—or it would be more accurate to describe it as a funerary complex—is intricate (**Fig. 22**). It consists of a vast courtyard, delineated by walls, a common feature of Deir el-Medina's tombs. A small mud-brick wall divided the place into two unequal parts. B. Bruyère compares this feature to the wall that separates the chapels of Khabekhenet (iii) and Sennedjem (i) in TT1¹⁷⁴ and assigns to both walls the same function, that is, spatially differentiating monuments dating to several generations. This assumption contradicts the archaeologist's own observations in the field, made earlier on, in 1932–1933, while revisiting the complex TT2–TT2B. At that time, he noted that there were in fact two small mudbrick walls in the courtyard in TT2–TT2B. According to B. Bruyère, the first one, oriented south-north, would date to the Roman period: while dismantling it, the archaeologist retrieved fragments of the decoration of the complex, as well as sections of the pillars that supported the antique awning.

¹⁷¹ Bruyère, *Rapport* 1928, 1929, p. 135; Bruyère, *Sen-Nedjem*, 1959, pp. 7–8.

¹⁷² The location was undoubtedly also didacted by the space left available by P1182 and P N°1 giving access to Sennedjem (i)'s infrastructure: see Bruyère, *Sen-Nedjem*, 1959, pl. VI.

¹⁷³ So far for the *editio princeps* of part of the monument (decorated burial chamber TT2B): Bruyère, *Tombes thébaines à décoration monochrome*, 1952, pp. 22–56.

¹⁷⁴ See above; on the comparison, see Bruyère, Sen-Nedjem, 1959, p. 9.

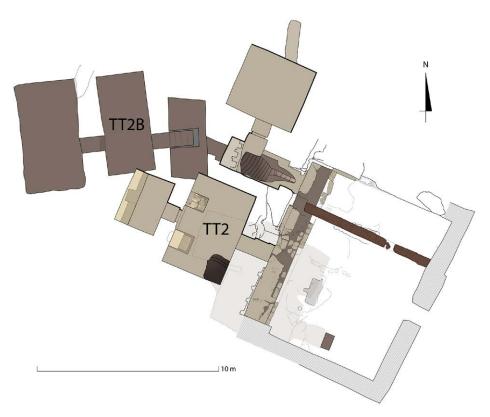


Fig. 22 Plan of the "complex" TT2-TT2B (© IFAO, O. Onézime).

A second wall, oriented east-west, is partly still visible nowadays; according to B. Bruyère, it likely dates to the Christian period, when Coptic monks reoccupied the premises and probably turned the monument into a double hermitage.¹⁷⁵

The superstructure of TT2–TT2B comprises two distinctive chapels, whereas the substructure comprises two networks of burial chambers. What makes the complex very intriguing is the fact that only one chapel (TT2) and one burial chamber (TT2B) are fully decorated, and that they do not even belong to the same part of the complex: it thus explains the double numbering. Besides its physical division, the complex also features dual approaches in its decoration. The decoration of chapel TT2, with its reliefs carved on a pinkish coat of plaster, ¹⁷⁶ focuses on two main characters, Khabekhenet (i) and Khonsu (ii), whose depictions are fairly equally distributed according to an east-west axis: the northern section of the chapel emphasizes Khabekhenet (i)'s presence, whereas the southern one emphasiz-

¹⁷⁵ For the later walls, see Bruyère, carnet 3, 1932–1933, p. 9.

On this type of reoccupation in Deir el-Medina's tombs, see Cherpion, *Deux tombes de la XVII*^{ème} dynastie, 1999, p. 60.

¹⁷⁶ The exact nature of the plaster is under study by Alexandra Winkels, who is in charge of the conservation and analysis of materials in the monument.

es that of Khonsu (ii).177 Two scenes—one in each section—depict the crucial scene of the access to the afterlife (Figs. 23a-b); they are dedicated respectively to each brother and echo one another iconographically and spatially. 178 The second dual decorative approach lies between the chapel TT2 and burial chamber TT2B, whose decoration is painted in monochrome style. In contrast to TT2, where there are two main characters, TT2B is entirely dedicated to Khabekhenet (i). 179 My work on the monument is still in progress, but this is how things have unfolded so far. It seems that the whole complex was originally erected on the initiative of two brothers, Khabekhenet (i) and Khonsu (ii), each having been allocated his share. Khonsu (ii) died before finishing the decoration of his chapel and, curiously, before beginning that of his burial chamber. Another alternative would be that Khonsu (ii) decided to abandon his entire share of the complex due to the weakness of the underground structure. Indeed, during the exploration of the network of burial chambers under TT2, I could not but notice the poor state of the place, filled with huge piles of debris, remains of the mudbrick vault and stone structure alike. Two scenarios are then possible. Assuming that Khonsu had died before the completion of his tomb, his chapel in TT1 was erected (hastily?) around or just after his death to be the focus of his funerary cult. But assuming that he had himself abandoned TT2-TT2B, he would have been the instigator of the erection of his chapel in TT1, a "second-best" funerary monument compared to the larger and greater tomb that he had originally envisioned in TT2-TT2B. As for Khabekhenet (i), he might have begun his tomb with the decoration of his burial chamber, then he would simply have taken over his brother's chapel and completed its decoration. 180 In any case, Khonsu (ii) was buried in Sennedjem (i)'s tomb (TT1), where his remains and funerary equipment were found in 1886. 181 Almost nothing from

¹⁷⁷ Apart from the upper registers of the southern half of the east wall, where Khabekhenet (i) and his father, Sennedjem (i) are the main characters of the sacred navigation in Mut temple.

¹⁷⁸ Khabekhenet (i): north wall, lower registers + west wall, northern half (very deteriorated scenes: pilgrimage to Abydos(?), and access to the afterlife); Khonsu (ii): south wall, lower registers + east wall, southern half, lower registers (funeral, pilgrimage to Abydos, and access to the afterlife).

¹⁷⁹ Khonsu (ii) is only depicted once, on the west wall: Bruyère, *Tombes thébaines à décoration monochrome*, 1952, pp. 35–36 (Scène VII) and pl. VIII.

¹⁸⁰ The presence of a small unfinished chapel above TT2B supports this hypothesis.

¹⁸¹ Mahmoud, *Catalogue of Funerary Objects*, 2011, p. 9 and p. 40 (table entitled "Coffins and human remains"); Khonsu (ii)'s coffin is kept in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 86.1.5, while his mummy is at the Peabody Museum (N.846).

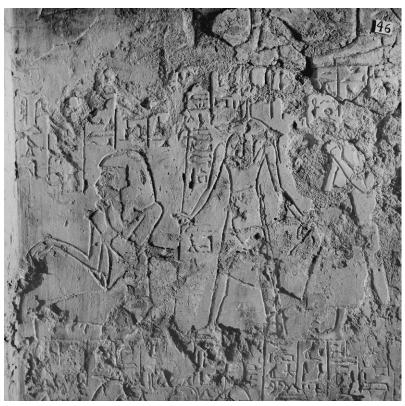


Fig. 23a Detail of a scene depicting the access to the afterlife and focusing on Khabekhenet (i) (TT2, north wall, third register) (Photo by IFAO, nb_1974_0315).

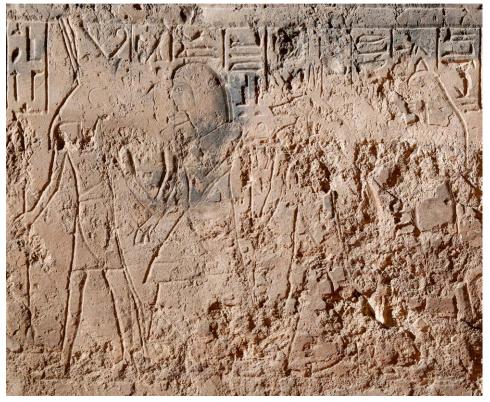


Fig. 23b Detail of a scene depicting the access to the afterlife and focusing on Khonsu (ii) (TT2, east wall, southern half, fourth register) (Photo by O. Onézime).

Khabekhenet (i)'s burial and that of those interred with him has been preserved. The burial chamber TT2B, already reused during the Graeco-Roman period, was unfortunately rashly excavated by Jacques Lecomte-Dunouy (or Lecomte du Noüy) in 1917. Some artifacts, such as *shabtis*, recording his name were nevertheless retrieved from TT2B in addition to funerary paraphernalia discovered in TT1. 183

The *shabti* found in TT1 and reproduced in Fig. 24 can be interpreted in two different, yet complementary manners. It can be viewed either as an "endowment", that is, an object dedicated to a deceased, or as an "extra-sepulchral specimen." This category of paraphernalia comprises artifacts recording names of individuals who were not actually buried in a grave, but whose deposition "permitted their owners to participate in the supply community of the tomb." 184 The shabti is inscribed with two names, that of Khabekhenet (i), who was buried in TT2B, and that of Iyinofreti (iii), Sennedjem (i)'s wife and Khabekhenet (i)'s mother, who was herself buried in TT1. Given the layout of the two columns of text—one in the middle of the object, the other on one side of it as if it were added later on—, it seems that the primary function of this shabti was to be a token of memory (extra-sepulchral specimen), before being partially turned into a piece of funerary equipment (endowment of Iyinofreti (iii)'s afterlife through the provision of a funerary figurine). The maintenance of the family's cohesion in the hereafter was therefore not restricted to spatial arrangement and the decorative programs of tombs, both emphasizing in their own way family relations, but it was also expressed symbolically through the deposit of artifacts with the names of most, if not all, of its members.

¹⁸² The "archaeologist" involved in the excavation of TT2B is Jacques Lecomte-Dunouy (1885–1961), and not his father, the Orientalist painter Jean-Jules-Antoine Lecomte-Dunouy (or du Noüy), contrary to what is listed in the authors repertoire of the department "Archives et Collections" of the IFAO. (http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ms/about#auteurs).

The archival material of Jacques Lecomte-Dunouy is presently at the École Pratique des Hautes Études, but belongs to the IFAO. Borrowed by Jean Yoyotte in the 1960s, it has never been returned to the IFAO and ended up at the École Pratique, along with J. Yoyotte's archive, upon the scholar's death. The returning of the documents to the IFAO is under way.

¹⁸³ For an exhaustive list, Mahmoud, Catalogue of Funerary Objects, 2011, tables at the end of the publication.

¹⁸⁴ Näser, in Tarlow and Nilsson Stutz (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Death and Burial*, 2013, section of the article "The Procurement and Composition of the Burial Equipment" (doi: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199569069.013.0036).



Fig. 24 *Shabti* recording the name of Khabekhenet (i) and that of his mother lyinofreti (iii): TT1, burial chamber; painted limestone; H. 16.7 cm; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 86.1.18 (Photo by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).

4.2.3. The question of P 1354

A last monument is worth mentioning, albeit briefly, when dealing with the "houses of eternity" of Sennedjem (i)'s family.

Located south of the core "family funerary plot", it has been numbered P 1354 – also sometimes P 1355 – by B. Bruyère [Fig. 25]. 185 It seems in fact that these two monuments constitute different architectural entities that had overlapped over time. None of them are currently displayed on the general plan of Deir el-Medina (http://www.ifao.egnet.net/uploads/images/sites/deir-el-medina/1_Plan_topo_gen_DeM.jpg). According to B. Bruyère, P1355 originally comprised a deep vertical pit leading to a subterranean chamber that dates to the Eighteenth Dynasty. Upon the pit, blocked during the Ramesside period, a staircase had been erected. No traces of a superstructure, if one had ever existed, were visible at the time of the excavation. 186 The staircase, now backfilled, led after a first door to several passageways distributed over different levels, and to another door open-

¹⁸⁵ In Bruyère's diaries, the most significant monument seems to be P 1355, whereas in his definite reports, it is P 1354. The diaries mention the works conducted in the area rather than the monuments themselves (carnet 3, 1932–1933, pp. 7–8, and to lesser extent carnet 3, 1934–1935, p. 9).

¹⁸⁶ Bruyère, Rapport 1933-1934, 1937, p. 123.

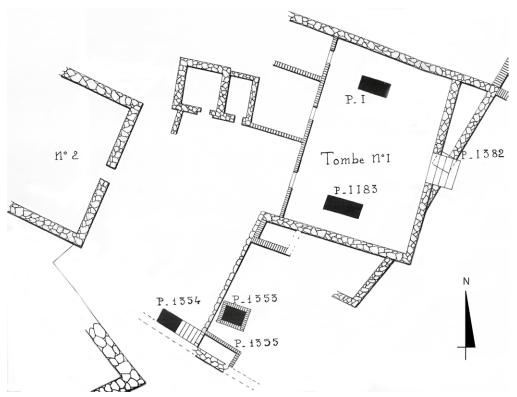


Fig. 25 Plan of part of the southern sector of the Western necropolis, with P 1354–1355 (possible location of Prehotep (v)'s tomb) (After Bruyère, *Rapport 1933–1934*, 1937, pl. IV).

ing on a burial chamber.¹⁸⁷ The southern doorjamb of the first door was still *in situ* at the time of the discovery (category A of K. Gabler's criteria applied to funerary monuments): it is inscribed with the name of Prehotep,¹⁸⁸ but B. Bruyère did not give, neither in his diary nor in his report, any drawing or photograph of the artifact. That being said, the archaeologist attributed P1354 (or P1354-1355) to the draughtsman Prehotep (v), son of Sennedjem (i).¹⁸⁹ Given the location of the monument in the vicinity of both TT1 and TT2–TT2B, I cannot but concur with B. Bruyère's attribution and further wonder whether the "problematic doorjamb" (**Table 6**, doc. 14) might not in fact come from P 1354 (or P 1354-1355).¹⁹⁰

As a member of the crew, Prehotep (v) benefited from his own "house of eternity", as did his father and some of his relatives. P 1354 (or P 1354-1355) was very likely the tomb of Prehotep (v), considering both the location of the structure and the inscribed doorjamb cited above. Conceived as an independent monument—

¹⁸⁷ Bruyère, *Rapport* 1933–1934, 1937, p. 124, without any plan.

¹⁸⁸ Bruyère, Rapport 1933-1934, 1937, pp. 123-24.

¹⁸⁹ Bruyère, *Rapport* 1933–1934, 1937, p. 123, but in the following pages (pp. 124–25) Bruyère constantly confuses Prehotep (v) and Prehotep (i).

¹⁹⁰ Given the orientation of the image and text, it cannot originate from the first door of the monument.

and not a simple pit included in the core "family funerary plot"—, the tomb however stood within the confines of the latter. In the end though, Prehotep (v) was buried in Sennedjem (i)'s burial chamber;¹⁹¹ there is no indication as to why. This constitutes further proof in favor of a process of spatial negotiation within this part of the Western necropolis, which involves the maintenance of family bonds in the afterlife.

5. CONCLUSION (KG and ACS)

The kaleidoscopic documentation coming from Deir el-Medina can only render a kaleidoscopic image of the site and its community. Only the combination of the diverse pieces of information available from this variety of sources makes possible any reconstruction work on the settlement and its inhabitants. The main objective of this article was to examine patterns of spatial negotiation within the village of Deir el-Medina. It first set out a coherent set of criteria for the assignment of houses to their former inhabitants and then deployed these criteria in the construction of a series of "house biographies".

The rediscovery of the village by B. Bruyère provided scholars with a rich harvest of documents that constitute to varying degrees valuable data for the reconstruction of the history of the place. In particular, inscribed artifacts found there play a vital role in assessing the potential attribution of Deir el-Medina's domestic spaces to some of their former inhabitants. Disregarding (or discarding) these objects as valid evidence of ownership over a dwelling on the sole ground that the archaeological context is disturbed is unproductive at best. The approach must be cautious, but one can nevertheless postulate that in many cases, the inscribed artifacts retrieved from the village remained close to their primary location—as evidenced for instance in the case study developed around houses S.O. VI, V, and V—and, as such, convey information. The village is a jigsaw puzzle with many broken pieces, but examined holistically along the lines of a sound methodology, these pieces can help establish a (partial) picture of the village's life story. Of all these pieces, some provide more secure attributions than others (from category

¹⁹¹ Mahmoud, *Catalogue of Funerary Objects*, 2011, **Table 1** ("Coffins and human remains"); Prehotep (v)'s coffin is now lost.

A to category C); information from those that are more difficult to interpret must be corroborated by cross-referencing data. Category A artifacts are admittedly the most informative and, within it, doorframes of houses are even more revealing when it comes to determining (some of) the occupants of a place. Aside from their practical reuse over generations, these architectural components, which were never white-washed or re-engraved, seemed to possess a great symbolic value as tokens of family memory, in other words as identity reserves. Socially, they most likely testify to a practice of continuous occupation of houses by members of the same family for so long as such a practice could be maintained.

The criteria established in this paper for assigning the houses of Deir el-Medina to some of their former inhabitants has enabled K. Gabler to increase the number of (potential) attributions up to thirty-five of the sixty-eight dwellings (51%). For fifteen of these houses, the evidence at our disposal suggests that these structures may have been inhabited by the same family over several generations. By combining archaeological, textual, and prosopographical data and contextualizing them, we have been able to reconstruct not just (part of the) biographies of these very houses, but also (part of the) biographies of the families who lived there. Considered at the village scale, these domestic life stories offer new insights into the spatial distribution of Deir el-Medina's houses and have led to the identification of significant development trends in the setting process (family regrouping, movements between houses according to family or professional bonds, and possible creation of domestic quarters according to professional activities).

K. Gabler's methodology has been applied to a specific case-study that pertains to the monuments which belonged to Sennedjem (i)'s family. According to C. Bonnet and D. Valbelle, "members of the same family gladly occupied a whole district [of the village and] (...) were assigned at the same time a particular sector of the necropolis." They date this phenomenon to a precise period, "when space did not lack yet," that is, at the beginning of the Ramesside period. If one cannot rule out such a restriction (distribution of houses and tombs with regards to availability of space), other parameters should also be taken into consideration, such as the emotional investment that in all likelihood underpinned the spatial layout of the settlement. A.-C. Salmas's in-depth analysis of the mon-

¹⁹² Bonnet and Valbelle, *BIFAO* 75 (1975), p. 434.

¹⁹³ Bonnet and Valbelle, *BIFAO* 75 (1975), p. 434.

uments belonging to members of Sennedjem (i)'s family demonstrates that spatial negotiation in both the village and the Western necropolis—which mirror one another perfectly in this particular case—may have occurred in light of family bonds. Thus, beyond the realm of practical concerns, there undoubtedly was another motivation underlying the spatial layout of this family's monuments: the desire to (re)unite people in life as well as in death.

Currently, 49% of the houses in Deir el-Medina cannot still be assigned to any specific individuals. One wonders whether a broader application of the established methodology, in particular the combination of different sources such as archaeological data and administrative texts, could not allow scholars to move forward, by strengthening previous attributions, bringing new ones to light, and establishing specific patterns of spatial distribution within the village, be they synchronic or diachronic. Nevertheless, this remains a complex endeavor, one that requires the examination of a large number of jigsaw pieces that have to be fitted into a puzzle whose full picture is still blur.

 Table 1
 Summary of identified inhabitants based on publications

HOUSE / INHABITANT	TITLE	NAME	DATE	
N.E. IV	?	Mrj-shm.t	Dyn. 19?	
N.E. VIII	ḥrj js.t	Ķ3ḥ3 (i)	Ramesses II	
N.E. XIII	sdm- ^c š m s.t-M3 ^c .t	Msj (vii), Jpj (i)	Ramesses II?	
N.E. XV	S3W	<i>Ӊҙѡј</i> (ii)	Ramesses II	
N.O. XV	sš-ķd	P3-šd (vii)?	Seti I–Ramesses II	
N.O. XVI	sdm- ^c š m s.t-M3 ^c .t	'Imn-m-ḥb	Dyn. 19?	
N.O. XXVII	sdm- ^c š m s.t-M3 ^c .t	<i>P3-sr</i> (v)	Ramesses II	
C. II	<u>t</u> 3j-m <u>d</u> 3.t	Nfr-rnp.t (ii)	Ramesses II	
C. IV	SŠ	Imn-nḥt (v)	Ramesses III and later	
C. V	sām-cš m s.t-M3c.t	Нwj, Nb-n-Мз ^с .t (i/ii)	Ramesses II and later	
C. VI	sdm- ^c š m s.t-M3 ^c .t s3w	B3kj (i), Pn-mn-nfr (i)	Ramesses II Ramesses III–V	
S.E. II	'3 n '	Nb-df3.w (i), Ḥrj-nfr (i)	Seti I–Ramesses II	
S.E. III	ḥrj js.t m s.t-M3°.t	Nfr-ḥtp (i)/(ii)	Seti I–Ramesses II	
S.E. VI	sdm- ^c š m s.t-M3 ^c .t	^с з-тk (i)	Seti I	
S.E. VII	sdm- ^c š m s.t-M3 ^c .t	Nb-jmnt.t (i)	late Ramesses II	
S.E. VIII	sdm- ^c š m s.t-M3 ^c .t	Nb-'Imn (iii)?	19th Dyn.?	
S.E. IX	sš-ķd?	M33.n=j-nħt=f (i/ii)?	Ramesses II	
S.O. II	sš	Ḥrj-šrj (i)	Ramesses IX	
S.O. IV	sš-ķd	<i>P3-R^c-ḥtp</i> (i) or (v)	Ramesses II	
S.O. V	sām-cš m s.t-M3c.t	Ḥ ^c -bḫn.t (i)	Ramesses II	
S.O. VI	sdm- ^c š m s.t-M3 ^c .t	Sn-ndm (i)	Seti I–Ramesses II	

Table 2 Summary of preliminary assignment of houses

CATEGORY/ SECTOR	A HOUSES	B HOUSES	C HOUSES	D HOUSES	TOTALS NN ASSIGNED HOUSES OF TOTAL
N.O.	5	-	2	20	7 of 27
N.E.	2	-	8	9	10 of 19
C.	2	1	1	3	4 of 7
S.O.	3	1	2	-	6 of 6
S.E.	2	-	6	1	8 of 9
houses	14	2	19	33	35 of 68

Table 3 Some biographies of houses, using archaeology and prosopography

HOUSE/ INHABITANT	TITLE	NAME	DATE
EXAMPLE 1			
N.O. IX and X	sdm-'š m s.t-M3'.t	Wn- nhw (i) + Mw . t - r 3. t (i) r 1 r 3- r 4 r 5. t 7 (ii) r 4 r 5. t 7 (ii)	Seti I and Ramesses II
EXAMPLE 2			
N.E. XI	c ₃ n c s ₃ w	'Imn-m-wj3 (i) + W3dj.t- rnp.t (ii) s3.t '3-mk (i) 'Imn-m-jn.t (iv) s3 'Imn-m- wj3 (i) + Mrj=s-gr (iii)	Ramesses II Ramesses II, Merenptah and later
S.E. VI	(3 n ((3 n ('3-mk (i) + W3dj.t-rnp.t (i) P3-h3rw (ix) s3 '3-mk (i) + NN Hr-ms? NN s3 P3-h3rw (ix) + NN	Seti I–Ramesses II Ramesses II later
EXAMPLE 3			
S.E. II	′3 n ′ ′3 n ′	Nb-df3.w (i) + Ḥw.t-ḥr (v) Ḥrj-nfr (i) s3 Nb-df3.w (i)	early Dyn. 19 Ramesses II
N.E. XII	c3 n c	Hrj-nfr (i) s3 Nb-df3.w (i) + Wbh.t (i/iv) s3.t B3kj (i); + Hm.t-ntr (ii)	until Y. 40 Ramesses II
S.E. III	ḥrj js.t m s.t-M3°.t	Nfr-ḥtp (i) + ʾIj-m-wɜw (i) Nb-nfr (i) sɜ Nfr-ḥtp (i) + ʾIy (i) Nfr-ḥtp (ii) sɜ Nb-nfr (ii) + Wbḥ.t (i/iv = ii) sɜ.t Bɜkj (i)	early Dyn. 19 until Y. 40 Ramesses II until Y. 1 Seti II
EXAMPLE 4			
N.E. VIII	ḥrj js.t m s.t-M3°.t	K̄sḥ̄s (i) + Twy (i) NN (maybe 'Inj-ḥr-ḥ ^c (i)) Ḥ̄sy (iv) s̄s 'Inj-ḥr-ḥ ^c (i) + NN 'Inj-ḥr-ḥ ^c (ii) s̄s Ḥ̄sy (iv) + W ^c b.t (i)	early Dyn. 19 NN (maybe after Y. 40 R II) late Dyn. 19–early Dyn. 20 after Y. 22 Ramesses III

Table 4 Preliminary summary: biographies of houses

CATEGORY/ SECTOR	A HOUSES	B HOUSES	C HOUSES	D HOUSES	TOTALS NN HOUSES OF NN ASSIGNED HOUSES OF TOTAL
N.O.	1 R II–mid Dyn. 20	-	-	-	1 of 7 of 27
N.E.	1 R II–Dyn. 20? 1 R II–mid Dyn. 20	ı	2 R II-end Dyn. 19 1 R II	-	5 of 10 of 19
C.	1 R II–mid Dyn. 20	1 Dyn. 20	1 R II–mid Dyn. 20	-	3 of 4 of 7
S.O.	1 R II– beginning Dyn. 20	1 R II-R IX?	3 R II–end Dyn. 19	-	5 of 6 of 6
S.E.	-	-	1 R II–Dyn. 19	-	1 of 8 of 9
houses	5 of 14	2 of 2	8 of 19	0 of 33	15 of 35 of 68

Table 5 Evidence from administrative texts in the assignment of houses

ADMINISTRATIVE TEXT	AMOUNT OF WATER FOR SUPPLIED PERSON (FAMILY)		ESPONSIBLE SCRIBE FOR DELIVERY, Y. 40 R II	ASSIGNED HOUSE	
O. Ash. Mus. 87			responsible scribe NN?	C. I? C. II C. IV C. VI? C. V	
O. DeM 60 (probably only left side)	P3-R ^c -ḥtp <u>h</u> 3r 1 2/4 Nb-jmnt.t <u>h</u> 3r 1 2/4 Ḥ ^c -bḥn.t <u>h</u> 3r 1		responsible smd.t-scribe Nfr-htp (vi)	S.O. IV S.E. VII S.O. V	
O. Ash. Mus. 116	column I S3-W3dj.t h3r 1 1/4 Jmn-ms ? Sb3 h3r 1 1/4 Hr-ms ? Knr h3r 1 1/4 'Imn-ms ? Šd-[]? [] h3r 1 1/4 sš R^-ms	column II 'Imn-ms? Ndm-tsw 1 1/4 Dhwtj-hr-mk. t=f hsr 1 1/4 H's-bhn.t hsr 1 2/4 Pn-bwj hsr 1 1/4	responsible scribe NN	column I NN S.E. II S.E. IV? S.E. V NN NN	column II S.O. III NN S.O. I NN S.O. V S.O. VI

Table 6 Summary of the finds allowing the attribution of S.O. VI, V, and IV

DOCUMENT	LOCALIZATION OF THE FIND	ORIGINAL PROVENANCE	NAME(S)	INFORMATION [* notes the most likely scenario(s)]
Doc. 1 Fragmentary doorjamb	S.O. VI, entrance of room II, in place	S.O. VI, entrance of room II	Śn-ndm R ^c -ms	House inhabited by Sennedjem (i) and one of his sons, Ramose (iv)
Doc. 2 Fragmentary cultic emplacement (naos frame?)	Various spots in S.O. VI (room II; entrance of room III) and around S.O. VI (northeastern corner of the terrace of TT359)	S.O. VI most likely	Śn-ndm Hnsw	House inhabited by Sennedjem (i) and one of his sons, Khonsu (ii) or * House inhabited by Sennedjem (i) and Khonsu (ii), then taken over by Khonsu (ii)
Doc. 3 Fragmentary wooden door for a house shrine	S.O. VI, room II	S.O. VI, most likely	No name	House inhabited either by Sennedjem (i) himself or by a relative/descendant
Doc. 4 Piece of a stela stand	S.O. VI, room II	S.O. VI or S.O. V	ℋ ^c -bḫn.t	Monument dedicated by Khabekhenet (i) in the house of his father House inhabited by Khabekhenet (i)
Doc. 5 Piece of a cultic emplacement	S.O. VI (most likely)	S.O. VI, most likely	^c n-ḥtp T₃- ^c š=sn	Monument dedicated by/to two children of Sennedjem (i) in the house of their father
Doc. 6 Decorated false door	S.O. V, room III	S.O. V	H ^c -bhn.t with Śn-ndm or with Hnsw	House inhabited by Khabkehenet (i) * Monument dedicated by Khabekhenet (i) and his father * Monument dedicated by Khabekhenet (i) and his brother evidence for the fact that the house could have also been inhabited by Khonsu (ii)

DOCUMENT	LOCALIZATION OF THE FIND	ORIGINAL PROVENANCE	NAME(S)	INFORMATION [* notes the most likely scenario(s)]
Doc. 7 Piece of a cultic emplacement	S.O. IV	S.O. V most likely	Ӊ ^c -bḥn.t Śзḥ=tj	House inhabited by Khabekhenet (i) and his wife
Doc. 8 Piece of a cultic emplacement	Unknown	S.O. V most likely	Ĥ ^c -bḫn.t	House inhabited by Khabekhenet (i)
Doc. 9 Piece of a cultic emplacement	Unknown	S.O. V most likely	Ĥ ^c -bḫn.t	House inhabited by Khabekhenet (i)
Doc. 10 and 11 Pieces of cultic emplacements	S.O. V	S.O. V	jt=f N mw.t=f Iy-nfr=tj s3.t=s Irw- nfr(.t)	Monument dedicated by/for Khabekhenet (i)'s relatives in his house
Doc. 12 Piece of a cultic emplacement	S.O. V, cellar	S.O. V(?)	W3 <u>d</u> (.t)-rnp.t	House inhabited by a descendant of Khabekhenet (i) by marriage = unlikely scenario
Doc. 13 Fragmentary doorjamb	S.O. IV	S.O. IV	P3-R ^c -ḥtp	House inhabited by a Prehotep, *most likely Prehotep (v), son of Sennedjem (i), although Prehotep (i) could be an alternative candidate
Doc. 14 Fragmentary doorjamb	Southern part of the Western necropolis, in the vicinity of TT1, TT2, TT359 (from earlier excavations)	From P1154?	sš-ķd Рз-R ^c -ḥtp	Monument that cannot be used for attributing S.O. IV to an individual

DOCUMENT	LOCALIZATION OF THE FIND	ORIGINAL PROVENANCE	NAME(S)	INFORMATION [* notes the most likely scenario(s)]
Doc. 15 Dipinto of Amenhotep I	S.O. IV, room III, in place	S.O. IV	Anonymous	Could indicate that the house once belonged to a member of Sennedjem (i)'s family, maybe Prehotep (v), given the favor in which the deified king was held in the family
Doc. 16 Piece of a cultic emplacement	C. V	C. V or undetermined	P3-R ^c -ḥtp	Monument that cannot be linked to Prehotep (v) and the domestic spaces of Sennedjem (i)'s family

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BRINGING THE PLACE OF TRUTH BACK TO LIFE: IDENTIFYING THE "OWNERS" OF HOUSES AND TOMBS

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ABSTRACT

During his extensive excavations at Deir el-Medina, Bernard Bruyère gathered every door lintel, jamb and cultic cupboard he discovered and placed them in a disused tomb with the intention of studying them at a later date. They originally derive from private houses and tombs, chapels, and temples. In order to deduce their original location in or around the village, some fragments have recently been joined together on the basis of their carved inscriptions and certain inventory marks made on the blocks by Bruyère. The present research project on architectural elements aims at creating virtual reconstructions of (front and back) doors, with the hope of making significant contributions to the identification of the owners of Deir el-Medina houses. This type of research brings to light the difficulties of examining inscribed material from "old" excavations. For example, while the inscriptions contain relevant information, such as kinship networks or divine epithets that are otherwise unattested, the examination of the carving itself can establish differences in technique, proportion, relief type and style. This study enriches our knowledge and offer new insight into the social and religious spheres of the inhabitants of the village, which can lead to new evaluations of an architectural element. For instance, the rear surfaces of these blocks (the interior side), not viewable from the outside of the house or the tomb, are of much cruder workmanship than on the front surfaces (the exterior side).



Fig. 1 The full-to-bursting shelves in the quarters dedicated to the "huisseries" from Deir el-Medina in the Carter magazines (Photo by J. Masquelier-Loorius).

During his extensive excavations, Bernard Bruyère gathered every door lintel, jamb and cultic cupboard he found at Deir el-Medina and placed them in a disused anonymous tomb¹ with the intention of studying them at some later date. These artefacts originate from private houses, tombs, chapels, and temples, and constitute a corpus of more than a thousand pieces –many more, if we take in account those that are housed in private collections and museums.²

The project of studying them was restarted in the 1970s by Dominique Valbelle and Marie-Ange Bonhême, who began with a catalogue of 266 of the best preserved blocks. Work was again resumed in 2006, when Dominique Valbelle gave me her personal papers concerning these objects. Marie-Ange Bonhême was still in charge of the catalogue, and I began study of the artefacts in magazine 13 as well as at the village, where I took numerous measurements and observed all the doorframes, cultic cupboards, and related artefacts. The then Egyptian Supreme Council of Antiquities decided upon the transfer of all of the artefacts that were kept on the site in magazine 13 to the Carter magazines, with the work being carried out in 2009 [Fig. 1].4

¹ Many thanks to Benedict Davies for correcting and improving the English of this paper. Bruyère called this tomb "magazine 13". Bruyère, *Carnet de fouilles 1924*, 3ab (6 January 1924); Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh* (1924-1925), 1926, pl. II, and pl. VII (located between tomb 217 and pit 1022).

² For instance, all the door elements from Deir el Medina kept in the Museo Egizio Turin were published: Tosi and Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina*, 1972.

³ This work in progress will be published at the IFAO.

⁴ This relocation was undertaken under the supervision of the restorer Hassan el-Amir (IFAO) and myself, by many little and discrete round trips in a pick-up truck belonging to the service.



Fig. 2 Two jambs at the same scale showing the heterogeneity of the sources: one jamb from a door naming Anuy and Nebamentet; another from a cultic cupboard (Photo by Ihab Mohamed Ibrahim / IFAO).

In French, the term "huisserie" primarily designates a piece of wood or metal that forms, *inter alia*, the frame of a door or a window in a building;⁵ by extension, and in current usage, the word can also be used to refer to stone pieces. In English, "huisserie" has many translations depending upon the context: door frame, door lintel, doorjamb, etc. The present paper focuses on both the wooden and stone architectural elements that once comprised doors in private houses – both main and secondary entrances – and within tombs at Deir el-Medina, as well as cultic cupboards set up within wall niches in private dwellings [Fig. 2].

⁵ After the Littré (French dictionary) online: "Toutes les pièces de bois qui forment l'ouverture d'une porte", https://www.littre.org/definition/huisserie.



Fig. 3 Wooden doorjambs bearing the name of Hormose now kept in the storerooms at the Louvre Museum Paris (Photo by B. Bruyère / IFAO, MS_2006_00140).

These fragments that were previously parts of doors are mainly of limestone, more rarely sandstone; furthermore, some rare wooden artefacts, such as doorjambs [Fig. 3] and door-leaves, are now to be found in museum collections.⁶

The evidence is currently quite scattered. Fortuitously, some blocks are still in place at the entrances of houses, such as certain uninscribed parts in the house of Sennedjem located in the southwestern part of the village [Fig. 4]; others can be found at the entrances of tombs, as in Theban Tomb 359 of Inerkhau [Fig. 5]; while others still are stored either in museum collections or in the Carter magazines (since 2009) [Fig. 1]. To date these objects have been poorly researched, yet they contain precious information on individuals, family networks, social and

⁶ For instance the two door jambs coming from the same door frame and bearing the name of Hormose, kept in the Louvre Museum at Paris: PM I2/2, 687; Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1928), 1929, pp. 36–38 and 37 fig. 25; Delange, *Reliefs égyptiens du Nouvel Empire*, 2019, pp. 212–14 (cat. 73, Louvre E 13999). For an example of a door leaf, see the one that originates from the door of the chapel of Sennedjem (Theban Tomb 1): Bruyère, *La Tombe No 1 de Sen-nedjem à Deir el Médineh*, 1959, pp. 52–53, 73, and pl. XVII. It is kept in the Egyptian Museum Cairo, Corteggiani, *Ramsès le grand*, 1976, pp. 189–93 (cat. XLIV, JE 27303).



Fig. 4 Remains of the door of the second room (House of Sennedjem, SW VI) (Photo by Ihab Mohamed Ibrahim / IFAO).





Fig. 5 Two doorjambs at the entrance of the outer burial chamber in Theban Tomb 359, with "rebuilt" parts that were exposed to heat, the yellow ochre turning to red (Photo by Ihab Mohamed Ibrahim / IFAO).

religious spheres, and more. The renewed project that was started in 2006 aims at studying these artefacts and presenting, where possible, reconstructions, many of which will be created virtually given the dispersal of the artefacts. Indeed, one part of the same monument could be kept in a museum, while another could be held within the magazines of the Egyptian Ministry of Antiquities.⁷

Before any attempt is made to reconstruct monuments, it is crucial to ensure the thoroughness and accuracy of the documentation, particularly in terms of drawing and photography, since this constitutes for the scholar the closest point of reference to the original document. For example, an old publication of part of a doorjamb bearing the name of Qenia, now kept in the British Museum, at

⁷ For instance, the doorjamb of Pashed could be virtually reconstructed during the study – three matching pieces put together (the upper parts are kept in the Carter magazines, the lower part in the Louvre Museum). For the lower part, see: PM I²/2, 740; Davies, Who's Who, 1999, pp. 222–25 (Pashedu (i)); Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1928), 1929, p. 19 fig. 11 (n° 6), p. 93 (3°); Andreu (ed.), Les artistes de pharaon, 2002, p. 286 n° 229; Masquelier-Loorius, in Favry et al. (eds.), Du Sinaï au Soudan, 2017, p. 151, fig. 2 ab; Delange, Reliefs égyptiens du Nouvel Empire, 2019, pp. 209–11 (cat. 72, E 13992).



Fig. 6 Picture of a doorjamb under two different lighting conditions (Photo by Ihab Mohamed Ibrahim / IFAO).

first gives the impression that the decoration was carved on the opposite faces of one piece of stonework, whereas in fact the monument comprises two different blocks, each decorated with fine inscriptions.⁸

In other instances, direct access to the monument (or a high-quality picture of it) can bring to light certain previously unnoticed elements, such as marks made by Egyptian tools or the depth of the carving of the hieroglyphic signs. Such observations can, in turn, convey information about an object's provenance or other related issues like ancient Egyptian stone working technology. Pictures of a doorjamb under two different lighting conditions can often reveal different kinds of details [Fig. 6] in addition to highlighting the depth of carving.

In addition, certain "discrepancies" can be discovered between a source (one fragment), its interpretations in Bruyère's unpublished excavation journals

⁸ PM I²/2, 739; HTBM VII, pl. 13; Masquelier-Loorius, in Favry *et al.* (eds.), *Du Sinaï au Soudan*, 2017, pp. 149–50.

(which chart the evolution of the field excavation day by day), and his published Reports which, by definition, have the character of syntheses. The two readings of the hieroglyphic signs on a block from house SW V made by Bruyère [Fig. 7]° show differences to the original carved text – although Bruyère did include errata at the end of some of his *Reports*. What seems quite important to my mind is that there were two inscribed columns of text, and not only one, as was drawn in his Journal. Furthermore, among so many fragments it was difficult to locate the lower part of the jamb bearing the name of Pashedu from Bruyère's drawing, due to the quality of the stone and the very shallow carving [Fig. 8].

The best way to study these artefacts and to determine their initial location would first be to establish a typology. However, such a method has its limitations – and I will show further in the discussion some of the pitfalls encountered in attempting to match fragments. It is, therefore, worth considering many points of reference together, such as the material, the dimensions, the colours, the technique(s) – parts of some artefacts are not actually carved, but merely painted –, the distinctive features of the decoration comprising both depictions and inscriptions, and, when preserved *in situ*, the setting of blocks. The state of preservation is another component that must be taken into account in the reconstruction – be it physical or virtual – of the door frames, since pieces could have been altered by weathering (especially sand), exposure to fire, and/or plaster sometimes being applied to the artefacts. The inscribed columns of the jambs partially preserved in their original location at the entrance of the outer burial room of Theban tomb 359 were both originally painted using yellow ochre, but this has subsequently turned to red through exposure to heat [Fig. 5].

The state of conservation is all the more important given the fact that "huisseries" were found at different locations of the site, leading to various degrees of damage even for two matching pieces: one can find, for instance, colour preserved on one piece and merely engraved figures and signs on the other [Fig. 9]. In this respect, the examination of the material has included several steps, each focusing on a specific feature of the artefacts. During one phase, for instance, many pieces, some of which still remain *in situ*, have been grouped according to

⁹ Both published in Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh* (1934-1935), III, 1939, pp. 44 and 327 (1°).

¹⁰ Bruyère, Carnet de fouilles 1935, 6b.



Fig. 7 Reading of the hieroglyphic signs on a block from house SW V made by Bruyère (Photo by Ihab Mohamed Ibrahim / IFAO, and IFAO, B. Bruyère, *Carnet de fouilles 1935*, p. 6b).

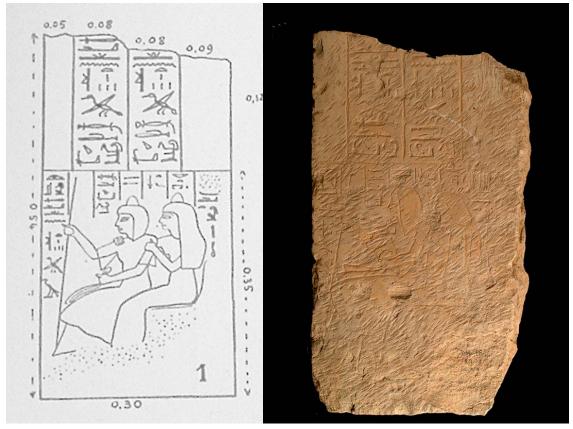


Fig. 8 Bruyère's drawing (IFAO, B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh* [1928], 1929, p. 7 fig. 2 [1]) and a picture of the lower part of the jamb bearing the name of Pashedu (Photo by Ihab Mohamed Ibrahim / IFAO).



Fig. 9 Various degrees of damage for two matching pieces (Photo by Ihab Mohamed Ibrahim / IFAO).



Fig. 10 Doorjamb found in domestic context (Photo by Ihab Mohamed Ibrahim / IFAO).

colour, and their study has already led to concrete results in terms of provenance and/or date.

- In the first group were gathered blocks from red doorjambs: the background of the inscriptions, carved in columns and delineated by blue paint, is white. These blocks seem to belong to family houses, in other words domestic contexts [Fig. 10].
- The second group comprises white doorjambs: the background of their inscriptions, carved in columns and delineated by red paint, is yellow the colour of the background can, however, vary in some instances. These blocks should be connected, it seems, to funerary contexts and must have once stood at the entrances of chapels [Fig. 11].
- In the third group, one finds another type of white doorjamb, in which the background of the inscriptions is also white: both delineating lines and signs are painted in blue. In this group, we can find a subcategory in which it is not so much the colours as the palaeography of the signs that is usefully diagnostic: their stylisation is indeed typical of the Twentieth Dynasty [Fig. 12].



Fig. 11 Doorjamb from the entrance of a chapel (Photo by Ihab Mohamed Ibrahim / IFAO).

We can create many other groups and subgroups, but we must keep in mind that such classification is not sufficient for our study, as it leads us to only partial "results" in terms of joining, rebuilding, and so on.

Take for instance the door leading to the innermost burial chamber of tomb 329 (which actually belonged to Mose (iv), but is often wrongly referred to as the tomb of Mose (vii) and Ipy (i), who occupied a nearby tomb, see infra¹¹): Bruyère noticed that the lintel is made of limestone, and the jambs of sandstone. As yet I have been unable to verify this observation at the tomb, ¹² but it would imply that some limestone parts could have been used in conjunction with sandstone ones on the same door frame. The formula "Opening the doors of the Duat...", and the colours used for the decoration are indications for the provenience of such similarly decorated elements that were not found in situ.

¹¹ Masquelier-Loorius, in Davies (ed.), Dispatches from Deir el-Medina (forthcoming).

¹² Details are neither available in Kampp, *Die Thebanische Nekropole*, 1996, p. 577, nor in the online IFAO archives: http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ttdem/?tt=329#galerie.



Fig. 12 Doorjamb dating from the Twentieth Dynasty (Photo by Ihab Mohamed Ibrahim / IFAO).

This is an example of the kind of information the study of architectural elements – particularly inscribed material from "old" excavations – can yield. An examination of their carving can establish differences in techniques, proportion, relief type and style. Furthermore, their inscriptions may contain relevant information, such as kinship networks or previously unrecorded divine epithets. This kind of study thus enriches our knowledge and offers fresh insight into both the social and religious spheres at Deir el-Medina.

Let us now consider a case study. The owners of households SW IV, V, and VI seem to be firmly identified.¹³ The house SW VI belongs to the family of Sennedjem,¹⁴ the house SW V to his son Khabekhnet,¹⁵ and both workers have their dec-

¹³ About the houses, see: Valbelle, "Les ouvriers de la Tombe", 1985, pp. 121–23; Davies, Life Within the Five Walls, 2018, pp. 151–54; Masquelier-Loorius, Séthi le et le début de la XIXe dynastie, 2013, pp. 239, 248–54; Andreu, in Gaber et al. (eds.), À l'oeuvre on connaît l'artisan..., 2017, pp. 32–33; Masquelier-Loorius, in Gaber et al. (eds.), À l'oeuvre on connaît l'artisan..., 2017, pp. 43, 46.

¹⁴ PM $I^2/2$, 703; Bruyère, Carnet de fouilles 1935, 5ab-7ab; Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-1935), III, 1939, pp. 329–34. Jamb-fragment from this house: Bruyère, La Tombe No 1 de Sen-nedjem à Deir el Médineh, 1959, pl. XIV (4); Masquelier-Loorius, in Gaber et al. (eds.), À l'oeuvre on connaît l'artisan..., 2017, p. 42 fig. 2.

¹⁵ PM $I^2/2$, 703; Bruyère, Carnet de fouilles 1935, 5ab-7ab; Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-1935), III, 1939, pp. 325-29.

orated tombs located near to their homes. Bruvère attributed the first one, the house SW IV, to the draughtsman Prehotep (i) in both his Journals and later in his Reports. 16 This identification has been adopted by many researchers. However as a textbook case, I can demonstrate, by trying to "rebuild" what was in the mind of Bruyère during his research, that this identification was merely suggestive and ultimately incorrect. House SW IV was excavated in February 1935, in which Bruyère found a fragment of a doorjamb bearing the name of Rahotep, ¹⁷ used as an alternate form of Prehotep. 18 The excavation of this house – which took just a few days – is relatively well documented. 19 A second doorjamb, bearing the name of "the draughtsman Prehotep", is part of the corpus I am studying. It is only known by a picture from Bruyère, published in his Report, 20 in which he grouped the (only) two fragments bearing the name of Rahotep/Prehotep he was aware of at this stage of the fieldwork [Fig. 13].²¹ However, I have been unable to find any mention of this second doorjamb in the Journals, except on Bruyère's drawing of the "huisseries" found on the site and mentioned in 1947-1948, where he specified under the drawing, "marqué [drawing of a four-stepped staircase S. N°1".22 In the photograph, I was able to observe the mark left on this second doorjamb as specified by Bruyère on his drawing, and I note that it curiously differs from a mark written on the right block in the photograph, which reads S. 3 15.2.35, meaning "salle [room] 3 [of the house SW IV], together with the date of the excavation, "15.2.35" [February 15, 1935]". The special identification mark on the second doorjamb is made in black paint with a large brush, not with the fine pencil that Bruyère always used, which firmly identifies it as a mark left by the Italian mission that had recently worked in the Valley of the

¹⁶ PM $I^2/2$, 703; Bruyère, Carnet de fouilles 1935, 5ab-7ab; Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-1935), III, 1939, pp. 320–25.

¹⁷ Bruyère, *Carnet de fouilles* 1935, 8a (SO IV montant g[auche] calc[aire] 13.2.35), and 8b (13.2.35, the number of the house is incorrect in the unpublished report: SO IV and not SO V); Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1934-1935), III, 1939, p. 325 fig. 195.

¹⁸ For instance, Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 44.

¹⁹ Bruyère, Carnet de fouilles 1935, 5ab-8ab.

²⁰ Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-1935), III, 1939, p. 325 fig. 195.

²¹ Archives of the Ifao, MS_2006_0119.

²² Bruyère, *Carnet de fouilles 1947-1948*, 14a (191). Not grouped with the doorjamb bearing (only) the name of Rahotep, Bruyère, *Carnet de fouilles 1947-1948*, 12b (124). The mark of the location of the find may be interpreted as "south of Chapel number 1 (chapel of Sennedjem)".

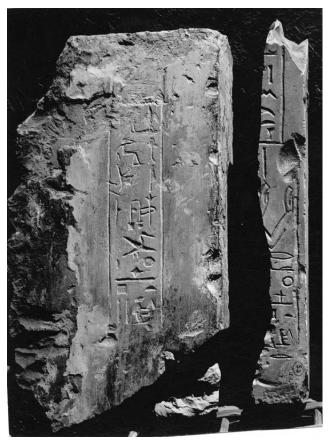


Fig. 13 Fragments bearing the name of (Pa)Rahotep (Photo by B. Bruyère / IFAO, MS_2006_00119).

Queens.²³ In fact, during Bruyère's excavations he made the following comment in his Journal: "M. Farina nous laisse prendre à la Vallée des Reines les f[ra]g[men]ts de monuments de pierre de D[eir] [el] M[edina] que Schiaparelli y avait emmagasinés [Mr. Farina lets us take the fragments of stone monuments from Deir el-Medina that Schiaparelli had stored in the Valley in the Queens]."²⁴ Therefore this second doorjamb, bearing the name of the draughtsman Prehotep, was not found during the excavation of the house SW IV in the village, contrary to the (first) doorjamb bearing the name of Rahotep; it was in fact stored with others in the Valley of the Queens, and its removal therefrom was undertaken during the excavation of the house SW IV. We must take in account three facts: (i) Bruyère was aware of only one draughtsman, named Prehotep, at this stage of the excavation of the site; (ii) he was almost certain that this house was inhabited by a draughtsman and his

²³ These special identification marks have been identified by Jean Yoyotte on blocks coming from the Italian excavations and stored in the Valley of the Queens (cf. his unpublished list of identification marks: "Deir el-Medina. Marques de provenance des trouvailles").

²⁴ Bruyère, Carnet de fouilles 1935, 8b (13 Février).

family, because of the drawings and paintings on its walls, though he subsequently found similar decoration in other houses that did not belong to draughtsmen;²⁵ (iii) other fragments bearing the name of the worker Prehotep have been found elsewhere in the village, for instance in the house CV, but not in their original context.²⁶ Bruyère has put both doorjambs in only one picture in his Report; one bearing the name of Rahotep, found in the house SW IV, and the other one mentioning "the draughtsman Prehotep". This parallel should be seen as a suggestion, made during the first years of excavation, by grouping blocks bearing nearly the same name, but we know now that the two blocks had decorated two separate monuments belonging to the family of two different craftsmen: house SW IV belonged to a Rahotep/Prehotep, that may be the worker Rahotep (v), son of Sennedjem; the other fragment is related to a contemporary, the draughtsman Prehotep (i), son of Pay. The tomb of this draughtsman must have been identified by the Italian mission of Schiaparelli: Bruyère visited this tomb before he excavated the house SW IV, in 1933, and numbered it 1354.²⁷ Indeed, the south (right) jamb at the entrance of the burial chamber, bearing the name and title of the draughtsman Prehotep, was still in situ, contrary to the north (left) one.²⁸ The special mark left on the block must be understood as "the stairs south of tomb no. 1", what Bruyère called "escalier de Parêhotep". This left door jamb does not come from the house SW IV, but from tomb 1354, located at the south of tomb no. 1 of Sennedjem, and it is highly probable that it constituted the north jamb of its entrance, taken by the Italian mission, stored in the Valley of the Queens, and then recognized as a block of Prehotep by Bruyère, and wrongly attributed to house SW IV.

Overall, the heuristic method implemented for this long-term endeavour has already proven its value and yielded some promising results. It has allowed me to formulate new hypotheses, while refuting certain existing (and perhaps too hastily accepted) ones. This is particularly true for monuments which have typically been used to determine who the owners of certain houses in the village

²⁵ For instance, the wall painting showing a "dancing-girl flutist with tattoo-marks of Bes" drawn in house SE VIII belonging to Nebamun, son of Nebamentet. PM I²/2, 703; Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1934-1935), III, 1939, pp. 273–74, 273 fig. 145, and pl. X.

²⁶ Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-1935), III, p. 306 (7°), and pl. XIX (2).

²⁷ Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1933-1934), 1937, p. 123 (Bruyère says that he emptied that tomb for the first time in 1923, but nothing could be found about that fact).

²⁸ Bruyère, *Carnet de fouilles 1933*, 5b (16 janvier), 6b, and plan 7a; Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1933-1934), 1937, pp. 123-24.

were. In many cases, previously suggested identifications are erroneous, such as for the owners of the house NE XIII, who cannot have been Mose and Ipy. The two main joining fragments bearing the names of Mose and Ipy, and forming the upper part of a door lintel, were found in two adjoining houses,²⁹, but they were not found in their original archaeological context: neither the fragment found in house NE XII,³⁰ nor the one found in house NE XIII, which had been reused as part of a doorjamb.³¹ Indeed, the information given by Bruyère is confusing.³² Furthermore, the decoration of the lintel, as well as its dimensions and architectural characteristics, show that it did not adorn a front or secondary door of a house, but more likely the entrance of a tomb chapel.³³

Admittedly initial hypotheses were based upon the discovery of an architectural component, be it a stela, an inscribed (fragment of) column or a doorjamb, but these elements were not necessarily found in their original archaeological context of use – they may have been reused or they could even have been dedications made by someone else (a family member, a friend, a colleague, etc.). Only a careful and painstaking (cross-)examination of the "huisseries", in all their aspects, will allow proper reconstructions of the monuments and ultimately a better understanding of the social configuration of the village. In fact, most of the houses of the village, where it appears that the owner can be firmly identified, date from the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty, since it was during the reign of Seti I that the final expansion of the village took place.³⁴

²⁹ See the provisional plan of the north-eastern houses district and compare it with the final plan drawn up by Bruyère afterwards: Bruyère, *Carnet de fouilles 1934*, 8a; Bruyère, *Carnet de fouilles 1935*, 4a; Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-1935)*, III, 1939, pl. XXIX. Two additional fragments were already stored in the excavation magazines when Bruyère arrived on the site, see: Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-1935)*, III, pp. 42 and 258.

³⁰ Bruyère, Carnet de fouilles 1934, 10a, 10b (14 February 1934) "fragment taken from the tomb 1107-8".

³¹ Bruyère, Carnet de fouilles 1933, 10a (10 March 1933).

³² For instance, "lintel found in 1934 from the tomb of Mesou-Apii (...) (still unpublished)», Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1933-1934), 1937, p. 83. Then, once the lintel published, read the questions about its origin (in particular from a house or a tomb): Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-1935), III, pp. 41–43, and fig. 11. In addition, Bruyère reversed some data: the upper left [correct: right] fragment was used as a door post in the couch room of house NE XIII (found on 14 February 1934 [correct: 10 March 1933]) the right [correct: left] fragment of the same origin [correct: house SE XII] was found on 10 March 1933 [correct: 14 February 1934]. Compare with the text about the same lintel, presented later in the book: Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-1935), III, p. 258.

³³ This lintel was attributed to tomb 329 by Delange, *Reliefs égyptiens du Nouvel Empire*, 2019, pp. 198–200 (cat. 68, Louvre E 16272 + E 14327 bis + E 14401), but it belongs to a nearby one. Masquelier-Loorius, in Davies (ed.), *Dispatches from Deir el-Medina* (forthcoming).

³⁴ Masquelier-Loorius, Séthi ler et le début de la XIXe dynastie, 2013, pp. 238–39.

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THE KING AND I: COMMEMORATING THE PRIVILEGE OF ROYAL STATUE DEDICATION IN RAMESSIDE DEIR EL-MEDINA¹

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ABSTRACT

It is generally understood that in ancient Egyptian statuary, "a private person is never sculpted together with the king". However, an unusual small limestone statue in the collections of National Museums Scotland contradicts this understanding, depicting a man kneeling to offer a statue of a king (NMS A.1956.139). Clearly Ramesside in style, it has sometimes been assumed to represent a royal tutor and his charge. Recent archival research in the notes of Scottish archaeologist Alexander Henry Rhind has revealed the provenance of this statue as having been excavated in Deir el-Medina in the 1850s. This paper will discuss possible identifications for the king and the official and examine the statue in relation to similar examples excavated in the Hathor chapel at Deir el-Medina by Bruyère (Deir el-Medina nos. 91, 250 and other fragments). In context, these statues offer insights into the relationship between the Ramesside kings, their viziers, and the high officials at Deir el-Medina, as well as the mutually beneficial performative role of commissioning and dedicating monuments.

¹ Warm thanks to the organizers of the Deir el-Medina workshop at the Museo Egizio. Thanks to my National Museums Scotland colleagues, in particular curator Dan Potter for helpful comments on a draft of this article, curatorial interns Edward Scrivens, Gemma Park, and Evgenia Michailidou, and photographers Neil McLean and Amy Fokinther. Thanks to John Baines, Cédric Gobeil, Niv Allon, Guillemette Andreu, Paolo Del Vesco, and Marie Vandenbeusch for useful conversations on various topics relating to this paper.

1. REPRESENTATIONS OF THE KING SHAPED BY DECORUM AND THE ROYAL CULT DONATION STATUE TYPE

It has generally been understood that in ancient Egypt, "a private person is never sculpted together with the king". Representations of individuals, like all cultural production, were restrained and shaped by a system of decorum — an unwritten set of rules and practices that governed and constrained what could be represented.3 As discussed by Baines, decorum represented the "proper order of the world", reflecting a social hierarchy governed by the king and the gods, essentially a "sacralized hierarchy". Originally the restriction concerning the depiction of kings with non-royals also applied to two-dimensional representations: the king was only first depicted in private tombs during the early Twelfth Dynasty, in the tombs of the royal treasurer Khety (TT311: MMA 26.3.354-8)⁵ and of Senet, mother of the vizier Intefiger (TT60), but such representations did not become widespread until the New Kingdom.⁷ Although it eventually became acceptable to depict oneself in the company of the king in two-dimensional stelae and tomb decoration, presumably decorum continued to dictate that it was not appropriate to be shown on equal standing with the king in three-dimensional form.

Nevertheless, several statues from Deir el-Medina contradict this "rule", though they have not previously been recognized as a group. This statue type pushed the boundaries of what may have been considered appropriate by representing an official offering a statue of the ruling king as a god, rather than depicting the king in person. They commemorate the donation of royal cult statues and were likely a privilege restricted to the highest elite. Indeed, most of these statues belonged to viziers, the highest office in Egyptian administration. All of them were apparently connected to Deir el-Medina, the settlement of the craftsmen who built the royal tombs.

² Freed, in Silverman (ed.), Searching for Ancient Egypt, 1997, p. 121.

³ Baines, Fecundity Figures, 1985, pp. 277–305; Baines, JARCE 27 (1990), pp. 20–23; Baines, Visual and Written Culture, 2007, pp. 15–20, 28.

⁴ Quotations from Baines, Visual and Written Culture, 2007, p. 16, and Baines, JARCE 27 (1990), p. 21.

⁵ Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 2009, pp. 47, 50; *The Met Collection*, metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/590886 (12 July 2021).

⁶ Davies, The Tomb of Antefoker, 1920, pl. 16.

⁷ Radwan, Die Darstellungen des regierenden Königs, 1969.

2. RAMESSES II AND THE CULT OF THE LIVING KING AT DEIR EL-MEDINA

The temple dedicated to the goddess Hathor in Deir el-Medina was rebuilt in the early years of the reign of Ramesses II (c.1279–1213 BC), with a chapel to the state god Amun-Ra in the south-east and a *Khenu*-chapel added at the front. The *Khenu* (*ḥnw*), literally "residence", whose structure has been compared to that of the Ramesseum as well as to palace architecture, is believed to have housed the cult of a statue of the deified Ramesses II. The worship of the ruling king was widely promoted during the reign of Ramesses II with the introduction of numerous statue cults serving as one of his policies of self-promotion. The

The vizier Paser and the senior scribe Ramose (i) are considered to have been responsible for founding, on behalf of Ramesses II, the statue cult and building the aforementioned chapels where a large number of statues and stelae dedicated by them were excavated by Bernard Bruyère. A stelophorus statue of Ramose (i), excavated in the *Khenu*, records an endowment of offerings that he set up for a statue in the Hathor temple under orders from Ramesses II in year 9 (Cairo JdE 72023). A dedicatory panel excavated in the *Khenu*-chapel shows Ramesses II with the vizier Paser and another official, presumably Ramose (i), whose figure is accompanied by the text: "I have made the *Khenu* within the [house] of this statue of my Lord which rests within it" (Deir el-Medina no. 70). Bruyère also excavated in the same place a possible foundation deposit stone inscribed with the cartouches of Ramesses II and the names and titles of Paser and

⁸ Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1935–40), I, 1948, pp. 20–21, 71–89, 121–25, pl. 2; Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1935–40), II, 1952, pp. 77–79; PM I²/2, p. 700; Sadek, *Popular Religion*, 1987, pp. 66, 83; Exell, in Dann (ed.), *Current Research in Egyptology*, 2006, pp. 53–54, 59.

⁹ For discussion of the term, examples of various *Khenu* structures, etc., see Valbelle, in Haring *et al.* (eds.), *The Workman's Progress*, 2014; see also Davies, *Life Within the Five Walls*, 2018, pp. 146, 165–67.

¹⁰ Habachi, Features of the Deification of Ramesses II, 1969; Exell, in Dann (ed.), Current Research in Egyptology, 2006, p. 61.

¹¹ Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1935-40), II, 1952, p. 57; Exell, in Dann (ed.), Current Research in Egyptology, 2006; Exell, Soldiers, Sailors and Sandalmakers, 2009, pp. 135-36; Davies, Life Within the Five Walls, 2018, pp. 260-63; for a list of references for these monuments, see Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 80, pp. 38

¹² Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1935-40), II, 1952, no. 115, pp. 42, 56-57, pls. 12, 35; PM I²/2, p. 697; KR/ II, pp. 361-63; Davies, *Who's Who*, 1999, p. 80.

¹³ Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1935-40), II, 1952, no. 70, p. 63-66, pl. 30; PM I²/2, p. 697; KRI III, p. 705; Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 80; Exell, in Dann (ed.), *Current Research in Egyptology*, 2006, p. 54; Valbelle, in Haring *et al.* (eds.), *The Workman's Progress*, 2014, pp. 243-45, figs. 3-4.

Ramose. Access was not restricted to these high officials alone though, as monuments dedicated by other villagers were also found there. The royal cult continued beyond the reign of Ramesses II, through the Ramesside period, though as Bruyère stated, damage to the chapels due to the later construction of the Greco-Roman temple on top meant that it is uncertain whether Merneptah and his successors built their own chapels or reused their predecessors. From P. Turin Cat. 1879+1879 vso, which records the planned establishment of a cult statue of Ramesses VI (c.1143–1136 BC) in the "pr of Ramesses II", it is seems plausible that the *Khenu* continued to be used for royal statue cults for many decades. 16

The divine elevation of the living king, as well as the cult of the deified Amenhotep I as patron of Deir el-Medina, and indeed the worship of other posthumous rulers, was a form of ritual practice that acknowledged the ruler's central importance to the community.¹⁷ Cult statues provided a kind of proximity to and a visual and physical manifestation of a mostly absent king, who was the purpose of the community's existence and the source of their wealth. Loyalty in the settlement was not always assured though, as evidenced by records of the workers striking. 18 Considering the essential role the craftsmen played in constructing the royal tombs, as well as how central the burial of kings was to the Egyptian political system, it was important to maintain the stability of the social structure that governed Deir el-Medina by cultivating devotion to the king. While the king's authority was supreme, in reality it was the "senior scribe of the tomb" who was appointed by the vizier to act as head of the settlement. The royal statue cult may have provided a way for the villagers to feel a connection with their king, while its administration by the vizier and senior scribe of the tomb would have reinforced their authority to act on the king's behalf. Undoubtedly, the dedication of the statue of the king would have involved a public display of ritual performance. It seems fitting that this process was memorialized in a new form of statuary at Deir el-Medina, where the creation and dedication of monuments was the settlement's raison d'être.

¹⁴ Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1935-40), II, 1952, no. 41, p. 85, fig. 113, pl. 23.

¹⁵ Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1935-40), I, 1948, pp. 25, 91; Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1935-40), II, 1952, pp. 108-09. See also Sourouzian, Les Monuments du roi Merenptah, 1989, p. 186, n. 806; El-Bialy, Memnonia 19 (2008), p. 157.

¹⁶ Hovestreydt, LingAeg 5 (1997); Valbelle, in Haring et al. (eds.), The Workman's Progress, 2014, p. 247.

¹⁷ E.g. Černý, *BIFAO* 27 (1927).

¹⁸ E.g. Davies, Life Within the Five Walls, 2018, pp. 318–25.

3. THE STATUES

3.1. The royal cult donation statue type at Deir el-Medina

The excavated examples of this new statue type, which commemorated the dedication of an image of the deified living king, are presented and discussed in this section. Two statues and three or four statue fragments were excavated in the area around the Ramesside period Hathor temple by Bruyère for the IFAO between 1935–40. These are all over a metre tall and depict viziers either kneeling or standing with arms outstretched to present statues of either Merneptah or Ramesses III. Two further examples apparently also derive from Deir el-Medina, probably from the same chapel area. A statue fragment from the Metropolitan Museum is inscribed with the name of Ramesses II, but apart from the hands, the figure of the donor does not survive. The quality of carving and its similar scale to the other examples suggests that it was also dedicated by a vizier. The aforementioned statues all depict the king within a shrine or in front of an altar, though one final example differs. This smaller-sized statue, now in National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh, is the most complete example of the statue type. As such it is given a fuller treatment below, especially since no discussion of it has yet been published. It lacks an inscription, but the donor does not wear the robe of a vizier, so it is likely a high official who is shown with arms outstretched holding the royal statue directly. Stylistically it can be dated to the reign of Ramesses II. These last two examples suggest that the statue type may have been introduced alongside the founding of the statue cult of Ramesses II at Deir el-Medina.

3.2. Statue of Vizier Panehesy offering a statue of Merneptah and a royal wife (Deir el-Medina no. 250)

One of these statues is a limestone standing figure of the vizier Panehesy [Fig. 1], who is shown offering a seated pair statue of King Merneptah (c. 1213–1203 BCE) and a royal wife, whose name is not recorded.¹⁹ The statue measures 167 cm in height, 107 cm in length, and 17 cm in width at the base. It is delicately and sensitively carved with a high level of detail. There are many traces of white plas-

¹⁹ Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1935-40), II, 1952, no. 250, pp. 107-09, pl. 41; Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie*, III, 1958, pl. 169,6; El-Bialy, *Memnonia* 19 (2008), pp. 161-78, pls. 21-24.



Fig. 1 Statue of Vizier Panehesy offering a statue of Merneptah and a royal wife (Deir el-Medina no. 250). H. 167 cm, L. 107 cm, W. 17 cm (From Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1935–40), II, 1952, pl. 41).

ter covering the statue and a significant quantity of polychrome paint survives on the throne. Panehesy wears an elaborately curled wig and the long full robe traditionally worn by the vizier during the New Kingdom. The robe is worn high on the chest, tucked just under the arms and secured by a strap around the neck, terminating just above the ankles. Panehesy holds his arms out at a 45-degree angle to proffer the pair statue. All three figures stand on a plinth whose edge is carved with an inscription in sunk relief, as is the back pillar in two columns.

The royal pair are dressed as divine figures in archaizing garments. The king wears a *nemes*-headdress and a *shendyt*-kilt, while the queen wears a long elaborate Ramesside wig and a sheath dress. The heads of the king and queen are missing. The king and queen are seated on a throne whose sides are decorated with royal titulary carved in sunk relief and colourfully painted with a surrounding border of bands of colour. The epithets on the throne describe the king as beloved of Amun-Ra on the left side and Hathor on the right, and inscriptions on the back pillar are offering formulae addressed to the two deities, similarly divided between the two columns.²⁰ The statue was discovered in four frag-

²⁰ See El-Bialy, Memnonia 19 (2008) for the text, transcription, and translation.

ments; when it was re-published in 2008, the upper portion of Panehesy was not found, apart from the vizier's head.²¹ Bruyère believed there may have been a *Khenu*-chapel dedicated to Merneptah between those of Ramesses II and Seti I.²² The statue was excavated in a small chapel against the north wall of the temple of Amun of Ramesses II.²³

3.3. Statue of Vizier Hori offering a statue of Ramesses III in a ram-headed shrine (Deir el-Medina no. 91)

A limestone statue of Vizier Hori depicts him kneeling to offer a ram-headed shrine containing a figure of Ramesses III (c. 1184–1153 BCE) [Fig. 2].²⁴ The vizier, who wears the long robe associated with the position, kneels holding the shrine before him. The head of the vizier is lost, along with some of the figure of the king (which is barely visible in Bruyère's photographs, apart from the feet), and part of the pedestal. The entire statue measures 100 cm high, 70 cm long, and 37 cm wide at the base. The carving is relatively rough and lacking in detail, with the hands and feet rendered somewhat awkwardly.

Both sides of the shrine are inscribed with the cartouches of Ramesses III, as well as the Theban gods Amun-Ra, described as "king of the gods, ruler of the West" on the right-side and "Khonsu, born of Mut", on the left-side. The ram's head with striated wig represents Amun-Ra; his ram form was particularly associated with Deir el-Medina and the Amun chapel attached to the Hathor temple there, similar to its association with Hathor's cow form.²⁵ The titles of the vizier are roughly incised in an inscription that encircles the pedestal and also on the back pillar in a single column of text.²⁶

²¹ According to El-Bialy, *Memnonia* 19 (2008), p. 151 n. 2, the fragments were previously kept in a magazine in TT33, inv. No. 693 on the register Gournah no. 1/29, until they were transferred to the National Museum of Egyptian Civilization in 2007.

²² Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1935-40), I, 1948, pp. 25, 91; Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1935-40), II, 1952, pp. 108-09. See also Sourouzian, *Les Monuments du roi Merenptah*, 1989, p. 186, n. 806; El-Bialy, *Memnonia* 19 (2008), p. 157.

²³ Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1935-40), II, 1952, pp. 125-26, fig. 68.

²⁴ Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1935-40), II, 1952, no. 91, pp. 40, 54, pl. 29.

²⁵ Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1935–40), I, 1948, p. 17; Davies, *Life within the Five Walls*, 2018, p. 28.

²⁶ For this text, see Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1935-40), II, 1952, pp. 40, 54.



Fig. 2 Statue of Vizier Hori offering a statue of Ramesses III in a ram-headed shrine (Deir el-Medina no. 91). H. 100 cm, L. 70 cm, W. 37 cm (From Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1935–40), II, 1952, pl. 29).

3.4. Statue fragments of viziers offering statues of Merneptah and Ramesses III (Deir el-Medina nos. 150, 251, 252, 253)

Bruyère also describes three or four damaged limestone statue fragments that belong to the same type of royal cult donation statue. Deir el-Medina statue fragment no. 253 represents a vizier, probably Panehesy, holding a ram-headed shrine or altar with a standing figure of Merneptah before it, measuring 75 cm in height. Statue fragment no. 251 depicts a kneeling figure of the vizier Hori, apparently holding a ram-headed shrine or altar with an attached standing figure of the king. These were both excavated in the north sector, north-east of the Ptolemaic enclosure. A similar statue fragment, no. 150, of a standing king may also have been attached to the front of an altar with a ram's head being offered by an official, or it may have stood before a statue of the Hathor cow. The fragment is 35 cm in height, though the figure of the king probably originally stood 60 cm at full height. Statue fragment no. 252 preserves the upper half of Vizier Panehesy shown kneel-

²⁷ Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1935-40), II, 1952, no. 253, p. 111, fig. 186.

²⁸ Bruyère does not give its dimensions; Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1935–40), II, 1952, no. 251, pp. 109–10, fig. 186.

²⁹ Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1935-40), II, 1952, p. 106.

³⁰ Bruyère does not specify its findspot; Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1935-40), II, 1952, no. 150, pp. 59-60, fig. 145.

ing to offer what was probably originally a Hathor statue, as the back pillar is inscribed with an offering formula addressed to the goddess.³¹ However, the statue's form is extremely similar to the other examples discussed above, which suggests the possibility that it could originally have been fronted by a statue of the king. The fragment measures 80 cm in height and was also found in the north sector.

3.5. Fragment of a statue of an official offering a statue of Ramesses II, probably the vizier Paser (MMA 90.6.1)

Another statue fragment of an official presenting a statue of the king represents Ramesses II [Figs. 3-4]. Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, it was donated from the collection of James Douglas, who probably acquired it between 1851–1865, when he is known to have been travelling and collecting in Egypt.³² The statue originally represented an official kneeling to dedicate a shrine surmounted by a ram's head of Amun fronted by a standing image of the king. The only surviving fragments of the donor are his outstretched hands visible on either side of the shrine. The statue fragment measures 58 cm in height, 24 cm in width, and 29 cm in depth. Its scale is similar to the others discussed above; the original statue would have probably stood around 125 cm in total.

The king wears a *nemes*-headdress, broad collar, and *shendyt*-kilt with an elaborate belt adorned with ribbons and uraei. The king strides forward with his hands placed flat on his kilt. Significant traces of green and yellow pigment survive on the *nemes*-headdress, as well as blue and yellow on the broad collar and kilt. The king's skin was painted reddish-brown, which survives on the face and shoulders, with the eyes outlined in black. The ram's wig is green, traces of blue survive on the altar or shrine, with the titulary on either side mostly carved in raised relief with a line of sunk relief below and painted in polychrome, which mostly survives on the left-hand side. The shrine's sides are decorated with the names of Ramesses II who is described as beloved of Amun-Ra, *3b imntt* – "who favours the West" [Fig. 4], an epithet that also appears on Deir el-Medina statue no. 250 of Panehesy and seems to have been largely restricted to Deir el-Medina,³³

³¹ Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1935-40), II, 1952, pp. 109-11, fig. 187.

³² The Met Collection, metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/549228 (12 July 2021); Vandier, Manuel d'archéologie, III, 1958, p. 677, pl. 157,5; Hayes, Scepter of Egypt, II, 1959, p. 352.

³³ Interpretation of the epithet is discussed in detail in El-Bialy, *Memnonia* 19 (2008), p. 153; see also Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1935–40), III, 1952, pp. 40–52.



Fig. 3 Fragment of a statue of an official offering a statue of Ramesses II (MMA 90.6.1). H. 58 cm, W. 24 cm, D. 29 cm (Photo by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).



Fig. 4 Side view of a fragment of a statue of an official offering a statue of Ramesses II (MMA 90.6.1). H. 58 cm, W. 24 cm, D. 29 cm (Photo by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).

suggesting this statue probably has the same provenance as the others. Since the statue dates to the reign of Ramesses II, its dedication may have directly related to the founding of the *Khenu*-chapel. The relatively high quality of the carving and painting, as well as its scale, suggests that the statue must have been commissioned by a very high-ranking official, most likely the Vizier Paser himself.

3.6. Statue of an official wearing a floral wreath offering a statue of a king wearing the blue crown, possibly Ramose (i) and Ramesses II (NMS A.1956.139)

This statue in the collections of National Museums Scotland in Edinburgh is another rare example of an official depicted offering a statue of a king [Figs. 5-7].³⁴

³⁴ For a 3D digital model of the statue, see https://sketchfab.com/3d-models/white-limestone-statue-of-a-man-b8360233009a4000a4cc453ad4e4638d (12 July 2021).



Fig. 5 Statue of an official wearing a floral wreath offering a statue of a king wearing the blue crown (NMS A.1956.139). H. 36.2 cm, W. 14.6 cm, D. 24.9 cm (Photo by National Museums Scotland).



Fig. 6 Side view of a statue of an official wearing a floral wreath offering a statue of a king wearing the blue crown (NMS A.1956.139). H. 36.2 cm, W. 14.6 cm, D. 24.9 cm (Photo by National Museums Scotland).

Although images of the statue have been published several times, ³⁵ it has never been published in detail. It is damaged, probably in ancient times, having been fractured in several places, and partially restored in modern times. No inscription survives, although this may have originally been located on the front half of the base, which is entirely lost. The man kneels with his arms held forward to proffer a seated statue of a king shown wearing the blue crown. He is an official rather than a vizier, as he does not wear a vizier's robe. Two vertical bands decorated with horizontal stripes, of the type that typically forms the base of a kheker frieze and other architectural elements, are carved into the flat surface between the man's arm and his lap, suggesting that the king is seated on a throne. If considered in isolation, the statue's arrangement might initially suggest a tu-

³⁵ Murray, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities*, 1900, p. 25, no. 432, fig. on p. 26; Aldred, *Dynastic Egypt*, 1955, pl. 16; Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie*, III, 1958, p. 668, pl. 156,4; PM VIII, 801-635-630. See brief discussion in Sourouzian, *La statuaire royale*, p. 830 with suggested dating of Merenptah to Siptah.

tor-and-ward relationship, similar to that of Senenmut and Princess Neferure.³⁶ However, the depiction of a reigning king in this context would be highly unusual and the official's kneeling pose is the position typically used in naophorous statues to indicate the presentation of a divine votive statue. The statue measures 36.2 cm in height, 14.6 cm in width, and 24.9 cm in depth.

The official wears an elaborate double-style wig with a two-tiered floral wreath on top. The face is lost. He wears a long, pleated kilt reaching down to his ankles. While the wig and kilt are relatively detailed in terms of carving, the upper part of the costume is represented more simply with just four lines incised around the upper arms probably indicating a pleated shirt. Both the official and the king wear cylindrical bracelets. The official's hands are relatively small, and the feet are simplified, with no differentiation of toes. He holds the statue of the king on his lap with his chin resting on the top of the crown. The king wears a smooth-surfaced blue crown with a coiled uraeus. He holds a heqa-sceptre and flail in his left hand, while his right hand is placed flat on his lap. Two long ribbons from his belt extend over his long pleated linen robe featuring a triangular projection. Unlike on the official, the pleats on the sleeves are rendered three-dimensionally. The right-hand side of the king's face and crown have been restored in modern times. The closeness of the royal statue to the official seems unusually intimate, but this is not unique. Although most donation statues are naophorous in form, with a shrine separating the figure of the individual from the god, there are a number of examples where the owner is shown directly touching the divine statue.³⁷ A comparable statue of the senior scribe Ramose (i) shows a similar level of closeness between the official and the divine images that he offers, depicting the statues of Osiris, Nephthys, and the four Sons of Horus sitting directly on his lap (Louvre E 16378).38

The whole statue is supported by a base plinth and a stela-shaped back pillar, a somewhat rare feature that is attested elsewhere.³⁹ This stela is uninscribed

³⁶ Roehrig, in Roehrig et al. (eds.), Hatshepsut, 2005.

³⁷ E.g. NMS A.1902.306.10: Staring, *JEA* 102 (2016), pp. 159–63, fig. 3; PM V, p. 47; AEIN 1492: Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie*, III, 1958, p. 667, pl. 156,6; PM VIII/3, 801-636-110; BM EA 2292: PM VIII/3, p. 536, 801-624-500.

³⁸ Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1935-40), II, 1952, no. 114, p. 55, pl. 34; Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie*, III, 1958, p. 467, pl. 157,3; *Louvre Collections*, collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010008667.

³⁹ E.g. BM EA 480: Radwan, in Hawass *et al.* (eds.), *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt*, 2010; PM II/2, p. 279; AEIN 661: Jørgensen, *Egypt*, II, 1998, no. 20, pp. 80–81.



Fig. 7 Stela-back pillar of a statue of an official wearing a floral wreath offering a statue of a king (NMS A.1956.139). H. 36.2 cm, W. 14.6 cm, D. 24.9 cm (Photo by National Museums Scotland).

apart from a rather roughly sketched sgraffito of the god Amun or Amun-Ra. He is shown standing, facing left, wearing a tall plumed crown with two ostrich feathers and a kilt, holding a staff or *was*-sceptre in his right hand before him and an *ankh* in his left hand [Fig. 7]. The informal nature of this image suggests that it was added at a later date, rather than being part of the statue's original decoration.

The statue is part of a group of Egyptian objects that was transferred to National Museums Scotland from the former National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, of which the majority were excavated or collected by Alexander Henry Rhind (1833–1863), a pioneering Scottish excavator and the first experienced archaeologist to work in Egypt in the 1850s.⁴⁰ Rhind was unusual in his system-

⁴⁰ Rhind, *Thebes, Its Tombs and Their Tenants*, 1862; Stuart, *Memoir of the Late Alexander Henry Rhind*, 1864; Irving and Maitland, in Cooke and Daubney (eds.), *Every Traveller Needs a Compass*, 2015; Gilmour, *PSAS* 145 (2015).

atic approach and for typically recording the provenance of his finds; however, most of this information became separated from the objects over the years. Fortunately, Rhind's papers hold a clue to the statue's provenance: a list of objects that includes an item described as "Statuette in Limestone. King—Probably king symbolically nursed by Isis. Found in course of excavations near Der el Medinet". No other object in the original museum catalogue or currently in our collection fits this description. The tentativeness of the note suggests that Rhind was slightly puzzled concerning how to interpret the statue. If this note does indeed relate to the statue, then we can presume a Deir el-Medina provenance.

The floral wreath worn on the official's head is a particularly distinctive element. It is a common feature on statues of women, but very unusual on statues of men – these rare occurrences appear to be entirely early Ramesside in date, and at least 4 examples date specifically to the reign of Ramesses II.⁴³ They all come from the Theban area, apart from one whose provenance is only given as Upper Egypt (CG 874). One of these examples comes from Deir el-Medina: a wooden standard-bearer statue of Ramose (iii) (Turin C. 3046), who is attested during the reign of Ramesses II [Fig. 8].⁴⁴ Thus an early Ramesside dating of the Edinburgh statue, specifically during the reign of Ramesses II, is suggested.

Since the statue probably derives from Deir el-Medina, the possibility must of course be considered that it might represent the deified Amenhotep I, who was so closely linked with the settlement and frequently represented there. The blue crown is sometimes worn by the deified Amenhotep I – exclusively during the reign of Ramesses II.⁴⁵ However, the blue crown is also frequently attested on representations of Ramesses II himself in the Deir el-Medina chapels and elsewhere. Exell suggests that Ramesses II may have sought to associate himself

⁴¹ National Museums Scotland Library Special Collections, Society of Antiquaries of Scotland Archives Internal Mss. UC60/17.

⁴² Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, *Catalogue of Antiquities*, 1863.

⁴³ Cairo CG 874 (JdE 28004) from Upper Egypt, on display in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, is attributed to Dynasty 19 by Borchardt, *Statuen*, III, 1930, p. 132, pl. 155; PM VIII/3, 801-653-225 as late Eighteenth/early Nineteenth Dynasty; see also Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie*, III, 1958, p. 658. Statues of men wearing floral wreaths from the reign of Ramesses II are found in TT178: Hofmann *et al.*, *Das Grab Des Neferrenpet gen Kenro*, 1995; TT296: Feucht, *Das Grab des Nefersecheru*, 1985; TT32, Cairo CG 549: Borchardt, *Statuen* II, 1925, pp. 94–96, pl. 91.

⁴⁴ Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh* (1927), 1928, p. 39; Connor, *Le statue del Museo Egizio*, 2016, pp. 58–59, 71–73.

⁴⁵ Černý, BIFAO 27 (1927), pp. 166-69; Exell, Soldiers, Sailors and Sandalmakers, 2009, pp. 45, 67.



Fig. 8 Statue of Ramose (iii) as a standard-bearer wearing a floral wreath (Turin C. 3046) (Photo by Nicola Dell'Aquila and Federico Taverni/ Museo Egizio).

with Amenhotep I through use of the blue crown. Notable examples include the limestone relief that decorated the doorway between rooms 2 and 3 in the *Khenu*-chapel, which depicts Ramesses II in ceremonial attire wearing the blue crown and offering a cow statue to Hathor, accompanied by Paser and presumably Ramose (i). A large fallen fragment of painted wall decoration from room 3 of the *Khenu* also shows Ramesses II wearing the blue crown. The Amun chapel of Ramesses II was similarly decorated and Bruyère's reconstruction shows the king wearing a blue crown. On stela no. 121, excavated in the *Khenu*, Ramesses

⁴⁶ Exell, *Soldiers*, *Sailors and Sandalmakers*, 2009, p. 65; Exell, in Dann and Exell (eds.), *Egypt: Ancient Histories*, 2013, pp. 119, 124.

⁴⁷ Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1935–40), II, 1952, no. 70, pp. 38, 63–64, pl. 31; Valbelle, in Haring *et al.* (eds.), *The Workman's Progress*, 2014, p. 243, fig. 3.

⁴⁸ Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1935–40), II, 1952, no. 82b, p. 39; Valbelle, in Haring *et al.* (eds.), *The Workman's Progress*, 2014, p. 239.

⁴⁹ Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1935-40), I, 1948, pl. 11.

II is shown wearing the blue crown while offering to statues of Amun of Karnak, Amenhotep I, and Ahmose-Nefertari.⁵⁰ The nine Deir el-Medina stelae that show Ramesses II as a recipient of worship show him sometimes wearing the blue crown, sometimes the *nemes*-headdress.⁵¹

The wooden statue of a king wearing a blue crown (Louvre E 16277)⁵² excavated by Bruyère in the *Khenu*, room 9, pit 1414 along with various statues and stelae of the senior scribe Ramose (i) (e.g. Louvre E 16346),⁵³ has been variously attributed to both Amenhotep I and Ramesses II, though Ramesses II seems most likely considering the context in which it was found. Bruyère described the wooden statue as having been found practically "*in situ*" and he was absolutely convinced that it was the cult statue of Ramesses II that formed the focal point of worship in the *Khenu*.⁵⁴ In other relevant examples from elsewhere, there is a stela that depicts statues of Ramesses II in shrines wearing the blue crown, possibly from Saqqara (Brooklyn 54.67),⁵⁵ and the famous statue of Ramesses II in Turin wears the blue crown (C.1380).⁵⁶ The blue crown was frequently associated with Ramesses II and since other comparable royal cult donation statues depict officials presenting statues of *living* kings, it seems more likely to represent Ramesses II.

The youthful appearance of the king represented in the statue is probably partly due to its scale, but it might also suggest the young ruler Ramesses II who was sometimes depicted as a child at Deir el-Medina and elsewhere.⁵⁷ Representations of the Hathor cow and Ramesses II at Deir el-Medina were associated with the myth of the young king as the child Horus sheltered in the marshes, and

⁵⁰ Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1935-40), II, 1952, no. 121, pp. 70-71, fig. 151.

⁵¹ Exell, Soldiers, Sailors and Sandalmakers, 2009, p. 117.

⁵² Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1935-40), I, 1948, pp. 87-88; Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1935-40), II, 1952, no. 112, p. 53, pl. 32; PM I²/2, p. 698; Andreu, Les artistes de Pharaon, 2002, p. 255 [202]; Exell, Soldiers, Sailors and Sandalmakers, 2009, pp. 45, 73, 78, pl. 4b; Valbelle, in Haring et al. (eds.), The Workman's Progress, 2014, pp. 240, 246, fig. 5.

⁵³ A film now held in the IFAO archives clearly shows these statues being removed in 1939. It was shown by Guillemette Andreu at the Museo Egizio's 2018 Deir el-Medina workshop.

⁵⁴ Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1935-40), II, 1952, p. 65.

⁵⁵ Brooklyn Museum Collection, https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3601.

⁵⁶ See for example Connor, *Le statue del Museo Egizio*, 2016, pp. 28, 105, 108–09.

⁵⁷ For example stela Louvre N 522: Andreu *et al.*, *L'Égypte ancienne au Louvre*, 1997, pp. 144, 254, n. 65; statue of falcon-god protecting child-Ramesses, Cairo JdE 64735: Saleh and Sourouzian, *The Egyptian Museum*, 1987, no. 203, 26; at the Museo Egizio Deir el-Medina workshop in 2018, Cédric Gobeil presented a representation of Ramesses II as a child on a relief recently discovered on a doorframe in Deir el-Medina.

with the eternal life of the king.⁵⁸ Reliefs from the *Khenu*-chapel depict and describe Ramose dedicating a statue of Ramesses II with the Hathor cow.⁵⁹ However, the NMS statue's iconography differs from those depictions, in which the figure wears either a *nemes*-headdress or side-lock of youth while holding their hand to their mouth in the gesture associated with children, so it seems less likely that this was intended.

Unlike the other royal cult dedication statues excavated by Bruyère that wear the robes of a vizier, this statue clearly does not represent a vizier, but presumably a high-ranking official. At 36.2 cm in height, the statue is much smaller in size than the aforementioned examples made for viziers, but it is still comparable to other Deir el-Medina statues, both in terms of size and simplified style of carving. For example, the comparable statue of the senior scribe of the tomb Ramose (i) offering the statue of a group of funerary deities (Louvre E 16378; see n. 37), which is almost exactly the same size, measuring 37 cm in height. If the statue of the official offering a figure of the king in a blue crown dates to the reign of Ramesses II, the most likely candidate is that era's most prolific dedicator of monuments, Ramose (i), founder of the statue cult of Ramesses II.

4. PRIVILEGE, DECORUM, AND DISPLAYS OF PATRONAGE IN THE CULT OF THE LIVING KING

From these examples, it is clear that there was a phenomenon particular to the community of Deir el-Medina during the Ramesside period of mostly viziers, and occasionally other high officials, not only offering cult statues of the incumbent ruler, but also commemorating this dedication with another statue depicting the actual presentation of the royal cult statue. Since the vizier Paser and the senior scribe Ramose (i) were responsible for first setting up this cult for the king, 60 it seems plausible that this innovative new statuary tradition would have begun

⁵⁸ Blumenthal, *Kuhgottin und Gottkonig*, 2001, pp. 44–48; Exell, in Dann (ed.), *Current Research in Egyptology*, 2006, pp. 54–56.

⁵⁹ Deir el-Medina nos. 87–88: Louvre E.16276 a/b; Cairo JdE 72017; PM I²/2, pp. 696–97; Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1935–40), II, 1952, pp. 39, 66–68, pl. 36; Exell, in Dann (ed.), *Current Research in Egyptology*, 2006, pp. 53–54.

⁶⁰ KRI II, p. 705; Jauhiainen, in Preys (ed.), 7. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung, 2009, p. 153.

with them. A letter preserved on P. Turin Cat. 1879+1879 vso from a senior scribe of the tomb, possibly Amennakht (v), to Ramesses VI confirms that the privilege of offering cult statues of the king extended beyond the vizier to include the senior scribe too.⁶¹

Although scholars have discussed the evidence that the *Khenu*-chapel was strongly associated with the goddess Hathor,⁶² this group of statues all reference Amun in some way, through ram's heads, inscriptions addressed to Amun, and the sgraffito. From these, it is clear that the royal statue cult in the area of the Hathor temple must have also had strong links to Amun-Ra, which is reasonable considering the cult area also included a chapel dedicated to Amun-Ra.

The privilege of this statue type was apparently restricted to viziers and the high officials of Deir el-Medina since it denoted a high level of intimacy with the king as well as a position of authority in his cult. In elite texts, the theme of proximity to the king is prominent, suggesting it was one of the most important status markers.⁶³ As well as the "social capital" offered by displaying such connections, the exclusiveness of this unique and innovative statue type would have probably given it status-enhancing "cultural capital". The endowment of the statue cult would likely have been profitable as well, with the donor benefitting from a share of the offerings.⁶⁴

Although this form of statue pushed the boundaries of decorum, part of what likely made it acceptable was that it was still subject to restrictions. The deification of the living king and the instigation of a royal statue cult presented an opportunity to modify the existing theophorous/naophorous statue type to inventively circumvent decorum rather than break with it completely. It was an image of the king that was represented, rather than the king himself, and the intimacy on display was restricted to the king's inner circle. Those in lesser social positions found other, similar ways of displaying royal favour and devotion to the king in statuary, as is indicated by a small steatite statue of Meryptah, a "king's scribe of the offering table of all the gods", who is shown kneeling to present a cartouche of Ramesses II, "Usermaatre Setepenra" (BM EA 2291).65 The

⁶¹ Jauhiainen, in Preys (ed.), 7. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung, 2009, pp. 155–56; Hovestreydt, LingAeg 5 (1997).

⁶² E.g. Exell, in Dann (ed.), *Current Research in Egyptology*, 2006, pp. 54–57, 60–62.

⁶³ E.g. Doxey, Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets, 1998, p. 81, see also pp. 87–90, 109–28.

⁶⁴ Hovestreydt, *LingAeg* 5 (1997), pp. 117–21.

⁶⁵ Parkinson, Cracking Codes, 1999, p. 83; KRI III, p. 497; Vandenbeusch et al., Pharaoh, 2016, p. 74.

statue's form suggests a similar wish to honour the king and show devotion, but the inscription on the back pillar is more overt in describing the relationship as mutually beneficial, that of patron and devotee. It describes Meryptah as "one greatly praised of the Lord of the Two Lands, whom his Person loves because of his character".

The *context* of this new rule-breaking form of displaying royal intimacy must have also been crucial to its permissibility. Deir el-Medina was an important community, but the chapels there were a local stage, whose audience was confined to a specific group within society, as contrasting with a national stage like Karnak. Adherence to decorum was typically stronger in state cult centres. Similar displays of royal devotion and piety in statuary took place elsewhere, but in a much less explicit form. Instead, the king could be included and honoured through the conspicuous display of royal titulary alongside the divine statue. For example, a naophorous statue found in the Karnak cachette depicts the Vizier Paser kneeling to offer a ram's head statue on an altar, the front of which is entirely decorated with the titulary of Ramesses II (CG 42156). The titles of Ramesses II prominently fill the negative space between the figure of the great overseer of the cattle Ptahemwia and a statue of Osiris that he offers (NMS A.1902.306.10), and similarly between the figure of Hori, a prophet of Harendotes, and a statue of Horus (AEIN 1492).

In the context of this community, the royal cult donation statues displayed the donor's relationship with the king as patron. Patronage was central to Egyptian society and administration, especially amongst the elite and sub-elite, who reinforced their advantageous social connections through public display and commemoration on monuments. This seems to have been a particularly prominent aspect of life at Deir el-Medina, as a small, closely interconnected, and well-off community. The phenomenon of representing important Deir el-Medina relationships in monuments is evident in many forms, including numerous stelae and tomb scenes that depict Ramesses II and/or Paser and Ramose (i),

⁶⁶ Exell, Soldiers, Sailors and Sandalmakers, 2009, p. 135.

⁶⁷ Legrain, *Statues et Statuettes de Rois*, II, 1909, pp. 23–24, pl. 19; Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie*, III, 1958, pp. 465, 485, 533, pl. 155,3.

⁶⁸ Staring, *JEA* 102 (2016), pp. 159–63, fig. 3.

⁶⁹ Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie*, III, 1958, pl. 156,6; Jørgensen, *Egypt*, II, 1998, pp. 216–17.

⁷⁰ E.g. Moreno García, in Moreno García (ed.), Ancient Egyptian Administration, 2013, p. 1041-56.

with workmen kneeling in adoration in the register below.⁷¹ The display of these networks of patronage, extending from the king through the vizier and his subordinate to select workmen, enhanced the authority and status of all those involved. The vizier and senior scribe acted as proxies for the king and conduits for his authority. The statues commemorating royal cult statue donation would have served as visible reminders of these relationships, reinforcing the existing power structure in the settlement.

5. CONCLUSION

The royal cult donation statue type introduced during the reign of Ramesses II does not appear to have continued beyond the Ramesside period or reached beyond the limits of Deir el-Medina, which declined after that period along with the king's power. The representation of an official presenting a statue of the king pushed the conventions of statuary, but only within a restricted context as a privilege extended to high officials acting on the king's behalf. More overtly true-to-life than two-dimensional reliefs, these statues captured in three dimensions the actual performance of commissioning and dedicating monuments, extending that reality, and allowing it to be displayed perpetually – a practice that was mutually beneficial to both the high officials and the king whom they were honouring. Extending the privilege of this exclusive statue type to royal representatives in Deir el-Medina presumably served to reinforce the status of these men as pillars within their community, while also reaffirming the king's role in this relationship and their loyalty to him.

⁷¹ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 81; Exell, Soldiers, Sailors and Sandalmakers, 2009, pp. 69–74; Moreno García, in Moreno García (ed.), Ancient Egyptian Administration, 2013, p. 1047.

⁷² See for example Davies, Life within the Five Walls, 2018, pp. 268–69.

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THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT OF THE LATE RAMESSIDE LETTERS AND BUTEHAMUN'S ARCHIVE

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ABSTRACT

In his publication of the Late Ramesside Letters, Jaroslav Černý discussed what was known about the provenance of the Late Ramesside Letters that he had assembled for publication. Most of the letters are written to or from Djehutymose or his son Butehamun. They seem to have constituted an ancient archive started by Djehutymose and maintained by his son. There has been some disagreement about the probable findspot of this archive. I discuss a method for reconstructing the archaeological assemblages from various tombs and determining which ones were excavated in the early nineteenth century. The Late Ramesside Letters seem to have constituted one archive belonging to Butehamun, another consisted of the papyri that Bernardino Drovetti sold to the Museo Egizio di Torino.

1. BACKGROUND

In 1823, the English traveler Frederick Henniker commented that "The whole of ancient Thebes is the private property of the English and French consuls; a line of demarcation is drawn through every temple, and these buildings that have hitherto withstood the attacks of *Barbarians*, will not resist the speculation of civilised cupidity, virtuosi, and antiquarians." This raises a rather intriguing question: How was Deir el-Medina divided up? There is a practical side of this. For example, the Nineteenth-Dynasty statue of Penshenabu (*Pn-š-n-rbw*) comes from TT322; it now resides in Turin (Turin C. 3032)² and is part of the French consul Bernardino Drovetti's collection that he sold to Turin in 1824. A stele of Pashed (*P3-šd*) from the neighboring tomb (TT292) (BM EA 261) comes from Somerset Lowry-Corry, second earl of Belmore,³ who visited Thebes in November of 1817 with the English consul, Henry Salt.⁴ It would be useful to know which consul excavated which tomb.

The Late Ramesside Letters, however, throw a spanner into the works. Most of the Late Ramesside Letters come from the archive of Butehamun (*Bw-thi-Imn*) which has been scattered through collections in Berlin (P. Berlin P. 10487, P. 10494),⁵ Cheltenham (P. Phillipps),⁶ Geneva (P. Geneva D 187, D 192, D 407),⁷ Kingston Lacy (BM EA 75017, 75018, 75019, 75020, 75021, 75023, 75024, 75025),⁸ Leiden (P. Leiden I 369, 370),⁹ London (BM EA 10190,¹⁰ 10284,¹¹ 10300,¹² 75019 + 10302,¹³

¹ Henniker, Notes During a Visit to Egypt, 1823, p. 139.

² Vassilika, *Masterpieces of the Museo Egizio in Turin*, 2009, p. 90; Scamuzzi, *Museo Egizio di Torino*, 1963, tav. LXVIII; Heimann, Ägyptens Schätze entdecken, 2012, pp. 244–45; PM I²/1, p. 394.

³ KRI I, 406-07.

⁴ Salt, "A Plain Statement of Facts" in John J. Hall (eds.), Life and Correspondence of Henry Salt, II, 1834, p. 14.

⁵ Černý, Late Ramesside Letters, 1939, pp. X, 36–37, and pp. IX, 23–24, respectively.

⁶ Černý, Late Ramesside Letters, 1939, pp. IX, 28-30.

⁷ Černý, Late Ramesside Letters, 1939, pp. XI, 41–42, pp. IX–X, 33–34, and pp. VIII, 13–17, respectively.

⁸ Demarée, The Bankes Late Ramesside Papyri, 2006, pp. 10-28.

⁹ Černý, Late Ramesside Letters, 1939, pp. VII, 1–2 and VIII, 9–11, respectively.

¹⁰ Janssen, Late Ramesside Letters and Communications, 1991, pp. 25–27.

¹¹ Černý, Late Ramesside Letters, 1939, p. XI.

¹² Černý, Late Ramesside Letters, 1939, pp. X, 37-39.

¹³ Janssen, Late Ramesside Letters and Communications, 1991, pp. 37–39; Demarée, The Bankes Late Ramesside Papyri, 2006, pp. 14–19.

10326,¹⁴ 10373,¹⁵ 10375,¹⁶ 10411,¹⁷ 10416,¹⁸ 10417,¹⁹ 10418 + 10287,²⁰ 10419,²¹ 10429,²² 10433,²³ 10440),²⁴ Paris (Bibl. Nat. 196, I;²⁵ 196, II;²⁶ 196, IV;²⁷ 196, V;²⁸ 197, II;²⁹ 197, III;³⁰ 197, IV;³¹ 197, V;³² 198, IV;³³ 199, V-IX,³⁴ Turin (Turin C. 1945,³⁵ 1971,³⁶ 1972,³⁷ 1973,³⁸ 1974,³⁹ 1975,⁴⁰ 1979,⁴¹ CGT 54100),⁴² and unknown loca-

- 14 Černý, Late Ramesside Letters, 1939, pp. VIII, 17-21.
- **15** Janssen, Late Ramesside Letters and Communications, 1991, pp. 43–47.
- 16 Černý, Late Ramesside Letters, 1939, p. XI.
- 17 Janssen, Late Ramesside Letters and Communications, 1991, pp. 11–15.
- 18 Janssen, Late Ramesside Letters and Communications, 1991, pp. 28-32; Gee, BES 15 (2001).
- 19 Černý, Late Ramesside Letters, 1939, pp. IX, 27–28.
- **20** Janssen, Late Ramesside Letters and Communications, 1991, pp. 33–36.
- 21 Janssen, Late Ramesside Letters and Communications, 1991, pp. 16–20.
- 22 Janssen, Late Ramesside Letters and Communications, 1991, pp. 40–42.
- 23 Černý, Late Ramesside Letters, 1939, pp. XI, 43.
- 24 Janssen, Late Ramesside Letters and Communications, 1991, pp. 21–24.
- 25 Černý, Late Ramesside Letters, 1939, pp. X, 35.
- **26** Černý, Late Ramesside Letters, 1939, pp. VIII-IX, 21-22.
- **27** Černý, Late Ramesside Letters, 1939, pp. XI, 40–41.
- **28** Černý, Late Ramesside Letters, 1939, pp. VII, 5–7.
- 29 Černý, Late Ramesside Letters, 1939, pp. IX, 22-23.
- 30 Černý, Late Ramesside Letters, 1939, pp. X, 34.
- **31** Černý, Late Ramesside Letters, 1939, pp. VIII, 13.
- 32 Černý, Late Ramesside Letters, 1939, pp. X, 35–36.
- 33 Černý, Late Ramesside Letters, 1939, pp. VII, 5-7.
- **34** Černý, Late Ramesside Letters, pp. 1939, pp. VII, 5–7.
- **35** Bellion, *Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques*, 1987, p. 292; Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 1939, pp. X–XI, 39–40. TPOP Doc ID: https://papyri.museoegizio.it/d/49.
- **36** Bellion, *Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques*, 1987, p. 293; Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 1939, pp. IX, 31–33. TPOP Doc ID: https://papyri.museoegizio.it/d/216.
- **37** Pleyte and Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, 1869–76, pp. 146–47, pls. CXVI–CXVII; Bellion, *Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques*, 1987, p. 293; Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 1939, pp. VII–VIII, 7–8. TPOP Doc ID: https://papyri.museoegizio.it/d/387.
- **38** Pleyte and Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, 1869–76, p. 169, pls. CXXIX–CXXX; Bellion, *Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques*, 1987, p. 294; Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 1939, pp. VII, 2–5. TPOP Doc ID: https://papyri.museoegizio.it/d/326.
- **39** Pleyte and Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, 1869–76, pp. 144–45, pls. CXIV–CXV; Bellion, *Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques*, 1987, p. 294; Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 1939, pp. X–XI, 39–40. TPOP Doc ID: https://papyri.museoegizio.it/d/49.
- **40** Pleyte and Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, 1869–76, pp. 165–66, pls. CXXVI–CXXVII; Bellion, *Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques*, 1987, p. 294; Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 1939, pp. X, 37. TPOP Doc ID: https://papyri.museoegizio.it/d/208.
- **41** Bellion, Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques, 1987, p. 294; Černý, Late Ramesside Letters, 1939, pp. XI, 42–43. TPOP Doc ID: https://papyri.museoegizio.it/d/358.
- 42 Černý, Late Ramesside Letters, 1939, pp. IX, 24–26. TPOP Doc ID: https://papyri.museoegizio.it/d/506.

tion (P. Griffith).⁴³ The collection in Paris was acquired by Frédéric Caillaud, who visited Drovetti's excavator in 1818, but also spent six months in Thebes in 1817 where he found "plusieurs beaux morceaux qui ont été le commencement d'une collection assez intéressante, aujourd'hui déposée à la Bibliothèque du Roi," which is now the Bibliothèque Nationale.44 The papyri from Kingston Lacy come from the collection of William Bankes, who was in Thebes during 1818-19.45 Most of the British Museum letters came from Henry Salt, who "sent to England a large collection of very curious antiquities some of which were designed for the British Museum, and others for different noblemen and gentlemen" in November of 1820 (they arrived the following year).⁴⁶ One of those noblemen and gentlemen seems to have been Viscount Valentia, George Annesley, who received BM EA 10412 from Salt and later gave it to the British Museum.⁴⁷ Another was Anthony Hamilton, who acquired the Bournemouth papyrus. 48 A third seems to have been Albert C. Macintosh of Cardiff, from whose collection derive the Griffith papyrus and P. Berlin P. 10494.49 The Turin papyri came from Drovetti in 1824.50 The two Leiden papyri were bought in 1828 with the collection of Chevalier d'Anastasy.⁵¹ P. Phillipps was bought in an auction in 1831.52 The Geneva papyri were acquired in 1867 and 1874, though the source is unrecorded.⁵³

The archive of Butehamun thus presents something of a puzzle since both Salt and Drovetti had parts of it.

I will describe the method I used to come up with a solution to the puzzle, as well as an analysis of who was in which Deir el-Medina tombs, and provide a sketch of the archive. In dealing with such a large collection of data, it is probably inevitable that I will have made mistakes: typographical, incorrect inclusion or

⁴³ Černý, Late Ramesside Letters, 1939, pp. VII-XV, 12.

⁴⁴ Černý, Late Ramesside Letters, 1939, p. XV.

⁴⁵ Demarée, The Bankes Late Ramesside Papyri, 2006, p. 4.

⁴⁶ Černý, Late Ramesside Letters, 1939, p. XVI.

⁴⁷ Černý, Late Ramesside Letters, 1939, p. XVI.

⁴⁸ Černý, Late Ramesside Letters, 1939, p. XVI. See also the addendum in Janssen, Late Ramesside Letters and Communications, 1991, p. 55.

⁴⁹ Černý, Late Ramesside Letters, 1939, p. XV.

⁵⁰ Černý, Late Ramesside Letters, 1939, p. XV.

⁵¹ Černý, Late Ramesside Letters, 1939, p. XV–XVI.

⁵² Černý, Late Ramesside Letters, 1939, p. XVI.

⁵³ Černý, Late Ramesside Letters, 1939, p. XVI.

exclusion. My apologies to my colleagues for any that are present and my thanks to the editors for having prevented several.

2. METHOD

How does one go about reconstructing the archaeological context of a find made about two hundred years ago? And how does one make sense of the fact that some of the finds of the same archive, like Butehamun's archive, are dispersed between bitter rivals? The conventional wisdom is that "aucune indication sur le contexte archéologique de leur découverte n'a été conservée, comme c'est le cas pour presque tous les documents de cette origine."54 The picture is not as dismal as the conventional wisdom would have it. The context can be reconstructed but it is an involved project.⁵⁵ The first step is to assemble a list of all the individuals who were involved in the excavations and use journals, letters, and other accounts to piece together information about the excavations. For each individual, I have assembled a timeline cataloguing their whereabouts at different times. As the author of the most voluminous correspondence that usually has a date and a place noted, Bernardino Drovetti has the fullest timeline. I have also made notes about what various individuals said about each other, and more importantly, what they said about their methods of acquiring antiquities and dispersing them. The dispersal of the antiquities is important as it allows us to see where the antiquities went.

The next step is to assemble a list, derived from the records of various museums, of which antiquities were acquired from various individuals.

The third step is to go through the various items and list discovered provenances, i.e., where objects can be reasonably correlated with a known tomb. This produces a list of tombs that can be identified as tombs from which the early excavators acquired objects. These tombs can be further sorted into three categories: (1) tombs from which Drovetti and his associates acquired objects, (2) tombs from which Henry Salt and his associates acquired objects, (3) tombs from which both Drovetti and Salt and their associates acquired objects. The tombs

⁵⁴ Lenzo, BIFAO 102 (2002), p. 267.

⁵⁵ I first began working on the project in 2016. Others have also pursued similar lines of inquiry; see Del Vesco and Poole, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, pp. 97–130. Though the inquiries have been independent, the results largely overlap.

thus can be classified as either a Drovetti tomb, a Salt tomb, or a mixed tomb.

I will not go through the whole process here, because the full list of objects is estimated at somewhere between 15,000 and 20,000 objects. The vast majority do not have inscriptions and cannot be assigned to a particular tomb. Even the objects with inscriptions number in the thousands of items. I will limit myself to summary comments about objects from tombs from Deir el-Medina.

3. DEIR EL-MEDINA TOMBS

Based on our method, we can say that the early excavators were in the following tombs in Deir el-Medina:

Based exclusively on stelae, reliefs, and sculpture, Drovetti was in the following fourteen tombs:⁵⁶

TT4: The Tomb of Qen (Qn). Two stelae from the Drovetti collection in Turin come from this tomb (Turin C. 1564 = CGT 50061, Turin C. 1635 = CGT 50074).⁵⁷

TT7/212/250: The Tomb of Ramose (i) (R^c -ms). Another two stelae in Turin come from this tomb (Turin C. 1602 = CGT 50047, Turin C. 1601 = CGT 50066).⁵⁸

TT8: The Tomb of Kha (H). A stele of Kha and his wife Merit comes from his tomb chapel (whereas the shaft of the tomb was found by the Italian mission in 1906). TT210: The Tomb of Raweben (iii) (R^c -wbn). A statue of this Raweben (Turin C. 3040) ended up in Turin. H0

⁵⁶ Cf. the list and map in Del Vesco and Poole, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, pp. 99–101. If we included the evidence provided by shabtis in this estimate, further tombs could be added to this list: Del Vesco and Poole, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, pp. 101–05.

⁵⁷ Fabretti et al., Regio Museo di Torino, I, 1882, pp. 154–55; Tosi and Roccati, Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina, 1972, p. 99. Fabretti et al., Regio Museo di Torino, I, 1882, pp. 178–79; Tosi and Roccati, Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina, 1972, pp. 110–12; Del Vesco and Poole, in Andreas Dorn and Stéphane Polis (eds.), Outside the Box, 2018, p. 100.

⁵⁸ Fabretti et al., *Regio Museo di Torino*, I, 1882, p. 167; Tosi and Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina*, 1972, pp. 81–82. Fabretti et al., *Regio Museo di Torino*, I, 1882, p. 167; Tosi and Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina*, 1972, pp. 102–03; Davies, *Who's Who*, 1999, p. 82; Del Vesco and Poole, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, p. 99.

⁵⁹ Tosi and Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina*, 1972, pp. 38–39, 263.

⁶⁰ Heimann, Ägyptens Schätze entdecken, 2012, p. 236; PM I²/2, p. 713.

TT215: The Tomb of Amenemope (i) (Imn-m-ipt). A lintel (Turin C. 1516 = CGT 50203)⁶¹ and jamb (Turin C. 1517 = CGT 50085)⁶² from a shrine belonging to Imn-m-ipt come from his tomb in Deir el-Medina.⁶³ Two fragments of a scene from the wall were also removed and taken to Turin (Turin P. 775, 776).⁶⁴

TT217: The Tomb of Ipuy (i) (Ipy). A Nineteenth-Dynasty stele comes from this tomb (Turin C. 7357 = CGT 50031).⁶⁵

TT265: The Tomb of Amenemope (i) (*Imn-m-ipt*). A Nineteenth-Dynasty stele of Amenemope and Amennakht (*Imn-nht*) worshipping Amenhotep I and Ahmose Nefertari comes from this tomb (Turin C. 1452 = CGT 50034).66

TT291: The Tomb of Minhotep and Nakhtmin (*Mnw-ḥtp*, *Nḥt-mnw*). A stele of these two comes from this tomb (Turin C. 1619).⁶⁷

TT298: The Tomb of Baki (i) (B_3ki). A stele of Wennefer (Wn-nfr) and his son Nebansu (Nb- cn -sw) and his daughter Meryamun (Mry- 2Imn) comes from this tomb (Turin C. 1543 = CGT 50051), 68 as well as his Book of the Dead papyrus (Turin C. 1827/2 +1811).69

TT322: The Tomb of Penshenabu (ii) (*Pn-š-n-'bw*). The Nineteenth-Dynasty stat-

⁶¹ Tosi and Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina*, 1972, pp. 176–77; KRI I, 384; Del Vesco and Poole, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, p. 99.

⁶² Tosi and Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina*, 1972, pp. 122–24; KRI I, 385; Del Vesco and Poole, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, p. 99.

⁶³ PM I²/1, p. 312.

⁶⁴ Andreu and Donadoni Roveri, *Gli artisti del Faraone*, 2003, p. 263; Manniche, *Lost Ramesside and Post-Ramessid Private Tombs in the Theban Necropolis*, 2011, p. 93.

⁶⁵ Scamuzzi, Museo Egizio di Torino, 1963, tav. LXXIX; Tosi and Roccati, Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina, 1972, pp. 63–64; Heimann, Ägyptens Schätze entdecken, 2012, p. 201; Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 179; Del Vesco and Poole, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), Outside the Box, 2018, p. 100.

⁶⁶ Tosi and Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina*, 1972, pp. 67–68; Vassilika, *Masterpieces of the Museo Egizio in Turin*, 2009, pp. 76–77.

⁶⁷ Tosi and Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina*, 1972, pp. 44–47, 265; Del Vesco and Poole, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, p. 100.

⁶⁸ Fabretti et al., *Regio Museo di Torino*, I, 1882, pp. 148–49; Tosi and Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina*, 1972, p. 86.

⁶⁹ Demichelis and Fiore Marochetti, *Il Libro dei Morti di Baki*, 2021. TPOP Doc ID: https://papyri.museoegizio.it/d/127.

ue of Penshenabu now in Turin (Turin C. 3032) came from TT322.70

TT330: The Tomb of Kar (K_3r). A stele of his comes from this tomb (Turin Cat. 1636 = CGT 50012).⁷¹

TT338: The Tomb of the draftsman Maya (M^cy3). A stele of his comes from this tomb (Turin C. 1579 = CGT 50009).⁷²

TT361: The tomb of the chief craftsman Huy (Hwy). A stele of his comes from this tomb (Turin C. 1609).⁷³

TT1138: The tomb of Nakhy (N_3h_y) .⁷⁴

All of these objects came to Turin from the mentioned tombs in Deir el-Medina from the Drovetti collection. Drovetti also acquired objects from the area of the Ptolemaic Temple at Deir el-Medina. They serve to indicate that Drovetti or his agents were in those tombs at Deir el-Medina. When we look for Deir el-Medina material in the Salt collection, we find that every known tomb in Deir el-Medina that produced material in the Salt collection also produced material in the Drovetti collection. Salt seems to not have been in Deir el-Medina on his own.

Both Drovetti and Salt acquired material from the following thirteen tombs at Deir el-Medina.

TT5: The Tomb of Neferabu (i) (*Nfr-'3bt*). This is one of the more interesting tombs. Vandier argued that this tomb was not discovered until between 1886 and 1908.⁷⁶ Maspero claimed, "Son tombeau, découvert à Thèbes au commence-

⁷⁰ Vassilika, Masterpieces of the Museo Egizio in Turin, 2009, p. 90; Scamuzzi, Museo Egizio di Torino, 1963, tav. LXVIII; Heimann, Ägyptens Schätze entdecken, 2012, pp. 244–45; PM I²/1, p. 394.

⁷¹ Tosi and Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina*, 1972, pp. 47–49, 266; Del Vesco and Poole, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, p. 100.

⁷² Tosi and Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina*, 1972, pp. 41–42, 264; Del Vesco and Poole, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, p. 99.

⁷³ Tosi and Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina*, 1972, pp. 105–06, 292; Del Vesco and Poole, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, p. 100.

⁷⁴ Del Vesco and Poole, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, p. 100 with notes 13 and 14, with further literature.

⁷⁵ Del Vesco and Poole, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, pp. 106–07.

⁷⁶ Vandier, La tombe de Nefer-Abou, 1935, pp. 1-4.

ment du siècle, a fourni aux agents de Drovetti, de Salt, de Minutoli, etc., nombre d'objets qui sont aujourd'hui dispersés dans diverse collections européennes et qui sont restés inconnus, comme la plupart de ces monuments enfermés dans ces collections."77 These finds are not enumerated, other than a single stele in the British Museum, of which "aucune precision sur les circonstances de la découverte ne nous a été donnée ; la stèle est accompagnée d'une simple note, mentionnant que le monument a été trouvé par le comte Belmore, dans une tombe à Thèbes, en 1818."78 On the other hand, Vandier lists the following objects as coming from the tomb: In the British Museum are an offering table (BM EA 421),⁷⁹ a funerary stele (BM EA 305) which came from the collection of a 1835 Sotheby's auction of the estate of Henry Salt, 80 and a votive stele to Meretseger (BM EA 150 + 1754),⁸¹ a votive stele to Ptah (BM EA 589) purchased in 1843 from Somerset Lowry-Corry, 2nd Earl of Belmore, 82 a fragment of a stele (BM EA 1754) purchased from Mohammed Mohassib in 1931,83 and a fragment of wooden coffin (BM EA 65593) which J. H. M. Wright donated to the British Museum in 1955,84 and an unnumbered mural fragment.85 These items came from Salt.

In Turin (and thus through Drovetti), there is the fragment of a pillar or obelisk (Turin C. 6151),⁸⁶ a votive stele to Meretseger (Turin C. 102 = C. 1593 = CGT 50058),⁸⁷ and a stele socle (Turin C. 9510).⁸⁸

A statuette is in the Valetta Museum in Malta, supposedly discovered at Gozo in 1713.89 Additionally, a wall fragment (Cairo 45514), and two stele fragments are

⁷⁷ Maspero cited in Vandier, La tombe de Nefer-Abou, 1935, p. 1.

⁷⁸ Vandier, La tombe de Nefer-Abou, 1935, p. 1, and pl. VII.

⁷⁹ Vandier, La tombe de Nefer-Abou, 1935, p. 47; KRI III, 779; PM I²/1, p. 14.

⁸⁰ Vandier, *La tombe de Nefer-Abou*, 1935, p. 48, and pl. XXV; KRI III, 770-71; Taylor, *Journey Through the Afterlife*, 2010, p. 96; PM I²/1, p. 14; British Museum database.

⁸¹ Vandier, La tombe de Nefer-Abou, 1935, p. 48, and pl. XXV; KRI III, 774-76; PM I²/1, p. 14.

⁸² Vandier, La tombe de Nefer-Abou, 1935, p. 49, and pl. XXVI; KRI III, 771-72; PM I²/1, p. 14.

⁸³ PM I²/1, p. 14; British Museum database.

⁸⁴ KRI III, 778-9; PM I²/1, p. 14; British Museum database.

⁸⁵ PM I²/1, p. 14.

⁸⁶ Vandier, La tombe de Nefer-Abou, 1935, pp. 49-50

⁸⁷ Fabretti et al., Regio Museo di Torino, I, 1882, p. 164; Tosi and Roccati, Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina, 1972, pp. 94–96; Vandier, La tombe de Nefer-Abou, 1935, p. 50, and pl. XXVII; KRI III, 772–3; Adrom, SAK 33 (2005).

⁸⁸ Vandier, La tombe de Nefer-Abou, 1935, p. 50; KRI III, 773.

⁸⁹ Moss, JEA 35 (1949); KRI III, 769.

in Cairo (temporary numbers 30.12.31.1, 2). Part of a door jamb is in Rennes. A statue base is in Brussels. Some other fragmentary remains were found in Deir el-Medina. Another stele reached the Louvre (Louvre E 13993), and yet another reached Copenhagen (Copenhagen National Museum AAd 8/B6).

The easiest way to account for this information is that a considerable amount of material was extracted in the first part of the nineteenth century and then the tomb was forgotten until the end of the nineteenth century.

TT8: The Tomb of Kha (*H*°). The tomb of Kha has been excavated a number of times. When Schiaparelli reexcavated it in 1906,% it was found "intatta." Vandier published the tomb in 1939. But finds from the tomb passed into European museums in the first half of the nineteenth century. Through Drovetti four stelae came to Turin (Turin C. 1618 = CGT 50007, Turin C. 1591, Turin C. 1590 = CGT 50063, Turin C. 1589), to while two stelae came to the British Museum through Salt (BM EA 1515), one through the further intermediary of the Belmores. Two others went to Berlin (Berlin 20377, to Berlin 6908) which has some Drovetti material, though this is not part of it, and two to the Louvre (Louvre N 4194, to Louvre E 13988), to which has collections of both Drovetti and Salt.

⁹⁰ Vandier, *La tombe de Nefer-Abou*, 1935, pp. 50-51; PM I²/1, 14.

⁹¹ Vandier, *La tombe de Nefer-Abou*, 1935, pp. 51–52

⁹² Vandier, La tombe de Nefer-Abou, 1935, p. 52.

⁹³ Vandier, La tombe de Nefer-Abou, 1935, pp. 52-54.

⁹⁴ KRI III, 773–74.

⁹⁵ KRI III, 776.

⁹⁶ Vandier and Jourdain, Deux tombes de Deir el-Médineh, 1939, p. 1.

⁹⁷ Tosi and Roccati, Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina, 1972, p. 39.

⁹⁸ Vandier and Jourdain, Deux tombes de Deir el-Médineh. 1939.

⁹⁹ Tosi and Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina*, 1972, pp. 38–39, 263; Fabretti *et al.*, *Regio Museo di Torino*, I, 1882, p. 172; Vandier and Jourdain, *Deux tombes de Deir el-Médineh*, 1939, pp. 13–14, pl. XI; PM I²/1, p. 17; Del Vesco and Poole, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, p. 100.

¹⁰⁰ Vassilika, Masterpieces of the Museo Egizio in Turin, 2009, p. 80; KRI III, 656.

¹⁰¹ Tosi and Roccati, Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina, 1972, p. 101; KRI III, 656.

¹⁰² KRI III, 655–56.

¹⁰³ Vandier and Jourdain, Deux tombes de Deir el-Médineh, 1939, pp. 15–16, pl. XII.

¹⁰⁴ EA 276; Budge, Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, &c., in the British Museum. Part V, 1914, p. 12, pl. 43; KRI III, 655.

¹⁰⁵ KRI III, 653–55.

¹⁰⁶ KRI III, 657.

¹⁰⁷ KRI III, 657.

¹⁰⁸ Vandier and Jourdain, Deux tombes de Deir el-Médineh, 1939, pp. 14–15, pl. XI; PM I²/1, p. 17.

TT10: The Tomb of Penbuy (i) (Pn-bwy) and Kasa (i) (K353). Four objects from this tomb passed to Turin from Drovetti: an altar (Turin C. 1559), 109 a statue (Turin C. 3048), 110 a shrine (Turin C. 2446), 111 and a stele (Turin C. 1449 = CGT 50037). 112 Through Salt one stele went to the British Museum (BM EA 65355) 113 and two to the Bankes collection (Bankes 7-8). 114 A further stele went to the Louvre (Louvre E 16374). 115 The pyramidion from the tomb went to the Louvre, 116 and an offering table went to the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge. 117

TT211: The Tomb of Paneb (i) (P_3 -nb). Thanks to Salt two stelae ended up in London (BM EA 272,¹¹⁸ BM EA 273).¹¹⁹ Through Drovetti a stele (Turin Suppl. 6196),¹²⁰ an offering table (Turin C. 1754),¹²¹ a shabti (Turin C. 2666),¹²² and a base (Turin Suppl. 6049 + 6061 + 6062) ended up in Turin.¹²³

TT291: The Tomb of Nu (Nw) and Nakhtmin (Nht-Mn). This tomb was rediscovered and reexcavated in 1922. While it is understandable to attribute the discovery and excavation of the tomb to "les agents du consul B. Drovetti," this cannot be sustained because of the mixed nature of its contents. Thanks to Drovetti a stele from this tomb is now in Turin (Turin C. 1619 = CGT 50011). 126

Fabretti et al., Regio Museo di Torino, I, 1882, p. 153; Habachi, Tavole d'offerta are e bacili da libagione, 1977, pp. 30–31; KRI IV, 741–2.

¹¹⁰ Vassilika, *Masterpieces of the Museo Egizio in Turin*, 2009, pp. 92–93; Scamuzzi, *Museo Egizio di Torino*, 1963, tav. LXXIV; KRI III, 742–44; PM I²/2, p. 712.

Vassilika, Masterpieces of the Museo Egizio in Turin, 2009, p. 95; Scamuzzi, Museo Egizio di Torino, 1963, tav. LXXVII.

¹¹² Tosi and Roccati, Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina, 1972, pp. 71-72; KRI III, 741.

KRI III, 740.

Černý, Egyptian Stelae in the Bankes Collection, 1958, pp. 16–19.

KRI III, 741.

Černý, Egyptian Stelae in the Bankes Collection, 1958, p. 19.

Černý, Egyptian Stelae in the Bankes Collection, 1958, p. 19.

KRI IV, 435.

KRI IV, 435.

KRI IV, 435-36.

Habachi, Tavole d'offerta are e bacili da libagione, 1977, pp. 45–48; KRI IV, 438.

¹²² Vassilika, Masterpieces of the Museo Egizio in Turin, 2009, p. 70; Scamuzzi, Museo Egizio di Torino, 1963, tav. LXXVI.

KRI IV, 438.

Bruyère and Kuentz, La Tombe de Nakht-Min et la tombe d'Ari-nefer, 1926, p. 1.

Demichelis, *BIFAO* 100 (2000).

¹²⁶ Fabretti et al., Regio Museo di Torino, I, 1882, p. 172; Tosi and Roccati, Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina,

TT292: The Tomb of Pashedu (i) (P_3 - $\check{s}d$). Two Ramesside period shabtis belonging to Pashedu made their way to the Louvre and are part of Drovetti's collection (Louvre N 2707/1 and N 2707/3 = collection Drovetti no 455). Also through Drovetti come a statue of Meretseger (Turin C. 956), three stelae (Turin C. 6155, 129 Turin C. 6168, 130 Turin Suppl. 6149), 131 a fragment of a fourth (Turin C. 1546), 132 and a pillar (Turin Suppl. 6154). All of these are now in Turin. Through Salt and Somerset Lowry-Corry, the second earl of Belmore, two stelae (BM EA 261, 134 BM EA 264), 135 a lintel (BM EA 598), 136 and an offering table 137 ended up at the British Museum. There are other finds that came later through others but we need not discuss them here. 138

TT330: The Tomb of Karo (K_3 - r_3). Through Drovetti a stele of Karo came to Turin (Turin C. 1636 = CGT 50012). Only fragments of other stelae were left in the tomb. Two other stelae are in the British Museum: one whose origin is unknown (BM EA 328), 141 the other (BM EA 818) was given to the British Museum

^{1972,} pp. 44-47; Bruyère and Kuentz, La Tombe de Nakht-Min, 1926, pp. 28-30, pl. X; PM I²/1, p. 374.

¹²⁷ Champollion, Notice descriptive des monuments égyptiens du musée Charles X, 2013, p. 265.

¹²⁸ PM I²/2, p. 714.

¹²⁹ KRI I, 404–05.

¹³⁰ KRI I, 405.

¹³¹ KRII, 407-08.

¹³² Fabretti et al., Regio Museo di Torino, I, 1882, p. 149; Tosi and Roccati, Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina, 1972, p. 59; Vassilika, Masterpieces of the Museo Egizio in Turin, 2009, p. 81; KRI I, 408; Heimann, Ägyptens Schätze entdecken, 2012, pp. 200–01.

¹³³ KRI I, 408.

¹³⁴ KRI I, 406–07.

¹³⁵ British Museum Database.

¹³⁶ Budge, Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, &c., in the British Museum. Part VI, 1922, pl. 37; KRI I, 408.

¹³⁷ BM EA 591; KRI I, 406-07.

¹³⁸ Nineteenth-Dynasty Book of the Dead of P_3 -šdw (EA 9955 + 9959) acquired in 1868 from the estate of Robert Hay who got some of his collection from Athanasi; Quirke, Owners of Funerary Papyri in the British Museum, 1993, p. 58 #197; Bellion, Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques, 1987, p. 53. A stele of P_3 -šdw (BM EA 341) of unknown provenance; British Museum database. Model coffin of P_3 -šdw (BM EA 35014) of unknown provenance; British Museum database. Two shabtis (EA 33922) (EA 33947) came to the British Museum from Louis, Duc de Blacas d'Aulin, in 1867; British Museum database. A stele belonging to a son, Imn-ms (EA 1388) came to the British Museum in 1845 through Athanasi's auction (lot 138); British Museum database.

¹³⁹ Fabretti et al., *Regio Museo di Torino*, I, 1882, p. 179; Tosi and Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina*, 1972, pp. 47–49; KRI III, 824–26; PM I²/1, p. 398.

¹⁴⁰ PM I²/1, p. 398.

¹⁴¹ KRI III, 826; British Museum database.

by Arthur Lyttleton Annesley, who got it from George Annesley, second Earl of Mountnorris, ¹⁴² a friend of Salt's.

TT336: The Tomb of Neferronpet (ii) (*Nfr-rnpt*). Two objects seem to have come from this tomb: a Nineteenth-Dynasty statue of Neferrenpet now in the Louvre as part of the Salt collection (Louvre N 852 = Salt no 537),¹⁴³ and a stele now in Turin as part of the Drovetti collection (Turin C. 1592 = CGT 50046).¹⁴⁴ TT338: The Tomb of May (*M*′y). An Eighteenth-Dynasty stele from his tomb in Deir el-Medina was sold by Drovetti to Turin (Turin C. 1579 = CGT 50009).¹⁴⁵ Another ended up in the collection of William John Bankes (Bankes 1).¹⁴⁶ Bankes knew both Salt and Drovetti,¹⁴⁷ and apparently acquired his own collection of antiquities from Deir el-Medina.¹⁴⁸ While this collection is reported to have been acquired in 1825,¹⁴⁹ that does not square with Salt's mention of his presence in 1819.¹⁵⁰

TT339: The Tomb of Huy (Hwy) and Pashedu (xv) (P_3 -Sd). This tomb was re-explored by the French in 1926. Three stelae from this tomb ended up in Turin among the Drovetti finds (Turin C. 1604, 152 Turin C. 1463 = CGT 50030, 153 Turin C. 1548 = CGT 50038). Another stele ended up in the British Museum (BM EA 446). Yet another ended up in the Louvre (Louvre C 86). 156

¹⁴² KRI III, 826-27; British Museum database.

¹⁴³ Champollion, Notice descriptive des monuments égyptiens du musée Charles X, 2013, p. 175.

¹⁴⁴ Fabretti et al., *Regio Museo di Torino*, I, 1882, p. 164; Tosi and Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina*, 1972, pp. 80–01; KRI III, 668–69.

¹⁴⁵ Tosi and Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina*, 1972, pp. 41–42, 264; Fabretti *et al.*, *Regio Museo di Torino*, I, 1882, p. 160; Vassilika, *Masterpieces of the Museo Egizio in Turin*, 2009, p. 67; PM I²/1, p. 406; Del Vesco and Poole, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, p. 99.

¹⁴⁶ Černý, Egyptian Stelae in the Bankes Collection, 1958, pp. 4–5.

¹⁴⁷ Henry Salt, letter to Charles Yorke, 28 May 1819, in Hall, Life and Correspondence of Henry Salt, II, 1834, p. 308.

¹⁴⁸ Černý, Egyptian Stelae in the Bankes Collection, 1958.

¹⁴⁹ Černý, Egyptian Stelae in the Bankes Collection, 1958, p. 3.

¹⁵⁰ Henry Salt, letter to Charles Yorke, 28 May 1819, in Hall, *Life and Correspondence of Henry Salt*, II, 1834, p. 308.

¹⁵¹ PM I²/1, pp. 406–07.

¹⁵² Fabretti et al., Regio Museo di Torino, I, 1882, p. 168; Tosi and Roccati, Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina, 1972, pp. 55–56.

¹⁵³ Tosi and Roccati, Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina, 1972, pp. 62–63.

¹⁵⁴ Fabretti *et al.*, *Regio Museo di Torino*, I, 1882, p. 150; Tosi and Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina*, 1972, pp. 72–73.

¹⁵⁵ PM I²/1, pp. 406–07.

¹⁵⁶ PM I²/1, pp. 406–07.

TT359: The Tomb of Anhurkhawy (ii) (In-hr-h'). A stele of Inherkha went to Turin as part of Drovetti's collection (Turin C. 7358 = CGT 50032). A stele from the tomb came through Salt to the Louvre (Louvre N 665). Another from him went to the British Museum (BM EA 588). Other scattered pieces seem to have been picked up later. 160

TT361: The Tomb of Huy (ii) (Hwy). The tomb was reexcavated by the French in 1930, who found a stele, a box-lid of Tanehsy (T3-nhsy), and three canopic jars belonging to Huy. ¹⁶¹ The early excavators acquired more objects, mainly stelae, from the tomb. Five of these stelae and a libation basin went to Turin (Turin C. 1606 = CGT 50062, ¹⁶² Turin C. 1607 = CGT 50054, ¹⁶³ Turin C. 1608 = CGT 50044, ¹⁶⁴ Turin C. 1609 = CGT 50069, ¹⁶⁵ Turin C. 1600 = CGT 50053, ¹⁶⁶ Turin Suppl. 9884). ¹⁶⁷ One went through Salt to the Louvre (Louvre N 206-C 52 = Salt no 3717), ¹⁶⁸ and one went to Salt's friend Bankes (Bankes 3). ¹⁶⁹

TT1138: The Tomb of Nakhy (N_3hy). From Drovetti comes a single stele, now in Turin (Turin C. 1586 = CGT 50010). This stele comes from Drovetti. From this tomb also come EA 281 and EA 360, now in the British Museum. 171

¹⁵⁷ Tosi and Roccati, Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina, 1972, pp. 64-66.

Cherpion and Corteggiani, La tombe d'Inherkhâouy, I, 2010, pp. 281–82.

Cherpion and Corteggiani, *La tombe d'Inherkhâouy*, I, 2010, pp. 287–90.

Cherpion and Corteggiani, *La tombe d'Inherkhâouy*, I, 2010, pp. 277–93.

¹⁶¹ PM I²/1, p. 426.

Fabretti et al., Regio Museo di Torino, I, 1882, p. 168; Tosi and Roccati, Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina, 1972, p. 100.

Fabretti *et al.*, *Regio Museo di Torino*, I, 1882, pp. 168–69; Tosi and Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina*, 1972, pp. 89–90.

Fabretti et al., Regio Museo di Torino, I, 1882, p. 169; Tosi and Roccati, Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina, 1972, p. 78; KRI III, 795.

Fabretti et al., Regio Museo di Torino, I, 1882, p. 169; Tosi and Roccati, Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina, 1972, pp. 105–06.

Fabretti et al., *Regio Museo di Torino*, I, 1882, p. 166; Tosi and Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina*, 1972, pp. 88–89; KRI III, 795.

KRI III, 795.

¹⁶⁸ Champollion, Notice descriptive des monuments égyptiens du musée Charles X, 2013, p. 159.

Černý, Egyptian Stelae in the Bankes Collection, 1958, pp. 6–7.

Tosi and Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina*, 1972, pp. 43–44, 265; Fabretti et al., *Regio Museo di Torino*, I, 1882, p. 162; Heimann, *Ägyptens Schätze entdecken*, 2012, pp. 94–95; Del Vesco and Poole, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, p. 100.

Tosi and Roccati, Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina, 1972, p. 44.

This leaves us twenty-one tombs from Deir el-Medina from which collectors in the late 1810s and early 1820s extracted material. There has been some speculation about whether Butehamun's archive was found "by Lebolo, or Belzoni or the Ournawis."172 This can be answered. Henniker's statement about the consuls dividing up Thebes is misleading. Another passage in Henniker is more enlightening. He explains: "whatever they offered, we bought. The Francs in Cairo give such encouragement to this species of sacrilegious larceny, that, within the last three years, the price of every relic has quadrupled; and possibly, in a short time, the most zealous antiquary will not succeed, either by love or money, in procuring an old great toe." 173 He also discussed the prices: "A mummy may be bought for five or ten shillings, and in consequence of traffic, many of these Troglodytes are become men of property, worth five or six hundred sixpences."174 Rifaud confirms Henniker's report that the French were buying antiquities, he reports the Egyptians as saying "hÿ chola¹⁷⁵ que Rifaud recommence les fouilles il est heureux et nous gagnerons toujours le bachis avec lui et avec Consul Drovetti."176 Another visitor, Carlo Vidua, also confirms this procedure: "M. Drovetti est en grande faveur auprès de tous; partout dans l'Egypt on me parlait de Drovetto taev et bakscis ketiri, c'est-à-dire, Drovetto est bon, et il répand des grosses étrennes. Cela peint l'Arabe, et son avidité pour l'argent." Individual items acquired by agents were conveyed to the consuls. 178 A look at the statements about the methods of excavation shows that neither Drovetti nor Salt spent much time in the tombs. Instead, their agents usually bought antiquities brought to them by the locals. Thus, the excavators of the archive of Butehamun must have been the Ournawi, and there is no reason to question Černý's statement that the Late Ramesside Letters "were found by natives during their pillaging of the Theban necropolis in 1817 and 1818." 179

¹⁷² Cavillier, in Amenta and Guichard (eds.), Proceedings First Vatican Coffin Conference, 2017, p. 99.

¹⁷³ Henniker, *Notes during a visit to Egypt*, 1823, p. 84.

¹⁷⁴ Henniker, Notes during a visit to Egypt, 1823, p. 136.

¹⁷⁵ Rifaud gives this as a translation for "hychala" in his Arabic vocabulary: "Dieu merci"; Rifaud, *Tableau de l'Égypte*, 1830, p. 13. It is probably for Arabic *in ša Allah*.

¹⁷⁶ J. Rifaud, letter to Bernardino Drovetti, 14 June 1822, in Curto and Donatelli, *Bernardino Drovetti Epistolario*, 1985, p. 212.

¹⁷⁷ Carlo Vidua, letter to Doria di Cirsè, 28 June 1820, in Balbo, Lettere del Conte Carlo Vidua, II, 1834, p. 194.

¹⁷⁸ F. Cailliaud, letter to Bernardino Drovetti, 3 January 1819, in Curto and Donatelli, *Bernardino Drovetti Epistolario*, 1985, p. 119.

¹⁷⁹ Černý, Late Ramesside Letters, 1939, p. XVI.

This explains why material from the same tomb ends up in the hands of different collectors. It also explains how the tombs could be discovered fifty years later, as is the case with TT5.

4. THE BUTEHAMUN ARCHIVE

To TT291 can be attributed the burial of Butehamun, a well-known individual from a long family of scribes at Deir el-Medina. The likely reason that this tomb can be identified as where Butehamun was buried comes from a graffito left by his son on the north wall of the cult chamber: mniw sh3 Bw-thi-Imn r=s m-ht i3twt iw hft=f snb tm irw in sh3 fnh=f-n-Imn n pr-hr the scribe Bw-thi-Imn is buried in it after his old age. His body was sound and whole. Made by the necropolis scribe Ankhefenamun. The burial equipment of Butehamun includes the sarcophagus of Butehamun (Turin C. 2236, 2237, 182 and Brussels E. 5288); the Turin parts come from Drovetti, and the Brussels portion came from Belzoni. An anonymous Book of the Dead fu trovato colla mummia di Bute-ha-Amon, il cui sarcofago è pure posseduto dal nostro Museo" (Turin C. 1858). An amuletic papyrus belonging to Butehamun also was found at the tomb and is now in Turin (C. 1858).

From this tomb, local excavators seem also to have scavenged his archive, which includes most of the Late Ramesside Letters whose dispersal we have already discussed.

Other papyri from the same archive are also known. These include the Tu-

¹⁸⁰ See Černý, Community of Workmen at Thebes, 1973, pp. 339–83; Davies, SAK 24 (1997).

¹⁸¹ Bruyère and Kuentz, La Tombe de Nakht-Min, 1926, pp. 56–58, pl. VI, IX; Jansen-Winkeln, Die 21. Dynastie, 2007, p.41.

¹⁸² Vassilika, *Masterpieces of the Museo Egizio in Turin*, 2009, p. 105; Niwiński, *Sarcofagi della XXI Dinastia*, 2004, pp. 21–47; Heimann, Ägyptens Schätze entdecken, 2012, pp. 184–87; Černý, Community of Workmen at Thebes, 1973, p. 374; Jansen-Winkeln, *Die 21. Dynastie*, 2007, p. 41.

¹⁸³ Černý, *Community of Workmen at Thebes*, 1973, p. 374; Jansen-Winkeln, *Die 21. Dynastie*, 2007, p. 41; Davies, SAK 24 (1997), p. 52.

¹⁸⁴ Van de Walle, in van de Walle et al. (eds.), La collection égyptienne, 1980, p. 11; Limme, in van de Walle et al. (eds.), La collection égyptienne, 1980, p. 42.

¹⁸⁵ Fabretti et al., Regio Museo di Torino, I, 1882, p. 233; Bellion, Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques, 1987, p. 281.

¹⁸⁶ Demichelis BIFAO 100 (2000), pp. 267-73. TPOP Doc ID: https://papyri.museoegizio.it/d/434.

rin taxation papyrus (Turin C. 1895 + 2006), ¹⁸⁷ which Gardiner pointed out belonged to Djehutymose, the father of Butehamun. ¹⁸⁸

The son of Butehamun, Nebhepet (*Nb-ḥpt*), appears to have been buried with him. His mummy board is now in the Louvre (Louvre E 13047). His Book of the Dead papyrus (Turin C. 1768) and a shabti box (Turin C. 2435) ended up in Turin as part of Drovetti's collection.

The mass of Deir el-Medina papyri in Turin coming from the Drovetti collection should, in principle, be separable into a number of archives, of which the archive of Butehamun will be one. Because many of the Turin papyri pertain to the activities of the community as a whole, we assume that they belonged to archives of the scribes in the village. "The function of the two offices of 'scribe' at Deir el-Medina, those of the 'senior' scribe and of the smdt-scribes, served entirely differing purposes. The 'senior' scribe was primarily engaged with the work at the royal work-sites. These responsibilities resulted in his absence from the village during the working-week. Conversely, it was not part of the mandate of the 'senior' scribes to organize the various commodity-shipments which arrived at the village on a regular basis. This responsibility fell squarely on the shoulders of the *smdt*-scribes." "It would appear that the *smdt*-scribes did not generally live at Deir el-Medina, and there is certainly no evidence to suggest that they owned tombs in the village necropolis." 193 So we need only consider the senior scribes and their assistants. The earliest dated Deir el-Medina papyrus in Turin (Turin C. 1880) dates to year 29 of Ramesses III¹⁹⁴ and the latest one (Turin C. 1903) dates to year 23 of Ramesses XI. 195 So we need only consider

¹⁸⁷ Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, 1948, pp. xiii–xiv, 35–44; Pleyte and Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, 1869–76, pp. 83–84, 132–36, 216–18, pls. LXV, XCVI–CI, CLV–CLVII; Bellion, *Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques*, 1987, pp. 287, 296.

¹⁸⁸ Gardiner, Ramesside Administrative Documents, 1948, p. xiii.

¹⁸⁹ Jansen-Winkeln, Die 21. Dynastie, 2007, p. 248; Černý, Community of Workmen at Thebes, 1973, p. 375.

¹⁹⁰ Fabretti et al., Regio Museo di Torino, I, 1882, p. 207; Jansen-Winkeln, Die 21. Dynastie, 2007, p. 248; Bellion, Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques, 1987, p. 273.

¹⁹¹ Jansen-Winkeln, Die 21. Dynastie, 1987, p. 248.

¹⁹² Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 140.

¹⁹³ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 141.

¹⁹⁴ Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, 1948, pp. xiv–xvii, 45–58; Pleyte and Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, 1869–76, pp. 50–65, pls. XXXV–XLVIII; Bellion, *Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques*, 1987, pp. 283–84. TPOP Doc ID: https://papyri.museoegizio.it/d/131.

¹⁹⁵ Bellion, Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques, 1987, p. 288; Helck, Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh, 2002, p. 557. TPOP Doc ID: https://papyri.museoegizio.it/d/512.

those scribes whose tenure falls between those dates. This yields the following individuals: 196

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Amunnakht (year 24 Ramesses III to year 6/7 of Ramesses VI);
Hori (year 23 of Ramesses III to 4 of Ramesses VI);
Horsheri (year 6 of Ramesses IV to year 17 of Ramesses IX);
Paybasa (years 10 to 16 of Ramesses IX);
Pawero (year 1/2 of Ramesses X to year 10 of Ramesses XI);
Khaemhedjet (year 13 of Ramesses IX to year 1 of Ramesses XI);
Nesamenope (year 12 to 20 of Ramesses XI);
Djehutymose (year 3 to 28 of Ramesses XI);
Butehamun (year 12 to 20 of Ramesses XI);
Penpare (after year 20 of Ramesses XI);
Iufenkhonsu (after year 20 of Ramesses XI).
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Of these, Amunnakht, Horsheri, Khaemhedjet, Djehutymose, and Butehamun all belong to the same family¹⁹⁸ and the family archive may be expected to have passed down to the last member.

The datable Turin papyri correspond to the range of dates when this family of scribes held their office and thus it is a reasonable assumption that all of the papyri come from this archive, but we can at least see which of the scribes who are not part of the family might possibly have also contributed documents to the Turin collection (for more details see the Turin Papyrus Online Platform, https://papyri.museoegizio.it).

The scribe Hori has been much discussed.¹⁹⁹ He is mainly known from ostraca, but also appears in the following documents from Turin: Turin C. 1885, 1891, 1900, 1930, 2024, 2070, 2071/224, 2083/173. He is mentioned in the Turin Strike Papyrus (Turin C. 1880),²⁰⁰ but that also mentions Amunnakht,²⁰¹ and

¹⁹⁶ The time indicated is time in any scribal office. Time in separate offices has been combined.

¹⁹⁷ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, pp. 283–84.

¹⁹⁸ Černý, Community of Workmen at Thebes, 1973, pp. 339–83.

¹⁹⁹ Černý, Community of Workmen at Thebes, 1973, pp. 216–19; Davies, Who's Who, 1999, pp. 137–38.

²⁰⁰ Turin 1880 v 3/3, in Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, 1948, p. 46; cf. Černý, *Community of Workmen at Thebes*, 1973, p. 217.

²⁰¹ Turin 1880 2/13, 3/9-10, 4/1, 3/20, v 3/3, 6/9, in Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, 1948, pp. 46, 51, 55–58; cf. Černý, *Community of Workmen at Thebes*, 1973, p. 347.

can just as easily be part of the archive of Butehamun. Turin C. 2002 also mentions Horsheri,²⁰² and so can also belong to the archive of Butehamun. Turin C. 1881 and C. 2083/178 also mention Khaemhedjet,²⁰³ and so it can also belong to the archive of Butehamun. Turin C. 1895 + 2006 is in the handwriting of Dhehutymose,²⁰⁴ and thus belongs to the archive of Butehamun.

The scribe Pawero is known from two documents:²⁰⁵ Turin C. 1932 and Turin C. 2018.

The scribe Paybasa is known from three documents in Turin:²⁰⁶ Turin C. 1999, 2071/224, the Turin Strike Papyrus (Turin C. 1880).²⁰⁷ Two of these documents also mention the scribe Hori. The last also mentions Amunnakht.²⁰⁸

The scribe Nesamenope is known from one document in Turin, the Turin Taxation Papyrus (Turin C. 1896 + 2006) which, as noted above, belonged to Djehutymose and thus is part of his archive, and one of the Tomb Robbery Papyri (BM 10052), which has a separate provenance. Thus he can be excluded as the owner of documents in Turin.

The scribe Penpare is known only from graffiti²⁰⁹ and thus is excluded from consideration as a possessor of documents from Turin.

The scribe Iufenkhonsu is known principally from being a witness in a late Twentieth-Dynasty marriage document (Turin C. 2021).²¹⁰ Another witness on the document is the scribe Djehutymose, so it is more reasonable to assign the document to his archive and thus the archive of Butehamun.

For the most part, the documents that might be attributed to the archive of other scribes can just as easily be attributed to the archive of Butehamun.²¹¹ While it is possible for there to be individual exceptions, all of the Deir el-Medina papyri coming through Drovetti to Turin can be assumed to be part of the

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202 Černý, Community of Workmen at Thebes, 1973, p. 353.
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²⁰³ Černý, Community of Workmen at Thebes, 1973, p. 356.

²⁰⁴ Černý, Community of Workmen at Thebes, 1973, p. 360.

²⁰⁵ Černý, Community of Workmen at Thebes, 1973, p. 203.

²⁰⁶ Černý, Community of Workmen at Thebes, 1973, p. 203.

²⁰⁷ Turin 1880 3/21, in Gardiner, Ramesside Administrative Documents, 1948, p. 58.

²⁰⁸ Turin 1880 2/13, 3/9-10, 4/1, 3/20, v 3/3, 6/9, in Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, 1948, pp. 46, 51, 55–58; cf. Černý, *Community of Workmen at Thebes*, 1973, p. 347.

²⁰⁹ Černý, Community of Workmen at Thebes, 1973, pp. 206–07.

²¹⁰ Černý, Community of Workmen at Thebes, 1973, p. 194; Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 143-48.

²¹¹ Similar conclusions in Hagen and Soliman, in Bausi *et al.* (eds.), *Manuscripts and Archives*, 2018, pp. 151–52; Harrell and Brown, *JARCE* 29 (1992), p. 100.

archive of Butehamun and found in TT291. This then includes the following documents: the Turin Canon (Turin C. 1874),²¹² the Turin Erotic Papyrus (Turin C. 2031),²¹³ the Harem conspiracy papyrus (Turin C. 1875),²¹⁴ the map of the gold mines (Turin C. 1879 + 1899 + 1969),²¹⁵ the plan of the tomb of Ramesses IV in the Valley of the Kings (Turin C. 1885),²¹⁶ the necropolis journal of year 13 of Ramesses IX (Turin C. 1999 + 2009),²¹⁷ the necropolis journals of year 17 of Ramesses IX (Turin C. 1888,²¹⁸ and C. 2029 + 2078/162 + 2001 + 2078/161 + 2005 + 2106/403 + 2107/421),²¹⁹ the necropolis journal of year 3 of Ramesses X (Turin C. 1898),²²⁰ and the Turin Strike papyrus (Turin C. 1880).²²¹ It also includes the following papyri in Turin: C. 1876 + 1877,²²² C. 1878,²²³ C. 1881 + 2080 +

Gardiner, Royal Canon of Turin, 1959; Vassilika, Masterpieces of the Museo Egizio in Turin, 2009, p. 71; Scamuzzi, Museo Egizio di Torino, 1963, tav. LXVI; Ridley, Napoleon's Proconsul in Egypt, 1998, p. 309; Bellion, Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques, 1987, p. 283.

Vassilika, *Masterpieces of the Museo Egizio in Turin*, 2009, p. 100; Scamuzzi, *Museo Egizio di Torino*, 1963, tav. XC; Pleyte and Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, 1869–76, pp. 203–06, pl. CXLV; Bellion, *Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques*, 1987, p. 299; Ridley, *Napoleon's Proconsul in Egypt*, 1998, p. 309.

Vassilika, Masterpieces of the Museo Egizio in Turin, 2009, p. 103; Bellion, Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques, 1987, p. 283; Ridley, Napoleon's Proconsul in Egypt, 1998, p. 309.

Vassilika, Masterpieces of the Museo Egizio in Turin, 2009, p. 102; Scamuzzi, Museo Egizio di Torino, 1963, tav. LXXXVIII; Pleyte and Rossi, Papyrus de Turin, 1869–76, p. 202, pl. CXLIV; Bellion, Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques, 1987, p. 287; Helck, Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh, 2002, p. 438.

Pleyte and Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, 1869–76, pp. 46–47, 100–02, pls. XXXII–XXXIII, LXXI–LXXII; Vassilika, *Masterpieces of the Museo Egizio in Turin*, 2009, p. 104; Scamuzzi, *Museo Egizio di Torino*, 1963, tav. LXXXVII; Bellion, *Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques*, 1987, pp. 283, 285; Helck, *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka*, *Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh*, 2002, pp. 438, 453; Heimann, Ägyptens *Schätze entdecken*, 2012, pp. 190–91; Ridley, *Napoleon's Proconsul in Egypt*, 1998, p. 309.

²¹⁷ Pleyte and Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, 1869–76, pp. 113–14, pls. CLII–CLIII; Botti and Peet, *Il giornale della necropoli di Tebe*, 1928, pp. 8–13, pls. 1–6; Bellion, *Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques*, 1987, pp. 296–97; Helck, *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka*, *Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh*, 2002, p. 466.

Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, 1948, pp. xx–xxi, 64–68; Pleyte and Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, 1869–76, pp. 77–78, pl. LXI; Bellion, *Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques*, 1987, p. 286.

Pleyte and Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, 1869–76, pp. 128–31, pls. XCII–XCV; Botti and Peet, *Il giornale della necropoli di Tebe*, 1928, pp. 14–42, tav. 7–49; Bellion, *Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques*, 1987, pp. 296, 304, 307; Helck, *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka*, *Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh*, 2002, p. 467.

Botti and Peet, *Il giornale della necropoli di Tebe*, 1928, pp. 42–55, tav. 50–63; Bellion, *Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques*, 1987, p. 287; Helck, *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka*, *Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh*, 2002, p. 537.

Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, 1948, pp. xiv-xvii, 45–58; Pleyte and Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, 1869–76, pp. 50–65, pls. XXXV-XLVIII; Bellion, *Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques*, 1987, pp. 283–84; Heimann, Ägyptens Schätze entdecken, 2012, p. 191.

Pleyte and Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, 1869–76, pp. 22–25, 39–40, pls. XI–XV, XXVII–XXVIII; Bellion, *Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques*, 1987, p. 283.

Pleyte and Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, 1869–76, pp. 4–6, pl. I; Bellion, *Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques*, 1987, p. 283.

 $2092,^{224}$ C. $1883 + 2095,^{225}$ C. $1884,^{226}$ C. $1886,^{227}$ C. $1890,^{228}$ C. $1891,^{229}$ C. $1892,^{230}$ C. $1893,^{231}$ C. $1894,^{232}$ C. $1896,^{233}$ C. $1897,^{234}$ C. $1900 + 2048/33 + 2088/201 + 2093/235 + 2097/274 + 2101/318,^{235}$ C. $1903,^{236}$ C. $1904,^{237}$ C. $1905,^{238}$ C. $1906 + 2047 + 2132 + 1939,^{239}$ C. $1907 + 1908,^{240}$ C. $1923,^{241}$ C. $1930 + 2050 + 2013,^{242}$

- Pleyte and Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, 1869–76, pp. 9–21, pls. II–X; Bellion, *Catalogue des manuscrits* hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques, 1987, p. 284; Helck, *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka*, *Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh*, 2002, p. 465.
- Pleyte and Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, 1869–76, pp. 41–42, pl. XXIX; Bellion, *Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques*, 1987, pp. 284, 306; Helck, *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka*, *Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh*, 2002, p. 453.
- Pleyte and Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, 1869–76, pp. 112–13, pls. LXXVI; Bellion, *Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques*, 1987, pp. 284–85; Helck, *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh*, 2002, p. 467.
- Pleyte and Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, 1869–76, pp. 31–33, pls. XX–XXII; Bellion, *Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques*, 1987, p. 285.
- Pleyte and Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, 1869–76, p. 82, pl. LXIV; Bellion, *Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques*, 1987, p. 286.
- Pleyte and Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, 1869–76, pp. 66–67, pls. XLIX–L; Bellion, *Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques*, 1987, p. 286; Helck, *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka*, *Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh*, 2002, pp. 340, 466.
- Pleyte and Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, 1869–76, pp. 123–25, pls. LXXXVI–LXXXVII; Bellion, *Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques*, 1987, p. 286.
- Pleyte and Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, 1869–76, pp. 123–25, pls. LXXXVIII–LXXXIX; Bellion, *Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques*, 1987, p. 286.
- Pleyte and Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, 1869–76, pp. 48–49, pl. XXXIV; Bellion, *Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques*, 1987, p. 286; Helck, *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka*, *Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh*, 2002, p. 465.
- 233 Pleyte and Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, 1869–76, pp. 89–92, pl.LXVI–LXVII; Bellion, *Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques*, 1987, p. 287; Helck, *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka*, *Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh*, 2002, p. 557.
- Pleyte and Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, 1869–76, p. 99, pls. LXX; Bellion, *Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques*, 1987, p. 287.
- Bellion, Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques, 1987, pp. 287–88; Helck, Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh, 2002, pp. 465–66, 537.
- Bellion, Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques, 1987, p. 288; Helck, Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh, 2002, p. 557.
- 237 Bellion, Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques, 1987, p. 288.
- Bellion, Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques, 1987, p. 289; Helck, Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh, 2002, pp. 465–66.
- Bellion, Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques, 1987, p. 289; Helck, Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh, 2002, pp. 465, 537.
- Bellion, Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques, 1987, p. 289; Helck, Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh, 2002, p. 453.
- Bellion, Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques, 1987, p. 290; Helck, Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh, 2002, p. 437.
- Bellion, Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques, 1987, p. 290; Helck, Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh, 2002, p. 465.

C. 1932 + 1939, ²⁴³ C. 1940/1941, ²⁴⁴ C. 1949, ²⁴⁵ C. 1960, ²⁴⁶ C. 1961/1962 + 2006, ²⁴⁷ C. 1965, ²⁴⁸ C. 1966, ²⁴⁹ C. 1976, ²⁵⁰ C. 1981, ²⁵¹ C. 1995, ²⁵² C. 1996, ²⁵³ C. 2002, ²⁵⁴ C. 2003, ²⁵⁵ C. 2004 + 2007 + 2057 + 2058 + 2106 + 2396, ²⁵⁶ C. 2015, ²⁵⁷ C. 2018, ²⁵⁸ C. 2021, ²⁵⁹ C. 2023, ²⁶⁰ C. 2026, ²⁶¹ C. 2034, ²⁶² C. 2044, ²⁶³ C. 2049 + 2141 + 1963 + 2042

- Bellion, Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques, 1987, p. 291; Helck, Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh, 2002, pp. 467, 537.
- 244 Bellion, Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques, 1987, p. 291.
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+ 1917 + 1913,²⁶⁴ C. 2053 + 2050 + 2028 + 1914,²⁶⁵ C. 2057 + 2058,²⁶⁶ C. 2062,²⁶⁷ C. 2063,²⁶⁸ C. 2069,²⁶⁹ C. 2070,²⁷⁰ C. 2070/154,²⁷¹ 2071,²⁷² C. 2072,²⁷³ C. 2073,²⁷⁴ C. 2074,²⁷⁵ C. 2075,²⁷⁶ C. 2076,²⁷⁷ C. 2077 + 2024 + 2052,²⁷⁸ C. 2081,²⁷⁹ C. 2084 + 2091,²⁸⁰ C. 2087/199 + 2068/239 + 2050/253,²⁸¹ C. 2094,²⁸² C. 2097,²⁸³ C. 2104.²⁸⁴

Another Ramesside period papyrus containing an administrative document and an encomium of Ramesses IV (Turin C. 1882),²⁸⁵ part of which had ended up

Bellion, Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques, 1987, pp. 289, 292, 301; Helck, Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papi und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh, 2002, p. 466.

Pleyte and Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, 1869–76, pp. 85–88, pl. LXV; Bellion, *Catalogue des manuscrits* hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques, 1987, p. 301; Helck, Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, *Papi und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh*, 2002, p. 467.

Bellion, Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques, 1987, p. 301–02.

Bellion, Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques, 1987, p. 302; Helck, Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papi und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh, 2002, p. 414.

²⁶⁸ Bellion, Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques, 1987, p. 302.

Bellion, Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques, 1987, p. 303.

Bellion, Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques, 1987, p. 303; Helck, Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papi und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh, 2002, p. 465.

Helck, Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papi und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh, 2002, p. 345.

Bellion, Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques, 1987, p. 303; Helck, Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papi und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh, 2002, pp. 466–67.

Bellion, Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques, 1987, p. 303; Helck, Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papi und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh, 2002, p. 466.

Bellion, Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques, 1987, p. 304.

Bellion, Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques, 1987, p. 304; Helck, Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papi und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh, 2002, p. 466.

Bellion, Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques, 1987, p. 304; Helck, Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papi und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh, 2002, pp. 467, 537.

Bellion, Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques, 1987, p. 304.

²⁷⁸ Bellion, Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques, 1987, pp. 301, 304.

Bellion, Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques, 1987, p. 305; Helck, Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papi und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh, 2002, p. 414.

Bellion, Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques, 1987, pp. 305, 306; Helck, Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papi und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh, 2002, pp. 465–66.

Bellion, Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques, 1987, p. 313; Helck, Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papi und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh, 2002, p. 466.

Bellion, Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques, 1987, p. 306; Helck, Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papi und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh, 2002, p. 557.

Bellion, Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques, 1987, p. 306; Helck, Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papi und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh, 2002, p. 557.

²⁸⁴ Bellion, Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques, 1987, p. 307.

Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, 1948, pp. xxiv, 82–83; KRI VI, 70–76; Pleyte and Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, 1869–76, pp. 28–30, 109–11, pls. XVII–XIX, LXXIII–LXXV; Bellion, *Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques*, 1987, p. 284.

in Geneva²⁸⁶, which was also part of the Drovetti collection.

Two observations on the dispersal of Butehamun's archive may be of archaeological relevance. The first is that the Late Ramesside Letters in his possession were widely dispersed more or less equally among various collections. The second is that the rest of the material seems to have been acquired only by Drovetti. This suggests that the two were kept in separate storage containers in the tomb and Drovetti was able to acquire the contents of the one group but that the other was split up among Anastasy, Bankes, Caillaud, Drovetti, and Salt. If they were all found together, how was it that only the Late Ramesside Letters were dispersed to multiple parties?

Another observation is that all of the Deir el-Medina papyri in Turin constitute an archive as having the same provenance and plausible connection to the same family of scribes. This could arguably be the largest archive from ancient Egypt.

5. ALTERNATE PROPOSALS

A few alternate proposals for the findspot of the papyri have been suggested. In the 1933–34 season of excavations, Bernard Bruyère discovered additional pieces of P. Turin C. 1885, the plan of the tomb of Ramesses IV, in Deir el-Medina tombs 1336, 1337, and 1340,²⁸⁷ and some have sought to place these in the tomb 1338 which they would like to identify as the tomb of Amunnakht,²⁸⁸ although the identification is uncertain.²⁸⁹ Others have suggested that 1340 is the original tomb for the papyri.²⁹⁰ The archive to which the papyri belong seems to have been started by Amunnakht and added to by his descendants. It would be expected that the archive would be found in a context associated with the last owner of the archive, not the first. The presence of three pieces of the same papyrus in three different tombs presupposes some sort of explanation of how they arrived there. The original repository of the papyrus cannot be in all three tombs. At least two of the tombs cannot be the spot where the papyrus was originally deposited. While we are wondering which spot should be the original place of

²⁸⁶ Gardiner, Ramesside Administrative Documents, 1948, p. xxiv.

²⁸⁷ Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1933-1934), 1937, pp. 79-80.

²⁸⁸ Harrell and Brown, JARCE 29 (1992), p. 100.

²⁸⁹ Haring, in Hoogendijk and van Gompel (eds.), The Materiality of Texts, 2018, p. 44 n. 9.

²⁹⁰ Hagen and Soliman, in Alessandro Bausi et al. (eds.), Manuscripts and Archives, 2018, p. 152.

deposit, we might wonder if any of the three was actually the original repository of the archive. One explanation for the presence of the same papyrus in those three tombs is that the explorers visited these three tombs while in possession of the papyrus from another tomb and lost portions of the papyrus they were carrying on their visit. This does not help us determine the place where the papyrus was originally discovered. The closest tomb that the early nineteenth-century treasure hunters are known to have visited is TT219, the tomb of Nebenmaat.

While we cannot completely rule out either TT1338 or 1340, the archival archaeology does not support those identifications. The method used (outlined above) does not support the identification, which is disappointing because one would hope that different lines of reasoning would come to the same conclusion making it more likely that the conclusion would be the correct one.

The presence of papyrus scraps from a known papyrus in these three tombs means that we can add Deir el-Medina tombs 1336, 1337, and 1340 to our list of the tombs visited by the early explorers, but does not necessarily serve as an indication that Butehamun's archive was deposited there.

6. CONCLUSIONS

My argument has been based on what has been called archival archaeology. Based on an examination of accounts of the early excavators we can tentatively conclude the following. Deir el-Medina was largely plundered by the Egyptians in the early nineteenth century, who did so because of the French and English consuls and their agents buying antiquities in the area of Thebes. It is possible that none of the Europeans actually visited Deir el-Medina. The bulk of the Deir el-Medina papyri (if not all of them) that Bernardino Drovetti sold to the Turin Museum in 1824 can be reasonably supposed to belong to the archive of Butehamun, which is likely a separate archive from the Late Ramesside Letters which also belonged to Butehamun. These may have been buried with Butehamun, but it is possible that either archive was kept separately, and archaeological excavation may indicate a different findspot. This provides us with a findspot and locates the material in an archive. This discovery I hope will prove of some value to Deir el-Medina specialists. What is proposed here is something I expect to be adjusted, corrected, and improved with further research.

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BROTHERS AND SONS IN TOMB DECORATION AT DEIR EL-MEDINA¹

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the representation of the tomb owners' *sn*-relatives (brothers, uncles, cousins, nephews, and male in-laws) and sons in tomb decoration at Deir el-Medina. It lists and discusses the tasks performed by members of each group in the funerary procession and in rituals beside the tomb, mostly related to the Opening of the Mouth, in order to understand the roles allotted to *sn*-relatives and sons at this crucial family juncture as well as the conventions of representing them within this particular community.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Ancient Egyptian culture strongly stressed the relationship between father and son, and more generally, between parents and children. By contrast, the relationships between siblings, and with the wider group of male relatives the Egyptians described as sn, 'brother' (such as uncles, cousins, nephews, male in-laws, and even colleagues²) were somewhat neglected, although these connections were an important part of people's peer groups.

Deir el-Medina is an ideal setting to investigate brotherhood, due to the rich corpus of data from the village that provides information about family life and relationships. Genealogies at Deir el-Medina have been well investigated,³ and Benedict Davies' key book *Who's Who at Deir el-Medina* provides a generally accepted prosopographical framework for the village families.

At Deir el-Medina, tomb owners often included their *sn*-relations in their tomb decorations. But Egyptian art is highly idealizing:⁴ funerals did not necessarily occur as they were represented. For instance, the Opening of the Mouth and other rituals at the tomb may be represented taking place for a man and his wife simultaneously⁵ although they did not necessarily die in close succession.⁶ Therefore, the *sn.w* represented in Deir el-Medina tombs were not necessarily present at the funeral, and did not necessarily fulfil the specific roles assigned to them in the tomb decoration.

Nonetheless, their presence in the tomb decoration, and the roles attributed to them, reflect their importance to the tomb owners. The mechanisms of choice⁷ and the reasons for these choices are often obscure to us, but on the tomb own-

² E.g. Bierbrier, JEA 66 (1980), pp. 104–06; Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 23; Revez, JARCE 40 (2003), p. 127.

³ E.g. Černý et al., Répertoire onomastique, 1949; Bierbrier, Late New Kingdom, 1975, pp. 19–44; Davies, Who's Who, 1999; Dorn, Arbeiterhütten, 2011, pp. 195–96; Soliman, "Of Marks and Men", 2016; Gabler, Who's Who Around Deir el-Medina, 2018.

⁴ Cf. Robins, *DiscEg* 17 (1990), p. 45.

⁵ E.g. TT9 (KRI VII, 40.5–7); TT10 (Bruyère, *Rapport 1922–23*, 1924, pp. 54–55, pls. xii bottom, xiic); TT326 (Bruyère, *Rapport 1922–23*, 1924, p. 41, pls. xii top, xiiia); TT335 (KRI III, 670.5–6); stela Turin CGT 50074 from TT4 (Tosi and Roccati, *Stele*, 1972, pp. 110–12, 294).

⁶ Cf. Schulman, *JARCE* 21 (1984), p. 176. Barthelmess, *Übergang ins Jenseits*, 1992, p. 99 views these depictions as aspirations for a shared afterlife.

⁷ Family members and the artists decorating the tomb may also have provided input about the decoration and whom to include. In the chief workman Inherkhau (ii)'s tomb TT359, the draughtsmen Hormin (i) and Nebnefer (ix) signed their work and included their names in the inscriptions (Keller, in Davies [ed.], *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, 2001, pp. 75–76, 80, 87).

er's death, his family would face major changes. Probably he hoped to gain his *sn*-relatives' support for his family, particularly the new head of his family, and their endorsement of his property arrangements for his children and widow.

Each tomb is different: families were differently structured and their interpersonal dynamics and agendas varied. Tomb owners also used the term sn differently. Siblings are normally called sn, although sometimes the term is omitted. In TT335, the tomb owner's nephews are called sn. TT5 uses the term for nephews and brothers-in-law. The engraver Qen (Qn) (ii), owner of TT4, included several brothers-in-law in his funerary procession but did not call them sn, whereas Nebenmaat $(Nb-n-m3^c.t)$ (ii), owner of TT219, called numerous non-relatives sn in his funerary procession.

Unfortunately, the evidence available is incomplete. Firstly, much has disappeared since antiquity. Tombs at Deir el-Medina are often damaged:¹⁴ brick chapels have collapsed or been demolished,¹⁵ funerary stelae depicting the funeral are missing or damaged,¹⁶ tombs were reused for burial later,¹⁷ and/or burnt by ancient or modern tomb robbers.¹⁸

Secondly, some tombs are unfinished, 19 so only part of the tomb owner's original design was carried out: maybe the tomb owner intended to include sn

⁸ E.g. Qaha (i)'s brothers Paherypedjet (ii) and Huynefer (ii) (Davies, *Who's Who*, 1999, chart 3) on stela BM EA 144 (*KRI* III, 603.5–6) are not called *sn*.

⁹ KRI III, 672.7–8. See Davies, Who's Who, 1999, charts 13, 14 and 24.

¹⁰ Vandier and Vandier d'Abbadie, Nefer-abou, 1935, pls. vii, ix.

¹¹ Vandier and Vandier d'Abbadie, Nefer-abou, 1935, pl. ix.

¹² Černý et al., Répertoire onomastique, 1949, pp. 49–50; Davies, Who's Who, 1999, chart 14; Sweeney, ZÄS 146 (2019).

¹³ Maystre, *Nebenmât*, 1936, pp. 11–12, pl. ii, scenes 11, 13, pl. vii, scene 43. See **Table 1** below for details. Davies, *Who's Who*, 1999, p. 236 notes that many terms used for family relationships in this tomb are ambiguous.

¹⁴ For instance, the figures in TT1 were vandalized shortly after the burial (Bruyère, *Sen-nedjem*, 1959, pp. 47–48); all the names in the banquet scene and most of the burial scene from TT217 are lost (Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs*, 1927, p. 42, pls. xxviii, xxxvi).

¹⁵ E.g. two of the three chapels of TT1 (Bruyère, *Sen-nedjem*, 1959, pp. 49–50); TT218 and 219 (Maystre, *Nebenmât*, 1936, p. 2).

¹⁶ E.g. TT1 (Bruyère, *Sen-nedjem*, 1959, p. 10); TT10 (Bruyère, *Rapport 1922-23*, 1924, pp. 54–55, pl. xii.c); TT292 (Turin CGT 50082: Tosi and Roccati, *Stele*, 1972, pp. 120–21, 298); TT360 (Bruyère, *Rapport 1930*, 1933, p. 89, pl. xxxv).

¹⁷ E.g. TT210 (Bruyère, Rapport 1927, 1928, p. 20).

¹⁸ E.g. TT2 (Bruyère, *Tombes thébaines*, 1952, p. 24); TT10 (Bruyère, *Rapport 1923–24*, 1925, p. 61); TT210 (Bruyère, *Rapport 1927*, 1928, p. 20); TT216 (Bruyère, *Rapport 1923–24*, 1925, p. 37); TT291 (Bruyère and Kuentz, *Nakht-min*, 1926, p. 67).

¹⁹ E.g. TT211 (Bruyère, Tombes thébaines, 1952, p. 67).

in scenes which were never executed. Even when the images are complete, the names of the individuals represented may be missing, as in TT354,²⁰ and the north wall of TT340.²¹

Thirdly, family dynamics could change whilst the tomb was being decorated – relatives might draw apart or grow closer, die, or marry, introducing new in-laws to the family: the decoration in different parts of the tomb might reflect such changes.

However, the tomb owners' *sn.w* were not the only *sn.w* featured in tomb decoration. The dead man's sons were the next generation of brothers. They experienced their parents' deaths and burials both as sons, and simultaneously as one another's brothers. Nonetheless, in their parents' tombs they were envisaged as sons, and the roles they were depicted performing were somewhat different from those their uncles and cousins performed. Comparing and contrasting these roles can sharpen our understanding of the social expectations of these two different groups of family members.²²

2. FUNERARY PROCESSIONS

Funerary processions in Deir el-Medina tomb chapels differ in their composition and size, depending on family circumstances and the size of the tomb (see **Table 1**). Generally, they depict a procession to the family tomb, with a bier drawn by cattle, a group of mourners, and porters carrying grave goods. Funerary processions were also depicted on stelae in tomb courtyards, but succinctly, due to the limited space available.

Sons, sn.w and colleagues are all represented carrying funerary objects,²³

²⁰ Cherpion and Kruchten, Deux Tombes, 2005, pp. 67–89.

²¹ Cherpion and Kruchten, Deux Tombes, 2005, pl. 15.

²² I plan to discuss the roles of family members, especially *sn.w*, in offering scenes in Deir el-Medina tombs in a separate article, so I will not discuss them in detail here.

²³ Sons TT218 (Bruyère, *Rapport 1927*, 1928, p. 64; KRI III, 709.3–5); TT219 (Maystre, *Nebenmât*, 1936, pl. vii, scene 47); BM EA 150 + 1754 (James, *Stelae* 9, 1970, pp. 34–35, pls. xxx–xxxa; KRI III, 776.6–7; Davies, *Who's Who*, 1999, charts 1 and 11); *sn* TT4 (Černý *et al.*, *Répertoire onomastique*, 1949, pp. 49–50; Davies, *Who's Who*, 1999, chart 14); TT216 (Černý *et al.*, *Répertoire onomastique*, 1949, p. 106; Davies, *Who's Who*, 1999, chart 6); TT218 (Bruyère, *Rapport 1927*, 1928, p. 64; KRI III, 709.3–5); TT219 (Maystre, *Nebenmât*, 1936, pl. ii, scene 13; colleagues TT218 (Bruyère, *Rapport 1927*, 1928, p. 64; KRI III, 709.2–3, 5); BM EA 150 + 1754 (James, *Stelae* 9, 1970, pp. 34–35, pls. xxx–xxxa; KRI III, 776.7–9).

drawing the bier²⁴ and walking before the bier.²⁵ $Sn.w^{26}$ and colleagues²⁷ also precede the porters carrying grave goods. $Sn.w^{28}$ are also portrayed simply walking in the procession: probably the tomb owner wanted to include them, without necessarily allotting them a specific role.

The tomb owner's brothers,²⁹ male relatives,³⁰ male in-laws³¹ and colleagues³² are also represented marching with staffs: this group was the Ramesside successor to the prestigious "Nine Friends,"³³ originally a group of male mourners accompanying funerary processions with formal chants describing the dead man's welcome into the afterworld. This role was not performed by the tomb owner's sons.

At Deir el-Medina, the honour of participating in the funerary procession was normally restricted to family, friends and colleagues, but in the chief workman Neferhotep (*Nfr-ḥtp*) (ii)'s tomb, TT216, his servants also appear carrying burial equipment,³⁴ probably because Neferhotep was childless and very close to some of his servants, like Hesysunebef (*Ḥsjj-swnb-f*) (i).³⁵

Some activities are performed by sn.w only (guiding the oxen drawing the bi-

²⁴ Sons BM EA 150 + 1754 (James, *Stelae* 9, 1970, pp. 34–35, pls. xxx-xxxa; *KRI* III, 775.11–13); *sn* TT1 Khons chapel (Bruyère, *Sen-nedjem*, 1959, pp. 13–14); TT219 (Maystre, *Nebenmât*, 1936, pl. ii, scene 13); Maystre, *Nebenmât*, 1936, pl. vii, scene 43; BM EA 150 + 1754 (James, *Stelae* 9, 1970, pp. 34–35, pls. xxx-xxxa; *KRI* III, 776.2–3); TT1 stela (Bruyère, *Sen-nedjem*, 1959, p. 10); colleagues TT218 (Bruyère, *Rapport* 1927, 1928, p. 64; *KRI* III, 709.1–2); TT219 (Maystre, *Nebenmât*, 1936, pl. ii, scene 13). BM EA 150 + 1754 (James, *Stelae* 9, 1970, pp. 34–35, pls. xxx-xxxa; *KRI* III, 775.11–12; 776.3–4).

²⁵ All in TT4 (Černý et al., Répertoire onomastique, 1949, pp. 49–50; Davies, Who's Who, 1999, chart 14). Sons also precede the bier in TT2 (Černý et al., Répertoire onomastique, 1949, p. 23); TT335 (Servajean, in Gaber et al. [eds.], À l'oeuvre on connaît l'artisan, 2017, p. 259).

²⁶ TT4 (Černý et al., Répertoire onomastique, 1949, pp. 49-50).

²⁷ TT4 (Černý et al., Répertoire onomastique, 1949, pp. 49–50).

²⁸ TT2 (Černý et al., Répertoire onomastique, 1949, p. 23; Davies, Who's Who, 1999, chart 7).

²⁹ TT219 (Maystre, *Nebenmât*, 1936, pl. ii, scene 11; TT335 (Servajean, in Gaber *et al.* [eds.], À l'oeuvre on connaît l'artisan, 2017, p. 259).

³⁰ Possibly TT9 (Černý et al., Répertoire onomastique, 1949, p. 73; Davies, Who's Who, 1999, chart 1); TT219? (Maystre, Nebenmât, 1936, pl. ii, scene 11); TT335 (Servajean, in Gaber et al. [eds.], À l'oeuvre on connaît l'artisan, 2017, p. 259).

³¹ Possibly TT9 (Černý et al., Répertoire onomastique, 1949, p. 73; Davies, Who's Who, 1999, charts 1 and 3); TT219 (Maystre, Nebenmât, 1936, pl. ii, scene 11; KRI III, 759.6). TT335 (Servajean, in Gaber et al. [eds.], À l'oeuvre on connaît l'artisan, 2017, p. 259).

³² TT9 (Černý et al., Répertoire onomastique, 1949, p. 73; Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 274); TT10 (Černý et al., Répertoire onomastique, 1949, pp. 75–76); TT219 (Maystre, Nebenmât, 1936, pl. ii, scene 11).

³³ Barthelmess, Übergang ins Jenseits, 1992, p. 62. Hays, in Dieleman and Wendrich (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia* of Egyptology, 2010, p. 5 suggests that the original number of nine represented the plurality of the divine pantheon.

³⁴ Černý et al., Répertoire onomastique, 1949, p. 106.

³⁵ Janssen, in Demarée and Janssen (eds.), Gleanings from Deir el-Medina, 1982, pp. 109–15.

er,³⁶ preparing offerings,³⁷ sprinkling water on the mourners,³⁸ and pulling the canopic chest³⁹). Others are performed by the sons (carrying a naos,⁴⁰ offering incense to Anubis,⁴¹ carrying a sheaf of grain,⁴² and libating milk⁴³). Colleagues carry a statue of Anubis,⁴⁴ read from a scroll,⁴⁵ and perhaps sprinkle water during the procession.⁴⁶ Both colleagues⁴⁷ and $sn.w^{48}$ sprinkle water before the bier, but only sons⁴⁹ cense the bier. In all cases, there are only a few examples, which are not necessarily statistically significant.

Distinctions between different types of sn are difficult to spot. Brothers,⁵⁰ nephews,⁵¹ nephews-in-law⁵² and fathers-in-law⁵³ are depicted drawing the bier. Brothers⁵⁴, nephews⁵⁵, brothers-in-law⁵⁶ and perhaps a father-in-law⁵⁷ are

- 36 TT2 (Černý et al., Répertoire onomastique, 1949, p. 21).
- TT2 (Černý et al., Répertoire onomastique, 1949, p. 22).
- TT219 (Maystre, *Nebenmât*, 1936, pl. vii, scene 47).
- TT219 (Maystre, *Nebenmât*, 1936, pl. ii, scene 14. Barthelmess, *Übergang ins Jenseits*, 1992, p. 28 notes that this scene is relatively rare at Deir el-Medina.
- TT4 (Černý et al., Répertoire onomastique, 1949, pp. 49–50).
- TT215 (Vandier d'Abbadie and Jourdain, *Deux tombes*, 1939, pl. xxiv). Barthelmess, *Übergang ins Jenseits*, 1992, p. 29 wonders whether this is actually a separate ritual in honour of Anubis, rather than part of the burial.
- 42 TT335 (Servajean, in Gaber et al. [eds.], À l'oeuvre on connaît l'artisan, 2017, p. 259).
- TT338 (Tosi, Maia, 1972, p. 20).
- TT215 (Vandier d'Abbadie and Jourdain, *Deux tombes*, 1939, pl. xxiv); TT335 (Servajean, in Gaber *et al.* [eds.], À *l'oeuvre on connaît l'artisan*, 2017, p. 259).
- 45 TT215 (Vandier d'Abbadie and Jourdain, Deux tombes, 1939, pl. xxiv).
- TT216 (Černý et al., Répertoire onomastique, 1949, p. 106; KRI III, 590.16).
- TT218 (Bruyère, Rapport 1927, 1928, p. 64).
- 48 TT219 (Maystre, Nebenmât, 1936, pl. ii, scene 13).
- 49 TT4 (Černý et al., Répertoire onomastique, 1949, pp. 49-50).
- TT1 (Bruyère, *Sen-nedjem*, 1959, pp. 13–14); TT219 (Maystre, *Nebenmât*, 1936, pl. ii, scene 13; pl. vii, scene 43); TT1 stela (Bruyère, *Sen-nedjem*, 1959, p. 10); BM EA 150 + 1754 (James, *Stelae* 9, 1970, pp. 34–35, pls. xxx–xxxa; KRI III, 776.2–3).
- BM EA 150 + 1754 (James, *Stelae* 9, 1970, pp. 34–35, pls. xxx–xxxa; KR/ III, 775.11).
- TT219 (Maystre, *Nebenmât*, 1936, pl. ii, scene 13).
- 53 TT219 (Maystre, Nebenmât, 1936, pl. ii, scene 13).
- TT219 (Maystre, *Nebenmât*, 1936, pl. ii, scene 11; KRI III, 759.6–7); TT335 (Servajean, in Gaber *et al.* [eds.], À l'oeuvre on connaît l'artisan, 2017, p. 259).
- Maybe TT9 (Černý et al., Répertoire onomastique, 1949, p. 73; Davies, Who's Who, 1999, chart 1); maybe TT219? (Maystre, Nebenmât, 1936, pl. ii, scene 11; KRI III, 759.7); TT335 (Servajean, in Gaber et al. [eds.], À l'oeuvre on connaît l'artisan, 2017, p. 259).
- Maybe TT9 (Černý et al., Répertoire onomastique, 1949, p. 73; Davies, Who's Who, 1999, chart 1); TT 335 (Servajean, in Gaber et al. [eds.], À l'oeuvre on connaît l'artisan, 2017, p. 259).
- TT219 (Maystre, *Nebenmât*, 1936, pl. ii, scene 11). Kel, maybe Nebenmaat (i)'s father-in-law Kel (i), is described as *sn=f*.

shown accompanying the procession with staves. Brothers,⁵⁸ brothers-in-law⁵⁹ and nephews-in-law⁶⁰ act as porters. Brothers⁶¹ and nephews⁶² walk in the procession, brothers drive oxen⁶³, pull the canopic chest⁶⁴ and sprinkle water over the mourners⁶⁵, nephews prepare offerings⁶⁶ and brothers-in-law may precede the bier⁶⁷ or walk at the head of the procession of porters.⁶⁸ A brother-in-law⁶⁹ sprinkles milk before the bier.

Apparently, there were no restrictions on the activities which different types of relative performed in the funerary procession, except that sons never participated in the escort of men with staffs. Nor were roles allotted to specific relatives. For instance, younger relatives such as sons or nephews were not automatically depicted as porters carrying the heavier grave goods. Sometimes, individuals may have been allotted a given role to honour important relatives or colleagues or show them respect, or to express affection for a cherished son by assigning them a prestigious activity, but often the reasons behind these choices remain obscure.

3. MOURNING THE DEAD

In Ramesside period tombs, the representation of mourning at funerals was strongly gendered. The tomb owners' female relatives and female professional mourners are often portrayed lamenting with weeping and extravagant ges-

⁵⁸ TT216 (Černý *et al.*, *Répertoire onomastique*, 1949, p. 106; KRI III, 591.3–6; Davies, *Who's Who*, 1999, chart 6); TT218 (Bruyère, *Rapport 1927*, 1928, p. 64; KRI III, 709.3–5).

⁵⁹ TT4 (Černý et al., Répertoire onomastique, 1949, pp. 49–50; Davies, Who's Who, 1999, chart 14); TT 219? (Maystre, *Nebenmât*, 1936, pl. ii, scene 13).

⁶⁰ TT4 (Černý et al., Répertoire onomastique, 1949, pp. 49-50; Davies, Who's Who, 1999, chart 14).

⁶¹ TT2 (Černý et al., Répertoire onomastique, 1949, p. 23).

⁶² TT2 (Černý et al., Répertoire onomastique, 1949, p. 23).

⁶³ TT2 (Černý et al., Répertoire onomastique, 1949, p. 22).

⁶⁴ TT219 (Maystre, *Nebenmât*, 1936, pl. ii, scene 14).

⁶⁵ TT219 (Maystre, *Nebenmât*, 1936, pl. vii, scene 47).

⁶⁶ TT2 (Černý et al., Répertoire onomastique, 1949, p. 22; Davies, Who's Who, 1999, chart 7).

⁶⁷ TT4 (Černý et al., Répertoire onomastique, 1949, pp. 49-50; Davies, Who's Who, 1999, chart 14).

⁶⁸ TT4 (Černý et al., Répertoire onomastique, 1949, pp. 49–50; Davies, Who's Who, 1999, chart 14).

⁶⁹ TT219 (Maystre, Nebenmât, 1936, pl. ii, scene 13).

tures,⁷⁰ whereas men are normally represented looking grave and solemn.⁷¹ However, sometimes the men of the family are depicted⁷² embracing or stroking one of the mummies,⁷³ throwing dust over their hair⁷⁴ or even crying.⁷⁵ At Deir el-Medina, these male mourners are usually the deceased's sons or grandsons,⁷⁶ sometimes depicted as youths or children.⁷⁷

Occasionally, however, these mourning sons play important ritual roles. For instance, in TT219, Nebenmaat (ii)'s son Wepwawetmose (Wp-w3.wt-ms) (i) is shown mourning his father in the funerary procession, ⁷⁸ offering him ointment ⁷⁹ and performing the Opening of the Mouth at the tomb. ⁸⁰ In TT218, Nebmehyt (Nb-mhjj.t) (iii), probably the tomb owner's son (or son-in-law, ⁸¹ and thus an honorary son ⁸²), is shown mourning at the tomb ⁸³ and carrying grave goods in

⁷⁰ Barthelmess, Übergang ins Jenseits, 1992, p. 67; Vivas Sainz in Burgos Bernal et al. (eds.), Actas V Congreso Ibérico de Egiptología, 2017, pp. 1094–95.

⁷¹ Barthelmess, Übergang ins Jenseits, 1992, pp. 60, 67.

⁷² Vivas Sainz in Burgos Bernal *et al.* (eds.), *Actas V Congreso Ibérico de Egiptología*, 2017, discusses examples of men depicted mourning with extravagant gestures in tombs from the early Eighteenth to the early Nineteenth Dynasties, and shows how this initially limited trend became more widespread after the Amarna Period.

⁷³ Son Huy (xiii) on Copenhagen stela AAd 11 (Manniche, *Egyptian Art*, 2004, p. 200); son Bakenwerel (i) in stela from TT10 (Bruyère, *Rapport 1922–23*, 1924, pp. 54–55, pl. xiii.c); son Khaemtir (i) in TT218 (Bruyère, *Rapport 1927*, 1928, p. 64); sons Shedemwaset, Neferrenpet and another son in TT250 (Bruyère, *Rapport 1926*, 1927, pl. v); *sn* Anhotep (i) on BM EA 305 (James, *Stelae* 9, 1970, pp. 36–37, pls. xxxii–xxxiia); son Huy (xiii) on Copenhagen stela AAd 11 (Manniche, *Egyptian Art*, 2004, p. 200); sons Nakhy (iii) and Bakenanuy (*B³k-n³-nw* < *jj* >) (i) on BM EA 1629 (Bierbrier, *Stelae* 10, 1982, pp. 26–27, pl. 63); grandson Hay (xiii) on stela Turin 50075 (Tosi and Roccati, *Stele*, 1972, pp. 112–13, 294); sons Khnummose (*Ḥnmw-ms*) (ii) and Nakhtset (*Nħt-st*) (i) on stela Turin 50076 (Tosi and Roccati, *Stele*, 1972, pp. 114, 295).

⁷⁴ Brother Khons (iii) in TT218 (Bruyère, *Rapport 1927*, 1928, p. 64); son Wepwawetmose (i) in TT219 (Maystre, *Nebenmât*, 1936, pl. vii, scene 43); grandson Nebmehyt (iv) in TT219 (Maystre, *Nebenmât*, 1936, pl. vii, scene 46); son Neferrenpet and another son in TT250 (Bruyère, *Rapport 1926*, 1927, pl. v); son Penkhnum (*Pn-hnmw*) (i) in TT335 Servajean, in Gaber *et al.* [eds.], À *l'oeuvre on connaît l'artisan*, 2017, p. 259); son Nakhsu (*Nħsw*) in TT 338 (Tosi, *Maia*, 1972, p. 20), *sn* Anhotep (i) on BM EA 305 (James, *Stelae* 9, 1970, pp. 36–37, pls. xxxii–xxxiia); son Huy (xiii) on Copenhagen stela AAd 11 (Manniche, *Egyptian Art*, 2004, p. 200).

⁷⁵ Sons Baki (v) and Penkhnum (i) in TT335 (Servajean, in Gaber *et al.* [eds.], À *l'oeuvre on connaît l'artisan*, 2017, p. 259).

⁷⁶ See notes 73 and 74 above. Cf. Shih, JSSEA 27 (1997), p. 66; Feucht, Das Kind, 1995, pp. 350-51.

⁷⁷ E.g. Grandson Nebmehyt (iv) in TT219 (Maystre, Nebenmât, 1936, pl. vii, scene 46).

⁷⁸ Maystre, Nebenmât, 1936, pl. ii, scene 12.

⁷⁹ Maystre, Nebenmât, 1936, pl. v, scene 29.

⁸⁰ Maystre, Nebenmât, 1936, pl. vii, scene 51; Davies, Notes KRI III, 2013, p. 558.

⁸¹ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, pp. 237–38 and chart 21, where he suggests Nebmehyt (iii) was Amenmose (vii)'s son

⁸² Similarly, Davies, *Notes* KRI III, 2013, p. 541 notes that in TT10, Kasa (i)'s sons-in-law Penbuy (i), and Ptahmose (i) are described as his s3.

⁸³ KRI III, 709.14.

the funerary procession.⁸⁴ Similarly, on stela Copenhagen AAd 11,⁸⁵ Huy (*Ḥwjj*) (xiii) is depicted mourning; on stela Turin CGT 50074 he assists his elder brother Merymery (*Mrjj-mrjj*) (i) in purifying his parents' and stepmother's mummies.⁸⁶ In TT4 Huy offers to his parents,⁸⁷ and to his father and stepmother,⁸⁸ and walks in the funerary procession.⁸⁹

Normally, the tomb owner's sn.w are not depicted displaying grief to this degree. However, there are two exceptions. In TT218, according to Bruyère, the tomb owner's brother Khons (iii) and another man ...nay (...nsj[j]) mourn him.

On stela BM EA 305, the stela of Neferrenpet (*Nfr-rnp.t*) (i) and his son Neferabu (*Nfr-rb.t*) (i) and their wives, Anhotep (*n-htp*) (i) mourns beside the mummies. Anhotep was well regarded by Neferabu: he appears several times in Neferabu's tomb, TT5, and is named on a statuette of Neferabu's. However, Anhotep (i)'s relation to Neferabu's family is not expressed on stela BM EA 305, which tends to omit relationship terminology, perhaps because it is an intergenerational stela and participants stood in different relationships simultaneously towards different dead relatives. Davies originally envisaged Anhotep as Neferabu's brother or brother-in-law, later defining him more vaguely as a "close relative, if not a true brother" of Neferabu. Therefore, maybe Anhotep appeared on BM EA 305 as a brother, in-law or other *sn* mourning his brother, but also as a son mourning his parents or as a son-in-law (considered an honorary son) mourning his parents-in-law.

⁸⁴ Bruyère, *Rapport* 1927, 1928, pp. 64-65.

⁸⁵ Manniche, *Egyptian Art*, 2004, p. 200.

⁸⁶ Tosi and Roccati, *Stele*, 1972, pp. 111, 294.

⁸⁷ Černý et al., Répertoire onomastique, 1949, p. 49.

⁸⁸ Černý et al., Répertoire onomastique, 1949, p. 48.

⁸⁹ Černý et al., Répertoire onomastique, 1949, p. 49.

⁹⁰ Bruyère, Rapport 1927, 1928, p. 64.

^{91 ...}nay is not attested as a member of Amennakht (xxi)'s family (Davies, Who's Who, 1999, chart 21).

⁹² James, Stelae 9, 1970, pp. 36-37, pls. xxxii-xxxiia.

⁹³ KRI III, 767.3; 767.11; 768.11; 778.4-5.

⁹⁴ KRI III, 769.11.

⁹⁵ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, pp. 160-61.

⁹⁶ Davies, Notes KRI III, 2013, p. 562.

4. THE OPENING OF THE MOUTH RITUAL

The key ritual of the Opening of the Mouth (Table 2),⁹⁷ which regenerated the dead person and was equated with Horus' filial behavior towards his father Osiris,⁹⁸ was supposed to be performed by one of the dead man's sons.⁹⁹ This was a complex and detailed ritual with many parts.¹⁰⁰ One of its key elements, however, was when the officiant touched the mummy's mouth with an adze. This scene was often used to represent the entire ritual.

The name of the officiant opening the mouth of the mummy or mummies with an adze is known¹⁰¹ in ten out of eleven sure cases¹⁰² depicted. He is always a son of the deceased.

It is sometimes assumed that a given son was the eldest son because he is depicted performing this ritual ¹⁰³ – in other words, that the ritual of the Opening of the Mouth was supposed to be performed by an eldest son – but is this correct?

In principle, one should be able to check the relative ages of brothers in a family by comparing their first appearances in dated documents, but in practice this is not always possible, since many of the tombs discussed here were built during the reign of Ramesses II, from which relatively few precisely dated texts have survived. The following discussion is thus based mostly on how a given family's sons were depicted on family monuments.

An eldest son would probably take the most prominent roles in the decoration of the family tomb and be portrayed preceding his siblings in the tomb decoration, on family stelae, and in graffiti. He would have more opportunities to erect monuments together with his father, so that an eldest son would prob-

⁹⁷ See for instance: Otto, *Mundöffnungsritual*, 1960; Lorton, in Dick (ed.), *Born in Heaven, Made on Earth*, 1999, pp. 148–49.

⁹⁸ Lorton, in Dick (eds.), Born in Heaven, Made on Earth, 1999, p. 156.

⁹⁹ Lorton, in Dick (eds.), Born in Heaven, Made on Earth, 1999, p. 149.

¹⁰⁰ Otto, *Mundöffnungsritual*, 1960. In the Ramesside period, however, it tended to be represented quite succinctly as the culmination of the burial procession. See Barthelmess, Übergang ins Jenseits, 1992, p. 97.

¹⁰¹ In BM EA 1629 (Bierbrier *Stelae* 10, 1982, pp. 26–27, pl. 63 + Bruyère, *Rapport* 1933–34, 1937, p. 120) the scene is poorly preserved and the officiant's identity unknown.

¹⁰² The scenes from TT267 and TT359 are not included in this total. See the discussion below.

¹⁰³ E.g. Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs at Thebes*, 1927, p. 71; Davies, *Notes KRI* III, 2013, p. 487. This may be related to the ancient Egyptian preference for the eldest son as heir. See Lippert, in Frood and Wendrich (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, 2013, pp. 2–3.

¹⁰⁴ E.g. Helck and Schlott, *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka*, 2002, pp. 45–80; KRI IX, pp. 7, 9, 14–23, 25–28, 36–37, including texts which can be dated approximately by the individuals mentioned in them.

ably appear on more monuments of his father's than his siblings. Nonetheless, these features are not infallible dating criteria, since they might characterize a *favourite* son rather than an eldest son.

In several clear cases, the ritual is performed by a son depicted as more important than his siblings, both in the tomb itself and on family monuments.

On Stela Copenhagen AAd 11 of the engraver Qen (ii) and his wife Nefertari (*Nfr.t-jrjj*) (vi), the Opening of the Mouth is performed by Merymery (i). Merymery is persistently represented in more prestigious contexts than his siblings, and almost always precedes them whenever they appear together. He performs purification rituals for his parents and stepmother on Stela Turin CGT 50074, and appears twice in the funerary procession, preceding the bier. He always precedes other siblings on family votive stelae, as well as sharing a votive stela with his parents, whereas his siblings never appear alone on a stela with their parents. Merymery was clearly the leader of his brothers, and very probably their eldest.

Neferrenpet (iii) performs the Opening of the Mouth for his parents and grand-parents on stela BM EA 305. 112 O. Ashmolean 276, a list of the members of Neferrenpet's family, records his brothers in the order Neferrenpet, Ramose (R^c -ms) (ii), Nedjemger (Ndm-gr) (i) and Meriunu (Mrj-wnw) (i). 113 In his father's tomb, TT5, Neferrenpet generally precedes his brothers, and is normally followed by Ramose, in processions of relatives worshipping Hathor 114 and Anubis, 115 carrying offerings 116 and funerary equipment. 117 Neferrenpet is also named on a statuette

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105 Manniche, Egyptian Art, 2004, p. 200.
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¹⁰⁶ Discussed in detail in Sweeney, ZÄS 146 (2019).

¹⁰⁷ Tosi and Roccati, Stèle, 1972, pp. 111, 294.

¹⁰⁸ Černý et al., Répertoire onomastique, 1949, p. 48.

¹⁰⁹ Černý et al., Répertoire onomastique, 1949, p. 49.

¹¹⁰ MMA 59.93; Scott, BMMA 21/4 (1962), pp. 149–52; KRI VII, 202.15–203.3, now Musée royale de Mariemont inv. Ac.78/11.

¹¹¹ BM EA 815 (KRI III, 687.14-16).

¹¹² James, Stelae 9, 1970, pp. 36-37, pls. xxxii-xxxiia.

¹¹³ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 161.

¹¹⁴ Vandier and Vandier d'Abbadie, Nefer-Abou, 1935, p. 13, pls. vi, vii.

¹¹⁵ Vandier and Vandier d'Abbadie, *Nefer-abou*, 1935, p. 39, pls. x, xi. Nedjemger may precede them here, but the text is broken.

¹¹⁶ Vandier and Vandier d'Abbadie, Nefer-abou, 1935, pp. 50-1, pls. vi, vii; KRI III, 778.2.

¹¹⁷ KRI III, 776.6-7.

of his father's, ¹¹⁸ with him in Theban Graffito 3322, ¹¹⁹ and on his father's offering table BM EA 421. ¹²⁰ Neferrenpet was clearly his father's eldest son, or at any rate his favourite.

Both Neferrenpet and Ramose belonged to the crew during the middle of Ramesses II's reign, but it is uncertain which brother joined it earlier: both appear¹²¹ in documents from year 40,¹²² and in a slightly later list of workmen.¹²³

On a fragmentary funerary stela from TT10, Penbuy (*Pn-bwjj*) (i)'s son Amenmose (*Jmnms*) (v) performs the Opening of the Mouth on his parents' mummies. 124 Amenmose also appears with his father in TT2, the tomb of Khabekhnet (i) and Khons (ii). 125 Amenmose is named on Penbuy (i)'s standard-bearing statue, 126 with his own wife on Penbuy (i)'s stela BM EA 65355, 127 and with his siblings on stela Glasgow Museum EGNN 68.3. 128 Amenmose thus accompanies his father more frequently than his brothers Piay (also included in the family group in TT2) 129 and Bakenwerel (*B3k-n-wrnr*) (i) (also depicted on the Glasgow stela). 130 Bakenwerel (i) appears as an adult on the Glasgow stela, whereas Amenmose is represented as a small child. 131 Was Amenmose his father's favourite son, rather than his eldest? Unfortunately, the names Amenmose 132 and Piay 133 are relatively common during Ramesses II's reign, so it is difficult to identify the elder of

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118 KRI III, 769.11.
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¹¹⁹ KRI III, 780.2.

¹²⁰ KRI III, 779.7.

¹²¹ Several Neferrenpets are attested from the early Nineteenth Dynasty (Davies, *Who's Who*, 1999, p. 183), and references to Ramose before year 40 of Ramesses II may also refer to the scribe Ramose (i).

¹²² O. DeM 10168 r2 (Ramose), r3 (Neferrenpet) (KRI IX, 22.9), and O. BM 5634 v15 (Ramose), r20 (Neferrenpet; see Janssen, SÄK 8 [1980], pp. 128–9).

¹²³ Neferrenpet (iii) O. DeM 706 I.19 (KRI IX, 20.15); Ramose (ii) O. DeM 706 II.15 (KRI IX, 20.22). Ramose (ii) appears in a text from before year 39 of Ramesses II, O. DeM 843 II.2 (KRI IX, 17.5), and Neferrenpet in a grain distribution list from about year 40, O. DeM 10163 II.1 (KRI IX, 21.19).

¹²⁴ Bruyère, Rapport 1922-23, 1924, pp. 54-5, pl. xiii c.

¹²⁵ Meuerer, *Penbui*, 2015, p. 48 (= KRI III, 802.11).

¹²⁶ KRI III, 743.7-8.

¹²⁷ KRI III, 740.15.

¹²⁸ KRI VII, 207.1.

¹²⁹ Meuerer, Penbui, 2015, p. 48 (= KRI III, 802.12).

¹³⁰ KRI VII, 207.1-2.

¹³¹ Meuerer, Penbui, 2015, pl. 52.

¹³² Davies, Who's Who, 1999, pp. 7-8.

¹³³ Cf. Piay (i) (Davies, *Who's Who*, 1999, p. 7), Piay (iv) (Davies, *Who's Who*, 1999, p. 182), Piay (v) (Davies, *Who's Who*, 1999, p. 183), and Piay (vii) (Davies, *Who's Who*, 1999, p. 45).

these two because they cannot be linked to regnal year dates. Bakenwerel became a woodcutter, attested in year 37 of Ramesses II.¹³⁴

In TT218, Khaemtir (*H^c-mtr*) (i) is represented performing the Opening of the Mouth for his parents. He also commissioned his father's tomb-statue, ¹³⁵ and is represented in the family tomb adoring the gods with his father ¹³⁶ and mourning his mother. ¹³⁷ He first appears as a workman before year 39 of Ramesses II, ¹³⁸ like his brother Nebenmaat (ii). ¹³⁹ Since the scribe Ramose (i), who died just before year 40, features in Nebenmaat's own tomb, ¹⁴⁰ TT219, Nebenmaat must also have joined the crew before year 39. However, Nebenmaat plays a much more minor role than Khaemtir in his father's tomb, appearing only in the funerary procession as a porter. ¹⁴¹

The scene of the Opening of the Mouth on stela BM EA 150 + 1754 is damaged, ¹⁴² but traces of the names of Neferrenpet (i) and his wife Mahy (M_3hjj) (i) are visible where the mummies would have been. James ¹⁴³ and Davies ¹⁴⁴ thus suggest that the ritual was performed by Neferabu (i) for his parents. Neferabu is attested in years 36 and 40 of Ramesses II's reign. ¹⁴⁵ The guardian Amenemope (Jmn-m-jp.t) (v), perhaps his brother, actually appears earlier, in year 24 of Ramesses II, ¹⁴⁶ which may indicate that he was older than Neferabu. However, Amenemope is absent from this stela, so probably he had died earlier.

Wepwawetmose (i) performs the Opening of the Mouth in Nebenmaat (ii)'s tomb, TT219. He may have been his father's only son, or maybe had a brother, Nakhy (N_3hjj) (vii). Davies originally envisaged Nakhy as Wepwawetmose's

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134 Gabler, Who's Who, 2018, pp. 81, 610.
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¹³⁵ Davies, Notes KRI III, 2013, p. 519.

¹³⁶ PM I.1, 319 (10).

¹³⁷ Bruyère, Rapport 1927, 1928, p. 68.

¹³⁸ O. DeM 852 II.8 (KRI IX, 17.22). Khaemtir (i) is also attested in O. Ashmolean Museum 0199 I.14, assigned by the Deir el-Medina Database (http://dmd.wepwawet.nl/) to before year 39 of Ramesses II.

¹³⁹ In a list of wage arrears sometime before year 39 of Ramesses II, O. DeM 843 r4 (KRI IX, 17.1).

¹⁴⁰ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 236.

¹⁴¹ KRI III, 709.4.

¹⁴² James, Stelae 9, 1970, pp. 34–5, pls. xxx-xxxa.

¹⁴³ James, Stelae 9, 1970, p. 34.

¹⁴⁴ Davies, Notes KRI III, p. 567.

¹⁴⁵ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 7 (O. Ashmolean 133 r1 and O. BM 5634 v4).

¹⁴⁶ Davies, *Who's Who*, 1999, p. 160. Davies, *Who's Who*, 1999, p. 159, assigns Amenemope (v) to the first half of Ramesses II's reign.

son,¹⁴⁷ but later suggested Nakhy was Nebenmaat's son.¹⁴⁸ Gabler considers either option possible.¹⁴⁹ In TT219, Nakhy acts as a porter at the funeral,¹⁵⁰ offers incense and a libation to his parents,¹⁵¹ and participates in the funerary banquet,¹⁵² whereas Wepwawetmose (i) mourns his father in the funerary procession,¹⁵³ and offers him ointment.¹⁵⁴ Gabler argues that both were potters in the delivery crew during the first half of Ramesses II's reign; Wepwawetmose (i) may be attested in year 38 of Ramesses II and Nakhy (ii) in years 7 and 26 (of Ramesses II?).¹⁵⁵ If this identification is correct and if they were brothers, then a younger son was depicted performing the Opening of the Mouth here.

On stela Turin CGT 50076, from TT292, Pashed (*P3-šd*) (i)'s son Hehnekhu (*Ḥḥn-ḥw*) (ii) performed the Opening of the Mouth. However, Davies argues that Hehnekhu's brother Amenmose (iii) was the elder of the two. The two brothers are represented with their wives in TT250, where Amenmose takes precedence. On his father's stela BM EA 262, Amenmose appears as an adult whereas Hehnekhu is depicted as a child. Amenmose is named on the bands of inscription in the burial chamber of TT292, whereas Hehnekhu is not. However, little Hehnekhu precedes Amenmose on BM EA 262 – was this a mark of his father's favour? Hehnekhu appears in O. BM 5634, the absence list of year 40 of Ramesses II, and in other documents from Ramesses II's reign. Amenmose's presence in the crew is more elusive, since many men were called Amenmose during the Nineteenth

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147 Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 237, chart 21.
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Davies, Notes KRI III, 2013, p. 558.

Gabler, Who's Who, 2018, p. 313.

¹⁵⁰ Maystre, Nebenmât, 1936, pl. viii, scene 47.

KRI III, 760.16-761.1.

KRI III, 762.8.

¹⁵³ Maystre, Nebenmât, 1936, pl. ii, scene 12.

¹⁵⁴ Maystre, Nebenmât, 1936, pl. v, scene 29.

Gabler, *Who's Who*, 2018, p. 313. If this scenario is correct, Nakhy (vii) was probably Wepwawetmose (i)'s brother, rather than his son.

Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 222.

Bruyère, *Rapport 1926*, 1927, p. 63, pl. vii.

James, *Stelae* 9, 1970, p. 40, pls. xxxv-xxxva.

Bruyère, *Rapport* 1923–24, 1925, pp. 70–71.

O. BM 5634 r9.

O. DeM 706 I.8, as Heh (Ḥ̄ḥ) (KRI IX, 20.11); O. DeM 852 II.12 (KRI IX, 18.1); O. DeM 10331 I.4. (Grandet, Ostraca XII, 2017, p. 62).

Dynasty Dynasty. ¹⁶² In O. DeM 108, ¹⁶³ Pashed (i) bequeathed his tools to Amenmose and two pieces of timber to Hehnekhu; the gift of the tools may have been symbolic, ¹⁶⁴ and they were probably valuable in their own right.

In TT9, the tomb of the scorpion-charmer Amenmose (i), the name of the first son performing the Opening of the Mouth on his parents' mummies is missing. Since his brother the scribe Meryre (i) is named next, probably reading the ritual, the officiant should be one of Amenmose (i)'s two remaining sons, Piay (i) and Mehhy (*Mḥḥjj*) (i). Piay may have been the elder brother, since he is represented offering to his parents in TT9, and in O. DeM 126, a letter which may have been sent by Piay and Mehhy, Piay appears first, entitled 'scribe,' whereas Mehhy is a 'child of the Necropolis.'

In two additional cases, the Opening of the Mouth is depicted taking place outside the burial ceremonies (Table 2a).

The engraver Anuy (3nwjj) (iii), son of the sculptor Ipuy (i), is represented in TT217 reading the Opening of the Mouth ritual over his father's coffin in the workshop. The burial scene in the tomb is damaged and there is no data about the Opening of the Mouth. Elsewhere in this tomb, Anuy follows his brother Nebnakht (Nb-nht) (i) offering to their parents. He is probably the Anuy represented carrying furniture in the funerary procession, and is named on jamb Turin N. 50217 with his father. Anuy is also named on a small statuette of Ipuy depicting his pet cat and baboon on the sides. The Given the difficulty of keeping a

¹⁶² Davies, Who's Who, 1999, pp. 7–8.

¹⁶³ KRI I, 409.2–10.

¹⁶⁴ Kitchen, *Notes KRI* I, 1993, p. 300 suggested that Amenmose "takes precedence (perhaps as eldest living son)."

¹⁶⁵ Černý et al., Répertoire onomastique, 1949, p. 73; KRI VII, 40.6–7.

¹⁶⁶ Gabler, *Who's Who*, 2018, p. 391 suggests that Mehhy (i) may be identical with the cobbler Mahi. Piay (i) may have been the *smd.t* scribe of O. OIM 16998 in year 22 of Ramesses II (Gabler, *Who's Who*, 2018, pp. 683, 716).

¹⁶⁷ KRI VII, 42.6. The texts in the tomb are damaged, however, so Mehhy (i)'s absence is not necessarily significant.

¹⁶⁸ KRI III, 532.2.

¹⁶⁹ Davies, Two Ramesside Tombs, 1927, pl. xxxvi.

¹⁷⁰ Davies, Two Ramesside Tombs, 1927, pl. xxviii.

¹⁷¹ KRI III, 663.8-9.

¹⁷² Davies, Two Ramesside Tombs, 1927, p. 50, pl. xxviii.

¹⁷³ KRI III, 666.7-9.

¹⁷⁴ Sweeney, in Amstutz et al. (eds.), Fuzzy Boundaries, 2015, pp. 806-07.

pet baboon,¹⁷⁵ maybe Anuy's name here is significant. Perhaps he was the family member who liked the baboon best, which probably endeared him to his father.

An Anuy is named on O. BM 5634,¹⁷⁶ and in another name-list from the second half of Ramesses II's reign,¹⁷⁷ but since three Anuys are attested at the village then,¹⁷⁸ that Anuy was not necessarily Anuy (iii).

Nor was Anuy (iii) necessarily Ipuy's eldest son. His brother Nebnakht (i) features more prominently on family monuments: he is named with his parents on the doorjambs of his uncle Raweben's tomb TT210¹⁷⁹ and depicted there worshipping with his father and grandparents. Nebnakht also features as a porter in TT4 in his uncle-in-law Qen (ii)'s funerary procession. In TT217, Nebnakht is depicted presenting a pectoral to his father and offering to his parents and siblings. On stela Turin 50031, he appears as an adult offering to his parents, and on stela Zagreb 15, again as an adult, he accompanies his parents in worship. Davies notes that a Nebnakht also appears in Graffito 2796 with Ipuy (i). However, he was not necessarily Ipuy's son: Nebnakht (v) and a slightly earlier Nebnakht (iv) also lived then.

Similarly, in TT1, Khons (ii) is depicted executing the Opening of the Mouth with an adze in the Field of Reeds on his father Sennedjem $(Sn-n\underline{d}m)$ (i)'s mummy, or perhaps ushabti. 190 It is unclear whether Khons or his brother Khabekh-

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175 Sweeney, in Amstutz et al. (eds.), Fuzzy Boundaries, 2015, pp. 807–08.
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¹⁷⁶ O. BM 5634 r15.

¹⁷⁷ O. DeM 706 I.13 (KRI IX, 20.12).

¹⁷⁸ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 273.

¹⁷⁹ KRI III, 783.11-12.

¹⁸⁰ KRI III, 783.4-6.

¹⁸¹ KRI III 681.2.

¹⁸² Davies, Two Ramesside Tombs, 1927, pl. xxxvi; KRI III, 662.4.

¹⁸³ KRI III, 663.8.

¹⁸⁴ Tosi and Roccati, *Stele*, 1972, pp. 63–64, 273.

¹⁸⁵ Monnet-Saleh, Les Antiquités Egyptiennes de Zagreb, 1970, p. 31, no. 15.

¹⁸⁶ Davies, *Notes* KRI III, 2013, p. 487. Davies argues that because Nebnakht (i) offers to his parents wearing a panther skin, he was Ipuy (i)'s eldest son (because the panther skin is often associated with the *sem*-priest who performs the Opening of the Mouth. However, this argument relies on the assumption that the eldest son performed the Opening of the Mouth.)

¹⁸⁷ Davies, *Notes KRI* III, 2013, p. 488.

¹⁸⁸ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 239.

¹⁸⁹ KRI I, 412.5.

¹⁹⁰ Bruyère, Sen-nedjem, 1959, p. 37.

net (i) was Sennedjem's eldest son. Bierbrier¹⁹¹ and Sanjaume¹⁹² favour Khabekhnet as the elder, whereas Benedict Davies prefers Khons.¹⁹³

Khabekhnet precedes his other brothers in TT1 in a procession on the door, ¹⁹⁴ and in the list of Sennedjem's sons on the tomb-chapel pyramidion. ¹⁹⁵ Unlike Khons, Khabekhnet is already represented as a married man in TT1. ¹⁹⁶

Khons, however, is named on the lucarne stela of TT1,¹⁹⁷ where he is described as a "son who causes his father's name to live." His name appears with his parents' on the north face of his father's pyramidion.¹⁹⁸ Khons built a chapel beside TT1¹⁹⁹ and his name appears with his father's on a cultic emplacement from his father's house,²⁰⁰ whereas Khabekhnet shared no votive monuments with his father. Perhaps Khabekhnet was the elder brother, whereas Khons was closest to his father.

In two further scenes, the Opening of the Mouth is not performed on the mummies of the dead: the tomb owner is represented seated, dressed in the garments of the living. In the chief workman Inherkhau (*Inj-ḥr-ḥ*^cw) (ii)'s tomb, TT359, the draughtsman Hormin (*Ḥr-mnw*) (i), carrying a *wer-hekau* sceptre and wearing the leopard-skin often associated with the officiant at the Opening of the Mouth, heads a file of offering-bearers facing the tomb owner.²⁰¹ The text, however, is dedicated to Hormin himself,²⁰² a remote relation of Inherkhau's by marriage.²⁰³ Cherpion interprets this scene as depicting the presentation of ointments for the Opening of the Mouth,²⁰⁴ but Cortegianni views it as evoking the ritual rather than representing it.²⁰⁵

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191 Bierbrier, CdE 59 (1984), p. 199.
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¹⁹² Sanjaume, "Tomba de Sennejdem," 2006, pp. 34–36. Sanjaume, "Tomba de Sennejdem," 2006, p. 34 argues that an earlier first-born son, Teti, died young.

¹⁹³ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 44.

¹⁹⁴ KRI I, 412.10–11. Unlike all his other brothers, he is described using his formal title, "Servant in the Place of Truth" (Sanjaume, "Tomba de Sennejdem,", 2006, pp. 219, 222–23).

¹⁹⁵ KRII, 412.15.

¹⁹⁶ KRI I, 411.13.

¹⁹⁷ Bruyère, Sen-nedjem, 1959, p. 19.

¹⁹⁸ KRI I, 413.1.

¹⁹⁹ Bruyère, Sen-nedjem, 1959, pp. 11–14.

²⁰⁰ Weiss, Religious Practice at Deir el-Medina, 2015, pp. 59, 292–93.

²⁰¹ Cherpion and Corteggiani, *La tombe d'Inherkhâouy*, 2010, pp. 139–43, pls. 126–30.

²⁰² Cherpion and Corteggiani, *La tombe d'Inherkhâouy*, 2010, pp. 139–43, 255–62, pls. 126–30.

²⁰³ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, chart 3.

²⁰⁴ Cherpion and Corteggiani, *La tombe d'Inherkhâouy*, 2010, p. 140.

²⁰⁵ Cherpion and Corteggiani, La tombe d'Inherkhâouy, 2010, p. 256.

In the deputy Hay (*Ḥɜjj*) (vii)'s tomb, TT267, a man dressed in a leopard-skin and carrying a *wer-hekau* sceptre, four *sety*-vases, and an adze is represented standing before an offering table facing Hay, his wife, and two male figures (Table 2a); the text mentions his sons Amennakht (*Jmn-nht*) (vii) and Wennefer (*Wn-nfr*) and a daughter.²⁰⁶ Valbelle interprets this scene as depicting the Opening of the Mouth.²⁰⁷ The officiant's name is missing; she suggested it was Hay (vii)'s son Nebnefer (*Nb-nfr*) (vii), named at the end of the text above the group. However, she noted that Amennakht (vii) was actually his father's favourite and appears with him in numerous graffiti.²⁰⁸ Not only that, but when Amennakht (vii) and Nebnefer (vii) are named together, as on the votive stela Turin CGT 50062²⁰⁹ and in various graffiti,²¹⁰ Amennakht always precedes his brother, which may also denote his seniority.

Nebnefer (vii)'s wife Hutiyi (Hw.t-jj.tj) had the same name as Hay (vii)'s daughter, Huyiti (i), so Davies suggested he might have been Hay (vii)'s son-in-law.²¹¹ (If so, Hay was exceptionally fond of Nebnefer, since he not only appears in graffiti and on a votive stela with Amennakht, but the three of them also shared a hut).²¹²

The leading role in the Opening of the Mouth ritual was thus quintessentially the role of the dead man's son. It could be performed by a son who was predominant amongst his brothers in the tomb decoration and on the family monuments, who was probably his father's favourite and could also have been the eldest son (e.g. Merymery [i], Neferrenpet [iii]).

But often a son performed this ceremony who was not necessarily the eldest, (e.g. Amenmose [v], Wepwawetmose [i], Hehnekhu [ii], Anuy [iii], Khons [ii]), but apparently his father's favourite (e.g. Amenmose [v], Khaemtir [i], Hehnekhu [ii], Khons [ii]). Ceremonies evoking the ritual but not actually part of it were even performed by remote in-laws, such as Hormin (i).

By contrast, sn-relatives are rarely depicted as present at the tomb, maybe

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206 Valbelle, Hay, 1975, pp. 7–12, 23–25, pl. 19.
207 Valbelle, Hay, 1975, p. 7.
208 Valbelle, Hay, 1975, p. 38.
209 Tosi and Roccati, Stele, 1972, pp. 100, 289.
210 KRI V, 635.2–3; 635.10–636.8.
211 Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 228. Or, alternatively, that Nebnefer (vii) was Hay (vii)'s son and Hutiyi his in-law.
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212 Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 69.

due to the connection between the dead man and Osiris and the sn's association with Osiris' murderous brother Seth.

Performing the burial was also connected with inheriting the family property, ²¹³ which may have heightened an existing tendency to prefer children over siblings at this point. ²¹⁴ P. Cairo CG 58092 (P. Boulaq 10) r10–11 quotes a legal norm that, "'The property is given *to the one who buries*,' so says the law of Pharaoh l.p.h," ²¹⁵ although this probably refers to the person who organized and paid for the funeral. ²¹⁶

Nonetheless, there were exceptions to the practice of not representing sn.w at the culminating moments of the funeral ceremonies. On stela BM EA 305, the draughtsman Maaninakhtef (i) $(M_{33}.n=j-nht=f)^{217}$ reads the ritual for his brotherin-law and good friend²¹⁸ Neferabu (i), Neferabu's wife and Neferabu's parents. Maaninakhtef might also be reading it for Neferabu's parents on BM EA 150 + 1754, although this burial scene is so damaged that it is difficult to be certain.²¹⁹ However, Maaninakhtef (i) may have been present here as son-in-law to Neferabu (i)'s parents and would thus be considered an honorary $son.^{220}$

By contrast, on stela Turin 50076, Pashed (i) and his wife Mekhaib ($Mh\bar{s}$ -jb) (i) from TT292 were fortunate enough to have their own son the scribe Usersatet (Wsr- $s\underline{t}$.t) (i) read the ritual text.²²¹ Similarly, Penbuy (i)'s son Piay²²² was depicted officiating as lector-priest on his father's funerary stela. The same is probably true on the stela from TT9, of which only the hieroglyphic text is published:²²³ the tomb owner's son the scribe Meryre (Mr.jj-r) (i) is named in second place, as is typical

²¹³ Lippert, in Frood and Wendrich (eds.), UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology, 2013, p. 4.

²¹⁴ Lippert, in Frood and Wendrich (eds.), UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology, 2013, p. 3.

²¹⁵ David, Legal Register, 2010, p. 101; cf. Janssen and Pestman, JESHO 11 (1968), p. 140.

²¹⁶ Janssen and Pestman, *JESHO* 11 (1968), p. 168; cf. Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri*, 1, 1973, p. 290. Théodoridès, *RIDA* 16 (1969), p. 162 understands the law as reimbursing the costs of the burial, rather than disposing of the entire inheritance.

²¹⁷ Davies, Notes KRI III, 2013, p. 564.

²¹⁸ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, pp. 157-58.

²¹⁹ James, Stelae 9, 1970, pl. xxx. Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 150 suggests Pay (i) or (ii) officiated.

²²⁰ See note 82 above.

²²¹ KRI I, 406.9; 408.4 views Usersatet as Pashed's son. He is attested at Deir el-Medina by an offering basin (KRI I, 406.10–13), and an ear stela, Turin CGT 50026 (KRI I, 408.5) but not in administrative texts – was he a son who had found work elsewhere?

²²² Meurer, *Penbui*, 2015, pp. 48, 72–73, 174.

²²³ Černý et al., Répertoire onomastique, 1949, p. 69.

for the lector priest, and the use of his title 'scribe' also points in that direction. Often, however, the lector priest reading the ritual was not related to the tomb owner's family. In TT250, the lector priest Nebre (Nb-r) (i) was no relation to the beneficiaries of the ritual, 225 and the draughtsman whose name is missing from TT360 was probably unrelated to Qaha (Q3h3) (i) and his wife. Similarly, the lector Pay (P3jj) (i/ii) 227 from TT219 was probably not related to the tomb owner, Amennakht (xxi). 228

5. OTHER RITUALS AT THE TOMB

Many of the other scenes depicted taking place at the tomb are purification scenes (Table 3).²²⁹

Some are clearly connected to the ritual of the Opening of the Mouth by the presence of other ritual elements beside them. In TT250, the connection is very clear, since the draughtsman Nebre (i), acting as lector priest, follows Hesyherimentet (Ḥṣjj-ḥr-jmnt.t), who is purifying the mummies of his mother Tjel (Ţnr) and other relatives.²³⁰ Similarly, on the fragmentary stela from TT360, the tomb of the Chief Workman Qaha (i), Qaha's son Anuy (i) purifies his parents' mummies, followed by a lector priest.²³¹ In TT326,²³² in TT335²³³ and on Stela Turin 50075,²³⁴ the instruments for the Opening of the Mouth are present, and usually the tomb is depicted nearby.

²²⁴ Davies, *Who's Who*, 1999, p. 8, suggests that Meryre (i) was the *smd.t* scribe in years 35 and 37 of Ramesses II.

²²⁵ Bruyère, Rapport 1926, 1927, pl. vi.

²²⁶ Bruyère, *Rapport 1930*, 1933, p. 89, pl. xxxvii. According to Davies, *Who's Who*, 1999, chart 3 and related charts 1, 5 and 19. However, very little is known about many of these individuals. Nebre (i), the husband of Qaha (i)'s daughter-in-law's sister (chart 27) is a possibility, but Qaha (i) could have invited him to preside in any case.

²²⁷ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 150.

²²⁸ See Davies, Who's Who, 1999, charts 21, 24 and 27.

²²⁹ Schulman, JARCE 21 (1984), p. 173, views these scenes as part of the Opening of the Mouth ritual. Spieser, CdE 72 (1997), p. 213 also stresses their regenerative aspects; by contrast, Barthelmess, Übergang ins Jenseits, 1992, p. 93 believes they are not necessarily related to the Opening of the Mouth.

²³⁰ Bruyère, Rapport 1926, 1927, pl. vi.

²³¹ Bruyère, *Rapport* 1930, 1933, p. 89, pl. xxxvii.

²³² Bruyère, Rapport 1922-23, 1924, p. 41, pls. xii (top), xiii (a).

²³³ Bruyère, *Rapport* 1924–25, 1926, pp. 119–20.

²³⁴ Tosi and Roccati, Stele, 1972, p. 294.

In another scene from TT250, offerings are made to the mummies of the servant woman Ptahidiu (Pth-djw) and other servants. Ptahidiu's parents head a group of offering-bearers. Her father offers incense and her mother a vessel of liquid. Her son Shedemwaset ($\check{S}dmw-3s.t$) was present, but her parents were given priority; her son is represented as a youth so perhaps he was too young to perform the rituals.²³⁵ In TT326²³⁶ and TT360,²³⁷ a kneeling man presents a bull's leg at the tomb door.

Why were these particular scenes chosen to represent the funerary rituals at the burial, rather than the iconic scene of touching the tomb owner's mouth with an adze? Two possible explanations come to mind. Generally, these rituals were performed by the deceased's sons, but occasionally by someone else – as in the scene in TT250, where Hesyherinementet was the son of only one beneficiary of the ritual, and in the second scene from TT250, where the chief worshipper was the first dead woman's father.

Secondly, a purification scene could include more than one son, whereas the rite with the adze was limited to a single son. In TT335,²³⁸ the purification is performed by three sons, Piay (iv), Baki (B_3kj) (v) and Pashed (xii), portrayed equally in every aspect. On stela Turin CGT 50074, Merymery (i) is assisted by his brother Huy (xiii),²³⁹ both sons of their father Qen (ii)'s first wife Nefertari (vi).

Other examples, such as the scenes in TT326, are not well enough preserved to allow us to suggest why these scenes were preferred to the Opening of the Mouth with an adze. Similarly, not enough information is available about the presentation of the foreleg in TT339 or TT360 to explain why this particular scene was chosen.

6. CONCLUSIONS

The sons and *sn*-relations of the tomb owner are both represented in the funerary procession. Although sons are never represented participating in the formal

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235 Bruyère, Rapport 1926, 1927, pl. v.
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²³⁶ Bruyère, *Rapport* 1927, 1928, p. 121.

²³⁷ Bruyère, Rapport 1930, 1933, p. 76, pl. xxvii.

²³⁸ Bruyère, *Rapport* 1924–25, 1926, pp. 119–20.

²³⁹ Tosi and Roccati, Stele, 1972, pp. 110-12, 294.

escort of men with staffs, no other distinction seems to have existed there between sn.w and sons, or between different types of sn.w.

More important or intimate activities are clearly associated with the dead man's sons. His young sons and his adult sons are sometimes depicted mourning bitterly for him; some of these sons play key roles in the burial ceremonies and elsewhere in the tomb decoration. By contrast, *sn.w* are rarely depicted mourning in this way, although there are exceptions.

The key role of touching the dead person's mouth with an adze during the regenerative ceremony of the Opening of the Mouth was always allotted to the dead man's son: the eldest son, his father's favourite, or a son who was not necessarily either.

Sn.w were seldom represented in ceremonies at the tomb, perhaps due to their association with Seth, which might have rendered them *persona non grata* in ceremonies related to Osiris, perhaps due to the connection between burial and inheritance by the next generation. However, *sn* occasionally officiated as lector-priests and read the ritual text.

Other rituals beside the tomb, such as purifying the mummies, were occasionally depicted. Unlike touching the mummy's mouth with an adze, they could be performed by more than one son simultaneously, or by someone who was not necessarily the son of all beneficiaries of the ritual.

APPENDICES

Table 1 Depictions of the funerary procession in Deir el-Medina tombs and on funerary stelae

ТОМВ	FUNERAL OF	PARTICIPANTS	ACTION	REFERENCES
TT1 – workman Sennedjem (i) Chapel of his	Khons (ii) – protagonists identified as	[Brother P/re]hotep (v)	Haul bier to tomb in the necropolis	Bruyère, Sen-nedjem, 1959, pp.
son workman	Khons' brothers	Brother Anhotep (v)		13-14, pl.
Khons (ii) at TT1	rather than Sennedjem (i)'s	(Brother) Ramose (iv)		viii.4
	sons	Brother (nephew) Piay		
		Brother (?) Khena		
TT2 - brothers	Davies (Notes KRI III, 2013,	Brother Anhotep (v)	Accompanies oxen and bier	Černý et al., Répertoire
workman Khabekhnet (i) and workman	p. 590) argues that this scene belongs to	Nephew Sennedjem (ii)	Prepares offerings	onomastique, 1949, pp. 21–23;
Khons (ii), sons of	Khons (ii) whose name	Nephew Nakhy (vi)	In procession Dav	Davies, Who's Who,
Sennedjem (i)	is mentioned	'Brother' A[]		1999, chart 7
	in the text and who is the	'Brother' (?) Mini		
	protagonist of	Nephew Huy (xvi?)]	
		Khons		

ТОМВ	FUNERAL OF	PARTICIPANTS	ACTION	REFERENCES
TT4 – engraver Qen (ii)	Qen (ii) Wife Nefertari	Son Merymery (i)	Precedes bier Censing	Černý et al., Répertoire
	(vi)	Son Huy (xiii)	Precede bier	nomastique,
	vvire Henutmehyt (iii)	Wife Henutmehyt (iii) Son Tjaunehuy (i)		1949, pp. 49-50;
	Trendineny t (iii)	Son Kewer (i)	Carry naos	Davies,
		Son Pendwa (i/vi)		Who's Who,
		Brother-in-law Nakhtamun (ii)	Precedes bier	1999, chart 14
		Brother-in-law Raweben (iii),	Precedes porters	1 17
		Brother-in-law, Khons (i)	Porters	
		Nephew-in-law, Nebnakht (i)		
		Draughtsman Pay (i)	Precedes porters	
		Draughtsman <p>rehotep (i) (Pay's son)</p>	Precedes bier	
		Draughtsman Nebre (i) (Pay's son)	Precedes bier Precedes porters	
		Huy	Precedes porters	
TT9 – scorpion charmer Amenmose (i)	Amenmose (i)	Two unnamed chief workmen (one perhaps his brother-in- law Qaha (i)?	Walk in procession with staves (PM I.1, p. 18 [3])	Černý et al., Répertoire nomastique,
		Workman Baki (possibly nephew Baki [ii])		1949, p. 73; KRI VII, 43.8–12; Davies, Who's Who, 1999, charts 1 and 3
		Workman Kel (i) (Davies, Who's Who, 1999, 274)		
		Workman Hay (ii) from Qaha (i) family (Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 274)		
		Workman Huy – possibly Huy (ii) or (iii) from Qaha (i) family		
		Workman Amenemone		
		Five more unnamed workmen		

ТОМВ	FUNERAL OF	PARTICIPANTS	ACTION	REFERENCES
TT10 -	Kasa and wife	Son Neferemsenut (i)	At tomb	Černý et al.,
workman	Bukhanef (i), son	Daughter Sheritre (i)	Mourning	Répertoire onomastique, 1949, p.
Kasa (i)	Nebamentet (i) and his wife	Two more girls		
	Hathor (viii)	Chief workman Nebnefer (i)	March with staffs	76; KRI III,
	(Davies, Notes	Chief workman Qaha (i)		736.1-9
	KRI III, 2013, p. 541)	Guardian Khawy (i)		
	p. 3 (1)	Workman Pashed		
		Engraver Ipuy (i)		
TT 215 – scribe Amenemope (i)	Amenemope (i)	lector priest Qenna, son of the lector priest Amenemone	Carries statue of Anubis	Vandier d'Abbadie
		scribe Huy (x) (colleague)	Reads from scroll	and
		(Amenemope's) son Min[mose] (i)	Offers incense to Anubis	Jourdain, Deux tombes, 1939, p. 38, pls. xxiii- xxiv; KRI I, 382.14- 383.7
		Anonymous men	Carry shrine	
TT216 – Chief workman	Neferhotep (ii) (and wife?)	Most names missing	Funerary Procession	Černý et al., Répertoire
Neferhotep (ii)		Brother Anuy (iv)	I FULLEIS I	onomastique,
		Brother Pashed (iv)		1949, p. 106; KRI III,
		Brother Nebnefer (ii)		591.3-6;
		Brother A[mennakht] (vii) (Davies, <i>Notes KRI</i> III, 2013, p. 429)		Davies, Who's Who, 1999, chart
		[Servant] Hesysunebef (i) (Davies, <i>Notes KRI</i> III, 2013, p. 429)		6
		Servant Hesyefmaaty]	
		Servant Tauenrenna		

ТОМВ	FUNERAL OF	PARTICIPANTS	ACTION	REFERENCES
TT216 – Chief workman Neferhotep (ii)	Neferhotep n (ii) and wife	Most names missing	Officiants at Opening of Mouth, mourners and funerary procession approaching tomb	Černý et al., Répertoire onomastique, 1949, p. 106; KRI III, 590.16.
		Workman Horemwia (following mourners)	Water falling before him (performs purification in funerary procession?)	
TT218 -	Amennakht (xxi)	Brother Khons (iii)	Mourners	Bruyère,
workman Amennakht (xxi)		nay		Rapport
Ашеппакпі (ххі)		Workman Amen[em]ope	Censes bier with mummy	1927, 1928, pp. 64-66, fig. 46; KRI III, 708.15- 709.8, Davies,
		Workmannakht	Hauling bier	
		Workman Pashed		
		Workman Mahu		
		Workman Pashed		Who's Who,
		Engraver Piay (ii)	Sprinkles ground before bier	1999, chart 21
		Draughtsman Prehotep (i)	Carry or drag	
		Engraver Neferrenpet (ii)	funerary equipment	
		Draughtsman Nebre (i)		
		Brother Bakemwia (i)		
		Son Nebenmaat (ii)		
		Brother Amenmose (vii)		
		Son Tjaunedjem (i)		
		Son (in-law) Nebmehyt (iii)		
		Son Amennakht (xxiv)		
		Son Ranefer (i)		
		Wife liemwaw (iii)	Mourners	
		Daughter Henutmehyt (iv)		
		Daughter Taweret (v)		
		Daughter Taemwades (i)		
		Sister Naia		
		Sister N		
		Sister Henuta		
		Mourner Hemetnetjer	Professional	
		Mourner luy	mourners	

TOMB	FUNERAL OF	PARTICIPANTS	ACTION	REFERENCES
TT219 – workman	Nebenmaat (ii)	Workman Kel (father-in-law Kel (i)?)	Group of mourners with staffs	Maystre, Nebenmât, 1936, pl. ii, 11-13, scenes 11- 15; Bruyère,
Nebenmaat (ii)		Brother Khaemtir (i)		
		Workman Amenemope (nephew Amenemope (xiii)?)		
		Workman Any		Rapport
		Workman Nefersenut		1927, 1928,
		Workman (name lost)		pp. 76–78, figs. 48,
		Hemetetjer (iii – niece-in- law?)	Female mourners	52; KRI III, 758.2-
		Sister? Henutemipet		759.8;
		Nedjembehdet		Davies, Who's Who,
		Sisterermaaset		1999, charts
		Ruy		21, 24, 27. Many terms used for family relationships in this tomb are ambiguous (Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p.
		Sister Henutmehyt (iv)		
		Sister Henutger		
		Sister Nodjemtjau (ii)		
		mery	Men pulling canopic chest	
		neheh		
		Brother Menna (no relation)		
		Most names missing		
		Brother Baki ([v?] inlaw?)	Carry furniture for	
		"Brother" Paherypedjet	tomb	
		"Brother" Huy (brother- in- law Huy [xxi])	Preceding bier – sprinkles milk?	
		"Brother" Hay	Haul bier	
		Brother Kel (father-in-law Kel (i)?		
		Brother Baki (uncle Bakemwia (i)?)		
		Engraver Penkhnum (i?) (nephew-in-law?)		
		Servant of Amun Pay		
		Son Wepwawetmose (i)	Mourners beside	
		Son Na[khy] (vii)	bier	
		Engraver Nakhtamun ([ii?] brother-in-law?)	Censes bier	

ТОМВ	FUNERAL OF	PARTICIPANTS	ACTION	REFERENCES
TT219 - workman	Nebenmaat (ii)	Brother Qaha (i)? uncle-in-law	Haul bier	Maystre, Nebenmât, 1936, pl. vii, scenes 43,
Nebenmaat (ii) (procession in		Brother Menna (no relation)		
burial chamber)		Brother Nebmeretef (no relation)		46, 47; KRI III, 763.2- 15, Davies,
		Brother Ranefer (i)		Who's Who,
		Son Wepwawetmose (i)	Mourning	1999, charts
		Daughter Hel (Hunero) (vi)		21, 24, 27
		Brother Nefersenu (no relation)	Sprinkles mourners with water	
		Wife Meretseger (v)	Mourning	
		Daughter (in- law) Huy (ii)		
		Daughter Tainnwi (i)		
		Daughter Takha<.t>(iii)		
		Son Nakhy (vii)	Porter	
		Wife Meretseger (v)	Mourners	
		Grandson Nebmehyt (iv)	accompanying	
		Sister Werel	bier	
		Sister Ra		
		Sister Taweret (v)		
		Sister Temet		
TT268 – workman	Nebnakht	No names preserved	Carry tomb equipment	Bruyère, Rapport
Nebnakht (i, ii,		Nubem	Mourners	1931-32,
iii, iv, v, or vi?) (Davies, <i>Who's</i>		Her daughter Werel		1934, p. 52; KRI III,
Who, 1999,		Her sister Raiat		765.11
p. 239)		Her motherNensu		

ТОМВ	FUNERAL OF	PARTICIPANTS	ACTION	REFERENCES
TT335 -	Nakhtamun (ii)	Son Piay (iv)	Precedes bier	Bruyère,
engraver Nakhtamun (ii)	and wife Nubemshaset (i)	Son Ankhau (i)	Carries bunch of grain	Rapport 1924-25, 1926, pp.
		Son Baki (v)	Weeps for parents	130-2;
		Son Penkhnum (i)		Servajean,
		Henutmehyt (ii)	Mourners	in Gaber et al. (eds.),
		Wife Nubemshaset (i) (sic – she is also represented being buried.)		À l'oeuvre on connaît l'artisan,
		Daughter Wabkhet (v)		2017, p.
		Wab priest and scribe Huynefer (vi) (Davies, <i>Who's</i> <i>Who</i> , 1999, p. 18)	Carries image of god Anubis	259
		Brother Khons (i)	Accompany	
		Brother-in-law Wosersatet (i)	procession with staves	
		Nephew Khaemwast (ii)		
		Nephew Tjauenany (i)		
		Nephew Pendwa (i/vi) (Davies, Who's Who, 1999, charts 13, 14)		
		Brother Wadjshemsu (i)	_	
TT338 – workman Maia	(probably) Maia	Son Tutu	Libates milk before procession	Tosi, <i>Maia</i> , 1972, p. 20
		Son Nakhsu	Mourns beside bier	
		Son Ramose	Follows bier	
		Anonymous	Six men drawing bier Cloaked figure	

FUNERARY STELA	BENEFICIARY	PARTICIPANTS	ACTION	REFERENCES
Fragment from	Probably Khons	His brother Anhotep (v)	Haul bier to tomb	Bruyère,
TT1, probably chapel of workman Khons (ii)	(ii)	(Brother) P/rehotep (v)		Sen-nedjem, 1959, p. 10
BM EA 150	His father	Neferabu (i)	Haul Neferrenpet	James,
+ 1754 from TT5 – workman Neferabu (i)	the workman Neferrenpet (i) and mother	Scribe (Draughtsman?) (Nephew) Ipuy (vi) (Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 151)	(i)'s bier (Davies, Notes KRI III, 2013, p. 567)	Stelae 9, 1970, pp. 34–5, pls.
	Mahy (i)	Neferabu's son Nedjemger (i)		xxx-xxxa; KRI III,
		Draughtsman (Neferabu's nephew) Pabaki (i)		775.9- 776.9;
		Scribe (Draughtsman) Nakhtamun (iii) (Davies, <i>Who's</i> <i>Who</i> , 1999, pp. 153–54)		Davies, Who's Who, 1999, charts
		Neferabu's son Meriunu (i)		1, 11
		Draughtsman Pashed		
		Nedjem		
		Neferabu (i)'s son Neferrenpet (iii)		
		Two more men (names missing)		-
		Neferabu (i)'s brother Huy	Haul Neferabu (i)'s	
		Brother (nephew) Merysakhmet (i) (Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 161)	bier (Davies, <i>Notes</i> KRI III, 2013, p. 567)	
		Brother Pay		
		Brother (nephew) Nebnetjeru (i) (Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 159)		
		Workman Wennekhu (i)		
		Workman Horemwia (i)		
		Draughtsman Pay (ii)		
		Neferabu's son Neferrenpet (iii)	Carry funerary equipment	
		Neferabu's son Ramose (ii)		
		Neferabu's son Nedjemger (i)		
		Neferabu's son Meriun (i)		
		Draughtsman Ipuy (vi)		
		Draughtsman Pashed (vii/viii)		
		Engraver Huynefer (vii)		
		Engraver Huyemtjebtyfy (i)		
		Engraver Baki (iv)		

Table 2 Depictions of the ritual of the Opening of the Mouth with an adze in Deir el-Medina tombs

ТОМВ	BENEFICIARY	PARTICIPANTS	ACTION	REFERENCES
TT218 -	Amennakht	Son Khaemtir (i)	Opening of the Mouth	Bruyère, Rapport
workman Amennakht (xxi)	(xxi) and wife liemwaw (iii)	Draughtsman Pay (i)	Reads text for Opening of the Mouth	1927, 1928, pp. 66–68, fig. 47;
		Daughter Henutmehyt (iv)	Mourn father's mummy	KRI III, 709.9- 710.2
		Daughter Taemwadjset (i)		
		Son (nephew? son-in-law?) Nebmehyt (iii) (Davies, Who's Who, 1999, chart 21)		
		Daughter <ta>Weret (v)</ta>		
		Son Khaemtir (i)	Mourns mother's mummy	
		Daughter Henutmehyt (iv)	Another group of mourners	
		Daughter Taemwadjset (i)		
		Sister Bakenwerel		
		Sister Shaia		
		Sister Henutshenet		
		Sister (name lost)		
TT219 – workman	, , ,	Son Wepwawetmose (i)	Opening of the Mouth	Maystre, Nebenmât,
Nebenmaat (ii)	Meretseger (v)	His sister Henuteriunu	Mourns Meretseger (v)	1936, pl. vii scene 51; KRI
		His sister Nedjemtbehdet	Mourns Nebenmaat (ii)	III, 762.15-16

FUNERARY STELA	BENEFICIARY	PARTICIPANTS	ACTION	REFERENCES
BM EA 150 + 1754 - from TT5 (Davies,	Neferabu (i)'s father the workman	Son Neferabu (i) (Davies, <i>Notes KRI</i> III, 2013, p. 567)	Opening of the Mouth?	James, <i>Stelae</i> 9, 1970, pp. 34–35,
Notes KRI III, 2013,	Neferrenpet (i) and his wife	Wife Mahy (i)	Mourners	pls. xxx-xxxa; KRI III, 775.1-7;
p. 566)	Mahy (i)	Son Neferabu (i)		Davies, Who's
Workman Neferabu (i)	Family relationship designations here refer to Neferrenpet (i)'s	Draughtsman Maa[ninakhtef] (i), Neferabu (i)'s brother-in-law Daughter-in-law		Who, 1999, charts 1, 11
	relatives	Ta-aset (i)		
		Professional mourner Hemetnetjer		
		Hemetnetjer's		
		daughter ly		
		(Daughter) Tentamentet (ii)		
		(Daughter) Tasennefer (ii)		
		(Granddaughter) Mahy (ii)		
		(Daughter) Taweret (iii)		
		Mutemwia		
BM EA 305 - from TT5 - Workman Neferabu (i)	Neferabu (i), his wife Ta-aset (i), his father	Neferrenpet (iii) son of Neferabu (i) and grandson of Neferrenpet (i)	Opening of the Mouth	James, Stelae 9, 1970, pp. 36-37, pls. xxxii-xxxiia;
	Neferrenpet (i) and his mother Mahi (i)	Draughtsman Maainakhtef (i) (brother-in-law)	Reads text	KRI III, 770.8- 14; Davies, Who's Who,
	Family relationship designations here refer to Neferabu (i)	(Brother) Anhotep (i) Neferabu (i) Sister Taweret (iii) (Sister) Tentamenetet (ii)	Mourn and embrace mummies	1999, charts 1, 11
		Wife Ta-aset (i) Sister Tasennefer (ii) (depicted twice, once beside the mummies, once standing behind the officiants) Daughter (niece!)	Mourners	
		Mutneferet (iii) Girl Hel (Hunero)	Attends ceremony	_

FUNERARY STELA	BENEFICIARY	PARTICIPANTS	ACTION	REFERENCES
BM EA 1629 -	Four mummies	Unknown	Opening of the Mouth	Bierbrier, Stelae
chief craftsman	including	Son Nakhy (iii)	Mourners in row above –	10, 1982, pp.
Didi (i)	Didi (i)	Son Bakenany (i)	caress mummies?	26-27, pl. 63; Davies, <i>Who's</i>
		Daughter-in-law Mutuy (i)	Who, 1999, chart 8. The	
		Daughter-in-law Nefertari (iii)		other fragments of this stela (Bruyère, Rapport 1933- 34, I, 1937, p. 120) are omitted since no names are preserved
Copenhagen	Qen (ii)	Son Merymery (i)	Opening of the Mouth	Manniche,
Nat. Mus AAd 11 – engraver Qen (ii)	Wife Nefertari (vi)	Son Huy (xiii) (twice, or another son?)	Mourners	Egyptian Art, 2004, p. 200
		Daughter (?)		
Stela from TT9 - scorpion	[Amenmose (i)] and wife	Son [Piay] (i) or Mehhy (i)]	Opening of the Mouth	Černý et al., Répertoire
charmer Amenmose (i)	Tenthaynu (i)	Son scribe Meryre (i)	Reads text for Opening of the Mouth?	onomastique, 1949, p. 69; KRI
		Daughter <ta>-Isis (i)</ta>	Mourners	VII, 40.5-9
		Daughter Tasen (i)		
		Daughter (name lost)		
		Woman (name lost)		

FUNERARY STELA	BENEFICIARY	PARTICIPANTS	ACTION	REFERENCES
Stela from	Four mummies	Son Amenmose (v)	Opening of the Mouth	Bruyère, Rapport
TT10 – guardian Penbuy (i)	-	[Son] Piay (Meurer, <i>Penbui</i> , 2015, pp. 72–73, 174)	Reads text for Opening of the Mouth	1922-23, 1924, pp. 54-5, pl. xii bottom, xiii.c; KRI VII, 207.13- 208.4; Meurer, Penbui, 2015, pp. 72-73
	fragmentary double scene.	Daughter Meni (i)	Mourners	
	The text	Daughter lyinofret (i)		
	behind the left-hand mummy reads "f (+ feminine classifier), servant in the Place [of Truth]," and may refer to Penbuy (i)'s inlaws, the workman Kasa (i) and his wife Bukhanef (i), also called Bukhanefptah (i)	Son Bakenwerel (i)	Caresses mummy	
Stela Turin	Four mummies	Son [Heh]nekhu (ii)	Opening of the Mouth	Tosi and Roccati,
50076 – workman	including Pashed (i) and	Son scribe Usersatet (i)	Reads text for Opening of the Mouth	Stele, 1972, pp. 113–15, 295;
Pashed (i) from TT292	wife Mekhay- ib (i)	Son Khnummose (ii)	Caresses parents'	KRI I, 407.5-12
		Son Nakhtset (i)	mummies	
		Daughter Mekhay- ib (ii)	Mourners	
		Daughter Nubherteri (i)		
		Daughter Isis (iv)/(v)		
		Daughter Nofretsatet (i)		
		Daughter-in-law Henutwedjebu (i)		
		Daughter Nubemshaes (i)		

Table 2a Opening of the Mouth depicted outside the tomb

ТОМВ	BENEFICIARY	PARTICIPANTS	ACTION	REFERENCES
TT1 – workman Sennedjem (i)	Sennedjem (i)	Son Khons (ii)	Opening of the Mouth on Sennedjem (i)'s ushabti in Field of Reeds	Bruyère, Sen- nedjem, 1959, p. 37
TT217 – engraver Ipuy (i)	Ipuy (i)	Son Anuy (iii)	Opening of the Mouth on Ipuy's coffin in workshop	Davies, Two Ramesside Tombs, 1927, p. 71, pl. xxxvi

Table 2b Related scenes

ТОМВ	BENEFICIARY	PARTICIPANTS	ACTION	REFERENCES
TT267 – deputy Hay (vii)	Hay (vii) and wife Henutmeter (i) Sons Amennakht (vii) Wennefer (vi) Daughter	Son Nebnefer (vii)	Opening of the Mouth? Fragmentary text mentions it (r6) and celebrant holds adze but Hay (vii) and Hemetneter (i) are sitting before a table of offerings.	Valbelle, <i>Hay</i> , 1975, pp. 7, 23–25, 38, pl. xix

ТОМВ	BENEFICIARY	PARTICIPANTS	ACTION	REFERENCES
TT359 - Chief workman	Inherkhau (ii), wife Wabet (i), daughters	Draughtsman Hormin (i)	Opening of the Mouth??	Cherpion and Corteggiani,
Inherkhau (ii)		Draughtsman Nebnefer	partly depicted) d'Inherk 2010, pp. 139 255-62 pls. 126 Davies,	La tombe d'Inherkhâouy,
	Sheritre (i) and Tuy (ii)	Workman Qenymin (i)? Daughter-in-law's		pp. 139-43, 255-62, pls. 126-30; Davies, Who's Who, 1999,
		father Workman Nesamun		
		Workman Hay		
		Workman		Charts
		Ameneminet Workman Hori		
		(Harmin [i], or son Hori [v]?)		
		Son-in-law Minkhawy (i)		
		Wab-priest Qedakhtef (iii) Son's brother-in-law		
		Sister (daughter?)		
		Henutenkhenu (i) Workman and wab		
		priest Neferhotep		
		Sister Tuy		
		Workman		
		Neferhotep Singer of Amun-Re,		
		Lord of the Thrones		
		of the Two Lands		
		Tanedjemkhabet		
		(ii?) (daughter) Sister, singer of		
		Amun-Re, King of		
		the Gods Nefertari		
		Daughter Henutdjuu		
		Daughter Taweret		
		Daughter		
		Taatemtashenut		
		Daughter Taiunes		
		The singer of Amun		
		Tabasa Daughter Tapekhyr		
		Workman Qenna		
		(son Qenna [i])		
		(Grandson)		
		Hornefer (iii) (son of		
		Qenna [i])		

Table 3 Other scenes at tombs depicted in Deir el-Medina tombs

ТОМВ	BENEFICIARY	PARTICIPANTS	ACTION	REFERENCES	
TT250 - scribe Ramose (i)	Women servants of the scribe Ramose (i)'s and the foreman Neferhotep	Tjel's son Hesyherimentet	Purifies mummies with water	Bruyère, Rapport 1926, 1927, pl. vi	
	(i)'s families (Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 83). Group headed by woman servant Tjel	Draughtsman Nebre (i)	Lector priest		
	Woman servant Tjel	Her granddaughter Mer	Caress mummy, throw dust over		
	Her sister servant Meria	Her daughter Tjel			
	Her daughter servant Baketdwa	Her daughter Wia	head		
	Her daughter servant [Henut]mehyt	Her daughter Wadjrenpet			
	Her daughter servant Nefertari	Her daughter Mer			
TT250 - scribe	Women servants of the scribe Ramose (i)'s and	Her father Akhenes	Prays and presents incense	Bruyère, Rapport 1926, 1927, pl. v	
Ramose (i)	the foreman Neferhotep (i)'s families (Davies,	Her mother Tapiya	Prays and brings vessel of water		
	Who's Who, 1999, p. 83). Group headed by woman servant Ptahidiu	Her sonsu	Prays and brings bag of offerings		
		Four men, two women and child – names missing.	Pray and bring offerings		
		Manniut			
		His sister the female servant			
	Woman servant Ptahidiu	Her son Shedemwaset	Caresses mummy		
	Woman servant Nebtari	Son [name missing]	Caress mummy, throw dust over		
	Woman servant Tentiunet	Her son Neferrenpet	head		
	Woman servant [Nefer] tari (Davies, <i>Notes KRI</i> III, 2013, p. 449)				
	Woman servantd				
TT326 - chief workman Pashed (x)	Pashed (x) and wife Nedjembehdet (i)	Name missing	Purifies mummies with water	Bruyère, Rapport 1922-23, 1924, p. 41, pls. xii top, xiiia	
TT335	Nakhtamun (ii) and wife Nubemshaset (i)	Son Piay (iv)	Purify mummy	Bruyère, Rapport 1924-25, 1926, pp. 119-20	
– engraver		Son Baki (v)	with water		
Nakhtamun (ii)		Son Pashed (xii)			

ТОМВ	BENEFICIARY	PARTICIPANTS	ACTION	REFERENCES
TT339 – workman Huy (iv)	Unknown	Unknown	Presents foreleg	Bruyère, <i>Rapport 1927</i> , 1928, p. 121
TT360 – chief workman Qaha (i)	Qaha (i)	[Son] A[nuy] (i) (KRI III, 1980, 600.9)	Presents foreleg	Bruyère, Rapport 1930, 1933, p. 76, pl. xxvii
STELA	BENEFICIARY	PARTICIPANTS	ACTION	REFERENCES
Stela from TT360 - chief	TT360 - chief (Bruyère, <i>Rapport 1930</i> , workman 1933, p. 89 mentions Mummies in the plural)	Son Anuy (i)	Purifies mummies	Bruyère, Rapport 1930,
workman Qaha (i) Very fragmentary		Draftsman – name not preserved	Reads text for Opening of Mouth	1933, p. 89, pl. xxxvii
Stela from TT4 – Copenhagen Nat. Mus AAd 11 – engraver Qen (ii)	Qen (ii) Wife Nefertari (vi)	Son Merymery (i)	Purifies parents with water	Manniche, Egyptian Art, 2004, p. 200
Stela from TT4 - Turin 50074 - engraver Qen (ii)	Qen (ii) Wife Nefertari (vi) Wife Henutmehyt (iii)	Son Merymery (i)	Purifies mummies with water	Tosi and Roccati, <i>Stele</i> , 1972, pp. 110–12, 294
		Son Huy (xiii)	Stands behind Merymery holding <i>hes</i> - vase, assists with purification	
		Son Kewer (i)	Pray	
		Son Tjauenhui (i)		
Stela Turin 50075 – workman Nebamentet (i)	Neb[amentet] (i) and wife Hunero (viii)	Son (name not preserved) Daughter Aui (i) Grandson Hay (xiii)	Purifies mummies with water Mourn mummies	Tosi and Roccati, <i>Stele</i> , 1972, pp. 112-13, 294; KRI I, 413.15; Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 268, chart 5. Meurer,
				Penbui, 2015, pp. 70-71, associates it with TT 10.

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THE MEDJAY IN CONTEXT VISUAL AND VERBAL NARRATIVES PIECED TOGETHER

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ABSTRACT

The Museo Egizio houses four stelae from Deir el Medina of great interest: the stele of Nakhi (Cat. 1586), the stele of Ptahmay (Cat. 1572), the stele of Tusa (Cat. 1512), and the stele of Mahu and Yupa (Cat. 1465). They all picture men with a heart shaped apron, a specific front-piece over the kilt not elsewhere recorded for Egyptian clothing. This paper focuses on the social context of this dress to determine that it is the Medjay foreign insignia. Medjay are the earliest and only identified group wearing this apron icon, a visual rhetoric that tallies with the fact that in papyri and ostraca in Deir el Medina and elsewhere mentions of Medjay are consistently followed by foreign classifiers. While they have until now been envisioned by scholars only via mental constructs, essentially based on textual sources, this paper asserts that significant extra information can be drawn from visual narratives concerning the Medjay. We complement this process of matching image and writing with additional material culture evidence relating to the presence of foreigners in the Theban area. Right down to the Ramesside period, Pan Grave pottery is attested throughout Egypt, evidence of a culture currently attributed to the Medjay. Lastly, the long-accepted theory that New Kingdom Medjay played the role of Egyptian policeman is reexamined. New interpretations of Egyptian history and much larger corpora of sources on the Medjay both allow other avenues of research.

1. INTRODUCTION

The Museo Egizio houses four stelae, three of which from Deir el-Medina, of great interest: the stela of Nakhy [Fig. 1],¹ the stela of Ptahmay [Fig. 2],² the stela of Tusa [Fig. 3],³ and the stela of Mahu and Yupa [Fig. 4].⁴ They all picture men with a heart-shaped apron, a specific front-piece over the kilt, not elsewhere recorded for Egyptian clothing.⁵ The stela of Ptahmay is the only one of the four that associates the apron with a Medjay person, specified with two foreign classifiers, called Any. Taken together with other evidence, this paper first argues for this feature being a Medjay dress insignia, related to an ethnicity rather than an administrative function, and whose official recognition dates from the el-Amarna interlude. Secondly, the mainstream Egyptological belief that the Medjay fulfil an "Egyptian policeman" topos is reexamined in the light of various iconographic contexts. Ultimately, the paper advocates for the necessity of laying aside this outdated cliché.

In order to gain a better view of the reality of the Medjay, contexts related to the dress icon are examined, on the basis that identity and context can be interpreted via Egyptian visual rhetoric. For example, kings wear different kilts and headdresses that are appropriate to, and stage a, given event; the tribute bearers depicted in the tomb of Rekhmire wear distinct kilts signifying their different nationalities, because in this context visual and verbal narratives highlight otherness, rank and social relations. Likewise for the Medjay: so far, they have only been perceived by Egyptologists through the lenses of texts and social constructs, and a closer look may allow another story to emerge. Kathrin Gabler meticulously catalogued the profiles of ninety-six named Medjay selected from

¹ Cat. 1586, Stela of Nakhi = STELE CGT 50010, Tosi and Roccati, Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina, 1972, pp. 43–44, 265; Davies Who's Who, 1999, p. 67.

² Museo Egizio Cat. 1572, Stela of Ptahmay, Maspero, RT 4 (1883), p. 141, V; Fabretti et al., Regio Museo di Torino, I, 1882, p. 157.

³ Cat. 1512, Stela of Tusa = STELE CGT 50039, Tosi and Roccati, Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina, 1972, pp. 73-4, 276.

⁴ Cat. 1465, Stela of Mahu and Yupa, Fabretti *et al.*, *Regio Museo di Torino*, I, 1882, p. 125; Petschel and Von Falk, *Pharao siegt immer*, 2004, p. 84; Étienne, *Les portes du ciel*, 2009, p. 28; Ruffle and Kitchen, in John Ruffle *et al.* (eds.), *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt*, 1979, pp. 56–7.

⁵ Vogelsang-Eastwood, *Pharaonic Egyptian Clothing*, 1993, does not mention this apron among Egyptian aprons and kilts.



Fig. 1 The stele of Nakhi (Museo Egizio, Cat. 1586) (Photo Museo Egizio).



Fig. 2 The stele of Ptahmay (Museo Egizio, Cat. 1572) (Photo Museo Egizio).



Fig. 3 The stele of Tusa (Museo Egizio, Cat. 1512) (Photo Museo Egizio).



Fig. 4 The stele of Mahu and Yupa (Museo Egizio, Cat. 1465) (Photo by Nicola Dell'Aquila and Federico Taverni/Museo Egizio).

196 Deir el-Medina sources. Yet, their substantial presence around the community yields no clear picture: if the many Medjay who are recorded as delivering goods are only viewed as "policemen", our understanding remains vague or incomplete. The process of bringing together text and image aims at delineating a distinct group of foreigners that is satisfyingly supported by Pan Grave material culture found in the Ramesside Theban area.

2. THE HEART-SHAPED APRON: ICONOGRAPHIC CONTEXTS

2.1. From el-Amarna to Horemheb

The earliest associations between the Medjay and the apron come from el-Amarna, in the tomb of Mahu, chief Medjay of the Medjay of Akhetaten, *hry md³yw n md³yw n sht-itn*. Several of his running Medjay recruits wear the iconic apron as well as the prisoner hair-cut [Fig. 5]. Ellen Morris stressed that after the relentless Thutmosid campaigning, many prisoners of war were assigned to the construction of monuments, which was proceeding rapidly, and to institutional revenue-producing land work. These are represented with half-shaved heads, previously thought to distinguish baldheaded elderly men. In fact, shaving human prisoners is a common Middle Eastern practice to mark new foreign slaves in the process of integration. The fact that this haircut appears on the Medjay in the tomb of Mahu is not consistent with the repeated assertion that they were Akhenaten's Egyptian police force.

Other Amarna tombs also represent running files of foreigners, fanbearers, standard bearers and stablemasters, as well as tribute bringers, all wearing this type of apron. Some even wear two feathers in their hair. Unfortunately, an ethnicity is never mentioned in accompanying caption texts;¹¹ presumably apron and ostrich feathers together were identifying enough. Mahu's aproned subor-

⁶ Gabler, "Die *mdʒj.w*,- dein Liferant und Helfer. Untersuchungen zu den *mdʒj.w* von Deir el-Medina anhand von Ostraca und Papiri", 2009, pp. 142–69, 161–68.

⁷ Michaux-Colombot, "Medjay and Pan Graves, New Considerations" (forthcoming).

⁸ Davies, The Tombs of Penthu, Mahu, and Others, 1906, pls. XIX, XX, XXIV.

⁹ Davies, The Tombs of Penthu, Mahu, and Others, 1906, pl. XXVI.

¹⁰ Morris, in Galán et al. (eds.), Creativity and Innovation, 2014, pp. 365–75.

¹¹ Davies, The Tombs of Pa Nehesy and Merira II, 1905a, pls. XIII, XVI, XVII, XXVI, XL; Davies, The Tombs of Huya and Ahmes, 1905b, pl. XIV; Davies, The Tombs of Parennefer, Tutu and Aÿ, 1908, pl. XXIX.

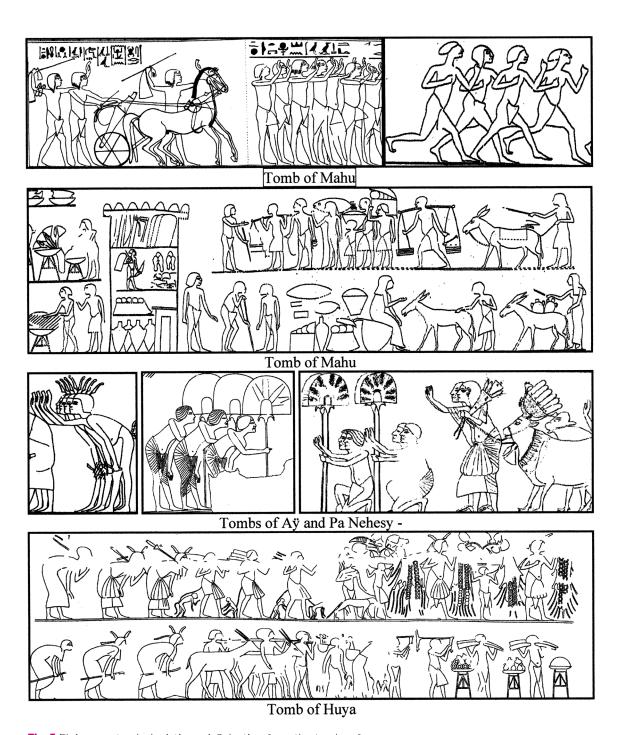


Fig. 5 El-Amarna tomb depictions. A Selection from the tombs of: Mahu: N. de G. Davies, *Rock Tombs of El Amarna* IV, pl. XIX, XXI, XXIV. Panehesy: N. de G. Davies, *Rock Tombs of El Amarna* II, pls. XII, XIV. Huya: N. de G. Davies, *Rock Tombs of El Amarna* III, pl. XV. Aÿ: N. de G. Davies, *Rock Tombs of El Amarna* VI, pl. XXIX.

dinates are also old men and peasants whose aprons barely cover their nakedness. It may be inferred from this that the dress applied to a type of population, at home in adjacent foreign marshes and mountains. It appears on herders, fishermen, and cultivators. Some were presumably subject to tribute, while others were enrolled as manpower. Thus the iconic apron is not solely a military guise as previously thought. John Coleman Darnell and Colleen Manassa agree that among the Amarna multiethnic running bodyguards the uniform is identifying. However, they allot the "heart-shaped sporrans worn over their kilts" to Egyptian soldiers. The feather attribute speaks against a strict interpretation of this kind.

Soon after the end of Amarna, another example comes from the small oasis of Kurkur, west of Aswan, on a stela erected by Penniut, the Deputy commander of Wawat, with Tutankhamun censing Khnum in the lunette. Penniut shames an unnamed Medjay who "guides on the western wall", *nty ḥr tɜ.t-c ḥr tɜ inb.t imnt.t*, because he had not picked up his seal of office. The Medjay "wears a short kilt with heart-shaped, military sporran, somewhat uncertainly carved".¹⁴

John Darnell relates Penniut's stela to the commemoration of Horemheb's victory over the Kushites, depicted in his Great Speos at Gebel el Silsila. The scene exhibits the king's whole retinue, fanbearers, men shouldering his palanquin, spearmen, trumpetist and other logistics personnel, all clad with the heart-shaped apron [Fig. 6]. The twelve palanquin bodyguards are feathered, a sign of foreign identity. No Medjay are mentioned. However, when in year 7 Horemheb reorganized the Deir el-Medina community, he assigned to the Theban area his devoted Medjay charioteer Mininiwy (see below). It has been suggested that Horemheb, whose origin is omitted from official records, may have been a Medjay, through some paternal connection to a rare namesake, Horemheb, son of the wr n mdyw Neby, troop commander in Tjaru under Thutmosis IV. 17 The iconic

¹² Roeder, ZÄS 61 (1926), p. 60; Yoyotte and López, Bi. Or. 26 (1969), p. 10; Darnell and Manassa, *Tutankhamun's Armies*, 2007, pp. 81, 191, 243 n. 192–3.

¹³ Darnell and Manassa, Tutankhamun's Armies, 2007, pp. 81, 191, 243 n. 192–93.

¹⁴ Darnell, SAK 31 (2003), pp. 78–79.

¹⁵ Wreszinski, Atlas, II, 1935, pl. 162. Darnell and Manassa, *Tutankhamun's Armies*, 2007, p. 123, fig.19; Davies, *Historical Records of the Later Eighteenth Dynasty*, VI, 1995, pp. 76–77.

¹⁶ Meskell, Archaeologies of Social Life, 1999, p. 263.

¹⁷ Björkman, JARCE 11 (1974), pp. 44–45; Säve-Söderbergh, New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites, I, 1991, p. 208; Urk. IV, 1634–1635; Cumming, Egyptian Historical Records of the Later Eighteenth Dynasty, III, 1984, pp. 319–20.

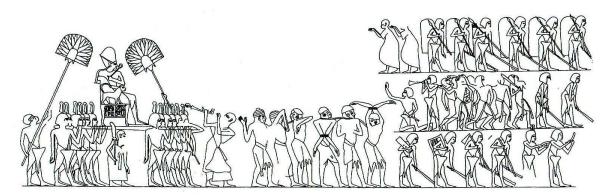


Fig. 6 Horemheb's victory commemoration scene in his Great Speos at Gebel Silsila (From Wreszinski, in Darnell and Manassa (eds.), *Tutankhamun's Armies*, 2007, fig. 19, p. 123).

apron, not known before el-Amarna, and not worn by Neby, is no help. However, among Horemheb's early career titles, the generalissimo was $hry-tp \ 3^c rhyt$, "great chieftain of the rekhyt-subjects", and "fanbearer on the right of the king". ¹⁸ The first title recalls that of the $wr \ n \ md \ 3yw$ Menkheperresonb, $sr \ m \ h \ 3t \ rhyt$. ¹⁹ The second title places him among the children of the kap, $hms \ n \ k \ 2p$, ²⁰ that is of foreign extraction.

Horemheb is one of the revered kings depicted in the Deir el-Medina tomb chapels of Ramose (TT7) and of Penbuy and Kasa (TT10), as well as in the Coming Out of Min festival reliefs found in the Ramesseum.²¹ On one slab from Horemheb's Memphite tomb figures part of a platoon of soldiers, whose officer Minkhay, "standard-bearer of the regiment 'Beloved-of-the-Aten'", wears the iconic apron.²² Another slab in the Pushkin Museum, of unknown provenance, exhibits an unnamed group of most desperate mourners, all with the iconic apron. The style of the scene is strikingly identical to those in Horemheb's tomb.²³ The mourners could represent his family. It is not inconsequential that he appointed as successor a man connected to the Medjay, if the Paramesu men-

¹⁸ Martin, Tutankhamun's Regent, 2016, pp. 33-34, 48, 145.

¹⁹ Urk. IV, 992, 10; Säve-Söderbergh, New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites, I, 1991, p. 208.

²⁰ Pomorska, Les flabellifères à la droite du roi, 1987, pp. 26-28.

²¹ Dodson, Amarna Sunset, 2009, pp. 132-33.

²² Martin, Tutankhamun's Regent, 2016, p. 87, pl. 49 [79], Brooklyn 32.103.

²³ As noted by Hodjash and Berlev, The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum, 1982, pp. 121–22 n° 68.

tioned on the Hundred Year Stela of Ramesses II²⁴ is really Ramesses I. Paramesu fathered Seti, wr n md3yw, Medjay chieftain of Tjaru. He must have inherited both his position and foreign blood from his mother. His father Paramesu does not hold the Medjay wr title, usually given to foreign leaders.

There is significant evidence indicating that Egyptians and Medjay cooperated with each other harmoniously. Both in Horemheb's tomb²⁵ and at el-Amarna [Fig. 5], men with and without the iconic apron act together in teams. The provenance of the stela of Ptahmay²⁶ [Fig. 2] is not recorded in the catalogue of the Museo Egizio, though it is likely of Memphite origin (see below § 1.5.4).²⁷ As would be the stela of Mahu and Yupa, dated to Ramesses II, [Fig. 4] picturing two brothers of Mahu, Pa-mer-mesha, kdn, charioteer, and Nakht-Min, hry ihw, stablemaster. These horsemen wear pleated heart-shaped aprons. Mahu and Yupa are descendants of the royal scribe, foreign general, and high steward in the Ramesseum, Iurkhi, and are a notable case of interaction between Memphite and Theban²⁸ multiethnic administration. Yupa's son Hatiay, was wr n md3yw.²⁹ Hatiay occupies a significant place in the decoration of a tomb recently uncovered south of the causeway of king Unas: a published scene with two charioteers shows military officers with different hairstyles, one of whom wears the iconic apron. Ola El-Aguyzi relates the scene to the fortress in Tjaru where taxes were levied on imported and exported goods.30

However, the dress identification is not systematic. At Amarna, Mahu depicts himself in his 'Sunday best', with the bag tunic and sash. Like all noblemen of his time, he complies with official *etiquette*, evidently more honorific than Medjay attire. Leaders usually command their own kind in familiar dress for social and linguistic reasons. Yet, vis- \dot{a} -vis their Egyptian lords they play the assimilated fiddle. According to Barry Kemp, men in senior positions at Amarna were honored in their homes. An uninscribed statuette of a sitting man with the icon

²⁴ KRI II, 287; KRITA, 168-72.

²⁵ Martin, Tutankhamun's Regent, 2016, pp. 40-41, 137, one of which has the slave half shaven haircut.

²⁶ Vernus, *Kêmi* 19 (1969), 96.

²⁷ I owe to Federico Poole the convincing suggestion of a Memphite origin. See below n. 93. I also wish to express my gratitude for his help and enabling me to present my research here.

²⁸ Staring, *JEOL* 45 (2014–2015), pp. 75–77.

²⁹ KRI III, 196–197; Ruffle and Kitchen, in Ruffle *et al.* (eds.), *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt*, 1979, pp. 58–59, 70–71, pl. VIII.

³⁰ El-Aguizy, NeHeT 6 (2018), p. 3, fig. 1.

apron over a loincloth was found in the context of a modest house.³¹ He holds a lotus stalk in bud and has outlandish features. Whoever he was, good reasons must have justified the classifying self-representation at home.

2.2. The heart-shaped apron at Deir el-Medina

The stela of Nakhy [Fig. 1], dated to the turn of the Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasties³² would be the oldest of the Museo Egizio selection. Next, from Deir El-Medina, comes the stela of Tusa [Fig. 3] dated to the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty.³³ She was the wife of Kasa, Servant in the Place of Truth. Timewise, these stelae can be located within the period of transformation of the village that started with Horemheb. The iconic apron is associated with various contexts.

Nakhy [Fig. 1] is shown before Osiris and Anubis: the owner of the stela is a sdm 's m st m3't hr w3st niwt, "Servant in the Place of Truth to the West of Thebes". He wears the apron, and so do three sons, Seth, Satpair and Mehi shown in the second register, who are not otherwise qualified. If this Nakhy was the son of Buqentuf and member of the family of Didi,³⁴ we have no direct evidence of Medjay parentage. However, even though his wife is named Nefertari, like Nakhy (iii) on Benedict Davies's Chart 8, the names of the sons don't correspond. Therefore, Nakhy of [Fig. 1] is not the same person as the son of Buqentuf. He could be the Nakhy mentioned on a stone seat from the Amarna period in Deir el-Medina, who was then 'Servant in the Place of Truth on the West of Akhet-it-en', which in fact refers to Thebes. The Amarna heart-shaped apron on Nakhy's stela, worn by him and his sons would serve as evidence that his family of craftsmen had been transferred to Thebes after the demise of Amarna. The mobility of this specialized personnel between Memphis, Amarna and Thebes was frequent, 36 and similarities between the Amarna workmen's village and Deir

³¹ Kemp, The City of Akhenaten, 2012, p. 246.

³² Tosi and Roccati, Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el-Medina, 1972, p. 43.

³³ Tosi and Roccati, Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el-Medina, 1972, p. 73.

³⁴ Tosi and Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el-Medina*, 1972, p. 256 (50011), 43–4; Davies, *Who's Who*, 1999, pp. 64, 66–7, Chart 8.

³⁵ Černý, A Community, 2001², p. 51; Haring, in Verschoor *et al.* (eds.), *Imaging and Imagining the Memphite Necropolis*, 2017, p. 153.

³⁶ Haring, in Verschoor *et al.* (eds.), *Imaging and Imagining the Memphite Necropolis*, 2017, pp. 147–53; Angenot, *JSSEA* 35 (2008).

el-Medina have been posited convincingly.³⁷ This hypothesis is supported by the striking similarity between the profiles of the members of Nakhy's family – with a prominent nose-to-chin and a reclining brow – and the facial profiles found in other Amarna art, for example the face of the sphinx on the Sphinx stela of Akhenaten residing currently in Boston.³⁸

Tusa [Fig. 3] with the heart-shaped apron is a "Servant in the Place of Truth", sdm 'š m st m3't. He probably originated from Asyut, given that Wepwawet and Hathor of *mddn* figure in the lunette. A large number of stelae (as many as 600) that come from this area are similarly dedicated to Wepwawet, Opener-of-theways. Yet their owners' qualifications vary: one stela owner Amenemone, who bears the title of Medjay, wears the apron, while another, Pakhery, 'sdm's, also bears the title but does not wear the apron. This seems to indicate that the sdm'š title and the iconic apron do not have a necessary link. All the sdmw 'š on the Asyut stelae were not necessarily from Asyut, nor necessarily all from a Medjay tribe. However, at a later date, in mid Twentieth Dynasty, another aproned servant, the sdm Pn-niwt, is depicted on the stela of Khnemmose, presumed from Deir el-Medina. 40 If this Servant (in the Place of Truth) is the same as the rmt-ist Pn-niwt of HO, 18, 2-3 (= O.Gardiner 33), then it is of interest to note that he was doing business with the Medjay Psad. Business works more often between connected people. As an integrated member of the crew, his ethnicity would not necessarily have been mentioned. Parentage is not a main concern in stela. When only one of the parents is a Medjay, it is not clear how their child was classified. None of the males in his family appear as Medjay. 41 But what do we know about untitled females, Medjay or not?

Maia and Ramose wear the iconic apron, who were two brothers of Kasa, owner of the stela, 42 himself a Servant (in the Place of Truth) and the husband of Bukhanef-Ptah. They are both w^cw "sailors" and recall the Medjay Didu, attested

³⁷ Müller, in Toivari-Viitala et al. (eds.), Deir el Medina Studies, 2009, pp. 154-67.

³⁸ Angenot, *JSSEA* 35 (2008), p. 18, fig. 10.

³⁹ Durisch, *BIFAO* 93 (1993), pp. 211–12, fig. 3, Stela Berlin 20756 (with the apron), fig. 2, Stela Berlin 19594 (without the apron). See also from Asyut another stela with the owner clad with the apron, Munro, ZÄS 88 (1962), pl. III.

⁴⁰ Hodjash and Berlev, The Egyptian Reliefs and Steale in the Pushkin Museum, 1982, p. 148 n° 91, pp. 151–52.

⁴¹ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, chart 5, the family of Hay.

⁴² Bankes stela n°7, Černý, Egyptian Stelae in the Bankes Collection, 1958, n°7; Exell, Soldiers, Sailors and Sandalmakers, 2009, p. 140 n°13, pl. 5a.

in the reigns of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II, who served as a *w* w *n Imm-mry t3y sryt n s3w n hm.f mr h3swt Imntt w3st hry md3yw* "sailor (w) on the vessel Beloved-of-Amun, standard-bearer of his majesty's regiments, overseer of foreign hills in Thebes West and chief Medjay". At the time, rowers wore a special leather filleted kilt; however, it is not always documented. Nebamun, hry md3yw, also a marine and specifically a Standard Bearer of the Royal Ship Beloved-of-Amun does not wear the filleted kilt. Though he was appointed hry md3yw hr imnt. t w3s.t, "chief Medjay in West Thebes", his attire is Egyptian in fashion. However, at that period the iconic apron is not documented. In the Ramesside period, the rowers depicted on the naos of Kasa in the Museo Egizio all wear a white heart-shaped apron. Dressed likewise are the rowers of the left bark in the Chapel of Maya, also in the Museo Egizio, while those in the right bark wear the filleted kilt. In Maya's funeral procession, three unnamed sledge drawers also wear the iconic apron. Such details are not inconsequential: they address a specific audience that was aware of the attire's meaning.

2.3. Ramesside Medjay with and without the iconic apron

Two Ramesside titled Medjay commissioned stelae on which they present themselves with the iconic apron: the first is Rehuy, wr n md³yw n Imnt, "Chieftain of the Medjay of the West", whose stela is dedicated to Taweret [Fig. 7]. The wr rank refers to a vassal chieftain. We thus learn of at least one Medjay tribe, or extended family, in the West Theban area in the Ramesside period. The stela was found at Deir el-Bahari, making it likely that his group was settled in the surroundings. Rehuy is not plumed, but he does have rustic features and his stela is crude.

The stela of his compatriot Pagar, *hry md³yw*, "Superior of Medjay" (n° 8)⁴⁸ is of a rare type, dedicated to Amun-the-Eastern-one, once in his ram form on

⁴³ Macadam and Davies, A Corpus of Funerary Cones, 1957, n° 22; Urk. IV, 995, 13–15.

⁴⁴ Gnirs, in Moreno García (ed.), Ancient Egyptian Administration, 2013, pp. 708-9.

⁴⁵ Trapani, in *Museo Egizio*, 2015, p. 126, second register.

⁴⁶ Tosi, *La Capella di Maia*, 1970, 1) navigation to Abydos, colored picture. 2) top row of the procession [no page numbers].

⁴⁷ Lipińska, *The Temple of Thutmosis III*, 1984, pp. 47, 49, 118, n° 168. I am most grateful to Monica Dolińska for sending me a scan of the original photograph made by Jadwiga Lipińska and informing me that the stela is now in the Carter magazines where all the finds from the West bank area of Deir el-Bahari are kept.

⁴⁸ Guglielmi, in Gundlach and Rochholz (eds.), Ägyptische Temple-Strucktur, 1994, p. 67 fig. 1, Stela Wien 193; Exell, *Soldiers, Sailors and Sandalmakers*, 2009, pp. 34, 173, DB 312; Boussalmi, in Ziegler (ed.), *L'or des pharaons*, 2018, p. 14 n° 54, 67.



Fig. 7 The stele of the Medjay chieftain Rehuy (Deir el Bahari, Inv. No. F 7757) (From Lipińska, Jadwiga, *The temple of Thutmosis III*, 1984, fig. 168, p. 118).

the top register and again in his human form on the bottom register, where he is associated with Mut. The added fan may suggest that Pagar attended Karnak festivals as a fanbearer. Karen Excell considers that ram stelae were dedicated by a loose low-ranking group of individuals, with unclear status in relation to the Amun temple. They should be dated to the early part of the reign of Ramesses II, when the ram statue cult was active at Deir el-Medina.⁴⁹ Pagar's name is not traditionally Egyptian.

The titles and aprons of both these Medjay, Rehuy and Pagar, indicate social distinction at honorable levels, well-off enough to make public their cults to Taweret and Amun. The same can be said about the Medjay Ani [Fig. 2], though no title graces him. Noteworthy is the fact that all three levels in the Ramesside Medjay group, *wr*, *ḥry* and untitled Medjay, identify themselves with the apron

⁴⁹ Exell, Soldiers, Sailors and Sandalmakers, 2009, p. 61.

marker. Moreover, Egyptian authorities illustrate their Medjay employees in the same manner, such as Penniut, the deputy of Wawat who depicts his unnamed Medjay on the Kurkur stela (see above).

However, high ranking Medjay in the king's *entourage*, such as Iuny (bearing the titles *wr n md³y*, royal charioteer, stablemaster of the Residence of Sety I, viceroy of Ta-Seti and Kush, overseer of mountains, southern countries and work in the Domain of Amun⁵⁰) does not wear the apron, either on the El Kanais rock depiction, or his stela from Abydos.⁵¹ Nor do Penre, *wr n md³y* architect of the Ramesseum, on his Chicago stela,⁵² Pashed, *hry md³y.w*, ⁵³ Kaka, *md³y n ¹Imnt*, ⁵⁴ and the well connected, Amenemone, *wr n md³y*, architect of the Ramesseum, represented siting at Abydos.⁵⁵ The latter, nevertheless, on the base of his family group monument housed now in Napoli, boasts about addressing many Medjay officials, *hry.w* and *wr.w*. ⁵⁶ The reason why Medjay do not always air their ethnic quality would naturally be diplomacy: the context that induced the making of a stela was surely sensitive and adhering to the dominant culture subtly smooths the path of social advancement.

2.4. In cavalry contexts

Depictions of scenes of triumph play on different levels of meaning. The Qadesh scenes depicted on the walls of the Abu Simbel and Luxor temples are most instructive here, 57 since all the soldiers are not dressed alike. Only those of the Division of Ptah have the apron coding identity: foot-soldiers, charioteers, mounted h3pitw-courriers and donkey leaders bringing provisions, all of them in the Division of Ptah, wear the iconic apron. The last category indicates a wider signification than its surmised military function, since logistics personnel are not in

⁵⁰ KRI I, 303-04; KRI III, 68.

⁵¹ El Kanais: Michaux-Colombot, in Bruwier (ed.), *Pharaons Noirs*, 2007, p. 86, fig. 3. And stela Cairo, JE 34620, described by Daressy, ASAE 20 (1920), p. 129.

⁵² Nims, MDAIK 14 (1956), pp. 146-7, pl. IX.

⁵³ Stewart, Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings, 1976, pp. 38–39, pl. 30, UC 14576.

⁵⁴ Säve-Söderbergh, *Orlientalia Suecana* 41–42 (1992–1993), pp. 273–75.

⁵⁵ Michaux-Colombot, in Bruwier (ed.), *Pharaons Noirs*, 2007, p. 85, fig. 2; Gaballa and Kitchen, *CdE* 43 (1969), p. 265, fig. 3; Lipińska, *EtudTrav* 3 (1969), pp. 42–9.

⁵⁶ KRI III, 274; KRITA III, 194.

⁵⁷ Wreszinski, *Atlas*, II, 1935, pp. 68, 169–70.

⁵⁸ Michaux-Colombot, Res Antiquae 12 (2015), p. 168, on the khapitw.

need of combat accoutrement. The Division of Ptah refers to Memphite troops, the same as those tending horses with the same iconic apron in Horemheb's Saqqara tomb.⁵⁹ In the nearby tomb of Ptahemwia, royal butler, his personal charioteer wears the same supposed "military kilt",⁶⁰ and so do his servants depicted on the right. However, they only seem to manage products from the tomb owner's estate.⁶¹ Memphis had not lost its standing as administrative capital. And in the early Ramesside Period, when chariotry developed and altered war practices, the town centralized combat forces, and a broader network of mobile foreigners were engaged,⁶² who were eager to move rapidly up the career ladder.

At the time, biographical inscriptions in tombs articulated a class consciousness on the merits of serving in the chariotry. This pathway to success was open to able Medjay neighbors who ascended to elite levels. Merged with Egyptian elites they would have cultivated an identity code by means of the iconic apron. That would have been the case for the two brothers of Mahu, Pa-mer-mesha, *kdn* "charioteer", and Nakht-Min, *hry ihw* "master of stables" [Fig. 4]. Many men leading chariots and horses, tending them, and riding them wear the iconic apron like the Amarna ones depicted in the tomb of Mahu, *hry md³yw* [Fig. 5]. They appear in royal parades as well as in the other tombs of Panehesy, Merira II, and Ay.⁶³ However, in the Egyptological literature, there is persistent confusion between parading bodyguards and "police troops".⁶⁴ At the time, no such entity as a police force existed; this modern social model is anachronistic (see below).

2.5. In ritual and festive scenes with Amun, Min, Montu and Ptah 2.5.1. Amun festivals at Karnak

Both Ramesses II and Ramesses III exploited triumphant military themes, inherited from Amun's Opet festival at Karnak at the close of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Depictions then enhanced domination scenes of icon-aproned individuals mas-

⁵⁹ Martin, Tutankhamun's Regents, 2016, pl. 17, 20, 37.

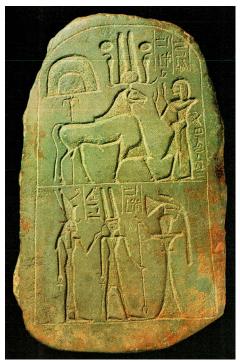
⁶⁰ Raven, in Bárta *et al.* (eds.), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year* 2015, 2017, p. 588; Raven, *Dossiers d'Archéologie* 20 (2011), pp. 50–51.

⁶¹ Raven, in Bárta et al. (eds.), Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2015, 2017, p. 586, fig. 5.

⁶² Gnirs, in Moreno García (ed.), Ancient Egyptian Administration, 2013, p. 641.

⁶³ See note 8.

⁶⁴ Gnirs, in Moreno García (ed.), Ancient Egyptian Administration, 2013, pp. 662, 672-73, 693, 703.



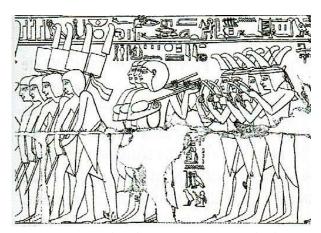


Fig. 9 Min dancers (right) and standard bearers (left). Festival of Opet at Luxor (From Gabolde, *Toutankhamon*, 2015, fig. 53, p. 159).

Fig. 8 The stele of Pagar, superior of the Medjay (Vienna 193). Provenance unknown (From Boulgami, Mélodie, in: Ziegler (ed.), *L'Or des Pharaons*, 2018, Catalogue n° 54, p. 67).

tering Nubian foes.⁶⁵ Other scenes show processions along the Nile composed of military men, standard bearers and Min performers, stick dancers and musicians, all with the iconic apron [Fig. 9].⁶⁶

2.5.2. Coming out of Min at Medinet Habu

The theme reaches a peak in the celebrations of the victory over the Sea Peoples and the Coming Out of Min procession. The Min procession displays a princely retinue of *šmsw*-bodygards and carriers of the royal steps and coffers behind the king's dais, with cult performers (a trumpeter, a tambourine, a flautist and two stick dancers before Ramesses III, who is called "Min's son".⁶⁷ All these participants wear the iconic apron and double feathered headdresses, like in the Karnak reliefs [Fig. 9]. They are related to Min, who "stands upon the foreign countries... the foreign youth (of) Coptos".⁶⁸ We know that "Medjay of Coptos"

⁶⁵ Gabolde, in Jasnow et al. (eds.), Joyful in Thebes Studies in Honor of Betsy M. Bryan, 2015, p. 418, fig. 185.

⁶⁶ Gabolde, in Jasnow et al. (eds.), Joyful in Thebes Studies in Honor of Betsy M. Bryan, 2015, pp. 159, 161, figs, 52, 53, 54.

⁶⁷ The Epigraphic Survey, *Festival Scenes of Ramses III*, 1940, pls. 196–198; for the accompanying texts see KRI V, 201; KRITA V, 169–170.

⁶⁸ KRI V, 207, 8-9; KRITA V, 175.

bring gold from the Coptos mines,⁶⁹ Indicating that these hill or desert folk have not come from very far away.

Min and the Coptite Medjay had an enduring relationship, harking back to the Eighth Dynasty with Shemay, the vizir and nomarch of Kom el Koffar/Coptos. Shemay's wife Nebt was the eldest daughter of Neferkauhor, who granted the Min temple, the couple and their son Idi with eighteen "Coptos Decrees" bestowing them stolists of Min. Idi and/or his brother was/were "dancer(s), *jh3bw* in the temple of Min of Coptos". In Shemay's mastaba, a group of seventeen/eigtheen Medjay figures covered a whole 3 metres-long wall. Maha Farid showed me a photograph taken soon after the mastaba was uncovered: the Medjay wore sporrans and headbands with plumes and held lances. They had no visible outlandish features. Sadly, the mudbrick wall was left unprotected for an extended period and has suffered severe storm damage. Shemay's name means "wanderer", suggesting a foreign nomadic origin. His unique and significant depiction suggests that Shemay was a Medjay himself. In subsequent times, and from the Middle Kingdom down to the Romans, Min of Coptos in Medja-Land, or Min the Medjay was celebrated in hymns and temple inscriptions in Edfu and Kom Ombo. Min the Medjay was celebrated in hymns and temple inscriptions in Edfu and Kom Ombo.

Akhmim, Min's other cult precinct, was serviced by Medjay of Min. Senhotep, master of Akhmim, was "chief Medjay of Min", "chief mortar (servant) of Min of Akhmim" and "chief Medjay of Isis", in the reign of Amenhotep II.⁷⁵ Marc Gabolde's discovery that the mortar of Min was called *md3.t* has been illuminating:⁷⁶ he and the present author semantically relate this name to the Medjay ethnicity.⁷⁷ Queens Tiye and Nefertiti were probably close to the Akhmim Medjay, given

⁶⁹ TT 86 Davies, The Tomb of Menkheperrasonb, Amenmose, and Others, 1933, pl. IX; Urk. IV, 931.

⁷⁰ Habachi, ASAE 52 (1954), p. 171; Hayes, JEA 32 (1946), pp. 18–19; MacFarlane, in Naguib Kanawati (eds.), Akhmim in the old Kingdom, 1992, pp. 287–88.

⁷¹ Mostafa, The Mastaba of $\check{S}m3j$ at Kom El-Koffar, Qift, I, 2014, pp. 26, 51, 122, 140, pls. Va,VIIIc, Xa.

⁷² I am most grateful to Maha Farid for having shown me this now unique photograph.

⁷³ Mostafa, The Mastaba of Šm3j at Kom El-Koffar, Qift, I, 2014, p. 140.

⁷⁴ Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, I, 1975, p. 240; Yoyotte, *RdE* 9 (1952), pp. 125–37; *LGG* III, 474c–475a.

⁷⁵ Gasse, *BIFAO* 83 (1983), pl. xxxviii, cols. 1–2, 8, fragment A, and pl. XL, col. 6, fragment E; Gasse, *Egypt*, *Afrique & Orient* 43 (2006), pp. 5–6 for the date. Gabolde, in Jastrov *et al.* (eds.), *Joyful in Thebes Studies in Honor of Betsy M. Bryan*, 2015, p. 169.

⁷⁶ Gabolde, *BIFAO* 94 (1994), pp. 261–75.

⁷⁷ Michaux-Colombot, Cultural Heritage of Egypt and Christian Orient 3 (2006), pp. 53–68; Gabolde, in Jastrov et al. (eds.), Joyful in Thebes Studies in Honor of Betsy M. Bryan, 2015, p. 169.

that their crowns are like the $m\underline{d}_3.t$. Marc Gabolde surmises that the Akhmim clan was where Nefertiti originated from, and other evidence implies the same for Ay: not only did he erect a chapel for Min at El-Salamuni near Akhmim, but dedications between the tenth pylon and the temple of Mut at Karnak declare him "son of Min born of Isis".⁷⁸

2.5.3. Montu festival at Armant

The old tradition of the Coptite Min dancers was also performed during the Montu festival at Armant. According to Peter Piccione, the *nabut* or *tahtib* performers were athletic fencing ritualists that enacted the mythological conflict between Horus and Seth. The stick dance was, and still is nowadays in Egypt, a popular recreation. An ostracon from Deir el-Medina sketches the ritual between foreign looking opponents wearing the iconic apron [Fig. 10].⁷⁹ For Ramesside populations the celebrations functioned "as a cosmological statement of royal supremacy" and symbolized battles between ethnic groups.⁸⁰ In the Montu festival at Armant, depicted in the tomb of Khons (TT31, Ramesses II), fencers are engaged in ritual combat on top of the tow-ship cabins dragging the bark of Montu [Fig. 11].⁸¹ This calls to mind the mention by Kamose that his Medjay "were above our cabin".⁸² Noteworthy is the fact that Khons himself, named To, who was High Priest of Montu, Lord of Tod, wears the iconic apron together with his male relatives and rowers [Fig. 11].⁸³

Medjay participation in Montu festivals was traditional. In year 3 of Sebekhotep II, when a delegation of Medjay arrived with their chieftain for the festival, they received rations, 84 likely because they came to perform. René Van Walsem, \grave{a} propos of O. DeM 246 mentioning a representation of Montu worshipped by the scribe Pentawret, "kissing the earth in front of him", noted that among Medjay theophoric names, Montu was the second most popular god after Amun, "very

⁷⁸ Gabolde, in Jastrov et al. (eds.), Joyful in Thebes Studies in Honor of Betsy M. Bryan, 2015, p. 170 n. 53; Champollion, Notice Descriptive, II, 1878, pp. 174–5.

⁷⁹ Timbart, in Andreu-Lanoë (ed.), *L'art du contour: Le dessin dans l'Égypte ancienne*, 2013, p. 282; Piccione, in Teeter and Larson (eds.), *Gold of Praise. Studies Wente*, 1999, p. 337.

⁸⁰ Piccione, in Teeter and Larson (eds.), *Gold of Praise*. *Studies Wente*, 1999, pp. 339, 344–5.

⁸¹ Davies and Gardiner, Seven Private Tombs at Thebes, 1948, pls. XI–XII.

⁸² Goedicke, Studies About Kamose and Ahmose, 1995, p. 49.

⁸³ Davies and Gardiner, Seven Private Tombs, 1948, pl. XII.

⁸⁴ Pap. Boulaq 18, Spalinger, SAK 12 (1985).



Fig. 10 Figure Ostracon from Deir el-Medina with *tahtib/nabut* stick dancers (From Couton-Perche, "Ostracon figuré: deux enfants polissant une jarre", in: Andreu-Lanoë (ed.), *Le dessin dans l'Égypte ancienne. L'Art du Contour*, 2013, p, 282).

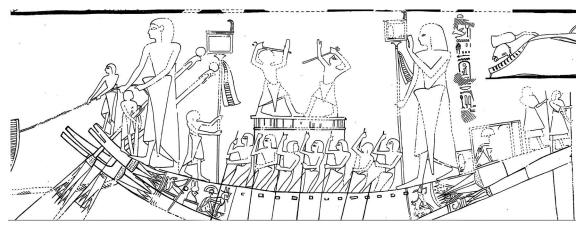


Fig. 11 Montu festival river procession. Theban Tomb 31 of Khons (From Davies, *Seven Private Tombs at Thebes*, 1948, pl. XI).

rarely found among the other social groups in Deir el Medîna". He also notes that Horemheb at Deir el-Medina was depicted adoring Montu of Armant.⁸⁵ We can add that a Pa-Medjay, "He of Medjay foreigners", Pentawret is mentioned in P. Ashmolean 1960-1283,⁸⁶ and two *ḥry mdɜyw*, Pentawret and Montumes, are mentioned in O. DeM 225, 2-3.⁸⁷ A link between the Medjay, the iconic apron and Montu is certainly traditional, and may predate the Amarna dress.

In Qantîr, the heart of Pi-Ramesses, a number of stelae have been unearthed of varying quality: some are crude and unfinished, while others are formal and refined, such as those of Mery-Amun-Nakht and the trumpetist Hesi. In all of them, the stela owner wears a very elongated iconic apron, while worshipping a statue of Ramesses II, "Montu-in-the-two-lands". These may relate to rites which originate from Medamud and could have been brought to the north by Horemheb, who built a fortress in Qantîr, which was later reused by Ramesses II. Obviously, the population of Qantir was a mixed one, of lauding high-graded Medjay in Egyptian service under the banner of Montu, and a poorer stratum of frontier foreigners, among which levied Medjay from the hills around, like those near Tjeku in the Wadi Tumilat hills.

2.5.4. Linked to the Memphite god Ptah

A link to Ptah seems evident from the family context of the Medjay Any [Fig. 2], who seems to have married into the priestly family of Ptahmay. Any, labelled *md³* with two foreign classifiers (T14 throw-stick and N25 hill-country) and wearing the iconic apron, stands on the lower register in between Ptahmay's daughters, likely in the position of a son-in-law, though it is not stated in the accompanying text. Ptahmay and his two sons, Iya and Iny, were "wab-priests of Ptah-of-the-Necropolis/or the Terrace". This rare title, attested earlier in Tanis, appears in Memphis, the Fayum and at Deir el-Bahari, during the Eighteenth

⁸⁵ Van Walsem, in Demarée and Janssen (eds.), Gleanings, 1982, pp. 194–206, and 195 n. 3 for Horemheb.

⁸⁶ KRI IV, 164.

⁸⁷ KRI VI, 157–158.

⁸⁸ Habachi, ASAE 42 (1954), pp. 517–23, pls. XXX–XXXI; Von Falck et al., Das Leben am Nil, 2011, pp. 12–13, fig. 5; Kayser, Die ägyptischen Altentümer im Roemer-Pelizaeus-Musem in Hildesheim, 1973, p. 61, fig. 52.

⁸⁹ Bietak and Forstner-Müller, in Collier and Snape (eds.), *Ramesside Studies in Honor of K.A. Kitchen*, 2011, pp. 30–31, 34, 36, 45, 47.

⁹⁰ P. Anastasi V, 25,2–27,3; Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 1937, pp. 66–71; Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 1954, pp. 253–54, 269–70.

and Nineteenth Dynasties, according to Pascal Vernus. 91 Ptahmay's family also have rare names. They may have been artisans in the Memphite area, whose great god was Ptah. 92 The stela Louvre C 210 (Ramesses II), assumed to be from Memphis⁹³, belonged to another Ptahmay, "chief tracker", who does wear the icon apron, as well as five of his sons, Yua, Huy, Ipw, Perennut and Ptahmay (ii). They were under the office of Amenwashu, "scribe of tracking of the House of Life", son of Simut of the Southern City (Thebes). However, none are labelled as Medjay. At Deir el-Medineh, several people named Simut and Amenwashu are known. 94 Yet no Ptahmay or Any appear in the local prosopography, though Ptah was one of the most important deities in the Theban necropolis. 95 The stela [Fig. 2] is a large painted limestone, 0.95 metres high and 0.58 metres wide, and finely cut indicating affluence. The pointed top encloses the 3h.t ideogram over two Anubis animals facing one another, symbolizing a pyramidion on top of a chapel. This feature recalls the false door stela of Disuemheb, master of the royal stable (Ramesses II). He wears the iconic apron, and so does his son. 6 Medjay from Upper Egypt also enjoyed promotions in the Memphite administration. Huy, wr n md3yw, mentioned in Horemheb's Great Speos at Gebel el Silsila, became priest of Ptah in Memphis and achived the office of governor of Memphis under the name Amenhotep-Huy, after which we hear no more of his Medjay rank and origin.⁹⁷ This is very significant. Medjay who hold high offices in Egypt could downplay their background. Ptah was worshipped in Memphis, Tjaru, Deir el-Medina and at Karnak, in Amun's temple, ever since the Middle Kingdom. His Middle Kingdom chapel in Amun's temple was rebuilt in stone during the new Kingdom.98

⁹¹ Vernus, *Kêmi* 19 (1969), pp. 94, 96–97.

⁹² My thanks to Federico Poole for calling to my attention a family group statue of a Ptahmay, mainly of women, in Berlin, also from Memphis. ÄM 2297. Photo n° 210 at www.bubastis.be/art/musee/berlin_01.html.

⁹³ Rickal, in Étienne (ed.), *Les Portes du Ciel*, 2009, p. 87; Amer, *ZÄS* 127 (2000), pp. 1–5; KRI III, 306–307; KRITA III, 220–221.

⁹⁴ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, chart 27 (Simut), chart 8 and 30 (Amenwashu).

⁹⁵ Haring, in Verschor (ed.), *Imaging and Imagining the Memphite*, 2017, p. 150.

⁹⁶ Rickal, in Marc Étienne, Les Portes du Ciel, 2009, p. 231.

⁹⁷ Pasquali, ENiM 5 (2012), pp. 142-48.

⁹⁸ Thiers, *EA* 50 (2017), pp. 11–15.

3. MININIWY REVISITED

The above review of attestations of the heart-shaped apron portrays the Medjay, from the Amarna interlude to the Ramesside, in a light other than what mainstream Egyptological opinion has widely asserted. They appear as a separate group interacting with Egyptians. Therefore, interpretation of Mininiwy's very informing report to his superior, the Vizir Khay, 99 also calls for revision. After giving good news about the Great Place, the state of the *inbw* and the regular incoming of levies, Mininiwy mentions his old age and service to Horemheb, "running in front of His horses and yoking them for Him, since Year 7", saying that: "I will assign Medjay to Western Thebes and I shall guard the *inbw* of His Great Place. I was appointed *ḥry mdʒyw* and rewarded with clothing". 100

Mininiwy then complains about two *hry mdsy.w*, Nakht-Sobek and Montu-rek, who seized not only his own many Medjay "who guide", but also their fields, some of which were subsequently given by these adverse superiors to the High Priest of Montu. Names and contexts of these anecdotic facts fit the above overview. Mininiwy started his career as a running royal bodyguard to Horemheb, exactly like those depicted at Amarna running before the royal chariot wearing the iconic apron. His unruly compatriots had some link to a High Priest of Montu. In TT31 of Khons [Fig. 11], this clergy employed personnel wearing the iconic apron, which they also wore themselves.

Mininiwy's Medjay were guides and field workers, not policemen. Their guiding means they were trackers comparable to those of the Louvre stela 210 of Ptah-May, mentioned above. Tracker, <u>t</u>3y^c, is written with the flexed leg and walking classifiers, like in the <u>3t</u>w title of Wadjmes, wr n md3yw-3tw n nb t3wi, inscribed on two door jambs of his lost tomb south of the Unas causeway [Fig. 13-B]. They would accompany and check trading parties along the *inbw* chain of outposts with their seals, checkpoints, alluded to on the Kurkur stela of Penniut [Fig. 15-D]. Mininiwy's Medjay, "guide" or "track" = take the road, <u>t</u>3.t^c; Min is their God, which is fitting, given that Min is the "good Medjay [written with the

⁹⁹ O.Toronto A.11; KRI III, 42; KRITA III, 29; Ventura, *Living in the City of the Dead*, 1986, p. 124, with a partial more accurate translation.

¹⁰⁰ It can be conjectured that the clothing was an Egyptian one to replace the tribal one.

flexed leg], beating tracks, regent of hills, striding secret (assessments), you are appointed where they are" [Fig. 14-A].¹⁰¹

Mininiwy's Medjay owned fields or tilled them for institutions, a situation confirmed by the decree of Amenhotep, son of Hapu. It addresses maledictions on the hry.w md3yw iry-sp3t, superiors of the Medjay of the district, and the mayor of Thebes, should they not secure the income of the "dependants who md3° revenue lands", endowed for his mortuary temple. The verb md3° with the meaning "to cultivate" is not otherwise attested, and points to Medjay dependents currently working the fields. Moreover, Medjay are allotted land in P.Mallet III and P.Wilbour. One Medjay was found snatching a field of the House of Sobek owned by someone else. All this provides good background to Mininiwy's complaint. Around Thebes, Medjay were settled in distinct groups, and seemingly, not always living in harmony together.

4. GARDINER'S THEORY IN QUESTION

4.1. Argued points

In his *Ancient Egyptian Onomasticon*, Alan Gardiner wrote a long comment on the Medjay to elucidate the occupation of entry n° 188, where he transcribed *md³yw* [Fig. 13-A]. However, the evidence of a pictorial narrative pleads for a revision of his "ventured theory" on New Kingdom Medjay, that the designation no longer made reference to ethnicity but rather had become an antiquarian title bestowed on Egyptian policemen. Alan Gardiner's conclusion was admittedly based more on opinions of the time than an exhaustive examination of evidence. His argumentation addressed four points:

¹⁰¹ Supplementary Chapter 167 of the Book of the Dead, said to have come from the tomb of Amenhotep, son of Hapu, Pleyte, *Chapitres Supplémentaires du Livre des Morts*, 1881, pp. 67–8, 71, 77; Barguet, *Le Livre des morts*, 1967, p. 240; Michaux-Colombot, in Anderson and Welsby (eds.), *The Fourth Cataract and Beyond*, 2014a, p. 512, A,1.

¹⁰² Robinchon and Varille, *Le Temple du scribe royal Amenhotep fils de Hapou*, 1936, pp. 4, 6, 12–3; Michaux-Colombot, in Anderson and Welsby (eds.), *The Fourth Cataract and Beyond*, 2014a, p. 513.

¹⁰³ P.Mallet III: KRI VI, 65–68. P.Wilbour: Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus*, III, 1948, A.III, 46, 40 (pl. 21); A.71, 30 and 38 (pl. 33).

¹⁰⁴ P.BM EA 75016 in Antoine, ZÄS 142/2 (2015), pp. 110-1.

¹⁰⁵ Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica, 1947, pp. 72–73; Michaux-Colombot, in Anderson and Welsby (eds.), The Fourth Cataract and Beyond, 2014a, p. 513.

- 1) Egyptian-looking New Kingdom Medjay;
- 2) in contrast to Middle Kingdom ones, assumed by him to have been Nubians;
- 3) The fact that the term appears in *Onomastica* n°188 in a list of professions;
- 4) The modern mental construct of the necessity for a police force.

However, Alan Gardiner's interpretation was built on impressionistic and theoretical premises, and there are many discrepancies – overlooked by subsequent scholars such as Jaroslav Černý, ¹⁰⁶ Dominique Valbelle¹⁰⁷ and others – that undermine this argument.

4.2. Critique

4.2.1. Egyptian-looking New Kingdom Medjay

It is now admitted that human representations were static and stereotyped until the Amarna revolution, when a trend towards more realistic depiction appeared. Alan Gardiner missed this point when observing that Mahu, *hry md³yw*, bore an Egyptian name and that "there is nothing in the appearance of his men to indicate foreign blood". He overlooked both the iconic apron and the foreign shaved haircut of some of them. El-Amarna was built in the vicinity of some of the richest agricultural land of the time, between the Nile and the Bahr Youssef canal. It extended to khato-lands, owned by the Ramesseum and Memphite House of Ptah. Medjay villages are mentioned in the Ramesside P.Wilbour in that area either side of the Nile. Medjay had been working in the nearby quarries of Hatnub, and for the Bersheh nomarchs ever since the Middle Kingdom. The Medjay population seem to develop in number and climb the Egyptian social ladder with the early Ramesside kings. It would be only natural that the dress they wore in Middle Egypt developed in representations as an emblematic insignia. An ostracon from Deir el-Medina [Fig. 12] rules out the prevailing

¹⁰⁶ Černý, A Community, 2001², pp. 261–84.

¹⁰⁷ Valbelle, Les Ouvriers de la Tombe, 1985, pp. 134–35.

¹⁰⁸ Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica, 1947, p. 83.

¹⁰⁹ Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus*, I, 1941, Text A, 50,25, 50,36, 65,7, 69,30, 71,8, 72,40, 73,3, 73,19; Text B, 4,23, 8,27; II, 1948, pp. 23–33, 42; Michaux-Colombot, *Res Antiquae* 10 (2013), pp. 325–7.

¹¹⁰ Shaw, *Hatnub*, 2010, pp. 148, 153; Kaper *et al.*, in Brovarski (ed.), *Bersheh Reports*, I, 1992, p. 49, tomb 104; Michaux-Colombot, *Res Antiquae* 10 (2013), p. 346.



Fig. 12 Figured Ostracon from Deir el-Medina with iconic-aproned children (From Minault-Gout, *Carnet de Pierres. L'art des ostraca dans l'Égypte ancienne*, 2002, p. 122).

"soldier sporran" idea. The context is not combat but children polishing jars. 111 The child's hair is partly shaven with tripartite tufts, a hair style shown on the Hare nome neighbors, who had come to greet the statue colossi of Djehutihotep hauled from Hatnub. 112 The haircut also appears in Pan Grave contexts on clay dolls found at Balabish, Qau & Badari, G. Zeit, Esna and Edfu. 113 The Egpytological literature interprets this haircut as allegedly Nubian, however, they are not documented in Nubia, nor are Nubians shown wearing the heart-shaped apron. Egypt's population was hybrid. Valley Kemetians were mixed with hillfolk. Whether some of the latter conformed to Egyptian names and manners cannot be conclusive.

4.2.2. The supposed Nubian origin of the Medjay

This assertion is no more than an educated guess. Medjay are absent from the Wadi Allaqi inscriptions, 114 where no evidence supports the idea that Ibhat, a

¹¹¹ Minault-Gout, Carnet de Pierres. L'art des ostraca dans l'Égypte ancienne, 2002b, p. 122 fig. 94.

¹¹² Newberry, El Bersheh, I, 1894, pp. 21–22, pl. XV, top row right, second group.

¹¹³ Wainwright, *Balabish*, 1920, p. 56, pl. XIX; Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, II, 1928, p. 7, pls. IX,28–X,5. Leclant and Clerc, *Orientalia* 55 (1986), figs. 62–63; Castel and Goyon, *MDAIK* 36 (1980), pp. 311–14; Downes, *The Excavations at Esna*, 1974, pp. 85–88.

¹¹⁴ Michaux-Colombot, in Anderson and Welsby (eds.), The Fourth Cataract and Beyond, 2014a, p. 510.

Medjay locality, should be among the places mentioned. 115 Ibhat produced greywacke, which was quarried intensively in the Wadi Hammamat. 116 The Medjay's long-standing link with the god Min, whose realm doesn't extend to Nubia, also stands against the Nubian theory. Min's principal area is the Wadi Hammamat, where one wr n md3y.w n rsy is mentioned on the stelae of his idnw-delegate Achakhet, dedicated to Min. 117 This group is known in Deir el-Bahari, from a hieratic inscription referring to the wr n md₃y Nht[...]w n 'rsy, come to honor gods. 118 Also, a list of officials starting with two hry mdzy.w n pz hr and two hry mdzy.w n rsy¹¹⁹ makes it clear that the Theban and desert Medjay tribes cooperated. Objectively, to consider the wr n md3y.w n rsy in the Wadi Hammamat as a police force is untenable: it would mean positing a princedom of policemen! Ramesses-Nakht's personal scribe and *šmsw* was a Medjay. He was sent out to the desert to deliver provisions to gold washers, 120 likely because he knew the way. The Medja-Land core country was between the Coptos desert and the Wadi el Hudi amethyst mine, south-east of Aswan, according to the stela of Iunefer (Sebekhotep IV) who "went out in this land of the Medjay chieftain" pr r hast tn wr n mday.w. 121 Gardiner founded his study on some fifty sources. At present, over 350 sources are available. 122

4.2.3. Onomastica n°188

The Golénischeff Onomasticon, written in Late Egyptian hieratic, reflects major changes with respect to earlier stages of the language, so much so that Gardiner

¹¹⁵ In spite of the theories adopted by Liszka, Journal of Egyptian History 4/2 (2011), pp. 149-71.

¹¹⁶ Wissa, JEA 97 (2011), pp. 223–6. However new information points to Aswan porphyry. Forthcoming Michaux-Colombot "Medjay and Pan Graves, new considerations" (forthcoming).

¹¹⁷ KRI VI,3; KRITA VI, 3.

¹¹⁸ KRI IV, 377,5; KRITA IV, 274.

¹¹⁹ KRI VII, 304; KRITA VII, 206.

¹²⁰ KRI VI, 520–521; Wente, Letters from Ancient Egypt, 1990, pp. 38–39 n°38.

¹²¹ Michaux-Colombot, in Bonnet (ed.), Études Nubiennes, II, 1994; Michaux-Colombot, in Bruwier (ed.), Pharaons Noirs, 2007, pp. 86–87, 92 n. 51; Michaux-Colombot, in Anderson and Welsby (eds.), The Fourth Cataract and Beyond, 2014a, pp. 507–8; Sadek, The Amethyst Mining Inscriptions of Wadi el Hudi, I-II, 1980, pp. 48–50, pl. XI. The reading of the stela inscription has been corrected by Bietak, Ausgrabungen in Sayala-Nubien, 1966, p. 78. Liszka and Kraemer, Journal of Egyptian History 9/2 (2016), pp. 183–84, n. 156, reject this correction of Sadek's reading wr n d m.w. However, this title d m.w for recruits is unattested. Foreign rank, wr, never applies to generic nouns.

¹²² A forthcoming study should offer a more cohesive treatment of the cultural landscape of the Medjay, Michaux-Colombot, Études sur les Medjay, Catalogue des sources, Histoire et Culture.

thought it belonged to the el-Hibeh archive. 123 Its declared intention is a didactic school text, sb3yt, instructions for the ignorant.124 The glossary counts 610 entries of "words or short combination of words each describing some entity or class of entities in the physical world". 125 Among them md3yw (entry n° 188) [Fig. 13-A] appears in Gardiner's Division III: persons, court, offices, occupation. 126 Therefore, he rightly considers it as an occupation, yet the interpretation of policeman or desert-ranger surmised in his accompanying comments no longer holds. md3yw appears between a list of craftsmen (entries n°184n°186) [Fig. 13-D] and a list of sportsmen: hunter, diver, harpooners (entry n°189-n°190). 127 Had the lexeme *md3yw* really referred to a type of policemen, it would plausibly have been grouped further along with s^cš³, policeman, guard, in entry n°200. 128 In support of Gardiner's opinion, Kate Liszka 129 puts forwards far-fetched reasons to integrate the sportsmen in a large security force subsection, thus linking the entry mdsyw (n°188) to the entry $s ilde{s} ilde{s}$ (n°200), refuting the combined reading md3yw+3tw I suggested. 130 Nevertheless, Liszka leaves unanswered the "unusual addition" of classifiers, mainly the cluster of Gardiner signlist Z4+Y1+A24 [Fig. 13-C], supposedly due to the apprentice scribe's "lack of familiarity with determinatives". 131 This issue is key to the subject.

Updates on the provenance of the document and studies on Late Egyptian help to better understand scribal practices. Firstly, the provenance of the *Golénischeff Onomastica* is more likely the Theban area than el-Hibeh. *Golénischeff* acquired the *Onomastica* during the winter of 1890–91, while intense archeological work was ongoing at el-Hibeh. In 1895, Spiegelberg acquired a metallic box full of papyri at Luxor, suggesting that they came from el-Hibeh. ¹³² In fact,

¹²³ Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica, I, 1947, pp. 25–27.

¹²⁴ Liszka, in Hawass and Houser Wegner (eds.), *Millions of Jubilees. Studies Silverman*, I, 2010, pp. 316–17, for further bibliography.

¹²⁵ Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica, I, 1947, p. 35.

¹²⁶ Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica, I, 1947, pp. 37, 73.

¹²⁷ Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica, I, 1947, pp. 73–90.

¹²⁸ Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica, I, 1947, pp. 92–93.

¹²⁹ Liszka, in Hawass and Houser Wegner (eds.), Millions of Jubilees. Studies Silverman, I, 2010, pp. 318–26.

¹³⁰ Liszka, in Hawass and Houser Wegner (eds.), Millions of Jubilees. Studies Silverman, I, 2010, p. 328, n. 28.

¹³¹ Liszka, in Hawass and Houser Wegner (eds.), *Millions of Jubilees. Studies Silverman*, I, 2010, pp. 328, 317–18, 321–26.

¹³² Müller, in Broekman *et al.* (eds.), *The Libyan Period in Egypt*, 2009, pp. 251–64; Lefèvre, in Pantalacci (ed.), *La lettre d'archive*, 2008, pp. 111–12.

we ignore the provenance of the 'Archive' of some 2000 papyri now dispersed in eight museums, and unlikely to have come from el-Hibeh in Middle Egypt. Conversely, the overwhelmingly Late Egyptian material coming from the Theban area points to Luxor as the place of Golénischeff's acquisition, and Thebes West as the likely origin of the *Golénischeff Onomastica*, because of its scribal culture in a highly literate milieu.

Secondly, Theban papyri reveal the existence of sociolects (slang) and idiolects. 135 And while the lexicon of Late Egyptian is relatively well known, it is however "poorly understood as a network of semantic relations". 136 Among the different genres that rapidly adopted linguistic spoken innovations figure administration lists. 137 The didactic *Onomastica* seems to be a master model copy for a specialized vocabulary list of occupations. According to Goelet, the aim of such a model was to aid apprentice scribes working in hieratic to rapidly visually identify stock writing and phraseology connected to the milieu. He gave an apt description of the learning process and vagaries in the usage of Middle and Late Egyptian dialects. 138 Among these are seemingly redundant classifiers, used as space fillers with a growing trend to use them "less as sense signs (semograms or taxograms) and increasingly as word dividers". 139 Indeed, Onomasticon 188 uses the cluster [Fig. 13-C] as a word divider between two lexemes: md3yw - Cluster - 3tw, the last written in abbreviated form [Fig. 13-E] without the article. The title refers two lexemes mdsy.w [in capacity of] stw.w, [Fig. 13-A]. Likewise, in the previous list Onomasticon n°s184-185-186 [Fig. 13-D] the same cluster of three classifiers refer to three types of 'builders'. The second lexeme defines a sub-category of a generic one: those who fashion clay, either for types of pottery or brick walls. If the document is a master model, it is unlikely that the cluster classifiers were superfluous because not pronounced. They necessarily fulfilled some didactic strategy, given

¹³³ Lefèvre, *EDAL* 3 (2012), pp. 25-47.

¹³⁴ Winand, in Stauder-Porchet *et al.* (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, 2018, p. 2, http://digital2.library.ucla/viewltem.do?ark=2198/zz002Kdgjj, 1-9-2018, accessed 2-7-2020.

¹³⁵ Winand, in Stauder-Porchet et al. (eds.), UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology, 2018, p. 2.

¹³⁶ Winand, in Stauder-Porchet et al. (eds.), UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology, 2018, p. 5.

¹³⁷ Winand, in Stauder-Porchet et al. (eds.), UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology, 2018, p. 3.

¹³⁸ Goelet, in D'Auria (ed.), *Servant of Mut: Studies in Honor of Richard A. Fazzini*, 2008, pp. 102–06. I wish to thank him for sending me a copy of his most revealing article on scribal practices.

¹³⁹ Goelet, in D'Auria (ed.), Servant of Mut: Studies in Honor of Richard A. Fazzini, 2008, p. 106; Junge, Late Egyptian Grammar: An Introduction, 2005, p. 34.

A. Onomasticon Golénischeff n° 188:

| Mariw | In capacity of | stw. Medjay-attendant/inspector.

| B. Ramesseum Fragment, another version of the Onomasticon Golénischeff n° 188.
| Mariw | In mariw | In capacity of | stw. Medjay attendant/food-provider/inspector.
| C. | Late Egyptian cluster: used as word divider, space filler or composition ligature.
| D. Onomasticon Golénischeff n° 184-185-186. Composite titles of two related lexemes n° 184 | Str. | S

Fig. 13 Hieroglyphic writings of hieratic md3yw-3tw.

the frequent use of rubrics or division points in classroom papyri, all non-linguistic signs. This cluster occurs for thirty types of occupations in the *Onomasticon*, mainly in combinations. The cluster stands out readily, likely "to bracket off individual words visually" as suggested by Goelet \grave{a} propos of word endings. In the now vast iClassifier domain, I find no explanation for this cluster. It could mean: "action/modification in writing matter" i.e. "special ad hoc meaning".

Gardiner was unaware of such didactic refinements. Also, when his *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* was published in 1947, the *stw* title, noted with the flexed leg, was incorrectly read or not at all. Only sixteen years later did Georges Posener prove its phonetic value *stw*, ¹⁴¹ now largely accepted. ¹⁴² My studies on *stw* con-

¹⁴⁰ Goelet, in D'Auria (ed.), Servant of Mut: Studies in Honor of Richard A. Fazzini, 2008, pp. 103, 109-10.

¹⁴¹ Posener, *RdE* 15 (1963), pp. 127–28.

¹⁴² McDowell, Jurisdiction in the Worksmen's Community, 1990, pp. 54–58.

clude that they were mainly food collectors and providers. They were important in the Deir el-Medina social landscape (see **Fig. 13-E and Fig. 14-C/G**). Six '*ḥry md³y.w* of-the-tomb' held this position [**Fig. 14-F**]. They may have also beaten resource-rich paths, like the god Min said to have 'beaten tracks' [**Fig. 14-A**], and all the Medjay trackers and runners wear the heart-shaped apron (see § 1.1; 1.5.1; 2), presumably a more comfortable one for running

Gardiner was likely misled by the fact that in *Onomasticon* 188, *md3y.w* has no foreign classifier. In fact, this seems to be the rule for Medjay invested with some institutional power or authority, from md3y-nht in Dynasty 13 down to classical times [Fig. 15], save for a chief Medjay [Fig. 15-A], and a few of his affiliates, such as the Medjay-of-Coptos and the Medjay who served the king [Fig. 16-A/C]. A telling example is given on the Stela of Penniut [Fig. 15-D]: when the servicing Medjay is addressed in person, his foreign identity is noted, but when his capacity to use an authoritative seal is addressed, only the duty classifier is noted. All these classifiers were never used at random and should not be overlooked; they give a rare and varied picture of how interaction functioned between the Egyptian authorities and the Medjay foreign employees. For historical understanding, it should be stressed that all along the so-called entanglement, the Medjay ethnic was systematically classified with foreign markers down to the Greco-Roman era. Over a hundred cases occur in Late Egyptian sources [Fig. 17-A], and women are not excluded [Fig. 13-B]. Regretfully, G. Chantrain ignores the Medjay in her otherwise most interesting article on Egyptianity and Foreignness. 145 Winand misses the point of the planned political crime against two Medjay-3tw [Fig. 14-G]. 146 At a period when the Egyptian state was falling apart, plain 'policemen', who did not exist at the time, could not have endangered either competing power. A major affair might have been at stake.

4.2.4. Law and order in New Kingdom Egypt

Policing in Ancient Egypt cannot be compared to modern social systems, such as "Suisse" or "Zouave"/ French guards (so Alan Gardiner and Georges Posen-

¹⁴³ Michaux-Colombot, in Tarasenko (ed.), *Preislamic Near East*, 2014b; Michaux-Colombot, in Fantusati and Baldi (eds.), *Atti della Quarta Giornata di Studi Nubiani*, 2014c.

¹⁴⁴ See n. 103.

¹⁴⁵ Chantrain, in Mynářová et al. (eds.), A Stranger in the House – The Crossroad III, 2019, pp. 49–72.

¹⁴⁶ Winand, in Doyen et al. (eds.), Sur le chemin du Museion d'Alexandrie, 2018, pp. 350-70.

BOING BUNGLE BUGLE

A. P.Leide 31, P. Louvre 3248. BD Chap. 167. Pleyte 1888, 67-68, 71, 77. Good Medjay-3tw beating tracts, regent of hills, striding secret (assessments) you are

appointed where they are.

A supplementary copy of BD, from the Tomb of Amenhotep son of Hapu. Translation Michaux-Colombot, "Pitfall concepts", 2014a, 513.

B. Tomb inscriptions of Wadimes, (Sakkara) courtesy of Ola El-Aguizy. Ramesses II mdsy-stw n nb tswy Wdms DSC 4658

md3y-3tw n nb t3wy Wdms DSC 4658 Medjay-attendant of the Lord of the Two Lands, Wadjmes

200 Mpc NB. I wish to thank Ola El-Aguizi for her generosity. The tomb is mentioned in El-Aguizy, BIFAO 107, 2007,1.

Seti II-Ramesses IV $[...hry m]^2 \underline{d}y - 3\underline{t}w Mntw - m[s...]^3 mt r - \underline{d}d \underline{h}db [...]$ The superior of the M]edjay-attendant Montume[s...] nearly dead...

- **D. O.DM 1068, 1-6 (Amenkhew)**. KRI VI, 250. Janssen 2005, 15. This day according the donkey... to the Medjay Amenkhew...for 42 days. The attendant Amen[khew].
- E. P.BM 10403 (Amenkhew). Peet Tomb Robberies, 1977, 172, pl. XXXVII, 3. Ramesses XI (Tell us about) the matter of your visit to the house of the attendant Amenkhew...
- **F. P.Turin 2021/271, Page 4, 15-21**. Allam *HOP*, 1973, 131, pl. 119.

The *hry* Medjay of the Tomb: 3tw Imenhotep, 3tw Pakhor, 3tw Imenkhâou, 3tw Imenipetou, 3tw Panakhtipet, 3tw Ankhtoumdîmen.

G. P.Berlin 10.487, 2; P. Berlin 10489, 5; P. Berlin 10.488, ro, 2. Ramesses XI

Fig. 14 Other md3yw-3tw.

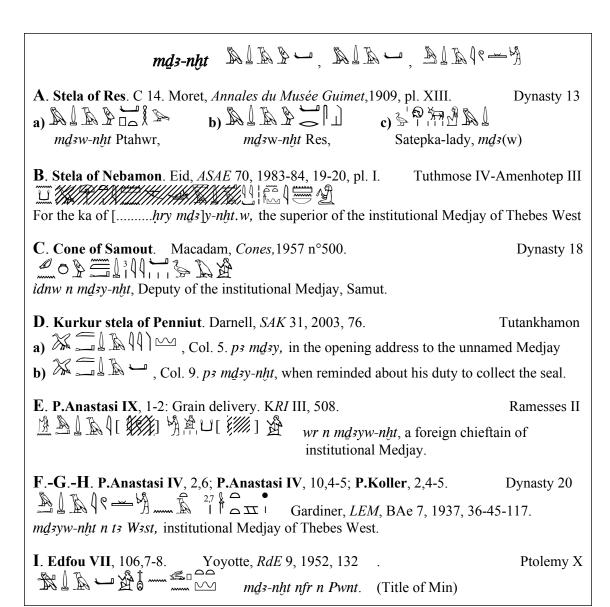


Fig. 15 Institutional md3y-nht.

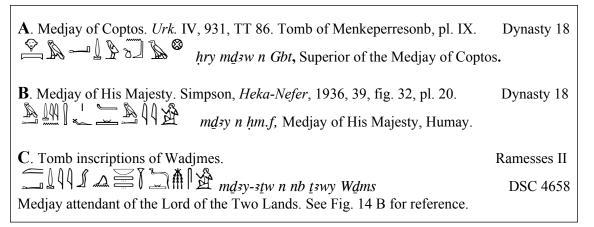


Fig. 16 Otherwise affiliated Medjay, to Coptos or to the King.

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A. Foreign classifiers systematically applied to md̄ṣy.w, Dynasty 19 to Dynasty 21

T14;  T14+N25;  T14+N25+Z2;

T14+A1;  T14+A1+Z2;  T14+N25+A1;  T14+A1+N25

T14+N25+A1+B1;  T14+A1+B1+Z2

T14+Z5 (1, 2 or 3 strokes)
```

B. Foreign classifier applied to an unnamed **Medjay lady**:

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Ramesses XI, 10R
P.BN 196 III, vs.8. Černý, LRL n°31, vs.8.

i-šsp t³y md³ km³ B1, Receive this Medjay foreign lady.
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However, to conform to mainstream theories about Medjay being *Egyptian police<u>men</u>*, and not likely a *female gendarme*, Wente, translated 'Receive Taymedjay' *LRL*, 14, 67; Id, *Letters*, 1990, 199, elucidating the difficulty with an unfounded interpretation.

Fig. 17 Foreign classifiers applied to Medjay in Late Egyptian.

er) or the Deutsche Bundeswehr (so Katrin Gabler), to interpret the existence of explicit Egyptian security models: let us be clear that the latter had nothing in common with modern European traditions. The Egyptian "police" was a loose system shared between the village chiefs, tsw, the town mayors, hsty-c, and the councils, *knbt*, according to O'Connor. Law and order throughout the Middle East in Antiquity worked on different lines compared to ours. 148 Nowadays, policemen act on their own to prevent crime, solve cases and apprehend criminals. In ancient societies, victims had to prove their case with witnesses and even detain the culprit before legal agents acted. The administration was only concerned for law and order when state assets, i.e. treasury and temple income, were at stake and when crimes called for punishment. A state offender was what was important. It was only in Ptolemaic times that policing became an organized system, from the village corps of phylakitai, to their immediate superiors, archiphylakitai, up to the provincial epistates phylakiton. No section in the Duties of the Vizier refers to any police force. It is the vizier "who appoints the overseer of the police/disputes, *imy-r šntw*, the mayors and settlements leaders" (Section 17) and who "hears any complaints" (Section 19). But no action goes further than

¹⁴⁷ O'Connor, in Trigger *el al.* (eds.), *Ancient Egypt*, A *Social History*, 1983, p. 207 figs. 3–4, see pp. 206–11 for the military organization.

¹⁴⁸ Bauschatz, Law and Enforcement in Ptolemaic Egypt, 2013, pp. 328–34.

"the one who will be unable to exculpate himself in a hearing shall be entered on the criminal register which is in the 'great prison'" (Section 5). 149 Theban trials do not mention any specific bureau. Local knbt-courts decided minor crimes and report to the vizier and to the king if necessary. On the sensitive issues of law and order, local boards of elders, rmt. w '3. yw - hl-'3. yw, retained much power over temple affairs and restoring order. 150 Superiors, hwtjw/hntyw, were commissioned for inspections and confinement, in an improvised manner according to Allam. 151 No Medjay are known in such fields of activity. Their elusive functions in Ramesside data befits a social landscape of tracker networks for multi-functional logistic aids in trade ventures and mining expeditions. They likely teamed up with the traders and miners and solved basic needs with the local nomads. In the desert, no one remains idle, and everyone can report on what was seen. That is not policing.

5. MATERIAL CULTURE. THEBAN RAMESSIDE PAN GRAVES

Only salient facts are given here; the subject is elsewhere treated more extensively. Considering that the zenith of interaction between Medjay and Egyptians dates to Ramesses II and that Medjay presence in the Theban area is a consequence, it is useful to stress both earlier and contemporary Pan Grave evidence, a material culture that has been related to the Medjay. Among the surface finds around cairns and dry-stone huts at Gebel Antef, great amounts of Pan Grave pottery and Seventeenth-Dynasty storage jars appeared. The Darnells suggested that Medjay were stationed there for supply depots as in the later Amarna system. The Tundaba well, at which there is massive evidence of Egyptian food provisioning, is a close parallel to the Deir el-Medina Grand Puits. According to Stan Hendrickx, Amarna runners were logistics personnel for water, food, and

¹⁴⁹ Van Den Boorn, *The Duties of the Vizier*, 1988, pp. 50, 88–89, 250, 276.

¹⁵⁰ Allam, in Rhyolt (ed.), Acts of the Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies, 2002, pp. 14–15.

¹⁵¹ Allam, *BIFAO* 97 (1997), pp. 10–12.

¹⁵² Michaux-Colombot "Medjay and Pan Graves, new considerations" (forthcoming).

¹⁵³ Darnell and Darnell, in Friedman (ed.), *Egypt and Nubia: Gifts of the Desert*, 2002, p. 132; Darnell and Manassa, *Tutankhamun's Armies*, 2007, pp. 194, 269 n. 28.

¹⁵⁴ Darnell and Darnell, in Friedman (ed.), Egypt and Nubia: Gifts of the Desert, 2002, pp. 148-49.

material provisioning both in town and along roads. At Dra' abu el-Naga, Daniel Polz unearthed Pan Grave sherds, datable to Nubkheperre Intef. 156

Similar pottery from Abydos¹⁵⁷ and from Balabish cemeteries and huts suggested to Gerald Wainwright that Ta'o Seqenenre' and Ahmose themselves belonged to the Pan Grave culture.¹⁵⁸ Barry Kemp doesn't reject the idea, considering that the Medjay were disjointed groups, of which maybe the El-Kab family of Ahmose-Paheri were descendants, because they had a Medjay among them.¹⁵⁹ Hans Goedicke sees the *pdt nht nt md3*, "valiant Medjay archers" of Kamose, as hired mercenary Pan Grave people collected around Dendera, a place mentioned after them.¹⁶⁰ These would correspond to the large Pan Grave cemetery at Khizam, north of Thebes.¹⁶¹ Pan Grave wares have been unearthed on the east side of the Karnak temple, disturbed by the founding trench of Akhenaten's Gem(t)-pa-iten.¹⁶² And many more sherds appeared north of the Sacred Lake.¹⁶³ Pan Grave people are present in Karnak, right down to the end of the Ramesside era,¹⁶⁴ and also in Abydos, where pottery came from a tomb dated to the Twenty-Second and Twenty-Third Dynasties.¹⁶⁵ At Qurna, Petrie found excellent Pan Grave pottery in an untouched tomb.¹⁶⁶

Therefore, there can be little doubt that Pan Grave culture was of importance in both Thebes East and West, where it survived long after its assumed end. Places where Pan Graves, Medjay and the heart-shaped apron are attested correspond interestingly. The fact that the Pan Grave culture lasted during the Medjay social rise till the end of the Ramesside era clearly evidences a cultural continuum between Ramesside Medjay and their ancestors of the Hyksos period. The Pan

¹⁵⁵ Hendrickx et al., in Förster and Riemer (eds.), Desert Road Archaeology, 2013, p. 363.

Polz, Der Beginn des Neuen Reich, 2007, pp. 34–38.

Peet, The Cemetery of Abydos, 1914, pp. 66-68.

Wainwright, *Balabish*, 1920, pp. 6–40.

Kemp, in Trigger et al. (eds.), Ancient Egypt, 1983, p. 171 n.2.

Goedicke, Studies About Kamose and Ahmose, 1995, pp. 109, 130–31.

Wainwright, *Balabish*, 1920, pp. 5, 7.

Redford, *JSSEA* 9/4 (1981), pp. 248–49; Redford *et al.*, *JARCE* 28 (1991), p. 85 n. 15, pp. 99–103.

Debono, CahKarn 7 (1982), pp. 378-80.

Redford et al., JARCE 28 (1991), p. 85 n. 15, pp. 99–103; Michaux-Colombot, Res Antiquae 10 (2013), p. 325.

Bourriau, in Arnold (ed.), Studien zur altägyptischen Keramik, 1981, p. 32 n. 78.

¹⁶⁶ Peet, The Cemetery of Abydos, 1914, p. 67.

Michaux-Colombot, "Medjay and Pan Graves, new considerations" (forthcoming).

Grave pottery from the Theban-Abydos-Rifeh-Qau-Mostagedda-Balabish areas were mixed with northern wares from Memphis / Fayum-Tell el-Dab'a and Tell el Yahudiya.¹⁶⁸ The Pan Grave phenomenon emerged during the Hyksos period, at a climax of dramatic changes in the human landscape. Nubian Pan Graves, to my mind, are a secondary, and not a primary result of the social upheaval. Literature on the topic unanimously consider Upper Egyptian Pan Graves to be an intrusive Nubian culture. Like the surmised 'Nubian' origin of the Medjay, the Nubian origin of the Pan Graves theory also needs revising. That Pan Graves disappeared from Nubia in the New Kingdom means they were far afield from their origins. Cultures better survive close to their pristine homeland where negotiated means of living are well anchored. Those in Mostagedda practiced Egyptian writing on their bucrania. 169 In Nubia, no literacy is evidenced from much poorer graves than those found in Upper Egypt. Their activity in Lower Nubia is both marginal, around Egyptian forts. Pan Grave types appear far south in the Gash Delta. Andrea Manzo sees their activity as a "fledging network", 170 most suggestive of a strong capacity to 'track' long trading ventures.

6. SUMMATION AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

The collected evidence for the heart-shaped apron both highlight aspects of and-solve questions about the Medjay, which have been limited for years by biased views. This apron seems to have been a sensitive social code. The early iconic aprons (el-Amarna, **Fig. 5**; Deir el-Medina, **Fig. 1**) and those worn by low class individuals [**Figs. 10 and 12**] were short; the later Ramesside ones developed in length [**Figs. 4**, **Fig. 7**, **Fig. 8**, **11**]. A long and luxurious one graces Sementawi, the *šmsw* of prince Merenptah¹⁷¹. In the Ramesside period, the social code seems to have gained prestige. This is certainly not meaningless. New research trends – particularly those undertaken by Thomas Schneider – indicate that negotiated interaction between distinct groups triggered socio-cultural codes as symbolic

¹⁶⁸ Bourriau, in Marée (eds.), The Second Intermediate Period, 2010, pp. 22–23.

¹⁶⁹ Brunton, Mostagedda and the Tasian Culture, 1937, pl. LXXVI.

¹⁷⁰ Manzo, Eastern Sudan in Its Setting, 2017a; Manzo, Sudan & Nubia 21 (2017b).

¹⁷¹ Barbotin, in Charron and Barbotin (eds.), *Khaemouaset le prince égyptologue*, 2016, pp. 146–47 for the picture; KRITA II, 207–208 for the translation.

boundaries for differentiation, *i.e.*, the terms of social display of elite foreigners defer to the culture of the host society. This makes it difficult "to assess the importance of an individual's ethnicity of origin". However, the fact that Medjay bore "good Egyptian names", as J. Černý puts it, ¹⁷³ was only part of the story of their identity. The iconic apron was the visual means of asserting their distinct origin in areas of contact between Egyptian and Medjay. It was a visual disentangling key in the Ramesside hybrid social context.

The dress substantiates a recognized membership for one foreign group only, the Medjay. The pictorial and textual evidence for these people attests systematic addition of foreign determinatives all through the corpora, from early to later times (**Fig. 17** for Late Egyptian). The group comprised different clans, in various regions, interacting with diverse levels of the Egyptian society, and offering a variety of types of expertise: fighting, mining, transportation, for men, and court or household services for women.¹⁷⁴

Iconic aprons apply to nine written titles and ten pictured actions:

- military: *šmsw* (follower, retainer, bodyguard), *t*^c*i-sryt* (standard bearer) *kdn* (charioteer);
- mobility: *hry ihw-(tp)* (chief stablemaster, stablemaster), *t3y* (tracker), *w* (rower);
- servant / funerary crafting: sdm 'š (n st m s't);
- pictured actions: children potter, trumpeter, Min dancer, *nabbut* ritual fencer, herder, runner, standard bearer, logistics personnel, tribute bringer. Among these, Medjay held the following titles: *šmsw*, *t*^c*i-sryt*, *kdn*, *hry iḥw*, *w*^cw.

The dress insignia worn by the Medjay here contextualized should open new perspectives on ancient Egypt in general. This first step in that direction hopefully clarifies the naive policing myth in the Deir el-Medina literature, which has veiled reality and entailed a geographical misapprehension. By virtue of repetition, the true nature of the Medjay population has long been ignored. It is time their role in ancient Egypt is correctly recognised. The myth thrived during a period of intense archaeological investigation in Nubia, the results of which

¹⁷² Schneider, in Wendrich (ed.), Egyptian Archaeology, 2010, pp. 148, 156.

¹⁷³ Černý, A Community, 2001², pp. 261-62.

¹⁷⁴ Michaux-Colombot, in Anderson and Welsby (eds.), The Fourth Cataract and Beyond, 2014a, p. 514.

are now also undergoing serious re-evaluation, particularly in relation to how Egyptians and Nubians interacted. Nubiocentric interest left the land of Min out of the picture as if it was an unnamed human void. Yet recent discoveries of early Red Sea ports are also changing this blind frame of mind. The red land of upper Egypt was an abundant cornucopia, its hills bearing ore and its valleys much-travelled; this was no mean asset for the Medjay-land-of-Min. Medjay human resources were far richer than has been hitherto assumed. Egypt was surrounded by four ethnic groups: Nehesy, Medja(y)w, Tjemehw and 'Amw, so illustrated on the ceiling of the tomb of Ramesses VI. 175 Medja land is East of Egypt. The aspect of *foederati*, formal allies, visualized by J.L. Blintliff and H. Barnard, ¹⁷⁶ for the late period Eastern Desert tribes, can be extended back in time to the late Middle kingdom. The zenith of interaction between Medjay and Egyptians dates to the reign of Ramesses II, evidenced by the appearance of high ranking Medjay. They could be viewed as having been the discrete backbone of official Egypt, as foreign foederati, not really foes and by no means "policemen". A rare tribal rebellion in the land of Medja is mentioned on the Amada stelae of Merneptah¹⁷⁷ – this event alone rules out Alan Gardiner's theory on the loss of territory in the New Kingdom. Moreover, the evidence here discussed on the *md3yw-3tw* should eliminate the linguistic confusion between an ethnic designation and a specific capacity, two distinct lexemes clustered through innovating stock writing for students in a master copy, a formula not found elsewhere. md3yw-3tw refers to a sub-category of an occupation linked to a particular ethnic group, and certainly not as a general title. Whether the job was ad hoc or permanent cannot be decided.

Noteworthy is the fact, that the 3tw occupation and nht office are attributed to one ethnicity only, the Medjay. Noteworthy also is the collected evidence on one stela, that of Penniut, indicating three fundamental characteristics at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty: firstly, the iconic apron (see § 1.1), secondly born by a foreign Medjay, and thirdly acting in the capacity of nht with no foreign classifier added (Fig. 15-D, a & b). Each sign, whether phonetic or not, had its utility.

¹⁷⁵ Roulin, *Le Livre de la Nuit*, I, 1996, pp. 7, 10, 218–19; II, p. 93, pl. X.

¹⁷⁶ Blintliff and Barnard, in Barnard and Duistermaat (eds.), *The History of the Peoples of the Eastern Desert*, 2012, p. 433.

¹⁷⁷ KRI IV, 1,10; KRITA IV,1; Michaux-Colombot, in Anderson and Welsby (eds.), *The Fourth Cataract and Beyond*, 2014a, p. 511.

This population is the neighbor closest to Egypt proper, at a time when sources referring to Medjay reach their acme. Most meaningful is the persistent use of foreign classifiers to express their foreignness, save when they are in capacity of exerting some Egyptian administrative power. On a private level, however, they stay a *foreign* Medjay person. If scholars miss the foreign classifiers in sources or the iconic apron in depictions, they miss the basic information advertised on these neighbors. For general historical knowledge this should be a sensitive issue. The role of the Medjay was far more complex and broader than has been assumed, which is rightly admitted by Allon and Navratilova. 178

¹⁷⁸ Allon and Navratilova, *Ancient Egyptian Scribes*, 2017, pp. 134–35. Forthcoming is my Étude sur les Medjay.

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MORE DHUTMOSE PAPERS¹

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ABSTRACT

Recent studies have led to the recognition of certain characteristics of the hand-writing of the scribe of the Tomb named Dhutmose. Several documents undeniably show the typical traits of his handwriting and witness his scribal activities as a key figure in the community of Western Thebes at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty. A careful search among the vast collection of papyri and fragments in the Museo Egizio happily resulted in the discovery of more documents written by the same scribe. We knew already that he was no mid-level pencil pusher, but the new texts document even more his various activities and travels.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The chance discoveries, a few years ago, of a fragment of a ship's log (P. Turin Cat. 2053/051 + Cat. 2061/076 + Cat. 2098/281 + Cat. 2100/305 + Cat. 2100/307, **Fig. 1**)² and a private notebook (P. Vienna ÄS 10321)³ have inspired further research into the characteristics of the handwriting of the author of these documents, the senior scribe of the Tomb Dhutmose. As a first result it has been possible to attribute several other documents to the hand of this scribe, some already known and others so far unnoticed.⁴ In the following I will present four documents belonging to this latter group:

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    P. Turin Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387 [Fig. 2]
    P. Turin Cat. 2090/217 + Cat. 2090/218 + Cat. 2090/221 + Cat. 2096/259 [Fig. 3]
    P. Turin CP 22/009 [Fig. 4]
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4. P. Turin Cat. 2107/407 = P. Turin CP 22/006 [Fig. 5]

As will be seen, the first three documents represent records by the scribe of the Tomb Dhutmose mostly written during his missions. Just like the previously published ship's log P. Turin Cat. 2053/051 *et al.* (TPOP Doc ID 55), all three are in a poor state of preservation and partly illegible. The fourth is a tiny fragment belonging either to the well-known 'Turin Taxation Papyrus' (P. Turin Cat. 1895 + Cat. 2006) or to a similar document.

² Demarée, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, pp. 131–40. The state of preservation of this document severely impeded the transcription of parts of the text on the recto. Some of the lacunae in the published transcription can now be solved due to the new documents presented here. The inventory number is abbreviated as P. Turin TPOP Doc ID 55 in the following.

³ Hölzl et al. (eds.), The Notebook of Dhutmose, 2018.

⁴ Demarée, in Gülden et al. (eds.), Ägyptologische "Binsen"-Weisheiten III, 2018, pp. 269–70.

2. P. TURIN CAT. 2061/082 + CAT. 2106/387

A sheet of poor quality papyrus composed of several fragments, $20 \times 24.5 \text{ cm}$ **[Fig. 2]**. The document is a palimpsest – traces of incompletely effaced earlier writing are present everywhere on both recto and verso. Top recto = top verso. The recto contains two consecutive columns of respectively 15 and 14 lines in black and red ink. The verso bears five columns of respectively 18, 13, 7, 7 and 4 lines in black and red ink. Red ink is used everywhere only for numbers.

The placement of the various columns on the document, notably on the verso, suggests that the scribe used a piece of scrap paper to write his notes during his mission. The incomplete column 5 on the verso shows that the present sheet was part of a larger document. Column 1 on the recto thus most likely continued a text of a previous column now lost. Although no direct join can be established between this document and P. Turin Cat. 2098 + Cat. 2100/306, they are closely related, as both contain records of the collection of grain revenues in regnal year 9 of Ramesses XI.

Pl. 1 P. Turin Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387 recto 1. Transcription.

RECTO

Column 1 (Pl. 1)

Transliteration

- (1) hr.y-ihw p = ip [...] ip.t 2
- (2) *Šrdn Hri h3r* 1
- (3) w b Pn -sw-n=i-Nmty <u>h</u>3r 1
- (4) rwd.w Nmty-m-h3 h3r 1
- (5) rwd.w Šd-sw-Hnsw har 1
- (6) Šrdn Pth-Mntw h3r 13/4
- (7) [...] P_3 -Nhsy har $2\frac{1}{2}$ (?). dmd har 10
- (8) [...] r3-^c3 [...] <u>h</u>3r 12
- (9) [...] *iw m-^c-f <u>h</u>3r* **44**(?)
- (10) [...] it(?) nb hsr(?) [...] 287(?)
- (11) [...] 3bd IV 3h.t sw 9 ssp m p3 spsy n [...] hr-k3=k
- (12) m-dr.t hry saw sk.w Hrl n na knwty Pr-53
- (13) $s\check{s}$ P_3 - b_3k n pr- \check{S} psy h_3r 2 m n_3 it n h_3 - t_3 n Pr- c_3 c .w.s. m t_3 hw.t R^c -mss-[...]
- (14) šsp m pr-Imn šmyt rsy m-dr.t w^cb
- (15) [... dmd h3r...] P3-b3-s3 h3r 10 dmd h3r 169

Translation

- (1) The stable master of the land register(?) [...], 2 oipe
- (2) The Sherden Hori (*Hri*): 1 *khar*
- (3) The *wab*-priest Penasueninemty (*Pn^c-sw-n=i-Nmty*): 1 *khar*
- (4) The administrator Nemtyemha (Nmty-m-ḥ3): 1 khar
- (5) The administrator Shedsukhonsu (Šd-sw-Hnsw): 1 khar
- (6) The Sherden Ptahmontu (Pth-Mntw): 1 khar 3 oipe
- (7) [...] Panehsy (*P3-Nḥsy*): 2(?) khar 2 oipe. Total: 10 khar
- (8) [...]-r 3 -[...], 12 khar
- (9) [...] ? from him 44 (*khar*)
- (10) [...] all(?) grain $h_3r(?)$ [...] 287(?)

- (11) [... M]onth IV of Akhet, day 9. Received in the Špsy of Hut-ka [$Hw.t-K_3$]- $hr-k_3.k$
- (12) from the chief keeper of records of the Double Granary of Pharaoh l.p.h. Hori (*Hri*)
- (13) and the scribe of the House of Shepsy ($\check{S}psy$) Pabaka[mun] (Ps-bskI[mn]): 2 khar of the grain of the khato-lands of Pharaoh in the House of Ramesses-[...]
- (14) Received in the Southern Storehouse of the House of Amun from the wab-priest
- (15) [Remains of text from a preceding column: Total [...] khar]

Pabasa (*P3-b3-s3*): 10 *khar*. Total: 169 *khar*

Notes/Commentary

- (1) A personal name beginning with P_3 -ip-[...] is not known from Ranke PN or Backes-Dresbach. Perhaps therefore we should take p_3 ip as part of a title 'stable master of the land register', although no parallel is known.
- (2) For the Sherden see Gardiner *AEO* I, 194*-199*. Their presence and their activities as agents and landholders in northern Middle Egypt are discussed by Gardiner in P. Wilbour II, Commentary, 76 and 80; and by Katary, in Moreno García (ed.), *Élites et pouvoir en Égypte ancienne*, 2009-2010, pp. 292–93. For their presence in central Middle Egypt, see Janssen, *Grain Transport*, 2004, pp. 53 and 66.
- (3) The name Penasueninemty (Pn^c -sw-n=i-Nmty) is not known from Ranke PN, or Backes-Dresbach, 'Index zu Michelle Thirion', but see the name Penasueniamun (Pn^c -sw-n=i-lmn), Ranke PN I, 133,5.
- (4) The name Nemtyemha ($Nmty-m-\dot{p}_3$) is not known from Ranke PN or Backes-Dresbach, 'Index zu Michelle Thirion'.
- (5) An administrator Shedsukhonsu (*Šd-sw-Ḥnsw*) is not known from other sources. At the end of this line the red sign for 1 *khar* is corrected over the sign for 3 *oipe*.
- (6) The name Ptahmontu (*Ptḥ-Mntw*) is not known from Ranke *PN* or Backes-Dresbach, 'Index zu Michelle Thirion', but cf. Ranke *PN* I, 141, 10 (*Ptḥ-Ḥnsw*). In the second element of the name the sign U 33 is corrected over M 17.
- (7) The name Panehsy (P_3 - N_p - N_p - N_p) is too common to allow for an identification. Remarkably the total number 10 is in black while all previous numbers are in red, indicating emmer corn.
- (11) The lines 11-15 are written on fragment Cat. 2106/387 and were already transcribed by J. Černý in his Notebook 17, page 20.

Although the year date is not indicated here, nor in col. II, these notes must refer to grain collecting activities in regnal year 9 of Ramesses XI. They are related to the mission of the scribe Dhutmose to Middle Egypt in the first half of Month IV of *Akhet* of year 9 recorded in TPOP Doc ID 55 verso.⁵

The god Shepsy ($\dot{S}psy$) was especially venerated in $\dot{H}w.t-k3=k$, see Gardiner AEO II, 47^*-48^* , and $Ld\ddot{A}$ V, 584. In Griffith Fragments Col. II, 6 (RAD 70,6) a 'Domain of Tuthmosis IV $\dot{S}psy$ resting in $\dot{H}w.t-k3=k$ ' is listed and his House ($pr-\dot{S}psy$) is mentioned three times in an unpublished fragment of the same Griffith Fragments Gardiner JEA 27 (1941), pp. 67–68. The town of $\dot{H}w.t-k3=k$ was located somewhere between Sohag and Qaw-el-Kebir. Precisely in this region the scribe Dhutmose ($D\dot{h}wty-ms$) arrived on IV Akhet, day 9, according to his ship's log, TPOP Doc ID 55, vs. 12.6

(12) The chief keeper of records of the Double Granary of Pharaoh Hori (*Ḥri*) received grain already in regnal year 9, month IV of *Akhet*, day 3, according to TPOP Doc ID 55, rt. 2.⁷

(13) Due to the small gap in the middle of this line, m n3 it n, "of the grain of", is partly lost. For this reading see 'TurinTaxation Papyrus', rt. 2,3 (RAD 36,14). The scribe of the House of Shepsy Pabakamun (P3-D3k-Imn) is not known from other sources.

For khato-lands see Katary, Land Tenure in the Ramesside Period, 2015, pp. 170–75; Katary, in Moreno García (ed.), Ancient Egyptian Administration, 2013; Haring, Divine Households, 1997, pp. 325–26; Haring, in Juan Carlos Moreno García, Ancient Egyptian Administration, 2013, p. 630.

(14) *šmyt* was translated as 'garner' by Gardiner, JEA 27 (1941), p. 24, but see Haring, *Divine Households*, 1997, pp. 278 and 366, and Mandeville, *Wage Accounting*, 2014, p. 150, note 44, suggesting a translation 'corridor' as part of a granary. A similar grain magazine is mentioned as p_3 mhr tpy whn p_3 mhr tpy to P. Turin Cat. 2018, A vs. 2,1 (KRI VI, 855,4 – regnal year 10 of Ramsesses XI) and the 'Turin Taxation Papyrus', rt. 2,6-7 (*RAD*37,3-5 – regnal year 12 of Ramesses XI).

(14-15) The wab-priest Pabasa (P_3 - b_3 - s_3) is not known from other sources.

⁵ Demarée, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, pp. 131–40.

⁶ Demarée, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), Outside the Box, 2018, pp. 135–37.

⁷ Demarée, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, pp. 132–34.

Pl. 2 P. Turin Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387 recto 2. Transcription.

RECTO

Column 2 (Pl. 2)

Transliteration

- (1) 3bd IV 3h.t sw 10 ssp m-dr.t hry ssw ss.w hri n ns snwty Pr-ss ss e.w.s. ss e.e.ss e.ss e.ss
- (2) in sš Dhwty-ms sš 'Iw=f-n-'Imn m n3 it n t3 hw.t R^c-mss [...] m pr-Mnw m-dr.t 3^{cc} P3-h3n[...]
- (3) iny.t m-^c=w ihwty Hri h3r 8
- (4) šsp m-dr.t sš hw.t-ntr P3-whd{hd} n pr-Mnw [...] it n t3 \(\text{.} t \ p3 \ rp^\cdot \text{.} t \ h3r \ 16 \ m-dr.t \)
 [...] it n t3 \(\text{.} t \)
- (5) p3 imy-r mšc.w wr h3r 1(?) dmd h3r 25 hry s3w sš.w n n3 šnwty Pr-c3 c.w.s. h3r 3
- (6) 3bd IV 3ħ.t sw 11 šsp m-dr.t 3^{cc} P3-[...]-s3 m n3 it n pr-Mntw n Drty m-^c=w iḥwty ^c3-šfy.[t...]
- (7) it-m-it har $3\frac{1}{2}$ it har $\frac{1}{2}$ dmd har [...] 3^{cc} Mntw-s^cnh har $\frac{2}{3}$ 3^{cc} Pa-ta-ry har $\frac{4}{3}$
- (8) 3° Thr-Mntw har 5 dmd har 15 dmd iny[.t...pr]-Mnw hn ta hw.t R-mss har 30
- (9) dmd h r [...2] 50
- (10) 3bd IV 3ħ.t sw [12? šsp m-dr.t?] ḥry ssw sš.w Ḥri [n ns šnwty] Pr-'s '.w.s. m-dr.t sš R'-mry
- (11) n p3 [... 3^{cc}] Pn-t3-wmt n Pr-Hr n [...] h3r 9 dmd h3r 259 st3.t h3r [...]
- (12) sw3.w [...] Pr-Mntw [... h3r] 25 pr-Mntw n p3 nhb.w n Ipn? h3r 24
- (13) hry saw să.w Hri n na šnwty Pr-ca c.w.s. har 191/4 dmd har [...] dmd it [har] 300[...]
- (14) $iny.t \ m$ - $^c.w \ ihwty \ Ns-nht(?) \ hsr [...]$

Translation

- (1) Month IV of *Akhet*, day 10. Received from the chief keeper of records of the Double Granary of Pharaoh l.p.h. Hori (Hri), the scribe Ramer[y...] (R^c -mr[...]), and the scribe [....]
- (2) by the scribe Dhutmose (Dhwty-ms) and the scribe Iufenamun (Tw=f-n-Tmn) from the grain of the Temple of Ramesses in the House of Min through the foreigner Pahan-[...] (P_3-h_3n -[...])
- (3) brought by them: the cultivator Hori (*Hri*): 8 *khar*.
- (4) Received from the temple-scribe Pawekhed (*P3-whdhd*) of the House of Min, [from the] grain of the Chamber/Office of the Prince: 16 *khar*; from [... of the] grain of the Chamber/Office of
- (5) the General in Chief: 1(?) *khar*. Total: 25 *khar*. The chief keeper of records of the Double Granary of Pharaoh l.p.h.: 3 *khar*.
- (6) Month IV of *Akhet*, day 11. Received from the foreigner Pabasa (P_3 -[b_3]- s_3) from the grain of the House of Montu of Djerty (Drty). From them: the cultivator Ashefyt[...] (c_3 - s_3 fy.[t_1 ...]):
- (7) real barley $3\frac{1}{2}$ *khar*, emmer $\frac{1}{2}$ *khar*. Total: [...] *khar*. The foreigner Montusankh (*Mntw-s^cnh*): 2 *khar*. The foreigner Patjary (*P3-t3-ry*): 4 *khar*.
- (8) The foreigner Telmontu (*Tnr-Mntw*): 5 *khar*. Total: 15 [*khar*]. Total grain brought [from ?] the House of Min and the Temple of Ramesses: 30(?) *khar*.
- (9) Total: [2]50(?) *khar*.
- (10) Month IV of *Akhet*, [day 12(?) Received from(?)] the chief keeper of records [of the Double Granary] of Pharaoh l.p.h. Hori (*Ḥri*), from the scribe Ramery (*R^c-mry* [...])
- (11) of the [.... the foreign]er Pentawemet (*Pn-t3-wm.t*) of the House of Horus of [...]: 9 *khar*. Total: 259 *khar*, aroura [...] *khar*.
- (12) district of the House of Montu [...] 25 [khar], the House of Montu of the fresh land of Ipn[...]?: 24(?) khar.
- (13) The chief keeper of records of the Double Granary of Pharaoh l.p.h. Hori (Hri): 19 khar 1 oipe. Total grain: 300 + [khar].
- (14) Brought by them: the cultivator Nesnakht (*Nsy-nht*): [...] *khar*.

Notes/Commentary

- (1) For the chief keeper of records of the Double Granary of Pharaoh Hori (*Ḥri*) see above rt. 1,12 and here below in lines vs. 1,10 and 13. The scribe Ramery (*R^c-mry*) is also mentioned here in line 10 and below in vs. 4,2. He is also recorded in the company of the chief keeper of records Hori in TPOP Doc ID 55, at the end of line rt. 13.8
- (2) The scribe Iufenamun is a well-known colleague of scribe Dhutmose, who is mentioned frequently: see for example P. Turin Cat. 2018, A vs. 1,11 (K*RI* VI, 854,16) and B vs. 2,16 (K*RI* VI, 858,1); P. Bibliothèque Nationale 198, III, rt. 9 and vs. 5 (Černý LRL 69, 8 and 16); and <u>TPOP Doc ID 55</u>, vs. 1.9 His house is listed in P. BM EA 10068, vs. 7,8 (K*RI* VI, 754,5).
- (4) The temple-scribe Pawekhed (P_3 -whd{hd}) of the House of Min is mentioned in the ship's log P. Turin TPOP Doc ID 55, vs. 14: an entry precisely dated to regnal year 9, month IV of *Akhet*, day 10, as in the present text. 10

The Chamber/Office of the Prince is also mentioned in the Griffith Fragments, col. III, x + 6 (*RAD* 71,6). For the meaning of the term c.t, see Demarée, in Dorn and Hoffmann (eds.), Living and Writing in Deir el-Medine, 2006, pp. 57–66.

- (4-5) The Chamber/Office of the General in Chief is not known from other sources.
- (6) The town of Djerty (*Drty*) is modern Tôd, opposite Armant, cf. Gardiner *AEO* II, 21*-22*. The final element of the name of the cultivator is illegible. The name is not recorded by Ranke *PN*, or Backes-Dresbach, 'Index zu Michelle Thirion', but for this type of name, see Ranke *PN* I, 58,11 and 12 ('3-šfy.t-nht and '3-šfy.t-m-w3s.t), and Burkard, *Dra'Abu el-Naga*, II, 2018, Index, p. 127.
- (7) The foreigner Montusankh ($Mntw-s^cnth$) is also mentioned below in vs. 2,7. The foreigner Patjary (P3-t3-ry) is also mentioned below in vs. 2,8 and in TPOP Doc ID 55, vs. 15.¹¹ The various spellings, full and abbreviated, of the title 3^{cc} in this and the other documents is noteworthy.

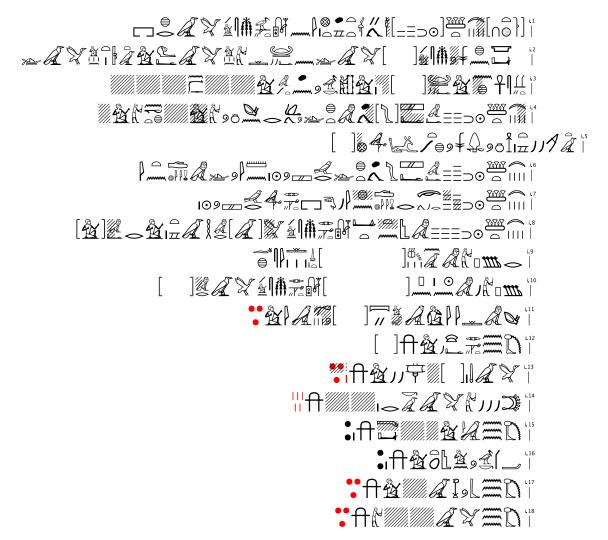
⁸ See Demarée, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, pp. 133–34 (where his title and name were not yet transcribed).

⁹ Demarée, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, pp. 136–37.

¹⁰ Demarée, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, pp. 136–39 (where the name could not yet be read correctly). For a similar peculiar spelling of his name (and other spelling mistakes and variants) see Janssen, *SAK* 33 (2005), p. 149.

¹¹ Demarée, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, pp. 136–37 (where his name is incorrectly read as Patja son of Ry).

- (8) The foreigner Telmontu (*Tnr-Mntw*) is also mentioned below in vs. 2,5.
- (9) The total number is unfortunately incompletely preserved.
- (12) For the meaning of *nḫb*, 'fresh land', see Gardiner, P. Wilbour II, Commentary, pp. 28 *f.*, and Antoine, in Willems and Dahms (eds.), *The Nile: Natural and Cultural Landscape in Egypt*, 2017, pp. 43–44. Due to the gap in the papyrus the name of the site is incompletely preserved and cannot be identified.



Pl. 3 P. Turin Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387 verso 1. Transcription.

VERSO

Column 1 (Pl. 3)

Transliteration

- (1) rnp.t-sp 10 3bd IV 3h.t sw 15(?) wd Imnt.t Niw.t in sš Dhwty-ms n p3 Hr
- (2) iry-'s Ḥnsw-ms [...] p3 kr n wḥ'.w.w n p3 ḥ3ty-' t3 is.t n p3 kr
- (3) $wh^{c}.w$ [Nmty]- $s^{c}nh$ $wh^{c}.w$ [...] qd B3k-n-Mw.t [...]
- (4) $3bd \text{ IV } 3h.t \text{ sw } 16 \text{ mš}^c \text{ m } hd \text{ ph } r(?) \text{ idnw } [...] nht [...]$
- (5) t3 mry.t N3-šnw-Swth [...]
- (6) 3bd IV 3h.t sw 17 mš^c hd wrš mni m dmi Tni [...]
- (7) 3bd IV 3h.t sw 18 spr r dmi Hni-Mnw wrš
- (8) 3bd IV 3h.t sw 19 m s.t tn di.t sš Mnw-ms n p3 imy-r 3hwt Rm[...](?)
- (9) $r \, ssp \, m \, ns \, it \, [...] \, w \underline{ds.t} \, n \, [Isfh?]$
- (10) *šsp m hrw pn* [...] *sš Mnw-ms n p3* [...]
- (11) sdmy Hr s3 hry [s3w ss.] Hri(?) h3r 3/4
- (12) $w^c b M n w h^c w h s r [...]$
- (13) P_3 -mdw-[...] h_3r $\frac{13}{4}$ (?)
- (14) *iḥwty P3-*[...] *h3r* 1(?)
- (15) w b Hr-[...] h3r 1½
- (16) 3^{cc} B3k-n-[...] h3r $1\frac{1}{2}$
- (17) $w^c b B w h s [...] h s r \frac{3}{4}$
- (18) wb P3-[...] h3r 3/4

Translation

- (1) Regnal Year 10, month IV of *Akhet*, day 15. Setting forth from the West of the City by the scribe of the Tomb Dhutmose (*Dḥwty-ms*)
- (2) (and) the doorkeeper Khonsumose (*Ḥnsw-ms*) [... in] the boat of the fishermen of the mayor. The crew of the boat:
- (3) the fisherman Nemtysankh (Nmty-s'nh), the fisherman [...], the potter Bakenmut (B3k-n-Mw.t) [...]
- (4) Month IV of Akhet, day 16. Travelling northward, reaching the deputy [...]-nht

- (5) (on) the river-bank of Nashenusutekh (*N3-šnw-Swth*) [...]
- (6) Month IV of *Akhet*, day 17. Travelling northward, passing the day, mooring in the village of This $(Tn\hat{i})$ [...].
- (7) Month IV of *Akhet*, day 18. Reaching the village of Kheni-Min (*Ḥni-Mnw*), passing the day.
- (8) Month IV of *Akhet*, day 19. In this place. Causing the scribe Minmose (*Mnw-ms*) of the overseer of fields to [...]
- (9) receive from the grain [...] remainder of 'Isfh(?)
- (10) Received on this day from the grain [...] the scribe Minmose (*Mnw-ms*) of the [overseer of fields ...] [...]
- (11) The servant Hor-[...] (Hr-[...]): 3 oipe.
- (12) The wab-priest Minkhew (Mnw-h ^{c}w): [...].
- (13) Pamedu-[...] (P_3 -mdw-[...]): 1 khar 3(?) oipe.
- (14) The cultivator Pa-[...] (*P*₃-[...]): 1(?) *khar*.
- (15) The *wab*-priest Hor-[...] (*Hr*-[...]): 1 *khar* 2 *oipe*.
- (16) The foreigner Baken-[...] (B_3k -n-[...]): 1 khar 2 oipe.
- (17) The *wab*-priest Bukha-[...] (*Bw-h3*-[...]): 3 oipe.
- (18) The wab-priest Pa-[...] (P_3 -[...]): 3 oipe.

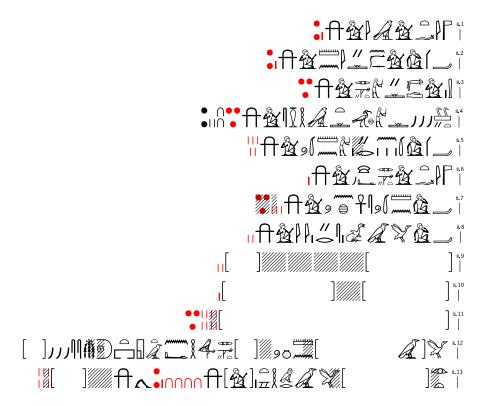
Notes/Commentary

- (1) The mission led by the scribe of the Tomb Dhutmose left Thebes in the middle of month IV of *Akhet* with a destination of Middle Egypt. The same phrase to describe such a departure is found in <u>TPOP Doc ID 55</u>, vs. 1. (Demarée, in Dorn and Polis [eds.], *Outside the Box*, 2018, pp. 136–37), in the 'Turin Taxation Papyrus' (P. Turin Cat. 1895 + Cat. 2096), recto 3,9 (*RAD* 39,3), and in P. Turin CP 22/009, rt. 1.
- (2) The doorkeeper Khonsumose ($\not Hnsw-ms$) was one of the two doorkeepers who accompanied the scribe Dhutmose ($\not Dhwty-ms$) on his missions in regnal year 12 as documented in the Turin Taxation Papyrus. Together with his colleague doorkeeper Dhutmose son of Qadjeret ($\not Dhwty-ms$ ss $\not Qs-dr.t$) Khonsumose son of Panehsy ($\not Hnsw-ms$ ss $\not Ps-Nhsy$) is frequently mentioned in the grain distribution lists of regnal years 8-10 in P.Turin Cat. 2018 (KRI VI, 851–863). In the earliest

letter of the Late Ramesside Letters, P. Bibliothèque Nationale 198 III, vs. 5-6 (Černý *LRL* 70,1), written from Ombos, the scribe of the Tomb Dhutmose orders someone (his colleague Nesamenope?) to send the scribe Iufenamun and the two doorkeepers to come and fetch the grain. See for the doorkeepers also Goecke-Bauer, in Janssen *et al.* (eds.), *Woodcutters, Potters and Doorkeepers*, 2003, pp. 150–51.

The owner of the boat, the mayor, is most probably the mayor of the West of the City Pawero (P3-wr-G) who was also receiving grain shipments in year 12 of Ramesses XI as recorded by the Taxation Papyrus, rt. 2,5 and rt. 4,1 (RAD 37,2 and 40,3). See for him also below P. Turin Cat. 2090/217 + Cat. 2090/218 + Cat. 2090/221 + Cat. 2096/259, vs. horizontal line.

- (3) Both the fisherman Nemtysankh (Nmty-s'nh) and the potter Bakenmut (B3k-n-Mw.t) accompanied the scribe of the Tomb Dhutmose (Dhwty-ms) on a similar voyage in the previous year 9, cf. P. Turin TPOP Doc ID 55, vs. 2 (the third person then was the fisherman Pawekhed (P3-whd), a brother of Nemtysankh (Nmty-s'nh), see Gabler, Who's Who, 2018, pp. 235 and 749). For the potter Bakenmut (B3k-n-Mw.t) see Gabler, Who's Who, 2018, p. 310.
- (4) A deputy [...]-*nht* is unknown to me from other sources.
- (5) For the place-name Nashenusutekh (N_3 - $\check{s}nw$ -Swth), the classical Chenoboskion and modern Qasr-es-Sayyad, see Gardiner AEO II, pp. 31*-32*.
- (6) For the town of Tni, modern This in the neighborhood of Girga, see Gardiner AEO II, pp. 38^* - 39^* .
- (7) The town of Kheni-Min (Hni-Mnw/Hnt-Mnw) is modern Akhmîm, see Gardiner *AEO* II, pp. 40 $^{\circ}$ -41 $^{\circ}$. The town is also mentioned hereafter in vs. 3, 1.
- (8) The scribe Minmose (*Mnw-ms*) is also mentioned below in line 10 and in vs. 4,2. He clearly played an important role in the administration of grain collection in the region of Akhmîm, but he is not known from other sources.
- (10) The collection of grain from the remainder of *Isfl*₁ is also mentioned in the record for IV Akhet day 20 below in vs. 4,4. In spite of the missing town determinative *Isfl*₂ most probably refers to a locality. The place seems not to be known from other sources, but with all due caution one may note that north of Akhmîm and opposite Qau-el-Kebir there is a place now called Kom Isfaht for which see Gardiner, *AEO* II, 50*-51* and 59*.



Pl. 4 P. Turin Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387 verso 2. Transcription.

- (11) The servant Hor (Hr) as a son of the chief keeper of records Hori (Hr) is unknown from other sources.
- (12-16) The persons mentioned in these lines are not known from other sources. The logbook notes continue in column 3.

VERSO

Column 2 (Pl. 4)

Transliteration

- (1) it-ntr Hr-[...] h3r $\frac{1}{2}$
- (2) 3^{cc} Ns-Imn h3r 1½
- (3) hm Šd-Mnw h3r 3/4
- (4) rhty 3ht-Hr-[...] h3r 3/4(?) 221/2
- (5) 3°° Tnr-Mntw h3r 5
- (6) it-ntr Mnw-h^cw h3r 1
- (7) 3°° Mntw-s°nh h3r 33/4
- (8) 3^{cc} P3-<u>t</u>3-sry <u>h</u>3r 2
- (9) [...] <u>h</u>3r [...]

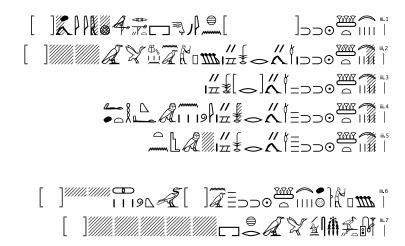
- (10)[...]
- $(11) [...][h3r] 8\frac{3}{4}$
- (12) [...] [...Pr]- $Mnw(?) hn^c ts hw.t R^c$ -mss [...]
- (13) [...] $lmy-r \ 3hwt \ [...] \ har \ 41\frac{1}{2} \ lw \ har \ [...]$

Translation

- (1) The gods' father Hor-[...] (Hr-[...]): 1 khar 2 oipe.
- (2) The foreigner Nesamun (Ns-Imn): 1 khar 2 oipe.
- (3) The servant Shedmin ($\check{S}d$ -Mnw): 3 oipe.
- (4) The washerman Akhethor-[...] (*3ht-Hr*-[...]): 3 oipe 22½.
- (5) The foreigner Telmontu (*Tnr-Mntw*): 5 khar.
- (6) The god's father Minkhew (*Mnw-h*^cw): 1 *khar*.
- (7) The foreigner Montusankh (*Mntw-s^cnh*): 3 khar 3 oipe.
- (8) The foreigner Patjasery (*P3-t3-sry*): 2 *khar*.
- (9) [....] [...] khar.
- (10) [...].
- (11) [...] 8 khar 3 oipe(?).
- (12) [...the House of] Min(?) and the Temple of Ramesses [...].
- (13) [...] the overseer of the fields [...]: $41\frac{1}{2}$ khar. Entered [...] khar.

Notes/Commentary

- (1) The second element of the personal name is illegible. A god's father with this name is not known from other sources.
- (2) The foreigner Nesamun (*Ns-Imn*) may be the man mentioned in the Taxation Papyrus vs. 2,7 (RAD 43,5).
- (3) The servant/slave Shedmin ($\dot{S}d$ -Mnw) is not known from other sources.
- (4) The first hieratic sign in the title rhty, 'washerman', should in fact be G 237. The number $22\frac{1}{2}$ at the end of this line probably represents a total, but it is not clear which amounts the scribe has added up.
- (5) The foreigner Telmontu (*Tnr-Mntw*) is also mentioned above in rt. 2, 8.
- (6) The god's father Minkhew (Mnw-h) may well be the same man as the wab-priest of this name mentioned above in vs. 1,12.



Pl. 5 P. Turin Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387 verso 3. Transcription.

- (7) The foreigner Montusankh (*Mntw-s^cnh*) is also mentioned above in rt. 2, 7.
- (8) The name of the foreigner is probably to be read as Patjary ($P_3-\underline{t}_3-ry$). For this man see above rt. 2,7.

VERSO

Column 3 (Pl. 5)

Transliteration

- (1) 3bd IV 3h.t sw 20 [...] Hni-Mnw [...]
- (2) 3bd IV 3h.t sw 21 wd r rsy šsp n3 it n p3 [...]
- (3) 3bd IV 3h.t sw 22 wd r rsy
- (4) 3bd IV 3h.t sw 23 wd r rsy iw=n m $Q^ch.t$
- (5) 3bd IV 3ħ.t sw 24 wd r rsy [...] m s.t tn

space

- (6) rnp.t-sp 10 3bd IV 3h.t sw 24 n3 [...] 'qw [...]
- (7) sš Dhwty-ms n p3 Hr [...]

Translation

- (1) Month IV of Akhet, day 20. (Setting forth from?) Kheni-Min (Hni-Mnw)[...].
- (2) Month IV of *Akhet*, day 21. Setting forth southward. Received the grain from the [...].
- (3) Month IV of Akhet, day 22. Setting forth southward.

- (4) Month IV of Akhet, day 23. Setting forth southward. We were in Qahet $(Q^{c}h.t)$.
- (5) Month IV of *Akhet*, day 24. Setting forth southward. [...]. In this place. *space*
- (6) Regnal year 10, month IV of Akhet, day 24. The [...] bread-rations [...]
- (7) The scribe of the Tomb Dhutmose (*Dhwty-ms*) [...].

Notes/Commentary

- (1-5) These lines continue the ship's log started in col. I. If indeed the journey started on day 15 of IV *Akhet*, the mission seems to have taken nine days. In the previous year 9 the similar mission to Middle Egypt took 14 or 15 days.¹²
- (2) According to col. I, 7, the mission had arrived in Akhmîm (*Ḥni-Mnw*) on day 18 where they clearly stayed two days. Calculations of the total amount of grain revenues collected during the journey were made on this day, see below verso col. 4.
- (4) What is meant here by $Q^{r}h.t$ remains unclear. As a place name it is not known, but after leaving Akhmîm and three days sailing southward the place cannot be too far north of Thebes.
- (5) *s.t tn*, 'this place', may refer to the place mentioned in the previous line or, as it is the last entry in the logbook, indicate that the mission returned back home.

¹² Demarée, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), Outside the Box, 2018, pp. 138–39.

Pl. 6 P. Turin Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387 verso 4. Transcription.

VERSO

Column 4 (Pl. 6)

Transliteration

- (1) rnp.t-sp 10 3bd IV 3h.t sw 20 iri hsb.w n t3 3771/4(?) h3r n it in sš Dhwty-ms
- (2) hn^c sš Hri n n3 šnwty Pr-^c3 ^c.w.s. sš R^c-mry sš Mnw-ms n p3 imy-r 3hwt [...]
- (3) iw m-dr.t=w hry-h3.t rnp.t-sp 9 3bd IV 3h.t sw 13 h3r 259 st3.t 9 h3r 118¼ dmd h3r 377¼(?)
- (4) iw m-dr.t [...] rnp.t-sp 10 3bd IV 3\(\hat{p}\).t sw 19 m n3 it n t3 wd3.t n Isf\(\hat{p}\)(?) \(\hat{p}\)3r 50 dmd h3r 309 wd3.t h3r 68\(\hat{4}\)
- (5) wp st hm-ntr n Mntw I-ms(?) m n3 it [...] Hr [...] m-dr.t hr.y-pd.t Pn-t3-wm.t p3 sk3
- (6) [...] Mntw [...] h3r 26. Total: h3r 335 wd3.t h3r 421/4 c.w idnw Rc-mss-nht.tw
- (7) dmd h3r 3771/4

Translation

- (1) Regnal year 10, month IV of *Akhet*, day 20. This day making calculations of the 377¼ *khar* of grain by the scribe Dhutmose (*Dḥwty-ms*)
- (2) together with the scribe of the Double Granary of Pharaoh l.p.h. Hori (Hri), the scribe Ramery (R^c -mry) and the scribe Minmose (Mnw-ms) of the overseer of fields [...].
- (3) Entered from them previously, regnal year 9, month IV of *Akhet*, day 13: 259 *khar*, 9 aroura 118½ *khar*. Total: 377¼ *khar*.
- (4) Entered from (them?) regnal year 10, month IV of *Akhet*, day 19, from the grain of the remainder of *Isfh*: 50 *khar*. Total: [...] *khar*, aroura [...] *khar*.

- (5) Specification: the $hm-n\underline{t}r$ -priest of Mon[tu...] from the grain of Pi-meru(?) (Pr-mrw(?)), from the chief bowman Pentawemet (Pn-t3-wm.t) the harvest
- (6) Montu-[...] ($Mn\underline{t}w$ -[...]) [...] khar. Total: 335 khar, remainder 42¼ khar; from them the deputy Ramessenakhte (R^c -mss- $n\underline{h}t$.tw).
- (7) Total: 3771/4 khar

Notes/Commentary

- (1) According to the logbook notes this is the last day spent in Akhmîm (μ *ni-Mnw*), see above vs. 3,1.
- (3) For the writing of *wd3*.t see the note on the 'Turin Taxation Papyrus' rt. 4,3 in Gardiner, *RAD*, 40.8.
- (4) For the collection of grain mentioned here, see above commentary at vs. 1,10.
- (5) The name of the priest is probably Imes (I-ms), but this man is not known from other sources. For this personal name see Ranke, PN I, 5,15. The name of town is unfortunately illegible. The chief bowman Pentawemet (Pn-ts-wm.t) is also mentioned in TPOP Doc ID 55 vs. 16.¹³
- (6) The deputy Ramessenakhte (R^c -mss-nht.tw) is not known from other sources.
- (7) The numbers in this line are illegible, but seem to represent totals.

¹³ Demarée, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, pp. 136–39 (where the name was misread as *Pn-t3-wr.t*).



Pl. 7 P. Turin Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387 verso 5. Transcription.

VERSO

Column 5 (Pl. 7)

Transliteration

- (1) [...] mḥ hrw 15
- (2) [...] $m\check{s}^{\epsilon} r rsy$
- (3) [...] $m\check{s}^{\epsilon} r rsy$
- (4) [...]-nht.tw(?)

Translation

- (1) [...] the 15^{th} day.
- (2) [...] Travelling southward.
- (3) [...] Travelling southward.
- (4) [...]-nht.tw(?).

Notes/Commentary

(1-4) This column is written upside down in relation to the other columns on the verso. These text lines are clearly part of entries of a logbook.

3. P. TURIN CAT. 2090/217 + CAT. 2090/218 + CAT. 2090/221 + CAT. 2096/259

Two non-joining fragments constitute a sheet of poor quality papyrus, 23×20.5 cm [Fig. 3]. The document is a palimpsest: traces of incompletely effaced earlier writing are present all over on both recto and verso. Top recto = top verso. On the recto there are 22 lines in black and red ink. On the verso one horizontal line crosses a line of earlier writing perpendicularly, both in black ink and partly illegible.

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4 鱼(1) [ 1 2 2 2 2
■ 위_½⊿(Ľ⊿;͡⊿ポュು=≡៣೧๑) ¦
      ANGARA T
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Pl. 8 Turin Cat. 2090 + Cat. 2096 recto. Transcription.

RECTO (Pl. 8)

Transliteration

- (1) it-ntr Imn-h w n t3 Hw.r h3r 5½ 17 dmd h3r 22½
- (2) it-ntr Dhwty-htp 5 2 dmd har 7
- (3) [...] *Imn-nht.tw h3r* 10
- (4)[...]
- (5) [...] n3 it n pr nb m-dr.t sš S3h-t3-nfr n p3 hm-ntr n Sbk
- (6) [...] m ns it n Pr-Sbk Iw-< m > -itrw [...]
- (7) [...] <u>h</u>3r 9 dm<u>d</u> sšr <u>h</u>3r 48
- (8) rnp.t-sp 10 3bd IV 3h.t sw 8 šsp m-dr.t 3^{cc} Sbk-s^cnh h3r 7
- (9) rnp.t-sp 10 3bd IV $3\dot{p}.t$ sw 9 $\dot{s}sp$ p3 sk3 pr nb m $dm\dot{l}$ lw-< m>-itrw
- (10) 3^{cc} w-ti-ry <u>h</u>3r 10
- (11) Pn-t3-hw.t-rs h3r 8
- (12) *ihwty P3-nht.tw-rs h3r* 1½
- (13) 3^{cc} 'n=f-sw <u>h</u>3r 7
- (14) Nsy.sw-Imn h3r 3 it 1 dmd sšr 4
- (15) mniw P3-k3mn h3r 1½
- (16) 3^{cc} Iw-niw.t har 5 dmd har 11 1
- (17) 3° Sbk-s'nh h3r 20 dmd h3r 32
- (18) rnp.t-sp 10 3bd IV 3h.t sw 12 šsp p3 rn-rn n n3 [rmt] n pr-Sbk nty Niw.t
- (19) H^c-m-tri h3r 3
- (20) 3^{cc} Ns-[...] <u>h</u>3r 8
- (21) 3°C P3-hm-ntr-sn.nw h3r 6½
- (22) $3^{cc} \check{S}d$ -Imn- w^c har 9
- (23) nsy. w Mrry hsr 3
- (24) B'k-m-wis har 2
- (25) dmd h3r 31½

Translation

- (1) The god's father of the Temple Amenkhew ($Imn-h^c w$): $5\frac{1}{2}$ and 17 khar. Total: $22\frac{1}{2}$ khar.
- (2) The god's father Dhuthotep (*Dhwty-htp*): 5 and 2 *khar*. Total: 7 *khar*.
- (3) [...] Paherenamennakhte (*P3-hr-n-Imn-nht.tw*): 10 khar.
- (4)
- (5) [...of] the grain of every temple from the scribe of the *ḥm-nt-*priest of Sobek Sahtenefer (*S3h-t3-nfr*)
- (6) [...] House of Sobek of Iuemitru (*'Iw-m-itrw*)
- (7) [...] 9 khar. Total grain: 98(?) khar.
- (8) Regnal year 10, month IV of *Akhet*, day 8. Received from the foreigner Sobeksankh (*Sbk-s^cnh*): 7 *khar*.
- (9) Regnal year 10, month IV of *Akhet*, day 9. Received the harvest of every temple in the town of Iuemitru (*Tw-m-itrw*).
- (10) The foreigner 'Awtiry ('w-ti-ry): 10 khar.
- (11) Pentahutres (*Pn-t3-hw.t-rs*): 8 khar.
- (12) The cultivator Panakhteres (*P3-nht.tw-rs*): 1½ khar.
- (13) The foreigner 'Anefsu ('n=f-sw): 7 khar.
- (14) Nesamun (Nsy. sw-Imn): 3 khar, barley 1. Total grain: 4.
- (15) The herdsman Pakamen (P_3 - k_3mn): $1\frac{1}{2}$ khar.
- (16) The foreigner Iuniut (lw-nlw.t): 5 khar. Total: 11 + 1 khar.
- (17) The foreigner Sobeksankh (*Sbk-s^cnh*): 20 *khar*. Total: 32 *khar*.
- (18) Regnal year 10, month IV of *Akhet*, day 12. Received the name list of the [men] of the House of Sobek in the City.
- (19) Khaemteri (H^{c} -m-tri): 3 khar.
- (20) The foreigner Nes- (Ns-): 8 khar.
- (21) The foreigner Pahemnetjersennu (*P3-hm-ntr-sn.nw*): 6½ khar.
- (22) The foreigner Shedamunwa' (Šd-Imn-w^c): 9 khar.
- (23) The men of Merery (n3y.w Mrry): 3 khar.
- (24) Bakemwia (*B3k-m-wi3*): 2 khar.
- (25) Total: 31½ khar.

Notes/Commentary

- (1) The god's father of the Temple Amenkhew (*Imn-ḥ*'w) is probably also mentioned in P. Berlin P. 10460, rt. 13 (KRI VI, 864,5) as a member of a court; and possibly in the house list of year 12 of Ramesses XI, P. BM EA 10068, vs. 3,27 (KRI VI, 750,13), or vs. 5,28 (KRI VI, 752,14).
- (2-3) The god's fathers Djehutyhotep ($\underline{D}hwty-htp$) and (possibly) Paherenamennakhte (P3-hr-n-lmn-nht.tw) are not known from other sources. The Temple (t3-hw.t) in this period always refers to the temple of Medinet Habu, see Černý, JEA-26 (1940), pp. 127–30.
- (4) Of line 4 only illegible traces of the upper parts of signs subsist.
- (5) The scribe of the *ḥm-ntr*-priest of Sobek Sahtenefer (*Sṣḥ-tṣ-nfr*) is also mentioned in the 'Turin Taxation Papyrus', rt. 2,2 (*RAD* 36,12) as delivering grain from fields in '*Iw-m-itrw* in year 12, month II of *Akhet*, day 16. See also below P. Turin Cat. 2107/407, vs. 1.

The hieratic sign for the god Sobek is more elaborate than the computer made hieroglyph and in fact has a small cobra on the head; see the transcribed sign as it appears in the 'Turin Taxation Papyrus', rt. 2, 2 (*RAD* 36,12 and 13).

- (6) Iuemitru (*Tw-m-itrw*), mentioned frequently in the 'Turin Taxation Papyrus' (rt. 2,1; 2,6; 4,11; 5,1; 5,8 and vs. 3,7), is the modern Naga Awlad Dahmash, a village near Gebelein. In regnal year 17, month III of Shemu, day 19 of Ramesses XI the assistance personnel of the Tomb was sent to get some wood from there, see P. Turin Cat. 1888 + Cat. 2095/190, rt. 2,13 (*RAD* 67,14-15. On the orthography of this place name see Gardiner, *JEA* 27 (1941), p. 36, note 3.
- (8) The foreigner Sobeksankh (*Sbk-s'nḥ*) mentioned here and below in line 16, is also mentioned in the 'Turin Taxation Papyrus', vs. 3,14 (*RAD* 44,6) as delivering grain in the town of Iuemitru (*Tw-m-itrw*) in year 14, month I of *Akhet*, day 11.
- (10) The foreigner 'Awtiry (*'w-ty-ry*) is also mentioned in the 'Turin Taxation Papyrus', vs. 3,13 (*RAD* 44,5) as delivering grain in year 14, month I of *Akhet*, day 11.
- (11) Pentahutres (*Pn-t3-ḥw.t-rs*) is most likely the foreigner by this name mentioned in the 'Turin Taxation Papyrus', vs. 2,4 (*RAD* 43,4) as delivering grain in regnal year 14 month I of *Akhet*, day 10, and in vs. 3,10 (*RAD* 44,2), also delivering grain in the town of Iuemitru (*Iw-m-itrw*) in year 14, month I of *Akhet*, day 11.
- (12) The cultivator Panakhteres (*P3-nht.tw-rs*) is not known from other sources.

- (13) The foreigner Anefsu (n=f-sw) is also mentioned in the 'Turin Taxation Papyrus' vs. 3,3 (RAD 43,11) as active in the town of Sumenu (Smnw) in year 14, month I of Akhet, day 11.
- (14) Nesamun (*Nsy.sw-Imn*) is most likely the foreigner by this name mentioned in the 'Turin Taxation Papyrus', vs. 2,7 (*RAD* 43,5) as delivering grain in year 14, month I of *Akhet*, day 10.
- (15) The herdsman Pakamen (P_3 - k_3mn) may well be the same man as the foreigner by this name mentioned in the 'Turin Taxation Papyrus', vs. 3,9 (RAD 44,1), who was also delivering grain in the town of Iuemitru (Iw-m-itrw) in year 14, month I of Akhet, day 11.
- (16) The foreigner Iuniut (*Iw-niw.t*) is also mentioned in the grain accounts of regnal year 9 of Ramesses XI in P. Turin Cat. 2018, section A vs. 5,5 (*KRI* VI, 856,5) and in the 'Turin Taxation Papyrus rt. 4,11 (*RAD* 40,7) and 5,1 (*RAD* 40,10) delivering grain in the town of Iuemitru (*Iw-m-itrw*) in regnal year 12 month IV of *Peret*, day 5 and month I of *Shemu*, day 9.
- (17) For the foreigner Sobeksankh (*Sbk-s^cnh*) see above rt. 2,8.
- (18) A *rn-rn*, 'name list' or 'roll call' is also mentioned in P. Turin CP 22/009, rt. 2 and P. Turin Cat. 2107/407, rt. 1. Although the precise meaning of this term here is not clear, it most probably concerns a list of men who were supposed to deliver amounts of grain. At the end of this line the name of the town seems to have been omitted.
- (19) Khaemteri (H^c -m-tri) is most likely the foreigner by this name mentioned in the 'Turin Taxation Papyrus', vs. 3,8 (RAD 43,16) as delivering grain in the town of Iuemitru (Iw-m-itrw) in year 14, month I of Akhet, day 11. For nsy.w meaning "those of/the men of' see the expression nsy.w ps H^c 'the men of the Tomb' in P. Turin Cat. 1880, vs. 1,1 (Strike Papyrus; RAD, 53,10) and O. DeM 10007, 1 (Grandet, Catalogue, X, 2006, p. 14).
- (20) The foreigner Nes-?? (*Ns-??*) is not known from other sources.
- (21) The foreigner Pahemnetjersennu (P_3 -hm-ntr-sn.nw) is probably mentioned as the foreigner Pahemnetjer (P_3 -hm-ntr) in the 'Turin Taxation Papyrus', vs. 2,1 (RAD 43,7), delivering grain in regnal year 14, month I of Akhet, day 10. The transcription of this name is not fully certain. One may consider to read P_3 -Nhsy, written almost like in the 'Turin Taxation Papyrus', rt. 4,9 (RAD 41,3).

- (22) The foreigner Shedamunwa ($\check{S}d$ -Imn-w) is not known from other sources.
- (23-25) Lack of space below line 22 caused the scribe to write these lines in a separate column.
- (23) Merery (*Mrry*) is most likely the foreigner also mentioned in the 'Turin Taxation Papyrus', vs. 2,3 (*RAD* 43,3), delivering grain in regnal year 14, month I of *Akhet*, day 10.
- (24) A man Bakemwia ($B_3k-m-wi_3$) is not known from other contemporary sources.
- (25) The number $31\frac{1}{2}$ is the total of the numbers in lines 19-24.



Pl. 9 Turin Cat. 2090 + Cat. 2096 verso. Transcription.

VERSO (Pl. 9)

Transliteration

Line a: [rnp.t-sp...] 3bd IV 3h.t sw 22 swd p3 h3ty- P3-wr- 3bdt h3r 30{...]

Line b: [...] $Imn-R^c$ nswt-ntr.w psy=i [...] ... iw=f r mr ...(?)

Translation

Line a: [Regnal year x], month IV of *Akhet*, day 22. Delivered to the mayor Pawero $(P_3-wr^{-c_3})$ emmer [...] khar [...]

Line b: [...] Amun-Ra, King of the Gods, my right hand. He ...(?)

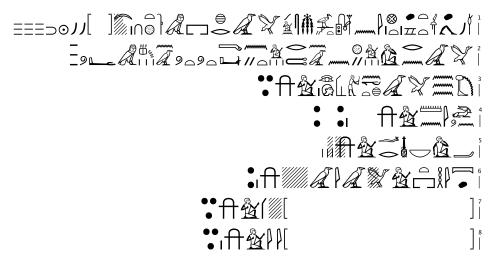
Notes/Commentary

Line a: Similar notes are found in the 'Turin Taxation Papyrus', for example in rt. 2,14 (*RAD* 37,15). Pawero (*P3-wr-*′3) is the mayor of Western Thebes, mentioned also in regnal year 12 of Ramesses XI in the 'Turin Taxation Papyrus' rt. 2,5; 2,14; 4,1 and 4,5 (*RAD* 37,2; 37,15; 40,3 and 40,6 (*p3 ḥ3tj-*′ only)); his house is listed in the same year 12 in P. BM EA 10068, vs. 3,6 (*KRI* VI, 750,6). He is of course also known from his role in the tomb robberies affair of year 16 of Ramesses IX. Line b: This line is part of an earlier writing and now stands perpendicularly to

line a. The expression "Amun my right hand" seems unknown from other sources. Our scribe Dhutmose seems to be fond of such metaphors. In a fragment of a letter written by him, P. Turin CP 22/011 rt. 3, he calls Pharaoh "my lord, my hand of keeping alive ($p_3y=i$ nb $p_3y=i$ dr.t n s'nh)".

4. P. TURIN CP 22/009

A small fragment of poor quality papyrus, 8.1 x 13.8 cm **[Fig. 4]**. The document is a palimpsest: traces of earlier writing are noticeable on both sides. The recto contains the upper part of a column of 8 lines in black ink. The verso contains the remains of the lower part of a column of 6 lines in black and red ink. Top recto = bottom verso. On the recto there are small gaps in lines 5 and 6, and the beginnings of lines 7 and 8 are missing. On the verso the beginnings of lines 1 and 2 are missing and there are small gaps in line 3.



Pl. 10 P. Turin CP 22/009 recto. Transcription.

RECTO (Pl. 10)

Transliteration

- (1) wd Imnt.t Niw.t in sš Dhwty-ms n p3 Hr m rnp.t-sp 10 3bd I [pr.t] sw 19
- (2) p3 rn-rn n n3 rmt nty t3y.tw=tw n3 it $m^{-c}=w$
- (3) w b P3-nht-rs-tp h3r 3/4
- (4) Wnw-Imn h3r 1½ ½
- (5) 3^{cc} Nb-nfr h3r 3
- (6) hr.y-lhw [...] h3r $1\frac{1}{2}$
- (7) [...] har 3/4
- (8) [...] *h3r* 13/4

Translation

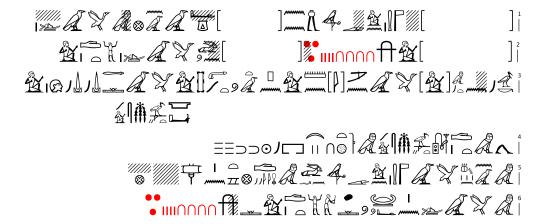
- (1) Setting forth from the West of the City by the scribe of the Tomb Dhutmose (*Dhwty=ms*) in regnal year 10, month I of [*Peret*?], day 19.
- (2) The name list of the men from whom the grain was taken:
- (3) The *wab*-priest Panakhterestep (*P3-nht-rs-tp*): 3 *oipe*.
- (4) Wenuamun (Wnw-Imn): $1\frac{1}{2}$ khar + 2 oipe.
- (5) The foreigner Nebnefer (*Nb*-[*n*]*fr*): 2 *khar*.
- (6) The stable master [...]: $1\frac{1}{2}$ khar.
- (7) [...]: 3 oipe.
- (8) [...]: 1 khar 3 oipe.

Notes/Commentary

- (1) The phrase to describe the start of a mission is found in all similar documents written by the scribe of the Tomb Dhutmose (*Dhwty-ms*), see above the commentary on P. Turin Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, vs. 1,1. The reading of the name of the season *Peret* is possible, but not certain. Month II of *Peret* is mentioned in vs. 4.
- (2) For rn-rn, 'name list', 'roll call', see above P. Turin Cat. 2090/217 + Cat. 2090/218 + Cat. 2090/221 + Cat. 2096/259, rt. 18, and below P. Turin Cat. 2107/407, rt. 1. The verbal construction after nty is not fully clear, although a construction with

nty plus past stp.f is occasionally attested from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty on, as Dr. M. Müller informed me. An abbreviated writing (determinatives only) of the verb t3y, 'to take', is noteworthy but also found slightly later in the oracular amulet P. BM EA 10083, rt. 43 and 45.

- (3) The *wab*-priest Panakhterestep (*P3-nht-rs-tp*) is not known from other sources. For the name see Ranke *PN* I, 113,21.
- (4) The name Wenuamun (*Wnw-Imn*) is very common in this period, but note for example the foreigner by this name mentioned in P. Turin Cat. 2018, section E, vs. 3 (*KRI* VI, 863,5) as receiver of a grain ration in regnal year 10, month II of *Peret*, day 13.
- (5) The foreigner Nebnefer (*Nb-nfr*) is not known from other sources.
- (6) The name of the stable master is illegible.
- (7-8) The names in these lines are almost completely missing due to the break in the papyrus.



Pl. 11 P. Turin CP 22/009 verso. Transcription.

VERSO (Pl. 11)

Transliteration

- (1) [...] ḥm-ntr n Sbk inn [...] 'gny m p3 kr [...]
- (2) [...] $h_{3}r_{4434}$ [...] wnw p_{3} kr n_{23} - $dr_{1}t_{2}$
- (3) B3k-n-Mw.t [...] P3-mr-n-Imn Pn-t3-wm.t $P3-c^3-d3d3$
- (3a) *iry-* ^c *Dhwty-ms*

- (4) iw m-dr.t sš Dhwty-ms m rnp.t-sp 10 3bd II pr.t sw 26
- (5) m n3 it n p3 hm-ntr n Sbk wnw m dmi n T3w-dr??
- (6) $m p s k r n w h^c w Q s dr . t dmd h s r [...] 44 \frac{3}{4}$

Translation

- (1) [...] the *hm-ntr*-priest of Sobek, brought by(?) [...] Agny in the boat [...]
- (2) 44 khar 3 oipe was (in) the boat of Qadjeret (Q_3 -dr.t)
- (3) Bakenmut ($B \stackrel{?}{s}k-n-mw.t[..]$), Pamerenamun ($P \stackrel{?}{s}-mr-n-^{2}Imn$), Pentawemet ($P \stackrel{?}{n}-t \stackrel{?}{s}-mr-n-^{2}Imn$), Pandjadja ($P \stackrel{?}{s}-c \stackrel{?}{s}-d \stackrel{?}{s} d \stackrel{?}{s}$),
- (3a) the doorkeeper Dhutmose (*Dhwty-ms*).
- (4) Arrived in the hand of the scribe Dhutmose ($\underline{D}\underline{h}wty-ms$) in regnal year 10, month II of *Peret*, day 26
- (5) from the grain of the $hm-n\underline{t}r$ -priest of Sobek who was in the town of Tjaw-djer? ($\underline{T} \circ w \underline{d}r$?)
- (6) in the boat of the fisherman Qadjeret (Q_3 -dr.t). Total: 44(?) khar 3 oipe.

Notes/Commentary

- (1) The hm-ntr-priest of Sobek mentioned here and below in line 5 may well the man called P3-hny, known from an entry dated year 12, month II of Akhet day 16 in the 'Turin Taxation Papyrus', rt. 2,2 (RAD 36,12). For the town of Agny, possibly modern El-Matâ'nah, north of Esna, see Gardiner, AEO II, 12*-13*. The town is also mentioned in the 'Turin Taxation Papyrus', rt. 2,8 (RAD 37,6), in P. BM EA 10284, rt. 1 (LRL 48,8) and below in P. Turin Cat. 2107/407, vs. 1.
- (2) Qadjeret (Q_3 - $d_r.t$) is the fisherman also mentioned below in line 6 and known from the 'Turin Taxation Papyrus', rt. 4,2 and 4,3 (RAD 40,5 and 7). See for him also Gabler, Who's Who, 2018, pp. 236, 246–48 and 251–54 (K_3 - $d_r.t$ (II)).
- (3-3a) All these men, except Paadjadja (P_3 - c_3 - d_3d_3), are recorded in the grain accounts of regnal years 8-10 of Ramesses XI in P. Turin Cat. 2018 (KRI VI, 851-863). Paadjadja (P_3 - c_3 - d_3d_3) is mentioned as a necropolis-worker (hrty-ntr) in an entry in the necropolis journal of regnal year 17 of Ramesses XI, P. Turin Cat. 1888 + Cat. 2095/190, rt. 2,6 (RAD 67,1). The doorkeeper Dhutmose (Dhwty-ms) is the doorkeeper of the Temple (Medinet Habu), known also from the 'Turin Taxation Papyrus', rt. 4,6 (RAD 40,14). Together with his colleague doorkeeper

Khonsumose (*Ḥnsw-ms*) they regularly accompanied the scribe Dhutmose (*Dḥw-ty-ms*) on his missions. See for them also above P. Turin Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, vs. 1,2 and Goecke-Bauer, in Janssen *et al.* (eds.), *Woodcutters, Potters and Doorkeepers*, 2013, pp. 150–51.

(5) The name of the town begins with the element $T_{3}w$, but the following signs are not clear and unfortunately no such toponym is known. In view of the mention of a priest of the god Sobek one expects a place name in the region south of Thebes.

5. P. TURIN CAT. 2107/407 [Fig. 5]

A small fragment of poor quality papyrus, 8.6 x 6.6 cm. The recto bears the remains of 4 lines in black and red ink, and the verso bears the remains of two columns with several lines in black and red ink.

Handwriting, lay-out and contents suggest that this fragment either originally belonged to P. Turin Cat. 1895 + Cat. 2006, the so-called 'Turin Taxation Papyrus', or to a similar document.





Pl. 12 P. Turin Cat. 2107/407 recto Transcription.

RECTO (Pl. 12)

Transliteration

- (1) [šsp?] rnp.t-sp 10 3bd I pr.t sw 16 m-dr.t sš S3ḥ-t3-nfr
- (2) [...] m n3 it h3r 63¾

space

- (3) [...] <u>h</u>3r 3¾
- $(4) [...\underline{h}_3r] ? \frac{3}{4}$

Translation

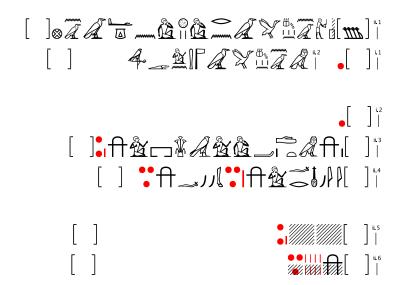
- (1) [...Received?] regnal year 10, month I of *Peret*, day 16, from the scribe Sahtenefer (*Sṣḥ-tṣ-nfr*) [...]
- (2) [...] barley 63 khar 3 oipe.

space

- (3) [...] 3 khar 3 oipe.
- (4) [...? khar] 3 oipe.

Notes/Commentary

(1) The regnal year 10 would point to notes from earlier missions by Dhutmose rather than those of the regnal years 12 and 14 in the main texts of the 'Turin Taxation Papyrus'. For the scribe Sahtenefer ($S_3h_-t_3-nf_r$) see above P. Turin Cat. 2090/217 + Cat. 2090/218 + Cat. 2090/221 + Cat. 2096/259, rt. 5.



Pl. 13 P. Turin Cat. 2107/407 verso. Transcription.

VERSO (Pl. 13)

Transliteration

Column 1

 $(1) [...] \frac{1}{4}$

space

 $(2) [...] \frac{1}{4}$

Column 2

- (1) $[\check{s}s]p$ ns it n ps rn-rn n gny
- (2) [...] m n3 it n p3 ḥm-n<u>t</u>r n Sbk

space

- (3) har m-dr.t 3^{cc} Hr-(m)-ah-bit har $1\frac{1}{2}$
- (4) [...]y=i nfr h3r 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ whm=f h3r 1 $\frac{3}{4}$

space

- (5) [...]. $tw h r \frac{11}{2}$
- (6) [...] <u>h</u>3r [8?...]³/₄

Translation

Column 1

(1) [...] 1 oipe

space

(2) [...] 1 oipe

Column 2

- (1) [Receiv]ed the grain of the name list of Agny ('gny) [...]
- (2) [...?] of the grain of the priest of Sobek.

space

- (3) [...?] *khar* from the foreigner Horemachbit (Hr < m > -3h-bi.t): $1\frac{1}{2}$ *khar*.
- (4) [...Pa?]y-nefer(?) ([P_3]y-nfr): 1 khar 3 oipe; again: 1 khar 3 oipe.

space

- (5) [...]te (.tw): $1\frac{1}{2}$ khar.
- (6) [...] 8(?) khar 3 oipe.

Notes/Commentary

Column 1

The red dots, for oipe, belong to a first column, as indicated by the separation line.

Column 2

- (1) For *rn-rn*, 'name list', 'roll call', see above P. Turin Cat. 2090/217 + Cat. 2090/218 + Cat. 2090/221 + Cat. 2096/259, rt. 18 and P. Turin CP 22/009, rt. 2. The extra determinative (Sign List A 2) is peculiar but certain. For the town of Agny, see above commentary on P. Turin CP 22/009, vs. 1.
- (2) The priest of Sobek is most probably the man called Paheny (*P3-ḥny*), known from the 'Turin Taxation Papyrus', rt. 2,2 (*RAD* 36,12).
- (3) The foreigner Horemachbit (Hr < m > -3h-bi.t) is not known from other sources. For this name see Ranke *PN* I 247,15.
- (4) The reading of the title plus personal name at the beginning of this line is uncertain. The name is not recorded in Ranke *PN* or Backes-Dresbach, 'Index zu Michelle Thirion'.

6. PROVISIONAL CONCLUSIONS

Together with the previously published P. Turin Cat. 2053/051 + Cat. 2061/076 + Cat. 2098/281 + Cat. 2100/305 + Cat. 2100/307 (TPOP Doc ID 55) the documents discussed above not only inform us about a so far little-known phase in the career of the scribe of the Tomb Dhutmose, they also provide welcome additions to the data about landholding, grain revenue collection, and circumstances and activities in Middle and Upper Egypt at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty. 14

When Sir Alan Gardiner published his first translation with commentary of the 'Turin Taxation Papyrus', he called this document "a report by the wellknown scribe of the Necropolis Dhutmose on his collection of taxes at various places south of Thebes" and he further added: "The reason why we find the collection of taxes entrusted to a 'scribe of the Necropolis' doubtless is that the corn in question was destined for the rations or wages of the Necropolis workmen". 15 These statements have influenced all subsequent studies on this document within the framework of the study of agriculture and landholding in Late Ramesside Egypt in general. Based upon detailed calculations Sally Katary concluded that "the total amount of grain collected ... was intended exclusively for the payment of the workmen's rations" and that "the size of the payments delivered suggests that Dhutmose's mission to collect the revenues was an act of necessity arising out of unusual circumstances". 16 Chris Eyre pointed out that at least part of Dhutmose's purpose was to pay wages to the necropolis workforce, but that the grain collected on these trips (in regnal year 12) was handed over to a number of authorities. As an explanation for the fact that Dhutmose as a local state administrator undertook activities originally supervised by temple management, Eyre also rightfully suggested that control of local state administration was by now in practice falling under the control of the same officials as that of the temple administration. 17

The new documents published here show that the grain collection missions of Dhutmose had already started in regnal year 9, if not earlier. Clearly these trips

¹⁴ See the overview by Antoine, ZÄS 142 (2015), pp. 104–19.

¹⁵ Gardiner, *JEA* 27 (1941), pp. 22–23.

¹⁶ Katary, Land Tenure in the Ramesside Period, 1989, p. 181.

¹⁷ Eyre, The Use of Documents, 2013, p. 175.

were more than a one-time action and most likely were indeed necessitated by unusual circumstances. One only has to read the Journal of the Tomb of regnal year 3 of Ramesses X – less than ten years earlier – to apprehend the precarious situation of the workforce of Deir el-Medina and their problematic contacts with state officials. It seems that Dhutmose's main task was no longer the administration of a building project, the creation of a royal tomb, but rather the care of finding food supplies for his workers and probably an even wider community. From the texts discussed above we learn that the revenues collected by Dhutmose just like in the 'Turin Taxation Papyrus' came from local temple officials or directly from cultivators and individual managers, among whom many were of foreign origin. The official who authorized the collection of the grain revenues seems to be Hori, the chief keeper of records of the Double Granary of Pharaoh l.p.h., who was regularly accompanied by other scribes and an assistant of an overseer of fields.

Dhutmose's missions in all these years probably made him the most travelled man of his time in Thebes. His ship's logs contained in the new documents (including <u>TPOP Doc ID 55</u>) provide information on travelling speed and the topography of Middle and Upper Egypt.

A full study of the data provided by the new documents has to wait until more (small) fragments of similar texts from the Turin collection will have been recognized and transcribed. The precarious state of preservation of all these snippets will however not make this an easy task.

¹⁸ KRI VI, 687–699.

¹⁹ See for example the grain ration lists of P. Turin Cat. 2018 (KRI VI, 851–863) and the distribution of grain to several policemen in regnal year 15 recorded in P. BM EA 9997, vs. 5A (KRI VII, 393, 1–5).

²⁰ See also Katary, in Moreno García (ed.), Élites et pouvoir en Égypte ancienne, CRIPEL 28 (2009–2010), pp. 263–319.

APPENDIX

DATES IN THE DOCUMENTS

(Year 9) III Akhet 30	Cat. 2098 + Cat. 2100/306, vs. 1-18 - IV Akhet 14
Year 9 IV Akhet 3	P. Turin Cat. 2053/051 + Cat. 2061/076 + Cat. 2098/281 + Cat. 2100/305 + Cat. 2100/307, rt. 1
Year 9 IV Akhet 6	P. Turin Cat. 2053/051 + Cat. 2061/076 + Cat. 2098/281 + Cat. 2100/305 + Cat. 2100/307, rt. 13
(Year 9) IV Akhet 9	Cat. 2061/080 + Cat. 2106/387, rt. 1,10
(Year 9) IV Akhet 10	Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, rt. 2,1
(Year 9) IV Akhet 11	Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, rt. 2,6
(Year 9) IV Akhet 12(?)	Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, rt. 2,10
Year 10 IV Akhet 8	Cat. 2090 + Cat. 2096, rt. 8
Year 10 IV Akhet 9	Cat. 2090 + Cat. 2096, rt. 9
Year 10 IV Akhet 11	Cat. 2090 + Cat. 2096, vs. horizontal line
Year 10 IV Akhet 12	Cat. 2090 + Cat. 2096, rt. 18
Year 10 IV Akhet 15-19	Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, vs. 1,1-7
Year 10 IV Akhet 20-24	Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, vs. 3,1-5
Year 10 IV Akhet 24	Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, vs. 3,6
Year 10 IV Akhet 19	Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, vs. 4,4
Year 10 IV Akhet 20	Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, vs. 4,1
Year 10 Peret 16	Cat. 2107/407, vs. 1
Year 10 II Peret 26	CP 22/009, vs. 4

PRIVATE NAMES

an. *hm-ntr n Sbk - hm-ntr*-priest of Sobek, CP 22/009, vs. 1;5;

Cat. 2107/407, rt. 2

an. *hr.y-ihw* – stable master, CP 22/009, rt. 6

an. hr.y-ihw p3-ip(?) - stable master of the land register(?),

Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, rt. 1,1

'I-ms(?) Imes, hm-ntr n Mntw(?) - priest of Montu(?)

Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, vs. 4,5

Tw-niw.t luniut, 3^{cc} – foreigner,

Cat. 2090/217 + Cat. 2090/218 + Cat. 2090/221 + Cat. 2096/259, rt. 16

Tw=f-n-Tmn lufenamun, *sš* – scribe, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, rt. 2,2

Imn-nht.tw Amennakhte,

Cat. 2090/217 + Cat. 2090/218 + Cat. 2090/221 + cat. 2096/259, rt. 3

Imn-h Amenkhew, *it-ntr* – god's father,

Cat. 2090/217 + Cat. 209/218 + Cat. 2090/221 + Cat. 2096/259, rt. 1

w-ti-ry Awtiry, *3*⁻⁻⁻ - foreigner,

Cat. 2090/217 + Cat. 2090/218 + Cat. 2090/221 + Cat. 2096/259, rt. 10

'n=f-sw Anefsu, *3''* – foreigner,

Cat. 209/217 + Cat. 209/218 + Cat. 2090/211 + Cat. 2096/259, rt. 13

Wnw-Imn Wenuamun, CP 22/009, rt. 4

Bakemwia, Cat. 2090/217 + Cat. 2090/218 + Cat. 2090/221 + Cat. 2096/259,

rt. 20

B3k-n-Mw.t Bakenmut, CP 22/009, vs. 3

B3k-n-Mw.t Bakenmut, qd - potter, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, vs. 1,3

Рз-сз-дздз Paadjadja, CP 22/009, vs. 3

P3-wr-^c3 Pawero, *ḥ3tj-^c* – mayor, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, vs. 1,2 (titleonly);

Cat. 2090/217 + Cat. 2090/218 + cat. 2090/221 + Cat. 2096/259, vs. 1

Pawekhed, sš hw.t-ntr n pr-Mnw – temple-scribe of the House of Min,

Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, rt. 2,4

P3-b3k-1[mn] Pabaka[mun], sš pr-Špsy – scribe of the House of Shepsy,

Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, rt. 1,13

P3-b3-s3 Pabasa, *w^cb* – *wab*-priest, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, rt. 1, 14-15

P₃-b₃-s₃ Pabasa, *ȝ*[~] – foreigner, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, rt. 2,6

P3-mr-n-Imn Pamerenamun, CP 22/009, vs. 3

P3-Nhsy Panehsy, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, rt. 1,7

P3-nht.tw-rs Panakhteres, *ihwty* – cultivator,

Cat. 2090/217 + Cat. 2090/218 + Cat. 2090/221 + Cat. 2096/259, rt. 12

P3-nht-rs-tp Panakhterestep, *wb* – *wab*-priest, CP 22/009, rt. 3

P3-h3n[...] Pahan[...], 3^{cc} – foreigner, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, rt. 2,2

P3-hm-ntr-sn.nw Pahemnetjersennu, 3^{cc} – foreigner,

Cat. 2090/217 + Cat. 2090/218 + Cat. 2090/221 + Cat. 2096/259, rt. 21

P3-k3mn Pakamen, *mniw* – herdsman,

Cat. 2090/217 + Cat. 2090/218 + Cat. 2090/221 + Cat. 2096/259, rt. 15

P3-<u>t</u>3-ry Patjary, *3*⁻⁻ - foreigner, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, rt. 2,7; vs. 2,8

Pn'-sw-n=i-Nmty Penasueninemty, w'b - wab-priest,

Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2061/387, rt. 1,3

Pn-t3-wm.t Pentawemet, CP 22/009, vs. 3

Pn-t3-wm.t Pentawemet, 3^{cc} – foreigner, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, rt. 2,11 **Pn-t3-wm.t** Pentawemet, **hr.y-pd.t** – chief bowman, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387,

vs. 4.5

Pn-t3-hw.t-rs Pentahutres,

Cat. 2090/217 + Cat. 2090/218 + Cat. 2090/221 + Cat. 2096/259, rt. 11

Pth-Mntw Ptahmontu, **Šrdn** – Sherden, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, rt. 1,6

Mnw-ms Minmose, $s\check{s}$ n $p\check{s}$ imy-r $\check{s}h.w.t$ – scribe of the overseer of fields,

Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, vs. 1,8; 1,10; 4,2

 Mnw-ḥw
 Minkhew, wb - wab-priest, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, vs. 1,12

 Mnw-ḥw
 Minkhew, it-nṭr - god's father, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, vs. 2,6

Mntw-s'nh Montusankh, 3'' - foreigner, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, rt. 2,7; vs.2,7

Mrry Merery, Cat. 2090/217 + Cat. 2090/218 + Cat. 2090/221 + Cat. 2096/259, rt.19

Nb-nfr Nebnefer, 3^{cc} – foreigner, CP 22/009, rt. 5

 Nmty-m-h3
 Nemtyemha, rwdw – administrator, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2061/387, rt. 1,4

 Nmty-s'nh
 Nemtysankh, wh. w – fisherman, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, vs. 1,3

Ns-Imn Nesamun, 3^{cc} – foreigner, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, vs. 2,2

Ns-Imn Nesamun, Cat. 2090/217 + Cat. 2090/218 + Cat. 2090/221 + Cat. 2096/259,

rt. 14

Ns-nht Nesnakht, ihwty - cultivator, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, rt. 2,14

R'-mry Ramery, sš - scribe, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, rt. 2,1; 2,10; vs. 4,2

R'-mss-nht.tw Ramessenakhte, idnw - deputy, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, vs. 4,6

Hri Hori, iḥwty - cultivator, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, rt. 2,3
 Hri Hori, Šrdn - Sherden, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, rt. 1,2

Hri Hori, hry s3w s5.w n n3 šnwty Pr-3 – chief keeper of records of the Double Granary

of Pharaoh, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2061/387, rt. 1,12; 2,1;

rt. 2,5 (title only); 2,10; 2,13; vs.4,2

Hr < m > -3h-bi.t Horemakhbit, 3^{cc} - foreigner, Cat. 2107/407, rt.3

Ḥr-m-tri Khaemteri, Cat. 2090/217 + Cat. 2090/218 + Cat. 2090/221 + Cat. 2096/259,

rt. 19

Saḥ-tɜ-nfr Sahtenefer, sš n ḥm-nt̞r n Sbk – scribe of the ḥm-nt̞r-priest of Sobek,

Cat. 2090/217 + Cat. 2090/218 + Cat. 2090/221 + Cat. 2096/259, rt. 5;

Cat. 2107/407, vs. 1

Sbk-s^cnh Sobeksankh, ^{3^{cc}} – foreigner,

Cat. 2090/217 + Cat. 2090/218 + Cat. 2090/221 + Cat. 2096/259, rt. 8; 17

Šd-Imn-w^c Shedamunwa, *3^{cc}* – foreigner,

Cat. 2090/217 + Cat. 2090/218 + Cat. 2090/221 + Cat. 2096/259, rt. 22

Šd-Mnw Shedmin, hm - servant, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, vs. 2,3

Šd-sw-Ḥnsw Shedsukhonsu, rwdw – administrator, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2061/387, rt. 1,5

Q3-dr.t Qadjeret, *wḥ*.*w* - fisherman, CP 22/009, vs. 2; 6

Tnr-Mntw Telmontu, 3" - foreigner, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, rt. 2,8; vs. 2,5

Dhwty-ms Dhutmose, *iry-* or doorkeeper, CP 22/009, vs. 3

Dhwty-ms Dhutmose, **sš n p3 Hr** – scribe of the Tomb, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387,

rt. 2,2 (sš only); vs. 1,1; 3,7; 4,1 (sš only); CP 22/009, rt. 1; vs. 4 (sš only)

Dhwty-htp Dhuthotep, it-ntr – god's father,

Cat. 2090/217 + Cat. 209/218 + Cat. 2090/221 + Cat. 2096/259, rt. 2

Incomplete:

3ħt-Ḥr-[...] Akhet-Hor-[...], rħty – washerman, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, vs. 2,4

'3-šfy.[t-...] Aäshefyt-[...], ihwty - cultivator, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, rt. 2,6

Pa-[...] Pa-[...], ihwty - cultivator, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, vs. 1,14

P3-[...] Pa-[...], w b - wab-priest, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, vs. 1,18

P3-mdw-[...] Pamedu-[...], Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, vs. 1,13

B3k-n-[...] Baken-[...], Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, vs. 1,16

Bw-ḥ₃[...] Bukha[...], ¾ - foreigner, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, vs. 1,17

Mntw-[...] Montu-[...], Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, vs. 4,6

Ns-[...] Ns-[...], 3^{cc} – foreigner,

Cat. 2090/217 + Cat. 2090/218 + Cat. 2090/221 + Cat. 2096/259, rt. 20

Ḥr-[...] Hor-[...], *it-ntr* – god's father, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, vs. 2,1

Hr-[...] Hor-[...] Hor-[...], wb - wab-priest, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, vs. 1,15

[...]*y-nfr* [Pa?]*y*-nefer, Cat. 2107/407, vs. 2,5

[...]-nht [...]-nakhte, idnw - deputy, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, vs. 1,4

[...]-nht.tw [...]-nakhte, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, vs. 5,4

TOPONYMS

Tw-<m>-itrw luemitru, Naga Awlad Damash, Cat. 2090/217 + Cat. 2090/218 + Cat. 2090/221

+ Cat. 2096/259, rt. 7; 8

'Imnt.t Niw.t The west of the City, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, vs. 1,1; CP 22/009, rt. 1

*Isfb(?) Uncertain reading of a toponym, probably in the region of Akhmîm,

Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, vs. 1,10; vs. 4,4

'gny Agny, modern El-Matâ'nah, Cat. 2107/407, rt. 1

Ns-šnw-Swth Nashenusutekh, Qasr-es-Sayyad, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, vs. 1,5

[Hw.t-]k3-hr=k3 Hut-ka, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, rt. 1,11

Hni-Mnw Kheni-Min, modern Akhmîm, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, vs. 1,7; 3,1

Q'ħ.t Qahet, unknown locality, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, vs. 3,4

Tni This, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, vs. 1,6

Tsw-dr? Unknown locality, CP 22/009, vs. 5

Drty Djerty, modern Tôd, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, rt. 2,6

DOMAINS

'.t p3 rp'.t Chamber/Office of the Prince, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, rt. 2,4
'.t p3 imy-r3 mš' Chamber/Office of the General, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, rt. 2,4-5

pr-Mnw House of Min, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, rt. 2,4; 2,8
 pr-Mntw [...] House of Montu [...], Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, rt. 2, 12

pr-Mntw p3 nhbw [...] House of Montu of the freshland of [...], Cat. 2061/082

+ Cat. 2106/387, rt. 2,12

 pr-Mntw Drty
 House of Montu of Djerty, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, rt. 2,6

 pr-R^c-mss[...]
 House of Ramesses[...], Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, rt. 1,13

pr-Ḥr House of Horus, Cat, 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, rt. 2,11

pr-Sbk n'Iw- < *m* > *-itrw* House of Sobek of luemitru,

Cat. 2090/217 + Cat. 2090/218 + Cat. 2090/221 + Cat. 2096/259, rt. 6

pr-Sbk nty <*m* > *Niw.t* House of Sobek in the City, Cat. 2090/217 + Cat. 2090/218

+ Cat. 2090/221 + cat. 2096/259, rt. 18

pr-Špsy House of Shepsy, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, rt. 1,13

hw.t R^c-mss Temple of Ramesses, Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387, rt. 2,8; vs. 2,12

hw.t R^c-mss m pr-Mnw Temple of Ramesses in the House of Min, Cat. 2061/082

+ Cat. 2106/387, rt. 2,2

ABBREVIATIONS

AEO A.H. Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica, London 1947 (2 vols.

and Plates)

Backes- Burkhard Backes and Guido Dresbach, 'Index zu Michelle Thirion'
Dresbach 'Notes d'onomastique. Contribution à une révision du Ranke PN'

1-14e série', *BMSAES* 8 (2007), pp. 1–48

BMSAES British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan CRIPEL Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie de Lille

JEA Journal of Egyptian Archaeology

KRI K.A. Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical,

Oxford 1975-1990 (8 vols.)

LdÄ W. Helck & E. Otto, Lexikon der Ägyptologie, Wiesbaden, 1975-1992 LRL Jaroslav Černý, Late Ramesside Letters (BiAeg 9), Brussels 1939 RAD A.H. Gardiner, Ramesside Administrative Documents, Oxford

1948, 1968²

Ranke, PN H. Ranke, Die Ägyptischen Personennamen, I, Glückstadt 1935

SAK Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur

Taxation Papyrus P. Turin Cat. 1895 + Cat. 2006, transcription in Gardiner

RAD, pp. 35–44

ZÄS Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde



Fig. 1 P. Turin Cat. 2053/051 + Cat. 2061/076 + Cat. 2098/281 + Cat. 2100/305 + Cat. 2100/307. © Scan Museo Egizio. TPOP Doc ID 55



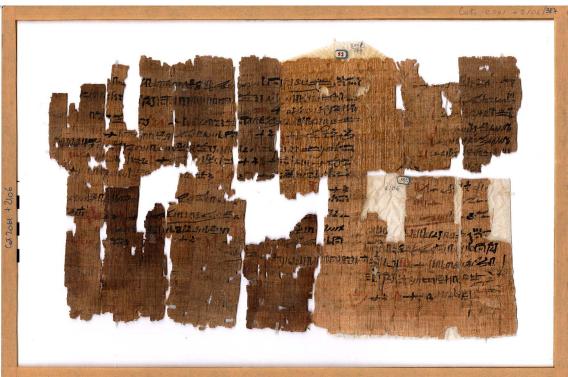


Fig. 2 P. Turin Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387. © Scan Museo Egizio. TPOP Doc ID 84





Fig. 3 P. Turin Cat. 2090/217 + Cat. 2090/218 + Cat. 2090/221 + Cat. 2096/259. © Scan Museo Egizio. TPOP Doc ID 14



Fig. 4 P. Turin CP 22/009. © Scan Museo Egizio. TPOP Obj ID 150937



Fig. 5 P. Turin Cat. 2107/407 = P. Turin CP22/006. © Scan Museo Egizio. TPOP Obj ID 140935

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P. Turin Cat. 2061/082 + Cat. 2106/387. **[Fig. 2]** TPOP Doc ID 84

P. Turin Cat. 2090/217 + Cat. 2090/218 + Cat. 2090/221 + Cat. 2096/259. **[Fig. 3]**<u>TPOP Doc ID 14</u>

P. Turin CP 22/009. **[Fig. 4]**TPOP Obj ID 150937

P. Turin Cat. 2107/407 = P. Turin CP2 2/006. **[Fig. 5]** TPOP Obj ID 140935

P. Turin Cat. 1895 + Cat. 2006 (Turin Taxation Papyrus) TPOP Doc ID 37

P. Turin Cat. 2018 TPOP Obj ID 165

P. Turin Cat. 1888 + Cat. 2095/190 TPOP Doc ID 74

P. Turin Cat. 1880 (Strike Papyrus) TPOP Doc ID 131

THE FORGOTTEN PAPYRUS

Regina Hölzl, Michael Neumann (Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien)

ABSTRACT

In 2013 a surprising discovery came to light during work in the depot of the Egyptian and Near Eastern Collection. A previously unsuspected papyrus scroll, wrapped in two pieces of linen fabric, was found in a clay cone that had served as a coffin for a mummified ibis.

The clay-cone coffin containing the papyrus and mummy of the bird comes from the so-called Miramar Collection of Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian, brother of the Austrian emperor Franz Joseph I. It had been acquired in Egypt in the Nineteenth century.

Decipherment and analysis of the hieratic text on both sides of the papyrus could begin after the scroll, which was 2 ½ metres long, had been carefully unrolled. Translation revealed the text to be a sort of notebook or accounting book. The paleography as well as dates mentioned in the text showed that the papyrus had been written during the reign of Ramesses XI. The identity of the scribe who wrote it was also revealed: he was Thutmose of Deir el-Medina whose hand is well known from other documents.

A central question posed by the scroll was when had it been put into the clay cone ibis coffin – in antiquity or only in the nineteenth century? There are arguments for and against both interpretations. ¹⁴C scientific analysis of the age of the linen fabric in which the scroll was wrapped could not provide a definitive answer to the dating question.

1. INTRODUCTION¹

The study of objects in the collection is among the primary tasks of the museum curator, for only knowledge about the artifacts firmly based on research can provide a sound basis for their presentation and for communicating information about their meaning and function to museum visitors.

Between 2011 and 2016 a comprehensive general reassessment was carried out of the holdings – amounting to about 17,000 objects all told – of the Egyptian and Near Eastern Collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien.

It was planned to transfer a considerable number of the ca. 150 animal mummies among the holdings to a depot at the edge of the city. For this reason, these were not simply checked off but subjected to thorough investigation and cleaning. Among the mummified animals scheduled for transfer such as crocodiles, snakes, birds, cats, and so forth there were a large number of so-called ibis clay cones – conical vessels which served as "coffins" for mummified ibises and parts of ibises.

In early summer 2013 as preparation for transferring these clay cone "coffins" with their contents to the depot, the ibis mummies – whenever this proved possible – were removed from the cones for cleaning. Underneath the ibis mummy in clay cone Inv. No. ÄS 5174 a papyrus scroll, carefully wrapped in two pieces of cloth, was discovered; until that moment its existence had been completely unsuspected [Figs. 1, 2 and 3].

1.1. The clay cone coffins for ibises in the Vienna collection

The Egyptian and Near Eastern Collection includes a total of twenty-nine clay cone coffins: some of them are still sealed but others had been opened earlier at some indeterminate moment.

The clay cone coffin Inv. No. ÄS 5174, in which the "forgotten papyrus" was discovered, was among those previously opened. A clay dish which had served as the lid for the clay cone coffin lid was subsumed with the cone itself and its contents (ibis mummy and other filling) under Inv. No. ÄS 5174.

¹ We are grateful to Dr. Marianne Eaton-Krauss for the English translation of the original German article.



Fig. 1 Clay cone with its lid and the ibis mummy contained in it Inv. No. ÄS 5174 (Photo by KHM).



Fig. 2 Linen-wrapped 'package' found under the mummified ibis in clay cone Inv. No. ÄS 5174 (Photo by KHM).



Fig. 3 Contents of clay cone Inv. No. ÄS 5174: mummified ibis and the 'package' (opened) with the scroll (Photo by KHM).



Fig. 4a-b Clay cone coffin (unopened) Inv. No. ÄS 3821a1 from above and in profile (Photo by KHM).

Nearly all the clay cone coffins of the collection came to Vienna in the nineteenth century. Fourteen of them – Inv. Nos. ÄS 3813–3821, 3821a1–3821a5² – belonged to what is known as "Alter Bestand" (old holdings). Fourteen more (Inv. Nos. ÄS 5162-5175) derive from the "Miramar Collection" of Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian, and one clay cone coffin, found in storage without an inventory number in 2005, has since been assigned Inv. No. ÄS 3821a6. Nine of the clay cone coffins are still sealed – i.e., the dish-like lid remains in place, smeared with plaster, over the mouth of the cone [Figs. 4a–b]. The remaining clay cone coffins were already open when they entered the collection, even if three of those among the *Alter Bestand* labeled "unopened" in the inventory book of 1875 were opened after being officially inventoried.³

² In the 1875 inventory book, Inv. No. ÄS 3821a, comprising a total of 5 "ibis clay vessels", was added to the entry for Inv. No. ÄS 3821. It seems as if, shortly after inventorying the cones Inv. Nos. ÄS 3813–3821, more cones were discovered; since the numbers following 3821 had already been assigned, Inv. No. ÄS 3821a comprising all five was inserted.

³ These clay cones are Inv. Nos. ÄS 3818, 3819, and 3820.



Fig. 5 Portrait of Ferdinand Maximilian as Emperor Maximilian of Mexico, ca. 1864 (Photo by KHM Weltmuseum, Photograph Collection).

2. THE MIRAMAR COLLECTION

The ibis clay cone coffin in which the papyrus scroll was discovered belonged to the collection of Egyptian antiquities amassed by Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian, later known as Emperor Maximilian of Mexico [Fig. 5], at his residence Miramar Palace near Trieste. The name of the Miramar Collection, which included 1,930 items acquired in Egypt between 1850 and 1865, is derived from that of the palace. Maximilian bought his first ancient Egyptian objects between 1850 and 1855: some of them came from the collection of Anton von Laurin who had served in Alexandria as Austrian consul general. When he left Egypt in 1849 to assume a new post in Bucharest he disposed of his Aegyptiaca.

⁴ The purchase is mentioned on p. IX of Reinisch, *Die Aegyptischen Denkmaeler*, 1865.

Ferdinand Maximilian had himself brought a larger number of ancient Egyptian works of art and artifacts back from his trip to Egypt in 1855 when, in his capacity as commander-in-chief of the Austrian war fleet, he paid an official visit to the Egyptian Viceroy Said Pasha. In 1865 there appeared a comprehensive publication by the Egyptologist Simon Leo Reinisch of the Egyptian monuments acquired for Maximilian's collection between 1850 and 1855. In the same year, Maximilian (having accepted the crown of Mexico on the recommendation of Napoleon III) commissioned Reinisch to buy more Aegyptiaca, intended for a planned museum in Mexico. Reinisch purchased some 1,200 objects in Egypt, but before Maximilian's wish to install an Egyptian collection in Mexico could be realized, the Emperor lost political backing in his new homeland. In the course of the conflict between Mexican monarchists and republicans the latter took him prisoner and in 1867 he was executed in Querétaro, Mexico.

Thereafter Maximilian's entire collection of *Aegyptiaca* was incorporated into the Imperial Collection in Vienna. But it took many years until the objects and artifacts could actually become a part of the Imperial Collection due to the very complex issues involved with the archduke's collection. Some objects were his personal property, but he had acquired others as a representative of the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy which made them state property and necessitated wide-ranging bureaucratic paperwork.

The egyptologist Ernst Ritter von Bergmann, Keeper of the Egyptian collection of the Imperial and Royal Coin Collection and Cabinet of Antiquities, was charged with reviewing and study of Maximilian's collection of Aegyptiaca. He divided the objects into two categories on the basis of provenance: the first group was comprised of those items which Reinisch had acquired for the planned museum in Mexico. The pieces acquired between 1850 and 1855 and published by Reinisch were assigned to the second group.

In 1878 the Miramar Collection could finally be officially incorporated into the imperial Hapsburg collection; de facto, however, the objects remained for a time in Maximilian's former residence Miramar Palace and could only be brought to Vienna in 1883.

In Reinisch's publication of the earlier acquisitions (1850–55) eleven ibis mum-

⁵ Reinisch, Die Aegyptischen Denkmaeler, 1865.

mies under numbers 11–226 are mentioned as coming from the necropolis of Memphis. Some are still in clay cone coffins. However, fourteen ibis clay cones were listed with the provenance "Miramar Collection" when, after Bergmann's survey of the material, the Miramar *Aegyptiaca* were entered into the inventory in Vienna.

Bergmann put these fourteen pieces in Group II (i.e., among the earlier acquisitions). This would mean that Reinisch, when preparing his publication, had overlooked some clay cone coffins or that the additional examples were among those items acquired in 1865 and mistakenly attributed by Bergmann to the earlier group.

In fact, all that can be said nowadays is that there is no certainty when and how the clay cone coffin with the papyrus was acquired for the Miramar Collection. Since the scroll is mentioned neither by Reinisch nor Bergmann, it can be presumed that neither knew it existed.

3. OPENING AND CONSERVATION OF THE PAPYRUS SCROLL

Detailed, thorough preparations taking several months were essential before the scroll could be professionally unrolled. Appropriate methods had to be devised to accomplish this successfully. The process for the unrolling was developed by Vanessa Novak, the departmental conservator of the Egyptian and Near Eastern Collection, and Michael Fackelmann, an experienced papyrus restorer who had restored several papyri for the collection in the past. A concise summary of the unrolling and conservation of the scroll is given below.

Initially the outer wrappings of the papyrus looked rather brittle, so the first step was treatment in a humidifier of sorts to restore the flexibility of the fibers. This apparatus was an acrylic glass chamber placed over the papyrus. Absorbent paper, soaked with a solution of water and ethanol, was put into the chamber enabling the controlled dosage of the papyrus with moisture. The scroll could then be unrolled section by section. Each section after unrolling was then treated with cellulose to regenerate the fibers and then smoothed with the aid of a

⁶ See Reinisch, *Die Aegyptischen Denkmaeler*, 1865, p. 98. Apparently an error, because there are twelve ibis mummies.

⁷ A detailed description of the preparations, the methods employed, the unrolling, and the conservation of the papyrus can be found in Novak, *Technologische Studien* 12 (2016).

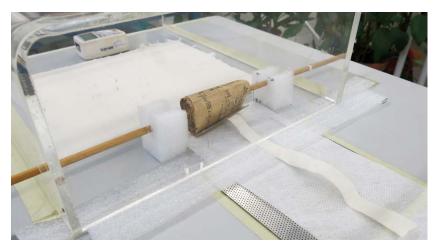


Fig. 6 Scroll (before unrolling) in the plexiglas humidifier (Photo by KHM).



Fig. 7 Regeneration with cellulose-ethanol solution of the section of the unrolled scroll on the vacuum table (Photo by KHM).



Fig. 8 Preparatory treatment of the innermost layers of the papyrus before unrolling (Photo by KHM).

vacuum table and weights [Figs. 6, 7 and 8].

Treatment of the fragments of the outer layers of the papyrus preceded the actual unrolling of the scroll. There were twenty-two fragments in total, which adjoined each other. The same procedure was used to conserve them as described above for the papyrus: when glued together after conservation they measured a total of 76 cm. The actual unrolling of the scroll followed the restoration of this segment with the fragments.

In general it can be said that the scroll was in good condition – probably as a result of the long time it had spent in a climatically stable environment. Only four days were required for the complete unrolling of the scroll which was accomplished without any new damage resulting.

At discovery, the scroll was enclosed in two pieces of linen fabric: a long, stiff piece open at both top and bottom, and wrapped around this a torn and very wrinkled thinner piece bearing an ink drawing.

It was only after the outer piece of linen had been treated in the humidifier and smoothed out that the sketchy drawing on it could be understood: a partially preserved depiction of a striding man and a crocodile placed vertically beside his right arm. [Figs. 9 and 10]

4. PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE PAPYRUS

The unrolled papyrus Vienna ÄS 10321 measures exactly 250 cm in length with a height of 7.5 cm [Fig. 11a, b].8 This format is unusual, and since the upper edge is not exactly straight, it can be suggested that it has been cut from a taller, rolled-up scroll. In favor of this idea is also the distance between the segments glued together to comprise it. This measures mostly about 25 cm, the standard size of large contemporaneous scrolls. The several fragments broken off the outer three to four layers of the scroll were in very poor condition; some of them had been lost over the course of time in antiquity, which results in the twenty lacunae now present.

The fragmentary section of the papyrus is 76 cm long. On the first of the fragments the title of the scroll can be read and the name of the scribe – Thutmose

⁸ For measurements, see Novak, Technologische Studien 12 (2016), pp. 113, 116.



Fig. 9 Treatment in the humidifier of the very wrinkled outer linen wrapping (Photo by KHM).

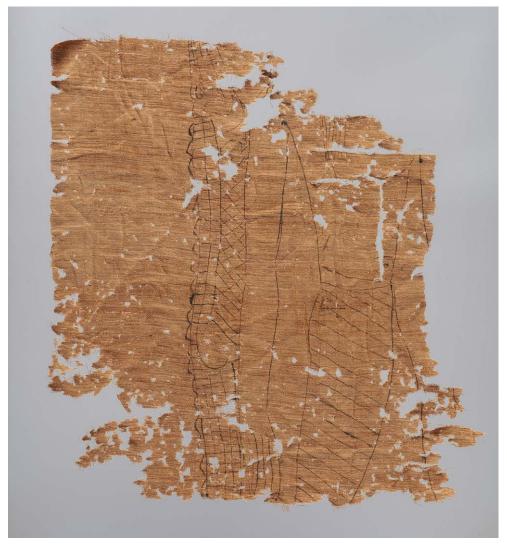


Fig. 10 Drawing on the outer linen wrapping after treatment in the humidifier (Photo by KHM).

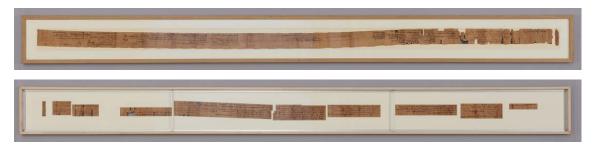


Fig. 11a-b The entire papyrus (recto and verso) (Photo by KHM).



Fig. 12 The 22 fragments before they were arranged in order (Photo by KHM).



Fig. 13 The folded-over end of the papyrus (Photo by KHM).



Fig. 14 Recto, column 11 with traces of an earlier text (Photo by KHM).

– occurs for the first time [Fig. 12, No. 22]. One anomalous fragment is about 1 cm taller than the others. Probably it was added to reinforce the beginning of the scroll [Fig. 12, No. 16]. The first completely preserved section is about 20 cm long; an even break separated it from the rest of the scroll. This break must have occurred before the scroll was rolled up for the last time, since both edges of the break overlap by several centimeters. The condition of the rest of the scroll is excellent. Even the final uninscribed 7 cm forming a tube around which the papyrus was rolled up (there was no rod) could be unrolled without any problems [Fig. 13]. The papyrus is a palimpsest, as is obvious at various places where clear traces of older text can be recognized [Fig. 14]. On the back (the verso) there is in fact a longer section of text which is only slightly faded and upside down. Apparently an attempt was initially made to wash it off but then it was decided

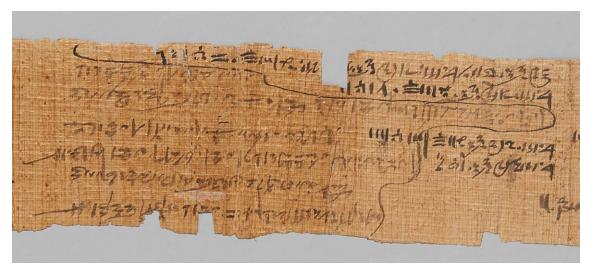


Fig. 15 Verso, columns 7 and 7a showing an earlier text (upside down and separated by a curved line) (Photo by KHM).

instead simply to draw a line separating it from the new added text – perhaps because it was still needed **[Fig. 15]**. The writing on the scroll is not a single continuous text but a very heterogeneous assortment. For example, the width of the columns varies from 6.5 to 30 cm. Also the number of lines in the individual columns differs considerably. Sometimes there is only one but then as many as eight. Furthermore, there are also some longer uninscribed sections, such as preceding and following column 8 on the recto. The Vienna scroll is thus a good example of how the Egyptians could be very thrifty when using papyrus, as well as quite profligate!

5. DATING AND AUTHORSHIP

Because animal mummies are typical above all of the Late Period, it would be natural to expect that a scroll buried with a mummified animal also dated to the same era. But even before the beginning of conservation, the paleography of the text visible on the fragment of the wrapping dated the papyrus to the late Ramesside era. The scroll was thus at least a half-millennium older than the ibis mummy. This could be confirmed after the fragments were rejoined since a date could be read in Column 2: "Year 6 of whm msw.t, 2nd month of 3ht, 27th day" [Fig. 16], in other words, year 24 of the reign of Ramesses XI.

The author of the text is well known – the "scribe of the tomb [named] Thut-



Fig. 16 Recto, column 2: date and name of the scribe (Photo by KHM).

mose", whose family can be traced through many generations back to the time of Ramesses III.9 Since royal tombs were no longer built after the end of the New Kingdom, Thutmose's career was in an administration other than his title implies. In many documents of the Late Ramesside Period he is mentioned, e.g., in the so-called "Giornale", 10 in the "Turin Taxation Papyrus", 11 and also in pBM 10054. 12 And quite recently a ship's log in his hand was discovered among the holdings of the Museo Egizio in Turin (P. Turin Cat. 2053/051 + Cat. 2061/076 + Cat. 2098/281 + Cat. 2100/305 + Cat. 2100/307). 13

Thutmose is best known from a batch of letters, ¹⁴ most of them addressed to his son Butehamun or received from him. One of these letters (Papyrus Berlin P. 10494) contains the information that Thutmose had to abandon his home at Deir el-Medina (perhaps because a storm had destroyed it) and was at that time residing in new quarters at Medinet Habu. ¹⁵ Columns bearing texts naming Thutmose's son Butehamun ¹⁶ come from the remains of a house or communal

⁹ Bierbrier, The Tomb-Builders, 1995, p. 36.

¹⁰ Botti and Peet, *Il Giornale*, I, 1928, pl. 11.

¹¹ Pleyte and Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, 1869-1876, pls. 65, C, 156. P. Turin Cat. 1895+Cat. 2006, see TPOP Doc ID 37 https://papyri2020.museoegizio.it/d/37.

¹² Peet, *The Great Tomb-Robberies*, 1930, p. 135, pls. 25–35.

¹³ Demarée, in Andreas Dorn and Stéphane Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, pp. 131–40.

¹⁴ Text: Černý, Late Ramesside Letters, 1939; for translations, see Wente, Late Ramesside Letters, 1967.

¹⁵ Wente, Late Ramesside Letters, 1967, p. 44.

¹⁶ Hölscher, Post-Ramesside Remains, 1954, p. 5.

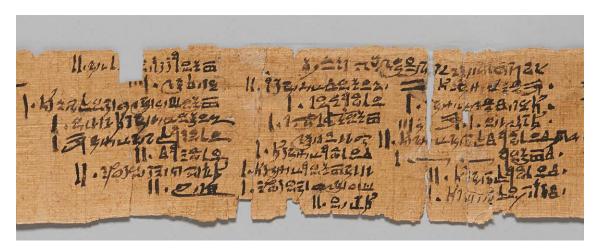


Fig. 17 Recto, columns 4-7: inventory of a bag containing jewelry and amulets (Photo by KHM).

building¹⁷ at Medinet Habu. And there are inscriptions with the name Thutmose on two door jambs in Cairo's Egyptian Museum (JE 48832–33)¹⁸ as well as on two door lintels (one of them in the museum in Tübingen, No. 1707), which seem to come from the same building.

6. SUMMARY OF CONTENT¹⁹

At the beginning of the text on the recto there is a line perpendicular to the normal orientation of writing which gives information about the contents: "Records concerning the copper of the scribe Thutmose".

The papyrus includes several lists documenting acquisitions and payments. Deliveries of copper to smiths are also noted and remarks made about what specific items (e.g., spears) are to be forged from the material. Some entries are dated to specific years but others mention only a day in a particular month. These entries show that the scroll was a kind of accounting book. In addition, there are also sections with entirely different content. For example, in columns 4-7 there is an inventory of items in a bag, among them many amulets and pieces of jewelry made of gold and gemstones [Fig. 17]. In columns 10 and 9 of the recto

¹⁷ Jansen-Winkeln, *GM* 139 (1994), p. 35.

¹⁸ Brunner-Traut and Brunner, *Die ägyptische Sammlung*, 1981, pp. 78–80, pl. 109. The present location of the second lintel is not known.

¹⁹ For the translation and interpretation of the text, see Demarée, in Hölzl *et al.* (eds.), *The Notebook*, 2018, pp. 10–26.



Fig. 18 Inner linen wrapping (Photo by KHM).

there is a laundry list: it is part of the older text which is upside down and separated from the younger text by a line. Also on the recto in columns 5-7 valuable linen fabric is mentioned as being robbed from Thutmose's property when he was away from home, travelling on a trip up north. This report is also dated to year 6 of the <code>whmmsw.t-era</code>. The thieves are listed by name along with the loot found in their possession which included items of clothing as well as jewelry, mirrors, razors, and valuable vessels. Possibly the report continued on the verso of the papyrus, since column 10 lists garments unrelated to the texts they flank which are part of the accounting book. It seems as if the scribe used the next best available spot to continue the text.

The rather chaotic looking composition of the papyrus lends it the character of a notebook – an impression which is intensified when each section of text introduced by a date is not in the expected order. For example, on the verso, an entry of year 6 is followed by one of year 5 (the list of items in the bag with the amulets). It can thus be assumed that Thutmose's accounting book was in use

over a longer period, with entries erased and replaced, time and again, with new texts having nothing to do with bookkeeping.

7. THE ENTIRE ASSEMBLY, BEGINNING WITH THE LINEN

As mentioned above, the papyrus was wrapped in two pieces of linen fabric. The very well-preserved inner, thickly woven piece is light in color and measures 76 cm long by 11.5 cm wide [Fig. 18].²⁰ It was wrapped around the scroll so as to leave it open at the top and bottom. The outer piece of linen, 30.5 by 28 cm, was much thinner and of dark hue. It was very wrinkled and tattered, with many small holes [Fig. 2].21 It completely enclosed the packet on all sides, apparently to prevent loss of more fragments, and it bears an interesting drawing, which is however only fragmentarily preserved. All that remains of a male figure are part of his kilt, the upper torso, the right arm and part of the left, as well as the lower edge of a wig. Behind him there is a crocodile drawn vertically, as if standing on the tip of its tail [Fig. 10]. Similar representations, but with a hippopotamus instead of a man, are known from the Middle Kingdom – for example, in a scene on a magical knife in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City (MMA 30.8.218). A short text alongside reads "Protection for the day". Astronomical ceilings in tombs and temples also often include this group in depictions of the circumpolar stars.²² The closest parallel to the representation on the Vienna linen wrapping – also drawn on a piece of linen – is today in the British Museum (BM EA 10270). Crocodiles are shown on both sides of a male individual wearing a wig that sports a uraeus. The precise meaning of this group is not known; however, on analogy with the scenes on the magical knives, it might also have prophylactic meaning.²³ Unfortunately the provenance of the linen in London is not known although it is datable to the Late Period. Its size would be suitable for use as a shroud for an animal mummy, but there is no proof for such a use.

²⁰ Novak, *Technologische Studien* 12 (2016), pp. 99–100.

²¹ Novak, Technologische Studien 12 (2016), pp. 100–01.

²² Leitz, Studien zur ägyptischen Astronomie, 1989, p. 35.

²³ We are indebted to Rob Demarée for this information.

8. ¹⁴C TESTING

Because the dating of the papyrus and the animal mummy are not the same the question arises about when and why the ensemble was created:

Did the dedicator of the ibis mummy in the Late Period include the papyrus or did the intensive interest in and practice of animal cults start earlier, in the New Kingdom? Or was the ensemble first put together in the nineteenth century by a dealer in antiquities, perhaps to increase the price for a not-so-unusual ibis mummy? (Even today thousands of ibis mummies still "slumber" in ibis gallery cemeteries in Egypt.)

In order to be able to say more about the age of the ensemble pieces, they were investigated using ¹⁴C technology. On May 14th 2014, Adjunct University Prof. Dr. Eva Maria Wild (of the VERA-Laboratorium, University of Vienna²⁴) took samples from both pieces of linen wrapping and another from the bindings of the ibis mummy found with the scroll. Since on the one hand, such experiments invariably destroy the samples, while on the other the dating of the scroll itself was established by the paleography of the text as well as by actual ancient Egyptian dates included in the text, it was not necessary to sample the papyrus itself.

As expected, the ibis mummy was datable to the Thirtieth Dynasty/Ptolemaic Period, as was the outer wrapping with the sketch. But the inner piece of linen belonged to the late Twenty-First/early Twenty-Second Dynasty.

9. PROVENANCE OF THE ENSEMBLE

The results of the ¹⁴C testing allows for the possibility that the ensemble was put together in antiquity. But what could have been the reason for including an accounting document with an animal mummy? The content of the scroll may have played no role at all – or perhaps even the person who found it in the Late Period could not read it! Possibly the decisive factor was that a papyrus scroll was considered an ideal gift for the god Thoth, the inventor of writing. But perhaps the papyrus also served as a symbolic message for the gods, comparable

²⁴ Faculty of Physics – Isotope Physics, Vienna Environmental Research Accelerator (VERA), Währinger Straße 17, 1090 Vienna.

to those Demotic documents found in the animal cemeteries at Saqqara and Heliopolis which were perhaps also included with the mummies of animals.²⁵ The mummies might have served as messengers, given that a pun is found in the "Myth of the Celestial Cow"²⁶ playing on the similarity of the words for messenger and ibis as written in ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs. The vast number of animal mummies may well hint at the great significance of this practice. Since most Egyptians were illiterate, the lack of written requests is not surprising. It could have been considered adequate simply to voice a message over an ibis mummy during a ritual; an actual, written message may not have been essential. Conceivably, a scroll with completely unrelated content could have performed a symbolic function. In the case of the Vienna papyrus in particular, it is noteworthy that the name of Thoth as a theophoric element in the scribe's name was included in the title written on the outside. This could have provided the logical basis for composing the ensemble in antiquity.

There is, however, a weighty argument in favor of dating the composition of the ensemble to the nineteenth century. Thutmose was not an unknown scribe but rather a personality mentioned in numerous documents dating to the late Ramesside era. Many of these texts had appeared in European collections by the third decade of the nineteenth century; presumably they were discovered only shortly before. This era witnessed the activity in the Theban area of diplomats such as Drovetti and Salt, and even if there exists no specific mention of a find of papyri, the dramatic increase in the asking price for papyri at that time shows how sought after they must have been - a factor which certainly encouraged tomb robbery.²⁷ One of such papyri reached Vienna, the so-called Papyrus Ambras. The simultaneous appearance of such a large number of related documents makes it more than likely that all of them derive from one or more "caches" discovered in and around Medinet Habu, perhaps even in the vicinity of the house or office of Butehamun, Thutmose's son. For this reason the question must be asked just how likely is it that a text such as the accounting book of Thutmose, which fits so well content-wise and chronologically with those documents found at the beginning of the nineteenth century, would have been

²⁵ Bleiberg, Animal Mummies, 2013, pp. 84-85.

²⁶ Hornung, Der ägyptische Mythos von der Himmelskuh, 1982, p. 66 n. 161.

²⁷ Demarée, in Pantalacci (ed.), La lettre d'archive, 2008, p. 44.

discovered separately from them more than 2000 years earlier and then added to an ibis mummy, moreover 700 kilometers to the north of Thebes.

As mentioned above, the exact provenance of many pieces in the Miramar Collection cannot be determined exactly today. Some might have been among the gifts of the viceroy, or come from the collection of the Austrian consul von Laurin or purchased by Reinisch. So the possibility cannot be excluded that our papyrus was part of the nineteenth century papyrus find that passed via the hands of an antiquities dealer into the Miramar Collection. At that time the value of an animal mummy was not especially high and so it is conceivable that a dealer put together the ensemble in order to increase his profit. Furthermore the idea can be rejected out of hand that the ensemble was created in order to smuggle the papyrus out of Egypt, since in the 1850s and 1860s the export of antiquities was relatively unproblematic.

The dealer must have been responsible for wrapping the scroll in the outer linen wrapping. He may have used the shroud of an animal mummy such as still preserved on two ibis mummies in the Vienna collection (Inv. Nos. ÄS 6164 and 5166). This would explain its tattered condition. It is however surprising that the buyer, whether Maximilian or Reinisch, did not remove the scroll from the clay coffin especially since transporting it in the "coffin" endangered the papyrus. For this reason it must be concluded that the buyer did not know about the hidden papyrus. The dealer could have simply confused it with another clay cone – or perhaps in the early nineteenth century, shortly after its discovery, the scroll was hidden in the clay cone and then forgotten? In any case, it would have been simply coincidental that the dealer put a document with the name Thoth into the "coffin" of an animal that was dedicated to this god. And so the hope – perhaps faint – remains that the ensemble was indeed put together in antiquity and that it does not represent a unique case. If so, then among the millions of yet unopened ibis clay cone coffins, another such scroll may still await discovery.

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THE "ARCHIVE" OF RAMESSES IX: ADMINISTRATIVE DOCUMENTS STORED IN THE MUSEO EGIZIO

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ABSTRACT

This paper sketches the work of a three-year project funded by the Museo Egizio. Its focal point is a select group of papyri housed in the papyrus collection, a corpus composed of circa thirty documents related to the administration of the workmen's village of Deir el-Medina and dated to the New Kingdom, more precisely to the reign of Ramesses IX. The majority of these papyri arrived in Turin in 1824 as part of the so-called "Collezione Drovetti". From that moment onwards, they began attracting the attention of scholars: Willem Pleyte and Francesco Rossi published facsimiles and descriptions of portions of them in their 1876 catalogue. Jaroslav Černý showed active interest in their study and the notes he produced during his visits to the collection were used by other scholars as starting points for their research. For this reason the text editions provided for the documents are often not the outcome of a direct examination of the originals. The aim of this new project is to provide the first complete publication of this material, furnishing pictures, hieroglyphic transcriptions, transliterations, translations, and commentary, as well as taking into account their materiality and the scribal practices evidenced. Furthermore, the research will be an opportunity to analyse ancient archival practice at Deir el-Medina and to verify if the corpus contains information relating to whether there was a central archive in the village.

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper is a preliminary report¹ of my PhD project, which started in September 2018 and is focused on a *corpus* of papyri kept in the Museo Egizio in Turin.² The selected material deals with the administration of the village of Deir el-Medina and dates to the reign of Ramesses IX.³ The following pages aim to gather the available information, used as a starting point of my research, in order to contextualize the manuscripts and their history. The first section lists previous studies devoted to the same material and clarify why a (new) publication is needed. Furthermore, this research project intends to investigate how these documents were stored in antiquity. For this reason, an examination of the known archival practices in Deir el-Medina is included in this paper.

2. STUDIES AND ARCHIVES

2.1. Research history

This section is not intended to be an exhaustive exposition of the studies devoted to the workmen's village; my aim is rather to provide an overview of the essential publications and text editions connected to the study of the administrative documents presented in this paper.⁴

The first mention of some of these manuscripts dates to the 1876 catalogue *Papyrus de Turin*, published by Willem Pleyte with facsimiles made by Francesco Rossi.⁵ Their work was then extended by Jaroslav Černý, who dedicated himself

¹ Status of content May 2019.

² This project is funded from 10/2018 to 09/2022 by the Museo Egizio, and I am enrolled as a PhD student at the University of Leipzig, supervised by Prof. Hans-W. Fischer-Elfert and by Dr Ben Haring (Leiden). The research project is part of the "Turin Papyrus Online Platform" (TPOP) project, supervised by Susanne Töpfer. I would like to thank Susanne Töpfer, Ann-Katrin Gill (Leipzig) and Thomas Christiansen (Copenhagen); without their support this research would not have been started. I am also grateful to Rob Demarée (Leiden) and Ben Haring for their encouragement and essential help.

³ The biggest part of the selected material belongs to the so-called Drovetti Collection. For reasons of space, the origin of the collection is not investigated here. The matter is discussed in Del Vesco and Poole, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, pp. 97–130.

⁴ This is not the place to list a complete bibliography; furthermore, the focus is only on the monographs related to the corpus. For a systematic bibliography, containing not only the monographs but also the many articles and papers connected to the study of Deir el-Medina, see the Deir el-Medina Database, dmd.wepwawet.nl.

⁵ Pleyte and Rossi, Papyrus de Turin, 1876.

to a better understanding of these objects. He contributed to the publication of parts of the Museo Egizio's collection, producing editions of some letters in *Late Ramesside Letters.*⁶ Furthermore, his notebooks provided a starting point for those scholars who could not consult the originals. Kenneth Kitchen, for instance, was one such: among the Ramesside documents, which he included in *Ramesside Inscriptions*, the hieroglyphic transcriptions given for the documents kept in Turin were based on the notebooks made by the Czech Egyptologist. Other publications that used Černý as a base for their translations are *Late-Egyptian miscellanies*⁸ by Ricardo Caminos, the *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Ramessidenzeit*⁹ by Schafik Allam, and *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh*¹⁰ by Wolfgang Helck. These are of primary importance for the study of the material, although they exhibit the limits of text editions made without seeing the originals.

The volume *Il Giornale della Necropoli di Tebe*¹¹ by Giuseppe Botti and Thomas Eric Peet, printed in 1928 and devoted to the publication of the so-called "Necropolis Journals", which are part of the Drovetti collection, was produced in a different situation. The hieroglyphic transcriptions, transliterations and translations proposed therein were the outcome of direct investigation of the documents themselves. Likewise, the book by Robert Demarée and Dominique Valbelle, *Les Registres de Recensement du Village de Deir el-Médineh (Le "Stato civile")*, ¹² is the result of an examination of the originals.

2.2. Archival practice in Deir el-Medina

What is known about private or public archives in Deir el-Medina? What suggestions have scholars already made, and could they be applied to the *corpus* here in question? Since there exists no reliable archaeological or written evidence, it is difficult to demonstrate with certainty that the papyri belonged to either a private or a public archive.

- 6 Černý, Late Ramesside Letters, 1939.
- **7** Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions, I–VIII, 1975–90.
- 8 Caminos, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 1954.
- 9 Allam, Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Ramessidenzeit, 1973.
- **10** Helck, Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh, 2002.
- 11 Botti and Peet, Il Giornale della Necropoli di Tebe, 1928.
- 12 Demarée and Valbelle, Les Registres de Recensement du Village de Deir el-Medineh (Le "Stato Civile"), 2011.

To date, only private archives or collections of texts dated to the New Kingdom are known from Deir el-Medina. For instance two dossiers, of which one belonged to the family of the scribe Qenhorkhopeshef and the other to the family of the scribe Amennakht. The first is composed of approximately fourty documents, many of which were found during the excavation led by Bernard Bruyère in 1928. Pieter Pestman was able to reconstruct periods in the life of this dossier, which was passed from one owner to another for more than a century. The other collection of texts was owned by the family of the scribe Amennakht. One of the *Late Ramesside Letters* recounts:

Now as for the documents onto which the sky rained in the house of the scribe Horsheri, my (grandfather), you brought them out, and we found that (they) had not become erased. I said to you: "I will unbind them again". You brought them down below, and we deposited (them) in the tomb of Amennakht, my (great-grand) father. 15

During the excavation of Deir el-Medina tombs 1336–40 (the last of which is attributed to Amennakht), archaeologists found several fragments of papyri related to manuscripts belonging to the Drovetti lot, ¹⁶ such as the plan of Ramesses IV's tomb (P. Turin Cat. 1885), suggesting that this could be the place in which Drovetti's agents discovered some of the papyri that were then sold to the Savoy king. ¹⁷ Furthermore, the fact that some of the *Late Ramesside Letters* are kept in Turin and are connected to Amennakht's family convinced scholars that they were part of the same dossier. ¹⁸

The papyri of these two dossiers differ from those examined in this project: they contain (semi)literary texts and/or texts connected with the family affairs of the people that preserved them. Although the documents of the *corpus* present various text types, they are always related to the general administration of

¹³ Bruyère, Rapport sur les Fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1928), 1929, p. 120.

¹⁴ Pestman, in Demarée et al. (eds.), Gleanings from Deir el-Medîna, 1982, pp. 155–72.

¹⁵ Wente, Late Ramesside Letters, 1967, p. 38.

¹⁶ Bruyère, Rapport sur les Fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1933-1934), I, 1937, pp. 79-80.

¹⁷ Hagen and Soliman, in Bausi *et al.* (eds.), *Manuscripts and Archives*, 2018, p. 152. Haring, in Hoogendijk and van Gompel (eds.), *The Materiality of Texts from Ancient Egypt*, 2018, p. 44 n. 9.

¹⁸ Černý, Late Ramesside Letters, 1939, p. XV.

the village; there is no mention of private issues.¹⁹ This could be taken as a proof that they belong to a different kind of archive in which official documents were stored. The question regarding the existence of a central archive in the village has been present in Deir el-Medina studies since the very beginning. As Donker van Heel stressed: "The question has some relevance, since the study of the administration of Deir el-Medina seems to rest on the assumption that there was."²⁰

The scholarly opinion is divided between two different positions. Daniel Soliman recapitulates efficaciously the *status questionis*: some scholars suggest that the documents stayed in possession of the scribes and were kept in their houses.²¹ Others are certain of the existence of an official archive, probably located in the *htm*, the "Enclosure".²² So far, due to the lack of pertinent evidence it is not possible to side definitively with one position over the other.

To clarify if the documents belonged to a private or public archive, the information listed above will be taken into account, together with current research projects related to archives and archival practices. Looking directly at the original papyri, it should be possible to collect new data on their content and on their materiality. In order to do that, the reconstruction of the "lives" of the papyri is an essential step: how many text witnesses do they contain, when were these text witnesses written and by whom? Answering these questions will allow a more precise idea of how the documents were used.

The second step will focus on where the papyri were stored and who their owners were. The primary source of information is the content of the documents themselves. It is possible that the content of the unpublished texts could shed some light on the situation. Furthermore, matching the various handwritings to their scribes could reveal patterns, potentially providing clues towards understanding their storage situation. For instance, it will be possible to determine if the different scribes writing on the papyri belonged to the same family or not and whether they handed down the papyri to their heirs, meaning the documents were kept in the family, thus allowing comparisons with other private archives.

¹⁹ The statements made here are based on the information currently available, but they could change after a closer examination of the documents.

²⁰ Donker van Heel and Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village. Scribal Practice in Ramesside Deir el-Medina*, 2003 n. 7

²¹ Eyre, The Use of Documents in Pharaonic Egypt, 2013, pp. 234–5.

²² Allam, in Piacentini *et al.* (eds.), *Egyptian archives*, 2009, p. 66. Hagen and Soliman, in Bausi *et al.* (eds.), *Manuscripts and Archives*, 2018, pp. 148–50.

On the other hand, if the scribes prove to be related only for the role they played inside the village, could that mean that they used a different system of storage, in order to make the documents and the information written on them easily accessible for everyone? It is likely that this different situation would have affected the use of the papyri and their content too. For instance, in documents belonging to a public archive we should not expect to find private issues of any kind. So far, these are only speculations that may be either confirmed or disproved as a result of this research.

3. THE "ARCHIVE" OF RAMESSES IX

3.1. The corpus

The project described here will provide the first complete publication of the administrative papyri dated to the time of Ramesses IX (or probably dating to Ramesses IX, but attributed by scholars to other Ramesside kings; see chart) housed in the Museo Egizio, with complete documentation including photographs, hieroglyphic transcriptions, transliterations, translations, and commentary. The reign of Ramesses IX is particularly promising, because a vast number of manuscripts is preserved covering almost every year of his 19-year reign. The *corpus* is composed of around thirty papyri, both published and unpublished; however, the majority of the publications are based only on Jaroslav Černý's notes.²³ The following chart lists all the material that is at present part of the *corpus*; it could increase in quantity, since the project involves the examination of the various fragments not yet attributed. For every papyrus the table indicates the inventory number, the attributed date, whether there are notes made by Černý, and whether it is mentioned in Kitchen's *Ramesside Inscriptions*.

²³ Kept in the Archive of the Griffith Institute (Oxford): http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/archive/.

Table 1 The papyri of the "archive" of Ramesses IX

INVENTORY NUMBER	DATE(S) attributed	ČERNÝ NOTES	KRI
Cat. 1881+Cat. 2080+Cat. 2092/229 (TPOP ID 103085)	R.IX	X	X
Cat. 1883+Cat. 2095 (TPOP ID 134012)	R.VII ²⁴	X	X
Cat. 1884+Cat. 2067/118+Cat. 2071/137+Cat. 2105/368 (TPOP ID 134287)	R.IX	X	X
Cat. 1891(TPOP ID 133795)	R.IX	X	X
Cat. 1894 (TPOP ID 133781)	R.IX	X	X
Cat. 1898+Cat. 2094 (TPOP ID 134517)	R.X- R.XI ²⁵	X	X
Cat. 1900+Cat. 2101/318+Cat. 2048/033+Cat. 2093/235+ Cat. 2097/247+Cat. 2088/201 (TPOP ID 134117)	R.IX-R.X	X	/
Cat. 1905 (TPOP ID 134392)	R.IX	X	X
Cat. 1907+Cat. 1908 (TPOP ID 134394)	R.VI ²⁶ or VII ²⁷	X	X
Cat. 1933 (TPOP ID 134118)	/	/	/
Cat. 1999+Cat. 2009 (TPOP ID 134514)	R.IX	X	X
Cat. 2001+Cat. 2005+Cat. 2029+Cat. 2078/161+Cat. 2078/162 (TPOP ID 134516)	R.IX	X	X
Cat. 2002 (TPOP ID 134524)	R.V ²⁸	X	X
Cat. 2004+Cat. 2007+Cat. 2057/058+Cat. 2106/369 (TPOP ID 134362)	R.IX	X	X
Cat. 2008+Cat. 2016+Cat. 2066/106+Cat. 2066/107+ Cat. 2066/109+Cat. 2068/122+Cat. 2068/123+ Cat. 2099/293+ Cat. 2099/297 (TPOP ID 134522)	R.IX	X	X
Cat. 2013+Cat. 2050/040+Cat. 2050/041+Cat. 2050/042+Cat. 2050/043+Cat. 2050/044+Cat. 2061/079+Cat. 2107/414 (TPOP ID 134288)	R.IX	X	X
Cat. 2056/056+Cat. 2056/057+Cat. 2075+Cat. 2096-263 (TPOP ID 134537)	R.IX	X	X

Eyre, *JEA* 66 (1980), pp. 168–70.

Botti and Peet, *Il Giornale della Necropoli di Tebe*, 1928, pp. 42–55. KRI VI, 1983, pp. 687–99. Helck, *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh*, 2002, pp. 541–44.

KRI VI, 1983, pp. 403–9. Janssen, JEA 52 (1966), pp. 91–92.

Helck, Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh, 2002, pp. 456–60.

Helck, Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh, 2002, pp. 418 and 481. KRI VI, 1983, pp. 244–45.

INVENTORY NUMBER	DATE(S) attributed	ČERNÝ NOTES	KRI
Cat. 2062 (TPOP ID 134282)	R.V ²⁹	X	/
Cat. 2063/091+Cat. 2063/092+Cat. 2063/093+Cat. 2105/358+Cat. 2105/364+Cat. 2107/409+Cat. 2107/411 (TPOP ID 134283)	R.IX	X	X
Cat. 2071/139 (TPOP ID 134258)	R.IX	/	X
Cat. 2071/140 (TPOP ID 134285)	R.IX	X	X
Cat. 2072/142 (TPOP ID 134385)	R.IX	X	X
Cat. 2074+Cat. 2096/261+Cat. 2096/264+Cat. 2096/266+ Cat. 2096/272 (TPOP ID 134431)	R.IX	X	X
Cat. 2081+Cat. 2092/254 (TPOP ID 103620)	R.V	X	X
Cat. 2086+Cat. 2091 (TPOP ID 134508)	R.IX	X	X
Provv. 6243 (TPOP ID 133492)	/	/	/
Provv. 6245 (TPOP ID 134119)	/	/	/
Provv. 6258 (TPOP ID 134068)	R.IX	/	/
Provv. 6285 (TPOP ID 134186)	R.IX	/	/

3.2. Working with the originals

It is intended that the first stage of the work will involve the study of the originals, of both the framed papyri and the fragments. The aims of this stage are to:

- 1. confirm that the documents selected have been dated correctly;
- 2. identify, if possible, other fragments dating to Ramesses IX;
- 3. provide preliminary transliterations and translations.

Moreover, during this phase it will be possible to become acquainted with the different scribes and their distinctive features, with regard to materiality and scribal practice. In this manner, at the end of the year a definitive *corpus* will be established and the connections between fragments and larger documents will be clarified. Having completed the study of the originals, the project's second stage will be devoted to processing the data obtained, preparing digital reconstructions of the manuscripts and final hieroglyphic transcriptions, transliterations and translations; a commentary on the texts will be drawn up. An

²⁹ Helck, Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh, 2002, pp. 425–26.

examination of other material (ostraca and papyri) dated to the reign of Ramesses IX and stored elsewhere than Turin will be considered as well. Thus, it will allow a better comparison of the documents.³⁰ After the second stage has been completed, the focus will be on the content and the information one can retrieve from it, trying to understand how the village administration worked in that precise period, who were the people living in Deir el-Medina and what their occupations were; previous and ongoing research projects will be taken into account.

The last step will involve writing up the results obtained during the previous two years. The social relations between the people and their roles in the village will be reconstructed with the help of the documentation created in the previous stages and, where possible, comparisons with preceding time periods will be provided. This community certainly had a long life and the end of the Twentieth Dynasty was a problematic period, when administrative and social features were subject to change. A better understanding of the material produced at that time could shed light on these matters. One of the issues that would be investigated, for instance, is the case of the fishermen, whose importance seems to have grown during the reign of Ramesses IX, when they began to be especially present in the documentation.³¹

4. CONCLUSION

This paper has given me the opportunity to present my research, to discuss my approach to this new project and to analyse the results of earlier work. As already stressed in the previous pages, the material I am currently working on has not been left unexplored by scholars, but a new systematic investigation of it could bring to light information as yet unrevealed. The first immediate result will be the complete publication of this *corpus*. The treatment and investigation of the papyri as a *corpus* will additionally give insights on the political, social and economic structures in Deir el-Medina in the time of the reign of Ramesses IX, hopefully providing information on the situation not yet fully understood.

³⁰ The material selected is the one listed in the Leiden Deir el-Medina Database (https://dmd.wepwawet.nl) and dated to the reign of Ramesses IX.

³¹ I would like to thank Dr Robert Demarée who, during our first meeting, drew my attention to this and various other points.

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LITERARY OSTRACA AND TOMB DECORATION: A NEW APPROACH TO PERSONAL PIETY AT DEIR EL-MEDINA¹

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ABSTRACT

Substantial progress has been made on the publication and study of literary ostraca from Deir el-Medina in recent years, particularly within the editorial programme of the IFAO (Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire).

These conditions create the opportunity for a new field of study. It has long been an Egyptological practice to analyse the decorative programmes of private tombs for expressions of personal piety. Now we have the opportunity to combine this data with the data collected via literary ostraca – especially those with religious content, found in a particular tomb, or authored by the tomb owner – to understand more precisely the personal beliefs of some famous individuals living and working in Deir el-Medina. This contribution intends to illustrate this new direction of research by means of a number of case studies.

¹ I would like to thank the organizers of the workshop for giving me the opportunity to present a new part of the program developed at the IFAO relating to the study of the literary ostraca. (Action spécifique: "Les ostraca littéraires de Deir eMedina. Etude et publication", under the direction of Fl. Albert and A. Gasse). This work has been made possible thanks to the LabEx Archimede program "Investissement d'Avenir" ANR-11-LABX-0032-01.

1. INTRODUCTION

The culture and personal beliefs of the ancient Egyptians are more than ever a topical issue and the site of Deir el-Medina, the "village" of the workers of the royal Theban necropolis in the New Kingdom, offers exceptional material for this type of study.

The decor of the tombs on the site has already been studied in terms of personal piety, see for instance the recent publication of Hanane Gaber, "Une piété intense: les spécificités du milieu professionnel des artisans royaux de Deir el-Medina à travers le prisme de la famille d'Amennakht".²

But the decor of those tombs might be called something of an "official" decor: even if tombs exhibit significant variation, the decor has been designed according to artistic norms and religious practises adopted by the whole community of Deir el-Medina during a particular period.

Bernard Bruyère already noted this point more than half a century ago in the publication of TT211, the tomb of Paneb.³

DÉCORATION. Les thèmes religieux traités par le décorateur d'une tombe paraissent souvent dictés d'abord par les préoccupations philosophiques du moment non exemptes parfois d'un opportunisme politique. Ce sont là les directives les plus généralement agissantes pour toutes les classes de la société à commencer par le pharaon. En second lieu interviendraient les thèmes inspirés ou imposés par le nom et la fonction du propriétaire de la tombe.

By and large, the iconography of the tombs of Deir el-Medina is characteristic and really distinct from other tombs in the Theban necropolis. Nonetheless in each tomb we can notice original and personalized details, leading us to wonder what kind of flexibility the owners enjoyed compared with the standards of the group.

Fortunately, a new burst of enthusiasm for resuming the publication of still unpublished tombs of the Village has recently taken hold at the IFAO at the instigation of Cédric Larcher. In addition, the study and publication of literary ostraca has improved significantly these last few years in general, and at the IFAO

² Gaber, in Gaber et al. (eds.), À l'œuvre on connaît l'artisan...de Pharaon!, 2017, pp. 191–205.

³ Bruyère, Tombes de Deir el Médineh à décoration monochrome, 1952, p. 79.

in particular, with the emergence of focus areas with specific projects⁴ along with specialists such as Andreas Dorn and Stéphane Polis,⁵ both of whom are active participants in the IFAO programme "Ostraca littéraires" and continue to publish important studies relating to the scribe Amennakhte.⁶

The study of literary ostraca that Florence Albert and myself have been pursuing for some years is based on a multifaceted approach to the ostracon as an object in addition to the text it bears and transmits. This approach particularly favours a thorough examination of the palaeography in order to remain as sensitive as possible to the identification of different writing styles or 'hands' of scribes. We also insist on the value of taking into account the relationship between an ostracon and the place it was found, which is most of the time hard to know.

The upshot is that conditions are favourable for opening up new directions for study. As part of this work, I found it most interesting to try and match the literary ostraca from one individual to the decor of his tomb in order to become better acquainted with his intellectual concerns and above all to get as close as possible to the ways in which he demonstrated his personal piety. At the time of publication of the present article, the literary production of only very few individuals has been identified, though progress on this study is regular.

The case study of Amennakhte seems, as far as our topic is concerned, a kind of model. His literary production, that is to say those texts that are attributed to him as author, is mostly known through ostraca and includes unpublished religious texts: some reveal a particular devotion to Osiris and Ptah. See, for instance, the ostracon Turin CGT 57002 presented in this workshop by Andreas Dorn and Stéphane Polis, which is clearly devoted to Ptah. They have also recently published an ostracon (ostracon IFAO OL 117) that shows an invocation of the gods of the nome and goddesses (of the nome?), and a hymn to Osiris.

Unfortunately, his tomb (probably pit 1338), being an epigraphic, can deliver no clue as to his personal beliefs. Moreover, we do not know the provenance of all the literary ostraca he has written himself, as shown in the following table.

⁴ See, in this colloquium, the lectures of Florence Albert, "Current Work on the Literary Ostraca of Deir el-Medina kept at the IFAO", and of Nathalie Šojić, "Editing Letters from Deir el-Medina: A Preliminary Report".

⁵ See *infra*, footnote 10.

⁶ See, for instance, their contribution on this colloquium: "The Hymn to Ptah as a Demiurgic and Fertility God on O. Turin CGT 57002".

⁷ See *supra*, footnote 6.

⁸ Dorn and Polis, BIFAO 116 (2016); Hassan, SAK 46 (2017).

2. SOME LITERARY OSTRACA WRITTEN BY AMENNAKHT: PROVENANCE

- O. Gardiner 25 (Hymn to Thebes): Gift Golenischeff
- O. Cairo HO 425 (Literary text): Deir el-Medina or Valley of the Kings?
- O. Ifao 117 (Invocation of gods of the nomes and goddesses, hymn to Osiris):

 No indication
- O. Ifao 2506 (Epistolary exercise): GP
- O. Ifao 3115 (Epistolary exercise): No indication
- O. Ifao 3968 (Literary text): No indication
- O. Ifao 4039 (Hymn to Ramsès II?): GP
- O. Ifao 5510 (Hymn to Ramsès II?): Kôm 215
- O. Torino (particularly CGT 57001 and 57002): Scavi Schiaparelli

Consequently, one must continue the study of literary ostraca and the identification of hands in order to establish the most complete possible file of literary productions of one individual. Of course, the comparison with papyri cannot be excluded from this research.

In addition, it is necessary to draw up an inventory of the ostraca (and papyri) found in the tombs of Deir el-Medina. There again, the task is not easy.

As we know, Bernard Bruyère was not much interested in written ostraca, showing very little interest in literary ones. He often mentions them vaguely in his admirable "Cahiers de fouilles".

We can mention for instance, the *Cahier de fouilles*, 1923, p. 32:9 "Issu de la Tbe n°290. Chapelle, ostracon calcaire (here B. Bruyère gives in hieroglyphs the name of Iry-nfr)." We do not know if the text of the ostracon offers anything else, or whether it is written in hieratic or hieroglyphs. Many ostraca bear the mark 290, indicating that they were found in this archaeological area.

Where exactly the pieces come from is indicated only on a minority of these pieces. The excavators most certainly had no time to record systematically the quantity of pieces extracted each day. Besides, a huge amount of ostraca has been found in the Grand Puits, the abandoned well and rubbish deposit located just outside the village. For the moment we can point to very few ostraca and papyri found for certain in the tombs. By taking the tombs in the official order

⁹ See "Archives Bruyère" on the website http://ifao.egnet.net/archives-scientifiques/.

(following the Theban Tomb numbering system), we highlight below the most significant cases.

2.1. TT1 Sennedjem

O. Sinuhe (CG 25216 10): Probably the most famous "literary" ostracon found in a tomb. This big piece of limestone (1.06 m x 0.22 m) bears the text of a major work of Egyptian literature, and as such is purely a literary text without significant religious content.

As Florence Albert recalled at this symposium, "literary ostraca" is a general term including literary texts in a narrow sense, together with religious, magical, and medical texts and various other genres and types. So, of course, in my study I intend to focus on religious texts. But we must always keep in mind that any literary text can be informative, directly or indirectly; and some of them possibly about the personal beliefs of their owners, who are not necessarily the authors. Some may have created texts and copied them themselves, others may have copied texts they chose to accompany them in their tombs, and others still may have decided to take into their tombs a text composed and written by someone else.

In the case of the Cairo ostracon of Sinuhe: was Sennedjem the copyist, the scribe who wrote the text himself? We wish we could identify the hand of this "copyist". Obviously we have to compare it with other ostraca in the hopes of finding the same writing somewhere else, perhaps with religious texts or allusions, or even drawings.

2.2. TT211 Paneb

Tomb of Paneb, Servant of the Lord of the Two Lands in the Place of Truth. We know of his unfinished tomb¹³ and that no ostraca have been found there, as far as has been recorded. Nonetheless many stelae dedicated by Paneb have been found in the monument: two are dedicated to Mert-Seger, one to Hathor and one to Ptah and the Elephantine triad.¹⁴

¹⁰ Daressy, *Ostraca*, 1901, pp. 46–47, pl. XLI. Excavation 1896.

¹¹ See *supra*, footnote 5.

¹² As we know, the verso has been written by one well known Djehuty-her-mektuf.

¹³ Bruyère, Tombes de Deir el Médineh à décoration monochrome, 1952, pp. 66-67, pl. XV-XXV.

¹⁴ For instance, BM 272, dedicated to Mert-Seger (Hall, *HTBM* VII, 1914, pl. 42) or BM 267, family stela dedicated to Ptah and the triad of Elephantine (James, *HTBM* IX, 1970, pl. 37).

Elsewhere in the tomb, on a poorly preserved part of the ceiling, we see a god and two goddesses seated. According to Bruyère the god must be the falcon-headed Sokaris and the two goddesses must be "une Hathor et Amentit ou Mert-seger". If this identification is correct, the stelae could evidence a quite classical devotion in Deir el-Medina of Paneb towards Hathor and Meret-Seger. On the other hand, the triad of Elephantine corresponds to a more personal choice. 17

The significance is perhaps the same for some small ex-voto stelae made from ostraca that have often been classified as pictorial ostraca and less frequently as literary ostraca. We shall discuss these pieces below.

2.3. O. IFAO 313618

The ostracon was not mentioned during clearance of the tomb and probably does not come from it. However, it must undoubtedly be related to the Paneb of TT211. As a matter of fact, Deborah Sweeney¹⁹ notices that the inscription mentions one Paneb: "probably the notorious foreman of the right side during the Nineteenth Dynasty...". And she also specifies that the hieroglyphic text mentions "The great cat of Mut, mistress of the Two Lands". ²⁰ Mut's connection with the cat is well known. ²¹ This modest text certainly highlights a particular link between Paneb and Mut. The nature of this link is yet to be explained.

It is also useful to note that many literary ostraca designated as "religious" were found in the courtyards of the tombs, and that they are something like small stelae or ex-votos. Here, note that the line between the literary ostraca and pictorial ostraca is very thin.

We are used to classifying as pictorial ostraca those which show drawings on at least one side, and often ask ourselves whether the text or the drawing is the most important. Of course, we know that the text functions with the drawing and the drawing with the text. Because of this difficulty, some "pictorial ostraca" in the

¹⁵ Bruyère, *Tombes de Deir el Médineh à décoration monochrom*e, 1952: pl. XXX corresponding to that scene is not complete.

¹⁶ Bruyère, Tombes de Deir el Médineh à décoration monochrome, 1952, p. 73.

¹⁷ Gaber, in Gaber et al. (eds.), À l'œuvre on connaît l'artisan...de Pharaon!, 2017, pp. 222-24.

¹⁸ Unknown provenance, pottery, red writing, H. 0.14 cm; W: 0.163 cm; Gasse, *Ostraca figurés*, 1986, p. 7 and pl. VIII.

¹⁹ Sweeney, in Magee et al. (eds.), Sitting beside Lepsius, 2009.

²⁰ In fact, Mistress of the sky.

²¹ Te Velde, in Van Voss et al. (eds.), Studies in Egyptian Religion, 1982.

IFAO collection have been classified as literary texts. Nevertheless, this leads us to investigate the function and the place the ostraca have been found. Concerning the function of the pictorial ostraca, I follow Lara Weiss²² when she says that some pictorial ostraca function as two-dimensional cult-images, and that some may also have served as offerings. See the following example:

2.4. TT290 Ari-nefer

The well-known ostracon Louvre 12965,²³ showing Ari-Nefer (probably) sharpening knives. The ostracon was probably "logé derrière la stèle, dans le mur, dans un but pieux... pour assurer catégoriquement à Ari-Nefer la disposition des offrandes. C'est donc une garantie prise par Ari-Nefer contre les détournements d'offrandes qu'on pourrait commettre à son détriment."²⁴

2.5. TT9 Amenmose²⁵

This tomb reveals a particularly interesting case. Amenmose was a scorpion charmer under the reign of Ramesses III-IV.

Some ostraca writtten by Amenmose have previously been published. O. DM 10248: a letter from Amenmose to the scribe Hori (problems relating to water). O DM 1260:²⁶ a hymn, probably to Osiris. O. DM 1593 + O. Michaelides 82:²⁷ a hymn to Amon.

Thanks to precise palaeographic comparisons, I can attribute this last ostracon to the same scribe. The text reveals a devotion (quite normal for a Theban individual) to Amun, when writings related to his profession could have been expected. No doubt that we can go further and identify other texts written by the same hand.

²² Weiss, *Religious Practice*, 2015, pp. 158–61.

²³ See for instance Yoyotte, in Andreu et al. (eds.), L'art du contour, 2013, p. 274.

²⁴ Bruyère and Kuentz, *La tombe de Nakht-Min*, 2015, p. 34.

²⁵ Currently being published by J.-P. Corteggiani, whom I thank for having allowed me to use his photos and drawings for this communication.

²⁶ Posener, *Catalogue*, II, 1951, p. 41, pl. 68 and 68 a.

²⁷ Posener, Catalogue, III, 1977-80, pp. 76-77, pl. 46 and 46a.

3. CONCLUSION

What sort of detail can we add to the picture of personal piety by taking into account literary ostraca?

Why are some literary ostraca present in the tombs? This is a very difficult question, because we know so few exact provenances for the ostraca, however this is a study in progress at the IFAO, as Florence Albert has related to us.

Besides, literary documents with religious content may have been found outside the tombs of these individuals (for example Amennakhte). It is then possible to associate a complementary documentation with stelae erected as ex-votos in sacred chapels together with religious graffiti.

Today, the study is only just beginning. First of all, a very abundant corpus, as abundant as possible, must be identified with the help of the persistent progress of palaeographical studies.

By gradually identifying scribal hands, the research is becoming more and more fruitful and significant: by means of this new approach, the study of literary ostraca is able to bring to our knowledge new aspects of the thoughts and beliefs of the community of craftsmen in Deir el-Medina.

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EDITING LETTERS FROM DEIR EL-MEDINA: A PRELIMINARY REPORT

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ABSTRACT

As part of the study programme on literary ostraca kept at the IFAO, with which I have been associated since 2016,¹ I am preparing the publication of a new *Catalogue des ostraca littéraires de Deir el-Médineh*,² comprising a batch of about 160 pieces, the majority of which contain texts of a letter nature. For this publication, we³ have decided to define a homogeneous corpus in order to enrich the publication by orienting it towards a specific research theme. The objective is, in doing so, to enhance the value of the contribution of unpublished material.⁴ The letters, which are of obvious interest from both a linguistic and a palaeographical point of view, have attracted my full attention.⁵

The first section of this article is devoted to the material and archaeological data of the objects (§ I). The following section deals with the identification and selection of texts, and proposes a typology of documents (§ II). The third section presents the research perspectives offered by an in-depth study of the material (§ III). To illustrate the work in progress, I present, in an appendix, the publication of OL 610 (Appendix 1).

¹ This study programme is directed by Annie Gasse (CNRS) and Florence Albert (IFAO), who kindly offered that I participate in it following our meeting at the first *Académie hiératique* which took place in 2015. The participants' studies of this first *Académie hiératique* have meanwhile been published: Albert and Gasse (eds.), Études de documents hiératiques inédits, 2019.

² The IFAO's ostraca collection, which includes about 15,000 pieces, is divided into three main groups: (1) literary ostraca (ca. 7,000 pieces), (2) non-literary ostraca (ca. 6,000 pieces) and (3) figurative ostraca (ca. 2,000 pieces). On the conditions for studying these objects, see Gasse, in Demarée and Egberts (eds.), *Village Voices*, 1992, pp. 51–3.

³ With Annie Gasse and Florence Albert.

⁴ A few letters have been classified as literary ostraca for several reasons: (1) the text is written carefully (so-called "literary" writing, cf. *infra*, § I.5.1); (2) the text is punctuated; (3) the ostracon contains several texts, one of which is literary in nature; (4) the identification of the content is uncertain; (5) it is clearly a school exercise (cf. *infra*, § II.2.2).

⁵ The facsimiles in the next pages have been made by computer for this article only. Those for the catalogue are much more accurate and of much better quality, but they are still under work. The images are not to scale and are provided here are only intended to illustrate certain aspects of the layout of the documents.

⁶ To date, more than two thirds of the selected material has been published.

I. ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA

1. DISCOVERY

The selected ostraca come from the excavations of the French mission led by Bernard Bruyère at the site of Deir el-Medina.⁷ Of all the material, only eighty-three objects – i.e. about half of the corpus studied – bear a mark that gives us very brief information about the place and date of their discovery.⁸ With the exception of OL 1847, for which a black and white photograph is available in one of the Bruyère reports,⁹ there is no correspondence between a particular object and the excavation documents, either journals¹⁰ or reports.¹¹ It is therefore very difficult, if not often impossible, to precisely contextualize the objects unearthed, especially since their original repository was disrupted in antiquity.¹²

The marks of origin are very recognizable; they can be distinguished at first glance from the inventory numbers successively assigned to the objects. Six numbers separated into three groups of two by dots constitute the date of discovery (day / month / year), while initials or a few words indicate, in abbreviated form, the location of the discovery [Fig. 1].

⁷ Bruyère, *Rapports*, (1924-1953).

⁸ For general remarks concerning these provenance marks, see Gasse, *GM* 174 (2000), pp. 7–9. A study on the theme of ostraca with an indication of provenance is currently in progress by Stéphane Polis and Andreas Dorn.

⁹ Bruyère, Rapport (1935-1940), 1952, pl. 13,4.

¹⁰ Bruyère's excavation journal has been digitized and is available on the IFAO website: http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/bruyere/about.

¹¹ See note 7.

¹² The Grand Puits, the kôm est and the kôm sud served at one time as dumps into which thousands of ostraca were thrown. The moving of the objects from their original deposit location resulted in a significant loss of contextual data, see Gasse, *GM* 174 (2000), pp. 7–8.

¹³ On these numbers, see Gasse, GM 174 (2000), p. 9.

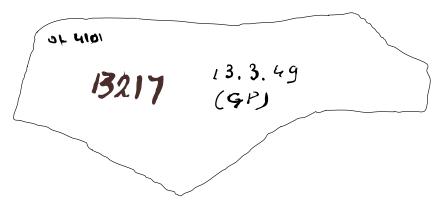


Fig. 1 OL 4101. The mark of provenance is located on the right side of the reverse (facsimile N. Sojic).

Table 1 Marks of provenance attested on the ostraca (overview of the marks identified on the objects under study and the number of their representatives)

	1920	1930	1939	1947	1949	1950	1951	?	Total
K2 est	×								1
KS		×						X	8
Hwt ¹⁵			×						1
maison G2				×					1
GP					×	×	×		41
KGP						×		×	22
GMN							×		5
E 1218						×			1
P 1452							×		1
A 1346								×	1
N.E.T. 46								X	1
Total	1	7	1	1	30	26	11	6	83

¹⁴ These marks written a long time ago – nearly ninety years for the oldest, seventy years for the most recent – are suffering the ravages of time. Some of them are now only partially readable, or even no longer readable at all. The crosses in the column "?" indicate that the date has faded. According to a list by Georges Posener, the resolution of the abbreviations are the following: K2 is for "kôm à l'est de la chapelle No. 1213"; KS is for "kôm sud"; Hwt is for "temple ptolémaïque et cachette Daraize"; House G is for "tombe non identifiée au nord du No. 214, puits 1123 au centre de la cour"; GP is for "Grand Puits"; KGP is for "kôm de déblais à l'est du Grand puits"; GMN is for "Gournet Muraï nord"; E 1218 is for "caveau du No. 265"; P 1452 is for "tombe 1452"; N.E.T is for "nord-est du temple"; A is for "cour et chapelle de la tombe 216"..

¹⁵ The hieroglyph Gardiner O6 is used.

2. PHYSICAL FEATURES OF THE OBJECTS

The ostraca, which are of varying support, size and shape, are, with a few exceptions, rather badly damaged. The pottery shards represent about three quarters of the total (122 ostraca), the limestone fragments being limited to the remaining quarter (38 ostraca). There is only one ostracon made of flint. With regard to their dimensions, the average height varies between 6 and 9 cm, while the width usually varies between 6 and 12 cm (Table 2).

Table 2 Height and width of the ostraca

HEIGHT (cm)		WIDTH (cm)	
3 to 5.9	35	< 3	2
6 to 8.9	66	3 to 5.9	28
9 to 11.9	36	6 to 8.9	56
12 to 14.9	14	9 to 11.9	50
15 to 18	6	12 to 14.9	15
> 20	1	15 to 18	5
		> 20	2
TOTAL	158		158

This diversity of supports and dimensions is accompanied by a variety of shapes with, again, more or less marked trends. Not surprisingly, most ostraca are not smooth but curved, ¹⁶ often broken on four or more sides (rarely less), the sides almost never align with the layout of the text as they come mainly from fragile containers such as vases or jars; the breaks always seem to result from poor storage conditions. In the case of stone supports, the origin of the breaks is more difficult to determine. Before serving as a support for a text, a limestone sherd is sometimes prepared before being inscribed, ¹⁷ which implies a more or less predetermined form. On several of the pieces I study, cutting traces are observable, as illustrated, among others, by OL 5936 and OL 4355, whose upper part has a particularly straight side [Figs. 2, 3].

¹⁶ There is obviously a very close relationship between the object at the origin of the ostracon (pottery *versus* stone) and the shapes represented.

¹⁷ Pelegrin et al., BIFAO 115 (2016), pp. 325-52.

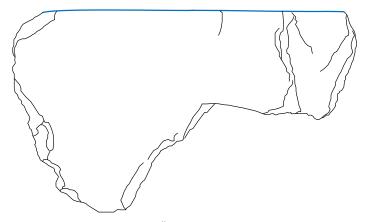


Fig. 2 OL 5936 (facsimile N. Šojić).

Fig. 3 OL 4355 (facsimile N. Šojić).

3. DATING

The ostraca found in the Grand Puits, Gournet Muraï nord and kôm sud date from the Ramesside period (Nineteenth-Twentieth Dynasties). Palaeography and onomastics also allow us to attribute the other ostraca to this period. Most of the time, unfortunately, it is impossible to date them within a more restricted time range. For some, a more precise dating can be proposed thanks to the presence of anthroponyms or the identification of a hand.

4. PHYSICAL FEATURES OF THE TEXTS

The data on the materiality of the texts in this batch very clearly show a disparity of practices with regard to writing.

4.1. Layout of the page

There do not seem to be any strict rules regarding the arrangement of a text on an ostracon. However, habits and trends had to exist. It is not within the scope of this article to provide a detailed study on the organization of the written word on ostraca – a subject that certainly merits in-depth treatment²⁰ – so I will limit my-

¹⁸ Bruyère, *Rapport (années 1948 à 1951)*, 1953, p. 61.

¹⁹ See Gasse, GM 174 (2000), pp. 13–14.

²⁰ Studies relating to the layout of documents from the Pharaonic period are quite few and concern almost exclusively papyrus only. For an overview see Šojić, *Layout and Graphics in the New Kingdom Epistolary Documents:* some considerations (in press). See also Motte and Šojić, in Carlig *et al.* (eds.), *Signes dans les textes*, 2020.



Fig. 4 OL 960: Highlighting of the first group of signs (facsimile N. Šojić).

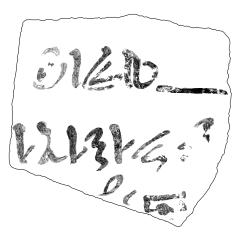


Fig. 5 OL 2558. Highlighting of the first sign (facsimile N. Šojić).



Fig. 6 OL 4095. Slight *eisthesis* on the left (facsimile N. Šojić).



Fig. 7 OL 1518. Slight *eisthesis* on the left (facsimile N. Šojić).

self to identifying trends and particularities within the corpus concerned. Most ostraca have been broken on all sides after being inscribed: few of them retain the beginning or end of a text, or even a margin, thus providing us with little information about layout. When, however, one of these elements is preserved, we observe from time to time:

- 1) A graphic highlight at the beginning of the text for either the header, the recipient or the sender. Two techniques are used:
- a. the first (group of) sign(s) is written in a size larger than the size of the rest of the text [Figs. 4, 5];
- b. The first line shows a slight *eisthesis* (withdrawal to the left in relation to the justification of the text on the right) [Figs. 6, 7].



Fig. 8 OL 4109. Example of right alignment and presence of margins (facsimile N. Šojić).

- c. An alignment to the right of the text [Fig. 8].
- d. The presence of a margin. The margins most often kept are the upper and lower margins. In very rare cases, there is still a margin on the right. No document has a left margin [Fig. 8].

Some ostraca have a particularly careful layout: a calibrated writing, called "literary" (see § II.5.1) coupled with a straight, regular and spaced line spacing, gives the reading an undeniable comfort as well as an impression of order.

4.2. Use of ink

Almost all texts are written in black ink. Only three of them are written in red.²¹ The use of red *and* black ink in the same text is only observed in the case of insertions following a correction (see § I.4.3).

4.3. Paratext

Some ostraca bear marks indicating interventions (direct or indirect) on the text. These *paratextual* marks²² are, in this case, punctuation marks (twenty-three cases including one doubtful case) and correction marks (three cases). Punctuation is always written in red. Corrections are either in red (OL 567) or in black (OL 1074 and OL 1422).

²¹ These are probably not letters.

²² On paratextual marks in ancient Egyptian documents, see most recently Carlig *et al.* (eds.), *Signes dans les textes*, 2020.

5. PALEOGRAPHY

A very wide variety of handwritings are attested. Stylistically, we can distinguish the use of writing that is sometimes formal, usually described as "literary", sometimes more cursive, called "non literary" (§ II.5.1). The graphological examination, i.e. relating to the gesture at the origin of the written word, reveals a significant number of writers (§ II.5.2).

5.1. Types of writing: literary versus non-literary

The distinction between two main types of writing, one called "literary" and the other "non literary" or "administrative", makes it possible to reflect the tendency for scribes to use a more careful or relaxed writing depending on whether they write a literary, scientific or religious text on the one hand, or, on the other, texts more directly related to daily life, such as for example letters or accounts, both on papyrus and ostraca. In the New Kingdom, the difference between these two types of writing does not always appear obvious, their use not necessarily being limited to a particular sphere. From time to time, there are well written,²³ almost calligraphied²⁴ administrative texts, but also texts of a sacred nature written in a poorly, if not barely readable, form.²⁵ Some documents even sometimes use both types at the same time.²⁶ On the other hand, the writing on some ostraca, whether the content is literary or administrative, cannot be classified as literary or documentary because it is not sufficiently characteristic.²⁷

²³ For example, the writing of the Abbott papyrus (BM EA 10221), which relates an inspection of the royal tombs by the country's highest authorities following the tomb robberies that occurred in the 20th dynasty, is elegant and neat. The document is probably a clean-up of notes taken during the trial. Images are available here: https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery. aspx?partid=1&assetid=1015089001&objectid=117400 (accessed February 10, 2019).

²⁴ Papyrus Harris I (BM EA 9999), published in Grandet, Le papyrus Harris I, 1994, is a well-known example.

²⁵ A very good example is found on P. Turin Cat. 1903 (unpublished): on the front, a hymn was scribbled quickly, then an administrative text was written. The writing, identical for both texts, is very cursive and difficult to read. TPOP Doc ID 512, https://papyri.museoegizio.it/d/512.

²⁶ In some administrative documents, for example, recurrent formulas are sometimes written in such a sloppy handwriting that only knowledge of the structure of these texts can identify them: Wente, in Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, III, 2001, p. 206.

²⁷ Some scribes have a naturally neat and applied writing style so that when they write an administrative text, the document has a clear and orderly appearance. To cite just one example among others, see O. DeM 877 (Grandet, *Catalogue*, 2003, *sub no*), whose writing is small but regular and calibrated. Conversely, when writing a literary text, some scribes seem to have some difficulty in observing a strict respect for the regularity imposed by the literary style. For example, O. DeM 1715 (Gasse, *Catalogue*, 1990, *sub no*), which may carry a

On the formal level – which is of particular interest to us here – the case of letters is representative of a relative permeability of this stylistic norm. Indeed, with the documents selected for publication, we oscillate between two extremes: from hyperformal, with very regular, very calibrated signs, to a virtual absence of formalism via mixed representatives. This observation raises the question of explaining the use of literary or non-literary writing within a homogeneous category of documents.²⁸ Several explanations can be put forward:

- Formal ("literary") writing is used for the models (with perhaps a didactic function)²⁹ while documentary writing was reserved for practice.
- Formal writing is used in official correspondence, for example, with the vizier, while a more spontaneous style is more readily apparent in private correspondence, which is also, from a communicative point of view, often more direct ("straight to the point").
- Formal writing can be imitated as part of a school exercise.³⁰
- Poor writing can simply be done by a less educated or less careful scribe, even if he was trained in "calligraphy".
- A less careful writing may have been used because of the need to write quickly – for example a draft – or simply by reflex, when attention is relaxed, or for convenience.³¹
- A less careful writing can be the result of equipment that does not allow for optimal writing performance.³²

hymn, shows a slight lack of rigor. Cases such as these, which are relatively frequent, are an indication that the stylistic categories "literary" and "administrative" (or "documentary") to classify writings (and by extension, the documents themselves) are not always relevant.

²⁸ I present here only a few preliminary remarks.

²⁹ Some documents seem to have served as models for learning calligraphy (see § II, 2.3).

³⁰ This seems to be the case with OL 4139, which I will study in more detail in the publication of the *Catalogue*.

³¹ Annie Gasse, for example, showed how the famous scribe Amennakht, by writing his own name in two literary compositions, sometimes used the complete spelling of the *mn* group, rather illustrative of the literary style, and sometimes abbreviated to the extreme, as it is regularly found in documentary texts: Gasse, in Gülden *et al.* (eds.), Ägyptologische "Binsen"-Weisheiten III, 2018, p. 123.

³² The difference in writing quality between the front (smooth surface) and the back (more irregular surface than the front) of the ostraca is sufficient evidence to realize the impact of this phenomenon on the appearance of the text.

5.2. Hand identification

If it is impossible, given the state of conservation of the documents, to determine exactly how many hands can be isolated, many different handwritings can be observed anyway and I was able to make connections within the group studied.

- 1) Two fragments, OL 3393 and OL 3418, were found to be joined.
- 2) The following four ostraca appear to have been written by the same hand: OL 4060, OL 4108, OL 4196 and OL 5614.
- 3) The writing of OL 1842 is close to that observed on OL 2894.
- 4) The writing of OL 1971 is close to that observed on OL 4543.
- 5) The writing of OL 4084 is close to that observed on OL 2558.
- 6) The writing of OL 4096 is close to that observed on OL 4097.
- 7) The writing of OL 5179 is to be compared to that observed on OL 5379.

Similarities also appeared with documents already published elsewhere, which, on two occasions, made it possible to date a document more precisely:

- 1) On OL 1285, the scorpion charmer Minmose's writing³⁴ is very clearly recognizable, allowing us to date the writing of the text to the Twentieth dynasty.
- 2) OL 1086: the writing is identical to that of the letter written by the scribe Amenmes on O. DeM 10251, which places the writing of this document in the Twentieth dynasty.
- 3) OL 3967: the writing of this ostracon is very similar to that observed on O. BM EA 65930³⁵ and on O. BM EA 65956,³⁶ both dated to the end of the Nineteenth dynasty by their publisher.
- 4) OL 4083: the writing is close to that observed in O. DeM 10380,³⁷ which Grandet dates to the third year of the reign of Ramesses II.
- 5) OL 4088: the writing is identical to the that of O. DeM 717.38

³³ This dossier is currently being studied by Stéphane Polis, who has also collected other documents written by the same hand.

³⁴ See Annie Gasse's contribution in this same volume.

³⁵ Demarée, *Ramesside Ostraca*, 2002, pp. 173-74.

³⁶ Demarée, Ramesside Ostraca, 2002, pp. 198–99.

³⁷ Grandet, Catalogue, 2017, pp. 407-08.

³⁸ Grandet, *Catalogue*, 2000, p. 119.

6) OL 4171: the writing is identical to that of O. DeM 1722 r° + O. Fitzwilliam Museum E.GA.6130.1943 r° , 39 and also very close to that of O. DeM 114, 40 two model letters addressed to the vizier.

II. IDENTIFICATION AND CONTENT OF TEXTS

1. SELECTION

A first selection of objects was made on the basis of a quick reading from black and white photographs of the material.⁴¹ Two stays at the IFAO⁴² made it possible to refine the readings and, in so doing, to exclude from the study several pieces that were too damaged. Most of the ostraca selected had the following characteristics, already listed in previous studies on letters,⁴³ which suggested that they could be epistolary texts: epistolary formulas, expressions or vocabulary frequently encountered in this type of text, presence of a direct indicator of initiality, first line containing a title and a proper name, etc. (Table 3).

Table 3 Epistolary formulas and recurring sequences in the present corpus of letters

SEQUENCES	OL	OCCURRENCES		
Incipit formulas				
₫d PN (n)	541, 1	<u>d</u> d sš []		
	4060, 1	<u>d</u> d.n PN n p3 []		
	4108, 1	[] <u>d</u> d.n PN [] (or [PN <u>h</u> r] <u>d</u> d.n PN [])		

³⁹ KRI VII, 190,7-192,1.

⁴⁰ Černý, *Catalogue*, 1937, pl. 1.

⁴¹ On the photographic covers of the IFAO ostraca, see Gasse, GM 174 (2000), p. 5.

⁴² I would like to take this opportunity to thank Cédric Larcher for welcoming me to the Institute's archives and collections department and for making the documents available to me. My gratitude also goes to Mazen Essam for his more than effective assistance in consulting the documents.

⁴³ The main studies on the letter form are those of Bakir, *Egyptian Epistolography*, 1970, Caminos, in Helck and Otto (eds.), *LdÄ* I, cols. 855–64, and Haring, in Kessler *et al.* (eds.), *Festschrift Burkard*, 2009, pp. 180–91. A little more recently, a thesis defended at the University of Liège whose purpose is to study the categorization of the Late Egyptian corpus includes a whole chapter devoted to the epistolary documentation: Gohy, *Corpus et catégorisation*, 2012.

PN (<u>d</u> d) (n)	610, 1	sš PN		
	960, 1	Ø <u>d</u> d.n PN PN		
SEQUENCES	OL	OCCURRENCES		
	1346, 1	Ø <u>d</u> d.n n sš []		
	2771, 1	sš PN []		
	4076, 1	PN <u>d</u> d n []		
	4086, 1	PN n []		
	4109, 1-2	PN [] <i>ḥr ḏd</i> []		
	4145, 1	PN n PN		
Ø n PN	2558, 1	n sš (?)		
	4084, 1	n sš 'Imn-nḫt []		
	4348, 1	n sš []		
	Preamble formulas			
nḍ ḫr.t	610, 2	[] nḍ ḫr.t n sš []		
	2912, 2	PN <i>nḍ ḫr.t n sš</i> []		
	2996, 1-2	sš-qd [] ḥr.t n p3 []		
	3688, 5	[] nd		
	4101, 1	PN <i>ḥr nḍ ḫr.t n</i> [PN]		
	4196, 1	[] nd		
m ',w,s m ḥs	321, 3	m ',w,s m ḥs		
	4095, 1	m ',w,s m h[s] []		
	4101, 2	m ',w,s m ḥs Imn []		
	4139, 1	m',w,s		
m ḥs (n)	460, 3	m ḥs n		
	1637, 3-4	m ḥs 'Imn-R ^c nsw.t n <u>t</u> r.w		
	1842, 1-2	m ḥs [Imn-R] nsw.t nṭr.w ⁴⁴		

⁴⁴ Written *ntr.w nsw.t*.

	2034, 2(?)	$[^{?}m \ hs \ lmn^{?}]$ - $R^{\epsilon} \ nsw.t \ n\underline{t}r.w$		
	2051, 1	m ḥs m ḥs []		
SEQUENCES	OL	OCCURRENCES		
	2544, 4(?)	[m hs²] 'Imn-R ^c nsw.t ntr.w		
	2771, 2	[m ḥs 'Imn]-R ^c nsw.t nṭr.w		
	2912, 3 and v° 2	'Imn-R ^c nsw.t n <u>t</u> r.w / m ḥs 'Imn		
	4080, 1	[m] hs Imn-R ^c nsw.t ntr.w		
	4083, 2	[m] ḥs 'Imn-R ^c nsw.t [nt̞r.w]		
	4296, 2	[m ḥ]s 'Imn-R ^c		
sw <u>d</u> з-ib	4083	(?) ⁴⁵ ḥr swḏ3-ib=k []		
	4292, 6	[] ḥr swḏз-ib []		
Sequences of words regularly attested in the body of letters				
imy in.tw / ini.t	510, 1	imy in.tw []		
	541, 2	[imy] in(.tw) n=i		
	1971, 2	rdi.t in.tw n=k		
	3639, 2	ỉmy ỉn.tw=f n=ỉ []		
	3905+06, 4	[] in.tw n=i PN		
	4088, 1	imy in.tw nw.wt r []		
	4089, 3	imy in[]		
	4092, 1	iw=i (r) rdi.t in.tw []		
	4096, 4	lmy tw ini.t t3 (?) ⁴⁶		
	4097, 3	iw₌i r rdi.t in.tw=w n=k		
	4104, 2	ỉmy ỉnỉ.t n=k w ^c []		
	4198, 1	ìmy in.tw p3 gb		
	4198, 2	imy in.tw n=i (?) ⁴⁷		

Illegible traces.

Illegible traces.

Traces.

	4198, 3	ìту ìn.tw tз []	
	4587,4	[] rdi.t in.tw n=k	
SEQUENCES	OL	OCCURRENCES	
imy iry.tw n=i	1517	imy iry.tw n=i	
hзb n=i r-dd	690, 1	ìw=k hзb n=ì r-dd ìmy []	
	3495, 3	[] h3b n=i r-dd iw []	
ḥn ^c -ḏd	1285, 4	ḥn ^c -dd	
	1701, 1	ḥn ^c -dd	
	1797,1	ḥn ^c -dd	
	2407,1	ḥn ^c -dd	
	3722, 2	[]y=i n=k ḥn<-ḍd	
	4139, 1	ḥn ^c -ḏd []	
ky sw <u>d</u> 3-ib	5179, 1	ky sw₫з-ỉb	
ỉḫ pw	960, 2	<i>ìḫ pw</i> []	
iḫ r=k	4090, 2	<i>ìḫ r=k pз</i> []	
iḫ di=k	1422, 4	iḫ di=k b[]	
	2393, 1	ỉḫ dỉ=k wḫ3 []	
	2407, 1	ḥn<-ḍd ỉḫ []	
	2918, 3	iḥ di=k in[]	
	3418, 4	[i]ḫ di=k ḥr=k	
	3672, 1	[] dỉ-k ḥr-k	
ỉb₌ỉ r ptr	inv. 2996, 4	ib=i r ptr []	
	4095, 2	[ib=i r p]tr=k []	
	Excipit 1	formulas	
nfr snb=	1748, 3	nfr snb=k	
	2762, 4	nfr snb=k	
	2834	nfr s[nb]	
	2912, v° 1	nfr snb=k	

imy snb=	2404, 2	imn imy snb=k	
	3967, v° 2	imy snb=k m-mn.t	
SEQUENCES	OL	OCCURRENCES	
	4102, 1	ìmy snb₌ <u>t</u>	
hзb pw r rdi.t rḫ	6033, 7	hзb pw r rdì.t [rḥ pзу=ì nb]	

The other documents were retained because the content, which did not present any particular formulas, could possibly correspond to that of a letter: mention of Amun-Ra king of the gods, presence of a sequence m c nh wds snb or m hs, conversational tone 48 involving the first and/or second persons (singular or plural), presence of the verbs dd or hs ("what you told me / wrote to me by saying: ..."). These criteria are not exclusive to the epistolary genre and in the absence of additional evidence, these fragmented and damaged texts can potentially fall into a category other than letters – for example, hymns or teachings. 49 I have chosen not to exclude them from the publication, since in any case, their belonging to a gender sharing a common phraseology could not be more assured.

1.1. Documentary typology

As shown in the first section of this article (see § I), the material reflects diversity in several respects. It is clear that not all the documents at our disposal can be equally considered. Some, for example, only include preamble formulas without a message (body of letter). While some have obviously required a greater or lesser investment in layout and writing, others are more like scribbles that are amorphous and difficult to read. The presence of correction marks also raises questions, as well as traces of erasure of the text – whether in whole or in part – or reuse of the media.

These observations necessarily led me to consider the hypothesis that several categories of documents coexist among the ostraca collected for the next *Catalogue*. The use of a documentary typology finds meaning here: it is a question of shedding light not on the texts themselves, 50 but on epistolary practice, namely

⁴⁸ Cf. Sweeney, Correspondence and Dialogue, 2001, pp. 4–5.

⁴⁹ See Gohy, Corpus et catégorisation, 2012, pp. 21, 28, 36-41 (with previous bibliography).

⁵⁰ This approach does not bring much to the understanding of the content: the aim is actually to better understand scribal practices.

the creation of a document called a letter, from the acquisition of formulas by an apprentice to the result of this process, and the daily use of the fruits of this learning.

With the exception of those whose identification as letters is possible or doubtful,⁵¹ the largest part of the documentation consists of documents that are presumed to have been real letters, i.e. whose message was in all likelihood transmitted⁵² to a real recipient. In a few sporadic cases, we seem to be dealing with scribal exercises or models.

Given the state of conservation of the ostraca, and from what I have been able to read, I have so far not been able to identify with certainty drafts⁵³ or literary texts written in epistolary form.⁵⁴

2. THE LETTERS

2.1. The real letters

The typical example of a letter on an ostracon⁵⁵ has the following characteristics: minimalist *incipit* formula (most often of type (PN $\underline{d}d$) n PN, see **Table 3**) which the sender sometimes does not write,⁵⁶ slight *eisthesis* (occasionally), documentary writing, right alignment, use of the recto⁵⁷ first [Figs. 9, 10].

⁵¹ Rather, they could be prayers or hymns.

⁵² I prefer to avoid using the term "send", which provoked several reactions from the audience at the conference, because the inhabitants of the village lived very close to each other and some of these messages could be transmitted directly from hand to hand.

⁵³ On drafts, see among others Allam, *JEA* 54 (1968); Donker van Heel and Haring (eds.), *Writing in a workmen's village*, 2003, pp. 1–7.

⁵⁴ Brunsch, *Orientalia Suecana* 31–32 (1982–1983).

⁵⁵ Bakir, Egyptian Epistolography, 1970, focused mainly on papyrus.

⁵⁶ For example: OL 1517, OL 4088 and OL 5121, which start abruptly with the imperative form *imy*, the last one urging his correspondent to hurry. OL 4145 enjoins the recipient without *incipit* or preamble to come and pick up his clothes (*my itʒ=k nʒy=k hbs.w*). This is probably also the case for OL 510, which begins with the *formula imy in.tw n=i*, and OL 690, which begins with the sentence *ir iw=k (r) hʒb n=i* (...); unfortunately, the state of conservation of the latter two objects does not allow us to determine with certainty that the beginning of the text is preserved.

⁵⁷ The front of an ostracon is, in the case of a ceramic sherd, the convex side, and in the case of a limestone sherd, the smoothest side, see Gasse, *GM* 174 (2000), p. 10.

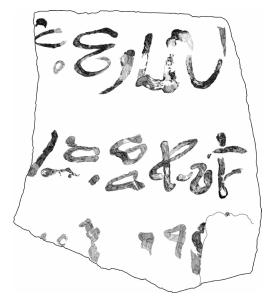




Fig. 9 OL 610 rº (facsimile N. Šojić).

Fig. 10 OL 4084 (facsimile N. Šojić).

2.2. Epistolary exercises

The identification of an exercise is not always obvious to demonstrate,⁵⁸ but in a few cases this assumption seems to be the most likely interpretation. OL 4296 (whose transcription is given right below) and OL 2051, which only contain a preamble, certainly fall into this category:

OL 4296 was written on a limestone sherd that was obviously carved in the shape of a small tablet, reminiscent of wooden tablets covered with stucco or wax for school use.⁵⁹ OL 2051 **[Fig. 11]** twice presents a written sign one too many times, which, in a stereotypical formula without spelling difficulties, reinforces the impression that we are dealing with the work of a student. Several ostraca found in Deir el-Medina, like these, only carry formulas of incipit without message, which

⁵⁸ On school exercises, see McDowell, in der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies Simpson*, 1996; McDowell, in Demarée and Egberts (eds.), *Deir el-Medina in the third millennium AD*, 2000; Venturini, in Goyon and Cardin (eds.), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists*, 2007.

⁵⁹ See in particular Hoogendijk, in Lalou (ed.), *Les tablettes à écrire*, 1992 and Brunsch, *Orientalia Suecana* 31–32 (1982–1983). Several of these tablets are kept in the British Museum and in Turin.

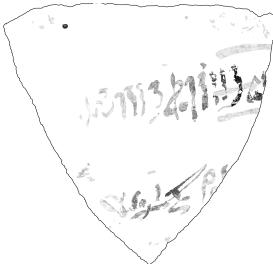


Fig. 11 OL 2051 (facsimile N. Šojić).

presupposes the existence of specific training to acquire the basics of epistolary writing.⁶⁰

In contrast to this example, other ostraca have no preamble and go straight to the heart of the matter. The message they carry is preceded by a "direct indicator of initiality" (Fr. IDI), such as hn^c -dd (OL 1797 and OL 1701), or ky-dd (OL 4098), used following a first textual sequence, the preamble, except that the latter is, in this case, absent. I wonder if these documents with the structure [IDI + message] are exercises. Indeed, many letters without a preamble start with a message that is not introduced by anything. Either it must be understood that the element expected but omitted before the IDI is implied – in which case letters without a preamble beginning with hn^c -dd / ky-dd are equivalent to those without a preamble or IDI62 – or it is a drafting exercise on the body of the letter, just as there are exercises only on the formulas of *incipit*.

The appearance of the writing may also suggest that it is a school exercise. OL 313, OL 541 and OL 4139, for example, have poor handwriting, characterized by hesitantly drawn signs, lack of ligatures, disordered dials, as well as a failure to respect the strict horizontality of the base line. This clumsiness probably indicates a level of learning still in the early stages.⁶³ The presence of spelling errors corrected

⁶⁰ See Venturini, in Goyon and Cardin (eds.), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists*, 2007, and on epistolary texts more specifically, Gasse and Albert (eds.), *Études de documents hiératiques inédits*, 2019.

⁶¹ Gohy, Corpus et catégorisation, 2012, p. 38.

⁶² See note 56 for examples.

⁶³ Venturini, in Goyon and Cardin (eds.), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists*, 2007, p. 1886.

after the fact may also be indicative of the academic status of the ostracon, as in OL 1422, where two forgotten signs have been added on the right margin.⁶⁴

Finally, the presence of another type of text on the other side can also reveal the school context of a document.⁶⁵ OL 2894 and OL 2834 combine a letter (on the recto) and a different text (on the verso): a few signs in an unsteady handwriting on OL 2894, and a royal titulary on OL 2834, which leads me to consider them as exercises as well.

2.3. Model letters

The distinction between an exercise and a model is based conceptually on the use made of the document: an exercise may have been copied from a model (but not the other way around). Some ostraca present a text with a particularly careful layout, especially from the point of view of writing. They are sometimes limited to a particularly elaborate preamble as used in official correspondence when a person addresses someone in a high position. These examples raise the question of whether they were models intended to be copied. However, this hypothesis would require testing on a larger sample. This reflection is based on two ostraca in particular.

The first, OL 5179, has an epistolary formula reserved for letters addressed to a superior. The writing is perfectly calibrated and neat; the text is also punctuated. It opens with a sequence of standard formulas used in the body of an official letter. The presence of a higher margin clearly indicates that this is the beginning of the text, in other words, not only did it not include an *incipit*, but also, opening with a *ky swd3-ib*, it, it also lacks the first part of the message. Finally, the presence of punctuation underlines the literary status of the piece. From the point of view of strict content, it must be a piece of what is commonly called a template letter. The question here is whether, as a *document* and not as a

⁶⁴ The appearance of very clumsy writing reinforces this idea.

⁶⁵ See Pietri, in Gasse and Albert, CaHier I, 2019.

⁶⁶ The question is debated whether these "model letters", especially those found on papyrus, had been real letters which, appreciated for their quality, were set up as paragons of the kind, as suggested by Caminos, in Helck and Otto (eds.), LdÄ I, col. 858 or Donker van Heel and Haring, Writing in a Workmen's Village, 2003, pp. 30–31, or if they were elaborations based on a fictitious situation intended precisely for apprentice scribes ("school cases"). This question goes far beyond the scope of this contribution.

⁶⁷ Having reached a fragmentary state (only the beginning is preserved), it is unfortunately impossible to know whether the content consisted only of a single standard epistolary formula, or a more developed message.

text, OL 5170 is the result of the work of an apprentice (a very carefully executed exercise), or whether it is, on the contrary, a *model document* or, in other words, an example created for students as found in modern textbooks.

The same question applies to OL 4171, a punctuated letter whose layout is also particularly neat, and which, palaeographically, is undoubtedly to be compared to O. DeM 1722: fruit of the master or work of a gifted apprentice?

III. DOCUMENTATION CONTRIBUTIONS

In addition to the fact that it increases relatively significantly the number of letters currently published for the New Kingdom period (§ 1), this documentation provides above all information of an onomastic nature (§ 2): it is sometimes even possible to identify known historical figures. It also contributes to enriching our knowledge of the scribal practices of the time, and in this respect opens up several avenues of research (§ 3).

1) Quantitative contribution

The number of documents that can be identified with certainty as letters among the selected corpus is about 100 (see *above*, § II, on the content of the selection),⁶⁸ in addition to the 400 (approximately) letters on ostraca already published.⁶⁹

2) Anthroponyms and titles

⁶⁸ Alongside prototypical letters, especially among the ostraca, other documents consist only in brief notes without any feature distinctive of the epistolary "genre". In such cases, the content of the message itself has to be considered. Published letters, whatever the period, reveal recurrent *topoi* that in turn reflect the daily preoccupations of the communities who produced them and the ways they express it; see Wente, *Letters*, 1990. A look at letters for the Pharaonic period (OK – NK) reveals the "top 5 of *topoi*": private matters, domain management, lists of instructions, news or reports, and requests. In the DeM correspondence, a lot of letters are requests for having something brought. Even when formal features are missing, one can still suspect that a text has a good chance of being a letter because it displays one of these *topoi* and uses a construction(s) that frequently occurs in letters.

⁶⁹ These data are derived from a systematic search in the *Ramses* database (http://ramses.ulg.ac.be/) and in the *Deir el-Medina database* (https://www.wepwawet.nl/dmd/).

Table 4 Anthroponyms found in ostraca (the anthroponyms mentioned in the ostraca (col. 1), specifying the gender of the person (col. 2), the title of the person (col. 3) and the document(s) citing the person. Some are lacunary ("[?]") or illegible ("(?)")

ANTHROPONYM	GENDER	TITLE	DOCUMENT OL
[?]	М	ḥm-nṭr tpy n Imn	321, 2
[?]	M	sš	541, 1
[?]	M	sš	610, 2
[?]	M	ḥry-m₫зу.w	1074, 6b
[?]	M	sš	1346, 1
[?]	M	sš-qd	inv. 2996, 1
[?]	M	sš	4348, 1
[?]	M	sš-qd	4354, v° 2
[?]	F		4096, 1
(5)	М	SŠ	4081, 1
(?)y(?)	М	SŠ	4139, 2
(?)-'Imn	М	SŠ	4077, 3
(?)-nb-nfr	М	SŠ	4086, 1
[]-ms	M		2393, 1
[]- <i>nḫt</i>	М		3418, 2
[]- <i>ḥtp</i>	М		567, 2
3ny	M		4077, 2
Iy.t-nfr.ti	F		4060
<i>'Imn-</i> []	M	ḥry-sš.w(?)	2762, v° 1
'Imn-[]	M	sš	2771, 1 and 4109, 1
Imn-m-ip.t	M	sš	4076, 1
Imn-ms	M	sš	3905+6, 3
'Imn-nḫt	M	sš	4084
'Ipw(y)	М		878, 5 and 4077, 2
'Ir(y)-nfr	М		2912, 2
Wnn-nfr	М	sš	4077, 4
Wsr-m3°.t-r°-nḫt	М	iry- ^c 3	3905+6, 4 and v° 1
Bw-rḫ.tw[-iwn.t.f]	М	sš	610, 1

ANTHROPONYM	GENDER	TITLE	DOCUMENT OL
P(3)-n-niw.t	М	SŠ	3393, 1
P3-(?)-[]	М		6265, 1
P3-r ^c -[]	M		4083, 1
P3-r<-m-ḥb	M	sš-qd	4145, 1
[<i>Pi</i>] <i>3y</i>	М	sš-qd	4145, 1
Mn-nfr	M	NP n p3 ḫr	1274, 3
<i>N</i> []	М	SŠ	6299
Nb.t-iwn.t	F		1080, 5
<i>Nfr-</i> [?]	M	w ^c b	3255, 1
Nfr-5b.t	M		4108
nfr-ḥtp	M		5902, 1
nḫw-m-mw.t	М	SŠ	4082, 5
Нзу	M		4077, 4 and 5
. . . .	M	SŠ	4101
<i>Ḥnsw</i>	M		4785, 2
Qnn3 s3 Nht[-m-hpš.f]	М		4090
<u> </u>	М		541, 3 and 4196, 3
<i>Dḥwty-</i> []	M	<i>sm</i> (?)	4858,1
<u>D</u> ḥwty-ms	M		4723, 3

3) Research perspectives

The elements highlighted in (§ II) illustrate the importance of considering the materiality of the texts for a better understanding of scribal practices. Thanks to the ostraca, we have a small idea of how the young scribes acquired the basics of epistolary writing. We also saw that even on sherds we could detect layout habits that would be interesting to study on a larger scale. Another major interest of this material is that it reveals that people who wrote to each other quite regularly bore the title of scribe: if it can be assumed in such cases that the sender is also the writer of the letter, a thorough study, based on extensive paleographic analysis, would undoubtedly identify letters for which the sender is not the writer. In addition to the publication of the ostraca itself, it is also to these issues that I intend to provide some answers as part of this editing work.

APPENDIX

OL 610. Letter from scribe Burekhiunetef to a colleague

Sequ. 527
Deir el-Medina
7 cm × 6.2 cm × ? cm
Nineteenth Dynasty (Siptah ?)

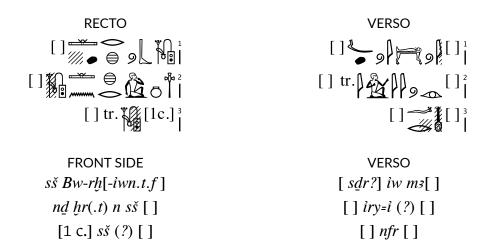
Sherd of orange-coloured pottery, broken on four sides. The front and back are inscribed. On each side, the writing is parallel to the direction of the wheel marks.

On the front and back, the text consists of three lines written in black ink. The third line on each side is badly damaged. On the front, the beginning of l. 1 and l. 2 remains, and l. 1 certainly corresponds to the first line of the text (for the back, this is less certain). The writing is regular and rounded. The base line on the front is very slightly rising. The height of the line spacing is constant.

The identification of the text as a letter is based on the presence of a characteristic incipit, of the type $s\check{s}$ NP $[n\ NP]$ (hr) nd hr.t (...). The text on the back is probably a continuation of the text started on the front.

Photo(s): NB_1995_4475 (front); NB_1995_4476 (back)

Annotation(s): /



Recto. "Scribe Burekh[iunetef] asks about the scribe's condition... scribe... scribe...". **Verso.** "... (?) ... I did... well..."

- **1** *sš Bw-rḫ-iwn.t.f.* This draughtsman is known by several documents, most of which are dated to the reign of Siptah.⁷⁰ Among them is a letter he wrote to scribe Ranekh (O. DeM 228). The use of the title *sš* when Burekhiunetef was actually *sš-qd.wt* may be explained by a desire to show that he was literate,⁷¹ unless he simply wished to shorten his title.⁷²
- **2** hr.t. Note the defective spelling, without the -t or the usual three lines of the plural. A similar spelling is found on O. BTdK 703, 1^{73} and on O. BTdK 704, $2,^{74}$ two letters written by a workman named Itnefer (Twentieth Dynasty).
- *sš*. This reading concerns the line just after the gap. It is based on the shape of the upper part of the rest of the sign: we can clearly distinguish the hook with a horizontal line, which recalls the hook, at the same place, observed in the sign sš at l. 1
- **Vo 2** iry=i. This spelling p may correspond to all the forms of the suffix conjugation encountered at that time: the present sdm=f, the perfective or subjunctive sdm=f, the passive sdm.w, possibly the relative perfective form i.sdm=f. Given the context, the present sdm=f and the sdm.w are unlikely options.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 167.

⁷¹ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 167.

⁷² Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 167.

⁷³ Dorn, Arbeiterhütten, 2011, pp. 585–87.

⁷⁴ Dorn, *Arbeiterhütten*, 2011, pp. 588–90.

⁷⁵ On verbal morphology in Late Egyptian, see Winand, Études de néo-égyptien, I, 1992.

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CURRENT WORK ON THE LITERARY OSTRACA OF DEIR EL-MEDINA KEPT AT THE IFAO

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ABSTRACT

The French Institute of Oriental Archeology is the keeper of the largest known collection of literary ostraca from Deir el-Medina. This institution is currently developing several initiatives in order to go further with the publication of the still unpublished material. The aim of this paper is to describe these activities, which are part of the scientific program of the Institute, and come within the scope of the current Deir el-Medina studies.

The aim of this paper is to describe several initiatives the French Institute of Oriental Archeology is developing to progress with the publication of their collection of literary ostraca from Deir el Medina. These initiatives form part of the scientific program of the institute and fall within the scope of Deir el Medina studies.

New Kingdom Deir el-Medina can be seen as an "exception culturelle", a strong impression given by the extensive philological study of literary sources from the site. More recently, with the rise in popularity of the study of social practices, it has become clear that Deir el-Medina offers an unparalleled set of data for the contextualization of Egyptian written culture at a key moment in its history. While the publication of primary material is still an important focus of the work at Deir el-Medina, current approaches attempt to put these data into perspective by comparing them with the local and surrounding textual production which is gradually being uncovered. The more general historical and social dimension afforded by such analysis may provide new insights into the cultural practices that in turn can be better contextualized. However, the research currently suffers from a lack of access to written sources, most of which are still unpublished.2 Meaningful results of historical research are frustrated by the quantity of texts whose content and graphic registers are yet to be described. The past and current study of the literary ostraca kept at the IFAO aims partly to compensate for this lack by providing a representative sample of the literary production of Deir el-Medina. Our desire is to enrich, through the publication of the material and the thematic approaches adopted, the knowledge of the scribal practices of a community during the New Kingdom.

1. THE IFAO COLLECTION: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The bulk of the collection of ostraca currently at the IFAO was discovered during the Institute's excavations at Deir el-Medina between 1921 and 1951 conducted by Bernard Bruyère. They were entrusted to the Institute by the Egyptian Antiquity Services for study, a task initially undertaken by Georges Posener and Jaroslav Černý. These scholars divided the collection into three distinctive groups: "ostraca figurés"; "ostraca non littéraires" (among which documentary texts); and "ostraca littéraires" (among which literary texts). Among the 15,000

¹ For example, see below, Posener's bibliography, n. 5 and 6.

² See Dorn et al., in Dorn and Polis (eds.), Outside the Box, 2018, p. 8.

³ The literary collection was actually formed with all the texts whose content were not considered by G. Posener and J. Černý to be related to the work activities of the workmen. Furthermore, the selection was also based on the graphic registers of the texts: the objects showing writings considered to be "literary hieratic" were

or so items kept at the IFAO, about 2,000 of them are "ostraca figurés", 6,000 are documentary ostraca and 7,000 are "literary ostraca". Georges Posener was charged with the publication of the literary ostraca, an enormous project that began in the 1930s and led, at the beginning of the 1980s to the publication of 675 ostraca in three volumes of the *Documents de fouilles de l'Ifao* (DFIFAO),⁴ along with several other papers.⁵ He focused on the study of the main literary works of the time (Kemyt, Teachings and Instructions for example), deliberately excluding many texts that did not fit into these categories. Annie Gasse took over the work of publication in 1981, focusing on the study of magical, religious and didactic texts. She has so far published about 300 pieces in catalogues of the DFIFAO⁶ and other papers relating to various issues raised by this collection.⁷

2. CURRENT STATE OF KNOWLEDGE ON THE IFAO COLLECTION OF LITERARY OSTRACA

The ostraca of the IFAO collection can be classified as excavation finds, displaying on a large scale the textual production of the Deir el-Medina site. The collection is important not simply because of the sheer quantity of ostraca, but also because of the quality of their preservation as well as the variety of texts preserved. For these reasons it can be considered to be generally representative of the literary and intellectual activities of the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina.

The category "literary ostraca" entails a few different textual genres: literary pieces in a narrow sense, i.e. excerpts from classical works (probably copied in a

classified as literary ostraca. The ostraca showing faster writings tended to be classified in the documentary group.

⁴ Posener, Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el-Medineh, I, 1938; Posener, Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el-Medineh, II, 1951; Posener, Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el-Medineh, III, 1977.

⁵ For example: G. Posener, in *Mélanges Maspero*, I, 1933, pp. 327–36; Posener, *RdE* 7 (1950), pp. 71–84; Posener, *RdE* 9 (1952), pp. 117–20; Posener, *RdE* 9 (1952), pp. 109–17; Posener, in Abubakr *et al.* (eds.), *Aufsätze zum* 70. *Geburtstag von Herbert Ricke*, 1971, pp. 59–63; Posener, in Osing and Dreyer (eds.), *Form und Mass. Festschrift für Gerhard Fecht*, 1987, pp. 361–67.

⁶ See: Gasse, Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el-Medina, IV, 1990; Gasse, Catalogue des ostraca littéraires de Deir al-Medîna, V, 2005; Gasse, Catalogue des ostraca littéraires de Deir al-Medîna, VI, in press.

⁷ Gasse, in Demarée and Egberts (eds.), *Village Voices*, 1992, pp. 51–70; Gasse, *GM* 174 (2000), pp. 5-14; Gasse, in Backes *et al.* (eds.), *Ausgestattet mit den Schriften des Thot*, 2009, pp. 69–78; Gasse, *Grafma* 9/10 (2008–09), pp. 47–52.

didactic context); new literary creations; letters and model letters (dealing with correspondence between people and institutions); and magical, medical and religious texts dealing with daily life, beliefs and personal piety. Numerous writing exercises showing the different stages of the scribal learning process are also included. A didactic function is fairly obvious for a large part of the IFAO ostraca collection, regardless of the genres of the texts. For this reason they are often seen among Egyptologists simply as learning tools.

Of these different genres, and as far as we know, the classical literary works of a didactic nature are the most well attested, ¹⁰ with other kinds of texts appearing less frequently. Yet it is still not clear whether this distribution expresses a specific cultural feature or is an accidental effect of the incomplete state of publication of the collection and/or from selective Egyptological editing of the texts. ¹¹ In any case, given that literary works from the collection are now well published ¹² and other texts have been the focus of several studies, ¹³ we can make an assumption that there may not be much more the unpublished ostraca can contribute to the study of these genres beyond drawing parallels with known textual compositions and completing the lacunae in some of their sections. The current research mainly focuses on new texts and genres by drawing on a collection from which most of the "classical" pieces have been extracted.

This approach aims at obtaining a representative view of most of the texts known and copied by the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina and at determining their contexts of use. This implies questions relating to the effective functions of ostraca, which have yet to be fully identified and understood. Furthermore, since ostraca are practical supports for daily use, they show a certain freedom in their graphic and linguistic forms. Idiosyncrasies in these forms can hint at individual authors/scriptors and help us to figure out their status, and to understand the

⁸ On this textual production: Mathieu, in Andreu (ed.), Deir el-Médineh et la Vallée des Rois, 2003, pp. 117-37.

⁹ Gasse, Catalogue des ostraca littéraires de Deir al-Medîna, V, 2005.

¹⁰ In order of frequency of attestation of the texts: *Kémyt*, The Satire of the Trades, Instruction of Amenemhat, Anastasi I, Hymn to the Nile, Instruction of Ptahotep.

¹¹ Gasse, in Demarée and Egberts (eds.), Village Voices, 1992, p. 53.

¹² Main publications: Posener, Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el-Medineh, II³, 1972; Helck, Die Prophezeiung des Nfr.tj, 1970; Goedicke, Studies in "The Instructions of King Amenemhet I for His Son", 1988; Fischer-Elfert, Die satirische Streitschrift des Papyrus Anastasi I, 1986; Van der Plas, L'hymne à la crue du Nil, 1986; Posener, L'Enseignement loyaliste, 1976; Fischer-Elfert, Die Lehre eines Mannes für seinen Sohn, 1999.

¹³ Vernus, Sagesse de l'Égypte pharaonique, 2001; Quack, Die Lehren des Ani, 1994; Helck, Die Lehre des Dwʒ-Htjj, 1970; Gardiner, Late-Egyptian Miscellanies, 1937; Mathieu, La Poésie amoureuse de l'Égypte ancienne, 1996.

context of the production and usage of literary ostraca. In the so-called "literary" portion of the collection, the texts copied on ostraca are the expression of a cultural community. They highlight a specific social sphere during the New Kingdom that the research program conducted by the IFAO aims to define, based on a collection from which we have yet garnered only a part of its scientific potential.

This program is two-fold. The development of specific thematic studies rests on the creation of a digital platform, which will allow a comparison of objects and texts from a systematic point of view. This method is perfectly adapted for the exploitation of large numbers of written sources and facilitates exhaustive studies.

The global portion of documentation coming from Deir el-Medina that has been published has recently been estimated at 35%. ¹⁴ By way of comparison, of the 7,000 or so literary ostraca at the IFAO, approximately 1,000 have already been published. Among the unpublished ostraca, around 1,000 pieces are practically unreadable. The remaining 5,000 bear texts of variable importance and quality, and are suitable for study. 90% of the texts are written in hieratic. The others are in hieroglyphs or cursive hieroglyphs.

3. ACTIONS CONDUCTED WITHIN THE IFAO RESEARCH PROGRAM

Given the large number of literary ostraca still unpublished, specific topics for investigation have been defined, in order to identify coherent groups of ostraca and to conduct analyses based on theme, content and form. The first selection of ostraca was made with the help of the black-and-white photography carried out by the IFAO between 1995 and 2000 and by means of the database developed since 2011, which includes conservation metadata for all the ostraca. Groupings are made according to the nature, interest and relationship observable between the words and the texts, but also with the support of the available archeological information.

For now, our focus is on the study of magical, medical and religious ostraca, which have until now not been the subject of systematic analysis. A catalogue of around 100 documents illustrating the extent and variety of these texts in the

¹⁴ Dorn et al., in Dorn and Polis (eds.), Outside the Box, 2018.

IFAO collection will soon be published in the DFIFAO series.¹⁵ At the same time, the project team is developing four additional research axes: excavation marks, letters and model letters, scribal practices, and hieratic palaeography.

3.1. Excavation marks

An ostracon is an archaeological artefact like any other. Understanding it properly involves taking into full consideration the context from which it comes. An important set of pieces of the IFAO collection are inscribed with excavations marks giving the dates and places of their discovery. The marks related to the "Grand Puits" cannot be taken into consideration for this investigation, but other marks – systematically inventoried by Georges Posener and Annie Gasse – point to specific spots at Deir el-Medina that could be significant for study. We are now systematically forming groups of ostraca according to where they were found: each ensemble - ostraca plus context - will be individually studied. Starting from the preliminary works of Annie Gasse, 16 Stéphane Polis and Andreas Dorn conducted first examinations in 2017; they focused on ostraca with the marks "K 290", "Maison G", and "Salle 3, maison S.O. IV", all of them coming from a limited area. Among these objects, some are written by the same hand and could lead to a better understanding of the textual production by the scribes of the community. The study, including an edition of the ostraca and their social contextualization, will be published in a coming DFIFAO volume.

3.2. Letters and model letters

Numerous unpublished literary ostraca belong to the category of letters and model letters. In this case, one of the main difficulties is to distinguish those which are the result of an exercise set to train scribes-to-be in administrative writing and those which are part of actual correspondence. A group of around 200 ostraca is currently under study in order to set up a framework and methodology and to define this textual category or genre. Numerous anthroponyms are found in these texts, an interesting point for study in that they connect these letters to other parallels in the documentation and help to expand the corpus available for studies of handwriting.

¹⁵ Gasse, Catalogue des ostraca littéraires de Deir al-Medîna, VI, in press.

¹⁶ Gasse, in Demarée and Egberts (eds.), Deir el-Medina in the Third Millenium AD., 2000.

¹⁷ See the contribution of Nathalie Sojic in this volume.

3.3. Scribal practices

Combining the different approaches conducted in the framework of the program, and following the methodology built by Andreas Dorn and Stéphane Polis in their study of the scribe Amenakhte, 18 we aim to develop a register of workmen "personalities", whose scribal hands can be recognized on the literary ostraca. As an example, the hand of Maa(ni)nakhtouf was identified in some recently studied literary ostraca. These objects can now be added to the known documentation related to this scribe and add to the knowledge of his production. 19 In the same way, another ostracon can be associated with several sources related to Pendoua; the study of these documents should provide us with more information on the individuals bearing this name and help to individualize their hands.²⁰ On a larger scale, the documentation associated with Imen-Mes is currently under study by Annie Gasse, in order to investigate whether evidence of his personal piety is also visible in his textual production.²¹ These cases are good starting points from the IFAO collection from where to expand studies on scribal practices in the community and progressively to define the social impact of identified figures of Deir el-Medina.

There are several outcomes for these varied streams of research: first and foremost we will make progress in the publication of the literary ostraca collection. In addition, we will advance the identification of new texts and literary compositions, and beyond that contribute to the systematization of paleographic approaches through the progressive implementation of a controlled vocabulary for the description of hieratic writing forms.

3.4. Hieratic palaeography

The identification of texts is key for assessing the literary knowledge of a society, but it is also crucial for examining the way in which the texts are copied. At first glance, the "non-official"/"informal" character of ostraca would probably have given scribes some freedom when writing their texts: the appearance of

¹⁸ Dorn and Polis, in Albert and Gasse (eds.), Études de documents hiératiques inédits, 2019, pp. 15–36; Dorn and Polis, *BIFAO* 116 (2017), pp. 57–96.

¹⁹ Leroux, in Albert and Gasse (eds.), Études de documents hiératiques inédits, 2019, pp. 71–84; Kamal and Sojic, in Albert and Gasse (eds.), Études de documents hiératiques inédits, 2019, pp. 85–90.

²⁰ Sojic, in Albert and Gasse (eds.), Études de documents hiératiques inédits, 2019, pp. 115–22.

²¹ See the contribution of Annie Gasse in this volume.

new words, orthographic variants, and specific grammatical forms bear witness to this and illustrate the individual *savoir-faire* of scribes. There was also space for innovation in their actual ways of writing, with different intentions and attentions when writing administrative texts (in the case of documentary ostraca) or literary, magical and didactic texts (in the case of literary ostraca). The result is a variety of graphic registers and layouts in the literary ostraca collection, which can, in the context of a paleographic study, offer a range of writing practices.

In order to take these points into consideration, our objective is to develop a paleography where the traditional sign-to-sign approach is complemented by a broader analysis of the documents, based on general aspects and distinctive features of writing: dimensions, orientation and amplitude of the signs, spaces between writing lines, general physiognomy of texts, etc.²² By comparing unpublished pieces with published ones, and evaluating these versus the available paleographic data on documentary ostraca,²³ it is possible to connect items between several known collections. These overlaps, compared with the information arising from the other research of the program, should highlight spheres of competence of scribes able (or not) to write different kind of texts, to use several writing registers, and to create their own artwork. This research could allow us to identify authors, to define writing groups or writing tendencies in the Deir el-Medina community, and to narrow the chronological benchmarks commonly used. More largely, it will substantially add to the set of available palaeographic data about the New Kingdom.

4. DISSEMINATION OF RESULTS: ADVANTAGES OF A DIGITAL PLATFORM

The dissemination of our results will continue in the traditional formats of catalogues and papers published by the IFAO (DFIFAO and BIFAO). However, digital publishing of the literary ostraca is also being developed, with the aim of encompassing the entire IFAO collection, including published and unpublished literary ostraca.

²² See: Gasse, in Demarée and Egberts (eds.), Village Voices, 1992, pp. 51-70.

²³ Wimmer, Hieratische Paläographie der Nicht-literarischen Ostraka der 19. und 20. Dynastie, 1995.

A first version of this database was created in 2011 in collaboration with the computer and archives services of the Institute, taking into consideration both technical and textual information concerning the literary ostraca: description, dimensions, inventory numbers, colours, material, direction of writings, etc.; as well as text identification, photos, facsimile, transcription, and translation. A large part of the technical information has already been entered. Since 2015, we have been developing a new version of this database in order to facilitate contextualized analyses, which are at the foundation of the current project, as well as to offer a common platform for publication. Based on TEI (Text Encoding Initiative) standards²⁴ and following Epidoc recommendations,²⁵ this digital platform aims, for each ostracon:

- to present all associated conservation metadata;
- to refer to and summarize the text(s) associated, given that one ostracon can contain one or several texts;
- to encode the texts and to index the specific textual data associated.

A paleographic section is also to be included. The objective is to add a descriptive form for each text and/or ostracon registered. The various writing features found in literary ostraca are specified in a series of tick-boxes included as metadata. Systematizing metadata encoding in this way should minimize the subjective aspects of a more classical descriptive text box, and the aim is to make the paleographic description consistent throughout the database. The current focus of the work is the encoding of these paleographic data so that they are interoperable.

Furthermore, our aim is to make this digital platform interoperable for research on other large textual corpora as well as usable for interdisciplinary research (linguistic, philology, text and social history, etc.).

5. THE IFAO LITERARY OSTRACA AS SUPPORT FOR TRAINING

The richness of the literary ostraca collection is particularly obvious for hieratic

²⁴ http://www.tei-c.org/index.xml.

²⁵ https://sourceforge.net/p/epidoc/wiki/Home/.

and literary studies. It offers a large array of cases for study that can be exploited in several ways. Concerning the integration of our activities into the current goals of the IFAO – one of which is dissemination and teaching – a training component has been added to the research program since 2015.

Organized at the IFAO with the support of ASM laboratory and the Labex ArcHiMedE program of the University Paul-Valéry Montpellier 3, an annual oneweek-long graduate class called the Académie hiératique allows a group of selected PhD students from Europe and Egypt to study ostraca for publication. Each year, literary ostraca are chosen according to a specific topic, which is the main subject of the workshop throughout that week. Working sessions in the Archives Department on actual ostraca aim to teach students editing techniques for hieratic texts, and specifically those on ostraca. The students are in charge of the study of one or several ostraca, with the objective of producing and publishing a scientific piece. The work sessions in the Archives Department are complemented by several lectures given by invited specialists, who present aspects of their research and methodological approaches in relation with the topic of the Académie. This selection of specific topics offers the possibility of regularly conducting new surveys through the unpublished documentation and to define new research themes that will subsequently be developed. Since the beginning of the *Académie*, we have been working on:

- material linked with the title "Fan-bearer", during the first *Académie hiératique* (2015);
- religious and funerary texts for the second session (2016);
- texts related to or mentioning Pharaoh, for the third session (2017);
- red ink on literary ostraca for the fourth session (2018);
- the fragmentary unpublished writing boards in the IFAO collection for the fifth session (2019).

A number of studies and papers produced are to be published in a new monographs collection, "Cahiers de l'Académie Hiératique" – the "CAHier" – coedited by IFAO and Montpellier University, as part of the series "Bibliothèque Générale" of the IFAO and "Cénim" of Montpellier. The first volume has already appeared, and it provides convincing analyses on textual production mentioning the

Fan-bearer.²⁶ It gathers together the contributions of the students and specific papers written by the specialists invited to the first *Académie hiératique*. A further volume is currently in preparation and will contain the results of the second and the third sessions of the academy.

This *Académie hiératique* initiative gives students the opportunity to work with actual hieratic sources and artefacts. It also contributes to IFAO scientific activities an interactive component, in that it involves young researchers in the publishing process. In some cases, it should lead to long-term partnerships.

6. CONCLUSION

All the activities carried out by the "ostraca *littéraires*" program, whether they deal with research or training, merge into a common objective: making the entire collection of literary ostraca available in a way that will allow thematic surveys and larger studies of Deir el-Medina society. This initiative therefore feeds into the current trend of seeking to pool ancient textual sources. The IFAO fully intends to participate in and contribute to such a global collaboration by making its extensive collection of textual artefacts available for this purpose.

²⁶ Albert and Gasse (eds.), Études de documents hiératiques inédits, 2019.

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THE HYMN TO PTAH AS A DEMIURGIC AND FERTILITY GOD ON O. TURIN CGT 57002: CONTEXTUALISING AN AUTOGRAPH BY AMENNAKHTE SON OF IPUY

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ABSTRACT

During a research stay at the Museo Egizio in September 2014* – which was targeting documents potentially written by the scribe of the necropolis Amennakhte¹ (v) son of Ipuy (ii), such as P. Turin Cat. 1879+ TPOP Doc ID 9 (Turin Papyrus Map) and O. Turin CGT 57001 (Hymn to Ramesses IV) – we observed that the state of preservation of O. Turin CGT 57002 is much better² than could be inferred from the facsimile, hieroglyphic transcription and picture published by López.³ This prompted us to build upon Bickel and Mathieu's analysis⁴ and to study this piece anew. In this paper, we first provide a revised hieroglyphic transcription, an annotated translation and comments on the content and motivations for composing this hymn to Ptah. In a second step, we situate the text within the growing corpus of Amennakhte's literary compositions. We then contextualize the hymn among the scribe's expressions of religious piety and discuss the Sitz im Leben of this particular hymn. Finally, we argue that this text is likely to be an autograph. As such, the date of copy can be used as a chronologically fixed point for the analysis of Amennakhte's handwriting.

¹ We are deeply grateful to Federico Poole (Museo Egizio), who provided us with the best possible working environment at a time when the museum was undergoing a complete renovation for its reopening in April 2015, and to Susanne Töpfer (Museo Egizio), who enabled us to carry out a final inspection of the ostracon in September 2021. We further thank Bernard Mathieu (Montpellier) for insightful comments on an earlier draft of this paper and Philipp Seyr (Liège) for suggestions regarding the hieroglyphic transcription of several hieratic signs. All mentions of Amennakhte in this paper refer to Amennakhte (v), cf. Davies, Who's Who, 1999, pp. 105–18. For an overview of the life and written production of this scribe, see Dorn and Polis, in Gasse and Albert (eds.), Études de documents hiératiques inédits, 2019, pp. 15–35.

² This might be the result of conservation work conducted after López' publication (cf. n. 3). Maspero, *RecTrav* 2 (1880), 117 states that "[l]es textes de cet Ostracon sont des fragments d'hymne que le salpêtre, dont les efflorescences couvrent la pierre, rend difficile à lire." Such a description does not apply to O. Turin CGT 57002 anymore and traces of interventions to clean the surface are visible on both sides (see especially the whitish interlines).

³ López, Ostraca ieratici, III/1, 1978, pls. 3a−4a with López, Ostraca ieratici, III/4, 1984, p. 191 (picture of vº).

⁴ Bickel and Mathieu, BIFAO 93 (1993), pp. 45-47.

1. THE HYMN TO PTAH OF O. TURIN CGT 57002

1.1. Description⁵

This ostracon of the Drovetti collection consists of two joining pieces of limestone (Cat. 2162 and Cat. 2164), measuring 21.5 cm (width) by 15 cm (height). On both sides chips are missing in the area of the break, with a more substantial loss at the top-center of the recto (= right-center of the verso). The hymn is punctuated with red dots and the text of the verso is perpendicular to the recto (top recto = right verso). The recto is inscribed with seven lines that follow the shape of the ostracon, hence shorter at the top and longer towards the bottom; the beginning and end of all the lines are preserved, except for the second half of the first line. The verso bears eleven well preserved lines: the end of line 6 has been intentionally left blank because of an original irregularity on the surface of the ostracon, while the beginning of line 7 and 8 are lost because of the aforesaid missing fragment.

1.2. Hieroglyphic transcription

Digital images studied with raster graphic editors⁶ allowed us to validate (e.g., r° 5) and emend (e.g., r° 7) readings by López, but also to propose hieroglyphic interpretations for sections of hieratic that had not been transcribed so far (e.g., r° 3 and 4). Illustrative results for the recto are visualized in [Fig. 3].

⁵ For additional inventory numbers, a short description and previous literature, see López, *Ostraca ieratici*, III/1, 1978, p. 17.

⁶ See Grandet, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), Outside the Box, 2018, p. 220.

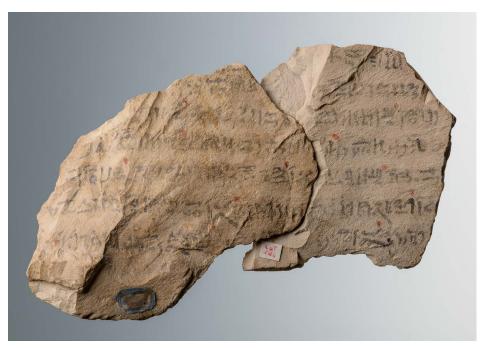


Fig. 1 O. Turin CGT 57002, rº (Photo by Nicola Dell'Aquila and Federico Taverni/Museo Egizio).

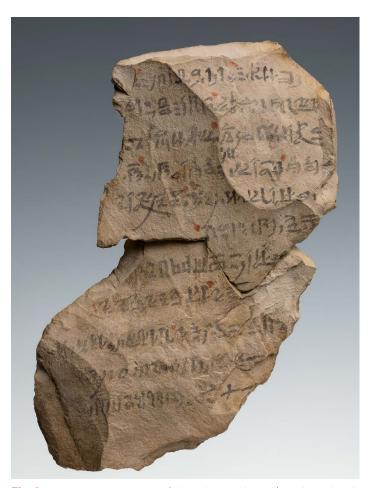


Fig. 2 O. Turin CGT 57002, v⁰ (Photo by Nicola Dell'Aquila and Federico Taverni/Museo Egizio).

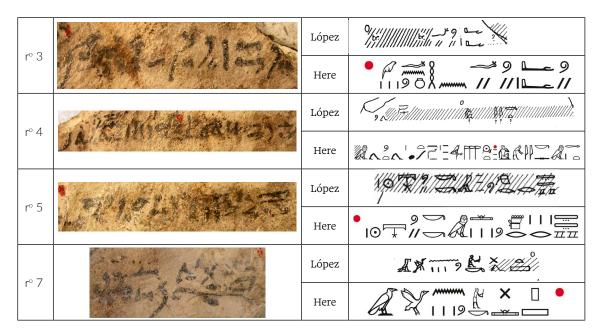


Fig. 3 Enhanced digital images of O. Turin CGT 57002, ro (Photo by St. Polis).

While digital technologies lead to substantial progress in understanding ancient monuments or artefacts like the ostracon under discussion,⁷ it often proves difficult to communicate the results efficiently, since one regularly has to play successively with different types of filters. The pictures of [Fig. 3] have been adjusted in the hope that readers can falsify our suggestions.

⁷ See recently Piquette, in Hoogendijk and van Gompel (eds.), *The Materiality of Texts*, 2018.

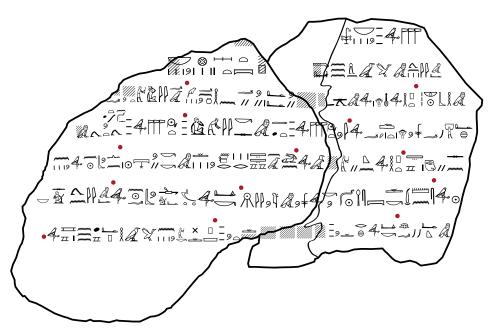


Fig. 4 Hieroglyphic transcription of O. Turin CGT 57002, ro (drawing St. Polis).

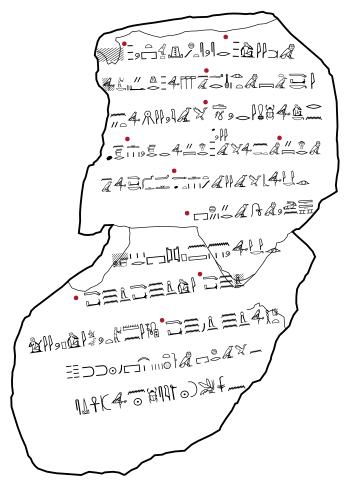


Fig. 5 Hieroglyphic transcription of O. Turin CGT 57002, v° (drawing St. Polis).

1.3. Transliteration, translation and notes

(ro 1) All gods from Upper [and Lower] Egypt [...], $ntr.w \ nb.w \ šm[\varsigma.w \ mhy.w...]$ (ro 2) come^{PL}, it is the water carrier [who ...] the sky, myn, m p = in-mw [...] p.t,sp3.wt nb.w m hb ° all the districts (ro 3) are celebrating. Ptah, beautiful-of-face, presents Pth nfr-hr mz his two [...] and two arms to the hundreds of [...].wy $^{\circ}$.wy=fy n hfn.w $^{\circ}$ thousands. May it be carried, (ro 4) may he lift it up with his hand! f3y.tw=f, 'h=f sw hr dr.t=f ° iw[p]sd.t 3.t m ksy.w \circ [The] Great [Enne]ad is bent down (in adoration), psd.t nds.t iw.t m sn-t3° (and) the Lesser Ennead has come (ro 5) prostrated. *Pth kny* [...]*ty* ° Ptah, the brave [and ...], wn n3 t3.w r-dr.w m kk.wy° all the lands were in obscurity, nn wbn n=w R^c ° (ro 6) Ra could not rise for them, but you established the sky, illuminated it with light, smn=k p.t, shd=k sw m šwi ° di=k m3 w wbn=f° and let one see his rising. myn, z, nb, m $^{c}k3=f$ $^{\circ}$ Come^{PL}, all men, (ro 7) in his presence, *di=k rh=w* [...] ° May you let them know [...]. May you share the flood with them, (vo 1) shouting, $p\check{s}=k \ n.w \ p\vec{s} \ h^c py \ ^\circ m \ dnj.w(t) \ ^\circ$ so as to enlarge their granaries. r swsh šn.wt=w° May you ?fill? (vo 2) the sky with good deeds: $[^{?}t3y^{?}]=k t3 p.t m ir.t nfr$ n3 ntr.w hry <=k ° the gods are under your authority, (vo 3) your name is now the-firm-one, rn=k hpr mi rwd ° you, sunlight who is (vo 4) in heaven, p3 šwy nty m hry ° you are their superior of them all ntk p3y=w hry r-dr=w° (vo 5) when you do great marvels. n-dr iry=k b(i)3j.wt $^{\circ}$ 3.t $^{\circ}$ May you overlay the (vo 6) lands that were like a forecourt: h-d=k n3 t3.w wnw m w-l-h ° (vo 7) may you make gates for them all $iry=k \ n=w \ nšp.w \ r-dr[.w]$ ° (vo 8) [...] water-carrier. [... *i*]*n mw* ° i in-mw in-mw ° Oh water-carrier, water-carrier, (vo 9) [...] Ptah, bring water, water-carrier! [...] Pth, in mw, in-mw ° (made by the) scribe of the Tomb Amennakhte, son of sš Imn-nht sa Ipwy n pa hr m hsb.t Ipuy, (vo 10) in year 4, 1st month of Peret, day 27 (vo 11) of 4 3b.t 1 pr.t sw 27 n nswt bitj Wsrthe king of Upper and Lower Egypt Ramesses V L.P.H. M3c.t-Rc hpr-n-Rcc.w.s

Notes⁸

- r° 1 For the phrase $n\underline{t}r.w$ nb.w $\underline{s}m^c.w$ $m\underline{h}y.w$, see the parallel in the royal hymn of O. DeM 1223, r° 4 (with Fischer-Elfert, *Lesefunde*, 1997, pp. 73–77).
- The translation "Allons vers le Porteur d'eau" (Bickel and Mathieu, *BIFAO* 93 [1993], p. 47), which is interpreted as a possible reference to a pilgrimage to Memphis, is not likely for *myn m p³ in-mw* (the motion verb *iwi* refers to a motion towards the deictic center, hence "to come", and *m* cannot be used as an allative marker). Therefore, we suggest to understand *myn* as a general invocation to the gods ("come^{pl}") and the prepositional phrase that follows as the first part of a cleft sentence introduced by *m*. To the best of our knowledge, the spelling of *in-mw* 'water-carrier' with the classifiers is only attested in this text (see Eichler, SÄK 17 [1990], p. 141, n. 47). Regarding the spelling is only attested in this text (see Eichler, *SÄK* 17 [1990], p. 141, n. 47). Regarding the spelling if on sp³. wt (not sp³.w.t niw.t), see the hymn to Thot of O. DeM 1101, r° 5 and O. DeM 1180, v° 3 (with Fischer-Elfert, *Literarische Ostraka*, 1986, pp. 23, 25).
- tw=f, 'h=f sw hr dr.t=f does not suffer much doubt, but the precise meaning of this sentence is not easily forthcoming because of the unclear reference of the anaphoric pronouns. The most likely interpretation is that the masculine dependent pronoun sw stands for st and refers to the feminine p.t 'sky' (note that sw is used instead of st as an anaphora of p.t in ro 5). For 'h p.t 'to lift up the sky' (originally associated with Shu) as an expression of the demiurgic powers of gods, see the Great Hymn to Amon in P. Boulaq 17, 2,7 & 7,6 (= Luiselli, Der Amun-Re Hymnus, 2004, p. 54 with comments on p. 9). On this aspect of Ptah, see in particular Berlandini, RdE (1995), pp. 10–12 (with previous references). Note that the use of the hand for lifting up the sky in relation to Ptah is already attested on a late Eighteenth Dynasty stela, probably from Deir el-Medina (BM EA 286 = Hall, Hieroglyphic Texts, 1925, pl. 41). For further details about the 'h p.t festival, see under §1.4.
- r° 4 For gods that are *m ks*(*y*).*w*, see e.g., P. Boulaq 17, 7,4 (Luiselli, *Der Amun-Re Hymnus*, 2004, pp. 81–82) and O. OIM 25346, r° 4 (Foster, in Silverman [eds.], *For His Ka*, 1994, pp. 91–92); this image goes back to the *PT* (e.g., §538b). The classifier with *ksi* is certain but no parallel is forthcoming.

⁸ References to parallel texts already cited in Bickel and Mathieu, *BIFAO* 93 (1993), n. 89–96 are not repeated below.

- The epithet of Ptah that comes after *kny* 'brave' and ends with eludes us. The phrase *n³ t³*. *w r-dr*. *w* occurs in another text signed by Amennakhte: O. Turin CGT 57001, r° 8. For (*n³*) *t³*(.*w*) *m kkw* as a metaphor for death, see the *Great Hymn to Aton* (Tomb of Eje), l. 3 (= Sandman, *Texts Akhenaten*, 1938, p. 93,17); other parallels include *Heavenly Cow* (Tomb of Sethi), 34; O. DeM 1066, r° 3, P. Berlin P 3049, col. 8,3, P. BM EA 10059, 14,12.
- r° 6 López' reading (Ostraca ieratici, III/1, 1978, pl. 3a) has to be emended to (Ostraca ieratici, III/1, 1978, pl. 3a) has to be emended to (Ostraca ieratici, III/1, 1978, pl. 3a) has to be emended to (Ostraca ieratici, III/1, 1978, pl. 3a) has to be emended to (Ostraca ieratici, III/1, 1978, pl. 3a) has to be emended to (Ostraca ieratici, III/1, 1978, pl. 3a) has to be emended to (Ostraca ieratici, III/1, 1978, pl. 3a) has to be emended to (Ostraca ieratici, III/1, 1978, pl. 3a) has to be emended to (Ostraca ieratici, III/1, 1978, pl. 3a) has to be emended to (Ostraca ieratici, III/1, 1978, pl. 3a) has to be emended to (Ostraca ieratici, III/1, 1978, pl. 3a) has to be emended to (Ostraca ieratici, III/1, 1978, pl. 3a) has to be emended to (Ostraca ieratici, III/1, 1978, pl. 3a) has to be emended to (Ostraca ieratici, III/1, 1978, pl. 3a) has to be emended to (Ostraca ieratici, III/1, 1978, pl. 3a) has to be emended to (Ostraca ieratici, III/1, 1978, pl. 3a) has to be emended to (Ostraca ieratici, III/1, 1978, pl. 3a) has to be emended to (Ostraca ieratici, III/1, 1978, pl. 3a) has to be emended to (Ostraca ieratici, III/1, 1978, pl. 3a) has to be emended to (Ostraca ieratici, III/1, 1978, pl. 3a) has to be emended to (Ostraca ieratici, III/1, 1978, pl. 3a) has to be emended to (Ostraca ieratici, III/1, 1978, pl. 3a) has to be emended to (Ostraca ieratici, III/1, 1978, pl. 3a) has to be emended to (Ostraca ieratici, III/1, 1978, pl. 3a) has to be emended to (Ostraca ieratici, III/1, 1978, pl. 3a) has to be emended to (Ostraca ieratici, III/1, 1978, pl. 3a) has to be emended to (Ostraca ieratici, III/1, 1978, pl. 3a) has to be emended to (Ostraca ieratici, III/1, 1978, pl. 3a) has to be emended to (Ostraca ieratici, III/1, 1978, pl. 3a) has to be emended to (Ostraca ieratici, III/1, 1978, pl. 3a) has to be emended to (Ostraca ieratici, III/1, 1978, pl. 3a) has to be emended to (Ostraca ieratici, III/1, 1978, pl. 3a) has to be emended to (Ostraca ieratici, III/1, 1978, pl. 3a) has to be emended to (Ostraca iera
- v° 2–3 The etymological word play between hr = k 'under your authority' and hry = k 'your assistant' is certainly intended and points to the apprenticeship (Lazaridis, in Frood and Wendrich (eds.), 2010) that takes place in the educational context of Deir el-Medina. On rwd, see the hymn to Ptah of P. Berlin 3048, 5,5 (= Wolf, ZAS = 64 [1929], 24,37): sts=k tw m rwd = wy=k "you stand yourself erect thanks to the firmness of your arms".
- v° 4 The *supra lineam* emendation is not $p extit{3}{y=f}$ (pace López *Ostraca ieratici*, III/1, 1978, pl. 3a), but most probably $p extit{3}y=w$ with $extit{Q}$ over an erased $extit{\sim}$.
- v° 5 On the different meanings of b(i)3j.t °3.t, see Posener, RdE 16 (1964). For similar spellings of the initial syllable $\int_{-\infty}^{\infty} \int_{-\infty}^{\infty} \int_{$
- The end of the hymn consists of a metaphor comparing Egypt (the Two Lands) to an unfinished forecourt. This metaphor is not recognized by Bickel and Mathieu, *BIFAO* 93 (1993), p. 47 who seemingly interpret as a spelling of and translate "Puisses-tu illuminer les pays qui étaient dans l'obscurité et faire pour eux le portail de [...]". We suggest that is a spelling of *hada, usually written or the like (Hoch, *Semitic Words*, 1994, pp. 237–38, n° 328; on the problematic Semitic etymology, see Vittmann, *WZKM* 87 [1997], p. 284), with the meaning 'to overlay, inlay, mount'. The

word word willy, as already recognized by Meeks (AL 78.0863), is most certainly a modernized spelling of willy 'pillared hall, columned forecourt' (Wb. I,259,12–13, AL 77.0824, 79.0596; cf. Mathieu, Poésie amoureuse, 1996, p. 49, n. 128). Similar syllabic spellings are not exceptional during the Ramesside period, see P. Chester Beatty I, r° 16,12 and O. Cairo CG 25204, r° 14.

v° 7 So far, the word *nšp* 'gate' is only attested in sources of the Twentieth Dynasty from Deir el-Medina, all of which are directly related to the scribe Amennakhte: P. Turin Cat. 1879⁺, v° (twice on an unpublished fragment of the *Turin Papyrus Map*) and P. Turin Cat. 1880, r° 2,11–12 (*ḥr p³ nšp n p³ dmì* 'at the gate of the village'). The hieroglyphic transcription of the end of the line suggested by López (*Ostraca ieratici*, III/1, 1978, pl. 4a),

v° 10 The reading of the date is hard to establish with certainty: Černý suggested (in year 4, first month), while López read (year 2, fourth month) without *m* before the date. A close inspection of the original (López' facsimile is not accurate for the signs transcribed *m ḥsb.t* and the following strokes) shows that Černý's reading is most probably to be preferred, especially based on a contextualization of this date (see below, end of §1.4). We acknowledge that there is an actual potential for circular reasoning and cannot exclude a reading *m ḥsb.t* 2 *3bd* 3.

1.4. Comments

The hymn to Ptah opens with a general invocation to the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt, which echoes another composition "signed" by Amennakhte, namely the hymn to Osiris of O. IFAO OL 117,9 which begins similarly with an invocation to the gods of the districts and other goddesses.

Directly after this opening address to the gods, the central theme of the composition pops up: Ptah is referred to as the in-mw 'water-carrier', an epithet that frames the entire hymn. It appears at the very beginning (r° 2) and closes the text, in v° 8–9, where the name of the god is shrouded by the invocation i in-mw in-mw, [...] Pth, in mw in-mw [...] "Oh water-carrier, water-carrier, [...] Ptah, bring

⁹ Dorn and Polis, *BIFAO* 116 (2016), pp. 59–67 (esp. 63).

water, water-carrier!". 10 The theme of the flood is further mediating between the first and second part of the hymn, with the explicit mention of the inundation in r° 7 (pš=k n.w p3 h^cpy "May you share the flood with them"). In New Kingdom hymnology, 11 Ptah is not uncommonly associated with Nun and Hâpy 12 – as evidenced for instance by P. Harris I (e.g. 44,6-7, ir htp.w n n3 ntr.w nb.w m hpri=f Nwn-wr "who makes offerings for all the gods in his appearance of Nun-the-Great" [= Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 1933, 49,15–16])¹³ or P. Berlin 3048 (e.g., 8,3, in h^cpy m tph.t=f (...) m rn=f n Nwn-wr "who brings the flood out of its cavern (...) in his name of Nun-the-Great" [= Wolf, ZÄS 64 (1929), 30]) – and the name Pth-p3-h(py) (3) also attests to this connection 14. However, the compound in-mw'water-carrier' is not attested in relation to Ptah outside the present hymn. This can be interpreted as a strong hint that it refers here not only to the fertile dimension of the god Ptah, but also to the specific social setting of Deir el-Medina, where the water carriers played a crucial role among the smd.t-personnel¹⁵, supplying the crew with water at the village and working sites nearby (both in the Valley of the Kings and in the Valley of the Queens). Just as Egypt was dependent on the flood, the community of workmen was dependent on regular water supplies and the parallelism is stressed lexically in this hymn to Ptah. 16

¹⁰ This repetitive pattern might be intended to mimic structurally the end of the Hymn to the Nile (XIV,5–6 and 9–10 = van der Plas, Hymne à la crue du Nil, II, 1986, pp. 138–39 and 146–47), w3d k3-iw=k, w3d k3-iw=k, w3d k3-iw=k, w3d k3-iw=k "Be green and come, be green and come, Hâpy, be green and come" (cf. van der Plas, Hymne à la crue du Nil, I, 1986, p. 157; Bickel and Mathieu, BIFAO 93 (1993), p. 47 n. 96) and to allude indirectly to the relationship between Ptah and the Nile.

¹¹ Cf. Sandman Holmberg, *The god Ptah*, 1946, p. 178 (§13); Barucq and Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, 1980, pp. 385–415.

¹² See Berlandini, RdE 46 (1995), pp. 28–29 (with previous literature).

¹³ With Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I*, II, 1994, n. 667. See also P. Harris I, 48,9–10 & 54a,2–3.

¹⁴ El-Banna, *BIFAO* 84 (1984), p. 114, n. 1 and pp. 117–19; Gaballa and Kitchen, *Orientalia* 38 (1969), p. 9 n. 2. See also the Ptolemaic spelling of h py (with the god Ptah acting both as phonogram p and classifier): p(y) (cf. Drioton, *ASAE* 44 [1944], p. 149 n. f).

¹⁵ Eichler, SÄK 17 (1990), pp. 135–75 and SÄK 18 (1991), pp. 173–205; Gabler, Who's Who, 2018, pp. 109–73.

¹⁶ Another example of the use of the motif 'water carrier' in a literary context is O. Qurna 691, ro 1 with Burkard, in Demarée and Egberts (eds.), *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millenium AD*, 2000, pp. 61–64, who discusses the genre of the text, ultimately considered to be a letter and not a satirical description (which would probably fit better given the development of this genre during the New Kingdom).

In addition to his fertility aspect, Ptah is praised as creator¹⁷ (cf. the mention of his capacity of $\hat{a}kh$ -pet in r° 4),¹⁸ as lord¹⁹ of the gods (r° 4–5 and v° 2 & 3–4), and as artifex (v° 5–7). His solar facet is also stressed²⁰ (r° 6 and v° 3). All these themes are common in other hymns of the Ramesside period originating from Thebes,²¹ such as those of P. Harris I (44,2–8), P. Berlin P 3048 (col. II-XII), and P. Berlin 3049 (col. I–II,2)²², but are not prominent in the religious corpus from Deir el-Medina.²³ Therefore, Amennakhte might be the author of an original composition,²⁴ which is thematically in line with the main hymns of the time (rather than with the local text production) while not being dependent upon a specific textual tradition (older or contemporary): he adapted the content to the specific environment of Deir el-Medina.²⁵

If precise textual parallels are missing, the text of the ostracon finds a correspondence in an iconographic representation of the god appearing as Tatenen. In the tomb of Ramesses III (see **Fig. 6**),²⁶ one indeed finds a figure of Ptah displaying the solar (sun disc above his cap) and the fertility (the green color of his skin) aspects ascribed to him in the hymn.

¹⁷ Sandman Holmberg, *The god Ptah*, 1946, pp. 31–63, with Schlögl, *Der Gott Tatenen*, 1980, pp. 54–63 for the syncretism with Tatenen from the Nineteenth Dynasty onwards.

¹⁸ Berlandini, *RdE* 46 (1995), pp. 10–12.

¹⁹ Cf. P. Berlin P. 3048 II,1-2 (= Wolf, ZÄS 64 [1929], p. 17).

²⁰ On the assimilation of Ptah to solar gods, see the hymn to Ra-Horakhty (Sauneron, *BIFAO* 53 [1953]) on papyri (P. Berlin P. 3048, 3050, and 3056) that have been found together (bought by Lepsius in Luxor) with the hymn to Ptah of P. Berlin 3048.

²¹ Note that, from a positivistic perspective, Amennakhte's hymn to Ptah (Ramesses V) is younger than the hymn of P. Harris I (Ramesses III), but older than that of P. Berlin P. 3048 (with mention of Ramesses IX).

²² With a parallel to P. Berlin P. 3049 (col. I). See Gülden, *Die hieratischen Texte des P. Berlin* 3049, 2001, pp. 1–5 (with p. XVI for a discussion of the date).

²³ See Sadek, *Popular Religion*, 1987, pp. 100–07; Luiselli, *Gottesnähe*, 2011, pp. 361–66 (Stelae BM EA 589, BM 1466, BM 8497) and 403–04 (the stela of the scribe Bay, Amennakhte's predecessor, from the Ptah-Meretseger-sanctuary). The most significant hieroglyphic text from Deir el-Medina addressed to Ptah is the stela of Neferabu (BM 589), but it differs both in content and structure from the text under discussion. The mid-20th dynasty hymn to Ptah of O. BTdK 744 (Dorn, *Arbeiterhütten*, 2011, pp. 456–57) that was found in the workmen's settlement in the Valley of the Kings (in which Amennakhte had a hut) displays no direct intertextual relationship with O. Turin CGT P. 57002 either.

²⁴ Although Ptah is very obviously linked to kingship, there is no direct clue in the text that would point to a hymn addressed to the king rather than to Ptah himself (see Bickel and Mathieu, *BIFAO* 93 [1993], p. 47 n. 97).

²⁵ This seems to be one of his auctorial characteristics; cf. Dorn, ZÄS 131 (2004), p. 54.

²⁶ Maurice-Barberio, Florence, EAO 34 (2004), p. 23, fig. 9.



Fig. 6 Depiction of Ptah in corridor D1 of the tomb of Ramesses III, with a particular headdress (Photo by J. Livet).



Fig. 7 Depiction of an identical figure of Ptah on O. BTdK 165 classified as "Erinnerungsbild" (Photo by A. Dorn).

This representation, most probably the oldest of a small series of similar images,²⁷ was painted at the junction of the tomb of Ramesses III with the tomb of Amenmesse on an (additional) wall surface that was not part of the canonical decoration program. The said figure of Ptah might have been created based on an existing religious text or conception of the god Ptah, 28 which would have inspired Amennakhte when composing his hymn, but it could also result from a local choice²⁹ (i.e., from the workmen of Deir el-Medina themselves). Such a local influence on the decorative program of a royal tomb is indeed attested for a pillar in the sarcophagus chamber of the tomb of Ramesses VI (KV 9)30 that was painted with the local goddess Meretseger,³¹ a non-canonical figure otherwise unattested in the decoration of royal tombs. In this respect, note the similar drawing of Ptah on O. BTdK 165 [Fig. 7],32 which displays the god Ptah with the same headdress (but with a couple of differences: no shrine, a different caption – Ptah is designated as the local god t3 st [nfr.w] "[from] the Valley [of the Queens]" – and reversed depiction). This advocates for a productive (and locally bound) tradition regarding the figure of Ptah during the later Twentieth Dynasty in which the hymn under investigation would actively participate.

Moreover, the date of the copy could provide information about the actual motivation for composing a hymn to Ptah as a demiurgic and fertility figure. The end of the first month of Peret (v° 10: Peret 1, day 27) indeed announces the great $\hat{a}kh$ -pet festival in honor of Ptah (cf. r° 4: f_{\circ} - f_{\circ} -f

²⁷ Dorn, *Arbeiterhütten*, 2011, p. 90 with further references especially to a similar representation of the god Ptah in the tomb of Penniut at Aniba in Nubia and p. 102.

²⁸ See for instance the mention of the two feathers in P. Berlin 3048, II,9 (= Wolf, ZÄS 64 [1929], p. 18): **nb šw.ty** "Lord of the two feathers".

²⁹ Note that Amennakhte was already active as draughtsman and then scribe (from year 16 onwards) when the tomb of Ramesses III was being built.

³⁰ Yoyotte, in Andreu (eds.), Deir el-Médineh et la Vallée des Rois, 2003.

³¹ See Piankoff, The Tomb of Ramesses VI, 1954, pl. 138b.

³² Dorn, Arbeiterhütten, 2011, pp. 263–64, pls. 156–59.

³³ It was later fixed on the first of Phamenot, i.e., Peret 3, day 1 (precisely at the middle of the ideal Egyptian calendar). See Kurth, *Den Himmel stützen*, 1975, pp. 144–45; Berlandini, *RdE* 46 (1995), pp. 29–31.

³⁴ Cf. Bakir, The Cairo calendar no. 86637, 1966, pl. XXIII.

³⁵ Cf. Leitz, Tagewählerei, II, 1994, pl. 70.

(*in*) *Ptḥ m '.wy=fy, iwty snw=f, hrw nfr m (p3) t3 r-dr=f* "Second month of Peret, day 1: good-good-good, the gods and goddesses are celebrating on this day, feast of lifting up the sky of Ra by Ptah, who has no equivalent, with his hands – holy day in the entire land". This festival took place during winter (around December-January) and was linked to the winter solstice:³⁶ it celebrates the creation of the world, with Ptah lifting up the sky, and the birth of the sun. This time of the year was indeed linked to the end of the inundation season, when the earth had emerged from the flood – which recalls the mythological episode of the primordial island emerging from the Nun – and could be walked on and ploughed.³⁷ Some sources from Deir el-Medina make reference to this feast in Peret 3, day 1, namely the first of Phamenot:³⁸ the proximity between the date of composition of this hymn (that is difficult to read with certainty, see p. 432) and these dates might be more than a mere coincidence.t

2. AMENNAKHTE'S NON-DOCUMENTARY TEXTS

The number of non-documentary texts linked to Amennakhte – which include teachings, eulogies and hymns, as well as a satirical poem and a magical text – has grown considerably over recent years. **Table 1** provides an overview of Amennakhte's literary works in order to situate the hymn of O. Turin CGT 57002 within the broader corpus of his compositions.³⁹

³⁶ See the discussion in Leitz, *Tagewählerei*, I, 1994, pp. 228–29. This might explain variation in the date of the feast, trying to accommodate the ideal Egyptian calendar with actual astronomic events.

³⁷ On the dates of the Nile flood in the second and third months of the Akhet season (based on graffiti and ostraca), see Janssen, *JNES* 46 (1987), pp. 135–36.

³⁸ See n. 33. Cf. van Walsem, in Demarée and Janssen (eds.), *Gleanings from Deir el-Medîna*, 1982, p. 224, n° 65 and 66; Sadek, *Popular Religion*, 1987, p. 172, tab. A, n° 15.

³⁹ For lists of Amennakhte's literary corpus (with bibliographical references that are not duplicated here), see Bickel and Mathieu, *BIFAO* 93 (1993), pp. 32–35, 37–48; Burkard, in Enmarch and Lepper (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 2013, pp. 65–66; Hassan, SAK 46 (2017), pp. 104–05; Polis, in Cromwell and Grossman (eds.), *Scribal Repertoires*, 2018, pp. 94–96.

Table 1 List of non-documentary texts by Amennakhte⁴⁰

1993	Bickel and Mathieu Praise of the city/Longing for Thebes (O. Gardiner 25, rº); satirical poem (O. Gardiner 25, vº); 41 eulogies to the king R. IV (O. Turin CGT 57001, rº) and R. IV or R. V (O. Ermitage 1125 rº); hymn to Ptah (O. Turin CGT 57002); teaching of Amennakhte (several ostraca)		
2004, 2013	Dorn Content of the teaching of Amennakhte enlarged		
2006	Klotz Hymn to Amun-Re		
2013	Burkard Hymn to an unnamed king or god? (O. Berlin P 14262, √°)		
2016	Dorn and Polis Invocations to the gods followed by a hymn to Osiris (O. IFAO OL 117); eulogy to the king R. II (?) or another Ramesses (O. IFAO OL 4039, r°); 2 unidentified literary texts (O. IFAO OL 4039, v°; O. IFAO OL 5510)		
2016	Grandet New witness of the teaching of Amennakhte		
2017	Hassan Eulogy to a leader (king?) and a 'miscellany' text (2 nd teaching?) (O. Cairo HO 425)		
2018	Hassan and Polis Hymn to a king (?) (leader) and a 'miscellany' text (2 nd teaching?) enlarged (O. Cairo HO 425 & O. BM EA 21282)		
2022	Dorn and Polis O. Turin CGT 57002 (new readings)		
In prep.	Dorn and Polis Eulogy to the king R. IV (O. Turin CGT 57001, r°) and magical text (O. Turin CGT 57001, v°) 42		
In prep.	Dorn and Polis P. Turin Cat. 1879+ (Turin Papyrus Map, vº). Frgt. F1.1: hymn (3 lines); frgt. F1.2: hymn (8 lines); frgt. F1.3: hymn (6 lines); frgt. F2.1: hymn to a king Ramesses (see above 2016); hymn to a king Ramesses; frgt. F2.2: hymn to a king Ramesses; frgt. F2.3: hymn to a king Ramesses; frgt. F2.4: hymn (2 lines); frgt. H1: hymn to Ra during his night journey (?) + another short hymn (?); frgt. H2-I-J: invocations to different forms of the sun god		
Total		24+	

⁴⁰ For the *ir.n* formula, cf. Dorn, in Gillen (ed.), *Traditions*, 2017; regarding Amennakhte specifically, see Polis, in Cromwell and Grossman (eds.), *Scribal Repertoires*, 2018, pp. 97–98.

⁴¹ See recently Mathieu, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the box*, 2018, pp. 306–07.

⁴² The text of O. Turin CGT 57001, v° has not yet been attributed or linked to Amennakhte (cf. Dorn and Polis, in Gasse and Albert [eds.], *Études de documents hiératiques inédits*, 2019, pp. 18–21). From a palaeographical point of view, nothing speaks against an attribution of the verso to the same hand as that of the recto. A detailed study of this text is in preparation.

More often than not, when one is looking at religious expressions of an individual, the analysis focuses on a single text or monument and interprets the relationship with a particular god or goddess as a case of 'personal piety'. Such construal is however highly dependent upon the quantity of sources available for a given person.

In the case of Amennakhte, the texts that he produced **(Table 1)** illustrate the wide range of divine beings to which he must have devoted some attention: invocations to gods and goddesses (incl. Isis, Horus, Nephthys) in a hymn to Osiris, a hymn to Ptah, another to Ra and hymns to various gods (P. Turin Cat. 1879^+ , v^o). Furthermore, the list above makes it obvious that Amennakhte wanted to express a close relationship to the past and reigning kings, as evidenced by the eulogies on O. Berlin P 14262, v^o , O. Cairo HO 425 + O. BM EA 21282, O. Ermitage 1125, r^o , O. IFAO OL 4039, $r^o + P$. Turin Cat. 1879^+ , v^o and O. Turin CGT 57001, r^o addressing R. II or R. III, R. IV and R. V.⁴³

The number of religious testimonies produced by Amennakhte increases even further when considering other types of monuments that he left in Western Thebes, mainly in the form of stelae. They will be presented in the next section in order to produce a more detailed picture of his different types of religious expression.

3. SITZ IM LEBEN OF THE HYMN TO PTAH

As regards Amennakhte's religious knowledge, the hymn to Ptah discussed in this paper can indeed be envisioned as a piece of a larger puzzle made up of a variety of (inscribed and/or figured) artefacts, such as graffiti, ostraca-stelae, hymns and prayers written or carved on different media (ostraca, stelae and papyri) or inscriptions on monuments and objects (like ushebtis).

3.1. Religious knowledge based on his professional duties

In his capacity as $s\check{s}$ - $\not kd$ and later as Scribe of the Necropolis, Amennakhte was in charge of the construction of royal tombs⁴⁴ and (probably) responsible for

⁴³ Another kind of relationship is documented for Ramesses VI: Amennakhte installed a wooden statue in a chapel located to the north of the Hathor temple at Deir el-Medina, see Hovestreydt, *LingAeg* 5 (1997).

⁴⁴ See his links to the plans of the tomb of R. IV: P. Turin Cat. 1885 (Carter and Gardiner, *JEA* 4 [1917]) and P. Turin CGT 55002 (= Cat. 2038; Demichelis, ZÄS 131 [2004], with her comments on p. 114).

planning and applying the netherworld texts therein. This comprises the texts in the tombs of Ramesses III, IV and VI (KV11, 2, 9) as well as in the Valley of the Queens – the tombs of the queens Isis (QV51) and Titi (QV52), as well as those of the princes Paraherwenemef (QV42), Sethherkhepeshef (QV43), Khaemwaset (QV44), Ramses (QV53) and Amunherkhepeshef (QV55). It can therefore be inferred that Amennakhte must have been familiar with all the royal netherworlds texts of the time: The Amduat, the Book of the Gates, the Book of the Caverns, the Book of the Day and the Night, the Book of the Heavenly Cow, the Book of Aker as well as the Book of the Dead.

3.2. Religious knowledge based on access to temple archives/libraries

Based on his title $s\check{s}$ n pr $^{r}n\dot{p}$, 49 one can infer that Amennakhte had privileged access to the House of Life, 50 a room located in the nearby temples of millions of years (i.e., the mortuary temples of Ramesses II and of Ramesses III) that is believed to be the temple library where religious texts were stored. Just like the hymn of O. Turin CGT 57002, several other hymnic compositions make it clear that Amennakhte's knowledge encompassed not only the local – i.e., Theban – religious landscape, but extended to other districts and regions of Egypt (as evidenced, for instance, by the hymn to Osiris of O. IFAO OL 117, where reference is made to gods from t_3 -mhyt (the Delta) as well as to Isis from Kom el-Ahmar Sawiris). 51

⁴⁵ Note that, in the documentation coming from Deir el-Medina and its surroundings, netherworld texts are virtually absent, which remains a puzzle in terms of textual transmission.

⁴⁶ A list of decorated tombs that were built during the reign of Ramesses III in the Valley of the Queens is provided by Nelson and Hassanein, *Memnonia* 6 (1995), p. 235 [12].

⁴⁷ See for instance the tomb of Ramesses VI where all these texts are attested (cf. Abitz, Grabes Ramses' VI., 1989).

⁴⁸ The *Book of the Dead* was part of the private burial equipment on papyrus as well as of the wall decoration (in private tombs and in tombs of kings, queens, and princes).

⁴⁹ For the titles of Amennakhte and the *pr-¹nḫ* at Medinet Habu, see Bickel and Mathieu, *BIFAO* 93 (1993), p. 36, n. 26–33.

⁵⁰ In general, see Zinn, in Cannata and Adams (eds.), *Current Research*, 2007 (with previous literature). For the *pr-'nh* of the Ramesseum, see Leblanc, *Mnemonia* 15 (2004) and Leblanc, in Goyon and Cardin (eds.), *Proceedings*, 2007.

⁵¹ Dorn and Polis, *BIFAO* 116 (2016), p. 63. See also the locations in Middle and Lower Egypt mentioned in O. Cairo HO 425, v° 2–3 with Hassan and Polis, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, pp. 250 and 253.

3.3. Shared religious knowledge in Deir el-Medina and Amennakhte's relation to Ptah and other gods

As a member of the community of workmen Amennakhte was obviously familiar with all kinds of religious practices and expressions within the village,⁵² and he appears personally on a series of more or less formal religious objects. To the more formal ones belongs Stela MMA 21.2.6 that depicts Amennakhte with his brother and his son Pentaweret venerating the bark of Amen-Ra in procession.⁵³ More informal are graffiti left by Amennakhte in the Theban necropolis, some of which can be identified as religious expressions (such as the one showing Amennakhte together with his father in an adoration scene),⁵⁴ or the ostracon-stela found in his hut in the Valley of the Kings.⁵⁵

Table 2 Amennakhte's presence on stelae

OWNER(S)	GOD	OBJECT
Ipuy (father) Amennakhte (sš-ķd)	Ptah (Vizier Hori as intermediary)	Stela Krakow; Bierbrier, <i>Prace archeologiczne</i> 51 (1992)
Bay (senior scribe) Amennakhte (sš-ķd)	Ptah (Vizier Hori as intermediary)	Rock stela in the sanctuary of Ptah-Meretseger; Bruyère, <i>Mert Seger</i> , 1930, pp. 8–10 with fig. 5; 39–42 with pl. II and VI
Amennakhte (sš n pr-d.t)	Ptah	Stela from the Valley of the Queens; Nelson and Hassanein, <i>Memnonia</i> VI (1995), pp. 230–31
Amennakhte Several family members (and other persons)	Amen-Ra	Stela MMA 21.2.6; Klotz, <i>SAK</i> 34 (2006)
Amennakhte Horisheri (son)	Meretseger	Ostracon-stela from the Valley of the Kings; Dorn, <i>Arbeiterhütten</i> , 2011, p. 293 with pl. 216–17

As shown by **Table 2**, the 'personal' relation of Amennakhte with Ptah stands out as one of the oldest and most prevalent of his religious expressions. First,

⁵² Weiss, Religious Practice at Deir el-Medina, 2015.

⁵³ Klotz, SAK 34 (2006). It is interesting to note that more formal artefacts linked to Amennakhte, such as stelae, are regularly of small format and of 'lesser' quality. His own stela to Amun-Re (MMA 21.2.6) seems to be ready for carving or final painting, but still displays red (preparatory) and black (final) lines. Similarly, the stela of his father lpuy (Stela Cracow) is quite carelessly carved.

⁵⁴ Dorn, in Haring et al. (eds.), The Workman's Progress, 2014, pp. 65–67.

⁵⁵ Dorn, Arbeiterhütten, 2011, pp. 40–41 (with the inventory of the hut).

he appears on a stela of his father (now in Krakow), who adores Ptah (with the vizier Hori as intermediary).⁵⁶ At around the same time, Amennakhte is represented on the rock stela of his predecessor as senior scribe, Bay (ii), in chapel E of the Ptah-Meretseger sanctuary (located on the way to the Valley of the Queens). Later on, he adores Ptah as sš n pr-dt on a limestone ostracon found in the Valley of the Queens. His personal relationship with Ptah is further evidenced by Graffito 1111, in which he commemorated his appointment as senior scribe of the Tomb in year 16 of Ramesses III. He inscribed it next to the same sanctuary, i.e., in the realm of Ptah:⁵⁷ the choice of this location can be tentatively understood as a wish to put his office under the protection of Ptah. All these testimonies appear to belong to the early career of Amennakhte, and it is noticeable that no object related to Ptah has been found among the numerous religious artefacts of Amennakhte's hut in the Valley of the Kings. As such, the hymn to Ptah on O. Turin CGT 57002 appears to be a late witness of his relationship to that particular divinity: its content (combined with the date at the end of the text) links the composition to the *âkh-pet* festival, and by stressing the *in-mw* 'water-carrier' dimension of this divinity, it can be surmised that Amennakhte adapted a nation-wide theme and feast to the very local setting of Deir el-Medina.

4. AUTOGRAPHS BY AMENNAKHTE?

In this final section, we examine the links between O. Turin CGT 57002 and other texts that could have been written by Amennakhte in order to assess the plausibility of it being an autograph. We begin by comparing its layout and ductus to other texts signed by the scribe and then look at scribal habits that might be indicative of its autographic status.⁵⁸

4.1. Layout and ductus

The hymn to Ptah of O. Turin CGT 57002 is one of two texts that are both dated and signed by Amennakhte, the second being the hymn to R. IV of O. Turin CGT

⁵⁶ The stela is most likely to be dated before year 16 of Ramesses III.

⁵⁷ Černý, Graffiti hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques, 1956, p. 4 with pl. 9.

⁵⁸ Regarding the methodology, see Polis, in Verhoeven et al. (eds.), 'Binsen'-Weisheiten IV, 2022.

57001, r° . Taken together, these two features make it likely that we are dealing with autographs: the ir.n formula is generally accepted as being a marker of authorship⁵⁹ (albeit not of 'scriptorship'), while dated literary texts are clearly linked to copying.⁶⁰ As such, Amennakhte could be the *author* and *scriptor* of the two Turin ostraca.

The comparison with other texts allows us to show that a single scribe wrote down different compositions attributed to Amennakhte, most certainly himself based on the observations above. In the publication of O. IFAO OL 117, we argued and hopefully demonstrated) (1) that O. IFAO OL 117 and O. Ashmolean HO 25 have been written by the same hand, and (2) that the characteristic features of this hand are best recognized at the global rather than at the individual sign level (which displays too much variation, even within a single text). These features can be summarized as follows:

- The page layout is spacious, with consistent line heights and very regular interline spaces (equivalent to roughly 80% of the written line).
- The base-lines are characterized by an oscillation that causes a wave effect (see Fig. 8).
- Within the line, kerning between individual characters is ample, with almost no overlaps.
- The ductus is smooth, with few ligatures, limited downstrokes and upstrokes,
 and a marked tendency to reduce progressively the number of strokes per sign.
- The slant of individual signs is very limited.

These features apply perfectly to the hand of O. Turin CGT 57002 (see **Figs. 1, 2**). In order to visualize the similarities between this ostracon and other texts signed by Amennakhte, we propose a new method here, which consists in imposing

⁵⁹ See already Bickel and Mathieu, BIFAO 93 (1993), p. 38 and the references in n. 40.

⁶⁰ Cf. the students' exercises discussed by McDowell, in Der Manuelian (ed.), Studies Simpson, 1996.

⁶¹ Dorn and Polis, *BIFAO* 116 (2016), pp. 67–73.

⁶² See the methodological remarks in Janssen, *JEA* 73 (1987); Gasse, in Demarée and Egberts (eds.), *Village Voices*, 1992; van den Berg and Donker van Heel, in Demarée and Egberts (eds.), *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millenium AD*, 2000. In the case of Amennakhte's name, it has been shown that significant variations obtain at the level of individual signs (and groups) depending on medium and time (Dorn, in Verhoeven [ed.], *'Binsen'-Weisheiten I-II*, 2015).



Fig. 8 Oscillation of the base-line (wave effect) in O. Turin CGT 57002, ro 4.

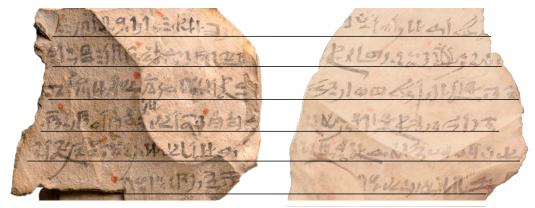


Fig. 9 O. Turin CGT 57002, v° 1-6 vs. O. IFAO OL 117, v° 3-8.



Fig. 10 O. Turin CGT 57002, vº 1-6 vs. O. Ashmolean HO 25, rº 6-11.

the same (horizontal) grid to different texts, so as to make the above-mentioned characteristics apparent. In order to control for variability, we do not compare the beginning of texts, where the hand is usually more careful and controlled, but sections that exhibit a natural flow.

Figs. 9 and 10 show that the general layout (spacious organization, regular interlines, oscillating base-lines) and ductus (few up- and downstrokes, no slant) look much alike. O. Turin CGT 57002 differs only insofar as kerning is concerned, with a slightly denser organization of the signs within the lines (but this observation is reinforced by the ink that is better preserved on the Turin piece).

Extending the investigation to O. BM EA 21282 + O. Cairo HO 425 **[Fig. 11]**, we notice that the same observations apply: the grid manifests the perfect congruence in terms of layout and sign size, and the resemblance in terms of ductus

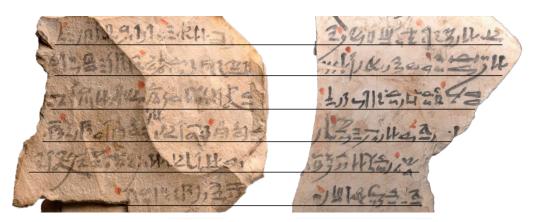


Fig. 11 O. Turin CGT 57002, v° 1-6 vs. O. Cairo HO 425, r° 2-7.

is striking (even if perhaps a bit more nervous and speedy on O. BM EA 21282 + O. Cairo HO 425). Accordingly, we suggest attributing O. Turin CGT 57002, O. IFAO OL 117, O. Ashmolean HO 25, and O. BM EA 21282 + O. Cairo HO 425 to a single hand, namely Amennakhte's literary hand.⁶³

4.2. Scribal habits: extending the network

Additional features of O. Turin CGT 57002 might point to scribal habits of Amennakhte and be used to detect autographs. We limit the investigation to three of those habits here. First, the scribe of O. Turin CGT 57002 flipped the ostracon at 90 degrees when moving from the recto to the verso, so that the text on the verso is perpendicular to the one on the recto. This characteristic is interestingly shared by O. Turin CGT 57001. Second, the hymn to Ptah is free of any obvious mistakes, but the scribe made *supra lineam* additions on two occasions [Fig. 12].

O. Ashmolean HO 25 and O. Cairo HO 425 are also flawless compositions with *supra lineam* additions. Rather than resulting from copying mistakes, we are prone to interpreting these emendations as being induced by the composition process, the scribe following his thoughts and omitting entire (parts of) words.

Finally, as noted above (Section 1.3, *apud* r° 1–2 and v° 7), some words and phrases are attested exclusively in texts plausibly written by Amennakhte. The word *nšp* 'gate' belongs to this category. Besides its occurrence in the present hymn, it appears in the *Turin Strike Papyrus* (Cat. 1880, r° 2,12) and in the *Turin*

⁶³ Among the texts signed by Amennakhte, these are the ones that share the most features. Other texts undoubtedly belong to the same hand, but their detailed palaeographical analysis falls outside the scope of the present paper.





Fig. 12 Supra lineam additions in O. Turin CGT 57002, ro 4 and vo 4.



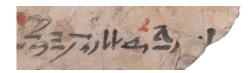


Fig. 13 Supra lineam additions in O. Ashmolean HO 25, v° 3 and O. Cairo HO 425, r° 5.



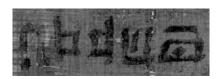


Fig. 14 The word *nšp* in O. Turin CGT 57002, v° 7 and P. Turin Cat. 1879+, v° H1,6.

Papyrus Map (Cat. 1879, v° H1,1 and 6). As illustrated by **Fig. 14**, the spelling and ductus can be so close that it would be difficult not to hypothesize that a single scribe was the scriptor of the two texts.

It should be stressed that none of the above-mentioned criteria is sufficient, taken in isolation, for securing the attribution of a manuscript to Amennakhte, but together they form an array of clues that might lead to reconstructing the network of writings produced by this scribe, a network at the center of which stands the hymn to Ptah of O. Turin CGT 57002.

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BLUE-PAINTED POTTERY FROM DEIR EL-MEDINA IN THE MUSEO EGIZIO OF TURIN

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ABSTRACT

Blue-painted pottery has always been considered characteristic of the pottery production of Tell el-Amarna, and it seems particularly widespread in the Theban area. In the Museo Egizio of Turin there are also numerous examples of blue-painted pottery coming from the excavations of Ernesto Schiaparelli at Deir el-Medina. The types present in the corpus consist mainly of jars, bowls, basins and goblets; whole vases are not many, while the fragments are numerous. Unfortunately, pottery from Deir el-Medina has not been well published, a fact that obliges us to look for comparisons with the much-studied Tell el-Amarna pottery. The complete or almost complete jars are six, together with one bowl and one basin. Only a few fragments infer the shape of the goblet. A category of blue-painted pottery with plastic decoration is also represented in the Museo Egizio corpus: nine fragments of jars show the face of the demon Bes, whole or fragmentary, and nine fragments show the face of the goddess Hathor; two fragments belonged to basins, while seven come from the necks of vases with a closed shape.

Blue-painted pottery must be distinguished from polychrome decorated pottery: blue (the predominant color), black and red are the characteristic colors of blue-painted pottery, whereas polychrome decorated pottery are displays other colors, such as yellow and green.

Blue-painted pottery has always been considered a characteristic of the pottery production of Tell el-Amarna, and in fact during the Amarna period there were innovations in this production. But blue-painted pottery had already appeared during the reign of Amenhotep II and then flourished during the reigns of Amenhotep III and of Akhenaton; the production is found in Twentieth Dynasty contexts, with its last attestation coming from the reign of Ramesses IV.

Blue-painted pottery is attested chiefly in Tell el-Amarna³ and in the Theban area, in Malkata,⁴ at Deir el Medina,⁵ in the funerary temples of Amenhotep II⁶ and of Tuthmosis IV⁷ and in some tombs in the Valley of the Kings,⁸ and there is also evidence of its presence in the area of Memphis.⁹ However, an hypothesis has been made that the most important center of production of blue-painted pottery was actually located in the area of the Delta, which subsequently moved and developed in the Theban area.¹⁰ In fact, the current state of research of all blue-painted pottery is quite incomplete, with only material from certain areas studied and published.

The production of blue-painted pottery seems particularly widespread in the Theban area and in Tell el-Amarna. During the reign of Akhenaton the potters arrived in Tell el-Amarna from Thebes and, following the abandonment of the city, these same potters, or their immediate successors, were transferred back to Thebes, and probably also to Memphis, to continue the production of blue-painted pottery until the Twentieth Dynasty.

- **1** Hope, *CCE* 1 (1987), pp. 110–11.
- **2** Aston et al., ÄgLev 8 (1998), pls. 17–21.
- **3** Hope, CCE 2 (1991); Rose, The Eighteenth Dynasty Pottery, 2007, pp. 18–20.
- **4** Hope, in Hope (ed.), Pottery of the Egyptian New Kingdom: Three Studies, 1989.
- 5 Nagel, La céramique du Nouvel Empire, 1938, pls. III-V, XI-XII, XVII.
- 6 Sesana, Temple of Amenhotep II, 2007, p. 62 fig. 57.
- **7** Guidotti and Silvano, *La ceramica del tempio*, 2003, pp. 36–37 and 107.
- 8 Holthoer, in el-Khouly et al. (eds.), Stone Vessels, Pottery and Sealings, 1993; Aston et al., ÄgLev 8 (1998).
- **9** Aston, *CCE* 9 (2011); Hope, *Survey of Memphis X. Kom Rabia*, 2016; Takahashi, in Rosati and Guidotti (eds.), *Proceedings of the XI International Congress*, 2017.
- 10 Takahashi, in Rosati and Guidotti (eds.), Proceedings of the XI International Congress, 2017, p. 617.

In the study of blue-painted pottery, the difference in the contexts where it was found must be kept in mind. At Tell el-Amarna the specimens of this type of pottery come from domestic environments, while in the Theban area they come mainly from funerary assemblages. It is important to clarify, when talking about Deir el-Medina pottery production, that we are referring to the pottery excavated at Deir el-Medina, given that until now no remains of kilns for pottery have yet been found in the village

Blue-painted pottery¹¹ is characterized by a decoration applied before firing. In the most ancient specimens, dating back to the reigns of Amenhotep II and Tuthmosis IV [Fig. 1], it was applied particularly on marl clay, but subsequently the production of blue-painted pottery on cream-slipped siltware pots prevailed. The blue decoration is also applied on red-slipped vases, but frequently on areas where a first layer of cream paint appears.¹² It is to be kept in mind that the blue paint on marl clay was often applied after firing.

The blue pigment has been identified as cobalt aluminate.¹³ The decorative elements are floral and geometric. In the early examples of blue-painted pottery the decorative elements are simpler [Fig. 2]: series of petals are combined with simple stripes and mainly applied on marl clay. From the reign of Amenhotep III, and especially from the Amarna period, the decoration becomes more elaborate and is mainly found applied to siltware. Other naturalistic motives are plants, birds and fish.

A particular category of blue-painted pottery consists of vases with plastic decoration, which may be jars or basins. These vases have the face of the goddess Hathor [Fig. 3] or the face of the Bes demon in relief on their neck or on their body.

In the Museo Egizio of Turin there are numerous examples of blue-painted pottery coming from the excavations of Ernesto Schiaparelli at Deir el-Medina. I have started an in-depth examination of the vases and of the numerous fragments that surely come from Deir el-Medina and that present the decoration

¹¹ With regard to the manufacturing of blue-painted decoration: Rose, *The Eighteenth Dynasty Pottery*, 2007, pp. 20–26.

¹² Hope, CCE 2 (1991), pl. 6a.

¹³ Nicholson and Shaw, Ancient Egyptian Materials, 2000, p. 111.

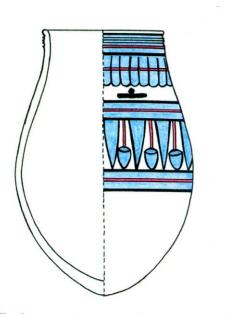


Fig. 1 Jar from the area of the funerary temple of Thutmosis IV. H. 23.5 cm (From Guidotti and Silvano, *La ceramica del tempio*, 2003, p. 55 n.139).



Fig. 2 Jar with blue-painted decoration (Egyptian Museum of Florence 3366). H. 31.7 cm (Photo su concessione del Ministero della cultura – Polo Museale della Toscana – Firenze).



Fig. 3 Jar with blue-painted decoration and the face of the goddess Hathor (Egyptian Museum of Florence 3365). H. 37.2 cm (Photo su concessione del Ministero della cultura – Polo Museale della Toscana – Firenze).

with blue paint; 14 I hope to complete the catalog soon.

The types present in the corpus consist mainly of jars, bowls, basins and goblets. The vases and fragments are mainly in siltware, and this fact suggests a dating for the group probably later than the reign of Tuthmosis IV.

The whole vases¹⁵ are not many, while the fragments are numerous, but in many cases it is possible to know the original shape they belonged to thanks to comparisons. Unfortunately, pottery from Deir el-Medina has not been well published, a fact that obliges us to look for comparisons with the much-studied Tell el-Amarna pottery.

The complete jars, or the jars with an almost complete shape, are six **[Figs. 4, 5, 6 and 7]**. These are vases with an oval body, a rounded bottom and a straight rim. The shape of one of the vases with a carinated body is remarkable **[Fig. 8]**, while another lacks the upper part with the neck and mouth **[Fig. 9]**. Many fragments of blue-painted pottery present in the Museo Egizio **[Fig. 10]** and coming from Deir el-Medina infer jars of this type. Some comparisons with pottery coming from the Theban area¹⁶ and from Tell el-Amarna can be identified, as also for the decorative elements of some of the Turin fragments **[Figs. 11-12]**.¹⁷

Only one bowl [Fig. 13] and only one basin [Fig. 14] are complete, but also in this case many fragments certainly belonged to specimens of this type. Some fragments of basins are decorated with the impressed rope; comparisons for bowls and basins in the pottery coming from Tell el-Amarna¹⁸ and from Deir el-Medina¹⁹ can be found.

Only a few fragments infer the shape of the goblet, with a relief decoration **[Fig. 15]**. Only one comparison with Deir el-Medina material can be found,²⁰ and we can suppose that this is a production feature of the Theban area.

A category of blue-painted pottery with plastic decoration coming from Deir el-Medina is also represented in the Museo Egizio corpus: a very beautiful vase

¹⁴ I would like to thank the Director of the Museo Egizio Christian Greco to allow me to study this kind of pottery and I thank Federica Facchetti for her assistance.

¹⁵ A vase from the tomb of Kha is not included here.

¹⁶ Guidotti and Silvano, La ceramica del tempio, 2003, figs. 4, 9.

¹⁷ Rose, *The Eighteenth Dynasty Pottery*, 2007, pp. 122, 236, 242; Hope, *CCE* 2 (1991), pl. 22a; also in the area of Memphis: Hope, *Survey of Memphis X. Kom Rabia*, 2016, p. 83 context 154 n. 8517.

¹⁸ Rose, The Eighteenth Dynasty Pottery, 2007, pp. 216–17 SE11, and p. 208 n. 212.

¹⁹ Nagel, La céramique du Nouvel Empire, 1938, pl. III type IV, and pl. IV.

²⁰ Nagel, La céramique du Nouvel Empire, 1938, pp. 200-01 pl. XVII.

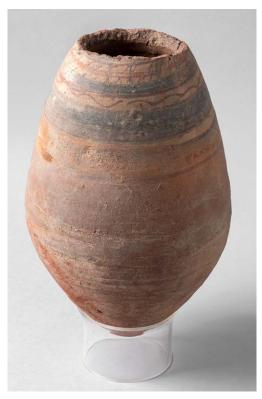


Fig. 4 Jar with blue-painted decoration (Museo Egizio Suppl. 7015). H. 27 cm (Photo Museo Egizio).



Fig. 6 Jar with blue-painted decoration (Museo Egizio Suppl. 7013). H. 32 cm (Photo Museo Egizio).



Fig. 5 Jar with blue-painted decoration (Museo Egizio Suppl. 7014). H. 29.5 cm (Photo Museo Egizio).



Fig. 7 Jar with blue-painted decoration (Museo Egizio Suppl. 6998). H. 21.5 cm (Photo Museo Egizio).



Fig. 8 Jar with blue-painted decoration (Museo Egizio Suppl. 7030). H. 27 cm (Photo Museo Egizio).



Fig. 9 Jar with blue-painted decoration (Museo Egizio Suppl. 7281). H. 24 cm (Photo Museo Egizio).



Fig. 10 Fragments of a jar with blue-painted decoration (Museo Egizio Suppl. 7282) (Photo Museo Egizio).



Fig. 11 Neck of a jar with blue-painted decoration (Museo Egizio Suppl. 7283/03). H. 8.7 cm (Photo Museo Egizio).



Fig. 12 Part of a jar with blue-painted and plastic decoration (Museo Egizio Suppl. 7283/01). H. 15.6 cm (Photo Museo Egizio).



Fig. 13 Bowl with blue-painted decoration (Museo Egizio Suppl. 7060). H. 19.2 cm (Photo Museo Egizio).



Fig. 14 Basin with blue-painted decoration (Museo Egizio Suppl. 9902). Diam. 33.3 cm (Photo Museo Egizio).



Fig. 15 Fragment of a goblet with blue-painted decoration (Museo Egizio Suppl. 7377). H. 13.5 cm (Photo Museo Egizio).

with the face of the Bes demon in relief on its neck [Fig. 16], although its provenance from Deir el-Medina is not certain. Nine other neck fragments, whole or fragmentary, show the face of Bes [Fig. 17] and likely belong to jars of the aforementioned type.

Comparable material from Deir el-Medina²¹ and the Theban area²² is numerous, while in Tell el-Amarna the comparisons are fewer, and only painted.²³ It is possible to suppose that this type of decoration is also a production feature of the Theban area, as in the case of the goblets.

Blue-painted pottery with plastic decoration also includes the jars and the basins with the face of the goddess Hathor. Only two fragments in the Museo Egizio belonged to basins [Fig. 18], while seven [Fig. 19] come from the necks of jars with closed shape. There are also two fragments with the face of the goddess Hathor only painted and not in relief. Comparisons for the plastic decoration with the face of the goddess Hathor come from Deir el-Medina²⁴ and from Tell el-Amarna.²⁵

²¹ Bruyère, *Deir el Médineh* 1933-1934, 1937, pp. 110-14 fig. 48.

²² Guidotti and Silvano, *La ceramica del tempio*, 2003, fig. 13 D155; also in the area of Memphis: Hope, *Survey of Memphis X. Kom Rabia*, 2016, p. 22 a, b, c.

²³ Hope, CCE 2 (1991), fig. 16a.

²⁴ Nagel, La céramique du Nouvel Empire, 1938, pl. V type V; Guidotti, EVO 1 (1978).

²⁵ Rose, The Eighteenth Dynasty Pottery, 2007, p. 234 SG8.

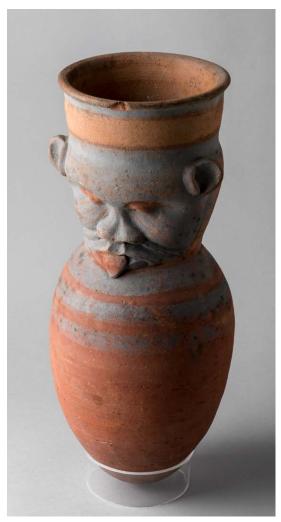


Fig. 16 Jar with blue-painted decoration and the face of the demon Bes (Museo Egizio Cat. 3511). H. 39.5 cm (Photo Museo Egizio).



Fig. 19 Fragment of a jar with blue-painted decoration and the face of the goddess Hathor (Museo Egizio Suppl. 7347+7350). H. 9.5 cm (Photo Museo Egizio).



Fig. 17 Fragment of a jar with blue-painted decoration and the face of the demon Bes (Museo Egizio Suppl. 3511). H. 16 cm (Photo Museo Egizio).



Fig. 18 Fragment of a basin with blue-painted decoration and the face of the goddess Hathor (Museo Egizio Suppl. 7291). H. 10.3 cm (Photo Museo Egizio).

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WOODCRAFT IN DEIR EL-MEDINA: FROM THE MANUFACTURED OBJECT TO THE WORKSHOP

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ABSTRACT

Over the past few decades, the study of woodcraft production from Deir el-Medina has mainly been devoted to wooden furniture preserved in museum collections. While coffins constitute the majority of the corpus studied, the wooden objects discovered in Deir el-Medina are diverse and ultimately not well known. The current project, running since 2017, involves a reassessment of this dossier with the objective of the study, analysis, and restoration of the collection of wooden objects belonging to the IFAO (French Institute of Oriental Archaeology). This work is being conducted within the framework of the French archaeological mission directed by C. Larcher (IFAO) and is closely linked with the project PÉRCÉA Bois (Projet d'Étude et de Restauration des Collections Égyptiennes Anciennes, Bois IFAO/UCL/University of Pisa, 2018-2019), and the current EBENES Programme (Etude des Bois d'Egypte: Nature, Emplois, Sauvegarde) developed at IFAO since 2020. Its objective is to study, analyse and restore the wooden collections of the Institute. A research team comprised of three Egyptologists (Gersande Eschenbrenner Diemer - Associate Researcher HiSoMA laboratory UMR 5189 Lyon, Anna Giulia De Marco and Lisa Sartini - University of Pisa) and a restorer (Jan Cutajar - UCL) was formed to take over the study and analysis of wooden furniture. The team collaborates with researchers who work on Deir el-Medina material, such as Paolo Marini (Museo Egizio). This substantial project aims to make the link between museum objects and the largely unpublished wealth of material still preserved in situ.

Combining archaeometric analyses, together with technical, stylistic and prosopographical studies, our main objective is to highlight the economic and social dynamics of wood networks in the village of Deir el-Medina. This paper presents one casestudy, the shabti-boxes, to illustrate the methodology of the team and highlights the importance of the analysis of fragmentary objects to specify the production and use of a representative material from Deir el-Medina.

1. INTRODUCTION

Over the past few decades, the study of woodcraft production from Deir el-Medina has mainly been devoted to wooden furniture preserved in museum collections. While coffins constitute the majority of the corpus studied, the wooden objects discovered in Deir el-Medina are diverse and ultimately not well known. The current project, running since 2017, involves a reassessment of this dossier with the objective of the study, analysis, and restoration of the collection of wooden objects belonging to the IFAO (French Institute of Oriental Archaeology). This work is being conducted within the framework of the French archaeological mission directed by C. Larcher (IFAO) and is closely linked with the project PÉRCÉA Bois (Projet d'Étude et de Restauration des Collections Égyptiennes Anciennes, Bois IFAO/UCL/University of Pisa), established in 2018 and completed by the end of 2019. Since 2020, the work on woodcrafts and networks is being pursued within the framework of the research programme EBENES (Etude des Bois Egyptiens: Nature, Emplois, Sauvegarde) also developed at IFAO in the continuity of the project PERCEA Bois. Indeed, the vast majority of the PÉRCÉA Bois corpus consists of wood fragments of Theban origin, closely linked to Deir el-Medina and the IFAO collection of wood still preserved on site.

The study and restoration of the wooden material from Deir el-Medina is a vast project – see for example the sample of materials to be sorted, processed, reconditioned and studied in **Fig. 1** – that can only be conducted by a team of specialists. This research team is directed by Gersande Eschenbrenner-Diemer, (University Alcala de Henares, Spain - Associate Researcher ArScAn Laboratory UMR 7041 Paris) in collaboration with two Egyptologists, Anna Giulia De Marco and Lisa Sartini (University of Pisa), and a restorer, Jan Cutajar (UCL). The team collaborates with researchers who work on Deir el-Medina material, such as Paolo Marini (Museo Egizio), who specialises in the study of shabti-boxes.

The dozens of wooden objects and fragments stored in several Deir el-Medina tombs or in the IFAO collections in Cairo provide data whose potential we believe should be exploited and preserved. Combining archaeometric analyses, technical, stylistic, and prosopographical studies, our main objective is to highlight the economic and social dynamics of woodcraft from the village of Deir el-Medina. The global analysis of wooden material will allow us to understand the modes of production and uses of these objects in order to specify, for each category, their



Fig. 1 The situation found in Magasin 12 at the beginning of the 2018 mission.

origin, within or outside the village. Questions relating to the uses of local and imported wood are central to our focus. Thanks to systematic wood analyses, still in progress, we will have a complete overview of the ways in which wood was used in the village of Deir el-Medina. This material data will be put in perspective with other ongoing wood analyses¹ as well as related textual data, allowing us to link lists of specific types of objects with the 'material reality'. Moreover, the reassessment of the wooden material stored on site and at the IFAO will allow us to link this still unpublished abundance of material with objects currently housed in museums, so that we might compare production types, identify groups, as well as reconnect funerary objects or sets that have been dispersed over time. A good example is the coffin of Setaou, of which the base is still stored on site while the lid is now kept in the National Museum of Warsaw (138983 NMW).²

The shabti-boxes, of which the wood analyses are currently in progress, were chosen as a case study for this paper to illustrate the methodology of the team. In particular, the discussion highlights the importance of the analysis of fragmentary objects to specify the production and use of an emblematic material from Deir el-Medina.

¹ The material of Kha and Merit will be analysed by V. Asensi Amoros.

² See Eschenbrenner-Diemer et al., BIFAO 121, p. 255-305.

2. INSIDE THE SHABTI-BOX

The work on shabti-boxes was first undertaken during the 2018 season of the PÉRCÉA Bois mission at Deir el-Medina. The main priority was to document (inventory, measure and photograph) these newly rediscovered objects in preparation for complete and in-depth study. Moreover, since little previous documentation for them was known, our first task was to restore some kind of identification to each shabti-box.

Unfortunately, the objects were found in a fragmentary state and the condition of their storage did not help their preservation. They were all placed in room 3 of Magasin~12, together with countless pieces of wooden furniture, inside modern wooden boxes and palm-leaf baskets, which were piled up and crushed. In these containers there were also notes, providing the only reference regarding the previous provenience of the wooden pieces: "Fragments de meubles sortis du magasin Vandier I - 1956" [Fig. 2], which also explained the current storage situation.³

Considering the above-mentioned condition of the objects, it was not easy to recognize the specific category of each item. In fact, fragments of different varieties of ancient wooden boxes, such as cosmetic containers, storage boxes of various sizes or other funerary equipment, were haphazardly mixed. In several cases, it was impossible to establish the original function for these boxes, however the shabti-boxes could be identified by distinctive features such as decoration, style, and shape.

In total, we identified around eighty-two previously unknown fragments.⁴ They were probably discovered by B. Bruyère during his numerous excavations at the site of Deir el-Medina, but for the majority of them a more specific archaeological context is lost. Therefore, one of the first steps of this research aimed at finding some useful information about their provenience and, when possible, identifying these objects in past records.

The task surely is not very easy. Firstly, one must consider that we are dealing with small fragments of shabti-boxes and, except in one case,⁵ they do not show any distinctive features which might enable us to match the material rediscov-

³ From 1955 to 1970 the IFAO at Deir el-Medina went through a reassessment of their storerooms.

⁴ More have been found during the 2019 fieldwork season.

⁵ DeM_2018_12_SB014, which has a brief and common inscription with title and personal name (see here pp. 482–83 for the analysis), that unfortunately does not add much information for this kind of investigation.

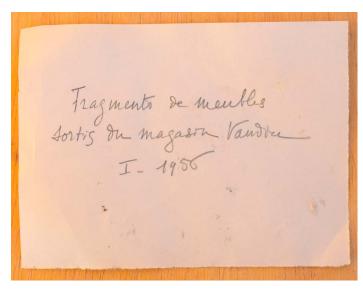


Fig. 2 Example of notes found in *Magasin* 12 regarding the moving of the objects from Magasin Vandier in 1956.

ered in the storeroom with the objects mentioned in the records. This problem is also caused and complicated by the scattered and vague references made to them in the reports⁶ and in the excavation diaries⁷ of Bruyère. In fact, the descriptions often appear as follows: "Un coffre à oushebti, haut et étroit, en bois peint de couleurs mates, anépigraphe".⁸

In addition, the archaeological method used was not so accurate as to assign each piece an excavation note recording the find spot. In fact, these marks were identified only on eight fragments and lids of shabti-boxes so far:

- DeM_2018_12_B6_022: lid of shabti-box, bearing the excavation mark "1164" [Fig. 3]
- DeM_2018_12_SB005: sides of shabti-box, bearing the excavation mark "1164" [Fig. 4]
- DeM_2018_12_SB020: lid of shabti-box, bearing the excavation mark "S 298"
 [Fig. 5]
- DeM_2018_12_SB008: side of shabti-box, bearing the excavation mark "YI"
 [Fig. 6]
- DeM_2018_12_SB021: lid of shabti-box, bearing the excavation mark "YI"
 [Fig. 7]

⁶ Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh.

⁷ http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/bruyere/.

⁸ Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1924-1925), 1926, p. 176 (n° 5).



Fig. 3 Lid of a shabti-box (DeM_2018_12_B6_022), front and back. On the back the excavation mark "1164" is visible (Photo by Anna Giulia De Marco).



Fig. 4 Two sides of a shabti-box (DeM_2018_12_SB005), front and back. On the back the excavation mark "1164" is visible (Photo by Anna Giulia De Marco).



Fig. 5 Lid of a shabti-box (DeM_2018_12_SB020), front and back. On the back the excavation mark "S 298" is visible (Photo Anna Giulia De Marco).



Fig. 6 One side of a shabti-box (DeM_2018_12_SB008), front and back. On the back the excavation mark "YI" is visible (Photo Anna Giulia De Marco).





Fig. 7 Lid of a shabti-box (DeM_2018_12_SB021), front and back. On the back the excavation mark "YI" is visible (Photo Anna Giulia De Marco).



Fig. 8 Base of a shabti-box (DeM_2018_12_SB023). On the top the excavation mark "YII" is visible (Photo Anna Giulia De Marco).

- DeM_2018_12_SB023: base of shabti-box, bearing the excavation mark "YI"
 (?) [Fig. 8]
- DeM_2018_12_SB033: sides of shabti-box, bearing the excavation mark "YI"
 [Fig. 9]
- DeM_2018_12_SB024: side of shabti-box, bearing the excavation mark "YII" "
 [Fig. 10]



Fig. 9 Two sides of a shabti-box (DeM_2018_12_SB033), front and back. On the back the excavation mark "YI" is visible (Photo Anna Giulia De Marco)..



Fig. 10 Fragment of one side of a shabti-box (DeM_2018_12_SB024), front and back. On the back the excavation mark "YII" is visible (Photo Anna Giulia De Marco).

3. ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

This limited information, mostly based on the excavation marks, was subsequently cross-referenced with Bruyère's reports and excavation diaries in an attempt to identify the objects and reconstruct their archaeological context; results as follows below [Fig. 11].

1164

One of the findings of the 1928 French mission to Deir el-Medina was the shaft called "Puits 1164" or simply "P1164", discovered in the western part of the site and only briefly described in architectural terms in the report of the same year, allowing it to be dated to the Eighteenth-Nineteenth Dynasties. Fortunately, Bruyère made reference to artifact finds in his excavation diary, in particular the discovery of different kinds of complete and fragmentary boxes, of which there are only a few drawings without a clear description. It is highly probable that DeM_2018_12_SB005 was also part of this group of finds.

The identification of DEM_2018_12_B6_22 is more certain due to the correspondence between its description and its current appearance:¹¹ it is described as the lid of a shabti-box with a black hieroglyphic text¹² on a yellow background; moreover a small sketch added to the description of this piece shows the same features as our lid [Fig. 12].

S298

Tracking down the original meaning of this citation was more complicated than the previous case because there is no exact reference to it. The number "298" is linked to a chapel found in the western sector during the 1927 mission. It is situated in a court in which two shafts were also discovered: "Puits 298" and "Puits 1115". The chapel and the first shaft seem to belong to Baki and Wennefer¹³ but Bruyère does not mention any objects coming from them since, as he explains, ¹⁴

⁹ Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1928), 1929, p. 77.

¹⁰ http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/bruyere/?id=MS_2004_0149_045.

¹¹ http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/bruyere/?id=MS_2004_0149_022.

¹² Now almost completely lost.

¹³ TT298 - PM I²/1, p. 379.

¹⁴ Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1927), 1928, p. 92.

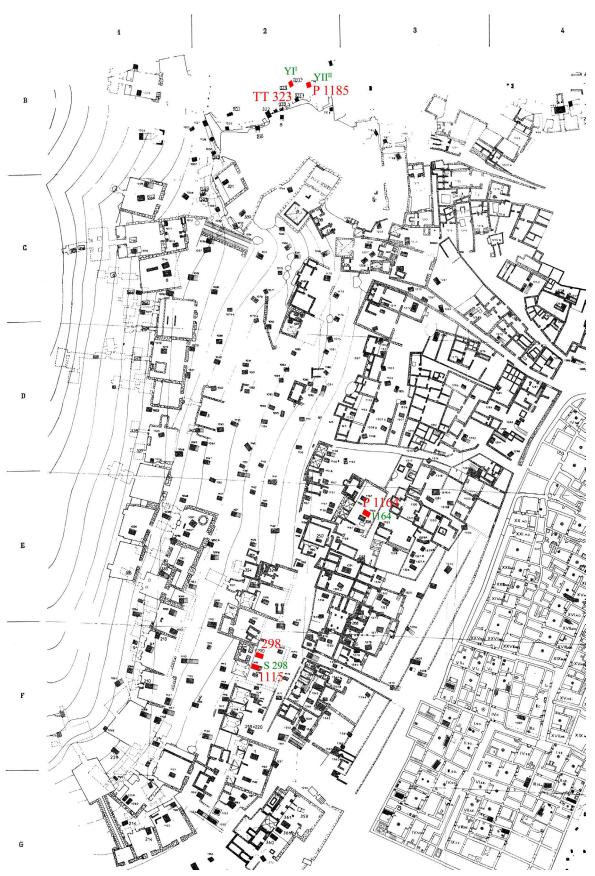


Fig. 11 Map of Deir el-Medina with the discovery spot highlighted (green: Bruyère first denomination, red: current denomination). Redraw by Anna Giulia De Marco from Castel and Meeks, *Deir el-Médineh*, 1980, pl. I.



Fig. 12 Drawing of the lid of shabti-box found in P1164. From: http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/.



Fig. 13 Drawing of one of the lids of shabti-box found in P1115. From: http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/bruyere/?id=MS_2004_0149_022.

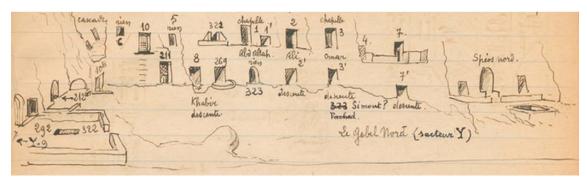


Fig. 14 Sketch of the area in the northern sector that was of interest to the 1924 archaeological excavation. From: http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/bruyere/?id=MS_2004_0145_032.

he did not clean this area given that the shaft had already been uncovered by a previous mission of the IFAO.¹⁵

For this reason it is important to take into consideration the other shaft, "Puits 1115". In fact, in the excavation diary for 1927 this designation is always followed by "Caveaux sud 298", which could be its original name in the time of the discovery and can easily be reduced to "298", precisely the mark found on our piece.

Moreover, in the 1927 report, one fragment and two lids of shabti-boxes are mentioned among the various artifacts coming from this spot. In particular, a more detailed description of these two lids is provided in the excavation diary, which recalls the same features as DeM_2018_12_SB020. They are uninscribed, with a yellow background and a black line on the edges, and have also a similar shape that is recognizable from the quick sketch [Fig. 13]. Unfortunately, Bruyère only recorded the dimensions of one of the lids, which do not correspond exactly to our piece, hence it is likely that DeM_2018_12_SB020 could be the second lid recorded, discovered on the 12th of March, 1927.

¹⁵ Undertook during the 1917-18 by H. Gauthier and J.L. Dunouy.

¹⁶ Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1927), 1928, p. 90.

¹⁷ http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/bruyere/?id=MS_2004_0148_022.

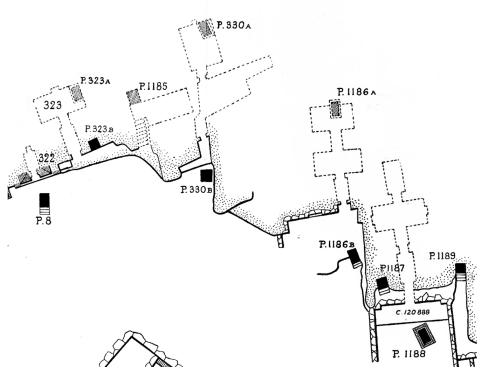


Fig. 15 Detail of the north sector after 1928 (From Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh, 1929, pl. I).

ΥI

As it has already been seen, Bruyère at times had a habit of changing the names or numbers of tombs over successive excavation seasons. Likewise for the shaft "YI", the only way to identify it is by following the excavation work done in the north sector recorded in detail in the 1924 diary [Fig. 14].

In fact, in the first phase it was simply called "YI¹", ¹⁸ since it was found in the sector "Y" located in the north part of the site. After a few days of work, it became "TT323" as soon as he understood that this structure was part of the bigger tomb of Pashedu, ²⁰ dated to the first part of the Nineteenth Dynasty. To be precise, on the map of the 1928 report this specific section is called TT323A" [Fig. 15].

In the 1924 report²¹ a large quantity of objects is recorded as coming from this tomb, however, as above, it is only possible to find brief reference to shabti-boxes in the excavation diary. In fact, there is only a small addition to the notes for the 8th of February 1922, stating "des couvercles des coffrets à oushebtis",²² in

¹⁸ http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/bruyere/?id=MS_2004_0145_034.

¹⁹ http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/bruyere/?id=MS_2004_0145_042.

²⁰ PM I²/1, pp. 394–95.

²¹ Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh* (1923-1924), 1925, pp. 80-90.

²² http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/bruyere/?id=MS_2004_0145_046.

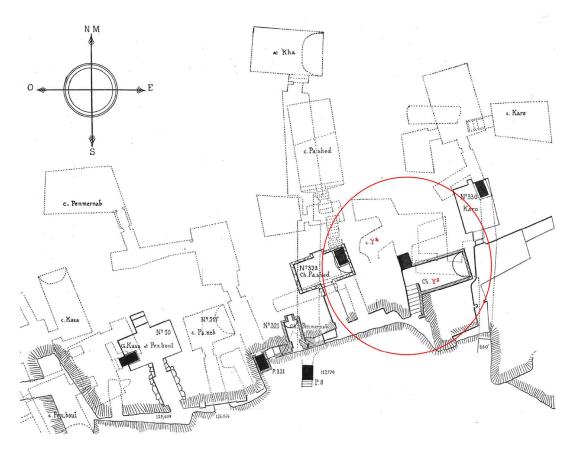


Fig. 16 Detail of the north sector after 1924. Redrawn by Anna Giulia De Marco from Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh*, 1925, pl. II.

which it is possible to include DeM_2018_12_SB021; the single other reference to this category is a small drawing of a fragment of an inscribed shabti-box²³ that does not match with any of our pieces.

Therefore, the only proof of the original context of DeM_2018_12_SB008, DeM_2018_12_SB023 and DeM_2018_12_SB033 is their excavation mark. Their absence in any record could be firstly caused by the lack of a systematic documentation, due also to the numerous simultaneous excavations undertaken. Additionally, these fragmentary objects do not offer any valuable information, characteristic features or inscriptions that would have been interesting for the scientific research of the early twentieth-century Egyptologists.

ΥIII

This mark corresponds to the tomb found during the 1924 archaeological mission in the northern sector of the village [Figs. 14, 16], and in the report it is

²³ http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/bruyere/?id=MS_2004_0145_047.

referred to as "Tombe anonyme Y2 à l'est de la tombe n° 323". However, during the following years Bruyère changed his numbering system and this tomb was renamed "P1185", visible on the map provided in the 1928 report²⁴ [Fig. 15] and confirmed in the 1929 report.²⁵

Based on the map labels appearing in the 1923–24 report,²⁶ it is likely that DeM_2018_12_SB024 was found in the burial chamber, but unfortunately there is no confirmation or general reference to shabti-boxes in the records.

In conclusion, it is not yet possible to make a solid suggestion for the provenance of the whole group of shabti-boxes based on this few data. So far, it is clear that they belong to different graves, distributed all over the site of Deir el-Medina and investigated by Bruyère during the first half of the Twentieth century. It seems they were uncovered during three particular archaeological campaigns, undertaken in 1924, 1927, and 1928.

Although it is essential to understand their original provenance, so far this information has not increased our general understanding of the objects. In fact, it should be remembered that the archaeological context of most tombs in Deir el-Medina was heavily disturbed and the tombs themselves were only superficially investigated by Bruyère.

Unfortunately the analysis of excavation marks has also not proven very helpful for this kind of research. They are only limited to certain pieces and the marking system does not seem systematic, nor were the pieces chosen according to any obvious scientific or aesthetic principles.

Future analysis and the upcoming study seasons of the EBENES mission might be able to offer a complete overview of the material and to reconstruct its original contexts. A first step toward this objective is represented by the following typological study of the shabti-boxes.

4. THE NEW KINGDOM SHABTI-BOX TYPOLOGIES

Shabti-boxes make their appearance in the tombs of Theban nobles of the New Kingdom, specifically the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty (1539–1292 BCE).

²⁴ Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1928), 1929, pl. 1.

²⁵ Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1929), 1930, p. 5.

²⁶ Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1923-1924), 1925, pl. 2.



Fig. 17 Shabti-box of Amunemhat (New York Brook, Mus. 50.130). H. 32.5 cm (Photo Brooklyn Museum of Art).

The earliest known shabti-box is that of Amunemhat (Brooklyn 50.130),²⁷ dated between the reigns of Tuthmosis IV and Amenhotep III.²⁸ It is made of plain wood, it has the shape of a single $pr-nw^{29}$ chapel and bears columns of hieroglyphs carved on its four sides. It belongs, together with other shabti-boxes showing a similar iconography,³⁰ to the earliest shabti-box type conventionally called "Marini Ia"³¹ [Fig. 17].

²⁷ Cooney, *BrookMusB* 12/2 (1951), pp. 4–6, fig. 3; Cooney, *BCMA* 62 (1975), pp. 229–34; Aston, *OMRO* 74 (1994), p. 22; Marini, *EVO* 35 (2012), pp. 86–87.

²⁸ See Cooney, BCMA 62 (1975), pp. 229-34.

²⁹ The iconography of these chapels is known from images dating to the end of the pre-dynastic period and to the Thinite age. Usually two kinds of sacred buildings were represented, and their stylized forms are recognizable, from the Third Dynasty, in some graphemes determining the word itrt. V. WB I, pp. 147–48.

³⁰ The boxes showing a similar iconography are: the Brooklyn Museum inv. n. 50.130a-b (Marini, EVO 35 [2012], pp. 86–7; Aston, *OMRO* 74 [1994], p. 22; Cooney, *BCMA* 62 [1975], pp. 229–34; Cooney, *BrookMusB* 12/2 [1951], pp. 4–6, fig. 3.), the British Museum EA 8522, EA 8523, (Marini, EVO 35 [2012], p. 87; Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife*, 2001, p. 122, fig. 83) EA 30801 (Marini, "Contenitori di ushabti", 2016, pp. 51–53). They belong to the typology "Marini la".

³¹ In recent years the shabti-box typological evolution has been extensively investigated. One of the first scholars who focused his attention on these objects was Aston, *OMRO* 74 (1994), pp. 21–54. In 2012 Paolo Marini proposed a new typological classification (Marini, *EVO* 35 [2012], pp. 83–124), which was subsequently refined in 2016 (Marini, "Contenitori di ushabti", 2016) and in 2018 (Marini, in Dorn and Polis [eds.], *Outside the Box*, 2018, pp. 281–300).

Around the same time new shabti-boxes, defined as type "Marini Ib",³² appeared among the funerary equipment of the ancient Egyptians. They show the same shape, but are painted with green, red, and blue strips [Fig. 18]. Moreover, between the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty and the beginning of the Nineteenth Dinasty (1292–1190 BCE) a new shabti-box type ("Marini IIa") appeared [Fig. 19], in the shape of a double *pr-nw* chapel and mainly decorated with the *false-door* motif.

Very soon the *false-door* motif is replaced by scenes of filial devotion towards the dead couple³³ (type "Marini IIb", **Fig. 20**) and, during the reign of Ramesses II, scenes representing the dead worshipping the deity begin to appear ("Marini IIc").³⁴

By the mid-Nineteenth Dinasty and until the end of the Twentieth Dynasty these boxes are replaced by shabti-boxes in the shape of a triple *pr-nw* chapel. The artifacts belonging to this type can be further distinguished into "Marini IIIa", decorated with scenes of a deity being worshipped [Fig. 21], and "Marini IIIb", decorated in *horror vacui* style.³⁵

³² Marini, EVO 35 (2012), pp. 87–90. The main attestation of this typology is the 13 shabti-boxes of Yuya and Tuya, discovered in KV 46. See Davis, *The Tomb of Iouiya and Touiyou*, 1907, pp. 26–27.

³³ See the shabti-box Torino Cat. 2444 (Marini, EVO 35 [2012], pp. 93–94, fig. 7; Aston, OMRO 74 [1994], p. 24; Habachi, BIFAO 71 [1972], p. 77).

³⁴ For shabti-box typologies "Marini Ila", "Ilb", "Ilc", see Marini, EVO 35 (2012), pp. 90–96.

³⁵ For shabti-box typologies "Marini IIIa" and "IIIb" see Marini, EVO 35 (2012), pp. 96–98.





Fig. 19 Shabti-box of Ramose (New York. MMA 86.1.15). H. 22.5 cm (Photo by Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).

Fig. 18 Shabti-box of Yuya (New York MMA 30.8.59a, b.) H. 39 cm (Photo by Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).



Fig. 20 Shabti-box of Nia (Turin Cat. 2444). H. 32 cm (Photo by Nicola Dell'Aquila/tMuseo Egizio).



Fig. 21 Shabti-box of Nefermesi (Turin. Cat. 2445). H. 31 cm (Photo by Nicola Dell'Aquila/Museo Egizio).

5. ANALYSIS OF SHABTI-BOX FRAGMENTS FOUND INSIDE THE DEIR EL-MEDINA STOREROOMS

Among the many shabti-box fragments found inside *Magasin 12* of Deir el-Medina, some show interesting features that allow us to determine type and dating, and not only that (see **Table 1**).

The shabti-box fragments DeM 2018 12 SB001 (Pl. 1a), DeM 2018 12 SB002 (Pl. 1b), DeM 2018 12 SB003 (Pl. 2a), DeM 2018 12 SB004 (Pl. 2b), and DeM_2018_12_SB008 (Pl. 3a) are painted with a yellow outer strip and blue, green and red inner strips, forming a false-door motif. An arc is depicted on the top of each fragment, and this is very common in the short sides of shabti-box types Marini IIa³⁶and Marini IIb,³⁷ dating respectively to late Eighteenth–early Nineteenth Dinasty, and to the reign of Ramesses II.38 Therefore, based on stylistic criteria these fragments might be dated to the same period. The shabti-box fragments DeM_2018_12_SB006 (Pl. 3b), DeM_2018_12_SB009 (Pl. 4a), DeM_2018_12_ SB010 (Pl. 4b) and DeM 2018 12 SB033 bear a similar decoration, with yellow, blue, green and, in some fragments, red colored strips (Pl. 5a). They also have holes, certainly made for knobs. Such elements confirm that these fragments belong to the main side of shabti-boxes made in the shape of a pr-nw chapel. The pieces are also decorated with the false-door motif, which is the feature distinguishing type "Marini IIa" from type "Marini IIb", decorated with funerary scenes. 39 It is therefore possible to date all of them to the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty.

³⁶ For example, see shabti-boxes: New York MMA 86.1.15 (Marini, "Contenitori di ushabti", 2016, p. 60; Aston, OMRO 74 [1994], p. 23), MMA 86.1.16 (Marini, "Contenitori di ushabti", 2016, p. 59; Marini, EVO 35 [2012], p. 91, note 46; Aston, OMRO 74 [1994], pp. 23–24), MMA 86.1.14 (Marini, "Contenitori di ushabti", 2016, pp. 60, 291; Aston, OMRO 74 [1994], p. 23; Hayes, The Scepter of Egypt, II, 1959, pp. 428–29.), Cairo JE 27300 (Marini, "Contenitori di ushabti", 2016, p. 60), Madrid 15222 (Marini, EVO 35 [2012], p. 91, note 9; Aston, OMRO 74 [1994], p. 23), Athens Ξ 87 (Marini, "Contenitori di ushabti", 2016, p. 291; Tzachou-Alexandre, The World of Egypt in the National Archaeological Museum, 1995, p. 142.

³⁷ For example, see shabti-boxes Copenhagen 3506 (Marini, "Contenitori di ushabti", 2016, p. 59; Marini, EVO 35 [2012], p. 92; Aston, OMRO 74 [1994] p. 23; Buhl, Hundred Masterpieces from the Near East, 1974, p. 33; Mogensen, Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques du Musée National de Copenhague, 1918, tav. 25), Paris E 27149 (Marini, "Contenitori di ushabti", 2016, p. 59; Étienne, Les Portes du Ciel, 2009, p. 248), Cairo JE 27299 (Marini, EVO 35 [2012], p. 92; Aston, OMRO 74 [1994], p. 23, pl. 2.1–2; Saleh and Sourouzian, The Egyptian Museum Cairo, 1987, n. 217).

³⁸ Marini, "Contenitori di ushabti", 2016, pp. 90-92.

³⁹ See shabti-boxes Moscow Pushk.M.I.1.a.1920 (Marini, EVO 35 [2012], p. 92; Mahmoud, Catalogue of Funerary Objects, 2011, p. 48; Aston, OMRO 74 [1994], p. 23; Hodjache, Les Antiquitees Egyptiennes, 1971, N. 54), Paris E 2642 (Aston, OMRO 74 [1994], p. 24; Letellier, La Vie Quotidienne chez le Artisans, 1980, pp. 100–01) and Paris E 2643 (Marini, "Contenitori di ushabti", 2016, p. 291).



Fig. 22 Shabti-box of Patjauemditamun's (Cat. 2439). H. 35.5 cm (Photo by Nicola Dell'Aquila and Federico Taverni/Museo Egizio).

Shabti-box fragment DeM_2018_12_SB022 is the only one showing a portion of a funerary scene, with the depiction of the lower part of a female body dressing a long white robe with large sleeves (Pl. 5b). We know that it relates to scenes of filial devotion to the dead couple, typical of the main sides of shabti-boxes type "Marini IIb", dating specifically to the reign of Ramesses II.⁴⁰

Fragments DeM_2018_12_SB006 (Pl. 3b) are characterized by a yellow border strip and blue and green inner strips. It is certainly the most unusual, because it shows the motif of four *false-doors*, one next to the other, and it thus had to be in the shape of four *pr-nw* chapels.⁴¹ It is noticeable that only one other shabti-box in this shape is, to my knowledge, so far known. It is preserved in the Museo Egizio (shabti-box Cat. 2430),⁴² it belonged to Patjauemditamun [Fig. 22], and

⁴⁰ Marini, EVO 35 (2012), p. 92.

⁴¹ Indeed, a *pr-nw* chapel corresponded to each *false-door* represented.

⁴² Orcurti, *Catalogo Illustrato*, II, 1855, p. 128, n. 20; Rossi, *Atti della Reale Accademia delle scienze di Torino* 9 (1874), pp. 5–22, tavv. I–II; Fabretti et al., *Regio Museo di Torino*, I, 1882, pp. 342–43; PM I²/2, p. 747; Gitton, *L'Épouse du dieu Ahmes Néfertary*, 1981, p. 58; Aston, *OMRO* 74 (1994), pp. 26, 44; Herbin, *Le Livre de parcourir l'éternité*, 1994, p. 566; Von Lieven, *ZÄS* 128 (2001), p. 43, note 24; Marini, *EVO* 35 (2012), pp. 99–100; Marini, "Contenitori di ushabti", 2016, pp. 89–92, Marini, *RiME* 01 (2017), p. 9.

yet its style is rather different from that of the mentioned fragments. Additionally, the shabti-box of Patjauemditamun is dated to the Twenty-first, while the style of fragments DeM_2018_12_SB006 clearly recalls examples of the Ramesside Period. Therefore, most probably the fragments should be assigned to a new typological class dating to this period.

During the Ramesside Period a peculiar production of shabti-box is attested only within the site of Deir el-Medina.⁴⁴ It displays precise iconographic and morphological features, especially the use of a yellow colour as background with black strips running down the edges. Also, in some cases the yellow background is decorated with a red texture representing wooden veins.⁴⁵ Shabti-box fragments DeM_2018_12_SB025 (Pl. 6a), DeM_2018_12_SB026 (Pl. 6b) and shabti-box lid DeM_2018_12_SB020 (Pl. 7a) show this specific style. Indeed, they are painted with a yellow background and decorated only with a black strip running down the edges. They represent the most simplified version of this type conventionally called "variant Marini II: yellow and black simple", dated to the reign of Ramesses II,⁴⁶ so these fragments could be dated to the same period too.

Shabti-box fragments DeM_2018_12_SB015 (Pl. 7b), DeM_2018_12_SB018 (Pl. 8a) and DeM_2018_12_SB019 (Pl. 8b), as well as many other fragments found in the same storeroom,⁴⁷ fall into type "variant Marini II: yellow and black with red texture", decorated with, indeed, red textures representing wooden veins: a specific feature that allows us to date these fragments to between the Nineteenth and the Twentieth Dynasties.⁴⁸

The only shabti-box fragment with preserved hieroglyphic signs falls into these last mentioned typology. It has inventory number DeM_2018_12_SB014 (Pl. 9) and unfortunately bears a name and a title very common at Deir el-Medina:

⁴³ Marini, EVO 35 (2012), p. 101.

⁴⁴ Marini, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), Outside the Box, 2018, pp. 297–98.

⁴⁵ These main features were presented for the first time during the conference "Deir el-Medina and the Theban Necropolis in contact" held in Liège. See Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018.

⁴⁶ Marini, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), Outside the Box, 2018, pp. 289-92.

⁴⁷ Magasin 12 of Deir el-Medina.

⁴⁸ Marini, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), Outside the Box, 2018, pp. 292-94.



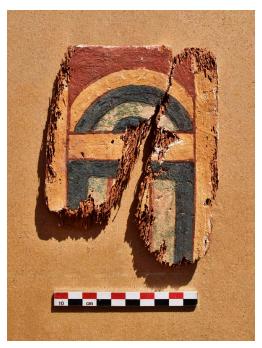
Wsjr sdm-'š m s.t m3'.t hwy...

The Osiris servant in the place of the truth, Hui...

So, it is impossible to understand if the partially preserved name belongs to any known individual in Deir el-Medina.

Table 1 Magasin 12, type and dating

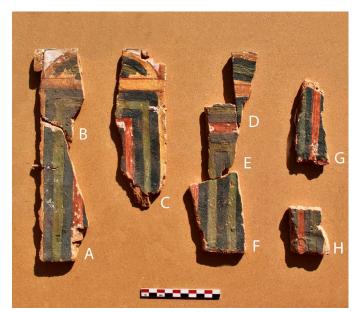
"MARINI" TYPOLOGY	DATING	
IIa – IIb	Later 18th-Ramesses II	
IIa – IIb	Later 18th-Ramesses II	
IIa – IIb	Later 18th-Ramesses II	
IIa – IIb	Later 18th-Ramesses II	
IIa – IIb	Later 18th– Ramesses II	
IIa	Beginning 19th Dynasty	
IIa	Beginning 19th Dynasty	
IIa	Beginning 19th Dynasty	
IIb	Ramesses II	
II B&Y simple	Ramesses II	
II B&Ysimple	Ramesses II	
II B&Y simple	Ramesses II	
II B&Y red texture	19th-20th Dynasty	
II B&Y red texture	19th-20th Dynasty	
II B&Y red texture	19th-20th Dynasty	
II B&Y red texture	19th-20th Dynasty	
	IIa – IIb IIa IIa IIa IIa IIB IIB IIB IIB IIB IIB	



Pl. 1a Shabti-box DeM_2018_12_SB001. H. 15 cm (Photo by Anna Giulia De Marco).



Pl. 1b Shabti-box DeM_2018_12_SB002. H. 26.5 cm (Photo by Anna Giulia De Marco).



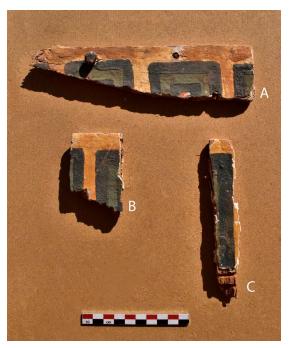
Pl. 2a Shabti-box DeM_2018_12_SB003. H. 26.6 cm (Photo by Anna Giulia De Marco).



Pl. 2b Shabti-box DeM_2018_12_SB004. H. 27.2 cm (Photo by Anna Giulia De Marco).



Pl. 3a Shabti-box DeM_2018_12_SB008. H. 27.5 cm (Photo Anna Giulia De Marco).



Pl. 3b Shabti-box DeM_2018_12_SB006 (Photo Anna Giulia De Marco).



Pl. 4a Shabti-box DeM_2018_12_SB009. H. 22 cm (Photo Anna Giulia De Marco).



Pl. 4b Shabti box DeM_2018_12_SB010 reconstructed H. 27.5 cm

The second representation of the second seco

(Photo Anna Giulia De Marco).



Pl. 5a Shabti-box DeM_2018_12_SB033. H. 25 cm (Photo by Anna Giulia De Marco).



Pl. 5b Shabti-box DeM_2018_12_SB022. H. 23 cm (Photo by Anna Giulia De Marco).



Pl. 6a Shabti-box DeM_2018_12_SB025. H. 21 cm (Photo by Anna Giulia De Marco).



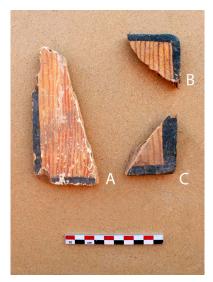
Pl. 6b Shabti-box DeM_2018_12_SB026. H. 4.3 cm (Photo by Anna Giulia De Marco).



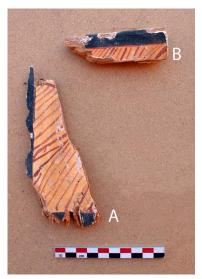
Pl. 7a Shabti-box DeM_2018_12_SB020. H. 8.8 cm (Photo by Anna Giulia De Marco).



Pl. 7b Shabti-box DeM_2018_12_SB015. H. 24 cm (Photo by Anna Giulia De Marco).



PI. 8a Shabti-box DeM_2018_12_ SB018 (Photo by Anna Giulia De Marco).



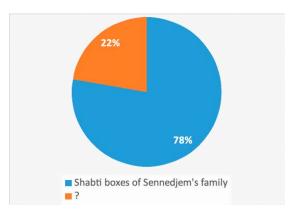
Pl. 8b Shabti-box DeM_2018_12_ SB019 (Photo by Anna Giulia De Marco).

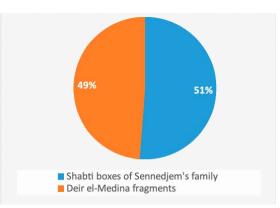


PI. 9 Shabti-box DeM_2018_12_SB014. H. 23.5 cm (Photo Anna Giulia De Marco).

6. CONCLUSION

Before these last findings twenty-eight shabti-boxes belonging to type "Marini IIa" and "IIb"⁴⁹ were known and most of them – almost 80% – came from TT1, the burial of Sennedjem (see **Graphic 1**).⁵⁰ Given that Eighteenth-Dynasty shabti-boxes attested were a prerogative of the highest social classes, such as the scribe of Grain Reckoning, Amunemhat,⁵¹ the king Tutankhamun,⁵² Tiy's parents Yuya and Tuya,⁵³ and a few other nobles,⁵⁴ this data initially suggested to us that at the beginning of the Nineteenth Dinasty there was a first spread of the shabti-box type "Marini IIa" and "IIb" just among the most 'important' families of the village of Deir el-Medina. However the new data indicates that shabti-boxes were already common among many workmen families (see **Graphic 2**).





Graphic 1 Provenance of the Shabti boxes

Graphic 2 Distribution

One of the fragments analyzed, specifically shabti-box fragment DeM_2018_12_ SB006, showing four false-doors, proves that new shabti box types can still be discovered – new styles, decoration and shapescan change our perception and knowledge of their evolution.

⁴⁹ See Marini, "Contenitori di ushabti", 2016, p. 291.

⁵⁰ See Marini, "Contenitori di ushabti", 2016, p. 65.

⁵¹ Owner of shabti-box Brooklyn 50.130a, b. He was buried in the big Theban tomb 82 and he belonged to a noble and important Theban family, very near to the Tuthmosis' Vizier, User. See Davies and Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhet*, 1915, p. 1.

⁵² In the Tutankhamun's tomb (KV62) were found twenty-three shabti-boxes. See Aston, OMRO 74 (1994), p. 22.

⁵³ Thirteen shabti-boxes were found in the tomb of Yuya and Tuya (KV46). See Aston, OMRO 74 (1994), p. 22.

⁵⁴ See Marini, "Contenitori di ushabti", 2016, pp. 49-54.

As for the fragments of shabti-box type "variant Marini II yellow and black", they seem to confirm once again that this variant is attested only in Deir el-Medina. Also, this data reinforces the idea that the development of shabti-boxes has a very strong regional character (see **Table 2**), especially during the Ramesside period. Indeed, there were different types of wooden shabti-boxes, pottery shabti-boxes and different type of shabti-jars attested in several sites in southern and northern Egypt, between the Nineteenth and the Twentieth Dynasties.

Table 2 Regional distribution of the Shabti boxes

SHABTI CONTAINERS	SITES	DATING
Shabti-boxes "Marini IIa", "IIb", "IIc", "IIIa", "IIIb"	Thebes	Ramesside period
Shabti-boxes "variant Marini II yellow and black"	Deir el-Medina	
Pottery shabti-boxes ⁵⁵	Saqqara	
Shabti-jars Type "Marini A" ⁵⁶	Sedmet, Dashur, Tuna el-Gebel	
Shabti-jars Type "Marini B" ⁵⁷	Abydos	

7. FINAL REMARKS

Archaeology, archaeometry and historiography are now closely linked in the framework of the EBENES programme.⁵⁸ The analysis of the material will be continued during the next excavation season. In the medium term, a GIS database linking the objects preserved on site to those now dispersed throughout the world will be created to virtually connect objects and funerary sets. The systematic wood analyses to be carried out on all the objects on site, together with the study of manufacturing techniques and stylistic features, and cross-referenced

⁵⁵ Marini, EVO 36 (2013), pp. 21–27.

⁵⁶ Marini, EVO 39 (2016), p. 113.

⁵⁷ Marini, EVO 39 (2016), p. 114.

⁵⁸ Since January 2022, the Medjehu project (Investigating woodcraft along the Nile) has been launched. It brings together the EBENES programme, the Archaeological Mission of Deir el-Medina (IFAO) as well as various archaeological missions and museum studies dedicated to the study of woodcraft in ancient Egypt. https://www.medjehuproject.com/.

with other New Kingdom Theban wood artifacts, will then make it possible to redraw an unknown artistic landscape. This global study, which uses the manufactured object as a source of the research will be finally published as a monograph in an IFAO series dedicated to Deir el-Medina social and economic wood networks.

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TEXTILE PRODUCTION AT DEIR EL-MEDINA: A HIDDEN ACTIVITY

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ABSTRACT

The Museo Egizio in Turin houses a large collection of textile tools, most of them from Schiaparelli's excavations in Deir el-Medina. The large majority are spindles and spindle whorls made of soft sycamore wood, with cedar wood occasionally employed. Although these items lack precise indications of provenance, which would allow for a reconstruction of spinning locations or installations at the site, these objects evidence an important facet of daily life in the ancient village.

Textiles are frequently mentioned in texts recovered in Deir el-Medina, especially as a means of payment in transactions. They were part of the commodities which the workmen received from the state and were also privately traded. It is not clear, however, if the textiles appearing in the documents of private trade were part of the workmen's wages or were home-produced. Household production is rarely mentioned in texts, nor are the tools or fibres necessary to create textiles. The archaeological documentation for the site provides a completely different picture, with numerous well-made textile tools, suggesting that spinning and weaving were widespread domestic tasks which were likely carried out by the female population of the village.

Textile production in antiquity is generally seen as a typically female activity, practised at both domestic and industrial levels. Textile workshops were connected with temples, palaces and large households, in Egypt as elsewhere. They employed men and women of different social conditions: free people as well as captives. Workshops are recorded in the New Kingdom Theban area both in the temple of Karnak¹ and in the Ramesseum,² as well as in several other important institutions, as may be understood from the so called "Giornale dell'anno 17".³

Textile workshops and professional spinners and weavers seem not to have been present in the village of Deir el-Medina. However, spinning and weaving activities were certainly practised. The Museo Egizio in Turin houses a large collection of tools linked to textile production and most of them come from Schiaparelli's excavations in Deir el-Medina.

1. TEXTILE TOOLS FROM DEIR EL-MEDINA

Schiaparelli excavated Deir el-Medina in 1905, 1906 and 1909 and the items discussed here were mostly found in 1906 and 1909. In his manuscript inventory, number S. 7526 corresponds to a box of spindles with fragmentary rods, number S. 7527 to a box of spindle whorls with marks on them, and S. 7528 to a box of spindle whorls with no marks. All these numbers seem to belong to the 1906 excavation, and these objects probably came from the *kom*, in the southern area of the village. A second batch of spindles is recorded in the 1909 inventory with number S. 9978, corresponding to nine fragmentary spindles. In that year Schiaparelli focused on the excavation of the village, so these spindles probably came from houses.

Schiaparelli brought to Turin 147 spindles with spindle whorls attached to the shafts, two spindles without whorls and 107 whorls without shafts, for a total of 256 objects. Furthermore, four skeins of linen, five balls of yarn, ten bronze needles and three wooden bodkins certainly come from Deir el-Medina, and a

¹ Tomb of Neferhotep (TT49). Davies and Davies, The Tomb of Nefer-Hotep, 1933, p. 38, pl. XLIX.

² Tomb of Neferronpet (TT133). Davies, Seven Private Tombs, 1948, p. 49, pl. XXXV.

³ Botti and Peet, Il Giornale della necropoli, 1928, p. 24.

⁴ Del Vesco and Poole, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), Outside the Box, 2018, p. 108.

few other similar objects stored in the museum are very likely to have come from the same site. Not a single fragment of a spinning bowl is recorded from Schiaparelli's excavations, but some are listed in Bruyère's findings.⁵ To this impressive number of finds must be added those of Bruyère; it is very likely that a similar quantity was brought to light by his excavations.⁶

All the spindles are made of wood and are between 20 and 40 cm long; two types of shaft can be distinguished: a short spindle 20-25 cm long and a second type over 30 cm long. Most of the spindles have a groove on top, a spiral incision which helped to fasten fibres; immediately under the groove a spindle whorl was placed [Fig. 1].⁷

All the spindle whorls collected by Schiaparelli in the site are cylindrical in shape and made of wood. Some spindle whorls show traces of simple decoration, painted or incised, and other schematic marks and even hieroglyphic signs are recognizable [Fig. 2].

In Bruyère's excavation reports, it is evident that dome-shaped whorls in bone and stone must also have existed,⁸ similar to those known from other workers' villages. Heavier stone whorls are particularly useful for spinning thick threads as well as for plying. Furthermore, Bruyère found evidence of a large number of spinning bowls,⁹ exactly as in Kahun¹⁰ and Amarna.¹¹ Both Schiaparelli and Bruyère, unfortunately, failed to report the presence of rounded, perforated sherds which were very likely to have been present and used as spinning tools.

To understand the type of wood used for these tools some analyses were recently carried out and a few samples were also radiocarbon dated.¹² The results show that the large majority of the spindle whorls were made of a soft, light

⁵ Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles (1934-1935)*, 1939, pp. 214–15.

⁶ Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles* (1934-1935), 1939, pp. 7, 214–15, 250, 262, 278, 345; Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles* (1927), 1928, p. 98; Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles* (1930), 1933, pp. 6–7; Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles* (1945-1946 et 1946-1947), 1952, p. 69; Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles* (1948 à 1951), 1953, pp. 66, 83, 88–89.

⁷ A more detailed description of textile tools from the Museo Egizio is given in Spinazzi-Lucchesi, *The Unwound Yarn*, 2018, pp. 107–10.

⁸ Bruyère recorded some of them in his publications. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles* (1930), 1933, p. 7; Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles* (1934-1935), 1939, pp. 214–15.

⁹ Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles* (1934-1935), 1939, pp. 214-15.

¹⁰ Petrie, Kahun, Gurob and Hawara, 1890, p. 25.

¹¹ Kemp and Vogelsang-Eastwood, Textile Industry, 2001, pp. 291–93, figs. 8.15, 8.16.

¹² Archaeobotanical analyses were carried out by Mauro Rottoli and C14 tests by CEDAD (CEntro di DAtazione e Diagnostica). For further information see Spinazzi-Lucchesi, *The Unwound Yarn*, 2018, p. 105.



Fig. 1 Complete spindle from Deir el-Medina (Museo Egizio, Turin, inv. no. S. 9978/7). L. 35.8 cm (Photo Museo Egizio).



Fig. 2 Spindle whorl from Deir el-Medina with incised marks on the surface (Museo Egizio, Turin, inv. no. S. 7527/07). Diam. 5.5 cm (Photo Museo Egizio).

wood, which further tests identified as *Ficus sycomorus*, a native tree. Spindle shafts were often made of a different wood, harder and more resistant, which was shown to be in most cases cedar wood (*Cedrus libani*). Almost all the objects analysed show, moreover, similar craftsmanship, with whorls cut transversely across the wood. One spindle whorl was not finished, showing that they were probably worked in the village. Many of the whorls are cut from small branches and this indicates that not only large logs were available in the village, but also smaller branches.

¹⁴C analyses confirm that the tools belong to the Pharaonic period, mostly the Ramesside period, but they cover a very large time span and were certainly not in use at the same time.

To spindles and whorls, three skeins of yarn and five balls of thread must be added. All of them are made of vegetable fibres, very likely flax, and none has been dyed. They have not been sampled for ¹⁴C analysis, although some technical features (*e.g.* splicing) allow a date later than 600 BCE to be excluded. Threads are generally plied and sometimes cabled; the final twist may be either S or Z. Some threads are still wrapped around spindles and they show a similar

structure, with both S and Z-plied yarns. Spinning direction is important since S-twist (S, 2s) is generally used for weaving, while Z-twist (Z, 2s / Z, 2z) can be used for sewing, darning and producing nets. The quality of the spun threads is not very high, and it is very likely that these yarns were used either to weave coarse textiles or, more probably, to produce nets. A small number of bronze and wooden needles was present in the site, but most of them come from the tomb of Kha. Bronze needles are long and thin, while wooden needles are wide and short and should be considered as bodkins or netting needles.¹³

Such an impressive number of textile tools is rarely found on archaeological excavations. If one considers that just a small community of people lived in the village and that they received textiles as part of their wages, this number is even more surprising. Furthermore, the standardization of tools, and therefore of the final product (i.e. the yarn), and the availability of good raw materials (e.g. cedar wood) for tools is noteworthy. If analysed using the same standards generally applied to other sites, the obvious interpretation would be that a textile workshop or a community devoted to textile production was present, which is definitely not the case. The archaeological evidence of these tools suggests that almost all the families in the village were producing yarns, but this does not mean that they were weaving too. First of all, it should be noted that the same or very similar spindles are represented in funerary scenes being used by women for spinning, but also by men for producing nets.¹⁴ Furthermore, a loom is an expensive tool (even today) and probably only some families possessed it. Therefore, it is probable that a large part of the workers' families was involved in producing yarns, but only some people actually produced textiles.

2. TEXTUAL SOURCES DEALING WITH TEXTILE PRODUCTION

Given this impressive presence of textile tools, one would expect to find an equally large number of texts dealing with textile production, but this is not the case. A first survey of textual sources shows that only a few hints are to be found in written sources; without the archaeological evidence, this production would ap-

¹³ Spinazzi-Lucchesi, The Unwound Yarn, 2018, p. 118.

¹⁴ See the Middle Kingdom tombs of Baqt and Khety (Newberry and Griffith, Beni Hasan, 1893, pls. IV, XIII).

pear absolutely marginal, if not absent. In fact, textiles appear very frequently as wages from the central administration, and in transactions and lists of goods, but it is impossible to understand whether the textiles involved in barter were part of wages or were home-produced. Very few texts contain specific references to the production of textiles, but from these texts it may be understood that spinning and (possibly) weaving were performed domestically, mostly by women but sometimes by men too. 16

It is much more difficult to reconstruct the whole production sequence. In fact, not a single text clearly mentions spinning or weaving tools, nor their production or their exchange for other goods. It is highly probable that they were produced in the village, and therefore they would have been purchased/exchanged there. Furthermore, even the constituent fibre, flax, seems to be absent from texts even though it must have been a ubiquitous commodity. In fact, not only were textiles produced from flax, but also tow discarded from linen production could be used for making wicks, sacks and strings. How flax arrived in the village is far from clear. It might have been part of wages but it is also possible that each family had to buy it. Another interesting aspect is at what point of processing flax arrived in the village. It is probable that it would have arrived already retted (if indeed any retting took place in Egypt), otherwise people would have had to spend time on checking the retting progress by the river. Even if retting was not an option, the very demanding procedures of beating, scutching and hackling had to be carried out.

To answer these questions, it would be necessary to possess texts specifically dealing with flax provisioning, but they seem not to be preserved in the documentation from Deir el-Medina. However, it might be possible that flax bundles are hidden within terms which have a broader meaning. In fact, two texts¹⁷ dealing with textile production seem to mention the raw fibres, even if they do not use the common term for flax (m h i). Instead, on one occasion the word dby.t is used, while more frequently the word w a dt appears. Is it possible that these two terms were sometimes used to indicate flax fibres? w a dt generally refers to edible

¹⁵ See for example Grandet, *Catalogue des ostraca*, 2003, p. 44, n° 866. Grandet, *Catalogue des ostraca*, 2006, pp. 73–75, n° 10071, p. 94, n° 10091.

¹⁶ See O. DM 131, O. DM 132, O. Cairo CG25725, O. Brussels E 6311 and the famous Papyrus Salt 124 on Paneb misconduct.

¹⁷ O. Cairo 25725, O. DM 117.

vegetables and it would be tempting to think that bundles of flax were delivered with the seeds still present. However, this would be possible only if the quality of fibres was very low; generally the cultivation of flax for its seeds and for its fibres requires different fields, with a different spacing of seeds and plants.

After the yarns were spun, they were probably dyed. Some texts refer to exchange of yarns for other goods, of their use for medical purposes, and black yarns are mentioned.¹⁸ In at least one case, they were brought to weavers to transform them into textiles.¹⁹

3. PRODUCING A TEXTILE: A TIME-CONSUMING ACTIVITY

Even if textile production might seem an obvious activity for workers' families at home, it would have required specific and sometimes expensive tools, the provisioning of raw fibres, their preparation and finally spinning and weaving. All these activities are extremely time-consuming and even if they could have been performed while undertaking other domestic activities, they would have employed a lot of people's time. For example, spinning 25 m of linen requires a professional spinner to work for 1 hour, and weaving a narrow strip of tabby textile with a sett of 11 threads/cm (11 threads for warp and 11 for weft) requires almost 50 minutes.²⁰ This sett of 11 threads/cm corresponds to 2200 m of thread/m². Therefore, spinning the yarn needed to produce a square meter of fabric would require 88 hours of work. The finest tunic of Kha, which has a sett of 70 x 35 threads/cm,²¹ would have required 10,500 m of yarn and 420 hours of spinning, to produce a square meter. Moreover, this is only a small part of the work. Before spinning, fibres must be prepared, spliced and wound into balls. After spinning, it is necessary to warp the loom and finally weave the cloth. Producing a tunic, like those of Kha, requires an impressive amount of time.

¹⁸ O. DM 973.

¹⁹ O. Brussels E 6311.

²⁰ These data are an average approximation based on CTR tests (Andersson Strand, in Nosch and Michel [eds.], *Textile Terminologies*, 2010, pp. 11–13) and should be considered only as an example of how time-consuming preparing fabric was. Reliable data to perform this calculation would require more tests on spinning flax, and should take into consideration more variables, such as spindle weight and whorl diameter, thickness of thread, etc.

²¹ I would like to thank Matilde Borla, who is studying Kha's textiles, for providing me this information.

4. CONCLUSIONS

Spinning and weaving were certainly domestic activities in Deir el-Medina and the textiles produced could have been used to satisfy personal needs as well as for integrating wages. Spinning tools were probably produced inside the village and were of high quality and standardisation. Their number is striking, compared to other Egyptian evidence of textile production. Written sources offer very little information about the organisation of production, its purpose and the provisioning of the raw materials. According to them, textile production was a very limited and marginal activity, whereas the impressive amount of archaeological finds suggests a completely different picture, with a large part of the village inhabitants occupied in spinning and (probably) weaving. Since no professional spinners or weavers seem to have been present in the village, these activities must have been performed alongside all the other domestic tasks, from food processing to raising children, which were undoubtedly time-consuming as well.

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FEMALE FIGURINES FROM DEIR-EL MEDINA: PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON THE IFAO COLLECTION (CAIRO)

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ABSTRACT

"Female figurines" are small statuettes representing women, most of the time naked and sometimes accompanied by a child. Attested since Predynastic times, they have been found in houses, inside or in the vicinity of sacred spaces, or in graves (of men, women and children). Many of them also come from secondary contexts, i.e. trash pits. They were long taken for "concubines of the dead", for dolls, or for images of goddesses, until Geraldine Pinch, in her book *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, presented these objects as being linked to rites promoting fertility, and also defined a first typology. More recently, Elizabeth Waraksa proposed, in her thesis *Female Figurines from the Mut Precinct*, that the use of the figurines would in fact be much broader, including for instance medico-magical healing practices.

The IFAO maintains a very important collection of this type of statuette, most of them yet unpublished, and consisting of about 650 fragments coming from Deir el-Medina. The collection is not only exceptional in terms of the number of pieces it contains, it is also remarkable for the variety of iconographic details that the figurines exhibit, and for the techniques employed to make them. I plan to publish an exhaustive catalogue of the collection – together with 150 figurines and fragments of figurines housed in the site's storehouses – that will significantly widen the corpus of female figurines accessible to researchers. It should help to shed new light on female bodily norms, the beliefs and practices that involve the female body, and to explore aspects of daily life at Deir el-Medina that are still little known.

1. INTRODUCTION

"Female figurines" are statuettes of women often depicted naked, more rarely dressed, and whose erotic and/or fertility related attributes seem to be highlighted. They are not representations of individuals in particular, but are rather generic, highly stereotypical, and anonymous images. The figurines are small in size, therefore potentially transportable, measuring between a few centimeters and about twenty centimeters high. They can be made in many different materials: terracotta or unbaked clay (either molded or hand modeled), stone, Egyptian "earthenware", ivory, and wood.²

The diversity of their technical and iconographic characteristics allows us to differentiate various types of female figurines. A first classification attempt was made by G. Pinch in her seminal work *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, where the author identified 6 main types of female figurines. This typology is still in use today, however needs to be augmented by subcategories so as to reflect the many variations in gestures and motifs that the figurines bear, and that are potentially significant.

Female figurines have existed in Egypt since the Predynastic period,⁵ and are still attested into the Roman era.⁶ However, there is a gap, to my knowledge, in the documentation of the Old Kingdom, an era from which only a few female figurines are known.⁷ Rather than indicating a decrease in the production their rarity in the documentation might reflect a lack of attention for such figurines on the part of archaeologists, leading to their omission from publications. As a consequence the link between Predynastic figurines and those emerging in the 2nd millennium, at the very end of the First Intermediate Period, is not well

¹ I would like to thank my colleagues and friends of the IFAO Archives and Collection Department: Cédric Larcher, Mazen Essam, Marion Gardner, Christine Ghali, Elena Panaïte, Clémentine Audouit and Mélanie Cressent, for the help and support they have given me since the beginning of this research. My warmest thanks also go to Emily Teeter, Elisabeth David, Sylvie Marchand, Jocelyne Berlandini-Keller and Guy Lecuyot for the richness of our discussions and the relevance of their advice on this collection.

² Waraksa 2008; Teeter, Baked clay figurines and votive beds from Medinet Habu, 2010, pp. 18–19.

³ Pinch, Votive Offerings to Hathor, 1993, pls. 46–51.

⁴ See for instance Teeter, *Baked clay figurines and votive beds from Medinet Habu*, 2010 and Backhouse, in Graves *et al.* (eds.), *Current Research in Egyptology* 2012, 2013.

⁵ See Ucko, Anthropomorphic Figurines of Predynastic Egypt and Neolithic Crete, 1968.

⁶ Pinch, Votive Offerings to Hathor, 1993, p. 225; Waraksa Female figurines from the Mut precinct, 2009, pp. 12–13; Teeter, Baked clay figurines and votive beds from Medinet Habu, 2010, pp. 7–8.

⁷ See the bibliography in Teeter, Baked clay figurines and votive beds from Medinet Habu, 2010, p. 5.

established. Along similar lines, examples from the Greek and Roman periods could be part of a different tradition and meanings. Indeed, the production of female figurines is by no means limited to Pharaonic Egypt. They are extremely common throughout the Mediterranean basin, and in the East where they display characteristics that are sometimes very similar to Egyptian examples. This aspect was clearly borne out during the multidisciplinary symposium on "naked female figurines" that was organized in Strasbourg on the 25th and 26th of June 2015, bringing together not only specialists from ancient Egypt and Nubia, but also from Greece, Anatolia, the Levant, Mesopotamia and Central Asia. 9

In my opinion, the study of female figurines is crucial because they clearly bear witness – at least, certain types of them – to popular beliefs and practices, for which there is very little information. They are, as E. Teeter rightly pointed out, 10 folk art, an aspect of Egyptian art that is very little studied, or even very rarely perceived as such: indeed, if the examples produced in series by potters¹¹ correspond to the same female canons as those observed in official productions, these canons seem to last for a much longer time on the figurines than elsewhere; moreover, handmade and unbaked figurines, which show a very simple construction, might be made by the very same people who used them, and reveal an iconography that is almost unknown from other types of documentation (such as the representation of pregnancy, tattoos, 12 scarifications (?), etc.). These points alone would argue for a multiplication of studies on the figurines, to which can be added, as I said earlier, that they are omnipresent in many ancient cultures and display many common features between them. Thanks to their small size, they could travel easily from one cultural space to another: as such, female figurines could be instruments of "cultural transfers", which means, according to a concept defined by M. Espagne, that they could experience a dynamic of transformation (in their form as well as in their meanings), passing from their cultural context of emission to one

⁸ Compare for instance the catalogue of the figurines in the Ashmolean Museum, established by P.E.S Moorey, in particular with the objects from Bronze Age Mesopotamia and Iran, Ancient Near Eastern Terracottas in the Ashmolean Museum, http://www.ashmolean.museum/ash/amocats/anet/ANET-Download.html.

⁹ See Donnat, Les Carnets de l'ACoSt 13 (2015); Donnat et al. (eds.), Figurines féminines nues, 2020.

¹⁰ Teeter, Baked clay figurines and votive beds from Medinet Habu, 2010, pp. 5-6.

¹¹ On the role of potters and painters in the production of molded female figurines, Waraksa, *Female figurines* from the Mut precinct, 2009, pp. 49–50, following P. Ballet and P. Dorman's opinions.

¹² See Austin and Arnette, JEA 108.

of reception.¹³ As a result, the theme of the female figurine lends itself particularly well to comparisons between societies, as well as to the study of the exchanges that exist between the different cultural areas to which they belong.

2. WHAT DO THE FIGURINES REPRESENT, WHAT ARE THEIR MEANINGS AND WHAT ARE THEY USED FOR?

Very little is yet known about what *exactly* Egyptian female figurines represent, and little is also known about their meanings and function(s).¹⁴ Undoubtedly this is due to a lack of interest in representations that are charming, even sometimes cute, as well as the fact that they belong to an apparently exclusively female sphere (whereas they are in fact found in male tombs or in temple contexts, for instance¹⁵), seemingly marking them as somehow less worthy of study.¹⁶ As a consequence, serious research works on the topic have been lacking for a long time, a fact that is particularly striking when one considers the scope and the diversity of this corpus of evidence – fortunately, recent years have shown a renewed interest in the subject.

Over time, opinions about female figurines have been more often based on impressions and modern biases than on thorough studies of ancient sources. Several excellent syntheses presenting these previous approaches to these objects have recently been published, ¹⁷ so I will only briefly give here the main ideas. Figurines have been seen chiefly as toys, ¹⁸ especially the so-called "paddle dolls", although they were also found in contexts that are clearly ritual and are now recognized

¹³ See the founding article, Espagne and Werner, Annales ÉSC 4 (1987), and Espagne, Les transferts culturels franco-allemands, 1999. More recently, Espagne, DHA 40/1 (2014). For Antiquity: Couvenhes and Legras, Transferts culturels et politique dans le monde hellénistique, 2006.

¹⁴ On iconography, meanings and functions, very stimulating reflections are to be found in Beha and Donnat, in Donnat *et al.* (eds), *Figurines féminines nues*, 2020, pp. 53–72, in particular pp. 68–70.

¹⁵ Pinch, Votive Offerings to Hathor, 1993, p. 22 and p. 223; Tooley, GM 123 (1991), p. 106; Teeter, Baked clay Figurines and votive beds from Medinet Habu, 2010, p. 27.

¹⁶ See the remarks of Teeter, Baked clay figurines and votive beds from Medinet Habu, 2010, pp. 5-6.

¹⁷ See very recently Weiss, *Religious Practice at Deir el Medina*, 2015, pp. 138–46; Budin, *Images of Woman and Child from the Bronze Age*, 2011, pp. 117–35; Nifosi, *Becoming a Woman and Mother in Greco-Roman Egypt*, 2019, pp. 89 ff.

¹⁸ See Quirke, in Quirke (ed.), *Lahun Studies*, 1998; Tooley, *GM* 123 (1991); Boutantin, *BIFAO* 101 (2001), pp. 79–80.

as representations of the *khenerout*-dancers;¹⁹ they have also been interpreted as representations of a divine mother,²⁰ whereas they display virtually no typically divine character (maybe apart from the modius worn by some of the figurines,²¹ the significance of which still needs to be discussed);²² likewise reading them as Nubian dancers,²³ when they do not specifically remind Nubia; or servants, despite never being shown serving (unlike models, for example); or even concubines of the dead,²⁴ even though they are also found in graves of women and children.²⁵

It is true that the iconography of the statuettes seems to belong to the "visual semantic field" of eroticism and fertility: they are sometimes shown with opulent hair, real or apparent nudity (when dressed, figurines wear clothes that do not hide their body shapes), marked pubic triangle, body decorations (paintings, tattoos or scarifications), and trinkets (hip belts, earrings, bands, etc.). Some of them, lying on beds, are accompanied by one or more children, whom they sometimes breastfeed, and they may also have a mirror and a *khol* pot at their side. In fact, and as E. Brunner-Traut had already noted as early as 1955, certain types of statuettes share exactly the same iconography as some New Kingdom ostraca, which depict the different stages of the postpartum rites (French "relevailles"). It is therefore likely that this particular type of female figurine also represents the end of the ritualized process of birth.

¹⁹ It is well known that a paddle doll has been found in the so-called Ramesseum cache, discovered by Petrie and Quibell at the entrance of a Middle Kingdom tomb situated near the actual temple (Pinch, Magic in Ancient Egypt, 1994, p. 131): it was accompanied by other female figurines and different kinds of objects (notably, a statuette of Ahât [Manchester Museum 1790] holding a snake-wand, and an actual snake wand as well), together with an exceptional collection of magical texts, some of them being dedicated to the protection of mother and child (see Meyrat, Les Papyrus magiques du Ramesseum, 2019). On the paddle dolls in funerary contexts and their link to rituals connected to Hathor, see Morris, JARCE 47 (2011); counter-argument in Müller, in Blöbaum et al. (eds.), Pérégrinations avec Erhart Graefe, 2018, pp. 389–90.

²⁰ Especially Hornblower, JEA 15 (1929), p. 40, who considers the figurines as representations of Hathor.

²¹ I thank Paolo Del Vesco for this remark.

²² Two exceptions are part of the IFAO collection, with the woman holding against her breast what seems to be a divine scepter.

²³ This is H. Winlock's opinion, see for instance Winlock, Excavations at Deir el Bahari, 1942.

²⁴ See Desroches-Noblecourt, *BIFAO* 53 (1953), pp. 16–18. Although the author *refutes* the qualification of "concubines".

²⁵ Ritner, The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice, 2008, p. 181.

²⁶ On the concept of "visual semantic field", see Colin, in Donnat *et al.* (eds.), *Figurines féminines nues*, 2020, pp. 76-78.

²⁷ On sexuality and women hair, see Derchain, SAK 2 (1975).

²⁸ Brunner-Traut, MIO 3 (1955), pp. 25–27. See also Pinch, Orientalia 52/3 (1983).

²⁹ On the topic, Arnette, *BIFAO* 114 (2014).

Even trickier than trying to understand what the figurines represent is what they were "used" for. They might have been found in different archaeological contexts:

from houses, temples, and tombs in the Nile Valley, to cemeteries in the western oases, mining sites in the Eastern Desert in Sinai Peninsula, and Nubian Forts, and in many cases derive from refuse zones in proximity to these areas.³⁰

Following an idea of B. Bruyère, 31 G. Pinch proposes that the use of figurines belong to the ritual and/or magical sphere. According to her, when discovered in or near a temple, they would be ex-voto materializing prayers made to the deities, especially to Hathor,³² in the hopes of having children. Found in a domestic context or near tombs, they would materialize the same wishes, but then directed to powerful spirits, i.e. the ancestors of the family, and to the souls of the dead, with the hope of "promoting and protecting fertility in daily life".33 Indeed, two female figurines that are inscribed, dated to the Middle Kingdom or the First Intermediate Period, clearly betray this desire for a child or a happy birth, that is, where mother and newborn survive the event and are in good health. One of these objects is housed in the *musée du Louvre* (E 8000)³⁴ and the other in Berlin Museum (inv. 14517).35 For instance, the latter bears the formula "May a birth be granted to your daughter Seh" (dj.tw mst n s3t.k sh), which clearly indicates that the deceased father, to whom the prayer is addressed, could intervene on behalf of his child so that she could also bear progeny. This aspect is also clearly mentioned in a "letter to the dead", in which a girl addresses her father, who is qualified as akh, so that he may grant her the "birth of a healthy boy".36

³⁰ Waraksa, Female figurines from the Mut precinct, 2009, pp. 12–13.

³¹ See especially Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Medineh (1948-1951), 1953, p. 36.

³² Pinch, Votive Offerings to Hathor, 1993, p. 221; Teeter, Baked clay figurines and votive beds from Medinet Habu, 2010, p. 26, n. 54.

³³ Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 1993, p. 225. On female figurines and the "ancestors cult", see Weiss, *Religious Practice at Deir el-Medina*, 2015, p. 141.

³⁴ Desroches-Noblecourt, *BIFAO* 53 (1953), p. 38, figs. 16–17 et pls. IV–V.

³⁵ Schott, *JEA* 16 (1930), pl. X; Desroches-Noblecourt, *BIFAO* 53 (1953), p. 34, fig. 14.

³⁶ Gardiner, *JEA* 16 (1930) pp. 19–22. These documents are commented in Colin and Zanatta, *BIFAO* 106 (2006), pp. 41–44. E. Teeter quotes a third figurine, housed at the August Kestner Museum (1035.200), that also bears an inscription. Being in demotic, it quotes the god Khonsu twice, but is not entirely readable. Teeter, *Baked clay figurines and votive beds from Medinet Habu*, 2010, p. 24, n. 43.

In particular in funerary contexts, figurines are not only found in the vicinity of the tomb, placed there after the funeral, but they can also belong to the dead person's trousseau.³⁷ For G. Pinch again, they would ensure "the fertility of the deceased in the afterlife and/or to assist in their rebirth", an idea also proposed by Chr. Desroches-Noblecourt, and now widely adopted.³⁸ However, G. Pinch does not explain in what way, nor how, this kind of figurine would help this rebirth: could it be a substitute for the new mother? It is rather unlikely, as long as the funerary texts clearly indicate that the second mother is always divine, ³⁹ besides which, most of the statuettes do not display any specifically divine attributes. Could they be midwives? It seems to me unlikely as well, for the figurines never make the gesture that characterizes that role, that is, extending their arms to receive the newborn child.⁴⁰ For the female figurines placed in the tombs to play a role in the new birth of the dead, I see two possibilities (both completely hypothetical): firstly, they could belong to the objects used in the rituals surrounding the first terrestrial birth, which they would recall and reactivate by their presence in the tomb. Secondly, if one accepts the idea that the vast majority of the figurines embody a vow of progeny and/or or happy birth in this world, then they could also embody a similar wish for the dead, that of his rebirth – stricto sensu – in the hereafter, expressed by him or his relatives at the time of closing the tomb. In consequence, they would also be ex-votos in this context.

The publication by E. Waraksa of the female figurines from the precinct of Mut in Karnak points out that all these interpretations do not sufficiently take into account two aspects that should be considered crucial: first, the fact that the vast majority of these objects are fragmentary, particularly the ones from the New Kingdom, and broken across solid sections of the object, notably the torso;⁴¹ second, the fact that female figurines are mostly discovered in refuse zones.⁴² It seems possible that the figurines were deliberately broken, and then

³⁷ For instance, Colin and Zanatta, *BIFAO* 106 (2006), pp. 41–45.

³⁸ Desroches-Noblecourt, *BIFAO* 53 (1953), pp. 16–19. Recently, see also Nifosi, *Becoming a woman and mother in Greco-Roman Egypt*, 2019, pp. 89–90.

³⁹ Arnette. Regressus ad uterum. 2020.

⁴⁰ The versions of the woman on a bed with a child seems also incompatiable with a midwife, but at Deir el-Medina, they are never found in graves. Fr. Colin also proposes several way to link female figurines to the rebirth of the dead, readily admitting their very hypothetical nature (Colin and Zanatta, *BIFAO* 106 [2006], pp. 39–40).

⁴¹ Waraksa, Female figurines from the Mut precinct, 2009, pp. 18–21 et pp. 75–80.

⁴² Waraksa, Female figurines from the Mut precinct, 2009, pp. 18–19 et pp. 81–85.

thrown away after this breakage, i.e. after use.⁴³ E. Waraksa thus proposes to draw a parallel between female figurines and two magical texts of the New Kingdom, P. Turin 54003 (recto, l. 13-16 and P. Leyden I 348 (recto, l. 12,2-12,4),44 which contain one formula to repel snake venom, and one other to cure stomach aches. These formulas recommend the use, in the conduct of the ritual, of a rpyt n sjnt, a "female figure made of clay", and a rpyt 3st, a "female figure of Isis".45 For E. Waraksa, it is indeed the female figurines that are referred to, that is to say, they may have been used in contexts that go far beyond female fertility. The discovery of female figurines in the magician's cache near the Ramesseum also supports this interpretation, and would indicate that this medico-magical use could well date back to the Middle Kingdom. 46 The red color of some of the figurines would also attest, according to E. Waraksa, to such a use: this color may indicate that the figurines embody the evil that one seeks to drive out,47 which is why they may have been broken at the end of the ritual – one obviously thinks of the Ritual of Breaking the Red Pots, which seems to follow the same principle.48

However, several facts can be cited in opposition of E. Waraksa's hypothesis. As E. Teeter has noticed, some figurines are found intact, and some are yellow, or even without any apparent coloration; furthermore the color red was meaningful not only as an indicator of evil but also as a symbol of renewed life (jns vs. dsr);⁴⁹ finally, the figurines that are inscribed, although very few in number, argue convincingly for ex-votos promoting fertility rather than for objects involved in rituals.⁵⁰ We can also set in contrast the huge quantities of female figurines (for example, about 900 known for the site of Deir el-Medina alone) against only two medico-magical formulas making clear reference to them – even taking into account the fragility of papyrus over time compared to terracotta;⁵¹ finally, the

⁴³ Also Kemp, Amarna Reports VI, 1995, p. 30.

⁴⁴ Waraksa, Female figurines from the Mut precinct, 2009, pp. 148–54.

⁴⁵ See Rössler-Köhler, in *LÄ* V, 1983, cols. 236–60.

⁴⁶ Pinch, Magic in Ancient Egypt, 1994, p. 131.

⁴⁷ Waraksa, Female figurines from the Mut precinct, 2009, p. 153.

⁴⁸ Van Dijk, in LÄ VI, 1986, cols. 1389–96.

⁴⁹ Mathieu, *ENIM* 2 (2009), p. 36.

⁵⁰ Teeter, Baked clay figurines and votive beds from Medinet Habu, 2010, pp. 26–27.

⁵¹ E. Waraksa argues that "many more spells were transmitted orally". Waraksa, *Female figurines from the Mut precinct*, 2009, p. 153.

formula of P. Leyden I 348 makes reference to a representation of Isis, whereas female figurines do not show any particular iconographic connection with the goddess. Following E. Teeter,⁵² however, I do not consider E. Waraksa's proposal to be incorrect and see it, on the contrary, as very challenging; nevertheless, female figurines are so diverse, and were produced over such a long period of time, that their uses seem to me logically to be just as varied.⁵³

In fact, it is very probable that each particular type, each subgroup, may reflect a different meaning as well as a different "use", and therefore may correspond to a different context of discovery: this is what S. Marchand notes about the female figurines from Balat, dated from the Second Intermediate Period, which are very different depending on whether they come from a domestic context, as in Ayn Asil, or from a funerary context, as in the nearby necropolis of Qila el Dabba. ⁵⁴ As L. Weiss also pointed out, hand-modeled figurines are not to be found in temple contexts, but only in domestic contexts and burial sites: ⁵⁵ offerings made in the vicinity of cultic areas seem to be far more standardized than elsewhere and, according to E. Waraksa, would even be produced in temple workshops. ⁵⁶ One can make the same observation about the figurines from Deir el-Medina: female figurines lying on beds (made in one piece) are never found in graves, whereas they are present everywhere else on the site. ⁵⁷

⁵² Teeter, Baked clay figurines and votive beds from Medinet Habu, 2010, pp. 26–27.

⁵³ Along the same lines, but about two types of figurines from the Middle Kingdom, see Müller, in Blöbaum *et al.* (eds.), *Pérégrinations avec Erhart Graefe*, 2018. See also Del Vesco, *Letti votivi e culti domestici*, 2010, p. 42, who reached the same conclusion.

⁵⁴ Marchand, in Donnat et al. (eds.), Figurines féminines nues, 2020, pp. 47–49 and fig. 15.

⁵⁵ Weiss, Religious Practice at Deir el-Medina, 2015, p. 140.

⁵⁶ Waraksa, Female Figurines from the Mut Precinct, 2009, pp. 76–89; Weiss, Religious Practice at Deir el-Medina, 2015, pp. 144–45. See also Colin, in Donnat et al. (eds.), Figurines féminines nues, 2020, pp. 82–99.

⁵⁷ See Backhouse, in Graves et al. (eds.), Current Research in Egyptology 2012, 2013, p. 23.

3. PRESENTATION OF THE COLLECTION OF FEMALE FIGURINES HOUSED AT THE IFAO

3.1. Provenience of the collection

The IFAO holds within its Archives and Collections Department approximately 650 female figurines and fragments of female figurines, which were previously stored in the Institute's storerooms, situated in the basement of the Mounira Palace in Cairo. Mixed with 250 fragments of "angareb" bed models and another approximately fifty small objects,⁵⁸ most of them were kept in boxes to which the temporary inventory number C. 5089 had been assigned, 59 indicating the site of Deir el-Medina as provenience. At first glance, this seems quite likely, for three main reasons: first, the style of the vast majority of the figurines corresponds to that at the end of the New Kingdom; second, cross-references can be made with the figurines that are still housed on the site and with other Theban ensembles;60 and finally, some of the figurines in the IFAO collection can be identified in B. Bruyère's publications⁶¹ as well as in his photographs on glass plates also housed at the Archives and Collections Department, many of which are unpublished. 62 Additionally, B. Bruyère's excavation journals mention in a few places the discovery of such figurines, sometimes illustrated by a drawing;63 some of these drawings clearly correspond to several objects housed at the IFAO [Figs. 1a-d].

⁵⁸ See infra.

⁵⁹ Mentioned in Berlandini, Inventaire des réserves de l'Ifao, 1975, p. 140.

⁶⁰ Notably, Medinet Habu: Teeter, *Baked clay figurines and votive beds from Medinet Habu*, 2010; Mut Temple in Karnak: Waraksa, *Female figurines from the Mut precinct*, 2009.

⁶¹ For instance, Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Medineh* (1948-1951), 1953, pp. 35–36 (found in the *Grand Puit*). Of particular note is the author's lengthy synthesis on the subject in Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Medineh* (1934-1935), 1939, pp. 109–50, in which he seeks to understand their meaning and use while strongly defending their "chastity". B. Bruyère establishes many comparisons with figurines coming from other cultures, from Prehistory to Modern Times, but discusses only a few examples found at Deir el-Medina, without giving more details about the circumstances of their discovery.

⁶² Many figurines of the Ifao's collection are to be seen on PV_2004_005531; PV_2004_05533; PV_2004_05535; PV_2004_05537; PV_2004_05538; PV_2004_05539; PV_2004_05540; PV_2004_05541; PV_2004_06372; PV_2004_06373; PV_2004_06374; PV_2004_06376; PV_2004_06457; PV_2004_06458; PV_2004_06459; PV_2004_06460; PV_2004_06610; PV_2004_06611; PV_2004_06614.

⁶³ Bruyère, Journal de fouilles. Deir el-Medineh 1927, p. 5 ("samedi 12 février 1927"); Deir el-Medineh 1928, p. 1 ("lundi 9 janvier 1928"); Deir el-Médineh 1933-34, pl. without number, in front of p. 4; Deir el-Medineh 1948-1949, p. 5 ("jeudi 24 février 1949").



Figs. 1a–d Pregnant woman in raw clay shaped by hand (front, back, profile); drawing in B. Bruyère's *Journal de Fouilles* (Photo by Marie-Lys Arnette / IFAO).

However, there are many figurines in the collection that could not be matched, at least until now, with Bruyère's documentation; moreover, the method used to classify the objects in the IFAO basement is unclear, and many changes have taken place over time, with many mix-ups between the objects, so that one cannot really rely on the entries written on the boxes.⁶⁴

It is worth noticing that some of the figurines in the collection were stored in boxes marked "*Edfou*" rather than "Deir el-Medina", without any further specification or inventory number: but do they really come from Edfu? During the Franco-Polish excavations carried out on the site between 1937 and 1939, female figurines of the New Kingdom were indeed discovered. However, in the

⁶⁴ J. Berlandini writes: "Les étagères chargées de représentations de concubines s'étaient effondrées les unes sur les autres" (Berlandini, Inventaire des réserves de l'Ifao, 1975, p. 140), which shows that the documentation has certainly been mixed-up. The organization of the basement where our figurines were kept have also been modified since J. Berlandini's observations, certainly during the 1990s.

publications, none of them correspond to those in the IFAO collection. 65 The excavation journals, also kept at the IFAO,66 are very precise and seem to register every single object, even the simplest ones, found during the campaigns in Edfu,67 and yet there is no mention of a figurine that might correspond to those from the IFAO collection. It is thus very unlikely that female figurines found at Edfu would have been left out of the publications. In this case, could the figurines come from an earlier mission in Edfu? H. Henne does mention work carried out on the site in 1914 which never resulted in a report "because of the war".68 However, a letter housed at the IFAO Administrative Archives relates the transport by rail of fifteen to twenty crates of antiques from Edfu to Cairo in March 1914,69 and one wonders whether female figurines might have been part of it. However, these 1914 excavations were carried out for the purpose of searching for Greek papyri – as was also the case later in 1922 – and it was therefore Roman, Coptic and Byzantine houses that were investigated. Stylistically, the statuettes of the IFAO collection can under no circumstances be attributed to these periods. I have already been able to recognize many figurines from these "Edfu" boxes that appear in the photographs of objects coming from Deir el-Medina taken by B. Bruyère. I thus currently believe that it is from this site that most – if not all – of the figurines of the collection originate.

Finally, it should be borne in mind that the IFAO collection does not contain all the figurines discovered by B. Bruyère at Deir el-Medina: it is supplemented by about eighty figurines housed by the *musée du Louvre* which were the subject of a recent study by J. Backhouse.⁷⁰ The administrative archives housed at the IFAO⁷¹ indicate that only one female figurine from Deir el-Medina was transferred to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (JE 63652); a complete "*angareb*" bed could also be

⁶⁵ Michałowski et al., Tell Edfou 1939, 1950, pl. VII.

⁶⁶ Bruyère, Journaux de fouilles, 1922-1955.

⁶⁷ For instance, in Jean Sainte Fare Garnot's excavation journal (Sainte Fare Garnot, *Journal de fouilles 1938* [Tell Edfou]), "3 concubines et un animal (?) de terre cuite" are mentioned for the 15th of January 1938. All of them are published in Michałowski et al., Tell Edfou 1939, 1950, pp. 110-111 and pl. XXXV.

⁶⁸ Bruvère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir El Médineh (1922-1923), 1924, p. 1.

⁶⁹ IFAO Archives and Collections Department, administrative archives, file "Edfou 1914", typed letter addressed by P. Lacau to the *Directeur géneral des Chemins de fer de l'État*, 5th of March 1914.

⁷⁰ Backhouse, in Graves et al. (eds.), Current Research in Egyptology 2012, 2013.

⁷¹ IFAO Archives and Collections Department, administrative archives, file "Deir el-Medina. Partage de fouilles 1934-1935".

traced via the museum's database (JE 71998). ⁷² At the actual site of Deir el-Medina, about 150 female figurines also coming from the excavations of B. Bruyère were spotted in February 2019: kept in the storehouse numbered "23", where they had been classified along with many other figurines of clay by J. Yoyotte and P. Du Bourguet. To this number can be added a few specimens discovered during the work carried out on the site by D. Valbelle and Ch. Bonnet, and then by G. Andreu. Finally, due to the numerous occasional visits and excavations carried out at Deir al-Medina since the beginning of the nineteenth century by explorers and scientists of various nationalities (mainly Italian, French and German), it is quite likely that other female figurines from the site are now housed in other European museums. ⁷³ At the Museo Egizio di Torino, sixty-one female figurines might come from E. Schiaparelli's excavations at the site between 1905 and 1909 (twenty-six of certain provenience, thirty-five of highly probable provenience). ⁷⁴ Some of them are quite comparable to some of the figurines of the IFAO collection (for example, S. 07827). ⁷⁵

3.2. Context of discovery of the female figurines and objects associated with them

The context of the finds is crucial for attempting to understand the beliefs and practices to which female figurines relate. He indications given by B. Bruyère on this subject are rather sketchy. Thanks to very laconic and sometimes contradictory information, we nevertheless learn that the vast majority of the female figurines of Deir el-Medina come from the houses of the village. Some of them are found in the houses themselves, in the first room where the house altars – wrongly called "lit-clos" by B. Bruyère – and the so-called "ancestors busts" were located; many others are part of

⁷² Matching with Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir El Médineh* (1934-1935), 1939, p. 138, fig. 57 (= PV_2004_05532).

⁷³ See recently Gobeil, Oxford Handbooks Online, 2015.

⁷⁴ Breasted, Egyptian Servant Statues, 1948, pl. 94; Trapani, Rivista degli Studi Orientali 85 (2012), pp. 537–39.

⁷⁵ Trapani, Rivista degli Studi Orientali 85 (2012), p. 535, fig. 1.

⁷⁶ Since Quirke, in Quirke (ed.), *Lahun Studies*, 1998, pp. 141–51. See the careful remarks of Boutantin, *BIFAO* 101 (2001), pp. 79–81.

⁷⁷ See Backhouse, in Graves *et al.* (eds.), *Current Research in Egyptology* 2012, 2013, pp. 22–23, with references to Bruyère.

⁷⁸ Although only eleven out of seventy-seven ancestor busts can be surely provenanced from houses, and only two of them from the first room where the house altars are (Keith, *Anthropoid Busts*, 2011, p. 11). I thank

the material excavated in the southern *kom* of the site. B. Bruyère writes on this subject: "C'est en effet par centaines que ces statuettes, malheureusement presque toutes brisées, furent trouvées dans les décombres des maisons, loin des tombes du cimetière".⁷⁹ The other refuse context in which large amounts of female figurines can be found is, of course, the *Grand Puits*,⁸⁰ while only a few seem to have been discovered in the graves of the Eastern and the Western Cemetery.

Although B. Bruyère writes that he found hundreds of female figurines, his excavation journals are unfortunately disappointing regarding the contexts of the finds: the information accompanying the very few female figurines that are clearly referred to does not admit much more detail. For example, on 9th of January 1928, B. Bruyère mentions having found a "femme nue debout, bras droit pendant, bras gauche plié, la main tenant un lotus sur la poitrine", and vaguely situates the discovery "au village même".81

This lack of accuracy, such as the fact that many of the female figurines come from refuse zones, prevents us *a priori* from linking a specific type of figurine to a specific context in Deir el-Medina – it can only be said, as J. Backhouse pointed out, that figurines lying on beds (made in one piece) are never found in the tombs of the site. It also reduces the possibility of making precise groupings between figurines and other objects of the collection. Indeed, the female figurines of the IFAO, just like those of storehouse 23, have been kept together with bed models, hand-modeled animal figurines (mainly quadrupeds), molded statuettes of the god Bes, foreigners' heads, a Meretseger snakehead made of limestone, miniature crockery, fragments of crucibles, a few busts of ancestors, some hand-modeled male figurines, natural curiosities (shells, snake-shaped flint) and a number of objects not yet identified [Fig. 2].83

Paolo Del Vesco for this precision. See Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Medina* (1934-1935), 1939, p. 144. On the functions of these altars, see also Weiss, *JEA* 95 (2009).

⁷⁹ This was confirmed by the work of D. Valbelle and Ch. Bonnet, who also found some figurines and bed fragments in the houses of the village. Bonnet, Valbelle, *BIFAO* 75 (1975), pp. 445–46; Bonnet, Valbelle, *BIFAO* 76 (1976), p. 341. Nevertheless, it should be borne in mind that "the household assemblage reflects the abandonment process of the village rather than the areas of household activity", Weiss, *JEA* 95 (2009), pp. 193–94.

⁸⁰ In particular, Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Medineh (1948-1951), 1953, pp. 35-36.

⁸¹ Bruyère, Journal de fouilles. Deir el-Medineh 1928, p. 1.

⁸² See supra.

⁸³ On these kind of objects at Deir el-Medina, see Weiss, Religious Practice at Deir el-Medina, 2015, pp. 146-54.



Fig. 2 Other objects associated with female figurines: human or animal head; head of an Asian man; actual shell; flint in the shape of a snake; figurine of a crocodile (Photo by Marie-Lys Arnette / IFAO).

It is far more likely that these groupings were only made to keep artifacts together that look alike – i.e., that are small and mainly made of clay, just as they are grouped in some of the photographs taken by B. Bruyère – than to reflect common contexts of discovery. On other archaeological sites, female figurines are frequently associated with other types of objects.84 For example, in Balat, either in the central area of the palace, in the residential areas, near the hwt-k3 or in the area of the Medunefer sanctuary, many female figurines dated from the end of the Old Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period have been found alongside animal figurines (including quadrupeds, bovines and caprines) and, to a lesser extent, male figurines.85 The votive deposits in Hathoric contexts show even greater diversity:86 at Gebel Zeit, on the site of the sanctuary dedicated to Hathor "mistress of galena", female figurines belong to votive ensembles, deposited by the members of the mining expeditions – a priori males – that were conducted in the area between the reigns of Amenemhat III and Ramesses II. In addition to animal figures (baboons and falcons), the small objects associated with the female figurines also included perfume vases, combs, miniature musical instruments and small vegetable baskets, while actual shells, pearls and

⁸⁴ Donnat, Les Carnets de l'ACoSt 13 (2015).

⁸⁵ Boutantin, BIFAO 101 (2001); Marchand and Soukiassian, Balat VIII, 2010, pp. 249-68.

⁸⁶ See Pinch, Votive Offerings to Hathor, 1993.

amulets were sometimes hung on the fabrics that surrounded the figurines.⁸⁷ At Karnak, female figurines were discovered along with a few male specimens near the east wall of the Treasury, dated by context to Hatshepsut's reign.⁸⁸ At Medinet Habu, they are also found with other small objects, such as miniature animal figurines, small clay vessels, votive beds, etc.⁸⁹ Finally, the association of female figurines with other objects is absolutely not specific to the Egyptian case: among many examples, in Canaan, female figurines dating from the Bronze to Iron Age can be found with zoomorphic statuettes, horses and rams, as well as in the company of male figurines, all of which, according to P.R.S. Moorey, recall the complementarity of the female and male reproductive forces.⁹⁰

At Deir el-Medina, it is well known that female figurines could be associated with models of beds, both in tombs and in houses⁹¹ – although of course this association is hardly systematic, the one occurring very frequently without the other. This is not the only possibility: in the houses labelled S.E. III and S.E. VI both "poupées", according to B. Bruyère, and terracotta horses were discovered, ⁹² findings that B. Bruyère interpreted as a set of toys associated with a child's grave, dug in the ground. ⁹³ However, like the female figurines, the vast majority of the animal figurines from Deir el-Medina ("les singes, les chevaux seuls ou attelés, les chats, les bœufs") come from the "décharges publiques du village", as well as what B. Bruyère describes as "grotesques", and ityphallic male figurines. ⁹⁴ Based on the non-funerary contexts of these objects, we can at most suppose, as B. Bruyère did, that all belonged to the daily life of the village – magical, religious or ritual activities being, of course, included in this so-called daily life.

⁸⁷ Castel et al., ASAE 70 (1985), pp. 99–106; Castel et al., in Cherpion (ed.), 25 ans de découvertes archéologiques sur les chantiers de l'IFAO, 2007, pp. 50–59; Régen and Castel, in Donnat et al. (eds.), Figurines féminines nues, 2020, pp. 29–42.

⁸⁸ Jacquet, Karnak Nord, IX, 2001, p. 60.

⁸⁹ Teeter, Baked clay figurines and votive beds from Medinet Habu, 2010, pp. 25-26.

⁹⁰ Moorey, Idols of the People, 2004, p. 35.

⁹¹ Backhouse, in Graves et al. (eds.), Current Research in Egyptology 2012, 2013, p. 23.

⁹² Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Medina (1934-1935), 1939, p. 269.

⁹³ Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Medina* (1934-1935), 1939, p. 271.

⁹⁴ Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Medina (1934-1935), 1939, p. 340.

4. CLASSIFICATION IN TYPES AND TECHNICAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE FEMALE FIGURINES

The vast majority of the female figurines housed at the IFAO belong to types 5 and 6 (b and c) defined by G. Pinch; only a few clearly correspond to type 4, hand-made, are "off-type". These figurines must therefore be classified according to categories with finer criteria than those established by G. Pinch, as E. Teeter has been able to do for another set of Theban figurines coming from Medinet Habu. In order not to multiply the systems, it is the classification of E. Teeter that I have chosen to follow from type A to type D, adapting it slightly to the IFAO collection. The other types were created to reflect its diversity.

The types are determined according to the following criteria: the presence or not of a bed attached to the figurine; for "standing" figurines (without a bed), the use of a univalve or bivalve mold to make it (smooth or shaped back); ⁹⁹ for figurines on beds, the presence or not of one or more children; the position of the child (breastfed or on the side of the woman); the posture of the woman (arm along the body, bent over the chest, holding an object or one of her breasts in one of her hand). The types are defined as follows:

- Type A1: terracotta woman "standing", arms along the body, rear shaped [Figs. 3a, b].
- Type A2: terracotta woman "standing", arms along the body, rear smooth [Figs. 4a, b].
- Type B: terracotta woman lying on a bed, arms along the body, without children [Figs. 5a, b].
- Type C: terracotta woman lying on a bed nursing a child Figs. 6a, b] there are very few of them, and the presence of the child cannot always be defined clearly.

⁹⁵ Pinch, Votive Offerings to Hathor, 1993, pp. 205–09.

⁹⁶ Pinch, Votive Offerings to Hathor, 1993, pp. 204–05.

⁹⁷ Teeter, Baked clay figurines and votive beds from Medinet Habu, 2010, p. 15.

⁹⁸ Note in particular that type E of E. Teeter, where the author classifies the "non-idealized" figures, does not correspond to type E in the Ifao's collection.

⁹⁹ B. Bruyère mentions molds for female figurines, but does not give further details. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir El Médineh* (1934-1935), 1939, p. 214.





Figs. 3a-b Type A1, terracotta woman "standing", arms along the body, rear shaped (front and back) (Photo by Marie-Lys Arnette / IFAO).





Figs. 4a-b Type A2, terracotta woman "standing", arms along the body, rear smooth (front and back) (Photo by Marie-Lys Arnette / IFAO).





Figs. 5a-b Type B, terracotta woman lying on a bed, arms along the body, without children (front and back) (Photo by Marie-Lys Arnette / IFAO).





Figs. 6a-b Type C, terracotta woman lying on a bed nursing a child (front and back) (Photo by Marie-Lys Arnette / IFAO).





Figs. 7a-b Type D1, terracotta woman lying on a bed, accompanied by one child whom she does not breastfeed (front and back) (Photo by Marie-Lys Arnette / IFAO).





Figs. 8a-b Type D2, terracotta woman lying on a bed, one arm folded over the chest, accompanied by one child on the side (front and back) (Photo by Marie-Lys Arnette / IFAO).

- Type D1: terracotta woman lying on a bed, arms along the body, accompanied by one or more children whom she does not breastfeed [Figs. 7a, b].
- Type D2: terracotta woman lying on a bed, one arm bent over the chest, accompanied by one or more children on the side [Figs. 8a, b].
- Type E1: terracotta woman "standing", one arm folded over the chest, rear shaped [Figs. 9a, b].
- Type E2: terracotta woman "standing", one arm folded over the chest, smooth back [Fig. 10].
- Type F: terracotta woman lying on a bed, one arm folded over the chest, without visible children [Figs. 11a, b].
- Type G1: women in raw or baked clay shaped by hand [Fig. 12].
- Types G2: parts of women's bodies they are not fragments but on the contrary, were originally conceptualized like this (mostly *genitalia*) made of raw clay shaped by hand [Fig. 13].
- Type H: limestone figurines there are very few of them in the collection.

Since figurines are often fragmentary, some attributions to particular types are obviously arbitrary and are based on the current appearance of the objects: the absence of a child on a fragment, for example, does not mean that the figurine did not *originally* contain a child. It is therefore very difficult to carry out precise counts or compile statistics.

However, the figurines in the collection are so numerous that each type can be divided into subgroups, according to iconographic and stylistic elements.

Here are a few examples of the groups that I have already defined:

– From an iconographic point of view, figurines of type A2 can be divided between those wearing a tripartite wig, and those wearing an enveloping wig showing the ears and earrings. Among the A2 type figurines wearing a tripartite wig, we can distinguish those whose hairstyle is topped with a cone of fat **[Fig. 14]**, from those wearing a modius; likewise for E1 and E2 types figurines. These associations are potentially significant – as they are in post-partum scenes for instance¹⁰⁰ – and might also constitute dating criteria.





Figs. 9a-b Type E1, terracotta woman "standing", one arm folded over the chest, rear shaped (front and back) (Photo by Marie-Lys Arnette / IFAO).



Fig. 10 Type E2, terracotta woman "standing", one arm folded over the chest, smooth back (front) (Photo by Marie-Lys Arnette / IFAO).





Figs. 11a-b Type F, terracotta woman lying on a bed, one arm folded over the chest (?), without visible children (front and back) (Photo by Marie-Lys Arnette / IFAO).



Fig. 12 Type G1, (pregnant) woman in baked clay shaped by hand (Photo by Marie-Lys Arnette / IFAO).



Fig. 13 Type G2, part of the female body (belly button) in raw clay shaped by hand (Photo by Marie-Lys Arnette / IFAO).



Fig. 14 Some figurines belonging to a subgroup of type A2, with a tripartite wig topped with a cone of fat (Photo by Marie-Lys Arnette / IFAO).

– Children accompanying D-type figurines and placed against one of their mother's calves display silhouettes that can be grouped into three sets: children lying on their backs, with plump and tall bodies; children represented as silhouettes in profile and seated, in the manner of hieroglyphic sign Gardiner A17 but not holding their finger to their mouth, one hand being on the contrary raised towards the woman; children with very thin silhouettes, figured in profile and in a walking pose. Among the latter two types of children, some have what seems to be erect penises.

Sometimes type D figurines hold a "mystery" element that rests against their left flank, continues up under their left arm then separates from their body, which could be interpreted as a child **[Fig. 15]**: a round part incised with two holes surmounts an elongated element that could indeed be a body. However, the silhouette is so strange that its appearance necessarily questions its exact nature and requires further examination.

- From a stylistic point of view, the female bodies that are represented display notable differences that help to define other subgroups: for instance, some A2-type figurines have a very thin waist, a flat stomach and full, round hips [Fig. 16], while others have narrow, "violin-like" hips (with a slight protrusion of fat from the waist, overcoming a depression and then a slightly marked saddlebag at the top of the thighs) and a rounded stomach, where fat folds appear above the pubis [Fig. 17].

Variation in terms of fabrication technique can also be observed among the objects. The vast majority of the figurines are obviously molded and then baked; they are made of Nile silt clay with a low density of vegetable and mineral degreasing agent. The fact that their manufacture requires technical skills shows that the figurines in the collection were probably made in potters' workshops, ¹⁰¹ obviously in series – some of the objects are so similar that they even might come from a single mold, or, at least, from molds that would be produced in series as well.

Most of the molds used seem to be univalve and the back of the figurines are consequently flat; however a large number of the objects also come from bivalve molds and the back of the figurines are rounded, which is not at all common in previous studies (for instance, almost all the figurines from Medinet Habu that

¹⁰¹ On the topic, Waraksa, Female figurines from the Mut precinct, 2009, pp. 49–50.



Fig. 15 Type D female figurine holding a "mystery" element by her left flank (Photo by Marie-Lys Arnette / IFAO).

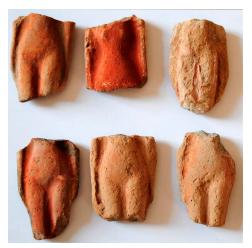


Fig. 16 Some figurines belonging to one of the subgroups of type A2, with a very thin waist, a flat stomach and full, round hips (Photo by Marie-Lys Arnette / IFAO).



Fig. 17: Some figurines belonging to one of the subgroups of type A2, with narrow, "violin-like" hips, a rounded stomach, and fat folds above the pubis (Photo by Marie-Lys Arnette / IFAO).

E. Teeter has studied are made in univalve molds).¹⁰² It is worth noticing that some types of figurines seem to be made in a privileged way, according to one or the other of these techniques: for instance, type A figurines from the IFAO collection are much more likely to have been formed in univalve molds, whereas type E figurines are almost all made in a bivalve mold.

Not all the figurines of the collection are molded and baked: around 40 of them are in fact modelled by hand (types G1 and G2) and the clay is, most of the time, raw. These examples present very original features that differ strongly from bodily norms in use during the New Kingdom; visible pregnancy [Figs. 1a-c, Fig. 12], whereas it is only extremely rarely represented in official productions; 103 unusual body decorations [Figs. 1a-c];104 extreme stylization of the body, or conceptual reduction of it to a unique organ (vulva, belly button, see Fig. 13); etc. The figurines that are modeled by hand almost never bear any trace of color, whereas colors are still visible on all of the molded figurines for which the surface is well enough preserved. The female skin is usually pink or red, much more rarely yellow, and wigs are black; figurines from univalve molds also often show that the back is coated with white. Very rarely, figurines of the collection do not show distinctions in color but are on the contrary entirely covered with a red wash [Fig. 18a-c]. The beds on which some of the women lay show decoration made of large stripes of red and yellow situated mainly on the legs and posts. Most of the colors that remain are clearly applied using a wash technique.

Finally, some molded figurines also bear iconographic elements that are obviously applied freehand after the molding process (such as a cone of scented fat), or incised, in particular details of the face [Fig. 19]. The investment in time, given the number of operations to be performed, therefore seems relatively important, a detail that may also indicate the importance given to the female figurines.

The IFAO collection is not only exceptional in terms of the number of pieces it contains, it is also remarkable for the variety of iconographical details that the figurines exhibit, and for the techniques employed to make them. To share this documentation, as soon as possible I plan to publish an exhaustive cata-

¹⁰² Except from nos. 10 and 11, Teeter, Baked clay figurines and votive beds from Medinet Habu, 2010, pp. 32–33.

¹⁰³ One female figurine from the Museo Egizio di Torino (Provv. 6073) might also represent pregnancy: this figurine is not modelled by hand, but molded, which would make it quite unique. Trapani, *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 85 (2012), p. 539, fig. 7.

¹⁰⁴ See Austin and Arnette, JEA 108.







Figs. 18 a-c Female figurine covered with a red wash (front, back of the torso, back of the feet) (Photo by Marie-Lys Arnette / IFAO).



Fig. 19 Two heads of female figurines with details of the face incised (Photo by Marie-Lys Arnette / IFAO).

logue that will significantly widen the corpus of female figurines accessible to researchers. It should help to shed new light on female bodily norms, the beliefs and practices that involve the female body, and to explore aspects of daily life at Deir el-Medina that are still little known.

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MONKEYS AND CHARIOTS: OBSERVATIONS ON A "SATIRICAL" PRODUCTION FROM DEIR EL-MEDINA AND ELSEWHERE

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ABSTRACT

Beginning in the second half of the Eighteenth Dynasty, a well-known corpus of small figurines are attested that depict monkeys imitating various human activities such as playing music, dancing or driving a chariot. Of these, a special subcorpus of figurines depicting monkeys driving chariots derives predominately from the village of Deir el-Medina. This subcorpus includes a total of thirty figurines, dating from the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty to the Ramesside period. The purpose of this paper is to present this subcorpus, which has been gathered as part of a doctoral thesis entitled "The Chariot in the Egyptian Mind". Among the thirty collected figurines, variations are attested, from carefully worked and painted miniature sculptures to rough - and sometimes unfinished - two-faced bas-reliefs. Iconographic variants show one or several monkeys on the chariot, the vehicle itself being pulled by horses, lions or dogs. Those figurines can be compared with some figured satirical ostraca from Deir el-Medina and of course with the so-called "erotic" papyrus of Turin. These comparisons allow the "satirical" nature of the figurines to be discussed, as they are in many cases likely mocking the social elites of Egypt - and even in some cases Pharaoh himself - , but in other cases are clearly a kind of toy, given that they were designed to be equipped with small wheels and a pulling string. The paper concludes with reflections on what this production implies about the significance of the chariot in the Ramesside Egyptian mind.

¹ I would like to thank the Organizational Committee of the Deir el-Medina Workshop who accepted my poster presentation at the conference. I am also grateful to Jonathan Maître and Marie-Lys Arnette for their useful comments and remarks, as well as to Todd Gillen for improving the English.

1. INTRODUCTION

Among the archives of Bernard Bruyère that have been made available recently via the IFAO website,² one can find many pages illustrated with sketches from the spruce and skillful hand of the French scholar. Bruyère reproduced in drawings many of the artifacts he found on the site, including some of the tiniest discoveries, and annotated the sketches with relevant information such as colour remains or measurements. The purpose of those drawings was to prepare the material for publication in the well-known series of the *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh*, edited by the IFAO in the DFIFAO collection. In order to offer more than a simple excavation report, Bruyère catalogued many artifacts or inscriptions and often structured them thematically, grouping sketches on the same plates, and consequently produced a very useful tool for the Egyptological community.

In one of Bruyère's notebooks, there is a double page covered with sketches depicting monkeys imitating various human activities [Fig. 1].³ This kind of humorous iconography is well known from ancient Egypt, with examples dating back to the beginning of the Pharaonic period.⁴ Monkeys were considered to be amusing and intelligent animals, and are well attested as being entertaining pets for the social elite, along with cats and dogs.⁵ Small figurines depicting monkeys are especially well-known during the time of Amenhotep III and later in the Ramesside Period: among other activities, dancing or playing music are very common.⁶ They are often used to decorate toiletry items such as kohl pots.⁷ However, as I was especially interested in chariots during my doctoral research, I will focus in this paper on a small sub-corpus of those 'monkey figurines', and therefore only on the lower part of Bruyère's double-page quoted above.⁸

² Larcher, Les Nouvelles de l'archéologie 145 (2016), p. 52; Larcher, in Gaber et al. (eds.), À l'œuvre on connaît l'artisan..., 2017, pp. 325–45.

³ Archives Bruyère online, *Cahier DEM* 4, 1947–1948, p. 18, cf. http://www.IFAO.egnet.net/bases/archives/bruyere/?id=MS_2004_0164_038 (accessed on 17.04.2021). Only the lower part of the right page is studied further in this paper.

⁴ See recently Maître, Egypte 89 (2018), including some of the main bibliographical references on the topic.

⁵ Vandier d'Abbadie, RdE 16 (1964); Vandier d'Abbadie, RdE 17 (1965); Vandier d'Abbadie, RdE 18 (1966).

⁶ See for example Kemp and Stevens, *Busy Lives at Amarna*, 2010, pp. 230–34; Greenlaw, *Representation*, 2011, pp. 23–27.

⁷ Guichard (ed.), Des animaux et des pharaons, 2014, pp. 173–77.

⁸ This paper is a revised part of my PhD in Egyptology completed under the supervision of Dr Luc Gabolde and defended on December 9th, 2017 in Paul Valéry-Montpellier 3 University. For the original and unpublished version, see Pietri, "Le char dans la pensée égyptienne", I, 2017, pp. 323–32; II, 2017, pp. 679–721.

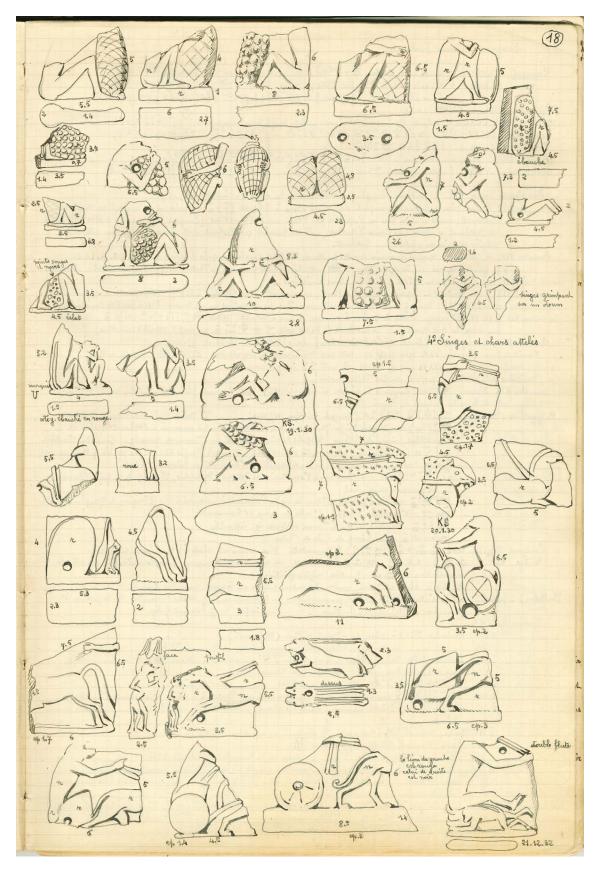


Fig. 1 Sketches by Bruyère depicting monkeys figurine (Photo by Archives Bruyère, MS_2004_0164_038, IFAO)

2. "MONKEYS DRIVING CHARIOTS" FIGURINES: THE CORPUS

The lower part of the second page mentioned is indeed dedicated to a particular iconographic motif: "monkeys driving chariots". This part of the plate comprises a total of nineteen sketched artifacts and is entitled by Bruyère "Singes et chars attelés". Some of them were drawn from several points of view, and all were captioned with colour and measurement indications. These figurines remain still unpublished, with the exception of a quick mention by Bruyère in one of his *Rapports*, where he writes that they were found in the so-called "Grand Puits" of Deir el-Medina. As with the majority of the archaeological remains discovered in the "Grand Puits", the figurines were likely thrown there as garbage during the Ptolemaic period. 11

Fortunately, Bruyère's hand and comments are precise enough to provide substantial information and allow us to make a small survey of the subcorpus, re-drawing his sketches as clear vector line drawings. However, Bruyère frequently drew only one side view of each artifact.¹²

The location of the nineteen figurines sketched by Bruyère was unknown until Spring 2021, when I was eventually able to locate a number in Deir el-Medina site storeroom M 25. These were documented, inventoried and photographed, and the new data collected were added to the previous notes by Bruyère to produce the following catalogue. Two previously unknown figurines (#20 and #21), absent from Bruyère's notebooks, were also discovered in the same storeroom, and therefore added to the corpus. For convenience, each figurine is given here with an identification number (with the format #XX). 14

⁹ R = rouge (red); N = noir (black); B = blanc (white). All dimensions given by Bruyère are in centimeters.

¹⁰ Bruyère, *Rapport*, 1953, p. 37, without any other indication. See however the particular cases of figurine #16 (or #18) and #30 in the list.

¹¹ For a recent discussion on the "Grands Puits" of Deir el-Medina and previous bibliographical references, see now Driaux, *BIFAO* 111 (2011).

¹² Side views indicated in the following catalogue are from the charioteer's point of view.

¹³ I would like to thank here Cédric Larcher, director of the Deir el-Medina mission, for permission to publish the Deir el-Medina material (re-)discovered in storeroom M 25.

¹⁴ Dimensions are all given in centimeters as follows: H(eight) x W(idth) x Th(ickness). Unfortunately, some of these were not recorded by Bruyère. Dimensions from Bruyère are given first, followed when possible by dimensions recorded in 2021 at Deir el-Medina; the latter are written in italics. In the descriptions, 'right' and 'left' refer to the charioteer's point of view.



Figs. 2a-c "Monkey driving chariot" figurine #1. Deir el-Medina, DeM_2021_M25_0047 (Photo by IFAO).

#1 [Figs. 2a-c]

Current location and inventory number:

Deir el-Medina, site storeroom M 25, DeM_2021_M_25_0047

Findspot: Deir el-Medina

Date: New Kingdom, Ramesside Period

Material: Limestone

Dimensions: 5.5 x ? x ? / 5.5 x 3.8 x 2.3

Bibliography: Unpublished

Short description: Only the left side was drawn by Bruyère. The upper part of the monkey-charioteer, the upper part of the chariot's body and the rear of the horses are preserved, on both sides. One can still note, under the rear part of the horses, the starting point of a small perforation, which is only visible on Bruyère's drawing. Bruyère did not indicate any colour remains, and indeed no colour could be observed.



Fig. 3 "Monkey driving chariot" figurine #2.

#2 [Fig. 3]

Current location and inventory number: Unknown

Findspot: Deir el-Medina

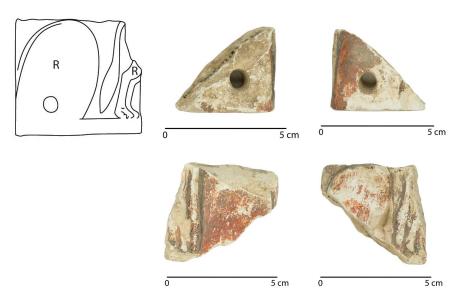
Date: New Kingdom, Ramesside Period

Material: Painted limestone

Dimensions: $3.2 \times ? \times ?$

Bibliography: Unpublished

Short description: Only the right side was drawn by Bruyère. A (reversed?) chariot's body or wheel, and what seems to be the tail of a pulling animal (a horse?) are still preserved, lying on a kind of rectangular base. Bruyère did not indicate any colour remains.



Figs. 4a-e "Monkey driving chariot" figurine #3. Deir el-Medina, DeM_2021_M25_0050+DeM_2021_M25_0051 (Photo by IFAO).

#3 [Figs. 4a-e]

Current location and inventory number:

Deir el-Medina, site storeroom M 25, DeM_2021_M25_0050+DeM_2021_ M25 0051¹⁵

Findspot: Deir el-Medina

Date: New Kingdom, Ramesside Period

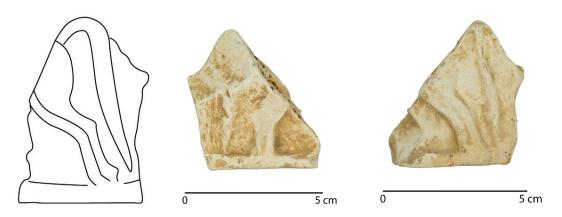
Material: Painted limestone

Dimensions: 4 x 5.3 x 2.3 / 4,8 x 5 x 2.4

Bibliography: Unpublished

Short description: Only the right side and the underside of the base were drawn by Bruyère. On both sides, the wheel and the rear part of the pulling animal – a horse? – are still preserved, lying on a kind of rectangular base. The wheel and the rear part of the pulling animals were painted in red, according to Bruyère's captions; the colour is still preserved. A small hole was pierced in the lower part of the vehicle's wheel.

¹⁵ The fragment was broken after Bruyère's drawing.



Figs. 5a-c "Monkey driving chariot" figurine #4.Deir el-MEdina, DeM_2021_M25_0046 (Photo by IFAO).

#4 [Figs. 5a-c]

Current location and inventory number:

Deir el-Medina, site storeroom M 25, DeM_2021_M25_0046

Findspot: Deir el-Medina

Date: New Kingdom, Ramesside Period

Material: Painted limestone

Dimensions: 4.5 x ? x 2 / 4.5 x 3.7 x 2

Bibliography: Unpublished

Short description: Only the left side was drawn by Bruyère. On both sides, the rear part of a running horse is still preserved, lying on a kind of rectangular base. Bruyère did not indicate any colour remains, and no colour could be observed.

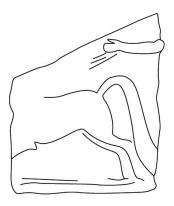


Fig. 6 "Monkey driving chariot" figurine #5.

#5 [Fig. 6]

Current location and inventory number: Unknown

Findspot: Deir el-Medina

Date: New Kingdom, Ramesside Period

Material: Painted limestone **Dimensions:** 6.5 x 7.5 x 1.7 **Bibliography:** Unpublished

Short description: Only the left side was drawn by Bruyère. The major part of a running horse and the arm of a charioteer holding reins are still preserved. Bruyère did not indicate any colour remains.

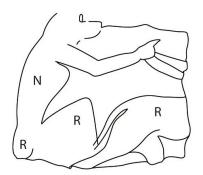


Fig. 7 "Monkey driving chariot" figurine #6.

#6 [Fig. 7]

Current location and inventory number: Unknown

Findspot: Deir el-Medina

Date: New Kingdom, Ramesside Period

Material: Painted limestone

Dimensions: 5 x 6 x ?

Bibliography: Unpublished

Short description: Only the right side was drawn by Bruyère. A monkey-charioteer holding reins, the upper part of the body of the chariot and the rear part of a lion pulling the vehicle, are still preserved. According to Bruyère's captions, the monkey's body was painted in black, while the upper part of the vehicle as well as the rear part of the lion were painted in red. A small hole was pierced in the lower part of the vehicle's body.

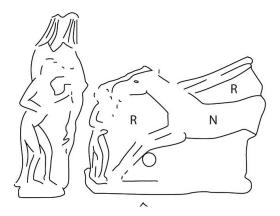


Fig. 8 "Monkey driving chariot" figurine #7.

#7 [Fig. 8]

Current location and inventory number: Unknown

Findspot: Deir el-Medina

Date: New Kingdom, Ramesside Period

Material: Painted limestone

Dimensions: $5.5 \times 3.5 \ (?)^{16} \times 2.5$

Bibliography: Unpublished

Short description: The left side and a front view were drawn by Bruyère. On the left side, the major part of a running horse and the charioteer's reins are still preserved. The front side depicts a standing monkey looking to the right. According to Bruyère's captions, the horse's body was painted in black and at least part of the background was painted in red. A small hole was pierced under the forelegs of the horse.

¹⁶ Bruyère's indications seems to be erroneous here. According with his drawing, the width should be around 6.5-7 cm, not 3.5.

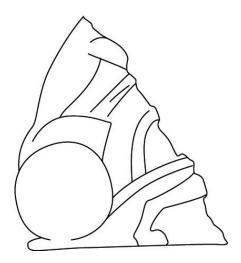


Fig. 9 "Monkey driving chariot" figurine #8.

#8 [Fig. 9]

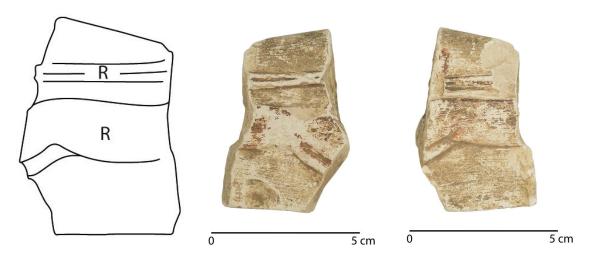
Current location and inventory number: Unknown

Findspot: Deir el-Medina

Date: New Kingdom, Ramesside Period

Material: Painted limestone **Dimensions:** 5.5 x 4.5 x 1.4 **Bibliography:** Unpublished

Short description: Only the right side was drawn by Bruyère. The rear part of the charioteer monkey standing in the chariot's body, the wheel and the pole of the vehicle, and the rear part of a lion are still preserved. Bruyère did not indicate any colour remains.



Figs. 10a-c "Monkey driving chariot" figurine #9. Deir el-Medina, DeM_2021_M25_0048 (Photo by IFAO).

#9 [Figs. 10a-c]

Current location and inventory number:

Deir el-Medina, site storeroom M 25, DeM_2021_M25_0048

Findspot: Deir el-Medina

Date: New Kingdom, Ramesside Period

Material: Painted limestone

Dimensions: 5.5 x 3 x 1.8 / 5.5 x 4 x 1.8

Bibliography: Unpublished

Short description: The right side and the underside were drawn by Bruyère. On both sides, a part of a running horse's body and reins are still preserved. According to Bruyère's captions, both reins and the horse's body were painted in red, and the background under the horse's belly was painted in white. Black and red traces can still be observed on both sides.

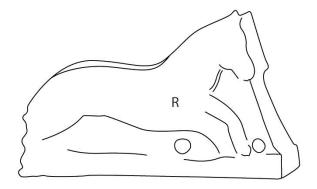


Fig. 11 "Monkey driving chariot" figurine #10.

#10 [Fig. 11]

Current location and inventory number: Unknown

Findspot: Deir el-Medina

Date: New Kingdom, Ramesside Period

Material: Painted limestone

Dimensions: 6 x 11 x ?

Bibliography: Unpublished

Short description: Only the right side was drawn by Bruyère. The major part of a running horse is preserved, and it is also possible to see the shape of a second horse, depicted on the left side. According to Bruyère's captions, the horse on the right side was painted in red. Two holes were pierced on both sides of the forelegs of the horse.

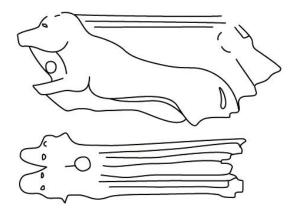


Fig. 12 "Monkey driving chariot" figurine #11.

#11 [Fig. 12]

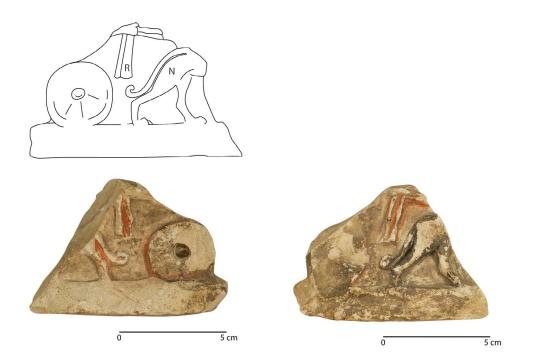
Current location and inventory number: Unknown

Findspot: Deir el-Medina

Date: New Kingdom, Ramesside Period

Material: Painted limestone **Dimensions:** 2.3 x 5.5 x 1.3 **Bibliography:** Unpublished

Short description: The right side and the top were drawn by Bruyère. On the right side, a running animal (probably a dog?) and reins are still preserved. The top view shows the two pulling animals and their associated pairs of reins. Bruyère did not indicate any colour remains. A hole was pierced just under the heads of the dogs, and the top view shows another piercing between the dogs' necks.



Figs. 13a-c "Monkey driving chariot" figurine #12. Deir el-Medina, DeM_2021_M25_0044 (Photo by IFAO).

#12 [Figs. 13a-c]

Current location and inventory number:

Deir el-Medina, site storeroom M 25, DeM_2021_M25_0044

Findspot: Deir el-Medina

Date: New Kingdom, Ramesside Period

Material: Painted limestone

Dimensions: 6 x 8.5 x 3 / 6 x 8.5 x 3

Bibliography: Unpublished

Short description: Only the right side was drawn by Bruyère. On both sides, the wheel of a vehicle, the hand of a charioteer holding reins and the rear part of the pulling lion are still preserved, lying on a sort of rectangular base. According to Bruyère's captions, the reins were painted in red and the lion's body was painted in black, and the "lion on the left (side) is red". Indeed, those colours can still be observed on the object.

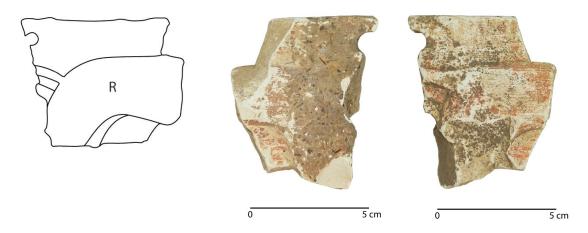


Fig. 14a-c "Monkey driving chariot" figurine #13. Deir el-Medina, DeM_2021_M25_0045 (Photo by IFAO).

#13 [Figs. 14a-c]

Current location and inventory number: DeM_2021_M25_0045

Findspot: Deir el-Medina

Date: New Kingdom, Ramesside Period

Material: Painted limestone

Dimensions: 6.5 x 5 x 1.5 / 6.7 x 5 x 2.5

Bibliography: Unpublished

Short description: Only the right side was drawn by Bruyère. On both sides, the upper rear part of two running animals is still preserved, including the starting point of the tails. According to Bruyère's captions, the animal bodies were painted in red; the colour is still present on both sides. The starting point of a small hole piercing is still visible, just above the animal tails.

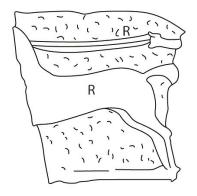


Fig. 15 "Monkey driving chariot" figurine #14.

#14 [Fig. 15]

Current location and inventory number: Unknown

Findspot: Deir el-Medina

Date: New Kingdom, Ramesside Period

Material: Painted limestone

Dimensions: $7 \times 7 \times 1.5$

Bibliography: Unpublished

Short description: Only the left side was drawn by Bruyère. The arm of a charioteer holding reins and almost the complete horse pulling the lost vehicle are preserved. According to Bruyère's captions, the reins and horse's body were painted in red. The background was decorated with some kind of spotted pattern.

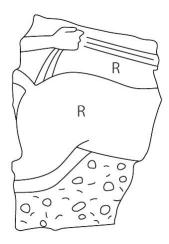


Fig. 16 "Monkey driving chariot" figurine #15.

#15 [Fig. 16]

Current location and inventory number: Unknown

Findspot: Deir el-Medina

Date: New Kingdom, Ramesside Period

Material: Painted limestone **Dimensions:** 6.5 x 3.5 x 1.7 **Bibliography:** Unpublished

Short description: Only the right side was drawn by Bruyère. The hand of a charioteer holding reins and the rear part of a running horse are still preserved. According to Bruyère's captions, the reins and the horse's body were painted in red. The background under the horse's belly was decorated with some kind of spotted pattern.

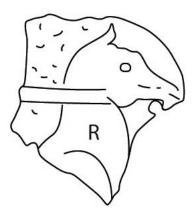


Fig. 17 "Monkey driving chariot" figurine #16.

#16 [Fig. 17]

Current location and inventory number: Unknown

Findspot: Deir el-Medina, Kom in the southern part of the village, 20.01.1930¹⁷

Date: New Kingdom, Ramesside Period

Material: Painted limestone **Dimensions:** 3.5 x 4.5 x 2 **Bibliography:** Unpublished

Short description: Only the right side was drawn by Bruyère. The head and the neck of a horse and part of the reins are still preserved. According to Bruyère's captions, the horse was painted in red. The background above the horse's head was decorated with some kind of spotted pattern. The starting point of a hole, pierced just under the horse's mouth, is still visible.

¹⁷ According to the handwritten caption by Bruyère ("KS 20.1.30"). Numbers indicate the date of the discovery. Actually, it is not clear if this caption refers to number #16 or #18 of our list. Note that this figurine was discovered in another location, not in the 'Grand Puits' like the others.

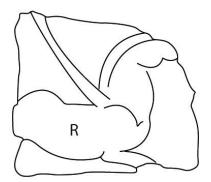


Fig. 18 "Monkey driving chariot" figurine #17.

#17 [Fig. 18]18

Current location and inventory number: Unknown

Findspot: Deir el-Medina

Date: New Kingdom, Ramesside Period

Material: Painted limestone

Dimensions: $5.5 \times 5 \times ?$

Bibliography: Unpublished

Short description: Only the right side was drawn by Bruyère. Reins and the main part of a running horse are still preserved. According to Bruyère's captions, the horse was painted in red.

¹⁸ Figurine #17 is very similar to #30, now in the Musée du Louvre, and might actually be the same figurine. However, this would mean substantial errors in the sketches by Bruyère as there are also differences between his two sketches. Moreover, the lack of indications of colour for the background on the sketch of figurine #17 and the absence of the precision of the findspot known in the case of #30, as it is written for #16 (or #18), seems to prove that #17 and #30 are two different objects.

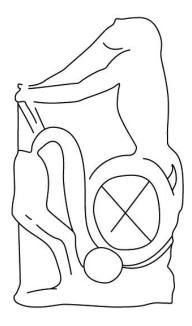


Fig. 19 "Monkey driving chariot" figurine #18.

#18 [Fig. 19]

Current location and inventory number: Unknown

Findspot: Deir el-Medina

Date: New Kingdom, Ramesside Period

Material: Painted limestone **Dimensions:** 6.5 x 3.5 x 2 **Bibliography:** Unpublished

Short description: Only the left part was drawn by Bruyère. The monkey charioteer holding reins, the wheel of the vehicle — the body is absent — and the rear part of a running horse are still preserved. Bruyère did not indicate any colour remains. A hole, pierced under the wheel of the vehicle, is still visible.

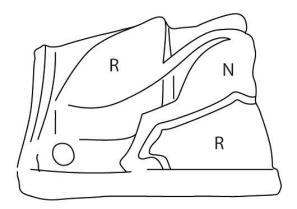


Fig. 20 "Monkey driving chariot" figurine #19.

#19 [Fig. 20]

Current location and inventory number: Unknown

Findspot: Deir el-Medina

Date: New Kingdom, Ramesside Period

Material: Painted limestone

Dimensions: 5 x 6.5 x 3 (approximately)

Bibliography: Unpublished

Short description: Only the right side was drawn by Bruyère. The chariot's body and the rear part of a lion are still preserved, lying on a kind of rectangular base. According to Bruyère's captions, the vehicle and the background under the lion were painted in red, the lion itself was painted in black. A small hole, pierced under the chariot's body, is still visible.



Figs. 21a-b "Monkey driving chariot" figurine #20. Deir el-Medina, DeM_2021_M25_0049 (Photo by IFAO).

#20 [Figs. 21a-b]

Current location and inventory number:

Deir el-Medina, site storeroom M 25, DeM_2021_M25_0049

Findspot: Deir el-Medina

Date: New Kingdom, Ramesside Period

Material: Painted limestone **Dimensions:** 4.2 x 3.4 x 2.2 **Bibliography:** Unpublished

Short description: This figurine was not drawn by Bruyère. Both sides depict a charioteer monkey driving a chariot, of whom only the body is preserved. On the left side, the rear part of a horse is also still visible. A hole was pierced in the lower part of the chariot's body. Black and red traces are still visible on both sides.



Figs. 22a-b "Monkey driving chariot" figurine #21. Deir el-Medina, DeM_2021_M25_0052 (Photo by IFAO).

#21 [Figs. 22a-b]

Current location and inventory number:

Deir el-Medina, site storeroom M 25, DeM_2021_M25_0052

Findspot: Deir el-Medina

Date: New Kingdom, Ramesside Period

Material: Limestone

Dimensions: 4.5 x 6.5 x 2 **Bibliography:** Unpublished

Short description: This figurine was not drawn by Bruyère. It is an unfinished figurine: on the left side only, preliminary lines are engraved in the stone, depicting a chariot pulled by two horses. The reins are slightly visible above the animals, and the rear part of the stone might be the depiction of the charioteer as a monkey.

Beside those twenty-one figurines from Deir el-Medina, it is possible to add nine other examples of similar objects, kept in several museum collections around the world.





Figs. 23a-b "Monkey driving chariot" figurine #22. Bruxelles, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, E. 07414 (Photo by MRAH).

#22 [Fig. 23a-b]

Current location and inventory number:

Bruxelles, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, E. 07414

Findspot: Amarna¹⁹

Date: New Kingdom, Eighteenth Dynasty, Akhenaten

Material: Painted limestone

Dimensions: 6.6. x 2 x 2 (approximately)

Bibliography: Unpublished²⁰

Short description: Only the rear part of this sculpted figurine is preserved. A group of at least three monkeys are depicted in the body of a chariot; one is driving the vehicle and holding reins, with the others stand behind him. The wheel of the vehicle and what seems to be a tiny fragment of the pulling animals are still partly preserved. The figurine ends in its lower part in a kind of rectangular base, pierced with a small hole.

¹⁹ Following information given on the MRAH online database, see https://www.carmentis.be:443/eMP/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=84471&viewType=detailView (accessed on 14.07.2020).

²⁰ See note 15 above.



Fig. 24 "Monkey driving chariot" figurine #23. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 53021 (Photo by Global Egyptian Museum/Egyptian Museum, Cairo).

#23 [Fig. 24]

Current location and inventory number:

Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 53021

Findspot: Amarna

Date: New Kingdom, Eighteenth Dynasty, Akhenaten

Material: Painted limestone and wood **Dimensions:** 6 x 10.5 (approximately)

Bibliography: Frankfort and Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten II*, 1933, pp. 34, 99, pl. 31, 4; Houlihan, *Wit and Humour*, 2001, p. 64, fig. 58; Greenlaw, *Representation*, 2011, pp. 25–26; Marshall, *Être un enfant*, 2013, p. 154, pl. LVII, 93²¹

Short description: The complete figurine is preserved. It depicts two monkeys in a chariot, pulled by two others monkeys trampling a fifth one. The scene takes place on a kind of rectangular base with two pierced small holes. Through the holes, wooden miniature axles were fitted in order to add miniature wheels in limestone, which can be used to set the figurine in motion. Monkeys were painted in green and red, both colours being used also for the details of the vehicle and the wheels.

²¹ See also the online entry in the Global Egyptian Museum: http://www.globalegyptianmuseum.org/record.aspx?id=15587 (accessed on 14.07.2020).





Figs. 25a-b "Monkey driving chariot" figurine #24. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, E.GA.4595.1943 (Photo by The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge).

#24 [Figs. 25a-b]

Current location and inventory number:

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, inv. n° E.GA.4595.1943

Findspot: Unknown **Date:** New Kingdom

Material: Painted limestone and painted Egyptian faience

Dimensions: 5.5 x 7 (approximately)

Bibliography: Brunner-Traut, ZÄS 80 (1955), pp. 23–24; Marshall, Être un enfant,

2013, p. 154, pl. LVII, 94²²

Short description: Both sides of this small limestone plate were decorated with a scene in low relief, depicting a monkey standing in chariot, holding reins to drive the vehicle pulled by horses. Only the head and the rear part of the monkey charioteer are missing. Two holes have been pierced at both ends of the figurine, in order to add "Egyptian faience" miniature wheels. One of the four original wheels is preserved, including the painted details depicting the wheel rim and spokes.²³

²² See also on the Fitzwilliam Museum of Cambridge new online collection database (beta version): https://collection.beta.fitz.ms/id/object/59047 (accessed on 12.04.2021).

²³ One can notice that seven spokes were drawn, a very uncommon number which might betray some negligence on the part of the craftsman who made the figurine.





Figs. 26a-b "Monkey driving chariot" figurine #25. Liverpool, National Museums (World Museum), inv. n° 1973.2.316 (Photo courtesy of National Museums Liverpool – World Museum)

#25 [Figs. 26a-b]

Current location and inventory number:

Liverpool, National Museums (World Museum), inv. n° 1973.2.31624

Findspot: Amarna (?)²⁵

Date: New Kingdom, Eighteenth Dynasty, Akhenaten

Material: Painted limestone

Dimensions: 8 x 7 x 1

Bibliography: Bienkowski and Southworth, Egyptian Antiquities, 1986, p. 28

Short description: The rear part of the figurine is lost. The remaining part depicts on both sides, in low relief and partly sculpted in the round, a harnessed horse with reins. The figurine was pierced twice at the front of the horses and was originally painted – some traces are still visible.

²⁴ I would like to thank Ashley Cooke, Head of Antiquities and Curator of Egyptology, National Museums Liverpool, World Museum, who kindly gave me authorization to publish the two objects of the Liverpool collection, including pictures.

²⁵ Former Henry Wellcome collection, collected before 1936, assumed to be from Amarna but without any evidence to prove it. However, the object was acquired by the Liverpool World Museum together with other artifacts from Amarna. I am indebted to Marion Servat-Fredericq, Project Assistant Curator (Antiquities) in the Liverpool World Museum, for this information. See also on this object the Liverpool National Museums online database: https://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/artifact/horse-and-chariot-figure (accessed on 14.04.2021).





Figs. 27a-b "Monkey driving chariot" figurine #26. Liverpool, National Museums (World Museum), inv. n° 56.21.852 (Photo courtesy of National Museums Liverpool – World Museum).

#26 [Fig. 27a-b]

Current location and inventory number:

Liverpool, National Museums (World Museum), inv. n° 56.21.852

Findspot: Amarna, North Suburb, House n°. T.35.10²⁶

Date: New Kingdom, Eighteenth Dynasty, Akhenaten

Material: Painted limestone **Dimensions:** 3.3 x 4.3 x 1.7

Bibliography: Pendlebury, The City of Akhenaten II, 1933, p. 99, pl. 31, 6; Bien-

kowski and Southworth, Egyptian Antiquities, 1986, p. 28

Short description: The rear part of the figurine is lost. The remaining part depicts on both sides a running monkey, with reins over its body, lying on a kind of rectangular base. The figurine mixes low relief and sculpture in the round techniques. Details such as the reins and the monkeys' faces were painted in red, and the monkeys' bodies were painted in green.

²⁶ The artifact was discovered during excavations of the Egypt Exploration Society in 1928–29. It was then purchased by the Liverpool World Museum from the collections of Norwich Castle Museum in 1956, according to the Liverpool World Museum's records. I am grateful again to Marion Servat-Fredericq for these clarifications. See also on this object the Liverpool National Museums online database: https://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/artifact/baboon-figure-2 (accessed on 14.07.2020).





Figs. 28a-b "Monkey driving chariot" figurine #27. London, British Museum, EA 21984 (Photo courtesy Trustees of The British Museum).

#27 [Figs. 28a-b]

Current location and inventory number:

London, British Museum, EA 21984²⁷

Findspot: Unknown **Date:** New Kingdom

Material: Painted limestone **Dimensions:** 5.5 x 9.4 x 2.5

Bibliography: Brunner-Traut, ZÄS 80 (1955), pl. II, fig. 5²⁸

Short description: Except for a small part of the horse's head on the left side, the figurine is complete. It depicts on both sides, mixing low relief and sculpture in the round techniques, a monkey driving a chariot pulled by horses. Colours are still well preserved: monkeys were painted in red and black, holding red reins, and the horse on the left side is red while the one on the right side is black. The background is ornamented with a black and red spotted pattern. The figurine was pierced twice at the front of the horse, once at the rear.

²⁷ I am grateful to Marcel Maree, Curator at the Department of Egypt and Sudan, British Museum, for allowing me to publish the figurine with photographs. As he kindly indicated to me, a figurine depicting a monkey riding a horse (British Museum, EA 48014), dating back to the Ptolemaic period, is an interesting late parallel to our 'monkeys driving chariots' corpus. On this figurine, see Russmann, *Eternal Egypt*, 2001, pp. 168–69, n° 79.

²⁸ See also on this object the British Museum online collection database: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA21984 (accessed on 14.07.2020).





Figs. 29a-b "Monkey driving chariot" figurine #28. London, Petrie Museum, UC 29 (Photo courtesy of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL).

#28 [Figs. 29a-b]

Current location and inventory number:

London, Petrie Museum, UC 29

Findspot: Amarna

Date: New Kingdom, Eighteenth Dynasty, Akhenaten

Material: Painted limestone

Dimensions: 8.5 x 8 x 2

Bibliography: Samson, Amarna, 1972, pp. 37–38, fig. 16; Greenlaw, Representation,

2011, p. 26, fig. 40

Short description: Only the rear part of this limestone carved miniature plate is preserved. It depicts on both sides a monkey driving a chariot pulled by horses. The rear of the figurine was pierced.



Fig. 30 "Monkey driving chariot" figurine #29. Brooklyn Museum, Gift of the Egypt Exploration Society, 36.885 (Photo by Brooklyn Museum).

#29 [Fig. 30]

Current location and inventory number:

New York, Brooklyn Museum, inv. n° 36.885

Findspot: Amarna

Date: New Kingdom, Eighteenth Dynasty, Akhenaten

Material: Limestone

Dimensions: 8.5 x 10 x 2.8

Bibliography: Pendlebury, The City of Akhenaten III, I, 1951, p. 81; Pendlebury,

The City of Akhenaten III, II, 1951, pl. 63, 3

Short description: The figurine is unfinished and roughly blocked out. Nonetheless, one can see that it depicts a monkey driving a chariot pulled by other monkeys. Black paint was used to outline the back and right side.











Figs. 31a-e "Monkey driving chariot" figurine #30.

Fig. 31a © IFAO.

Fig. 31b-c Paris, musée du Louvre, E 12969 (Photo by Musée du Louvre, dist. RMN-Grand Palais/Christian Décamps).

Fig. 31d-e © IFAO.

#30 [Figs. 31a-e]²⁹

Current location and inventory number:

Paris, musée du Louvre, E 1296930

Findspot: Deir el-Medina, P1076, "en bas du Kôm sud des 3 loges" 31

Date: New Kingdom, Ramesside Period

Material: Painted limestone

Dimensions: 5.5 x 5.5 x 1 (after Bruyère); 6.5 x 7.5 x 2.3 (after the Louvre's database)

Bibliography: Unpublished

²⁹ Figs. 31d-e, from the IFAO archives, show the figurine before its acquisition by the Musée du Louvre.

³⁰ I am thankful to Vincent Rondot, Director of the Département des Antiquités Egyptiennes du Musée du Louvre, for the permission to publish this figurine.

³¹ Archives Bruyère online, *Cahier DEM* 2, 1926, pp. 4–5, cf. https://www.IFAO.egnet.net/bases/archives/bruyere/?id=MS_2004_0147_011 (accessed on 17.04.2021). Bruyère gives a short description of the figurine: "un petit fragment calcaire avec cheval sculpté et traces de peintures ocre rouge, en bas du Kom sur des 3 loges". Note that the Louvre's database indicates a different provenance ('quartier sud-est'), see https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010016527 (accessed on 17.04.2021).

Short description: The right side of the figurine was drawn by Bruyère [Fig. 31a]. The rear part of this limestone carved plate is lost. On both sides are depicted harnessed horses with reins, in low relief. Horses were painted in red, and the background shows a black and red spotted pattern.

All the figurines date to the New Kingdom, end of the Eighteenth Dynasty or Ramesside period, based on provenances, stylistic and thematic comparison with other contemporary "monkey figurines" imitating human activities, and taking into account the kind of vehicle depicted on the figurines: the second millennium BC "biga" — light chariot pulled by two animals — which is mainly attested in Egyptian sources during the New Kingdom. Those with a known provenance were found in Amarna or Deir el-Medina, and when — rarely — a detailed discovery context is known, it can be connected with household or funerary spaces.

Most of the figurines depict a monkey, either a guenon (genus *Cercopithecus*) or more frequently a baboon (genus *Papio*), driving a vehicle pulled by two horses. In some cases, several monkeys are depicted in the chariot's body, and horses are replaced by a couple of lions, dogs, or even other monkeys. On one occasion (#7), a monkey is depicted just in front of the pulling animals, dogs in that case; he might be lifting his arms to calm the animals.

From a technical point of view, two different kinds of figurine coexist: a "complete-3D" variety, *i.e.* sculpture in the round; and "pseudo-figurines" consisting of low relief engraved on each of the two sides of the object. Both techniques were often mixed: horses' and monkeys' heads were indeed sculpted in the round in several cases, connecting the two sides of the same plate, and suggesting the interpretation of a "half-3D-figurine". These technical differences might reflect various degrees of quality, but the figurines belong to the same group and share a common function and signification.

Many examples were painted. Red, white, black, or green are the main colours employed — a very common range for New Kingdom Egypt.

Where the figurine is well enough preserved, it is possible to observe a small hole pierced through the front side and the rear side, and sometimes elsewhere in addition. All the examples of this are composed of limestone, but in one case (#24) some painted "Egyptian faience" wheels were designed to be fixed on the artifact, an important clue to understanding their function, as we will see in the next subsection.

2. CHILDREN'S TOYS OR "SATIRICAL" ENTERTAINMENT FOR ADULTS?

In a recent book about children in Ancient Egypt written by Amandine Marshall, these small figurines were mentioned and interpreted as children's toys.³² This hypothesis is mainly based on the holes pierced in the front and the back sides of most of the figurines. Moreover, one example kept in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge (#24), as already mentioned above, shows that those holes were used to fit a total of four functional wheels, in this case made in painted "Egyptian faience".³³ In a majority of cases the wheels are lost, together with the miniature axles allowing the user to set it in motion. One can sometimes observe an extra hole on the upper part of the front side, which was probably used to tie a pulling string: such a feature is for instance preserved on a "harpist monkey" figurine from Deir el-Medina.³⁴ The most complete and best preserved example is the one now in the Cairo Museum (#23), a complete 3D-figurine that seems still functional, including the wheels.

However, these toys were probably more than just childish diversions. Considering the cultural significance of the light horse-drawn chariot in the New Kingdom Egypt and Near East,³⁵ their satirical nature seems obvious, and they were likely crafted also to make adults smile. Indeed, they can be compared, thematically speaking, with some "satirical" ostraca or papyri, especially with a vignette of the so-called "erotic" Turin papyrus,³⁶ this latter possessing mainly a "satirical" character.³⁷

At least one figurine, the one from Cairo already mentioned above (#23), may have been directly inspired by contemporary royal iconography. In Amarna, the chariot scenes depicting King Akhenaten and the Great Royal Wife Nefertiti in their vehicles — sometimes even sharing a one — are very common, engraved

³² Marshall, Être un enfant, 2013, p. 154.

³³ For a good picture including the wheels, see the Fitzwilliam Museum online collection database quoted above, note 18.

³⁴ Deir el-Medina site storeroom M 25, inv. n° DeM_2021_M25_0054.

³⁵ Among many references, see now about the chariot in Ancient Egypte the general overviews in Ikram and Veldmeijer (eds.), *Chariots in Ancient Egypt*, 2018 with many bibliographical references.

³⁶ Omlin, *Der Papyrus* 55001, 1973. P. Turin Cat. 2031 = CGT 55001, see TPOP Doc ID 202.

³⁷ See recently Vernus, in Kothay (ed.), *Art and Society*, 2012 and Andreu-Lanoë (ed.), *L'art du contour*, 2013, pp. 108–17, 332, n° 186.

on the walls of the local temples or tombs.³⁸ The royal couple is followed by his daughters, the courtiers and representatives of the army. As some scholars already highlighted in previous studies, the chariot possesses a strong symbolic, ideological and religious importance during the Amarna Period.³⁹ Thus, it might be indicative that we find the first figurines of "monkeys driving chariots" in Akhenaten's capital, although future discoveries could change such a view.

As a "satirical" production dating back to the New Kingdom, the "monkeys driving chariots" figurines can be compared with other similar depictions. During the Ramesside period, the people of Deir el-Medina were used to seeing the social elites or the King himself in chariots, either in person or engraved on the walls of the nearby temples. Horses and chariots are among the most frequent themes of the Deir el-Medina figured ostraca, and as such have their own category in the related publications. Chariots are therefore figured – although rarely – in other kinds of "satirical" depictions, such as the so-called "war between cats and mice" scenes, known through ostraca and papyri. ⁴⁰

In the "satirical" part of the so-called Turin "erotical" papyrus, chariots are depicted twice. In the first scene [Fig. 32],⁴¹ mice are attacking a fortress full of cats. A strong mouse is figured brandishing a weapon above its head, leading the army of mice and imitating Pharaoh standing in his chariot. Another mouse is holding the reins and driving the vehicle, which is pulled by a couple of obviously female dogs, instead of the usual royal stallions, another funny and not so discrete contribution to the topsy-turvy world where mice are hunting cats. In a second scene [Fig. 33],⁴² a mouse charioteer is depicted driving a chariot, pulled by a couple of docile and harnessed lions very reminiscent of the monkey charioteers on several of the previously described figurines. Monkey charioteers

³⁸ See *inter alia* Krack, in Obsomer and Oosthoek (eds.), *Amosiadès*, 1992, with bibliographical references. About Nefertiti on her chariot, see Köpp, in Peust (ed.), *Miscellanea*, 2008, pp. 34–44; Köpp, *Kemet* 20 (2010), pp. 32–33; Köpp, in Huyeng and Finger (eds.), *Amarna*, 2015, pp. 102–48.

³⁹ Chappaz, *Karnak* 8 (1982-1985); Gabolde, in Bergerot (ed.), *Akhénaton*, 2005, p. 103; Laboury, *Akhénaton*, 2010, pp. 252–58. See also Pietri, *Karnak* 17 (to be published).

⁴⁰ On the "war between cats and mice" and other related animal and satirical depictions, see Brunner-Traut, ZÄS 80 (1955); Brunner-Traut, Altägyptische Tiergeschichte, 1968; Van de Walle, L'humour, 1969, pp. 16–19; Brunner-Traut, GM 25 (1977); Vycichl, BSEG 8 (1983); Trokay, in Broze and Talon (eds.), L'atelier de l'orfèvre, 1992; Flores, in Knoppers and Hirsch (eds.), Egypt, Israel, and the Ancient Mediterranean World, 2004; Babcock, BARCE 204 (2013); Morenz, Kleine Archäologie des ägyptischen Humors, 2013, pp. 163–66.

⁴¹ Andreu-Lanoë (ed.), L'art du contour, 2013, p. 103.

⁴² Andreu-Lanoë (ed.), L'art du contour, 2013, p. 115.



Fig. 32 Mice attacking a cat's fortress (Cat. 2031 = CGT 55001, Photo by Nicola Dell'Acquila and Federico Taverni/Museo Egizio) (detail).



Fig. 33 Lions pulling a chariot with a mouse-charioteer (Cat. 2031 = CGT 55001, Photo by Nicola Dell'Acquila and Federico Taverni/Museo Egizio) (detail).

and mice charioteers are likely interrelated, being both "satirical" productions mocking the social elite, including Pharaoh himself. Nonetheless, in my opinion the "monkeys driving chariots" figurines and the "war between cats and mice" depictions are a little different, as the main purpose of the first was probably to entertain children with a secondary satirical discourse, the second being far more ironic and used in the social elite production to have a laugh at its own expense.

But such a distinction should not be considered too narrowly. Thus in the "erotic" part of the Turin papyrus, there might in fact be a reference to the popular "monkeys driving chariots" figurines. In the second of the twelve vignettes **[Fig. 34]**, 43 one can find a scene depicting a man having sex *a tergo* with a naked

⁴³ Omlin, Der Papyrus 55001, 1973, p. 53.



Fig. 34 A woman having sex on a chariot (Cat. 2031 = CGT 55001, detail. Photo by Nicola Dell'Acquila and Federico Taverni/Museo Egizio).

woman on a chariot. The man holds a wine vase in his right hand while a sistrum hangs on his right arm. In his left hand, the fragmentary papyrus likely shows him holding the woman's hair. The woman is actually looking backward in his direction, leaning forward and standing on a chariot. Two female servants are tied to the vehicle's draught pole, and another lecherous and naked man raises his left arm in from of them. Above the scene close to the woman's left arm, a leafy branch is depicted, and walking over the vehicle's pole, a small monkey – likely a guenon – witnesses the scene: here is the draughtsman's "easter egg".

The small monkey can probably be identified as the tamed guenon (genus *Cercopithecus*) that were kept as pets in the houses of the social elite of the time: indeed he belongs to the woman on the chariot enjoying life. But the draughtsman was perhaps also thinking of the satirical figurines discussed in this paper, as shown by the numerous references in the vignette to the chariot and its iconographic occurrences in Egyptian art. Hence, the sexual position *a tergo* might have been chosen by the draughtsman here as a reference to the leaning forward position of the charioteer as depicted on many New Kingdom reliefs,



Fig. 35 Egyptian faïence plate depicting a man on a chariot. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. n° 17.194.2297 (Photo Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).

especially on *talatats* dating back to the Amarna Period.⁴⁴ This attitude is actually a kind of iconographic trick to simulate and emphasize the swiftness of the vehicle in motion. In addition to this, the naked servants in place of the royal stallions are again an obvious iconographic pun referring to the monumental battle scenes depicted on temple walls. The lecherous man raising his arm in their direction is reminiscent of the groom calming horses in New Kingdom scenes.⁴⁵ Moreover, the leafy branch accompanying the scene recalls the decoration painted on an Egyptian faience tablet [Fig. 35] depicting a nobleman on his chariot, enjoying his time under grape vines.⁴⁶ Finally, the scene has also been interpreted as a sexual parody of the imported warrior-goddess Astarte in her chariot,⁴⁷ a seducing hypothesis although the only surely known Egyptian

⁴⁴ *E.g.* Cooney, Amarna Reliefs, 1965, p. 52–54, n° 30. On the significance of this sexual position, see Orriols I Llonch, *TrabEg* 5 (2009).

⁴⁵ E. g. in the tomb of Amenmes (TT42), see PM I²/1, 82 (4); Davies and Davies, The tombs of Menkheperrasonb, 1933, pl. XXXVI.

⁴⁶ New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. n° 17.194.2297; see Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, II, 1959, pp. 168–69, fig. 93; Peck, Ägyptische Zeichnungen, 1979, p. 160, fig. 91; Rommelaere, *Les chevaux du Nouvel Empire*, 1991, pp. 66, 92, 162, n° 21.

⁴⁷ See Andreu-Lanoë (ed.), *L'art du contour*, 2013, p. 111, *contra* Schulmann-Antelme, Rossini, *Sacred Sexuality*, 1991, p. 155, who think it is rather an obscene allusion to the queen, or Omlin, *Der Papyrus* 55001, 1973, p. 40, who believes the woman is a prostitute. It has to be noted that other references to religion and myths are well attested in the 'erotic' part of the Turin papyrus.

depiction of Astarte in a vehicle dates to the Ptolemaic period. Actually, Astarte is already strongly related to horses during the New Kingdom, together with her sister Anat, and both goddesses might rather have been evoked as a couple through the naked yoked servants replacing horses. Thus the whole scene is playing with visual codes and representations of the chariot and horses in Egyptian art, an expected composition considering that the papyrus was produced for the amusement of the social elite, who were definitely the best suited for understanding all the references: among all that defines the elite during the New Kingdom, chariots have a prominent position.

The "monkeys driving chariots" figurines, as children's toys, are indicative of the degree of integration of the chariot, an imported technology, into the Egyptian civilization. Logically, the vehicle of the king and Pharaonic elites was used to make fun of them in a "satirical way", critiques that remain quite limited and without any danger for the ruling authority. Being a community favored by Pharaoh himself and comprising the most trained and gifted artists or craftsmen of their time, assembled to carve and paint the king's tomb in western Thebes, the population from Deir el-Medina was also a kind of social elite. The local "satirical" production, even if it did not spare Pharaoh himself, should therefore not lead to serious consequences, and reveals more a sort of hopeless and grating sense of irony rather than deeply held political criticisms of power.

For the sake of exhaustiveness, the hypothesis should be mentioned that these figurines might have been connected in some way with so-called "popular religion" and as such used for magical or worship purposes. If some of the monkeys should be identified as baboons – which seems to be indicated by their elongated snouts – a possible link with the god Thoth has to be considered. The baboon shape of Thoth appears during the Eighteenth Dynasty, at least under the reign of Amenhotep III,⁴⁹ and afterwards is well attested during the New Kingdom. However, one wonders why Thoth would be driving a chariot, being mainly known and worshipped as the scribe of gods. Thoth is actually known as "the master of horses" (*nb ssm.wt*), but only in a single Ramesside and incomplete source which

⁴⁸ Leclant, *Syria* 37 (1960), pp. 54–58, pl. IVA/B. On Astarte and horses, see recently Hoffmann, *CRIPEL* 27 (2008), pp. 50–51; Schmitt, *WdO* 43 (2013).

⁴⁹ Larcher, ZÄS 143 (2016), pp. 60-76.

is difficult to interpret.⁵⁰ A possible relationship between Thoth and horses was also suggested by Dimitri Meeks, because of Thoth's lunar nature and a well attested link between horses and the moon during the Ptolemaic period.⁵¹ But such a relationship seems to be rather a late phenomenon and in my opinion, has nothing to do with our figurines. Considering the present evidence, the hypothesis of votive figurines celebrating Thoth as a charioteer and baboon should be set aside, except perhaps in an allusive, secondary and humorous signification, thus adding another "satirical" level of meaning to this kind of children's toy.

3. CONCLUSION

The "monkeys driving chariots" subcorpus illustrates how an imported technology like the chariot, taken by the Egyptians during the Second Intermediate Period from their Asiatic neighbours, became a common artistic and humorous theme, and was not limited to its military or parade function. This also raises interesting questions about the "satirical" nature of this kind of iconography: as a production from Deir el-Medina probably made by craftsmen and artists to entertain their own children, they actually differ somewhat from the "reverse world" scenes involving mice on chariots, as depicted on ostraca and papyri. The latter ones were rather made to entertain the Egyptian social elite, laughing about itself and Pharaoh in a limited and controlled setting. Thousands of years later in eighteenth-century Europe, the German sculptor Johann Joachim Kändler (1706–75) and the French painter Jean Siméon Chardin (1699–1779) aimed at similar critiques with their famous "satirical" artworks: the former producing the *Monkey Band* from the Meissen Porcelain Manufactory [Fig. 36], 53

⁵⁰ KRI III, 10, 2-7; Habachi, ASAE 52 (1952), p. 480, pl. XX; Habachi, Tell el-Dab'a, 2001, pp. 61, 186-87, n° 52.

⁵¹ Meeks, in Gardeisen (ed.), Les équidés, 2005, p. 55.

⁵² Chariots and chariotry officers are also mentioned and mocked in several literary texts of the New Kingdom, but with different purposes and as a part of the topics developed in the "scribal literature", which aims to critique the hard life of the soldier – among other professions – and the social benefits of being a scribe; see for example Ragazzoli, ZÄS 137 (2010). The chariot might also have been used to humiliate and denigrate foreigners who were considered to be 'barbarians' and not able to use it properly, at least from an Egyptian point of view; this may at least be the case in the well-known painted scene of the tomb of Huy (TT40), depicting a Nubian princess in an ox-draught vehicle. On this interpretation, see Burmeister, *JEH* 6 (2013).

⁵³ I would like to thank here Marie-Lys Arnette for pointing out to me the *Monkey Band* and for the stimulating discussion we had on this topic in Cairo.



Fig. 36 *Monkey Band* by Johann Joachim Kändler – Art Institue, Chicago, ref. n° 1946.479 https://www.artic.edu/artists/35729/meissen-porcelain-manufactory.

the latter producing *The Monkey Painter* [Fig. 37] and *The Monkey Antiquarian* [Fig. 38].



Fig. 37 *The Monkey Painter* by Jean Siméon Chardin – Musée du Louvre, MI 1033 https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010059561.



Fig. 38 *The Monkey Antiquarian* by Jean Siméon Chardin – Musée du Louvre, INV 3206 https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010066958.

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DIGITALLY DISTINGUISHING "HANDS" THAT PAINTED HIEROGLYPHS IN TOMBS AT DEIR EL-MEDINA

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ABSTRACT

A poster produced in 2018 at the Deir el-Medina Workshop at the Museo Egizio, Turin, presented the launching of the "Hieroglyphic Hands of Deir el-Medina" project (IFAO Action Spécifique 19465).¹ The project's main aim is to create a digital, interactive resource concerning the handwriting styles of scribe/painters (sšw-kd.w) who lived at the workmen's village; a dataset which should be of interest and value to scholars, museum curators and the wider public. Through chirographic analysis of images (close-up photographs and epigraphic facsimiles), annotations and commentary, the "hands" of scribes/painters who painted hieroglyphs in burial chambers at Deir el-Medina are being characterized, and then differentiated. Distinctive palaeographic attributes (morphology, ductus and orthography) are discerned which can then be compared to hieroglyphs occurring in other contexts, including Theban tombs (non-royal and royal) and inscribed funerary artefacts produced at the village, and now in museums around the world. As an aid to explaining the different documentation approaches being adopted in this project, a text-block in the Twentieth-Dynasty tomb of Chief Workman Anhurkhawy (ii)² (TT359) serves as a case study.

¹ This project is undertaken through affiliation with the NINO and Leiden Universiteit. I express sincere thanks to the Institute Français d'Archéologie Orientale for their support and the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, Egypt for permission to conduct field work.

² Here I adopt the spelling of names and their numbering from Davies, Who's Who in Deir el-Medina, 1999.

1. ANALYSING HIEROGLYPHIC HANDWRITING

In the history of handwriting analysis (also known as chirography), it was the end of the nineteenth century that saw attempts being made to find a forensic approach to characterize and distinguish handwriting styles.³ In recent decades, the main driving force behind this search for improvements in chirographic techniques has been the requirement of the judicial system to have conclusions concerning the identity of a text's writer drawn, ideally, based on a multiplicity of detailed evidence that is visually verifiable. Under all conditions, chirographic analysis undoubtedly includes an element of subjectivity within it. To attempt to reduce subjectivity, handwriting experts in the judicial system have described the various characteristics that a "hand" can display, identified factors that can cause it to change, examined methods with which handwriting styles can be compared, and the manner in which conclusions can be expressed on the basis of the evidence available.⁴

All chirographic analyses are conducted on the premise that no two people write in exactly the same way. Even the handwriting styles of twin brothers are known to differ. Each person has a pattern of writing that is particular to themselves, a "Master Pattern" of their own. This develops and can change over time due to extrinsic and intrinsic factors such as the manner of their education, the writing instrument they are using, the writing support, spatial limitations, writing posture, the physical actions of the writer's hand, and the health, age and personality of the writer. Secondly, analysis is based on the premise that handwriting is a habitual act. The repetitious nature of writing results in the forming characters of a relatively consistent shape. However the signs produced, even within one context, will not be identical. Humans are not machines, and the letters or signs they write will vary slightly each time, which in legal contexts is a feature termed "natural variations". In investigations of "hands" that wrote

³ Saudek, The Psychology of Handwriting, 1926, pp. 10–41.

⁴ Good examples are: Harralson and Miller, Huber and Headrick's Handwriting Identification: Facts and Fundamentals, 1999; Koppenhaver, Forensic Document Examination: Principles and Practice, 2007; and Morris, Forensic Handwriting Identification: Fundamental Concepts and Principles, 2021.

⁵ Sangwan and Chauhan, *Journal of Forensic Sciences and Criminal Investigation* 8/1 (2018).

⁶ Koppenhaver, Forensic Document Examination: Principles and Practice, 2007, pp. 97–111.

⁷ Harralson and Miller, Huber and Headrick's Handwriting Identification: Facts and Fundamentals, 1999, pp. 82–83, 167–236.

⁸ Koppenhaver, Forensic Document Examination: Principles and Practice, 2007, pp. 7, 12.

hieratic these have been called "free variations". I have extended chirographic terminology as regards hieroglyphs by introducing the term "inter-hand" analysis, which describes the characterization and differences between two or more "hands"; whereas identifying variations within a single handwriting style I am calling "intra-hand" analysis. The remit of this project is to produce a dataset whereby both "inter-hand" and "intra-hand" analyses of hieroglyphs painted at Deir el-Medina can be conducted.

In recent years, interest in chirographic analysis of "hands" of scribes at Deir el-Medina has increased, especially in relation to the hieratic script. This has in part been encouraged by an increased biographical focus on individuals who lived at the settlement, learning about them through the texts they have written and how they wrote them. The first chirographic analysis of hieratic texts discerned how the morphological attributes of a single, but commonly repeated word, could be valuable, that word being the definite article p_3 ("the"). Since then, many studies have used characteristics of signs, words and sign-groups as a means of differentiating hands writing hieratic. Comparing a multiplicity of words contemporaneously has been proposed recently as a way to draw conclusions in which one can have greater confidence. 12

For texts written in hieratic, features of ductus (the manner in which the painter formed a sign) has been less favoured as a means of differentiating "hands". A notable exception is the analysis of signs painted on a Middle Kingdom papyrus where such features included the nature of the brush used; the frequency with which a brush was re-filled with ink; and the way scribal mistakes were corrected. The same study also showed how useful a statistical approach could be as a method reducing subjectivity in the analysis, observing that quantifying the degree of similarity and dissimilarity between distinctive signs helped differentiate "hands".¹³

Recently, a preliminary publication of cursive hieroglyphs painted in the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty tomb of Karakhamun (TT223) in the Theban necropolis presented manipulated photographs as a means of visually denoting attri-

⁹ Eyre, in Ruffle et al. (eds.) Glimpses of Ancient Egypt, 1979, pp. 80–91.

¹⁰ Janssen, *JEA* 73 (1987), pp. 161–67.

¹¹ For an excellent summary, see Demaree in Ägyptologische "Binsen"-Weisheiten III: Formen und Funktionen von Zeichenliste und Paläographie, pp. 267–80.

¹² McClain, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018.

¹³ Allen, The Heganakht Papyri, 2002.

butes of sign ductus and one looks forward to the publication of the complete chirographic analyses of the hieroglyphs in this tomb to ascertain evidence for more than one "hand". ¹⁴ Documentation of cursive hieroglyphs painted in burial chambers of tombs of Djehuty (TT11) as well as in Karakhamun (TT223) has revealed how particularities of morphology, correction of errors, and orthography can also indicate the presence of multiple "hands" in a funerary monument. ¹⁵

Chirographic analysis of the "monumental" hieroglyphic signs designated by Fischer as "Type 2",¹6 which are the type of hieroglyphs painted in the burial chambers at Deir el-Medina, has been rarely attempted. A noteworthy exception is Keller's study of the Twentieth-Dynasty tomb of Chief Workman Anhurkhawy (ii) (TT359).¹7 Here she differentiated two "hands" through identification of distinctive morphological attributes of some signs and the presence of "signatures" of two scribe/painters, identified as Harmin (i) and Nebnefer (ix), sons of Chief Scribe/Painter Hori (ix).¹8 By distinguishing the handwriting styles, she was able to propose locations in the two underground chambers of this tomb where each brother had worked.¹9

This project aims to build on such efforts of scholars to develop a multi-facetted characterization that will assist the chirographic analysis of hieroglyphic handwriting on the walls of funerary monuments and on funerary objects alike. The scribe-painters of Deir el-Medina painted hieroglyphs in multiple contexts: in tombs of their colleagues, in tombs of royalty (though those were also subject to the efforts of sculptors), and on funerary objects. The potential therefore lies in following the track of a particular scribe/painter through his handwriting style. However, it is a challenge to propose with confidence the identity of the painter of a text unless one is aware of the degree to which their handwriting style can potentially vary (a concern already expressed among those studying hieratic texts²⁰). It requires the gathering together of a range of data relating to a variety of different signs on which a conclusion based on multi-faceted evidence

¹⁴ Molinero Polo and Rodríguez Valls, Palaeographical Peculiarities and Scribal Handwriting, 2018, fig. 13.

¹⁵ Díaz-Iglesias Llanos, in Rosati and Guidotti (eds.), *Proceedings of the XI International Congress of Egyptologists*, 2017, fig. 8; Molinero Polo and Rodríguez Valls, *Palaeographical Peculiarities and Scribal Handwriting*, 2018, pp. 72, 93.

¹⁶ Caminos and Fischer, Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography, 1976, pp. 39–42.

¹⁷ Keller, in Davies, Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt, 2001, pp. 73–93.

¹⁸ Davies, Who's Who in Deir el-Medina, 1999, pp. 168–70.

¹⁹ Keller in Davies, Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt, 2001, pp. 83–87, figs. 8–11.

²⁰ Sweeney, JEA 84 (1988), p. 115.

may be drawn. As was observed as long ago as 1929, in the matter of handwriting characterization, "it is always the combination of particulars that identifies, and necessarily the more numerous and unusual the various elements and features the more certain the identity".²¹

When the "Hieroglyphic Hands of Deir el-Medina" project began in 2018, the benefits of new developments in software especially designed for palaeographic analysis seemed incontrovertible. Especially impressive were the facilities it offered for rapid, complex searches of quantities of different types of data (especially images) and manipulating and comparing several of them on a screen contemporaneously. Since the 2018 Deir el-Medina Workshop, the author has been made aware how improvements are still required for the digitisation of scholarly research and data publication, as had already been observed by Quirke in 2010.²² Due to problems of software updating, maintenance and support in the long-term, a new digital solution is now being sought, other than the one described in the poster for the 2018 Workshop. While consideration has been given to hard-copy publication, and certainly articles are in the process of being written with preliminary analytical results, it remains the author's conviction that, for the aims of this particular project, a digitized format is the most effective approach. The delay in the production of the online resource is regretted.

2. DEIR EL-MEDINA AS A PAINTED HIEROGLYPH RESOURCE

The percentage of the population of Deir el-Medina who possessed some level of literacy was probably higher than that of any "usual" non-elite community in New Kingdom Egypt. An estimate has been given of 40%,²³ though this presumably refers to those who had knowledge of hieratic. Material evidence for this script has been recovered from the settlement in vast quantities in the form of ostraca and papyri, with texts including such genres as letters, literary and administrative texts and prayers. Writing in hieratic, particularly concerning matters relating to community life, was clearly a well-employed skill by those who knew it.

Yet what percentage of the settlement's inhabitants were also literate in the hieroglyphic script remains debatable. As workmen who were paid to create the "Horizons of Eternity" of kings, queens and princes, all workers at Deir el-Me-

²¹ Osborn, Questioned Documents, 1929, p. 251.

²² Quirke, in Fischer et al (eds.), Kodikologie und Paläographie, 2010, p. 289.

²³ Janssen, JEA 73 (1987), pp. 161-67.

dina would have certainly come into contact with the appearance of the hiero-glyphic script to some degree. But it was perhaps only the men who held the title of *sš-kd* who would have received an education in the language. They would have been taught the individual shapes of the hundreds of signs in the script, how to use the brush to create those shapes, how to arrange signs in certain ways depending on the format of the text and the space available, and the complexities of grammar of this sacred script considered to be *mdw ntr* ("god's words").

The number of men who held the title of *sš-kd* at the site during the New Kingdom has been estimated at about sixty.²⁴ This title was often passed from father to son and through the generations.²⁵ In theory then, evidence for a large number of different hieroglyphic handwriting styles at Deir el-Medina should exist, if the texts they wrote have survived. Yet the ways in which handwriting styles between different members of the same family varied remains uncertain. Without knowing these, conclusions drawn concerning the identity of a text's painter does not have a firm foundation without a notable quantity of data available for comparative analyses.

In addition to the burial chamber at the settlement being a source of information about many thousands of painted hieroglyphs, it is noted that funerary items too can be significant. At Deir el-Medina a thriving "private" commerce existed, whereby a wide variety of funerary items including coffins, stelae, shabti-boxes and shabtis were produced. Being regarded as potent entities assisting the rebirth, regeneration and continuation of life of the deceased, these objects were of great importance to the village's inhabitants. Numerous ostraca written in hieratic have survived which record transactions between object-owner and artisan concerning the making of these items, with the production procedures being paid for including the painting of hieroglyphic texts on the item's surface. Often discovered in a well-preserved state in times past, many of these objects have found their way to museums around the world where they are now on display, constituting a fruitful source of comparative analysis for handwriting styles identified in the funerary monuments at Deir el-Medina.

The hieroglyphs painted in the settlement's necropolis were mostly of a single colour: black, more rarely, yellow. In the twenty-two burial chambers where

²⁴ Keller, *JARCE* 21 (1984), pp. 119–29; contra Bogoslovski, *ZÄS* 107 (1980), pp. 89–116, who suggested a hundred *sš-kd.w* lived at the settlement.

²⁵ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, pp. 159–77.

²⁶ Cooney, The Cost of Death, 2007.

the decorative schema is painted in the limited colour-range termed by Bruyère "monochrome", some hieroglyphs can be painted with a paler yellow centre and outlined with a darker hue of yellow or red.²⁷ The hieroglyphs of a single colour are the focus of this project.

3. DOCUMENTING HIEROGLYPHIC "HANDS"

The palaeographic series directed by Dimitri Meeks, which concerns the hieroglyphic script, ably draws attention to the appearance of hieroglyphic signs as they can be observed in different monuments throughout Egypt. Two tombs from Deir el-Medina were selected for this series: the polychrome tomb of Sennedjem (TT1)²⁸ and the "monochrome" tomb of Nakhtamun (TT335).²⁹ While an invaluable source of palaeographic information, these publications do not present data in a way whereby "hand(s)" that worked in the tomb can be characterised and differentiated.

As a starting point for documenting painted hieroglyphs towards the characterisation of different scribe/painter "hands", it was decided to base sign identification on the well-known sign-lists of Gardiner³⁰ and JSesh (currently in version 7.5.5).³¹ Nevertheless, codes from other sign-lists (Hieroglyphica³², *Manuel de Codage*, ³³ TSL34³⁴ and Unicode³⁵) are being incorporated in a concordance. Because the intention is for this to be an online interactive resource, JSesh's digitised images are considered to be of particularly value for the initial identification of signs through their morphological attributes. Admittedly, the use of an already published sign-list for visual comparative analysis does have its drawbacks. In the necropolis' tombs, examples exist of hieroglyphs whose form does not occur in JSesh sign-list (indeed in any of the known sign-lists). In these rare cases, the identification code of the sign is made on the basis of the sign in

²⁷ As for instance in TT335: Servajean, Le Tombeau de Nakhtamon (TT 335) à Deir el-Medina, 2011.

²⁸ Haring, The Tomb of Sennedjem (TT 1) in Deir el-Medina, 2006.

²⁹ Servajean, Le Tombeau de Nakhtamon (TT 335) à Deir el-Medina, 2011.

³⁰ Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar, 1957, pp. 544–48.

³¹ http://jseshdoc.qenherkhopeshef.org (accessed 26 March 2022).

³² Grimal et al., Hieroglyphica – sign list, 2000.

³³ Buurman, Inventaires des Signes Hiéroglyphiques, 1988.

³⁴ https://thotsignlist.org (accessed 26 March 2022)...

³⁵ https://unicode.org (accessed 30 March 2022).

JSesh that displays the closest morphological features. A further consideration is that the illustrations in JSesh are mostly drawn from monumental sources. Their outline therefore reflects a shape which was carved in stone rather than painted, so minor differences in shape illustration are inevitable. The JSesh images also denote individual components of a sign in outline within the overall shape, with void centres. As a result of the use of a paint brush dipped in black ink, painted hieroglyphs at Deir el-Medina mostly appear completely black. Thus, for this project where comparative analysis of images plays a significant role, it was decided to manipulate the JSesh images so that the outlines are infilled black. They are also shown oriented facing either left or right, depending on the orientation of the sign being documented.

Hieroglyphs are often highly complex shapes but in miniature. They can comprise a large number of components (or "elements"). For example, if one considers an A1 sign (the seated man), the components comprise a head, two arms, hands, a body, knees and feet. Each has the potential to vary morphologically in a variety of ways. These varying components have been categorized as follows:³⁶

- a) Those which can vary in attributes of size; shape; stance; and orientation.
- b) Those painted separately from the rest of the sign.
- c) Those positioned at an unusual location.
- d) Those omitted altogether.

For the forthcoming dataset, a series of images is being produced to highlight the components of particular signs that can display variability. Annotations accompany these images which indicate specific factors that could have affected the shape of certain signs and their components. The annotations will include descriptions of the following:

- *a)* The nature of the writing support: whether the hieroglyph was painted on a flat wall or the curved surface of a vaulted ceiling, and whether the plastered surface is well-smoothed or rough.
- b) The location of the hieroglyph: whether it was in a location that would be physically awkward for the painter (very high or very low above the chamber floor, or in a corner).

³⁶ This categorisation is based on my experiences so far in the underground chambers of TT265 and TT359. The list may be expanded when hieroglyphs in other tombs are documented.

c) The spatial format of the text-block: whether a sign shares the column width with other sign(s), and whether it is in close contact with the text-block format.

In his analysis of hieratic signs in the papyrus of Heqanakht, Allen pointed out the value of quantification as a more objective method for discerning similarities and differences between signs and for identifying those features potentially diagnostic of a specific "hand".³⁷ Because the intention is to identify (to some extent) the morphological characteristics of all well-preserved signs in a tomb, component quantification is feasible. This enables an assessment of whether a component may be consistently diagnostic of a "hand" or mere natural variation. By quantifying the times an unusual component occurs in a particular sign in its multiple examples in a monument, whether it occurs in a high percentage of cases, or whether it is rare, can provide statistical data for the analysis of the hieroglyphic "hand".

Features of ductus, the manner in which the painter used his brush to form the shape he desired, are being demonstrated through the production of epigraphic facsimiles. These are based on close-up-photographs and collation against the painted sign on the wall. When discernible visually, and when documentation close to the walls is feasible,³⁸ the facsimiles can demonstrate the following sign attributes:

- 1. The nature of individual brush strokes: their shape and size; the number of brush-strokes.
- 2. The nature of brush-stroke application: the direct over-painting of strokes as a technique of infill or increasing the intensity of ink colour; direction of stroke application; and the sequence of stroke application.
- 3. *Ink evidence*: ink intensity (whether pale, intense, or whether the brush was dipped in ink during sign creation), and whether lines left by brush fibres show the flow of application of a brush stroke.

As noted above, in hieratic the identification of similarities and dissimilarities of repeated words in a text has been found to be useful for chirographic analysis.

³⁷ Allen, The Hekanakht Papyri, 2002, pp. 79, Table 1, fn. 9.

³⁸ Due to restricted access to TT359 for documentation purposes, few epigraphic facsimiles of hieroglyphs have so far been made in this tomb.

The extent to which the same might be valid for Type 2 hieroglyphs remains uncertain. Nevertheless, because that potential exists, cropped photographs are recording the appearance of certain sign-groups (words, names, titles and phrases) which are considered likely to appear repeatedly in texts in funerary contexts at the settlement. The annotations accompanying the photographs will incorporate a translation and a transliteration using the system proposed in Buurman's *Manuel de Codage*.³⁹

4. TEXT-BLOCK G11_II_13 IN TT359: AN EXEMPLAR OF THE METHOD

When the "Hieroglyphic Hands of Deir el-Medina" project began, the Twentieth-Dynasty tomb of Chief Workman Anhurkhawy (ii) (TT359) was chosen as a pilot study to test the documentation procedures in this project. As mentioned above, among the abundant hieroglyphic texts in the two underground chambers were "signatures" which denoted the presence of at least two handwriting styles: those of brothers Nebnefer (ix) and Harmin (i), and an initial characterization of certain signs provided supporting evidence. 40 The text-block selected to demonstrate the documentary methods being used in this project is one located in the burial chamber which incorporates the "signature" of Harmin (i) [Fig. 1]. This text-block is arranged in a columnar format with eight columns, 4.2–4.5 cm wide. It accompanies a polychrome painted vignette of exquisite artistic quality picturing the Great Cat of Heliopolis (unusually shown with ears of a hare) dispatching the snake god Apophis by slicing his body with a knife, causing blood to flow from it. In the background to the snake is the sacred tree of Heliopolis. The vignette and text-block form reference Chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead.41

In this project, each text-block is identified by a code providing precise information about its location. Such information is regarded as essential, especially when assessing whether more than one scribe/painter worked in a tomb and at which locations they painted. The decorative schema in TT359 was formatted by the painters into defined blocks, separated by horizontal register lines and by a series of vertical lines between register lines. This decorative structure has aided

³⁹ Buurman, Inventaires des Signes Hiéroglyphiques, 1988.

⁴⁰ Keller in Davies, Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt, 2001, pp. 73–93,

⁴¹ For a detailed description of this vignette and its text, see Cherpion and Corteggiani, *La Tombe d'Inherkhâouy* (TT 359) à Deir el-Medina, 2010, pp. 111–14, 226–27.



Fig. 1 TT359: the Great Cat of Heliopolis vignette and text-block G11_II_13 (Photo by IFAO, nu_2004_02336).

the codification of individual signs and their text-blocks in this tomb. The code produced for the Cat of Heliopolis text-block is "G11_II_13". "G11" combines codes from Porter and Moss: "G" is the designation for the burial chamber; "11" denotes the eleventh section of the decorative schema; "II" denotes in which register the block is situated (second register from the top of the wall); and "13" indicates the number given to that particular vignette/text-block on that wall, counting from the top left and working down to the bottom right as in the tomb

⁴² Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography. I*, 1960, pp. 421–23.

report [Fig. 2a].⁴³ The annotations with this block include the information that the plastered wall surface in this area is well-smoothed, lacking the deep ridges that are evident at other locations in the tomb. It is also noted that the text was painted at the beginning of the curve of the vaulted ceiling, though not at an angle that was very strenuous for the arm. This information is also rendered in diagrammatic form [Fig. 2b].

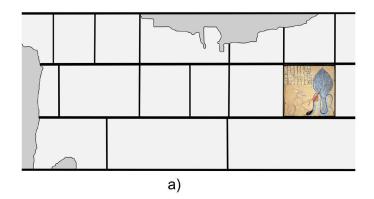
The text in G11 II 13 begins with a reference to the spell of Chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead. The spell is concluded half-way down Column 3, shifting to mentions of several individuals by their names and titles. The first is the tomb owner, Anhurkhawy (ii), followed by his wife, Wabet. The last column is taken up completely by the "signature" of Harmin (i), describing him as a "scribe/painter in the Horizon of Eternity" [Fig. 3]. The "Horizon of Eternity" (the tomb of the reigning king) referred to is probably that of Ramesses IV, whose cartouche is present in the antechamber of the tomb.44 From close observation of the text in [Fig. 1] and [Fig. 3], there is no evidence to suggest that more than one hand was involved in painting this text-block. As well as the similarity in sign morphology, the attributes of the rush brush used do not vary, there is no apparent variation in how the ink is used, nor is there variation in the general neatness of the writing style. The documentation process is therefore working on the probability that all hieroglyphs in this text-block were painted by him, not just his "signature" column. Indeed, there are few text-blocks in this tomb in which the presence of two "hands" can be observed.

Enumeration of signs in text-block G11_II_13 indicates a total of 159 hieroglyphs, having seventy-six different signs, forty-six of which occur only once. Five signs are excluded from documentation because of their damaged state. However, the A14A sign⁴⁵ (the man with an axe to his head) in Column 1 is an exception. Although it is badly damaged, this sign occurs rarely in the tomb, so any information about its morphology will be of value. Each hieroglyph documented is given its own code so as to identify exactly where it is located. The code for this A14A sign is "G11_II_13-1_11", where the "1" denotes the number of the column and the "11" denotes its number in that column. In those text-blocks where the columns are long, this level of coding helps identify exactly where a certain hieroglyph is in the text.

⁴³ Cherpion and Corteggiani, La Tombe d'Inherkhâouy (TT 359) à Deir el-Medina, 2010, Fig. 26.

⁴⁴ Cherpion and Corteggiani, La Tombe d'Inherkhâouy (TT 359) à Deir el-Medina, 2010, pp. 198–99, pl. 66.

⁴⁵ Using the code of sign-list JSesh 7.5.5.



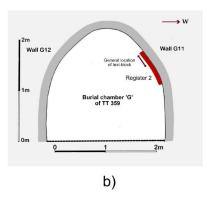


Fig. 2 Location of G11_II_13 in the burial chamber as shown by: a) decorative schematic plan of the west wall (Photo by IFAO, nu_2004_02336); b) an X-section diagram (adapted from Cherpion and Corteggiani, *La tombe d'Inherkhâouy*, figs. 7, 26).

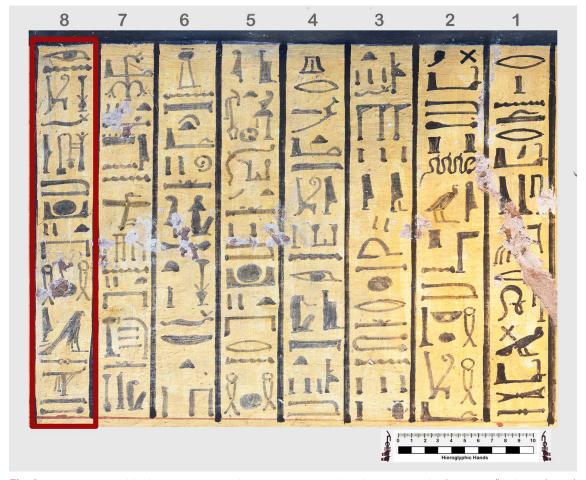


Fig. 3 G11_II_13, text-block accompanying the Great Cat of Heliopolis vignette, the "signature" column (no. 8) outlined in red (Photo by IFAO, nu_2019_03128).

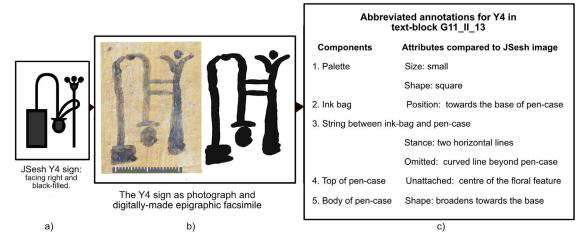


Fig. 4 Y4 sign (scribal palette) in G11_II_13-8_6: a) Y4 in JSesh 7.5.5 (adapted); b) photo and epigraphic facsimile; c) annotations accompanying images in b) (Photo by IFAO, nu_2019_03128).

All individual signs in a tomb are being photographed for this project, although not all of the thousands of photos from TT359 will be included in the online dataset. All photographs will, however, be stored in the photographic archives of the IFAO. After examination of the photos and signs in a text-block, those hieroglyphs which appear to display distinct or unusual components when compared to JSesh illustrations are identified, and a selection is made of the particularly interesting examples. The identification of these components results in them being included among the searchable keywords in the resource. Such a selection of examples of signs inevitably introduces an element of subjectivity, which hopefully lessens as the person documenting the monument gains experience of the appearance of handwriting style(s) in that context. Naturally, because G11_II_13 has a "signature" within it, all hieroglyphs in the text-block are being selected for full documentation of attributes of morphology, ductus and orthography.

Taking the Y4 sign (scribal palette) in the eighth column of this text-block (i.e. G11_II_13-8_6) as an example of this approach, one can discern visually from the close-up photo that it exhibits components which differ morphologically from the JSesh image of Y4 (which resembles a Y3 as it is oriented towards the right) [Fig. 4]. Because the outlines of painted hieroglyphic signs are not always distinct, even in close-up photos (something especially noted when documenting hieroglyphs in TT265) it was decided to create epigraphic facsimile of the sign, infilled with black, whose function is to present the sign contour clearly [Fig. 4b]. On the basis of the photo and the black facsimile, accompanying annotations are used to denote which components display features of morphological interest, and in what ways they differ from the JSesh image [Fig. 4c].

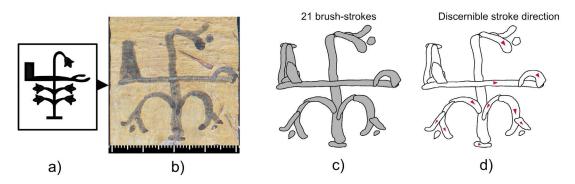


Fig. 5 Epigraphic facsimiles of the M27 sign (arm crossing a flowering sedge) (G11_II_13-7_1), showing number, size, shape and direction of brush strokes (Photo by IFAO nu_2019_03128).

Where brush strokes are discernible, an epigraphic facsimile is made from the close-up photograph and by collating the image against the sign on the wall. This facsimile denotes the number of strokes, their shape and size, and, where observable, the sequence in which the strokes were applied. An example of such a documentation process is the M27 sign (a composite sign of an arm crossing a flowering sedge), G11_II_13-7_1 in [Fig. 5]. As with the other hieroglyphs in this text-block, the brush held by Harmin (i) had not been soaked heavily in ink. The paleness of the brush strokes then makes it feasible to discern several features of ductus.

Firstly, despite it being a relatively small hieroglyph located in a column 4.2 cm wide, Harmin (i) applied twenty-one strokes to create the totality of all the sign components. The unattached nature of the central feature of all three of the flowers indicates that this was probably not due to natural variation, but may be a distinctive way in which Harmin (i) painted this sign (analysis of seven other examples of this sign in the tomb, believed also to be painted by him, suggest that this is indeed the case). From a morphological perspective it is interesting to note that only two side-shoots were painted projecting from the stem, whereas the JSesh image shows four (again, comparing this with his other seven M27 signs, this is a consistently present attribute). The arm crosses the stem further down in this hieroglyph than in the JSesh image, probably due to the omission of the two extra side-shoots, which allows the scribe to paint it thus. The visible evidence clearly suggests that the stroke for the horizontal line of the arm was made after the vertical stem of the plant. This could indicate that the components of the flowering plant were done before the arm, though this cannot be proven. Certainly, the side-shoots were painted after the vertical plant stem and the thumb stroke was made after the arm. Unfortunately, comparative analysis with ductus facsimiles of M27 signs painted by Nebnefer (ix) in TT359 is impossible as this sign does not occur in any of the text-blocks which he painted. The facsimile in [Fig. 5d]

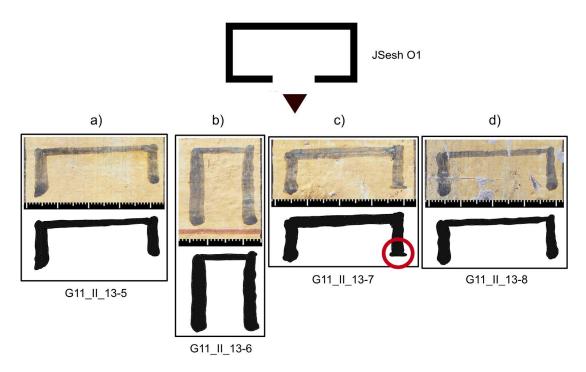


Fig. 6 Images showing intra-hand morphological variability of O1 signs (house plan) in G11_II_13 (Photos by IFAO nu_2019_03128).

indicates the direction in which Harmin (i) applied some of the brush strokes in this sign, made discernible by the pooling of ink at the end of the stroke, when the tip of the brush was raised. Although again this cannot be compared with the way Nebnefer (ix) formed this sign in TT359, there are other signs in these two chambers where such a comparative image analysis can be conducted.

It will be observed from the above comments that gathering numerical data concerning signs and their components and doing simple percentage calculations can result in a detailed characterization of a scribe/painter's "hand". It provides an opportunity for intra-hand analysis to discern whether a distinctive component may be truly characteristic of a "hand", or just natural variation. Taking the limited number of hieroglyphs in G11_II_3 from that perspective, not as a calculation of statistical value but purely as a demonstration of the method, it can be observed that text-block G11_II_13 includes four examples of sign O1 (ground-floor plan of a house) in Columns 5-8. Morphologically, these are interesting as they all display a component-feature dissimilar to the JSesh illustration: they omit the long façade walls [Fig. 6].

Yet close examination of one of these four signs reveals that a tiny horizontal mark was painted at the base of the side wall on the right hand-side (circled in red). This is what I term an "end-mark". It is a very small stroke which can appear at the top of signs, or at the end of a long line at right angles to that line, and is

a component characteristic of many hieroglyphs painted in these underground chambers. Indeed, from studying over fifty O1 signs painted by Harmin (i) in this tomb, as well as those painted by Nebnefer (ix), it appears that the vast majority of the total number of O1 signs lack long façade walls. Hut what of the tiny "end-mark" visible in Column 7 of G11_II_13? How characteristic is that of Harmin (i)'s O1 signs? If one bases one's calculations solely on this text-block, one would have to say that 25% of his O1 signs may exhibit it. Further close scrutiny of photographs of all his O1 hieroglyphs in TT359 is needed to determine whether that percentage is indeed valid, and whether it can therefore be regarded as a diagnostic attribute of Harmin (i)'s "hand".

Accompanying the close-up photos and epigraphic facsimiles of the selected signs in the forthcoming dataset will be notes highlighting factors that potentially could affect the shape and size of a painted hieroglyph. For the O1 sign in Column 5, this would be the opportunity to comment on the side walls of the house plan being so much longer than those displayed in the other three. Referring back to the photograph of the whole text-block [Fig. 3] reveals two spatial factors at work here ("Spatial Factors" being a Keyword which can be searched for in the database). Firstly, the O1 in Column 5 shares the column width with another sign (the Z1, a single vertical stroke), unlike the other three, which fill the whole space of the column by themselves. This inevitably leads to a reduction in the length of the "back wall" of the sign, but the side walls could have been shortened similarly to help the house plan retain its usual proportions, as in the JSesh sign. Instead, the side-walls have been lengthened to a considerable degree. They nearly touch a thin, faint, horizontal red line that can be seen below the O1 and Z1 signs. This line is part of the frame for the text-block which was painted prior to the addition of the hieroglyphic text. The extensions of the sidewalls of the O1 sign, and indeed the extra-long lengthening of the Z1 sign may be explained as being a consequence of the painter's "horror vacui", that he was ensuring that no space existed at the base area of the column. One can observe that half-way down the hieroglyphs in this column the hieroglyphs are starting to show unusual lengthening. It may have been at this point that Harmin (i) realized that if he was to make sure that a gap did not appear at the bottom of the column he would have to take corrective action. There may also have been

⁴⁶ In the SSEA Conference, November 2020, I described these marks as "demarcation marks". I now prefer the term "end-marks". They are to be discussed in a forthcoming publication.

⁴⁷ Precise data to be given in a forthcoming article.



Fig. 7 Columns 6 and 7 in G11_II_13, showing the lengthening of signs and the enlarging of space between hieroglyphs towards the base of Column 6.

the consideration that he didn't want to split up the signs for an important title of Anhurkhawy (ii)'s wife, "Chantress of Amun of Pakhenty" (an oracular form of Amun), which fills more than half of Column 7. The corrective action he took was not only to lengthen the shape of the hieroglyphs, but also to increase the space between signs. This enlarged spacing is particularly evident between the hieroglyphs of the title *nb.t pr* (Mistress of the House) [Fig. 7]. This suggests that although Harmin (i) was aware of what he wanted to write in this text-block, he had not made an exact *Vorlage* for himself to copy out. Thus, there was room for miscalculation. Such thoughts will be added in the dataset's Commentary section.

5. FINAL COMMENTS

Through an online resource with the facility of contemporaneous comparative analysis and rapid search of annotations and commentary, multi-facetted evidence will be provided to support conclusions about individual <code>ssw-kd.w</code> at Deir el-Medina and their handwriting style. This resource is intended to be a "live" dataset. Hieroglyphic data will be added one tomb at a time, firstly from TT359, then from TT265. As access to other tombs becomes available, their hieroglyphic data too will be entered. With the IFAO's permission, their photographic archive of other tombs at Deir el-Medina will also be accessed as a dataset resource. Being considered in addition is the possibility of including data about hieroglyphs painted on funerary items produced at Deir el-Medina, but now in museums.

One thing above all that this project highlights is the need for close-up photography in the documentation of funerary monuments of pharaonic Egypt, to provide clear and precise details of the appearance of hieroglyphs on their walls. Often it is with the study of minutiae of their painted form that insights about the individual who formed them can be gained. They can reveal aspects about his education, his patterns of work, even his personality. In addition, the the minutiae of painted hieroglyphs are painted can offer insights into the relationship between the patron, the tomb owner, and the scribe/painter. Such a case is the polychrome hieroglyph of a man holding up a bouquet of flowers in the Eighteenth-Dynasty tomb of the Bearer of the Floral Offerings of Amun, Nakht (TT161), at Dra Abu el-Naga. This hieroglyph seems to have been created specifically for the tomb of this man.⁴⁸ Perhaps the tomb-owner asked for such a hieroglyph to be created for him; but more likely perhaps it was an innovation by the scribe-painter (currently unknown), who felt it acceptable that a uniquely-shaped sign could be added fleetingly to the repertoire of sacred mdw ntr ("god's words") for the personal benefit of Nakht's afterlife. The painting of hieroglyphs in this tomb was not just a task for which the painter would duly receive payment; it was an innovative and creative activity thriving thanks to a positive relationship between the painter and the tomb-owner.

⁴⁸ Laboury, in Andreu-Lanoë (ed.), L'Art du contour : le dessin dans l'Égypte ancienne, 2013, pp. 38-39, Fig. 1.

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ONLINE RESOURCES

http://jseshdoc.qenherkhopeshef.org https://thotsignlist.org

TT8 PROJECT: AN INTRODUCTION

Enrico Ferraris (Museo Egizio)

ABSTRACT

On February 15th, 1906, in the north necropolis of Deir el-Medina, the Italian archaeological mission, led by the director of the Museo Egizio Ernesto Schiaparelli, discovered the shaft of TT8 which had been sealed by a landslide. The shaft led down to the intact burial assemblage of two upper-class individuals, the "director of works" Kha and his wife Merit.

Twenty years later, in 1927, Schiaparelli published the official report about his discovery with a short description of the hundreds of objects found in the tomb. Although the grave goods from TT8 are still regarded nowadays as the richest and most complete non-royal burial assemblage ever found in Egypt, offering a wealth of well-dated parallels for objects from other contexts, a comprehensive and cross-disciplinary study still remains a desideratum.

The Museo Egizio recently started an extensive plan of archaeometric analysis as part of a research program, entitled "TT8 Project" and developed in collaboration with specialists from several disciplines and institutions. The aim of the project is to publish a full study of TT8 that is able to meet the scientific standards of the discipline and make all the data available to the scientific community, in time for the bicentennial of the Museo Egizio in 2024.

On February 15th, 1906, in a valley next to the village of Deir el–Medina, after a month of hard work involving more than 250 workers removing vast deposits of debris [Fig. 1], the Italian archaeological mission (M.A.I.), directed by Ernesto Schiaparelli, discovered the shaft of an underground tomb [Fig. 2] that had been covered by a landslide. This shaft led down to a passage [Figs. 3 and 4] at the end of which there was a sturdy wooden door. After removing it, the diggers found themselves in a chamber which contained the intact grave goods of two high-ranking individuals, the "director of works" Kha and his wife Merit¹ [Figs. 5, 6 and 7]. Its unusual architectural feature was that the underground part of the tomb was separate from the chapel [Figs. 8, 9], already explored by Schiaparelli the year before [Figs. 10, 11 and 12], and had thus eluded tomb robbers.

Such a find can be considered an exceptional event, especially in Egypt where cemeteries have been systematically plundered for thousands of years. Although it was the most abundant and most complete non-royal burial assemblage ever found,² Schiaparelli was granted permission to bring it to Turin,³ leaving only a few items in Cairo.⁴ Once in Turin the objects of the assemblage received the inventory numbers still used nowadays (Suppl. 8209–8649).⁵

Until the publication of the "*Relazione*" in 1927, the news about the find of the intact tomb of Kha and Merit passed almost in silence. In the same year of the discovery, Schiaparelli reported on the tomb of Kha in two official communications to the Italian Ministry of Public Education. The first announcement was a synthetic description of the intact grave goods (February 20th, 1906). Subsequently, he included a short mention about TT8 in the general report of the archaeological activities carried out that same year (October 9th, 1906). Almost fifteen years later, in 1920, Schiaparelli published in an Italian art magazine a

¹ Kha held the titles of hry, hry hry-'s, hry m s.t-'s.t, imy-r' ks.(w)t m s.t-'s.t, imy-r' ks.(w)t pr-'s 'nd sš n(y)-sw.t. His career spanned the reigns of at least three pharaohs: Amenhotep II (1428–1397 BCE), Tuthmosis IV (1397–1388 BCE) and Amenhotep III (1388–1351 BCE). His wife, Meryt, bore two sons (Amenemopet and Nakhteftaneb) and a daughter (Meryt), whose names and effigies are preserved in Kha's funerary chapel and on some of the grave goods.

² Smith, MDAIK 48 (1992).

³ Jarsaillon, *RiME* 1 (2017), p. 15.

⁴ A bronze lamp, nineteen vases, some loaves of bread, and three tiles (JdE 38642–38647).

⁵ For a complete list of the objects, see: Ferraris, *La Tomba di Kha*, 2018, pp. 145–50.

⁶ Schiaparelli, *Relazione*, 1927; another short report by the anthropologist of the M.A.I., Giovanni Marro, was released the following year: Marro, *La tomba intatta dell'architetto Cha*, 1928.

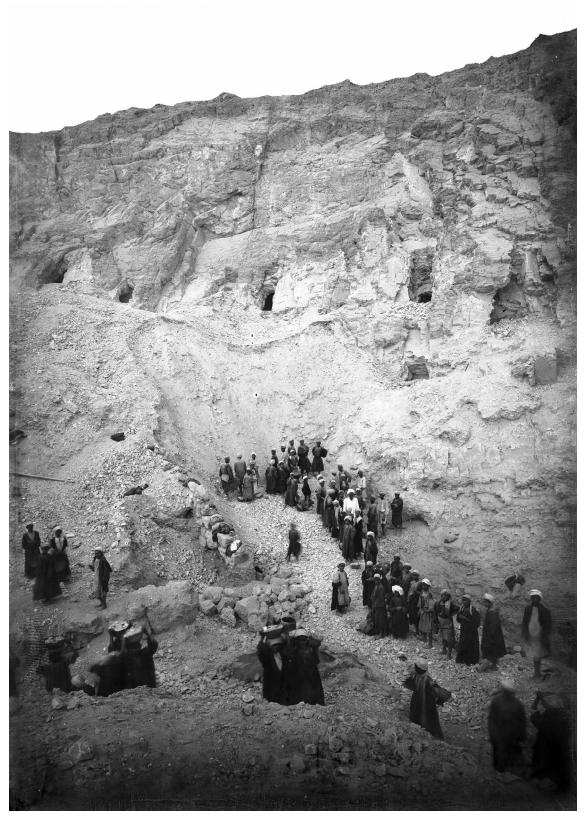


Fig. 1 Deir el-Medina: workers removing debris on the northern side of the valley, 1906 (Archivio Museo Egizio, C. 1348).

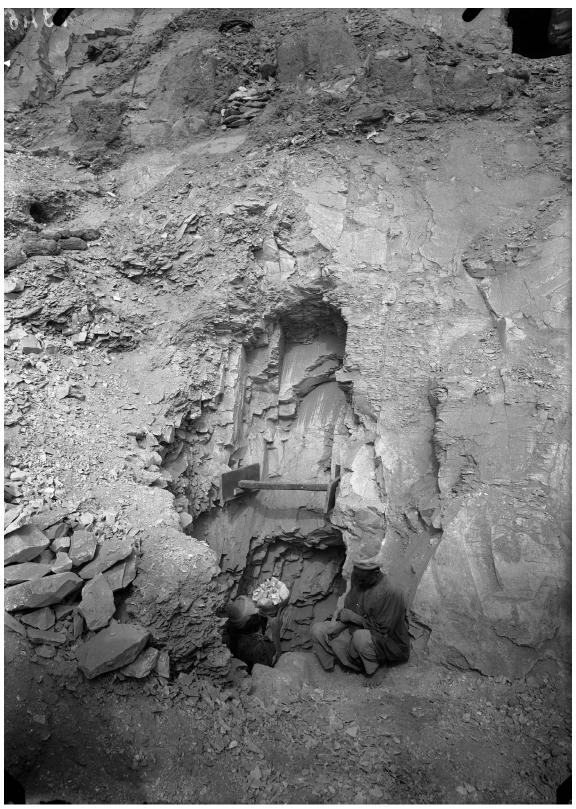


Fig. 2 Deir el-Medina: entrance to the tomb of Kha (TT8), 1906 (Archivio Museo Egizio, C. 1346).

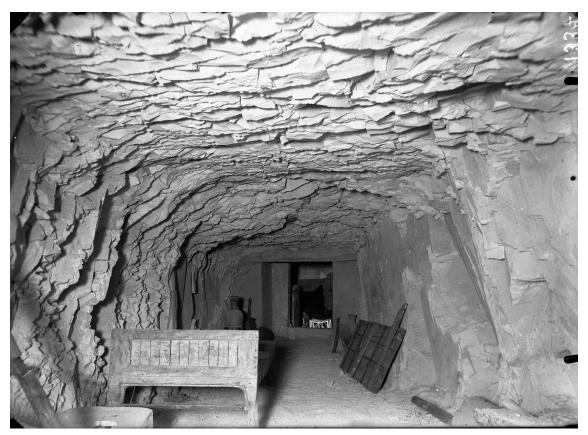


Fig. 3 Tomb of Kha (TT8): the corridor leading to the funerary chamber, 1906 (Archivio Museo Egizio, C. 1337).



Fig. 4 Tomb of Kha (TT8): two baskets and the wooden lamp stand found in the corridor leading to the funerary chamber, 1906 (Archivio Museo Egizio, C. 1340).

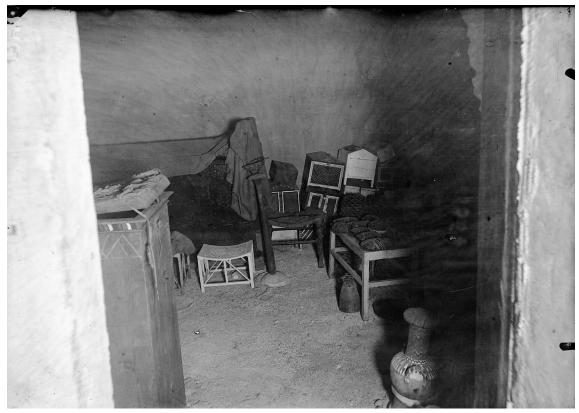


Fig. 5 Tomb of Kha (TT8): view of the burial chamber, 1906 (Archivio Museo Egizio, C. 1341).



Fig. 6 Tomb of Kha (TT8): view of the burial chamber, 1906 (Archivio Museo Egizio, C. 2047).

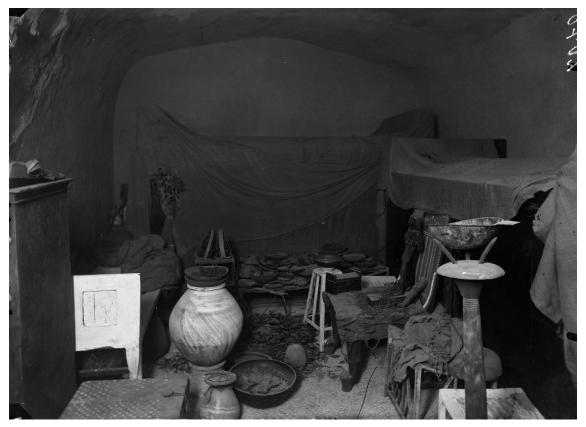


Fig. 7 Tomb of Kha (TT8): view of the burial chamber, 1906 (Archivio Museo Egizio, C. 2070).

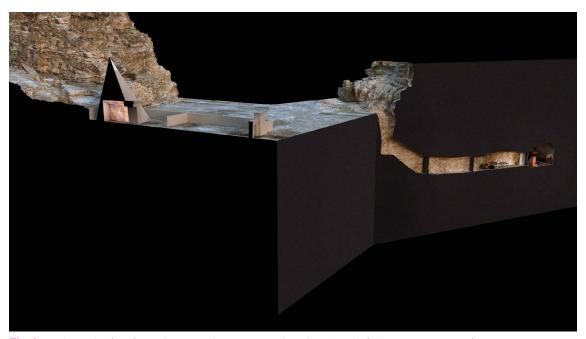


Fig. 8 Tomb of Kha (TT8): rendering of the funerary chapel and tomb (Photo Museo Egizio).

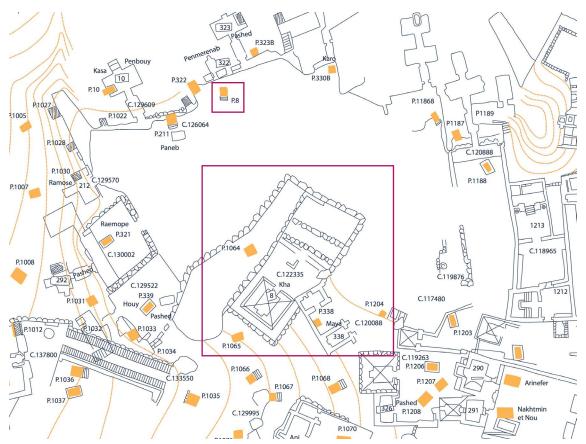


Fig. 9 Deir el-Medina, western necropolis, detail of TT8 (courtesy of IFAO).



Fig. 10 Deir el-Medina: view of the funerary chapel of Kha, 1906 (Archivio Museo Egizio, C. 2053).

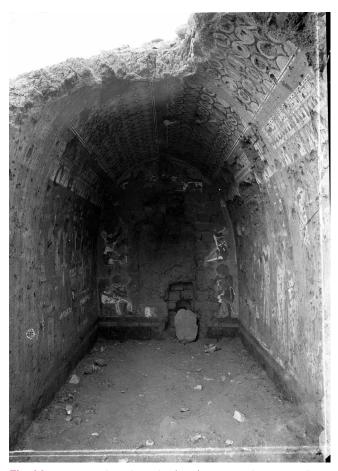


Fig. 11 Funerary Chapel of Kha (TT8): view of the rear wall, 1906 (Archivio Museo Egizio, C. 1976).



Fig. 12 View of the decorated ceiling, 1906 (Archivio Museo Egizio, C.1977).

short account of the finding of TT8 with the description of a few objects.7

Despite Schiaparelli's publishing reticence, in March 1906, just one month after the opening of the tomb, S. Clarke had already released a well-informed report on the Italian discovery to the Society of Antiquaries in London.⁸ A few years later, in 1911, a second narrative was published by A. Weigall, who witnessed in person the opening of the tomb of Kha and Merit as Chief Inspector of Antiquities for Upper Egypt.⁹

Finally, in 1927, Schiaparelli published the final report on the discovery of TT8 with a corpus – quite extensive for that time – of more than 150 black and white pictures and a summary description of most of the objects and their locations in the tomb.¹⁰

Now, ninety years after its discovery, there have been a few studies focused on the mummies, ¹¹ on individual objects, ¹² on classes of objects ¹³ and general overviews, ¹⁴ however TT8 (funerary chapel, tomb, and grave goods) still lacks a comprehensive research program and publication embracing archaeological, historical, cultural and conservative perspectives.

Due to the relevance of TT8 for the discipline and for the scientific history of the Museo Egizio, a plan for archaeometric analysis has recently commenced as part of a research program entitled "TT8 Project". This project is being developed

⁷ Torino, Archivio di Stato, MAE, 2° vers., m1 n10, Prot. 3851 (20 Febbraio 1906); Torino, Archivio di Stato, MAE, 2° vers., m1 n10, Prot. 3777 (9 Ottobre 1906); Schiaparelli, *Rassegna d'arte* (Gennaio 1920). Transcription of the three texts is available in: Ferraris, *La tomba di Kha*, 2018, pp. 152–53 and pp. 156–58.

⁸ Clarke, PSAL 21 (1907).

⁹ Weigall, The Treasury of Ancient Egypt, 1911, pp. 177–82.

¹⁰ Hall, JEA 14 (1928).

¹¹ Curto and Mancini, *JEA* 54 (1968); Curto *et al.*, *Oriens Antiquus* 19 (1980); Delorenzi and Grilletto, *Le Mummie del Museo Egizio*, 1989, n. 13015–16, pp. 32–5, tav. XV–XVI; Fiore Marochetti *et al.*, in Rabino Massa (ed.), *V World Congress on Mummy Studies*, 2005; Martina *et al.*, in Rabino Massa (ed.), *V World Congress on Mummy Studies*, 2005; Cesarani *et al.*, *RadioGraphics* 29/4 (2009); Bianucci *et al.*, *PLoS ONE* 10/7 (2015).

¹² Carpignano and Rabino Massa, *Oriens Antiquus* 20 (1981); Einaudi, in Moiso (ed.), *Ernesto Schiaparelli e la tomba di Kha*, 2008; Lucarelli, in Beppe Moiso (ed.), *Ernesto Schiaparelli e la tomba di Kha*, 2008; Buckley and Fletcher, *Internet Archaeology* 42 (2016); Nishimoto, in Rosati and Guidotti (eds.), *Proceedings of the Eleventh International Congress of Egyptologists*, 2017.

¹³ Mattirolo, Atti dell'Accademia delle Scienze di Torino 61 (1925–1926); Nisbet, L'Italia Forestale e Montana 37/2 (1982); Bisset et al., Ägypten und Levante 6 (1998); Adriano, in Gratien (ed.), Le sceau et l'administration dans la Vallée du Nil, 2001; Russo, Kha (TT8) and His Colleagues, 2012; Trapani, in Kóthay (ed.), Art and Society, 2012; Caramello, in Mengozzi and Tosco (eds.), Sounds and Words Though the Ages, 2013; Arnette et al., in Mouton and Patrier (eds.), Life, Death and Coming of Age in Antiquity, 2014, pp. 336–90.

¹⁴ Meskell, World Archaeology 29/3 (1998); Tosi, Aegyptus 79, no. 1/2 (1999); Moiso, Ernesto Schiaparelli e la tomba di Kha, 2008; Vassilika, The Tomb of Kha the Architect, 2010; Trapani, in Kousoulis and Lazaridis (eds.), Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Egyptologists, 2015.



Fig. 13 Book of the Dead of Merit, BNF inv.53.2 (= Luynes 826).

in collaboration with international scholars and institutions, and aims to publish a full study of TT8 for the bicentennial of the Museo Egizio collection in 2024.

The range of scientific activities embodied in "TT8 Project" summarizes the main research interests at the Museo Egizio in recent years, that is: (1) investigating the ancient and modern stories of objects, (2) promoting research and publishing the collection, and (3) preserving the collection.

In general, museum curators are interested in the entire biography of the objects they exhibit, starting from the very first production, in antiquity, to the modern discovery that brought them to a new contextualization in the museum. This holistic approach should equally be applied to an entire tomb such as TT8, as the historical meaning of the tomb cannot be confined to the grave goods alone intended as an isolated system.

Examples of this kind of research opportunity are the Book of the Dead papyrus of of Kha (Suppl. 08316/03 = Suppl. 8438)¹⁵, found in the tomb in 1906, and another partially preserved Book of the Dead (Papyrus inv.53.2 = Luynes.826, inv. 116) with the name of Kha and Merit [Fig. 13]. The Duc of Luynes, Honoré Théodoric d'Albert, donated the papyrus as part of the "Collection Luynes" to the Bibliothèque nationale de France in 1862, around forty years before Schiaparelli discovered the intact tomb of Kha. The ownership of the papyrus was attributed for the first time to Merit by Philippe de Horrack, Twho was entrusted to write the entries relating to the only three papyri inventoried in Luynes' Collection. Finally, in 1886 the papyrus was published with the *siglum* "Pj" by É.

¹⁵ TPOP DocID 439 (https://papyri.museoegizio.it/d/439); Töpfer, *Il Libro dei Morti di Kha*, 2019.

¹⁶ BnF, "Acte provisoire d'acceptation de la donation" (1862), Ms. 117, p. 64 (https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53104342j/f72.item).

¹⁷ BnF, "Registres produits pour la gestion des collections conservées au Département des monnaies, médailles et antiques" (1867), Ms. 116 bis–(2), n. 826 (https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53124325p/f555.item); Horrack (de), in Philippe Virey and Gaston Maspero (eds.), *Œuvres diverses*, 1907, p. 57 (https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k55542h/f156.image).

¹⁸ Besides the already mentioned Book of the Dead of Merit there were two other papyrus fragments (inv. 53.1= Luynes 824 e Luynes 825, https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53124325p/f551.item) later identified,

Naville, who erroneously dated the papyrus to the Nineteenth Dynasty. 19

The official papers documenting the "Luynes donation" offer no clues about the original provenance of the papyrus, nor how the Duc de Luynes acquired it. Furthermore, both the papyri still lack an edition with translation and commentary on the text's composition, together with a study of the scribal practice of both manuscripts, as well as non–destructive analyses of the supports and pigments. Due to this fact, it is crucial to investigate and report on the still unknown circumstances of the arrival of the papyrus in Luynes' collection and to publish a full study of both the papyri.

A second significant example is the archaeological context of TT8 itself. When Schiaparelli began his first season of excavations in Egypt in 1903, the link connecting funerary stelae and statues from the Drovetti collection to Deir el–Medina tombs had been already highlighted.²⁰ In particular, the funerary stela of Kha (Cat. 1618, **Fig. 14**)²¹ could easily be related, through prosopographic data, to his funerary chapel,²² the texts and decoration of which had been first recorded in the 19th century by E. Prisse d'Avenne,²³ R. Lepsius²⁴ and other members of the Prussian Expedition such as J. Wild²⁵ [**Figs. 15, 16**] and H. Abeken.²⁶

Finally, in 1923, a further element was included in the study of the monument, when B. Bruyère found the pyramidion of Kha (Louvre E 13988) west of the court-yard of TT290, near to the funerary chapel to which it initially belonged.²⁷

Since the study of J. Vandier d'Abbadie, ²⁸ in 1939, the funerary chapel of Kha and Merit had been restored and thoroughly documented by the IFAO. We hope

together with a third fragment in the Louvre collection (E 17400), as parts of the same funerary papyrus dated to the Twenty-first Dynasty: Ledrain, *RecTrav* 1 (1870); Gasse, *RdE* 34 (1983).

¹⁹ Naville, Das aegyptische Todtenbuch, 1886, pp. 105–06 (Pj).

²⁰ Maspero, *RecTrav* 2 (1880), p. 159.

²¹ Orcurti, *Catalogo illustrato*, II, 1852, p. 32, n. 40; Lieblein, *Dictionnaire*, 1871, n. 805; Fabretti *et al.*, *Regio Museo di Torino*, I, 1882, p. 172, n. 1618; Maspero, *RecTrav* 4 (1883), p. 143, n. 13; Tosi and Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi*, 1972, p. 38, n. 50007.

²² PM I²/1, p. 16–18.

²³ Prisse D'Avennes, Monuments égyptiens, 1847, pl. XLIV.

²⁴ L.D. III, p. 289, n. 96.

²⁵ University of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Department of Special Collections and Western Manuscripts, Weston Library, Wild MSS I, Vol. C, pp. 11–12 and MSS II, Vol. A, pp. 151–55.

²⁶ Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung Berlin, notebook of H. Abeken, "Theben, Karnak 30. Okt. – 7. Dez. 1844", pp. 385–88.

²⁷ Bruyère, *Rapport* 1922–1923 (1924); Rammant Peeters, *Les pyramidions égyptiens*, 1983, n. 61, pp. 66–67.

²⁸ Vandier d'Abbadie, Deux tombes de Deir El-Médineh, 1939.

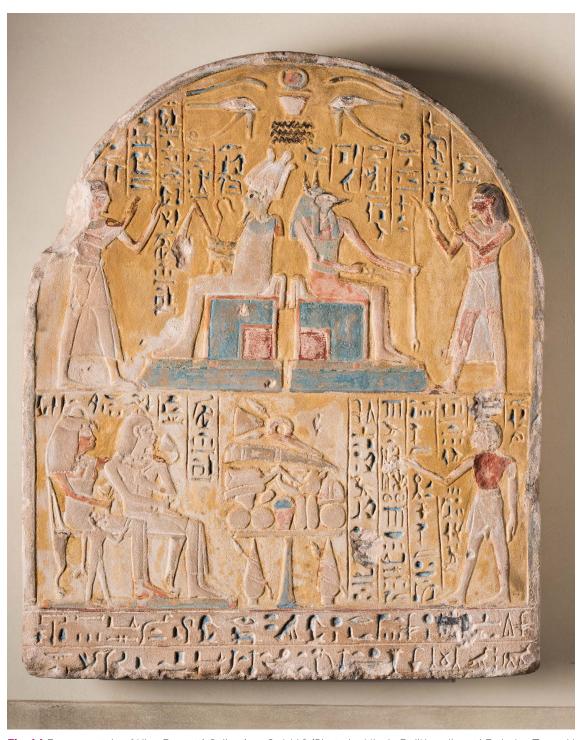
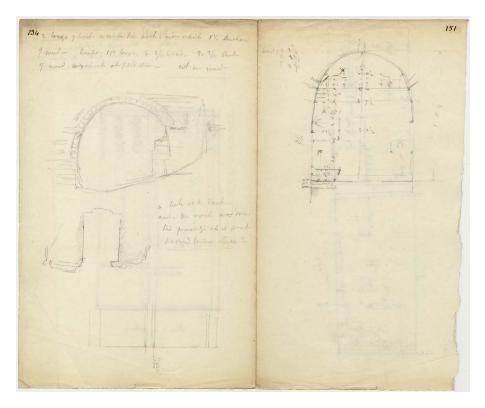


Fig. 14 Funerary stela of Kha, Drovetti Collection, C. 1618 (Photo by Nicola Dell'Acquila and Federico Taverni/ Museo Egizio).



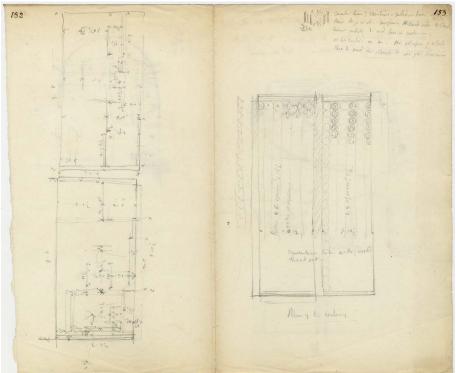


Fig. 15 J. Wild, sketch of the funerary chapel of Kha (MSS II, Vol. A, pp. 151–54), 1842–44 (Photo by Griffith Institute).





Fig. 16 J. Wild, detail of the internal decoration of the funerary chapel of Kha (WILD MSS. I, Vol. C, pp. 11–12), 1842-44 (Photo by Griffith Institute).

the "TT8 Project" will be able to promote a more than desirable cooperation between scientific institutions, such as the Museo Egizio and the IFAO, which are already linked by a shared history of research on Deir el-Medina.

Another concern of museum curators is the conservation of the collection. In this case Egyptological interests could benefit from the diagnostic investigations that precede the restoration process. The latter is increasingly becoming an opportunity to investigate the nature, origin and alterations of the materials the objects are made of, as well as an occasion to shed new light on the production techniques and the conservation history of an ancient artifact.

Archaeometric studies on textiles, pottery, metal and wooden objects from the tomb of Kha have been underway since 2016, focusing primarily on the following questions: "what are the objects made of?", "how are the objects realized and decorated?", "what is the object's state of conservation?".

Among the classes of materials represented in the tomb of Kha, I avoid presenting the ongoing research on textiles and pottery, since they have already been discussed in the respective contributions of V. Turina and M. Borla, and F. Facchetti in this volume. I will only add here a few updates on the study of the wooden objects.

The xylologist V.A. Amoros is currently carrying out a reassessment of the botanical study of O. Mattirolo²⁹ regarding the woods, flowers and plant species documented in the grave goods of Kha and Merit. Moreover, the research started in 2006 by N. Nishimoto on the carpentry of the wooden boxes of Kha and Merit will continue.

Concerning the decoration, since 2016 the LANDIS laboratory of the INFN–LNS (Istituto Nazionale di Fisica Nucleare – Laboratori Nazionali del Sud), directed by the physicist P. Romano, is undertaking non-invasive and non-destructive techniques called *macro scan X-Ray Fluorescence imaging* (MA–XRF) to map the elemental distribution on the pictorial layers of painted boxes from the tomb of Kha (Suppl. 8212, 8213, 8440, 8613). The penetrating power of the X-rays allows the thickness of the paintings to be represented through integrated images giving information both on the visible pictorial layer and on those underlying layers right down to the preparation of the wooden support. In addition to revealing the general elemental composition of the pigments down to the

²⁹ Mattirolo, Atti dell'Accademia delle Scienze di Torino 61 (1926).

support preparation, the first preliminary results from one painted box (Suppl. 8212, **Fig. 17**) have shown a peculiar use on the same decoration of at least two different black pigments. The first one is carbon black, the second is a manganese-based black the artisan apparently used to finish the work with outlines, details (tiny lines, dots) and hieroglyphs **[Fig. 18]**.

After these promising tests, the Museo Egizio, the INFN–NLS, and the Centro per il Restauro della Venaria Reale teamed up in 2017 to study the colours decorating the objects from the tomb of Kha and Merit with a combination of imaging techniques and experimental tests, performed in three steps: (1) imaging campaign (IR 950 nm, UV 365 nm) to get a general overview of the primary material differences on every painted wooden object; (2) XRF analysis to characterize all the pigments, particularly a manganese-based black, to offer a useful hint for a new investigation with MA-XRF; (3) a practical experimental study to replicate specimens of manganese-based black, smoke black, carbon black and bone black pigments with different binders and evaluate the differences of the four materials in terms of performance.

Finally, an MoU has been recently signed with the "Paleoproteomics" group located at the Natural History Museum of Denmark (NMH) to identify proteins in paint binders and their biological origins through mass spectrometry based investigation.



Fig. 17 Painted box from the tomb of Kha, S. 8212 (Photo by Nicola Dell'Acquila and Federico Taverni/Museo Egizio).

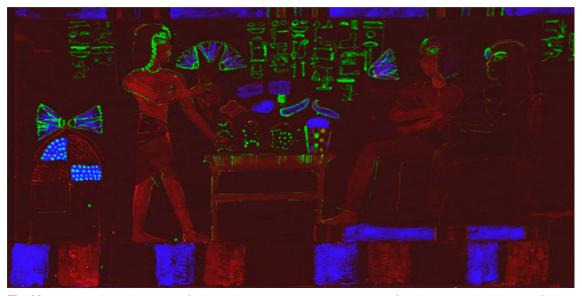


Fig. 18 MA-XRF false colour image (red/iron, blue/copper, green/manganese) of the painted box S. 8212 (Photo Museo Egizio).

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THE POTTERY OF KHA¹

Federica Facchetti (Museo Egizio)

ABSTRACT

The discovery of Kha and Merit's intact tomb in Deir el-Medina is still, after over one hundred years, one of the most important discoveries in Egyptian archaeology. The opportunity to study pottery from an untouched grave assemblage has great value above and beyond its usefulness for dating: we can also obtain a large amount of information regarding the techniques used to produce these vases, their functions and their funerary uses. Thanks to archival documents and photographic glass, it is possible in some cases to reconstruct their original locations in the tomb, and thus to understand their relationships to other objects. Moreover, Kha's containers preserve intact not only painted decoration, pot marks, stoppers and lids (in fragile materials such as linen), but also the contents of vessels and unusual decorative techniques such as the covering of part the body with linen cloths or papyrus. The in-progress study, which is part of a bigger project on Kha and Merit's tomb coordinated by Enrico Ferraris, makes it possible to draw some important conclusions about the pottery corpora coming from Theban funerary contexts of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

¹ I would like to thank Christian Greco for the opportunity to study the pottery of Kha, Alice Salvador for her drawings and the exchange of views, Susanne Töpfer for the reading of the dockets.

In 1906, north of the village of Deir el-Medina, Ernesto Schiaparelli discovered the still intact tomb of the Overseer of Works Kha and his wife Merit, who lived in Thebes between 1400 and 1350 BCE.² Of the corpus of pottery found in the tomb, almost all of it was brought to Turin, with the exception of nineteen ceramic vases that are currently housed at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. In total seventy-three pottery items were found among Kha's grave goods. In the Museo Egizio there are fifty-four vessels, comprising four stands, two bottles, four jars, sixteen amphorae, fifteen bowls, two cups, five jugs, two miniature vases, two pilgrim flasks and a fragment of a large vase. The pots are all made of Nile clay except one and many of them have a white slip. Twenty-nine vessels of both open and closed form carry some kind of visible content or can be supposed to carry something based on the weight of the vessel. Of the fourteen closed jars, three have clay stoppers, six possess linen bands acting as seals either interwoven or stuffed in the mouth, four with small bowls as lids and one with a decorated lid. Eleven vases have pot-marks. The pot-marks of four vases show Kha's monogram (S. 8219, S. 8357, S. 8465, S. 8523) [Fig. 1], seven have different identity marks (S. 8249-50, S. 8255, S. 8375, S. 8436, S. 8358, S. 8349). The seven vases with five identity marks could be explained as gifts from some of the workmen of the crew that Kha supervised.³

1. THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

The partial reconstruction of the exact position of the vessels inside the tomb, as well as that of all the other grave goods, is made possible by Schiaparelli's manuscript, Ballerini's plan, Schiaparelli's 1927 publication and the photographic documentation kept in the Museo Egizio archive.

² Schiaparelli, La tomba intatta dell'architetto Kha, 2007, pp. 5-11; Ferraris, La tomba di Kha e Merit, 2018, p. 8.

³ Soliman, in Budka et al. (eds.), Non-Textual Marking Systems in Ancient Egypt (and Elsewhere), 2015, p. 123; Haring, From Single Sign to Pseudo Script, 2018, p. 161.

⁴ ASto, Fondo MAE, 3° vers., M1 n.1.

⁵ ASto, Fondo MAE, 2° vers., M4 n.3.

⁶ Schiaparelli, La tomba intatta dell'architetto Kha, 2007 (repr. 1927).

⁷ Archivio Museo Egizio (https://archiviofotografico.museoegizio.it/), C. 133b, 1316, 1336-37, 1339-44, 1351, 1353-54, 2040-01, 2047, 2070-71, 3423.



Fig. 1 The potmark of Kha's monogram incised on pottery vessel S. 8523 (Photo by Nicola dell'Aquila and Federico Taverni/Museo Egizio).

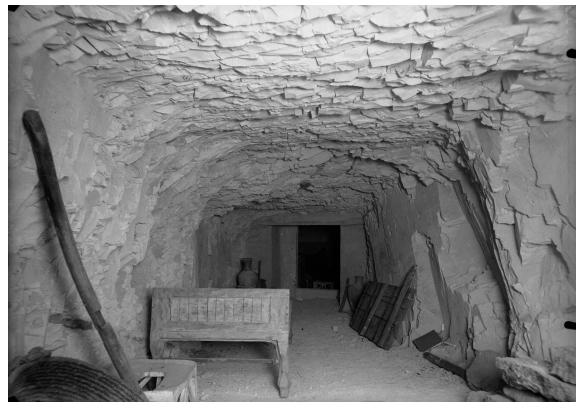


Fig. 2 The corridor of the tomb of Kha (Archivio Museo Egizio, C.1339).







Fig. 4The entrance of the tomb of Kha (Archivio Museo Egizio, C. 1343).

Thanks to a photograph⁸ [Fig. 2], the jar S. 8523 is recognizable on the left side next to the door of the burial chamber, standing on a wooden support. This vase has a small cup-lid and bears traces of different types of contents. An amphora without stopper is also recognizable to the right of the same door. This has been identified as the amphora S. 8313 [Fig. 3].

This hypothesis is supported by Schiaparelli's statement: "già nell'anticamera avevamo trovato una di dette anfore che sul ventre portava l'iscrizione: vino (...)". Near the door there is also a fragment of a large vase containing lime powder, probably abandoned after sealing the door.

Inside the burial chamber, in the right corner after having entered, there were 9 vases in baked clay including the amphorae S. 8620 and S. 8619 [Figs. 5, 7], visible in the same photograph¹⁰ [Fig. 4].

⁸ Archivio Museo Egizio, C. 1339.

⁹ "already in the antechamber we found one of the mentioned amphorae that on its body bore the inscription: wine (...)" Schiaparelli, *La tomba intatta dell'architetto Kha*, 2007, pp. 152–3.

¹⁰ Archivio Museo Egizio, C. 1343.



Fig. 5 The amphora S. 8620 (Photo by Nicola dell'Aquila and Federico Taverni/Museo Egizio).



Fig. 6 The amphora S. 8525 (Photo by Nicola dell'Aquila and Federico Taverni/Museo Egizio).

These were described by Schiaparelli in his manuscript as "due sono colorati con decorazioni vivaci"¹¹.

Among the same group of amphorae is S. 8525 **[Fig. 6]**, and S. 8356 is identifiable as it bears an inscription to Amon, Osiris and Horakhty also mentioned by Schiaparelli. The broken vase that he also mentions is probably one of the nineteen preserved in Cairo because the only broken one present at Turin is S. 8353, which we know from Schiaparelli's publication¹² was found in front of Kha's chair. We can assume the other four vessels, about the nine above mentioned in the right corner after having entered, were possibly all sealed, as Schiaparelli wrote in his manuscript. These amphorae could be amphorae S. 8467, S. 8516, S. 8618 or perhaps other vases which are today in Cairo.

Amphora S. 8619 [Fig. 7] was analysed with the ISIS Neutron and Muon Source at the Rutherford Appleton Laboratory in the UK, which involved using

^{11 &}quot;two are decorated with vivid colours" ASto, Fondo MAE, 3° vers., M1 n.1

¹² Schiaparelli, La tomba intatta dell'architetto Kha, 2007, p. 142.



Fig. 7 The amphora S. 8619 (Photo by Nicola dell'Aquila and Federico Taverni/Museo Egizio).



Fig. 8 The amphora S. 8467 (Photo by Nicola dell'Aquila and Federico Taverni/Museo Egizio).

neutron techniques to identify the content of sealed vessels.¹³ The amphora is still full of a substance that appears to be a very dense organic material, probably oil, resin or maybe honey. In Saqqara, amphorae with the same shape were found full of honey.¹⁴ This amphora and other Kha's vessels are analized with a non-destructive protocol developed by a team of Univerity of Pisa. the protocol is based on selected-ion flow-tube mass spectrometry (SIFT-MS) to characterize organic materials in archaeological objects. The protocol was previously optimized and validated at laboratory scale, first on reference materials and then on small samples of amorphous archaeological residues.¹⁵ The Sift analysis confirm the presence of lipid material.¹⁶ The shape is widely attested in Egypt: in Thebes,

¹³ Andreani et al., J. Anal. At. Spectrom. 32 (2017), pp. 1344–46.

¹⁴ Van Dijk, GM 127 (1992), p. 25; Aston, in Schneider and Szpakowska (eds.), Egyptian Stories, 2007, p. 17.

¹⁵ La Nasa, Journal of Archaeological Science 141 (2022).

¹⁶ La Nasa, Journal of Archaeological Science 141 (2022), p. 12.



Fig. 9 The bottles S. 8246 and S. 8247 (Photo by Nicola dell'Aquila and Federico Taverni/ Museo Egizio).

at Deir el- Medina,¹⁷ in Tutankhamon's tomb,¹⁸ and at Saqqara. The S. 8619 amphora shows the following hieroglyphics on its neck: *wd³ nfrw nb*, meaning "all good and beautiful things". The other amphora, S. 8618, could have contained wine, as the shape and the inscription they bear on the upper part of the body suggest. However, the amphora S. 8516, with the same shape, contains beeswax and oil or fat as the Sift analysis revealed.¹⁹ An other amphora with the same form (S. 8467) contains a yellow pasty substance that according to Schiaparelli was used to process food with oil or other vegetable or animal fats²⁰ [Fig. 8]. The Sift analysis revealed the presence of beeswax and oil or fat.²¹

¹⁷ Nagel, La céramique du Nouvel Empire à Deir el Médineh, 1938, p. 54.

¹⁸ Holthoer, in Baines (ed.), Stone Vessels, Pottery and Sealings from the Tomb of Tut'ankhamun, 1993, pp. 64–67.

¹⁹ La Nasa, Journal of Archaeological Science 141 (2022), p. 9.

²⁰ Schiaparelli, La tomba intatta dell'architetto Kha, 2007, p. 154.

²¹ La Nasa, Journal of Archaeological Science 141 (2022), p. 9.

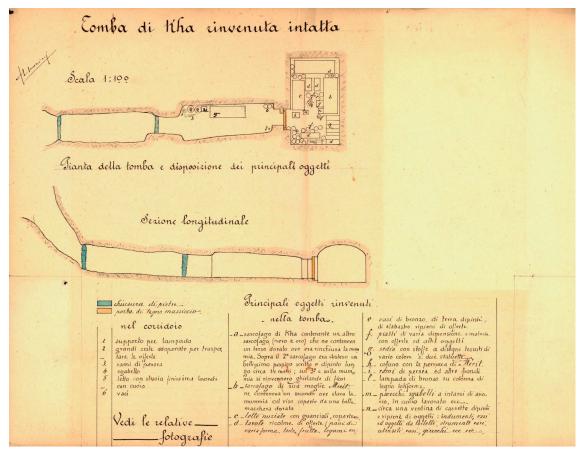


Fig. 10 Drawing of the planimetry of tomb of Kha. Francesco Ballerini, 1906 (ASto, Fondo MAE, 2° vers., M4 n.3).

Of course, this ambiguity of form-function might be due to the fact that vases often had a long life and performed many different functions. The amphora S. 8356, for instance, contains meat (maybe birds) mixed with large quantities of salt, according to Schiaparelli's publication. The Sift analysis revealed the presence of protein material and beeswax.²²

Following along the wall behind the stool, it is possible to recognize in another photograph²³ a jar which appears to be S. 8220. On the table next to the wall Schiaparelli describes a "coppa di terra rossa".²⁴ This could be S. 8331. In this bowl "due vasetti di terra dipinti"²⁵ were placed. These are without doubt the bottles S. 8246 and S. 8247 [Fig. 9]. In the bottle S. 8246 there is a white granular content. The second one contains brown granular content, which may be seeds.

²² La Nasa, Journal of Archaeological Science 141 (2022), p. 11.

²³ Archivio Museo Egizio, C. 1343.

^{24 &}quot;red clay bowl" ASto, Fondo MAE, 3° vers., M1 n.1.

^{25 &}quot;two small painted vases" ASto, Fondo MAE, 3° vers., M1 n.1.



Fig. 11 The jug S. 8434 (Photo by Nicola dell'Aquila and Federico Taverni/Museo Egizio).

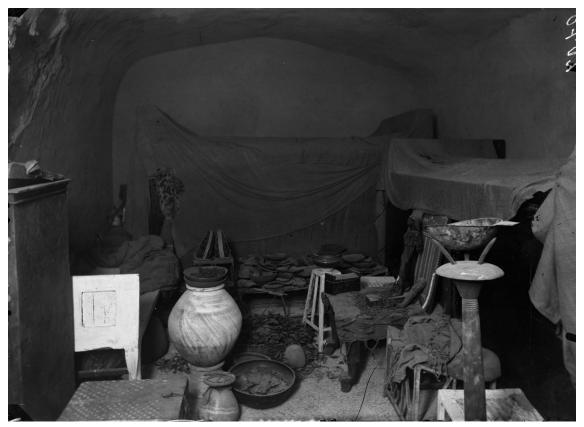


Fig. 12 The interior of the tomb of Kha (Archivio Museo Egizio, C. 2070).



Fig. 13 The bowl S. 8359 which contains loaves and Persea branches (Photo by Nicola dell'Aquila and Federico Taverni/Museo Egizio).

In his manuscript Schiaparelli wrote that there were vases placed between the two sarcophagi, a space which is not visible in any photograph. In his plan of the tomb, though, Ballerini²⁶ describes them as painted and full of offerings [Fig. 10]. These could be S. 8435, S. 8621, and S. 8434 [Fig. 11].

They are tableware and called "Syrian" type wine jars. Vessels of this shape are thought to contain only imported wine. The shape is widely attested in Egypt: in Thebes, at Deir el- Medina,²⁷ in Tutankhamon's tomb,²⁸ and at Saqqara.²⁹

Jug S. 8434 was also analyzed using neutron techniques and it appeared to be largely empty, with the exception of some residue on its bottom.³⁰ We can suppose that the stopper fell into the jug and absorbed the liquid content.

Ballerini also describes the vases present in the space between the sarcophagus of Kha and the wall, specifying that they are painted and large; these could be the amphorae S. 8224 and S. 8357 (only the second one visible in the photograph³¹) [Fig. 12].

²⁶ AsTo, Fondo MAE, 2°versamento, M4, n.3.

²⁷ Nagel, La céramique du Nouvel Empire à Deir el Médineh, 1938, p. 54.

²⁸ Holthoer, in Baines (ed.), Stone Vessels, Pottery and Sealings from the Tomb of Tut'ankhamun, 1993, pp. 64–7.

²⁹ Raven, The Tomb of Pay and Raia at Saggara, 2005, pls. 126–27.

³⁰ Andreani et al., *J. Anal. At. Spectrom.* 32 (2017), pp. 1344–46.

³¹ Archivio Museo Egizio, C. 2070.

According to Schiaparelli, both amphorae are filled with flour.³² The Sift analysis revealed that the flour is inside the amphora S. 8224.³³ In front of the chair, alongside a broken vase (S. 8353), Schiaparelli lists: "una coppa di terra con resti di vivande, una fiasca di terracotta chiusa [...] un grande vaso di terra vuota [S. 8214 with its stand S. 8215] con sopra due coppe di terra sono di seguito un'altra coppa" (perhaps S. 8359)³⁴ as well as "un vaso di terra".³⁵ It is very hard to identify these pottery items. The jug S. 8353, found broken at the base of its neck, could be related to cultic practices which took place during and at the end of burial ceremonies.³⁶ The bowl S. 8359 contained loaves and Persea branches³⁷ [Fig. 13].

There were other bowls with contents, probably originally on the table. Schiaparelli was able to identify such contents thanks to the studies of the botanist Mattirolo. This was described by him in his publication of Kha's tomb as: the remains of plant based substances (S. 8345), shredded vegetables (S. 8252, S. 8348), grapes and dates (S. 8344, S. 8349, S. 8347, S. 8346). Marie-Lys Arnette supposed that the content of bowl S. 8346 might be Persea berries. As for the other bowls, we can assume they contain: dried fowl specimens (S. 8251), dung used as fuel (S. 8627), seeds (S. 8253), seeds mixed with resins (S.8254), small linen packages (S. 8256), and dried fish (S. 8321). The Sift analysis confirmed the presence of protein material and traces of trimethylamine and dimethylnitrosoamine, markers of dried fish.

The original positions inside the tomb of a number of vases (S. 8436, S. 8312 S. 8420, S8428, S. 8465, S. 8478, S. 8321, S. 8227, S. 8526, S. 8249 and S. 8250) still remain uncertain.

The amphora S. 8526 displays an extensive fracture on the lower part of its

³² Schiaparelli, La tomba intatta dell'architetto Kha, 2007, p. 158.

³³ La Nasa, Journal of Archaeological Science 141 (2022), p. 9.

³⁴ "a clay bowl displaying food residuals, a sealed clay flask, a big empty clay vase (S. 8214 with its stand S. 8215) with on top of it two clay bowls next to another one" (maybe S. 8359) ASto, Fondo MAE, 3° vers., M1 n.1.

^{35 &}quot;a clay vase" ASto, Fondo MAE, 3° vers., M1 n.1.

³⁶ Schiaparelli, La tomba intatta dell'architetto Kha, 2007, p. 142.

³⁷ Schiaparelli, La tomba intatta dell'architetto Kha, 2007, p. 152.

³⁸ Schiaparelli, La tomba intatta dell'architetto Kha, 2007, pp. 152-63.

³⁹ Arnette, in Alice Mouton and Julie Patrier (eds.), Life, Death, and Coming of Age in Antiquity, 2014, p. 355.

⁴⁰ The Sift analysis confirmed the presence of protein material. La Nasa, *Journal of Archaeological Science* 141 (2022), p. 8.

⁴¹ La Nasa, Journal of Archaeological Science 141 (2022), p. 8.



Fig. 14 The small jug S. 8368 (Photo by Nicola dell'Aquila and Federico Taverni/Museo Egizio).

body, making its content visible. The Sift analysis revealed the presence of dried fish and aromatic resins.⁴² The miniature vase S. 8249 contains seeds.

Surely the most peculiar shape of the entire corpus is a small jug, S. 8368, whose handle was broken in ancient times [Fig. 14]. It is the only vase made of marl clay and it was found in a completely different context. Its form is comparable to ceramics found at Amarna⁴³ and to some Nineteenth Dynasty ceramics found at Saqqara.⁴⁴ Functional attribution is not easy. Based on parallels from

⁴² La Nasa, Journal of Archaeological Science 141 (2022), p. 8.

⁴³ Hope, *CCE* 2 (1991), fig. 20 l.

⁴⁴ Bourriau, *Umm el-Ga'ab*, 1981, p. 79.

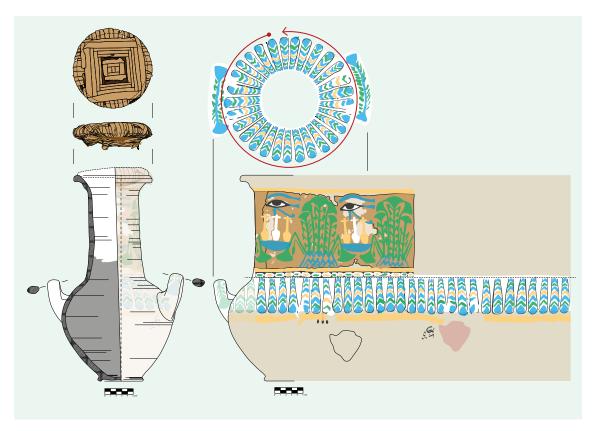


Fig. 15 The amphora S. 8619 (Drawing by Alice Salvador).

the painted decoration of a Saqqara tomb, ⁴⁵ Bourriau assumes it was made for drinking use. The jug published by Bourriau and preserved at the Fitzwilliam Museum (E.P. 37) has a reconstructed bottom so we don't know what the original looked like. There are other fragments of vases preserved at the Fitzwilliam Museum with the same shape and decoration (E.GA.5996.1943, E.GA.6006.1943, E.GA.6005.1943, E.GA.6014.1943). The small jug belonging to Kha has a bottom with a small pierced cylinder, ruling out its interpretation as a beaker – Schiaparelli called it a funnel. ⁴⁶ The context of this discovery can perhaps shed some light on its function: the jug was found in a wooden box (S. 8412) ⁴⁷ together with various measuring instruments such as a cubit rod, weights, the case of a scale, etc., suggesting it might have been some kind of measuring instrument. The fabric is very fine and the blue painted decoration that covers it in large part could be a copy of an instrument made of coarser clay.

⁴⁵ Bourriau, *Umm el-Ga'ab*, 1981, p. 79.

⁴⁶ Schiaparelli, La tomba intatta dell'architetto Kha, 2007, p. 80.

⁴⁷ Schiaparelli, La tomba intatta dell'architetto Kha, 2007, p. 80.

In the same box there was also a flask, S. 8375, usually used to contain water. Marie-Lys Arnette supposed⁴⁸ it could have been used by Kha during his work or, due to its shape resembling that of New Year's flasks, it is possible it contained water from the Nile.

2. THE DECORATION OF VASES

Careful and detailed decorations can be found in several examples of Kha's grave goods. This care is displayed in the application of colours such as blue, yellow, red, white and black arranged in geometric or naturalistic patterns such as rosettes, lotus flowers, grapes, Persea flowers, and pomegranate. However, the decoration applied to the vases is not usually limited to colour. For example, the necks of some vases have been covered with different layers of linen or papyrus. It is very interesting to note that the preservation of the linen is often associated with the presence of colour. We can thus assume that the pigments have allowed the preservation of the underlying linen. This is visible in cases such as S. 8619 where the outlines of the pigmented surface perfectly match the area where the linen is preserved [Fig. 15].

For the same amphora it is also possible to reconstruct the different stages of the decoration process. The first stage was the placement of the linen cloth on the neck. Then the painted elements were added following the sequence below:

- the white band on the shoulder
- the yellow lines on the neck (above and under the linen)
- the black band and then the black limits of the petals
- the yellow band under the petals
- the yellow and green dots on the band
- the yellow and green petal decoration
- the blue petal decoration
- the waves of the Nile on the linen cloth
- the papyrus leaves
- the white background of the eyes
- the blue outline of the eyes

⁴⁸ Arnette, in Mouton and Patrier (eds.), Life, Death, and Coming of Age in Antiquity, 2014, p. 380

- the black contours and the pupils
- the *neferu* sign
- the *neb* sign
- the docket

While carefully observing this sequence for the graphical reconstruction, Alice Salvador hypothesised⁴⁹ that the petal decoration started at this point: indeed a very narrow petal is visible, as if the painter ran out of to complete the space. The last step was the sealing of the vessel with its lid, indicated by the details of the linen cloth sealing the vessel with a criss-crossed twist. The frontal view highlights the closing knot and some wires which fasten the linen and were fixed by the clay seal, now lost. From the top view, the twisting details are visible.

3. TT8 PROJECT

The study of Kha's vessels is part of the wider "TT8 project" coordinated by Enrico Ferraris (see contribution above). The first phase of my study, which was completed at the end of 2019, included the complete documentation of the ceramic corpus by accurately describing, drawing and photographing all the materials. The second phase of the research is involving archaeometric analysis in order to establish what the vessels contained and the colour binders used in their decoration. Finally, the third phase, which is planned for 2024, will include the publication of all the documentation regarding the vessels and the analyses of their contents.

⁴⁹ Alice Salvador, personal communication, 2018.

⁵⁰ La Nasa, Journal of Archaeological Science 141 (2022)

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TEXTILES FROM TT8:A WORK IN PROGRESS

Matilde Borla (Soprintendenza Piemonte), Cinzia Oliva (independent scholar), Valentina Turina (Museo Egizio)

ABSTRACT

The study of the textiles retrieved from TT8 (c. 1425-1353 BCE) is part of the project aimed at publishing the material from the tomb of Kha and Merit. The collection encompasses around 150 items, in total more than 200 square metres of textile. It includes nineteen tunics, fifty-nine loincloths, many pieces of textile with fringes, seat covers decorated with lotus flowers, as well as a kind of blanket made with a special knotted pile technique. The research is based on a systematic description of each textile (a technical data sheet) that includes technical data (like warp and weft count; spin direction; type of weave; sewing details), previous or planned analysis (like identification of fibres), and conservation problems (with attention to different solutions for storage and housing as well as to conservation treatment). Their study will aid understanding of the historical context as well as indicate specific conservation treatments, methods of presentation, and storage.

1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this paper, presented as a poster at the workshop, is to describe the tools and methods of the ongoing project on textiles coming from the tomb of Kha and Merit. The study of fabrics from TT8 is part of a broader project intended to publish all the material from the tomb of Kha and Merit.² The task was conceived by a team of diverse scholars, among them Egyptologist, restorers, pholologist, chemists and physicists. The significant collection of textiles of the Museo Egizio derives from the Pre-dynastic period (3500 BCE) to Late antiquity (1200 CE), spanning more than 4,500 years of history; the funerary equipment of Kha and Merit (c. 1425-1353 BCE) represents one of the richest groups of textiles from the New Kingdom³ and comprises around 150 items, amounting to more than 200 square metres of textile. It includes nineteen bag-tunics, finished with a rolled-hem or with long fringes along the bottom, one of which (S. 8530) is decorated with a polychrome band in tapestry technique⁵ added around the neck and along the edges; fifty-nine loincloths; rectangular pieces of textile of diverse size, finished in several cases with different kind of fringes. Most cloths are woven in a warp-faced tabby weave and some are in a full basket weave. Several cloths bear the mark of the owner (painted or embroidered) or the name of Kha written on them in ink [Fig. 1].7

¹ The study of textiles of the Museo Egizio has been presented at the seminar "Current Research in Textile Archeology Along the Nile", Copenhagen, 21 January 2019 at the Centre for Textile Research, University of Copenhagen.

² See: Ferraris, "TT8 Project: An Introduction", in this volume.

³ Schiaparelli, *La Tomba intatta dell'architetto Kha*, 1927, pp. 90–100, 129–33; Borla and Oliva, in *Museo Egizio*, 2015, p. 238; Ferraris, *La Tomba di Kha e Merit*, 2018, pp. 30, 96–97, 104–06.

⁴ Vogelsang Eastwood, *Pharaonic Egyptian Clothing*, 1993, pp. 130–44; Vogelsang Eastwood, in Nicholson and Shaw (eds.), *Materials*, 2000, p. 289.

⁵ The tapestry weave is an innovation of the New Kingdom which appears in ancient Egypt from the XVIII dynasty. See: Spinazzi-Lucchesi, *The Unwound Yarn*, 2018, p. 80; Kemp and Vogelsang Eastwood, *The Ancient Textile Industry at Amarna*, 2001, pp. 274–75; Vogelsang Eastwood, in Paul T. Nicholson and Ian Shaw (eds.), *Materials*, 2000, p. 276; Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles*, 1991, pp. 156–62.

⁶ Vogelsang Eastwood, *Pharaonic Egyptian Clothing*, 1993, pp. 10–04; Vogelsang Eastwood, in Nicholson and Shaw (eds.), *Materials*, 2000, p. 286.

⁷ Vogelsang Eastwood, in Nicholson and Shaw (eds.), *Materials*, 2000, p. 284; on identity marks see: Haring, in Jasink *et al.* (eds.) *Non-scribal Communication*, 2017, p. 236 (n. 16); Haring, *From Single Sign to Pseudo-Script*, 2018, pp. 16, 42 (n. 5), 126–27.



Fig. 1 Marks and name of Kha on textiles (S. 8580 painted mark; S. 8613/3 embroidered mark; S. 8532 name of Kha painted) (Dinolite pictures M. Borla, V. Turina).



Fig. 2 The tomb of Kha and Merit: the linen sheets on the coffins of Kha and Merit; the seat cover upon the chair of Kha and the blanket on the bed (Archivio Museo Egizio, C. 2070; B&W image elaborated by E. de Marsico).

Two blankets, found on the bed of Merit, and three seat covers are woven with additional loops in the weft⁸ (S. 8519, S. 8520, S. 8521, S. 8632, S. 8633), while two more seat covers, one of which was found upon the seat of Kha (S. 8528, S. 8529), are decorated with polychrome lotus flowers and geometric bands in tapestry technique with additional loops in the middle area. Two large and long linen sheets covered the outer coffin of Kha and Merit [Fig. 2].

2. TOOLS AND METHODS (MB, VT)

The research is based on a systematic description of each textile by using and cross-checking the information collected with the following tools.

- 1. Technical data-sheet. A card collecting all information and technical details.
- 2. *MuseumPlus*. The database of the whole collection. A specific card (META) has been conceived to record textile (with toolbar and specialized vocabulary).
- 3. *GMM.* A database focused on active and passive conservation programs (by CROMA s.r.l.).

Each item is recorded using a specific card (*Technical data-sheet*) that includes technical data like the warp and weft count; spin direction; type of weave; sewing details; previous or planned analysis (like identification of fibres) and conservation problems (with attention to different solutions for storage and housing and to conservation treatments) [Pl. 1]. Each card is associated with different kinds of pictures (general, details, and Dino-Lite pictures) [Fig. 3].

Dressmaker patterns, drawings and diagrams could be added to the data-sheet to illustrate custom tailored details [Fig. 4].

In the meantime, all technical and historical information is updated in the museum database (*MuseumPlus*). This database is already set up to record any kind of artifact belonging to the collection: human and animal mummies, statues, vessels,

⁸ The use of additional loops inserted into the weave is attested from the Middle Kingdom. See: Spinazzi-Lucchesi, *The Unwound Yarn*, 2018, p. 79; Kemp and Vogelsang Eastwood, *The Ancient Textile Industry at Amarna*, 2001, pp. 147–52; Vogelsang Eastwood, in Nicholson and Shaw (eds.), *Materials*, 2000, p. 276; Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles*, 1991, pp. 149–50. With the same technique Cairo Egyptian Museum bed cover TR 6/7/33/2 (provenance unknown) and seat cover JE 66243 (from the tomb of Ramose and Hatnefer (TT 71).

Plate 1 Tunic S. 8531, Technical Data Sheet.

Inventory Number		S. 8531				
Object		Tunic				
Dimensions		Length: 130cm Width: 98 cm Fringes: 25cm (max)	weight	width ≥ 91 ≤ 100		6
Technical Data		Material: linen, 2S twist		Warp and	warp	4
		Ø yarn: Weave: tabby. Warp-faced. Sewing-thread: Z, 2S twist. Irregularities (self-bands): Y		weft count A:43 x 23 B: 41 x 23 C: 43 x 23 D: 41 x 23	≥ 41 ≤ 50 weft ≥ 21 ≤ 30	2
		Weaving and tailor characteristics Selvedges have been joined on the side with an overlap. Hems around neck are rolled. The stitches are all worked in \ direction. Identity mark (embroidered) and self-bands				
Descriptions		Bag tunic decorated with rounded neckline and long fringes. The identity mark is embroidered. Sleeve: h. 24 cm Neckline: 22 x14 x 5. String: 14.5 cm long. Inside rolled hem.				
General conservation		Well preserved. Some tears and holes. Restaured in 2012 (T. Benzi)				
Records		Museum Plus (META) GMM by Croma				
Housing/ Display/ Store		Inside a box/ in store room -2				
Pictures		: Photo by Nicola Dell'Aquila Dinolite microscope		-1 2	self-t	
Drowings/ Diagrams		Identity mark/ self-bands/ fringes				
Analysis/ samplings		Identification of fiber				
Dressmaker pattern		D 22 24 String 130				
Fringes embroidered mark		98 Self-bands 25 Fringes				



Fig. 3 Details of loincloth S. 8613/15: left end, bottom an right end with rolled hem; joined selvedges with stitches in the middle and on the upper hem (Dinolite pictures M. Borla, V. Turina).

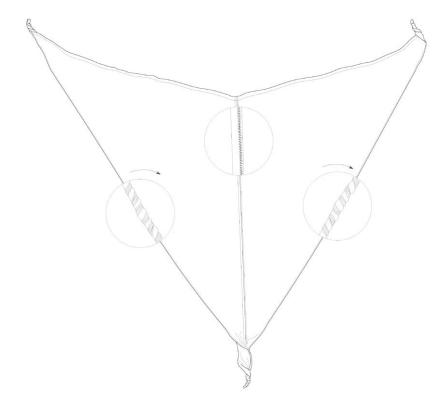


Fig. 4 Diagram of a loincloth. (Drawing by V. Turina).

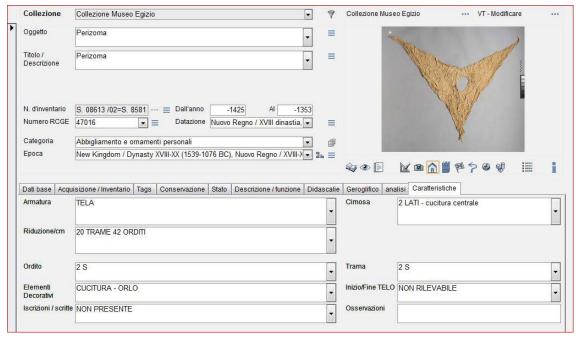


Fig. 5 META: the card of the loincloth S. 8613/2.

amulets and so on, as well as any kind of material like stone, ceramic, wood. To enter textiles into the data base, we have designed a specific card (*META*) to store technical details, including a vocabulary accessible via a drop-down menu [Fig. 5].

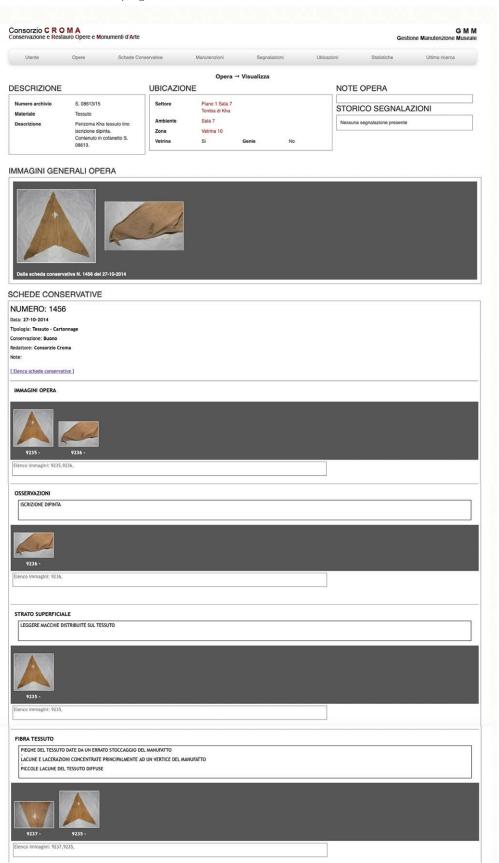
Specific conservation data for each textile are recorded in a detailed conservation data sheet (*GMM*) oriented towards active and passive conservation programs. This is a project conceived by the "ConsorzioCroma" as a comprehensive system for monitoring and managing the whole collection⁹ [Pl. 2].

A further step in documentation consists in mapping the preservation status of each fabric in order to identify the different kinds of damage. This will be used to plan their future conservation [Fig. 6].

The study is also supported by different kinds of scientific analysis for the identification of fibres and dyes, like optic fibre stereo-microscopy, fibre optic reflectance spectroscopy (FORS), micro X-ray fluorescence (μ -XRF) and high pressure liquid chromatography (HP-LC). One set of analyses is focused on the identification of inks used for the inscriptions on textiles. It combines various techniques, including ultraviolet (UV) reflected imaging, near-infrared reflectography (NIRR), X-ray fluorescence (XRF) spectroscopy, Raman spectroscopy

⁹ Antonelli and de Marsico, in Lo Stato dell'Arte 13, 2015, pp. 547-52.

Plate 2 GMM: the conservation program – records of loincloth S. 8613/15.



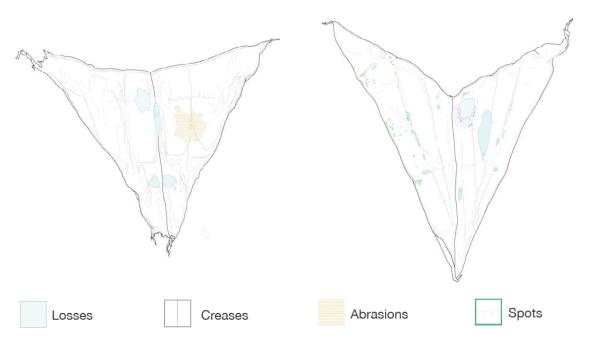


Fig. 6 Map of some damaged areas identified on two loincloths (S. 8613/2, S.8613/5) from the tomb of Kha (Drawings by V. Turina).



Fig. 7 Pictures showing fibres corrosion caused by ink used for the inscription of two marks of Kha on tunic S. 8540 and loincloth S. 8613/22 (Dinolite pictures M. Borla, V. Turina).

and prompt-gamma-activation-analysis (PGAA).¹⁰ Each of these contributes to archaeological research, determining what conditions are best for a textile's preservation, and directly aiding future conservation treatments [Fig. 7].

¹⁰ Festa et al., Scientific Reports 9 (2019).

3. BED COVERS IN "KNOTTED-PILE" TECHNIQUE. THE CONSERVATION TREATMENT (CO)

We would like to showcase some of the work being done in the project by presenting a case study of the conservation of some knotted pile textiles¹¹ belonging to the Tomb of Kha. The conservation project focused on two bed-covers: S. 8632 (210 x 108 cm) and S. 8633 (206 x 110 cm); as well as two of the three¹² stool-covers: S. 8520 (44 x 68 cm) and S. 8521 (44 x 52 cm) [Fig. 8].

All these objects feature knotted pile in unbleached lines; the stool covers S. 8520 and S. 8521 are executed in tabby weave, while both the bed covers S. 8632 and S. 8633 are in full basket weave, with some quite peculiar irregularities in the weaving. Basket weave, which is a derivation of tabby weave, involves warp and weft threads woven in groups of two or three (2/2 or 3/3) instead of a single yarn. Outside of this corpus there are several examples of textile woven in basket weave, of which most belong to the New Kingdom. They are often used in connection with knotted pile technique. As Vogelsang Eastwood points out: "The advantage lay presumably in the way that basket weave would provide a firmer anchorage for the loops, which were darned in by hand after the weaving was finished".¹³

The bed cover S. 8632 is realized in irregular basket weave: we have two warps on two wefts in some stripes (between the loops row) and we have two warps on three wefts in others; the pile is knotted with the so called "Ghiordes knot", ¹⁴ and the spacing of the rows of loops is about 8–8.5 cm with the lengths of the loops varying between 15 and 18 cm. Moreover, two different types of thread for the loops were used: in the first row a linen thread with very tight S torsion (S2s), and for the other rows a linen thread consisting of several yarns weakly Z twisted.

The cover shows both selvedges still intact, together with a starting border with inserted wefts; the warp fringes are degraded and largely missing, but we can still see how they have been knotted together based on the extant fringe pieces, one of which is 25 cm long [Fig. 9].

¹¹ Kemp and Vogelsang Eastwood, *The Ancient Textile Industry at Amarna*, 2001, pp. 147–52.

¹² The third stool cover S. 8519 has not been restored.

¹³ Kemp and Vogelsang Eastwood, *The Ancient Textile Industry at Amarna*, 2001, p. 97.

¹⁴ From Gördes (*Ghiordes*), Turkey, called also "Turkish knot", or "symmetrical knot"; see: Kemp and Vogelsang Eastwood, *The Ancient Textile Industry at Amarna*, 2001, p. 152, fig. 5.5 (c).





Fig. 8 Stool-covers S. 8521 (left) and S. 8520 (right) after conservation (Photos by Nicola dell'Aquila and Federico Taverni/Museo Egizio).



Fig. 9 S. 8632: details of starting border, fringe and selvedge (Photos by Cinzia Oliva).



Fig. 10 S. 8632 before the conservation treatments (Photo by Paolo Robino).

The general condition of the above mentioned textiles is very poor, due to the way they had been exhibited over an extended period. In the previous exhibition of Kha's tomb, the bed covers had been exhibited folded in half on top of the bed and the exposed surface had become covered with a grey and greasy dirt, which had penetrated the fibre structure, leaving a clear line of dust on the blanket [Fig. 10].

The seat covers, in every case folded in two, suffered a prolonged exposure to light that weakened the textile structure, producing splits and losses in the fabric. Most significantly, the prolonged exposure to light and pollutants produced a physical breakdown of the mechanical tension of the fibres, causing splits and losses of fabric, such as some of the linen loops or the long knotted warp fringes. Besides this, the objects underwent several "conservation" treatments during their museum life, often performed by conservators who were either non-professionals or specialized in other fields (painting, paper and parchment for example). These people worked on very special and fragile objects without appropriate experience and care, often using methodologies that proved too aggressive or the wrong materials for cleaning and/or preserving ancient textiles. The bed cover showed several instances of darning, roughly executed with thick and twisted threads, which produced further damage to the textile structure and added localized mechanical tension and splits and tears in the base fabric.

The idea of "minimum intervention" is now widely accepted as the best approach to archaeological textiles in order to preserve both the artifact and all the technical information relating to its original function, production technologies and provenance. However, it is not always possible to solve conservation prob-



Fig. 11 S. 8632 after the conservation treatments (Photo by Paolo Robino).

lems while keeping to a minimum intervention approach, and moreover any conservation treatment has to be balanced with the general condition of the artefact, its dimensions, and its future museum life.

Cleaning is an irreversible process that may bring about a loss of information but also comes with benefits: it can be useful in preserving the object by removing dangerous deposits from the fibres or can help to understand more precisely the nature of the fragment or the artifact. Textiles that have been exhibited for a long time in unsuitable display cases often show signs of damage due to atmospheric pollution, mechanical stress and excessive light. In such cases, wet cleaning treatment could be needed to improve the pH of fibres (making them more neutral), remove the soluble part of the dirt and lessen any undesirable deformation that could result in further damage in quite a short time.

The conservation treatment on the bed cover started with a careful surface cleaning with a chirurgical vacuum cleaner, using brushes of different softness in order to remove all the superficial and loose dirt. Then we proceeded with a wet cleaning. As the general condition was not adequate enough to perform a proper washing, we decided to proceed with spot cleaning with a solution of deionized water mixed with ethyl alcohol, in order to speed the drying operation. Great attention was paid to the initial moistening process and drying techniques, which were adapted to support the loops of the long knotted pile: we used tubular plastic inserts to restore the three dimensional shape of the loops. In order to allow the safe handling of the artefact, we chose to support splits and losses by making use of small pathches of dyed fine linen, held in place with a

couching stitch; we also protected the front section of the fabric with a nylon net, properly dyed. Polyester threads were used for the stitching so that they will be easily recognizable in the future [Fig. 11].

4. PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS

The study of the data collected on the fabrics from the tomb of Kha and Merit will aid the understanding of the role of textile in the New Kingdom. Despite the fact that the original use and function of many of the textiles in the Museo Egizio can no longer be determined due to their undifferentiated shape or present condition, textiles from the tomb of Kha and Merit offer a great chance to study these aspects of some cloth. Furthermore, it is clear that some textiles had more than one function in daily life. The systematic analysis of each textile will help us to understand custom weaving techniques. Paper patterns and replicas of some peculiar garments like loincloths have been created to investigate their original sizes, to allow consideration of who may have worn them as well as practical experimentation of how they were worn. In the meantime, we will be able to indicate specific conservation treatments, conduct analyses, establish specific housing systems or display presentations, promote archaeological study and spread the results of our research. Conservation is one of the main pursuits of our Museum, comprising diverse activities and involving various specialists such as conservators, restorers, curators and researchers. Caring for the collection also includes the continuous study of materials, whether these are the materials that constitute the objects, the products of degradation, or those materials and products useful for conservation treatments. These factors are fundamental for the proper management and conservation of any museum collection.

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TALKING IMAGES: A SEMIOTIC AND VISUAL ANALYSIS OF THREE EIGHTEENTH-DYNASTY CHAPELS AT DEIR EL-MEDINA (TT8, TT340, TT354)¹

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ABSTRACT

This paper addresses the relationship between written and visual representation in New Kingdom Theban Tombs by presenting a number of case studies: TT8, TT340 and TT354, three of the only six decorated Eighteenth-Dynasty chapels at Deir el-Medina.

The methodology for this analysis was developed in the context of broader research involving other twenty-two tombs in the Theban Necropolis, personally investigated during two field seasons with the University of Basel Project "Life Histories of Theban Tombs". The first step consists in visually presenting the distribution of the different types of representation within the tomb (monochrome hieroglyphs, polychrome hieroglyphs, large-scale figures), and quantifying the ratio of written/visual material. Secondarily, single pictorial elements are analysed based on specific parameters, especially iconicity, colour palette, location, dimensions; in addition, where possible, comparisons will be established between elements representing the same object in the different modes of visualization.

This will allow some new considerations about the artistic trends of the period and about the semiotic values of the various components of tomb decoration.

On a second level, it will also lead to understanding better not only the degree of freedom the artists enjoyed with respect to the manipulation of the images, be they linguistically or visually employed, but also their approach to iconic material, their knowledge and training, and ultimately their identity within the microhistory of the site, moving towards a better definition of "scribe-painter".

¹ I would like to thank Kathrin Gabler for her indispensable advice and kind help in the preparation of this article, as well as the editing committee for their extremely insightful comments and suggestions.

1. INTRODUCTION

Deir el-Medina has always been considered a privileged source for the investigation of art and art production in ancient Egypt. For almost five hundred years, a select group of artisans lived in the settlement. Besides being occupied with the creation of an afterlife space for the pharaoh, they left behind many traces of their everyday life and artistic activities – both in a professional and, most interestingly, in a private context.² This material, in particular the figurative ostraca used for drawing exercises or even leisure sketches, is a treasure trove that has allowed us to get a closer feel for the personality and private sphere of these talented draughtsmen and artisans who, although consistently aware of the "rules" of Egyptian art, were also eager to play with them.

Indeed, Egyptian art has long been considered standardized and formal. The definition of "canons" in Egyptian visual culture has often been the topic of research: among other examples, W. Davis' *The canonical tradition in ancient Egyptian art* (1989). Of course, it cannot be questioned that elements of formality are present. In particular, the term *decorum*, coined by J. Baines, has become widespread to define the set of rules and practices that supposedly influenced the production of Egyptian visual culture.³

Yet, it would be quite reductive to look at Egyptian art as static and fixed. The use of the term "canon" is very much problematic, since it ignores the fact that there are many more exceptions to the supposed "rules" of Egyptian art and much more variation than we (have come to) expect. One step in this direction was already taken by D. Laboury who, in his study on inter-iconicity in Egyptian art, offers examples to show that "even when duplication was intended, Ancient Egyptian Art never produced two exact copies".⁴

This paper therefore intends to add material to the discussion by presenting some cases that could lead to an understanding of the amount of freedom Egyp-

² There are many publications concerning this topic. This article will refer to only two important works regarding Deir el-Medina: Andreu-Lanoë (eds.), *Les artistes de Pharaon*, 2002 and Gaber *et al.* (eds.), À *l'œuvre*, *on connaît l'artisan* 2017

³ Baines, *Visual and Written Culture in Ancient Egypt*, 2007, p. 15. However, the validity of this term has been questioned by T. Gillen in favour of a more clearly structured idea of 'formality': Gillen, in Dorn (ed.), *Filtering Decorum – Facing Reality*, forthcoming. It is only to this idea of formality that I will refer to in this paper, accepting Gillen's position.

⁴ Laboury, in Gillen (ed.), (Re)productive Traditions in Ancient Egypt, 2017, p. 232.

tian artists – in the special case of Deir el-Medina – did, or did not, enjoy.⁵ Such an investigation aims to contribute not only to the art-historical discussion, defining the horizons of (in)formality in Eighteenth Dynasty tomb decoration, but also to stimulate a more conscious approach to ancient Egyptian images.

1.1 The PhD Project

The case studies come from three of the six decorated Eighteenth-Dynasty chapels preserved on site: TT8, TT340 and TT354, chosen as representative examples based on the varying expertise and formal quality displayed by the decoration.

These three tombs are actually part of a bigger research scope, pursued within the frame of the University of Basel project "Life Histories of Theban Tombs", funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation. The focus of my PhD research within this project lies in the relationship between written and visual representation in New Kingdom Theban tombs, and can be articulated in two main directions.

The first research question looks to the interconnections between the graphic component of writing and that of painting ("script-graphics" and "figure-graphics"), their respective execution and the influence they exercise on each other. We know that the experiences of writing and drawing were intimately linked in the Egyptian mind, as shown for instance by the root *zh³*, which retained both meanings throughout the entirety of pharaonic history.

The second research question addresses the topic of artistic constriction and freedom by analysing the different approaches used by artists in producing the iconic material inherited from tradition. This would ideally lead to a more distinct definition of their identity in the history of the Theban area during the New Kingdom. A very special case, for example, is represented by the painter of TT354

⁵ In my research on instances of personal intervention in Egyptian painting, I agree with the position of Laboury about the use of the term "art" (Laboury, in Andreu-Lanoë (ed.), *L'art du contour*, 2013). I am, however, aware that attributing a modern definition to a past culture can be problematic. For other perspectives on the debated use of terms like artist or artisan, see also Andreu-Lanoë, in Andreu-Lanoë (ed.), *Les artistes de Pharaon*, 2002.

⁶ Grant number: 162967. For an extended description of the project, see the official website: https://lhtt. philhist.unibas.ch/.

⁷ Wb 3, 475.6–476.15; Faulkner, A *Concise Dictionary*, 1988, p. 246. For a discussion on the co-existence of writing and drawing practice, Ragazzoli, *Scribes*, 2019, pp. 91–96; for the relationships between 'scribes' and 'scribes of forms' Laboury in Collombert *et al.* (eds.), *Aere perennius*, 2016, pp. 371–96.

(see below, 4).

For the sake of investigating these topics, I was allowed to study a number of New Kingdom tombs located in different parts of the Theban necropolis during two field seasons with the Swiss Mission in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (Fall 2017, Spring 2018). The initial focus was on Sheikh Abd el Qurna (sixteen tombs), where the Mission of the University of Basel is working, but I was able to expand the research to el-Khokha (four tombs), Dra Abu el Naga (one), Qurnet Murai (one) and Deir el-Medina (three).

The pictorial elements examined were divided into major categories: monochrome hieroglyphs, polychrome hieroglyphs and emblematic signs (that is, hieroglyphs used outside of a linguistic context, with a specific symbolic function), as well as large-scale scenes. While in the field, these elements (defined as "pictorial units") were analysed through a set of parameters: level of iconicity (that is, proximity to the "real" object they represent), colour palette, dimensions, and location within the tomb. As a case study, examples of "pictorial units" from TT8 are to be compared (see below, 3.2).

2. THE CONTEXT

2.1. Deir el-Medina in the Eighteenth Dynasty

Much is known about Deir el-Medina during the Ramesside period, thanks to an abundance of archaeological and textual material. More obscure instead are its beginnings and the status of the settlement before the Nineteenth Dynasty. The community might have encompassed, in its earliest phase under the Thutmosids, some twenty houses, with the workers living there intermittently during the construction of the royal tombs. Nonetheless, quite a number of Eighteenth-Dynasty burials are known both from the western and eastern cemeteries, excavated by B. Bruyère under the aegis of the IFAO in seasons 1933–34 and 1934–35 respectively. The burials of the eastern cemetery, the earliest among them dating from the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmosis III, consist of simple pits or shaft tombs,

⁸ Haring, in Toivari-Viitala *et al.* (eds.), *Deir el-Medina Studies*, 2014, pp. 87–100 and Müller in the same volume, pp. 154–67; Dorn *et al.*, *MDAIK* 67 (2013), p. 35. A complete summary can be found in Gabler, *Who's Who Around Deir el-Medina*, 2018, pp. 518–25 (Eighteenth Dynasty; the other dynasties are also discussed later).

⁹ Published in Bruyère, La Nécropole de l'Ouest, 1937a and in La Nécropole de l'Est, 1937b.

without superstructure. The burial assemblages, wherever preserved, are mostly composed of everyday life objects lacking inscriptions almost completely. Many of these burials belong to women and children (newborns even), a peculiar composition for a cemetery and a fact that has at times caused doubt about its relation to the settlement. This last point, however, seems to have been cleared now, as the same identity marks are found on the burial equipment as are in both the eastern necropolis and in the Valley of the Kings.

In the western necropolis, Bruyère discovered around 180 burials from the Eighteenth Dynasty, ¹³ the oldest going back to the reign of Amenhotep II. These burials would have been reduced to simple pits without any apparent order because of the disappearance of their superstructures, and indeed the burial assemblages are mostly anonymous, presenting almost no inscribed material. ¹⁴ An exception to this however – and the most famous among the Eighteenth Dynasty burials – is the shaft tomb of Kha, found intact in 1906 by the Italian archaeological mission directed by E. Schiaparelli. ¹⁵

In addition to the burial site, Kha also had a chapel decorated for himself, which is one of the objects of this study. To be more precise, he seems to have been one of only six city-dwellers of the Eighteenth Dynasty to invest in such a decorated funerary building, despite our being aware, from the previous overview of burials present, that a higher number of people must have been active in this area at the time. This already raises some questions: why have only a handful of chapels been preserved? Where would the funerary cult have taken place? In the case of the tomb of Kha, the chapel and the tomb are even located quite distant from each other, which was very atypical for a private burial. The investigation of the artistic practices attested in these tombs could therefore shed more light on the agency and reasons behind their construction and decoration.

¹⁰ For an extensive analysis of the burials in the eastern cemetery: Näser, in Arnst *et al.* (eds.), *Begegnungen*, 2001, pp. 373–98.

¹¹ Podvin, in Gaber et. al. (eds.), À l'œuvre, on connaît l'artisan, 2017, pp. 275–76; on the women and children burials also Meskell, Archaeological Review from Cambridge 13 (1994).

¹² Soliman, in Budka et al. (eds.), Non-textual Marking Systems, 2015, pp. 109–32.

¹³ Soliman, in Budka et al. (eds.), Non-textual Marking Systems, 2015, p. 112–13.

¹⁴ Bruyère, La Nécropole de l'Ouest, 1937a.

¹⁵ The results of the expedition were published in Schiaparelli, *La tomba intatta dell'architetto Cha*, 1927.

¹⁶ Cf. Haring, in Toivari-Viitala et al. (eds.), Deir el-Medina Studies, 2014 and Gabler, Who's Who, 2018, pp. 525–33.

2.2. The Eighteenth-Dynasty chapels

The six decorated chapels preserved were studied by B. Bruyère in different seasons: TT291 was investigated during the 1922–23 season, ¹⁷ and TT325 in 1923–24; ¹⁸ TT338 (also found by the Italian team in 1906, when its entire painted decoration was removed, brought to Italy and reassembled in the Turin Museum) in the 1923–24 season. ¹⁹ As for the chapels analysed for the present study, TT8 was already known to Wilkinson, Lepsius and Prisse d'Avennes, as well as Wild and Burton, who describe or copy part of the surviving decoration. ²⁰ B. Bruyère re-investigated and reconstructed it during the 1923–24 season, publishing the results of the excavation shortly after. ²¹ TT340 and TT354, also excavated by Bruyère in 1925 and in 1926, ²² were published only much later, at the end of the twentieth century by N. Cherpion. ²³

Possibly the oldest among them is TT340, the tomb of a certain Amenemhat, "servant in the place of truth", as conveyed by the inscriptions. Based on the analysis of the decoration, the tomb would date to the very beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, specifically before Amenhotep II.²⁴ It is the only chapel from this group to have a ceiling painted with a single pattern covering the whole vault, and the only one featuring a naturalistic rendition of a grapevine instead of the more common geometrical patterns. The decoration being incomplete, the north and the east wall have figures made of colour blocks, but lacking the finishing contouring and details.

TT325 is also dated to the early Eighteenth Dynasty²⁵ based on analysis of the decoration. Characteristic in the tomb, according to Bruyère, are the types of dresses and the presence of only one register on the long wall (this kind of tendency can also be seen in TT8, while the decoration of TT338 shows three

¹⁷ Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1922–1923), 1924, pp. 10–15. Bruyère and Kuentz, La tombe de Nakht-Min et la tombe d'Ari-Nefer, 1926a, pp. 1–65.

¹⁸ Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh* (1923–1924), 1925, pp. 100–02.

¹⁹ Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1924-1925), 1926b, pp. 192-93.

²⁰ Vandier-d'Abbadie, La chapelle de Khâ, 1939, p. 1. Ferraris, La tomba di Kha e Merit, 2018, p. 16.

²¹ Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh* (1923–1924), 1925, pp. 53–56; a full publication of TT8 appeared in Vandier-d'Abbadie, *La chapelle de Khâ*, 1939.

²² Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1924–1925), 1926b, pp. 64–76; Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1926), 1927, pp. 101–08.

²³ Cherpion, Deux tombes de la XVIIIe dynastie, 1999.

²⁴ Cherpion, Deux tombes de la XVIIIe dynastie, 1999, pp. 31–39.

²⁵ Published in Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1923-1924), 1925, pp. 100-02.

registers); the multiplication of registers becomes more common progressing towards the Ramesside period. The presence of a niche on the back (west) wall can also be considered typical of the other Eighteenth-Dynasty chapels, such as TT8, TT291, TT338, and TT340 (while TT354 stands out with its three niches). Although the name of the owner is absent in the preserved inscriptions, an attribution has been suggested to a man named Smen based on three funerary cones found inside the chapel.²⁶

TT8 is the chapel of Kha, chief of the workmen, and dates to the reigns of Amenhotep II, Thutmosis IV and Amenhotep III, on the basis of the inscriptions and objects of the burial assemblage.²⁷ The chapel presents some peculiarities: as mentioned before, it is the only one situated some 20 metres away from the opening of its funerary shaft; it is also the only one displaying inscriptions written in the polychrome, with monumental hieroglyphs typical of the Eighteenth-Dynasty tombs built in other areas of the Theban necropolis. These characteristics, as well as the finesse of the drawings, which do not suffer from irregularities of proportion as in some of the other tombs, indicate an artist with significant experience not only at Deir el-Medina but also elsewhere. Nonetheless, the chapel fits in very well among the others: it presented a pyramidal superstructure, like TT291, and a niche for the funerary stela on the bottom wall; the patterns on the ceiling and in the vault in general find almost exact correspondences with those used in TT291 and TT338.

TT354 remains anonymous; whether or not it belongs to the same Amenemhat of TT340, to whom Bruyère had originally attributed it, is currently being debated.²⁸ Indeed, the analysis of the decoration would lead to a dating during the reigns of Thutmosis IV and Amenhotep III, quite a bit later than TT340.²⁹ Its decoration is mostly incomplete: the yellow bands that delimit the ceiling, as well as some of the other decorative friezes, only run along half the length of

²⁶ Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh* (1923–1924), 1925, p. 101. Smen seems also to be the owner of shaft 1089 (Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh* [1926], 1927, pp. 50–56), where other five of his cones have been found (pp. 54, 56 fig. 44) and from which the three cones found in the chapel might have also originated.

²⁷ Vandier-d'Abbadie, *La chapelle de Khâ*, 1939, p. 18 and related sources. A recent and complete overview of the history and finds of both chapel and shaft is found in Ferraris, *La tomba di Kha e Merit*, 2018.

²⁸ Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1927), 1928, p. 102. Also Cherpion, Deux tombes de la XVIII^e dynastie, 1999, p. 2.

²⁹ Cherpion, Deux tombes de la XVIII^e dynastie, 1999, pp. 85–90.

the west wall, where also preliminary sketches in white are visible, as in TT291. From what is completed, however, we can affirm that it is most peculiar: although the scenes represented and the basic patterns might look familiar (lotus and grape friezes, tapestry patterns for the ceiling), the second part of this article (4. *Instances of personal intervention*) will explore the many eccentricities indulged by the painter of the tomb.

TT291³⁰ belongs to Nakhtmin, "servant in the place of truth", and Nu, his wife, as reported by the monochrome inscriptions. Based on this title and the fact that the name of Amun has been left intact, the French scholar has dated it to the post-Amarna period; to this element, one may add the many similarities the decoration displays to the other Eighteenth-Dynasty chapels in Deir el-Medina. We have already cited the presence of the niche on the west wall, although here, quite peculiarly, it perforates the back of the pyramidal superstructure to continue into the rock, like a small speos. Similarly to TT8, the decoration unfolds on three walls, the entrance wall being left undecorated; most interestingly, on the side walls, the decoration was left unfinished, leaving behind preparatory sketches in white paint, which allowed Bruyère to study the painting procedure.31 Wherever it was completed, however, it appears very rich in colour and details, with the presence of motives frequently found in the other chapels here studied. Among them, the yellow background of all the walls, the patterns of draperies (also present in TT354) and of spirals (seen in TT8) on the ceiling, and the frieze of lotus blooms and grapes (again in TT8 and TT354) are just a few.³²

Finally, TT338³³ has also been attributed a date after the reign of Akhenaton;³⁴ its owner is May, draughtsman in the Place of Truth, his sons bearing the same titles. Again, many similarities can be seen with the other chapels: in particular, the ceiling presents the same sequence of patterns and decorative elements as TT8. On the left side, although not exactly the same, a pattern with spirals and rosettes is delimited by colour bands (in a sequence of blue-white-red-white-blue); below them is a yellow band of monochrome inscription. Following the

³⁰ Published by Bruyère and Kuentz, *La tombe de Nakht-Min et la tombe d'Ari-Nefer*, 1926a, pp. 1–65.

³¹ Bruyère and Kuentz, *La tombe de Nakht-Min et la tombe d'Ari-Nefer*, 1926a, pp. 6–7.

³² For pictures see Valbelle, *Les artistes de la Vallée des Rois*, 2002, pp. 16–17.

³³ Its painted decoration, detached from the original mudbrick structure of the chapel and today in the Turin museum (S. 7910), is published in Tosi, *La cappella di Maia*, 1994.

³⁴ Tosi, La cappella di Maia, 1994, p. 39.

wall downwards, we find a motif of spirals or circles delimited by two bands with pearl-like motif, finishing with two friezes – first a floral motif of green-red-blue cones, and lastly a sequence of grapes.

It would therefore appear that, although at times distant in their date of construction, all the chapels share many traits, hinting at a common artistic background, as one would expect from such a close-knit community. This is true in particular for the architecture and for the choice of decorative elements. However, a more thorough analysis of these tombs shows that apart from the elements of formality, the painters could personally intervene on various levels and manipulate the widespread visual vocabulary in most individual ways.

3. METHODOLOGY FOR A SEMIOTIC AND VISUAL ANALYSIS OF THEBAN TOMBS AS SHOWN IN EXAMPLES FROM DEIR EL-MEDINA

3.1. Analysis of the distribution of the representational types

In answering the first research question – what is the relationship between an image as a linguistic unit and an image as a figurative unit? – a first method of investigation consists in visually mapping the distribution of the three main representational systems present in a tomb. These are monochrome hieroglyphs, polychrome hieroglyphs (including their emblematic use) and large-scale scenes. In the case of the three chapels, they fit quite well into the concept of space common in the Eighteenth Dynasty - especially in the case of TT8, the tomb that shows the highest level of formal quality [Fig. 1]. More precisely, it is also the only one of the six chapels featuring all the mentioned types of representation, including polychrome hieroglyphs. This fact confirms the higher social status of Kha: the execution of monumental polychrome hieroglyphs requires highly skilled painters, a greater amount of time and care than monochrome silhouette hieroglyphs, and finally, more pigment and material. It would not be surprising that Kha, given his position, would have access to the human resources used to decorate the tombs of the contemporary elites being buried in the other areas of the Theban necropolis.

The long walls are chosen for the large-scale scenes, combined with polychrome and monochrome hieroglyphs. The short walls are instead usually a receptacle for emblematic hieroglyphs, such as the *wd3.t* eyes, and *exclusively* for

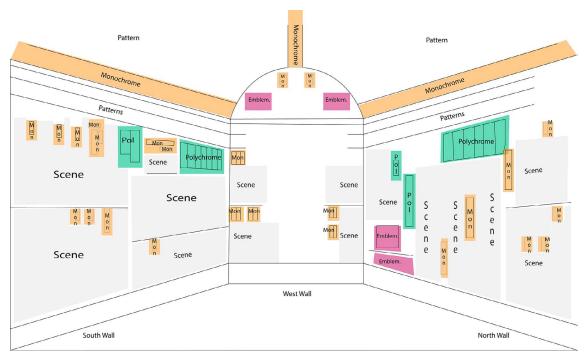


Fig. 1 Visualization of the position of monochrome hieroglyphs, polychrome hieroglyphs, emblems and scenes in TT8 (©University of Basel).

monochrome, simpler hieroglyphs. The ceiling also shows exclusively monochrome hieroglyphs, with the addition of the typical figurative patterns. This preference seems intuitive, and in the case of the short walls, it is probably influenced by the space available, as well as by a relation to stelae layouts.

The position inside the tomb, however, does not seem to play a role. In fact, whereas in TT340, TT354 (and most of the other Eighteenth-Dynasty elite Theban tombs), the short walls with stela-like decoration are on the left and right of the entrance, in TT8 and TT291, as well as in TT338, the decorated short wall is the focal wall, intended to attract the immediate attention of the visitor.

This specification in the distribution of representational types seems to represent therefore in this period an element of formality, which will however evolve in later tombs in Deir el-Medina. In the Ramesside period, figurative scenes and emblematic elements "invade" the domain of the ceiling, clearly hinting at a new conception of space. The vault ceiling shows no real separation from the walls on which it is posed, ³⁵ and scenes and inscriptions continue to fill the whole space, giving up on any purely "decorative" pattern. In other Theban tombs of the Ramesside period, in addition, polychrome hieroglyphs are also attested on

³⁵ One example amonge the others is the tomb of Irynefer, TT290, published in Bruyère and Kuentz, *La tombe de Nakht-Min et la tombe d'Ari-Nefer*, 1926a.

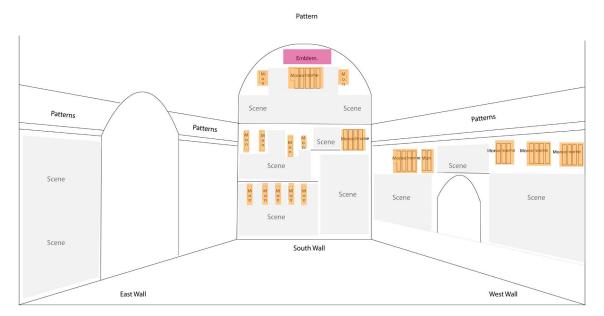


Fig. 2 Visualization of the position of monochrome hieroglyphs, polychrome hieroglyphs, emblems and scenes in TT340. The north wall, not represented here, is analogue to the west wall (©University of Basel).

the ceiling and on the short walls, again showing that a change has taken place in the value and use of each representational type.³⁶

In the case of TT340 **[Fig. 2]**, the situation is very similar, but it features a more modest structure and lacks one of the representational types, the polychrome hieroglyphs. Although the latter are absent from the other tombs as well, other elements point to the fact that the painter could have received a simpler training. Cherpion and Kruchten argue that the one who decorated the tomb was none other than Amenemhat's son Sennefer,³⁷ who refers to himself in the inscriptions as the "son who writes correctly, who has made his name (=of his father) live".³⁸ Despite his claims of scribal knowledge, however, Sennefer makes many linguistic mistakes, which would confirm his relatively amateur education.³⁹ The rendition of the figures also lacks consistent proportionality, and is definitely far from the precision and elegance of TT8. Instead, the decoration appears more similar to that of smaller objects (like wooden chests⁴⁰), than that of tomb walls.

³⁶ One example is the short wall in TT7, belonging to the scribe Ramose (Hofmann, *Bilder im Wandel*, 2004, pl. XX, fig. 56), which presents, like the examples from the Eighteenth Dynasty, the layout of a painted stela: in contrast to the earlier examples, the inscription is completely written in polychrome hieroglyphs.

³⁷ Kruchten, in Nadine Cherpion (eds.), Deux tombes de la XVIIIe dynastie, 1999, p. 47, pp. 54–55.

³⁸ Kruchten, in Nadine Cherpion (eds.), Deux tombes de la XVIIIe dynastie, 1999, p. 44.

³⁹ Kruchten, in Nadine Cherpion (eds.), *Deux tombes de la XVIIIe dynastie*, 1999 p. 55, comes to the same conclusion.

⁴⁰ See e.g. Turin Museo Egizio S. 8213.

Finally, the chapel's ceiling displays only a pattern of grapes: it was therefore not taken into consideration as a medium for written information.

Nonetheless, the basic distribution of semiotic types corresponds to the trends already described: scenes and monochrome hieroglyphs on all the walls, with the peculiar presence of emblems on the short walls, and a pattern on the ceiling.

An analogue distribution is evident in TT354, as visible in **[Fig. 3]**, although there is once again less written and figurative material, due to the unfinished state of the tomb. On the ceiling, yellow bands had been prepared nonetheless, very likely for the sake of accommodating a monochrome inscription. The same goes for a white background prepared in front of the figures of Osiris and Anubis, clearly planned for small monochrome captions.⁴¹

3.2. Comparisons between pictorial units

A second method of analysing the relation between written and figurative material consists in selecting a visual object ("pictorial unit") and following it throughout its various renditions as a monochrome hieroglyph, polychrome hieroglyph and scene detail. This allows us to study the osmotic influence the acts of writing and painting exercise on each other.

[Fig. 4] and [Fig. 5] offer an example from TT8, the tomb decorated in the most formal way. They show the human arm, Gardiner sign D36, in its different versions as a monochrome hieroglyph, polychrome hieroglyph and scene detail. From the drawing, it becomes clear that the relationship between written and figurative representation can be quite strict. Even if the monochrome rendition differs in paint colour, the inner detail of the thumb is still present and its silhouette could easily be overlapped with the polychrome and scene rendition.

The polychrome hieroglyph unit presents an even higher affinity to the scene unit: both share the colour red, the only difference being the slightly higher level of iconicity of the scene, as shown by the white detail of the nail and the small curvature of the palm. The same proportions are respected in all versions, showing that there is a strong dialectic between script and figure – which, one must not forget, goes back to the original status of hieroglyphs as images. As some of the next examples will show, hieroglyphs (also as emblems) are in fact open to visual manipulation, exactly as if they were "purely" figurative elements.

⁴¹ For images of the tomb: Cherpion, *Deux tombes de la XVIII^e dynastie*, 1999, pls. 27–28 (captions); pp. 42–43 (ceiling).

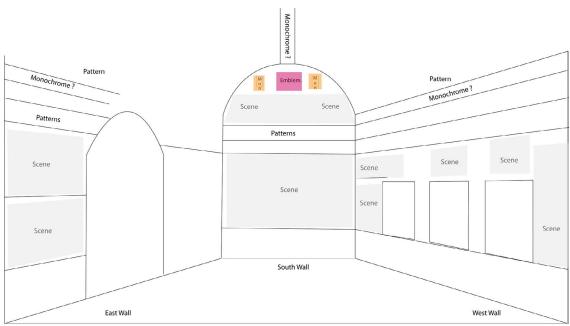


Fig. 3 Visualization of the position of monochrome hieroglyphs, polychrome hieroglyphs, emblems and scenes in TT354. As in TT340, the north wall is analogue to the south one (Drawing University of Basel).



Figs. 4a-c The human arm depicted as monochrome hieroglyph (a, left), polychrome hieroglyph (b, center) and as part of a scene (c, right) in TT8 (Photos by University of Basel).

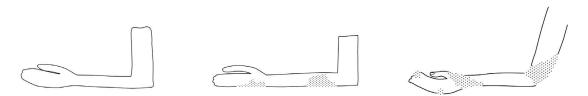


Fig. 5 Drawings of the pictorial units from **[Fig. 4]**, with the monochrome hieroglyph **[Fig. 4a]** reversed for the sake of comparison (Drawings University of Basel).

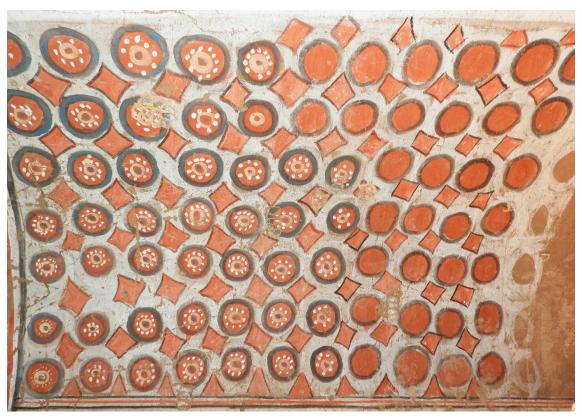


Fig. 6 Detail of ceiling of TT354 (Photo by University of Basel).

4. INSTANCES OF PERSONAL INTERVENTION IN EXAMPLES FROM DEIR EL-MEDINA

Alongside elements of formality present in Deir el-Medina, some very peculiar cases show how manipulation of the icon was in fact open to anyone wishing to innovate – no matter how strong the tendency to homogeneity might have been.

The best example in this direction is offered by TT354, where it appears that the painter's education was based more on personal observation and imitation than on technical study. The tomb ceiling **[Fig. 6]**, for instance, although left unfinished, shows that the intent of the painter was to imitate similar patterns of circles and rosettes found in contemporary tombs, such as TT8, or even on furniture. The execution is not formal, as the elements are not regularly placed, and the circles have quite varied dimensions. Maybe precisely because of this peculiar training, the painter of TT354 did not shy away from experimenting with the iconic material by which he was surrounded.

⁴² See another example on a wooden box from TT8, Turin Museo Egizio S. 8613.







Figs. 7a-c Detail of the *ḥqз* scepter as executed in TT354 (a, left), TT340 (b, center) and TT8 (c, right) (Photos by University of Basel).

The execution of the hqs sceptre in the hands of the god Osiris depicted on the south wall [Fig. 7a] confirms the experimental approach of the painter. Although at first sight it might look identical to the innumerable representations of the same sceptre in other tombs, there is something clearly unusual in the execution of this pictorial unit: the colouring. We find blue as the base colour used, instead of the common yellow, on top of which small specks of yellow paint were added. The painter therefore inverted the "normal" sequence of colour-layers recorded in most of the other tombs – if we look at the same element from TT340 and TT8 [Figs. 7b and 7c], for example, we find a perfectly formal depiction, with yellow base and details in blue.

Much could be said about why the sceptre has to be yellow: it indicates that it is made out of gold (with lapis lazuli inlays), gold being the colour of kingship, fitting for Osiris as king of the Underworld. Gold is also the flesh of the gods, incorruptible, and so is the hieroglyphic sign representing the hq3 sceptre, Gardiner S38 – which is indeed also attested in red (another royal colour), but definitely not in blue. Although this choice might seem dependent on the scene background, blue in this case as well, the yellow base is the most common for

⁴³ The occurrences of the sign with a red base are also very rare, one being found in TT84. TT84 is part of a group of more or less contemporary tombs with a mainly red-blue colour palette, with almost no use of yellow pigments. Others are TT29 (Laboury and Tavier, in Angenot and Tiradritti [eds.], *Artists and Painting*, 2016, pp. 67–68) and TT104 (Shedid, *Stil der Grabmalereien*, 1988, p. 40). This predominance of red tones is most certainly *not* due to the changing of the yellow ochre to red because of fire or high temperatures, for which there are no traces in TT84. Laboury (p. 68) seems also certain that the choice of a red-based colour palette in TT29 was completely intentional, and this would confirm that the use of certain colours represents at most certain formality trends, but no real 'rule'.





Figs. 8a-b Detail of the duck on offering table as executed in TT354 (a, left) and in TT8 (b, right) (Photos by University of Basel).

the execution of the pictorial unit, even when the scene background is white or grey, as can be seen in many tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty in other parts of the Theban necropolis. At Deir el-Medina, we have further examples, among them in the tomb of Sennedjem.⁴⁴

Different explanations can be postulated: the artist may have run out of yellow – a perfectly plausible justification, despite the yellow ochre being much easier to come by in the desert than Egyptian green or blue. However, it could also be that he willingly chose to offer a new interpretation, an interpretation made possible by the established connection of Osiris with the colour green/blue, signifying fertility and rebirth. Indeed, he chose the colour blue to paint the flail as well, another Osirian regalia traditionally attested in yellow.

In this case, the artist would then have discarded the most common mental image – which he must have been aware of, as it was depicted in the vast majority of the tombs of the Theban necropolis – in favour of a personal mental and symbolic image of the sceptre.

This is not an isolated element: the depiction of a duck on top of a table **[Fig. 8a]** at first sight seems quite typical. However, if we look at the same pictorial unit from TT8 **[Fig. 8b]**, we realize some dissimilarities. If we again consider the colours, the rendition from TT354 might seem a bit awkward, with red paint covering not only the head but also the whole neck.

Yet, the substantial difference is another: the neck itself is curved upwards, in contrast to the usual representation of ducks on offering tables. The reason for turning the neck curvature downwards is, of course, that the animal is dead.

⁴⁴ For a picture, Valbelle, Les artistes de la Vallée des Rois, 2002, p. 141.





Figs. 9a-b Detail of the "Gardiner N35" sign as executed in TT354 (a, left) and in TT340 (b, right) (Photos by University of Basel).

This would therefore be the most representative, and natural, way of depicting the situation. In fact, this version of the pictorial unit – with the head hanging down, deprived of vital strength, like in the hieroglyphic sign of the plucked duck (Gardiner sign G54) – is the most commonly attested in Theban tombs. Important to notice is that the artist had already started to paint a first duck head to the right of the "final" version: this iconographic choice was therefore made not once, but twice, which shows again that it was a conscious and willing manipulation of the traditional icon.

The next example is the most interesting from a semiotic point of view. In both TT340 and TT354, we find – on the south and on the north wall respectively – an emblematic composition that is quite common in Theban tombs and attested already from the Middle Kingdom onwards.⁴⁵ It is composed of three elements: two mirroring wds.t – eyes, which represent protection and health; the Gardiner sign M39 ("basket with vegetables"), which may refer not only to "fresh" offerings and foodstuffs needed by the deceased, but also literally means "to be fresh, to be green" and therefore "young". Finally, the Gardiner sign N35a (three lines of water; Figs. 9a-b), which again may refer not only to the "liquid" offerings – that is, the libations – but also establish a connection with Nun, the primordial ocean, and therefore to rebirth.

In TT340 **[Fig. 9b]** the three elements are rendered in a most usual way. Indeed, here too the painter shows some uncertainty in his work, as he covered different parts of the wall with extra yellow paint to correct his mistakes. In the earlier version, the three water lines appear to have been much longer and less cramped than the final ones, almost overlapping with the lower part of the *wd3.t*

⁴⁵ Hölzl, Die Giebelfelddekoration von Stelen, 1990, pp. 19–20.

eyes. Maybe in relation to this, the painter deemed it necessary to shrink the three lines substantially, while still achieving a perfectly recognizable example of the emblem.

In the example from TT354 **[Fig. 9a]**, the (supposed) Gardiner sign N35a displays not three water lines, but four. This version of the sign is absent from the majority of the (extended and basic) sign-lists, meaning that there are close to no parallel orthographic variations in written sources. ⁴⁶ In this case, the manipulation of the sign does not occur with respect to the colour – which is a fundamental element anyway – but with respect to its very semiotic essence: an extra line has been added for the sake of strengthening its meaning.

The artist does not seem to be afraid of the possibility that manipulating a sign could compromise its effect for the afterlife – on the contrary, this manipulation could have a positive effect and grant the deceased more libations. This shows that even compositions that are generally highly standardized and regularly reproduced as emblematic groups still offer room for personal innovation, even in their very meaning. It also underscores once again how the original iconic value of the script, in this case perhaps also brought to the foreground by the absence of a textual context, can be re-appropriated by the painter and individually interpreted.

The last case concerns the figuration running as frieze on the west wall in TT354, that is, the wavy body of a winged cobra protecting a $\check{s}n$ ring with its wings **[Fig. 10]**. Although this pictorial combination becomes quite common in the Ramesside period, the best examples being found in the tombs of Seti I and Nefertari, 47 it is nonetheless absent in private tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty and non-existent in royal tombs of the same period.

In fact, the only other known attestation (and in general the oldest one) in private chapels of the period comes from the tomb of Senneferi, TT99, ⁴⁸ dated to the reign of Thutmosis III. Depictions of such a winged snake appear on both the architraves of the two pillar rows in the inner shrine, flanking the central passage to the most sacred place in the tomb. One snake faces right, toward the hall

⁴⁶ Sign-lists consulted: Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, 2014³; Grimal et al., *Hieroglyphica*, 2000; Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, 2015⁶; Jsesh.

⁴⁷ Hornung and Staehelin (eds.), *Sethos – ein Pharaonengrab*, 1991, pp. 46, 68 (Seti I); Hawass, *Bilder der Unsterblichkeit*, 2006, pp. 307–08 (Nefertari).

⁴⁸ Strudwick, The Tomb of Pharaoh's Chancellor Senneferi at Thebes, 2016, pp. 148-49, pl. 38 C-D.





Figs. 10-11 Details of the uraeus frieze on the west wall in TT354 (Photos by University of Basel).

entrance, the other left, towards the back of the shrine. Both snakes protect with their wings a \S{n} ring and a cartouche, accompanied by the epithet ntr-nfr. Like in TT354, the snakes take on the practical function of space-filler, at the same time protecting the name of the king and the sacred area of the shrine. This close parallel to the depiction in TT354 is itself quite extraordinary. As mentioned, this iconographic element is absent from royal tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty and only otherwise attested on (mostly small) objects. These attestations date to the reign of Amenhotep III and, too late for the owners of TT99 and TT354, to that of Tutankhamun. These examples testify to the use of the winged uraeus and \S{n} ring as space-fillers, especially on the top sides of shrine-shaped artefacts. Two protecting snakes in front of a \S{n} ring appear on the sides of the lid

⁴⁹ N. Cherpion has retraced the appearance of this motive in her publication: Cherpion, *Deux tombes de la XVIIIe dynastie*, 1999, p. 94 and n. 340. However, she does not seem to be aware of the attestation in TT99. The latter appears even more surprising, if we think that the winged uraeus protecting a *šn* ring is otherwise known only in royal contexts starting from Amenhotep III. Notwithstanding the possibility of the painters of TT99 being the inventors of this figurative element, we might more plausibly postulate some unknown precursor in royal art during the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmosis III. I would be grateful for any new attestations.

of Tuya's canopic chest (in the form of a pr-wr shrine),⁵⁰ and two others decorate the headdress of a statuette of Queen Tiy.⁵¹ In another example, on a faience tile from the funerary temple of Amenhotep III, the same composition is shown protecting the cartouche of the king.⁵² Finally, a winged uraeus with $\check{s}n$ ring appears in a number of artefacts from the tomb of Tutankhamun, for example filling the upper part of the small golden shrine.⁵³ In all these cases, the cobra's wings protect for eternity the king or the queen (or the latter's mother): personified in the cartouche, in a three-dimensional statue, and in a name-stela.

This is therefore an element strictly connected with a high-status and, even more, with a royal environment. How could it be included in a tomb that could surely not boast highly trained artisans? In addition, it was definitely not a widespread element of tomb painting, at least not yet: it is absent even from the tomb of Amenhotep III. Being part of the crew who worked in his tomb would then have represented no advantage to the painter of TT354. The painter might, at most, have seen it in one of the official contexts; or, more likely – according to a practice that is recently being recognized⁵⁴ – he might have visited, probably during the various religious festivals, the beautifully decorated tomb chapels of the Eighteenth-Dynasty Theban elites.⁵⁵ Either way, he must have been impressed by this iconographic element and thought of adding it to his own tomb, probably motivated by the desire to raise the prestige of the decoration by taking inspiration from elite models. The painter thus took a motif that was just starting to spread in the official art of his time and even personalized it by taking away any reference to a royal representation or cartouche. The snake deity now protects the tomb-owner himself and his burial, independent of his non-royal

⁵⁰ Cairo JE 95237; Wiese and Brodbeck (eds.), Das goldene Jenseits, 2004, pp. 184-85, cat. no. 28.

⁵¹ Cairo JE 38257. To be found in Wiese and Brodbeck (eds.), Das goldene Jenseits, 2004, pp. 176-77, cat. no. 24.

⁵² Tübingen Inv. Nr. 1728, to be found in Brunner, in Görg and Pusch (eds.), Festschrift Elmar Edel, 1979, p. 65.

⁵³ Cairo JE 61481: Wiese and Brodbeck (eds.), Das goldene Jenseits, 2004, pp. 260-62, cat. no. 58.

⁵⁴ Among the other studies to discuss the practice of visiting tombs to take inspiration for the own tomb are Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity*, 2004, p. 15; Laboury, in Gillen (ed.), (*Re)productive Traditions in Ancient Egypt*, 2017, p. 235 and n. 13; Doncker in the same volume, pp. 334–37; also Doncker in Kóthay (ed.), *Art and Society*, 2012.

⁵⁵ This hypothesis is also supported by the inclusion in the decoration of TT354 of a figurative element identifiable with a lotus fan (Cherpion, *Deux tombes de la XVIIIe dynastie*, 1999, p. 68, pl. 27), which is extremely rare in the Eighteenth-century private context, being only present in extremely high-prestige tombs of the time between Thutmosis III and Amenhotep II. See Sartori, in Morfini *et al.* (eds.), *Rethinking Osiris*, 2021, pp. 161-74.

status. This idiosyncrasy (an exclusively royal element adapted for a private individual) confirms that no matter how uniform the selection of tomb scenes and other decorative elements might have been, the artist was still potentially free to choose from the visual repertoire at his disposal.

One must add to this that the innovation does not simply consist of the inclusion of a rare iconographic element in the decorative program. The painter once more changes the original element, by inserting repeated 'nh signs in between the coils of the snake [Fig. 11], giving a frieze-like character to the depiction. Despite the eternal protection already encoded by this icon, just as in the case of the extra line of water, the painter wishes to ensure the tomb-owner more 'life' in the underworld. Finally, in this experimentation (with a tendency to *horror vacui*), the painter goes as far as to place a $w extit{3}d$ sign as well, clearly wishing to add more details and fill in the space of the otherwise awkwardly long serpentine figure.

5. CONCLUSIONS

This analysis has given an insight into how written and visual representation interact with each other within the microcosm of the tomb, as well as into the role of the artists in strengthening or loosening this connection.

This becomes particularly clear in the Eighteenth-Dynasty chapels at Deir el-Medina. Some elements appear to respond most often to criteria of formality. One of them is the precise division of space for each pictorial category: every specific element of the decoration (monochrome and polychrome hieroglyphs, emblems, scenes, patterns) has its own place. Even in the case of painters with a more informal training, such as the scribe Sennefer from TT340 or the unconventional painter in TT354, this order of things is always respected.

The second criterion of formality is the tendency of osmosis in script and figure, clearly demonstrated by the case of the human arm, Gardiner sign D36, from TT8. Hieroglyphs and scenes can share their basic shape and proportions.

⁵⁶ Cherpion, *Deux tombes de la XVIIIe dynastie*, 1999, p. 94, suggests that, on the basis of the parallel in the tomb of Nefertari, the snake 'giving life' could be identified with Meresger. At this time the cult of Mereseger was actually not yet so widespread as it was to be in the Ramesside period (Keller, in Sue H. D'Auria [eds.], *FS Fazzini*, 2008, p. 150), but the goddess figures sporadically also in royal art, for example protecting the miniature figure of the king in a statue of Amenhotep II (Cairo JE 39394; see Bryan, in Lloyd [eds.], *Companion to ancient Egypt*, II, 2010, p. 922, fig. 40.6).

In particular, polychrome hieroglyphs share with the scene the colours and most often also the inner details, maintaining high levels of iconicity and being at times closer to figurative art than to writing. In fact, as hieroglyphs originally derived from figurative art,⁵⁷ the fuzzy boundaries between the two experiences must have felt natural the ancient Egyptians, who never distinguished verbally the two actions of 'writing' and 'drawing'. Unfortunately, establishing comparisons among all the representational types was not possible in all tombs, due to the absence of polychrome hieroglyphs. From this point of view, among the six, TT8 is exceptional in Deir el-Medina due to the highest degree of formality it shows, not lacking any of the elements to be expected in a high-status tomb in the Theban necropolis.

However, as the case studies have shown, painters consciously interact with and even challenge these formal elements, so that when this net of formality weakens, there is potentially much room for change. In TT354, almost a *unicum* in comparison with other Eighteenth-Dynasty tombs, both in Deir el-Medina and in the rest of the Theban necropolis, we discover that painters had a range of possibilities at their disposal for manipulating the traditional icons.

One possibility is the manipulation of the usual execution process; thus, one colour can be set up as a base in place of another more traditional colour, as the example of the hq_3 sceptre shows, completely reversing the usual effect. Manipulation can occur in the colours, or even in the structure of the pictorial unit itself, as in the case of the duck or the water ripples. Finally, manipulation can occur in the typical repertoire of the tomb itself, even by appropriating royal elements for personal use, as in the case of the winged snake.

Precisely this constant dialectic with the most widespread trends brings about changes. For example, with time, even the formal division of space is lost. In Ramesside tombs at Deir el-Medina, the wall decoration, with scenes, emblems, and columns of text, often continues without major breaks – only register lines – onto the ceiling.

Whether or not this innovative potential was actively realized by the artists could be influenced by various factors – but it would seem like a less formal training resulted in a greater experimentation, as the painter of TT354 illustrates.

⁵⁷ "From the very beginning, writing has been a daughter of art. Out of the boundless store of pictures before the artist's eye, a limited number was chosen to convey the sound and especially of names": Hornung, in Lavin (ed.), World Art, II, 1989, p. 276; cf. also some case studies treated in Sartori, in Graves (eds.), BEC 4, pp. 126–30.

As this overview has shown, a conscious visual approach to the pictorial material is bound to yield a better understanding of the agency behind ancient Egyptian pictorial production. In doing so, it bring us to question once again the so-called "rules" of Egyptian art, which clearly did not exclude *a priori* the possibility of personal intervention even in the most formal of its elements.

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EXAMINING THE IMPACT OF THE RAMESSIDE ROYAL WOMEN'S TOMBS ON THE DEIR EL-MEDINA ICONOGRAPHIC TRADITION: A WORK IN PROGRESS

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to bring a new focus to the artistic nexus between the Valley of the Queens and Deir el-Medina during the Nineteenth Dynasty, the most creatively fruitful period of scene development, and to do so by presenting some of the research objectives and preliminary findings of my ongoing comparative study of these Ramesside royal and private tombs. My study has two interconnected aims: the first is to elucidate how early Nineteenth-Dynasty Ramesside royal women's tombs influenced the development of Book of the Dead spells, particularly vignettes, subsequently incorporated into the Deir el-Medina iconographic tradition. The second is to trace the paths of transmission from these queens' tombs to Deir el-Medina by way of the personnel who worked in those tombs, many of whom we know by name and occupation.

1. INTRODUCTION

At the very beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty, the way royal women were buried changed significantly in accordance with a comprehensive Ramesside period aggrandizement of all royal tombs. A valley in Western Thebes, known anciently as Ta Set Neferu and now called the Valley of the Queens, was deliberately re-purposed as a separate, discrete cemetery for many of the highest ranking Ramesside royal women, most bearing the hm.t nsw.t wr.t ("great royal wife") title and each interred in a decorated, independently owned, rock-cut tomb [Fig. 1]. The tombs of Ramesside royal women were significantly larger and more elaborately decorated than those of their Eighteenth Dynasty counterparts, who were typically buried, individually, or, sometimes, in groups, in undecorated chambers within kings' tombs or in undecorated tombs in and around the contemporary pharaohs' necropolis, the Valley of the Kings. The complex, multifaceted Ramesside enhancement of royal women's burials involved the design and execution of new "queenly" decorative schemes, each comprising scenes and texts specifically tailored to the gender, status, and role of the royal female tomb owner.² Among the scenes developed for and employed in these tombs were new vignettes and new arrangements of pre-existing vignettes from the Book of the Dead.³

The artists, stonecutters, scribes, foremen, administrators, and guards who lived with their families in the nearby village of Deir el-Medina were directly involved with the innovative mortuary developments in the Valley of the Queens. As a group, they were responsible for cutting, decorating, and securing the tombs in the western Theban royal necropoleis. In the Nineteenth Dynasty, the Deir el-Medina inhabitants developed a rich iconographic tradition of their own, which was impacted by the newly designed and executed programs of the Ramesside queens' tombs and which they applied to the decoration of their own partially rock-cut tombs and to the Book of the Dead papyri buried with them.⁴

The broader purpose of this article is to bring a new focus to the artistic nexus between the Valley of the Queens and Deir el-Medina during the

¹ McCarthy, Scribe 5 (2020), pp. 52–53; McCarthy, "Queenship, Cosmography, and Regeneration", 2011.

² McCarthy, "Queenship, Cosmography, and Regeneration", 2011; McCarthy, Scribe 5 (2020), p. 53.

³ McCarthy, *Scribe* 5 (2020), p. 53.

⁴ McCarthy, Scribe 5 (2020), p. 53; Milde, Neferrenpet, 1991, pp. 3 and note 7, 10-14, 238-39.

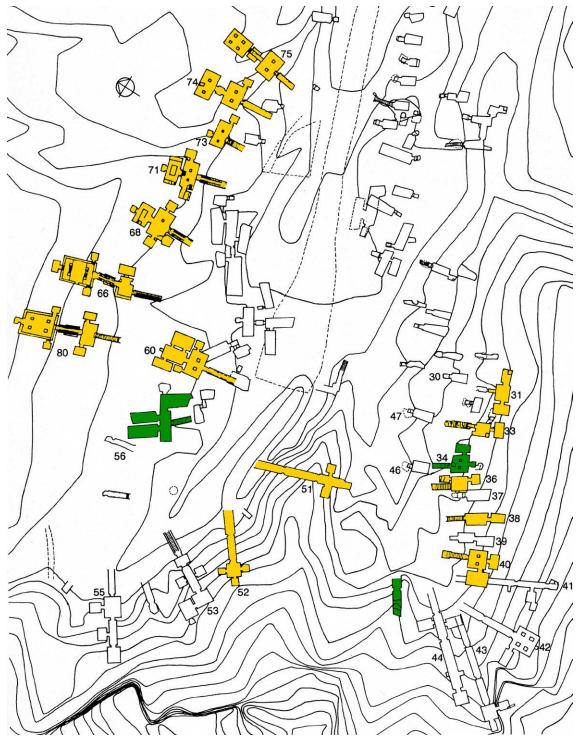


Fig. 1 Map of the Valley of the Queens with the Ramesside royal women's tombs highlighted. Those rendered in yellow preserve the names and/or titles of the royal women for which they were cut and decorated, those highlighted in green do not (Adapted from Willeitner, in Schmidt and Willeitner (eds.), *Nefertari*, 1994, p. 88, fig. 121).

Nineteenth Dynasty, the most creatively fruitful period of scene development, and to do so by presenting some of the research objectives and preliminary findings of my ongoing comparative study of these Ramesside royal and private tombs. My study has two interconnected aims: the first is to elucidate how early Nineteenth-Dynasty Ramesside royal women's tombs influenced the development of *Book of the Dead* spells, particularly vignettes, subsequently incorporated into the Deir el-Medina iconographic tradition. The second is to trace the paths of transmission from these queens' tombs to Deir el-Medina by way of the personnel who worked in those tombs, many of whom we know by name and occupation due to the fortuitous archaeological survival of extensive written evidence.

The basis and starting point of my research was a dataset comprising the total repertoire of *Book of the Dead* spells/vignettes used in Nineteenth-Dynasty Ramesside queens' tombs, which I compared against those employed in contemporary (and later) Deir el-Medina private tombs in order to reveal areas of overlap and influence. A 2019 field research season⁵ then gave me the opportunity to conduct a first-hand examination of tombs, photograph scenes relevant to my study, and identify further occurrences of BD spells/vignettes from my dataset.⁶ My present work involves stylistic, iconographic, and textual analyses of royal and non-royal versions of the same scenes in order to follow patterns of artistic influence and to use variations so as to discern how differences were determined (e.g., rules related to royal decorum). I am also tracking transmission by means of studying Deir el-Medina documents and prosopography, which help establish which personnel worked in which royal tombs.

My research builds upon my 2011 study of the architecture and decorative programs of Ramesside royal women's tombs in the Valley of the Queens⁷ as well as more recent work elucidating the complex patterns of scene dissemination from Ramesside queens' tomb programs to those of subsequent kings' tombs and also to private tombs and papyri. The selected Book of the Dead vignettes

⁵ The research presented here is based, in part, upon data I gathered during a 2019 field research season in Deir el-Medina, which I conducted as a recipient of a 2018-2019 postdoctoral fellowship administered by the American Research Center in Egypt and funded by the Educational and Cultural Affairs Bureau of the US State Department.

⁶ McCarthy, Scribe 5 (2020), p. 56, especially a greater number of BD 17 and BD 161 variants.

⁷ McCarthy, "Queenship, Cosmography, and Regeneration", 2011.

⁸ McCarthy, "Ramesside Royal Women's Tombs as Mortuary Trendsetters", in preparation.

I will discuss here comprise the subset of scenes relating to this latter pattern, from royal funerary context to private.

In the following pages, I will use two case studies, each concerning a Book of the Dead spell/vignette, to illustrate my work regarding my primary research aims. In section 2, I will discuss BD 180, the study of which presents an especially clear illustration of spell/vignette development and use and also allows for a reconstruction of its course of dissemination from the Valley of the Queens to Deir el-Medina. In section 3, I will focus upon a BD 125B Negative Confessions spell/vignette possessing an unusual, idiosyncratic iconographic variation that, by virtue of its rarity, provides traceable evidence for influence and transmission from QV60, the tomb of Nebettawy, a daughter and great royal wife of Ramesses II, to Deir el-Medina, where it was seemingly re-contextualized for private use in one papyrus and two tombs. Section IV summarizes and connects the main points of the paper and concludes with some thoughts about the merit of exploring further the relationship between the Valley of the Queens and Deir el-Medina.

2. BOOK OF THE DEAD SPELL 180

Book of the Dead spell 180 is a spell dealing largely with the union of Re and Osiris that was developed in the Eighteenth Dynasty, derived from the last section of *The Litany of Re*, an early New Kingdom royal netherworld book. This BD spell first appeared as a purely textual composition in several mid-to-late Eighteenth- Dynasty private funerary papyri, including Louvre N 3073, JE 9570, and BM EA 9900, which possesses two versions of the spell. 10

In the early Nineteenth Dynasty, BD 180 underwent significant formal changes, including the development of two distinct illustrations with different patterns of use. One, the "Re-Osiris scene", was employed primarily in royal women's tombs, while the other was used only in private contexts.¹¹

The earliest known version of the BD 180 Re-Osiris vignette is that employed

⁹ Quirke, Going out in Daylight, 2013, p. 458; Milde, Neferrenpet, 1991, p. 66; Hornung and Brodbeck, Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen (Sonnenlitanei), 1975, pp. 222–55.

¹⁰ Lapp, Nebseni, 2002, pp. 10, 15ff; Quirke, Going out in Daylight, 2013, p. 458.

¹¹ McCarthy, "Book of the Dead 180 Re-Osiris Scenes in Ramesside Queens' Tombs", in preparation.

Though Hornung has referred to the BD 180 Re-Osiris vignette in Nefertari's tomb as having been added "[o]n ad hoc basis," 16 thereby implying that it was a hastily developed, limited use scene, I have demonstrated in my 2011 study that this same vignette was used deliberately and consistently in tombs belonging to Ramesses II's royal women, which, like Nefertari's tomb, are located on the north flank of the Valley of the Queens. 17 Besides QV66, the Re-Osiris vignette appears in those of several of Ramesses II's daughters/daughter-wives [Fig. 3]. These include QV60, the tomb of Nebettawy, where the scene appears twice [Figs. 4, 5]; QV68, that of Merytamun, which possesses a heavily damaged vignette I have identified as BD 180 based upon formal similarities to examples in the

¹² Goedicke and Thausing, Nofretari, 1971, pp. 44–45, pl. 41.

¹³ Smith, Following Osiris, 2017, pp. 304–05; DuQuesne, in Backes et al. (eds.), Totenbuch-Forschungen, 2016, pp. 29ff; Hornung, Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt, 1990, pp. 155–56.

¹⁴ See Smith, Following Osiris, 2017, p. 305 and Goedicke and Thausing, Nofretari, 1971, p. 45 for a discussion of the scene and the translation of the second line without an implied parallel use of the copula pw. However, the implicit use of pw in the second line is assumed in the translation by McDonald, House of Eternity, 1996, p. 81. DuQuesne, in Backes et al. (eds.), Totenbuch-Forschungen, 2016, p. 30 cites an example from the Litany of Re, where the symmetry between the two phrases is abbreviated to R^c pw htp m Wsir tz phr (i.e., "This is Re who rests as/in Osiris, vice versa"), thus rendering implicit the entire second line. Though I have chosen to transliterate and translate without pw in the second line, I hold open the possibility that it was implied and that its omission from Deir el-Medina versions may have been deliberately copied from QV66.

¹⁵ McCarthy, "Book of the Dead 180 Re-Osiris Scenes in Ramesside Queens' Tombs", in preparation.

¹⁶ Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife, 1999, p. 140.

¹⁷ McCarthy, "Queenship, Cosmography, and Regeneration", 2011, pp. 293, 296, 329, 332–33, 363–64, 491.

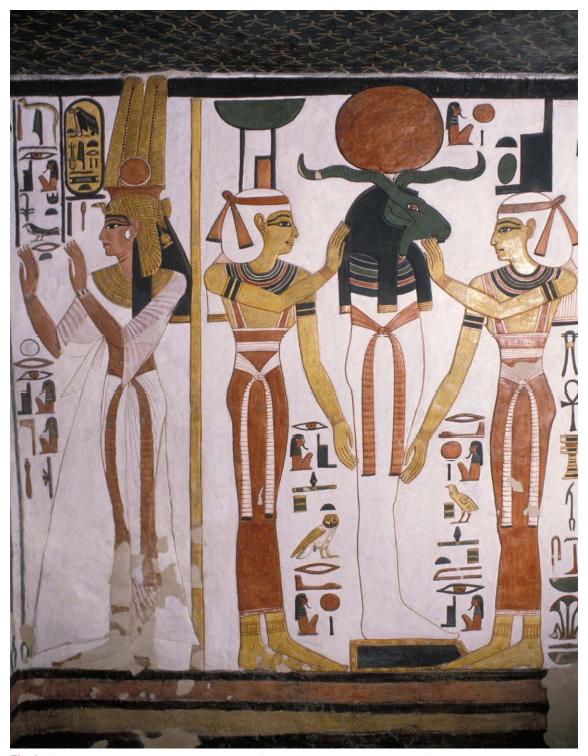


Fig. 2 The BD 180 Re-Osiris scene from QV66, the tomb of Nefertari, great royal wife of Ramesses II (Photo by The J. Paul Getty Trust [1992]).

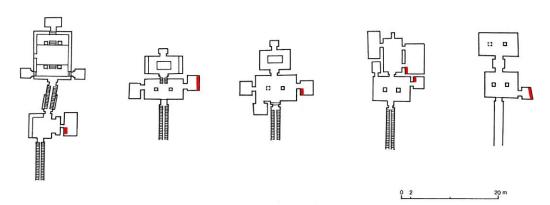


Fig. 3 Plans of Ramesside queens' tombs with the locations of their Solar-Osirian Union scenes indicated in red. In all but QV71 (Bint-Anath), the Solar-Osirian Union scene is the *BD* 180 Re-Osiris vignette. In QV71, it is a solarized, anthropomorphic *dd*-pillar flanked by Isis and Nephthys (Adapted from Leblanc, *BIFAO* 89 [1989], p. 242, fig. 5).

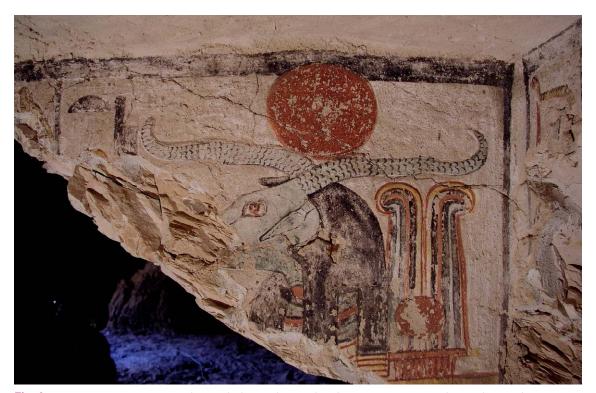


Fig. 4 BD 180 Re-Osiris scene in the symbolic north antechamber annex of QV60, the tomb of Nebettawy, Ramesses II's daughter and great royal wife (Photo by H.L. McCarthy).

neighboring queens' tombs; and QV74, a tomb that was cut and decorated for an unknown daughter of Ramesses II but remained unoccupied until the Twentieth Dynasty, when it was usurped for the burial of Duatentipet, the great royal wife of Ramesses IV and mother of Ramesses V.¹⁸

¹⁸ Peden, The Reign of Ramesses IV, 1994, pp. 5–6; Leblanc and Abdel-Rahman, RdE 42 (1991), p. 165.

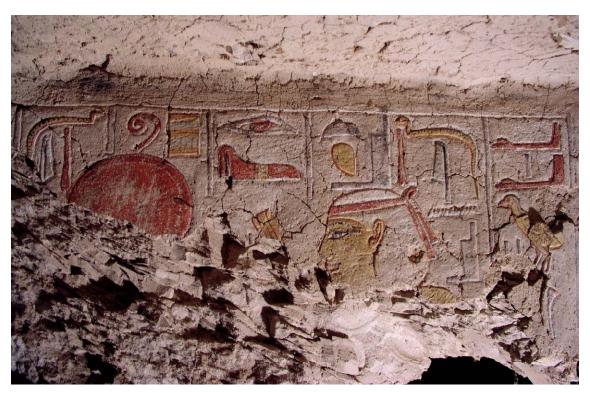


Fig. 5 BD 180 Re-Osiris scene in the symbolic north sarcophagus chamber annex of QV60, the tomb of Nebettawy, Ramesses II's daughter and great royal wife (Photo by H.L. McCarthy).

In these royal women's tombs, the BD 180 Re-Osiris scene functioned as the principal, though not exclusive, representation of the Solar-Osirian Union, the other being a similarly composed scene showing Isis and Nephthys flanking a solarized *dd*-pillar in QV71, the tomb of Bint-Anath, Ramesses II's eldest daughter and great royal wife. The pictorial representation of the Solar-Osirian Union, primarily expressed by BD 180, was a significant component of the decorative repertoire used in royal women's tombs during Ramesses II's reign and played a specific role in Ramesside queens' tomb cosmography. This is demonstrated by its consistent location in a designated chamber, namely, the antechamber's right hand/symbolic north lateral annex, ²⁰ with the additional BD 180 scene in QV60 appearing also in the sarcophagus chamber's right hand/symbolic north lateral annex [Figs. 3 and 5].

At the same time that the BD 180 Re-Osiris scene was featured in queens' tombs, an alternate version of the BD 180 vignette, accompanied by a long

¹⁹ McCarthy, "Queenship, Cosmography, and Regeneration", 2011, pp. 332–33, 491.

²⁰ McCarthy, "Book of the Dead 180 Re-Osiris Scenes in Ramesside Queens' Tombs", in preparation; McCarthy, "Queenship, Cosmography, and Regeneration", 2011, p. 491.

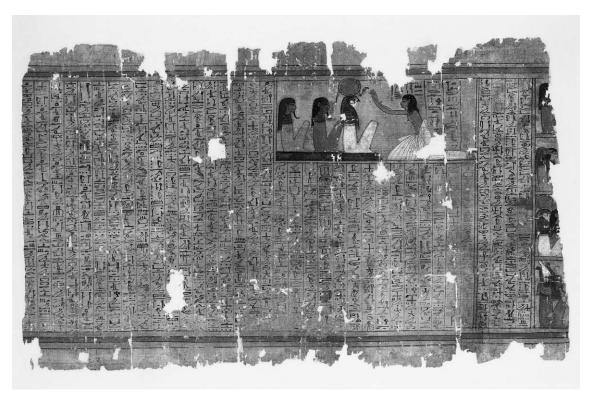


Fig. 6 Papyrus of Neferrenpet (University of Pennsylvania Museum E2775, 16720-22) with BD 180 vignette used in non-royal funerary contexts.

version of the BD 180 spell text, was used in the private funerary papyri of the merchant Qenna (pLeiden T 2) and the Deir el-Medina relief sculptor Neferrenpet (University of Pennsylvania Museum E2775, 16720-22) [Fig. 6].²¹ This illustrated version of the BD 180 spell has a somewhat commonplace vignette, similar in subject matter and composition to those of multiple Book of the Dead spells,²² depicting the deceased worshiping a squatting divine triad comprising the falcon headed Re-Horakhty and two anthropomorphic male deities. TT3, the tomb of Pashedu, is also adorned with BD 180 on the south half of the burial chamber ceiling, though this version of the spell is strictly textual²³ [Fig. 7].

The parallel use of this second, seemingly non-royal version of the BD 180 vignette strongly suggests that the Re-Osiris scene is a distinct BD 180 subtype

²¹ Quirke, Going out in Daylight, 2013, p. 458; Milde, Neferrenpet, 1991, p. 66; Saleh, Das Totenbuch in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern, 1984, p. 87.

²² For example, component tableaux within BD 17's sequence of vignettes, BD 27-28, BD 30, BD 42, BD 72, BD 95, BD 104, BD 108, some versions of BD 109, tableaux within BD 110, BD 112, BD 116, BD 127, BD 144, and BD 181.

²³ Zivie, La Tombe de Pached, 1979, pp. 72-76, 138 fig. 2, pl. 25.



Fig. 7 Burial chamber of TT3 (Pashedu) with BD 180 text on south (left) half of ceiling (Photo by H.L. McCarthy).

that was developed originally and, at first, exclusively, for use in queens' tombs, perhaps because rules of decorum initially determined that this scene's direct, explicit depiction of the crucial, yet conceptually and ritually vulnerable union of Re and Osiris was deemed appropriate only for royal tombs, though, if true, this rule was seemingly eliminated or circumvented briefly.

The complexity of BD 180's history of use in the early Nineteenth Dynasty is demonstrated by the adoption of the BD 180 Re-Osiris vignette by two Deir el-Medina artists for their own funerary needs sometime after its first appearance in QV66. Thus, after Nefertari's tomb was decorated, the Re-Osiris scene was utilized not only in subsequent royal women's tombs on the north flank of the Valley of the Queens, but also in this pair of private tombs.

More precisely, painted Re-Osiris scenes, executed in the predominantly golden yellow, monochrome style,²⁴ appear in the neighboring tombs of the brothers Nakhtamun (TT335)²⁵ and Neferrenpet (TT336) [Figs. 8 and 9],²⁶ both relief sculptors who worked in royal tombs during the first half of Ramesses II's reign²⁷ and who were brothers-in-law of the scribe Huy, the latter linked to the work in Nefertari's tomb by an ostracon found in the Valley of the Queens.²⁸ Neferrenpet was also the aforementioned owner of the Book of the Dead containing a BD 180 spell illustrated with the second, non-royal scene, so that both versions of the vignette were associated with his burial. As Nakhtamun, Neferrenpet, or, possibly, both men could have been among the artists who decorated Nefertari's tomb, it seems likely that they, Huy, or some combination of the three, were directly responsible for bringing the idea of the BD 180 Re-Osiris scene from Nefertari's tomb to TT335 and TT336.²⁹

However, these two Re-Osiris vignettes were clearly differentiated pictorially and textually from those used in queens' tombs, perhaps for reasons of decorum. The tableaux were executed in painting alone rather than the painted relief employed in Ramesside royal women's tombs. Also, the monochrome style in

²⁴ Bruyère, Tombes thébaines de Deir el-Médineh à décoration monochrome, 1952.

²⁵ Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles à Deir el-Médineh* 1924-1925, 1926, pp. 99–100 and figure 67.

²⁶ Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles à Deir el-Médineh 1924-1925, 1926, pp. 135-37, figures 91-92.

²⁷ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, pp. 178–83.

²⁸ Koenig, BIFAO 88 (1988), p. 114; Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 125, note 533.

²⁹ McCarthy, *Scribe* 5 (2020), p. 56; McCarthy, "Book of the Dead 180 Re-Osiris Scenes in Ramesside Queens' Tombs", in preparation.

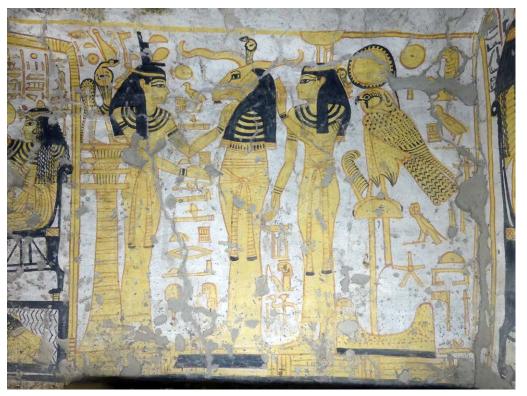


Fig. 8 BD 180 Re-Osiris scene in TT335, tomb of the relief sculptor Nakhtamun (Photo by H.L. McCarthy).

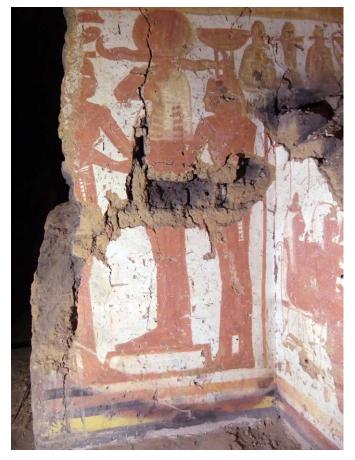


Fig. 9 BD 180 Re-Osiris scene in TT336, the tomb of the relief sculptor Neferrenpet (Photo by H.L. McCarthy).

which the TT335 and TT336 scenes were rendered was an artistic convention primarily used in private tombs at that time,³⁰ and it distinguishes these scenes from those in the queens' tombs, which were decorated in polychrome save for occasional, limited uses of monochrome figures.³¹

Moreover, there are distinct iconographic variations, particularly evident in Nakhtamun's version, which are consistent with the Deir el-Medina practice of creatively editing Book of the Dead scenes, sometimes combining them with other spells or motifs. Nakhtamun's version includes additional, "non-canonical" BD 180 figures and their associated texts, namely, a serpent/solar eye goddess, probably Wadjet, standing on a column behind Isis and Re-Horakhty, in falcon form, perched on a "west" hieroglyph behind Nephthys. The column of text behind Re-Horakhty reads: R^c pw imy m dw_3 .t ("This is Re who is in the Duat"). Nephthys' name is also, unusually, painted in the void between her lower body and that of Re-Osiris, occupying space typically allotted to half of the syncretistic couplet.

The three essential BD 180 deities are also represented with conspicuous iconographic variations, such as Re-Osiris wearing a rearing cobra on his head rather than his usual nocturnal solar disk and Isis and Nephthys donning long tripartite wigs instead of white 3fn.t hair coverings. 35

In addition, the composition and writing of the syncretistic couplet was altered; both halves were combined into one vertical text column located in the space between Isis and Re-Osiris, thus lacking the symmetry of the QV66 version, where it was arranged into two smaller vertical columns situated in the spaces between each goddess and Re-Osiris' body. ³⁶ The change in composition

³⁰ Keller, in Bleiberg and Freed (eds.), *Fragments of a Shattered Visage*, 1993, pp. 62–63.

³¹ The golden yellow figure of Nut painted on the ceiling of QV38, the tomb of Sat-Re, great royal wife of Ramesses I and mother of Seti I; a small canopic niche in the sarcophagus chamber of QV66, the tomb of Nefertari; and, later, in the Twentieth Dynasty, the sarcophagus chamber annexes in QV51, the tomb of Isis, a great royal wife of Ramesses III, mother of Ramesses VI, and possible mother of Ramesses IV.

³² McCarthy, *Scribe* 5 (2020), pp. 56–57; See also Bruyère, *Tombes thébaines de Deir el-Médineh à décoration monochrome*, 1952, pp. 27–28, 42, plate 2 for an example from the tomb of Khabeknet (TT2) showing a ceiling panel scene juxtaposing the *šwyt* figure from BD 92 with the Mehit-Weret cow from the series of tableaux comprising the longer version of the BD 17 vignette.

³³ The goddess' caption reads only *ir.t R^c* ("eye of Re"), but her iconography likely identifies her as Wadjet in her solar eye aspect. See Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, 1986, pp. 119–21, 124, 126.

³⁴ McCarthy, *Scribe* 5 (2020), pp. 56-57.

³⁵ McCarthy, *Scribe* 5 (2020), p. 57.

³⁶ McCarthy, *Scribe* 5 (2020), p. 57.

was doubtless made in order to compensate for the spatial limitations created by the inclusion of Re-Horakhty, Wadjet, their associated texts, and Nephthys' oddly placed caption. Moreover, the couplet text, which can be read as: R^c pw htp m Wsir htp m R^c ("This is Re who rests as Osiris, [Osiris] who rests as/in Re") or R^c pw htp m Wsir [Wsir pw] htp m R^c ("This is Re who rests as/in Osiris, [this is Osiris] who rests as/in Re"), uses the single writing of the name Osiris as a pivot point for both lines of the text, a device perhaps necessitated by the arrangement of the two parts into a single column. That being said, both the TT335 and QV66 versions omit the copula pw from the second line, which perhaps suggests direct copying from the QV66 source. 37

The partly damaged version of the vignette in Neferrenpet's tomb, comprising only the key figures of Isis, Re-Osiris, and Nephthys, is more similar compositionally and iconographically to those in queens' tombs than is that in TT335. However, unlike the queenly versions, it lacks any associated text at all, including the syncretistic couplet, which is ordinarily an essential feature of the BD 180 Re-Osiris scene³⁸

Though the BD 180 Re-Osiris vignette does not seem to have been used again in a private tomb, its syncretistic couplet appears in another Book of the Dead spell/vignette adorning the burial chamber of TT290, the tomb of the servant in the Place of Truth, Irynefer³⁹ [Fig. 10]. In this instance, the couplet text was added to the illustration for BD 109, the Spell for Knowing the Eastern Ba-souls,⁴⁰ perhaps in order to highlight an implicitly understood allusion to the union of Re and Osiris. The TT290 scene depicts a calf between two sycamores while the red, nocturnal sun-disk hovers above, between the two treetops; the text is arranged into three short vertical columns, filling the space between the sun-disk, the calf, and the sycamores. It reads: R^c pw htp m Wsir htp m R^c ("This is Re who rests as/in Osiris, Osiris who rests as/in Re"), to which the adverbial phrase n r^c -nb ("every day") was added to the end. Once again, the copula pw was omitted, as in the QV66 and TT335 examples. Despite the lack of spatial separation between

³⁷ See above, note 20.

³⁸ McCarthy, "Book of the Dead 180 Re-Osiris Scenes in Ramesside Queens' Tombs", in preparation.

³⁹ McCarthy, *Scribe* 5 (2020), p. 56; Bruyère and Kuentz, *La Tombe de Nakht-Min La Tombe d'Ari-Nefer*, 2015, pp. 152–53, plates 48, 2 and 49, 2.

⁴⁰ Quirke, Going out in Daylight, 2013, pp. 240–41; Barguet, Le livres des morts, 1967, p. 143; Faulkner and Goelet, The Egyptian Book of the Dead, 1998, p. 113.



Fig. 10 BD 109 vignette with syncretistic text from BD 180 Re-Osiris scene (Photo by H.L. McCarthy).

the two halves of the couplet, as was also the case in TT335, the name "Osiris" was written twice in TT290, thereby delimiting each line of the couplet.

This particular scene exemplifies the creative and, most likely, theologically informed impulse to experiment with *Book of the Dead* spells/vignettes evident in other Deir el-Medina tombs. ⁴¹ Additionally, it is possible to interpret Irynefer's borrowing of text alone from the BD 180 Re-Osiris spell as a reticence to use its powerfully charged imagery, and, perhaps, as an indication that its propriety for non-royal usage had been reconsidered or rescinded after its employment in TT335 and TT336. ⁴²

⁴¹ McCarthy, *Scribe* 5 (2020), p. 56.

⁴² McCarthy, "Book of the Dead 180 Re-Osiris Scenes in Ramesside Queens' Tombs", in preparation.

3. BOOK OF THE DEAD SPELL 125B: NEGATIVE CONFESSIONS

The BD 125B "Negative Confessions" spell/vignette was one of the more frequently used Book of the Dead compositions, typically employed in private funerary papyri, tombs, and other source types from the Eighteenth Dynasty through the Roman era. In the Ramesside period, this spell was often used to adorn the walls of Theban private tombs and, less often, royal tombs. The vignette depicts the Hall of Two Truths, where the judgment of the deceased takes place; this hall is typically represented as a long, rectangular shrine with open doors, and its text comprises forty-two declarations of innocence of various misdeeds before a tribunal of forty-two deities.

In the Valley of the Queens, the BD 125B spell/vignette appears in QV60, the tomb of Nebettawy, the fifth-born daughter and a second generation great royal wife of Ramesses II.⁴⁷ The now heavily damaged scene originally covered the entire left hand/symbolic south lateral wall of the antechamber, and the spell's text is organized into forty-two contiguous, vertical columns contained within the shrine [Fig. 11]. At the upper, rear corner of the shrine, an outward-facing, anthropomorphic male deity wearing two feathers on his head is seated within a rectangular compartment⁴⁸ [Fig. 12]. More typically, this place in the Negative Confessions vignette is occupied by twin figures of the goddess Maat, which are emblematic of, and literally spell out, the word M_3 ("Two Truths").⁴⁹ The two feathers worn by the male Maat in QV60 also spell out M_3 ("Two Truths").⁴⁹ The two feathers worn by the male Maat in QV60 also spell out M_3 ("Two Truths").⁴⁹ The two However, the unusual decision to transform one or more of the Maat goddesses⁵¹

⁴³ Quirke, *Going out in Daylight*, 2013, pp. 269–76.

⁴⁴ Saleh, Das Totenbuch in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern, 1984, pp. 63-71.

⁴⁵ McCarthy, in Wilkinson and Weeks (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Valley of the Kings*, 2016, Table 11.2, Table 11.3, 171, 174.

⁴⁶ Milde, Neferrenpet, 1991, pp. 84–85; Faulkner and Andrews, The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead, 2001, pp. 28–32: Faulkner and Goelet, The Egyptian Book of the Dead, 1998, pl. 31; Barguet, Le livres des morts, 1967, pp. 160–62.

⁴⁷ KRITA II, 1996, p. 598; KRI II, 916.

⁴⁸ Milde, *Neferrenpet*, 1991, pp. 88, 90–92, 240 and note 21, plate 16; Bruyère and Kuentz, *La Tombe de Nakht-Min La Tombe d'Ari-Nefer*, 2015, pp. 124–25.

⁴⁹ Milde, Neferrenpet, 1991, p. 84; Faulkner and Andrews, The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead, 2001, p. 28.

⁵⁰ Milde, Neferrenpet, 1991, p. 91; McCarthy, "Queenship, Cosmography, and Regeneration", 2011, p. 456.

⁵¹ In QV60, the bottom half of the BD 125B vignette is largely destroyed, so any image of a female Maat that may have been depicted below the male deity is gone.

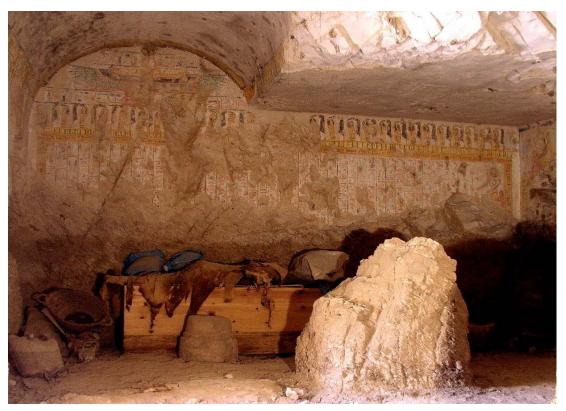


Fig. 11 BD 125B Negative Confessions vignette the symbolic south (local west) lateral wall of the antechamber in QV60 (Nebettawy) (Photo by H.L. McCarthy).

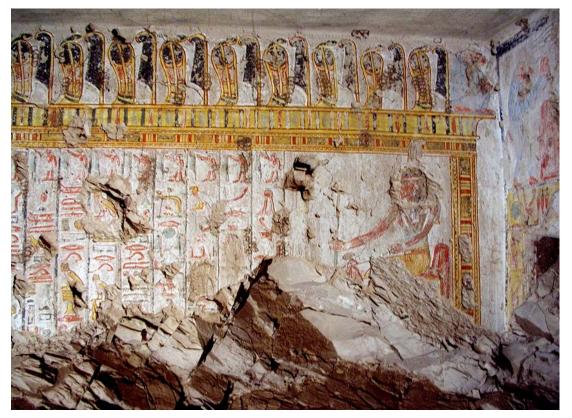


Fig. 12 Detail of the male Maaty figure in QV60's BD 125B vignette (Photo by H.L. McCarthy).

into an equivalent male deity in QV60 may also allude, within the context of a Ramesside queen's tomb, to Nebettawy's postmortem gender fluidity and her transformation into a being with a temporary masculine aspect, which, as a woman, was a crucial facet of her re-conception and rebirth in the afterlife.⁵²

This idiosyncratic male Maat figure is sufficiently rare to be considered a clear link between QV60 and Deir el-Medina where it appears in the Book of the Dead papyrus of the relief sculptor Neferrenpet as well as in the tombs of the royal scribe Amenemopet (TT265) [Fig. 13] and the servant in the Place of Truth Irynefer (TT290) [Fig. 14].⁵³ In these examples, the male Maat is shown wearing one feather,⁵⁴ and he is paired with a single, female Maat, who is seated in a compartment situated directly below his.

As Nebettawy appears to have become one of Ramesses II's great royal wives around her father's thirty-fourth regnal year,⁵⁵ it is likely that Neferrenpet, Irynefer, and Amenemopet were professionally active at the time her tomb was cut and decorated,⁵⁶ though their professional and/or personal connections to QV60 are not as clear-cut as in the case of Neferrenpet, Nakhtamun, and QV 66.

Thus, as with the BD 180 Re-Osiris scene, this BD 125B male Maat figure was likely developed for a queen's tomb where it was seemingly specifically tailored to the special postmortem needs of a deceased royal woman, and the male Maat's two feathers in QV60 perhaps held a special symbolic significance in this context. It was then adopted for use by the same community of Deir el-Medina tomb workers who executed this motif, and it would have been adapted in ways that made it meaningful for them and their own expectations of the afterlife. What made that image resonate so strongly with them is not yet clear to me, but their choice to represent the deity with a single feather may have been an iconographic indicator and feature of that re-contextualization.

⁵² McCarthy, "Queenship, Cosmography, and Regeneration", 2011, p. 456; McCarthy, JARCE 39 (2002), pp. 190–95.

⁵³ Milde, *Neferrenpet*, 1991, pp. 88, 90–92, 240 and note 21, plate 16; Bruyère and Kuentz, *La Tombe de Nakht-Min La Tombe d'Ari-Nefer*, 2015, pp. 123–25, pl. 35

⁵⁴ Milde, *Neferrenpet*, 1991, pl. 16. Damage to the Neferrenpet papyrus obscures whether the male Maat figure wears one feather or two. While it seems to be more likely to have one feather, in keeping with the other Deir el-Medina examples, the possibility that there were originally two feathers, as in QV60, cannot be ruled out entirely.

⁵⁵ Leblanc, *Nefertari*, 1999, pp. 228, 319.

⁵⁶ Milde, Neferrenpet, 1991, pp. 3, 10–14, 238–39; Davies, Who's Who, 1999, pp. 76–78, 178–83, 263.

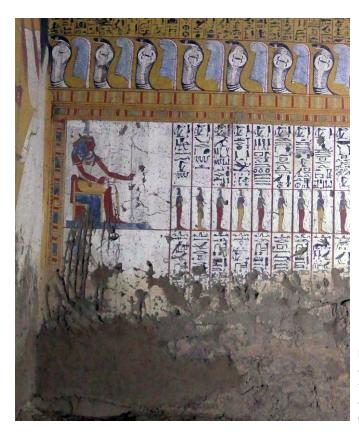


Fig. 13 Male Maaty figure and the damaged image of the goddess Maat from the BD 125B vignette in the burial chamber of TT265 (Amenemopet) (Photo by H.L. McCarthy).



Fig. 14 Male Maaty figure and the goddess Maat from the BD 125B vignette in the burial chamber of TT290 (Irynefer) (Photo by H.L. McCarthy).

4. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The early Nineteenth-Dynasty enhancement of all royal tombs resulted in the implementation of dramatic changes to the way royal women were buried. The notion of how a Ramesside queen's tomb should look and the particularities of how it would embody the netherworld landscape of the royal female tomb owner were transformed and updated, thus requiring the design and execution of new decorative schemes. The concentrated creative activity that brought these new ideas to fruition influenced the Deir el-Medina villagers who carried out the work in the Valley of the Queens, and it impacted the decoration of their own tombs, funerary papyri, and other mortuary art.

Through my ongoing comparative study of Nineteenth-Dynasty queens' tombs and Deir el-Medina private tombs, I hope to determine with greater specificity the characteristics and scope of the influence Ramesside royal women's tombs brought to bear on the Deir el-Medina iconographic tradition, particularly regarding Book of the Dead spells/vignettes, how the Deir el-Medina villagers adapted them for their own funerary needs, and, where possible, which individual tomb workers were responsible for disseminating ideas from the Ramesside royal women's tombs to their own village cemetery. To these ends, I have focused on two Book of the Dead spells/vignettes that appear in both groups of tombs, their patterns of use, and their paths of transmission in order to illustrate the larger aims of my research.

An examination of the BD 180 Re-Osiris scene, its history of use, and its formal and iconographic variations reveals that it is a distinct, illustrated subtype of the BD 180 spell developed in the early Nineteenth Dynasty; that it had its earliest known use, and possibly had its origin, in the decoration of Nefertari's tomb; that it was originally conceived as a royal vignette meant specifically for queens; and that its pattern of use became more complex, insofar as the Re-Osiris vignette continued to be employed in its primary purpose as a tomb scene for Ramesses II's royal women, while it also acquired a secondary, short-lived, limited private use by two contemporary Deir el-Medina relief sculptors who were also brothers and had a documented close professional/family connection to the work in Nefertari's tomb. Moreover, the pictorial variations between the queenly and private versions suggest that modifications had to be made in order to render it appropriate for private tombs, and its use in Deir el-Medina may

have been curtailed ultimately due to an understanding that the scene was, in essence, a royal – and queenly – prerogative. The hybrid Book of the Dead scene in TT290 combining the BD 109 vignette and the BD 180 syncretistic couplet is a far more subtle use of the BD 180 subtype that also suggests a shift away from employing Re-Osiris imagery in a private tomb context.

Aversion of the *BD* 125B spell/vignette provides strong evidence of a link between QV60, the tomb of Nebettawy, and Deir el-Medina by virtue of its highly unusual depiction of a male form of the goddess Maat, which is known from examples of BD 125B at both sites. In QV60, the substitution of a male Maat for twin representations of the goddess was perhaps related to Nebettawy's specific postmortem needs as a royal woman who took on a temporary masculine role in the afterlife. Its adoption by Neferrenpet for his Book of the Dead papyrus and by Irynefer and Amenemopet for their tombs, TT290 and TT265, respectively, represents a re-contextualization of this device for their own postmortem needs. The difference in the number of head feathers worn by the figure at the two sites, two feathers in QV60 and one at Deir el-Medina, was perhaps significant iconographically and related in some way to the different afterlife needs of the tomb owners.

In conclusion, the connection between the Valley of the Queens and Deir el-Medina in the early Nineteenth Dynasty is an important phenomenon that previously had not been given the scholarly attention it merits. Though H. Milde has previously acknowledged the link between the Ramesside queens' tombs and the Deir el-Medina iconographic tradition,⁵⁷ scholars have neither explored in depth the specific pathways and patterns of transmission from these royal women's tombs to private tombs, nor have they closely examined the role of the queens' tombs as loci of religious and iconographic innovation.⁵⁸

With this research project, I hope to clarify how the work in the Valley of the Queens impacted the development of religious and iconographic innovations, particularly regarding the Book of the Dead. I also hope to bring to light a greater understanding and appreciation of the creative upsurge of the early Ramesside period, the scope of the artistic innovation and achievement represented by Ramesside queens' tombs, the role of queens' tombs as sites of artistic/religious innovation and dissemination, and the complexity of the connection between the Valley of the Queens and Deir el-Medina across social strata and gender lines.

⁵⁷ Milde, *Neferrenpet*, 1991, pp. 3 and note 7, 10–14, 238–39.

⁵⁸ McCarthy, *Scribe* 5 (2020), p. 55.

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DEPICTING THE MOUNTAIN AND THE TOMB AT THEBES. ANCIENT IMAGES OF THE THEBAN NECROPOLIS

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ABSTRACT

This paper¹ examines how the necropolis and tomb surroundings were conveyed in ancient Egyptian iconography during the New Kingdom and the early Third Intermediate Period, through the study of a type of landscape representation in ancient Egypt, the tomb and its location (the West and the mountain) in the Theban area.² By "necropolis", we mean here both the place where the tombs are located and the cluster of tombs that constitutes a burial ground. The focus will be more on the environment of the tomb within the image, as a setting for the "depicted tomb", than on the tomb itself; however, both motifs go hand-in-hand and share a common history within the iconographic field considered here.³

¹ This study is based on my doctoral dissertation and I am grateful to the members of my defense committee, in particular Chloé Ragazzoli and Dimitri Laboury, for their valuable comments which were helpful when writing this article. I am indebted to Jane MacAvock and Todd Gillen for proofreading the English text of this article.

² For an in-depth study, see Semat, "L'image de la tombe en Égypte ancienne", 2017, pp. 76-154.

³ Our documentation consists of over 250 representations, including 108 found on the wall decoration of Theban tombs, but also on Book of the Dead papyri (thirty-four documents) and, after the New Kingdom, yellow-type coffins (seventy-four documents); only a selection is mentioned here for obvious reasons.

In Egypt, necropoleis are generally located on the west bank of the Nile, as far away as possible from the settlements, thus some distance from the fertile lands of the valley, at the base of the mountains of the Libyan plateau.⁴

From this simple observation, it is possible to identify three characteristic features of the Egyptian necropolis, in relation to geography (that is to say the orientation and location of the necropolis on the West bank), topography (with the pre-eminence of the mountain and the desert), and anthropology (as an uninhabited territory and as a border between two lands). These elements were thematized in funerary literature from the Old Kingdom onwards, and where then depicted during the New Kingdom.

As we shall see, the necropolis can be visually represented by the indication of the place where the tomb is located, namely the West and/or the mountain, but also, in some cases, by the depiction of a collective burial ground.

1. FROM THE BEAUTIFUL WEST...

Before becoming an object of representation, the West or Imenet (*Jmnt* or *Jmntt*)⁵ was considered as "the" privileged place of burial, as evidenced in various expressions known from funerary inscriptions since the Fourth Dynasty. Indeed, the *htp dj nswt* offering formulas from this time reveal the deceased's wish to be buried on the western bank:

krs m Jmn.t "to be buried in the West"⁶ *krs m hr.t-ntr m smyt jmn.tt* "to be buried in the necropolis in the western desert fringe"⁷

⁴ It is less a "rule" than a tendency, as in reality burials could also be found on the East bank, see Kessler, in LÄ IV, 1980, col. 395; Barucq and Daumas, *Hymnes et prières de l'Égypte ancienne*, 1980, p. 74.

⁵ Wb I, 86, 1–14.

⁶ For example in the entrance of the mastaba of Merib in Giza (G 2100-I), late Fourth-early Fifth Dynasty, nowadays in Berlin (Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, 1107), see Priese, *Die Opferkammer des Merib*, 1984, pp. 36–37.

⁷ For example on the sarcophagus of Kawab that comes from his mastaba in Giza (G 7120), Fourth Dynasty (reign of Khufu), today in Cairo (Egyptian Museum, JE 54937), see Simpson, *The Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II*, 1978, p. 6, pl. X, fig. 8.

sm3-t3 m Jmn.t nfr.t "to be buried (lit. to moor) in the beautiful West" hpj m htp hr w3.wt nfr.(w)t n.t Jmn.t "to travel in peace on the beautiful western roads"

The western region's importance in the funerary context stems from the order of the cardinal points in ancient Egypt and how the ancient Egyptians oriented themselves, according to a south-north axis, in relation to the flow of the Nile river. Therefore the West was considered as the "absolute right" and had the preeminence over the East. With this in mind, it is not suprising that Imenet was named 'nḥt "region of life (lit. the living one)", as it is literally and metaphorically where the afterlife took place.

The earliest example of the personification of the West in the Egyptian iconography dates from the Old Kingdom and can be found inside the mortuary temple of king Sahura (Fifth Dynasty), at Abusir: the West is depicted twice, as a female figure – the word for "West" being grammatically feminine – wearing a black tripartite wig and a short modius, which bears a falcon and an ostrich feather. In one case, Imentet is represented in the columned court of Sahura's mortuary temple, "13" where she accompanies the Libyan god "55" nb thmw, "14" on a wall showing the goods Sahura seized in the Libyan desert: here the depiction of the West, through a female personification, helps to locate Sahura's achievements. In the other, Imentet can be seen in the secondary entrance of the mortuary temple, within a procession of deities and fecundity figures. "15" She can be linked to an excerpt from the *Pyramid Texts*, known in the pyramids of Unas (late Fifth Dynasty) and Teti (Sixth Dynasty), that reports the king's reception by the "beautiful West" (*Jmn.t nfr.t*). "16"

⁸ In the mastaba of Seankhwiptah, in Saqqara, Sixth Dynasty (reign of Teti), see Kanawati, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara*, III, 1998, p. 47, pl. 23.

⁹ On the false-door of Khuwiwer in Giza (G 8674), late Fifth Dynasty, see PM III², 255 (10); Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, V, 1944, pp. 250–51, fig. 109.

¹⁰ Posener, NAWG 1 (1965), pp. 69–72.

¹¹ Posener, *NAWG* 1 (1965), p. 72.

¹² *Wb* I, 205, 16.

¹³ Borchardt, Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahure, II, 1913, p. 14, pl. 1.

¹⁴ Otto, in *LÄ I*, 1973, col. 459–60.

¹⁵ Partly preserved in Berlin (Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, 21784), see Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahure*, II, 1913, p. 45, pl. 29; Arnold *et al.* (eds.), *L'art égyptien au temps des pyramides*, 1999, pp. 274–75, n° 111.

¹⁶ Pyr., Spr. 254, § 282a-284a (W, T); Allen, The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts, 2005, p. 44 (165), p. 79 (189).

This *topos* of the deceased's reception by the "beautiful West" is again found, during the Middle Kingdom, in the Coffin Texts.¹⁷

Later, in the early Eighteenth Dynasty, the reception of the deceased in the West – by the West is translated into images, through its hieroglyph – an enlarged feather on a standard, with or without a falcon (Gardiner R13-R14) – [Fig. 1] or a feminine personification wearing this hieroglyph on her head [Fig. 2]. The image of the West is an emblem: in other words, it is meaningful as an allegory, and thus gives a visible form to an abstraction. This new iconography is initiated in the Theban region, more precisely in relation to the wall decor of the private tombs cut into the Theban mountain. Beyond the ritual and mythological aspects, ¹⁸ what matters here are the deceased's reception in the West – by the West and how an area is materialized and becomes an active figure. ¹⁹

These first pictorial evocations of Imentet in a funerary context are actually combined with those of the tomb, shown as the sh chapel , a sacred building that can recognized by its cavetto cornice above a torus moulding. This hieroglyphic rendering of the "depicted tomb" is mostly developed from the time of Hatshepsut and Thutmosis III onwards, and it is associated with scenes showing the burial rites on the walls of Theban tombs. It can also be found on vignettes illustrating the earliest chapters of the Book of the Dead during the Thutmoside period, in particular those accompanying chapter 64 "Formula for Going Forth by Day" and chapter 92 "Formula for Opening the Tomb-Chamber to the Ba-Soul and Shade" [Fig. 3].

On the chapels' walls, the burial rites, generally organized on three to five registers, are united by the figure of Imentet, who is sometimes joined by Osiris or Anubis. They have been qualified as "archaic" or "ancient", as they associate the funeral procession with rituals taken from the funerary repertoire of private tombs dating from the Old and Middle Kingdom, as well as from the royal

¹⁷ Spells 30, 32-33, 619 et 622; see Willems, Social Aspects of Funerary Culture, 2001, pp. 258–59, p. 264 (spell 30), pp. 270–72, p. 274 (spell 32), pp. 275–78, p. 279, p. 281 (spell 33), p. 301, and p. 304.

¹⁸ Willems, Social Aspects of Funerary Culture, 2001, pp. 355–63.

¹⁹ Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, 1985, pp. 41–67. For a study of the representation of the West goddess during the New Kingdom, see Refai, *Die Göttin des Westens*, 1996.

²⁰ Quirke, Going out in Daylight, 2013, p. 161; Semat, "L'image de la tombe en Égypte ancienne", 2017, p. 334.

²¹ Quirke, *Going out in Daylight*, 2013, pp. 210–11; Semat, "L'image de la tombe en Égypte ancienne", 2017, pp. 336–37.

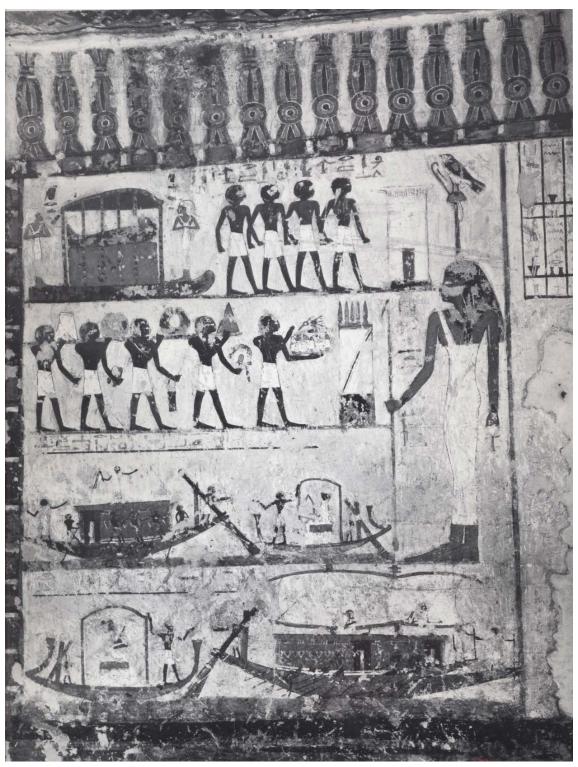


Fig. 1 Tomb of Benia (TT343) at Cheikh Abd el-Gurna, detail of the longitudinal hall (south wall). Eighteenth Dynasty, reign of Thutmosis III (From Guksch, *Das Grab des Benja*, 1978, pl. 19).



Fig. 2 Tomb of Nebamun and Ipuky (TT181) at El-Khokha, detail of the transverse hall (north wall). Eighteenth Dynasty, reign of Amenhotep III. Watercolour facsimile by Charles K. Wilkinson (Photo by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).



Fig. 3 Vignette of the chapter 92 of the Book of the Dead, in the tomb of Irinefer (TT290), at Deir el-Medina. Nineteenth Dynasty, reign of Ramesses II (Photo by G. Menendez – Université de Liège).

funeral, the memory of which has been retained.²² It is likely to assume that these "archaic rituals" were not actually performed during the funeral of a member of the Theban elite during the Eighteenth Dynasty.

Regarding the sh chapel depicted as the tomb within these scenes, this was originally an archaic tent-shrine devoted to the god Anubis, before designating a chapel or a shrine holding the god's statue, a bark chapel, or even (during the New Kingdom) a temple.²³ As pointed by B.J. Kemp, the architectural features of the sh chapel relate to religious architecture in the broad sense; the entire temple architecture (the exterior, the interior, as well as the naos containing the god's statue) is based on this architectural model,²⁴ according to a nesting system quite characteristic of ancient Egypt. In a way the Egyptian temple constitutes a meta-architecture (*i.e.* architecture that refers to architecture). The sh chapel is an ideal architectural type, a statement of the temple architecture and more generally of a cult building.

It is in this perspective that the first representations of the tomb must be understood: the sh chapel refers to an archetype rather than to the real features of the Theban tombs dating from the Eighteenth Dynasty and consequently it underlines the ritual nature of the Egyptian tomb.

These two images (the personification of the West and the sh chapel) meet in a precise iconographical context, that of funeral scenes painted on the walls of Theban tomb chapels during the first part of the Eighteenth Dynasty: more precisely, they are located at the end of the register or the wall devoted to the depiction of the funeral, in this way suggesting the destination of the procession. Thus, in the early Eighteenth Dynasty, the burial ground is depicted through the association of the West with the sh chapel;²⁵ in this iconographical context, Imenet is a region (the western bank of the valley), a place (the necropolis), and a hereafter.

²² Assmann, Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt, 2005, pp. 299–301.

²³ Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple*, 1984, pp. 115–18; Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 2006, p. 152.

²⁴ Kemp, Ancient Egypt, 2006, pp. 150–54.

²⁵ One should note that the sh chapel as "depicted tomb" is still in use after the Amarna period within funeral scenes that combine old motifs with a new composition, as well as in some "old" chapters of the *Book of the Dead*, such as chapters 64 and 92, whose vignettes were created during the early Eighteenth Dynasty, see above.

2. ... TO THE TOMB IN THE MOUNTAIN

Towards the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the wall decoration within Theban tombs shows a new way of placing the "depicted tomb" in its environment, with a mountainous relief. This new landscape representation goes hand in hand with a new type of "depicted architecture" (or *architectura picta*²⁶), taking into account the tomb architecture of that time.

The first example of this new iconographic formula, although now quite badly damaged, may be found in the tomb of Hatiay (TT324), dated from the reigns of Tutankhamun-Horemheb.²⁷ The first documented cases nevertheless date from the early Nineteenth Dynasty, with the tombs of Imenemipet (TT41)²⁸ and Roy (TT255)²⁹ [Fig. 4], although an interesting landscape detail, in the tomb of Neferhetep (TT49),³⁰ from the late Eighteenth Dynasty, should also be mentioned. Here the tomb is shown on a sandy line, which constitutes the first step towards taking the environment into consideration in this pictorial context [Fig. 5].

If the first tomb depictions did indeed refer to sacred architecture, and consequently can be described as hieroglyphic or "emblematic" pictures,³¹ we can notice that, following the reign of Amenhotep III (ca. 1390-1350 BCE), they show realistic elements, being modelled after the tomb architecture as it is at the time, which is to say a pyramid-topped tomb. The first known representation of a pyramid-topped tomb indeed appears in TTA21 (owner's name lost), a tomb dating from this reign at Dra Abu el-Naga.³² Interestingly, if the first known representation of the mountain as a setting for a pyramid tomb seems to appear after the Amarna period, the mountain motif itself however comes into existence around the reign of Amenhotep III, like the pyramid-tomb motif.³³

²⁶ Regarding the notion of *architectura picta* or architectural painting in art history, see Spagnesi *et al.* (eds.), *Raphael*, 1984; Cearfoss Mankin, in Muller (ed.), *Dutch Art*, 1997.

²⁷ Formely on the south wall of the transverse hall (PM I²/1, 396 [9], but unmentioned), according to Norman de Garis Davies' notebooks (Oxford, Griffith Institute, Davies mss 11.9.82-91).

²⁸ PM I²/1, p. 79 (14, III); Assmann, *Das Grab des Amenemope (TT 41)*, 1991, pp. 95-96, pl. 40.

²⁹ PM I²/1, p. 339 (2, II).

³⁰ Davies, The Tomb of Nefer-Hotep at Thebes, I, 1933, pl. XXIV.

³¹ Keeping in mind the meaning this term has in art history, which evokes a type of image developed during the Renaissance in illustrated books, such as the *Emblemata* by Andrea Alciati (1531) and *Iconologia* by Cesare Ripa (1593).

³² Yoshimura, Theban Tomb No. 333, A. 21, A. 24 and Tomb W- 4 (Nr. -127-), 2007, p. 44, fig. 124, pl. 4.2.

³³ In the tomb of Nebamun and Ipuky (TT181), see Davies, *The Tomb of the Two Sculptors at Thebes*, 1925, pl. IX. Concerning how this image of the Theban mountain was formed during the Eighteenth Dynasty, particularly



Fig. 4 Tomb of Roy (TT255) at Dra Abu el-Naga. Early Nineteenth Dynasty (Photo by IFAO).

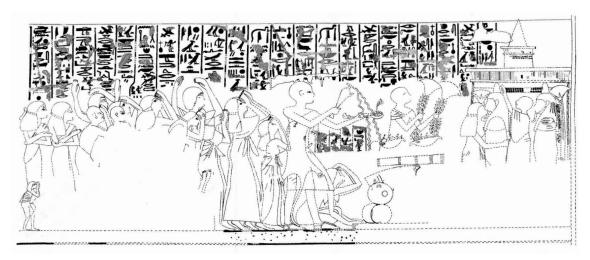


Fig. 5 Tomb of Neferhotep (TT49) at el-Khokha, detail of the transverse hall (east wall). Late Eighteenth Dynasty, reign of Ay. (Drawing from Davies, *The Tomb of Nefer-Hotep at Thebes*, I, 1933, pl. 24).

Thus, during the first half of the fourteenth century BCE, a new image of the tomb within funerary imagery was developed in the Theban region and was then associated with a side view of the mountain. In other words, the pyramid tomb stands in the mountain.

This iconographic formula becomes widely used after the Amarna period, not only inside tomb chapels – as part of the wall decor –, but also on Ramesside

its cultural and religious context and possible Aegean influences, see Semat, "L'image de la tombe en Égypte ancienne", 2017, pp. 115-46.

funerary stelae – in the context of the ritual of the Opening of the Mouth³⁴ – and within illustrated vignettes from the Book of the Dead.³⁵

These innovations in Egyptian funerary imagery not only reflect the changes that funerary architecture underwent at the time, with a "sacralization" of the tomb spaces (*Sakralisierung des Grabgedankens*), that can be perceived in the tomb architecture (in particular with features such as the entrance pylon, entrance porch and portico or pillared courtyard), layout and decoration,³⁶ but also with an emphasis on solar aspects, as shown by the pyramid itself and its many details, such as the pyramidion, the lunette stela, and the funerary cones.³⁷ They also pertain to reflections and changes affecting Egyptian society in the second part of the Eighteenth Dynasty, which crystallized with the reigns of Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV/Akhenaton, where "mythological imagery is replaced by visible reality".³⁸

The image of the pyramid tomb standing in the mountain becomes then a standard motif of funerary scenes during the Ramesside period, where it can be found in tombs (and not only in the Theban necropolis³⁹), funerary papyri, shabti boxes or stelae.⁴⁰

Later, during the Twenty-First and Twenty-Second Dynasties, funerary practices underwent some radical changes, as the preferred medium for imagery shifted from tomb walls to coffins and, to a lesser extent, to funerary papyri and stelae (mostly in relation to chapter 186 of the Book of the Dead⁴¹), and tombs were no longer decorated. The image of the "pyramid tomb in the mountain"

³⁴ We were able to identify 16 stelae with a "depicted tomb", three of which show the tomb standing in the mountain. See Schulman, *JARCE* 21 (1984), pp. 169–96.

³⁵ In this case however, it is found not only in the depictions of the funeral procession, with the last burial rites and the Opening of the Mouth (BD 1), and scenes of adoration of Hathor (Book of the Dead 186), but also in the vignettes of BD 59, 72, and 92, as well as the vignette F, related to the "journey to Abydos" (only in Deir el-Medina), see Semat, "L'image de la tombe en Égypte ancienne", 2017, pp. 329–46.

³⁶ Assmann, in Strudwick and Taylor (eds.), The Theban Necropolis, 2003.

³⁷ Assmann, Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt, 2005, pp. 319–21.

³⁸ Assmann, PIASH 7/4 (1992), p. 152.

³⁹ Thus at Aniba, in the tombs of Mery (destroyed), dating from the late Nineteenth Dynasty, see Steindorff, *Aniba*, II, 1937, pp. 212–15, and Penniut, from the late Twentieth Dynasty, see *LD* III, 231b-232b; and at Qubbet el-Hawa, in the tomb of Kaemkemet (CT 15), dated from the Twentieth Dynasty, see Amherst, *ASAE* 4 (1903), pp. 60–64, pl. III.

⁴⁰ See above, p. 1, n. 2.

⁴¹ Based on the study of seventy-four coffins and twelve funerary papyri from the early Third Intermediate Period.

was definitely kept in the funerary iconographic repertoire and restricted mainly to the Theban area. At that time, Theban tombs were no longer visible from the landscape and did not have a chapel or a pyramidal superstructure, as the Thebans sought above all to ensure that their burial place was as discreet as possible. Thus, in the early Third Intermediate Period, the pyramid tomb survived only in representations. The motif of the tomb standing in the mountain disappeared from the funerary iconography during the Libyan period, at a time when built chapels reappeared in the Theban necropolis. However, these mudbrick tombs differed from the New Kingdom pyramid tombs. In this context, we can ask ourselves whether this (timid) renewal in tomb architecture could be the reason for abandoning this (then outdated) iconographic motif?

3. TRANSCRIBING THE THEBAN LANDSCAPE INTO IMAGERY

The mountain is mostly depicted in profile, its slope being shown. The relief of the mountain is usually rendered by a series of wavy lines that generally follow the outline of a mountain section, the lines being (roughly) superimposed in parallel, and drawn in red, on a uniform background using lighter shades of red and pink [Fig. 4], or even white [Fig. 7].

However, some examples present naturalistic elements, or more precisely pictorial "reality effects" – to use Barthes' established formula⁴⁷–, such as nuanced brushstrokes or simple highlights, ranging from pink to red, and a discordant layout.⁴⁸ In addition, the mountain environment can be translated in the form of large pinkish areas, with red dotted lines, extending the motif and thus constituting a true figurative background [Fig. 6].

⁴² So far only one example is known outside the Theban necropolis, with a relief fragment from the tomb of Ankhefenimen at Tanis, dating from the reign of Psusennes I, see Montet, *La nécropole royale de Tanis*, III, 1960, pp. 87–93, pl. LVII.

⁴³ Cooney, *JARCE* 47 (2011), pp. 16–18.

⁴⁴ The last example from the Third Intermediate Period being the outside coffin of Ankhpashered II (Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, 20132), see below, p. 12.

⁴⁵ Guichard, *ÉAO* 54 (2009), pp. 41–54.

⁴⁶ Aston, Burial assemblages of Dynasty 21-25, 2009, pp. 408-15.

⁴⁷ Barthes, Recherches sémiologiques: le vraisemblable, Communications 11 (1968), pp. 84–89.

⁴⁸ Such as in the tomb of Neferrenpet (TT178), at el-Khokha, from the reign of Ramesses II, see Hofmann, *Das Grab des Neferrenpet*, 1995, pl. II (colour).



Fig. 6 Funeral scene and adoration of Hathor, in the tomb of Imenmes (TT19) at Dra Abu el-Naga. Nineteenth Dynasty, reigns of Seti I-Ramesses II (Photo by IFAO).



Fig. 7 Tomb of Nebenmaat (TT219) at Deir el-Medina, detail of the west wall in the burial chamber. Nineteenth Dynasty, reign of Ramesses II (Photo by IFAO).

In some cases, a stylised treatment of the motif is visible, especially at Deir el-Medina. The stylistic similarity of the decoration of several Deir el-Medina tombs dating from the reign of Ramesses II has already been mentioned by scholars.⁴⁹ This is clearly due to the particular social context of Deir el-Medina, its inhabitants belonging to an artistic community (in the broad sense here) and,

⁴⁹ In particular, the "group" formed by the tombs of Sennedjem (TT1), Pashedu (TT3), Imennakht (TT218), Nebenmaat (TT219) and Irinefer (TT290), see Černý, *A Community of Workmen*, 1973, p. 293; Zivie, *La tombe de Pached à Deir el-Medineh* (n° 3), 1979, p. 131.

within this community, family ties can be perceived in the decoration of tombs and/or funerary equipment. In this context, the tombs of Nebenmaat (TT219) and Pashedu (TT3) are of particular interest [Fig. 7]. A similar rendering of the mountain can be seen in both tombs,⁵⁰ in the shape of the outline and wavy lines, the arrangement of the dotted lines and the use of red and black. Bruyère interestingly associated these two tombs with a particular painter: the "outline scribe" Men (or Menna).⁵¹

The early Third Intermediate Period is marked by a simplification of motifs and a certain stylization in their treatment. The coffins use a smaller range of colours - red, blue and green, with some details in black and white - on a yellow background. The mountain slope is still present, as well as series of wavy lines and dots, to render the relief and materiality of the Theban mountain, but they are simply drawn in red or blue. However, some scenes inside coffin cases show a palette similar to Ramesside wall painting, with red highlights and pink background.⁵² The patterns of colours in use on yellow-type coffins and the bright and yellow effect⁵³ are at odds with the Ramesside wall decoration, which results in the stylization, even abstraction, of the motifs and scenes. Concerning the funerary papyri produced at the beginning of the Third Intermediate Period, two trends can be noticed, one a successor to the Ramesside tradition, the other characterized by a simplification of the composition and a quick production of the vignettes. The formal treatment of the mountain is therefore symptomatic, with on the one hand a detailed depiction, making a nuanced use of colour: pink, or even an alternation of grey, beige and white;⁵⁴ on the other hand simple features and a limited polychromy (red or black line) are adopted.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Zivie, La tombe de Pached à Deir el-Medineh (n° 3), 1979, pp. 45-47, pl. 18; for the tomb of Nebenmaat (TT219), see PM $I^{2}/1$, 321 (8).

⁵¹ Bruyère, Tombes thébaines de Deir el-Médineh à décoration monochrome, 1952, p. 16.

⁵² For example, on the coffin of Nesykhonsu (Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art, 1914.714B), see Berman and Bohač, *The Cleveland Museum of Art*, 1999, pp. 328–35.

⁵³ The yellow colour on the so-called coffins comes in the first place from the yellow background of the decoration, associated with a varnish (mostly made of pistacia resin). However, this could be achieved by the use of varnish only (which tended to yellow when drying and ageing), mixed with yellow pigments such as orpiment, see Amenta, in Pischikova *et al.* (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium BC*, 2014, pp. 493–94.

⁵⁴ For example in the *Book of the Dead* of Userhatmes (Cairo, Egyptian Museum, RS VII 10249/RT 14.7.35.7), see Ahmed, *EtudTrav* 23 (2010), pp. 7–27.

⁵⁵ Mostly on "mythological papyri", see Semat, "L'image de la tombe en Égypte ancienne", 2017, pp. 103-04.



Fig. 8 The Theban mountain at sunrise (Photo by A. Semat).

As previously mentioned, some depictions of the mountain are characterized by a less stylized system, an individual treatment of the relief that introduces irregularities. The pictorial singularities apparently seek to capture the Egyptian landscape as well as confirm an impressionist tendency in Ramesside painting. Although it is not possible to consider it a precise observation of nature, we can notice that the characteristic features of the Theban mountain are present and transcribed visually. The Theban mountain is part of the mountain range preceding the desert plateaus on the west bank of the Nile; this part of the rocky escarpment at the end of the Libyan plateau is composed of limestone beds (Theban formation) and marls (Esna formation or "Esna shales"). The geological structure of the Theban mountain, with its tiered levels and stony plain, accentuated by the passage of time, has been used to carve rock-cut tombs (but it has also limited them) in the "thickness" of the cliff. These flat areas and salient reliefs of the Theban mountain are rendered, as we have seen, by series

⁵⁶ Noticeable in particular in the following Theban tombs (in chronological order): Roy (TT255) see PM $I^2/1$, 339 (2, II); Imenmes (TT19) see PM $I^2/1$, 33 (4, III); Penbui and Kasa (TT10), see PM $I^2/1$, 19 (1, III); Nefersekheru (TT296) see PM $I^2/1$, 378 (5, II); Neferrenpet (TT178) see PM $I^2/1$, 284 (7, II); Nedjemger (TT138) see PM $I^2/1$, 252 (3, II); Raya (TT159) see PM $I^2/1$, 271 (2, II); Nakhtamun (TT341) see PM $I^2/1$, 408 (4, II).

⁵⁷ See Goyon et al., La construction pharaonique du Moyen Empire à l'époque gréco-romaine, 2004, p. 58, fig. 41, p. 66; Bunbury, in Wilkinson and Weeks (eds.), The Oxford Handbook of the Valley of the Kings, 2016, pp. 15–22.

of sinuous lines, or even by irregularly shaped rock masses. In terms of colour, most of the examples are characterised by a dominant red which undoubtedly evokes the mountains of the Libyan plateau, more particularly at sunrise,⁵⁸ when the limestone rock takes on a pinkish red hue [Fig. 8].

This appearance of the desert regions is confirmed in the ancient Egyptian lexicon by the metaphorical use of the adjective *dšr*, "red",⁵⁹ as in *dšr.t*, "desert", "foreign country",⁶⁰ or in *jnb.w dšr.w*, "mountains (literally, "the red walls")".⁶¹ These characters can therefore be linked to the Theban mountain, although they are also found in other regions of the Nile valley.⁶²

Beyond the formal aspects, the frequent location of the mountain at the end of the scene echoes the Egyptian landscape, where the mountains surround the Nile Valley and mark the threshold of the desert. As a visual boundary, but also as a limit of the visible world, the mountain motif structures the pictorial space and builds a meaningful image. This layout is present within tomb chapels, coffins, stelae and funerary papyri. A specific case that echoes the funerary imagery could perhaps illustrate these elements: it is the famous 'satirical-erotical' Turin papyrus (Museo Egizio, Cat. 2031 = CGT 55001). Although its fragmentary state makes its complete reconstruction difficult, early copies dating from the first half of the Nineteenth century suggest that the right end of the papyrus scroll shows a mountain slope, responding, at the left end, to an "inclined plane" – on the right, a building is standing on the lower part of the mountain, and on the left, it supports a woman lying on her back. As Vernus aptly pointed out, these two inclined planes are formally and semantically comparable: they enclose the space.

⁵⁸ See Salmas, "La perception des rythmes quotidiens en Égypte ancienne", 2011, pp. 318-21, pp. 460-77.

⁵⁹ As opposed to *kmt* "the black one", the name of the Nile valley, referring to the black alluvial soil at the time of the flood. On the black-red (*km-dšr*) antinomical system, see Mathieu, *ENiM* 2 (2008), pp. 29–30.

⁶⁰ Wb V, 494, 5–13; see also Aufrère, L'univers minéral dans la pensée égyptienne, I, 1991, p. 13.

⁶¹ Aufrère, L'univers minéral dans la pensée égyptienne, I, 1991, p. 24. According to Aufrère, *jnb.w dšr.w* would more precisely refer to the mountains "as they look in the morning or evening".

⁶² Such as *dw dšr* (literally "red mountain") to designate the Gebel el-Ahmar, see *Wb* V, 489, 14; 542, 18.

⁶³ Especially in the context of the vignette of chapter 186, which concludes the *Book of the Dead* and is in fact located at the end of the volumen, but also in the "mythological papyri" of the Twenty-First Dynasty.

⁶⁴ In particular a copy dated from 1825–1850, now kept in Paris, Musée du Louvre (E 11656). It comes from Jean-François Champollion's family and it is assumed that this copy is from Ippolito Rosellini's own hand, see Andreu-Lanoë (ed.), *L'art du contour*, 2013, p. 332.

⁶⁵ Vernus, in Andreu-Lanoë (ed.), L'art du contour, 2013.

4. DEIR EL-BAHARI AND THE THEBAN NECROPOLIS

Along with these formal "reality effects", some iconographic details specifically refer to noticeable landscape features of the Theban west bank and thus clearly represent the Theban necropolis.

The first one is a variation on the motif of the Hathor cow coming out of the mountain – in relation to chapter 186 of the Book of the Dead – where the cow goddess is associated with a royal figure and in connection with a "depicted tomb" [Fig. 6]. The king is usually shown with dark skin and yellow adornments (clothes, jewellery and headdress), that infer his divine nature. In several examples, the king is represented in true profile, indicating that the image represents a statue (or meta-image).

The combination of the Hathor cow and a royal figure, the colour palette used for the royal figure, and the fact that, in most cases, it is an image of a statue indicates that reference is made to the Hathor shrines of Deir el-Bahari and the group statues of kings Amenhotep II and Thutmosis III that once belonged to those shrines. Indeed, two shrines dedicated to Hathor were built in the Eighteenth Dynasty, one in the <code>dsr.w-3h.t</code> temple of Hatshepsut, ⁶⁹ the other in the <code>dsr.w-3h.t</code> temple of Thutmosis III, ⁷⁰ but an older Hathor chapel, linked to the temple of Montouhotep II (Eleventh Dynasty), may have stood under the present Hathor sanctuary of the temple of Hatshepsut. In addition, the Hathor shrine of Thutmosis III's temple housed a statuary group in painted sandstone (Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 38574), dating from the reign of Amenhotep II, within a rock chapel; ⁷¹ a similar statuary group — representing the sovereign twice, standing

⁶⁶ In the following tombs: Imenmes (TT19), see PM I²/1, 33 (4, III); Piay (TT344), see PM I²/1, 412 (4, I); Iny (TT285), see PM I²/1, 368 (10, II, 2); unknown owner (TT377), see PM I²/1, 434 (2); and Nakhtamun (TT341), see see PM I²/1, 408 (4, II). The group of Hathor coming out of the mountain and a royal figure can be found in other iconographic contexts during the Ramesside period; only those with the tomb or a stella here are taken into account

⁶⁷ Reuterswärd, *Studien zur Polychromie der Plastik I.* Ägypten, 1958, pp. 43–52; Eaton-Krauss, *JARCE* 13 (1976), pp. 21-24; Manniche, *AcOr* 40 (1979), pp. 11–19.

⁶⁸ On the images of statues and the question of profile as a criterion for identifying "images of images", see Eaton-Krauss, *JARCE* 13 (1976), p. 23, n. 6; Eaton-Krauss, *The Representations of Statuary in Private Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, 1984, pp. 1–4. The representations of statues use one or the other principle of representation.

⁶⁹ Beaux, La chapelle d'Hathor, 2012.

⁷⁰ Lipińska, The Temple of Tuthmosis, III, 1977, pp. 38–45.

⁷¹ Saleh and Sourouzian, Catalogue officiel. Musée égyptien du Caire, 1987, nº 138.

under the muzzle of Hathor and also being suckled by the cow goddess – was perhaps present in the Hathor shrine of Hatshepsut.⁷² The association between the Hathor cow and the figure of a king is moreover attested by a fragmentary relief from the temple of Montuhotep II in Deir el-Bahari, where the cow deity is depicted suckling the black-skinned pharaoh.⁷³

Similarly, the three-dimensional occurrences in Deir el-Medina tombs, where such groups were carved in high relief,⁷⁴ could illustrate a similar statue group within the small Hathor shrine in Deir el-Medina.⁷⁵ In the tomb statue groups, the ruler depicted under Hathor may be a posthumously divinized king⁷⁶ or the one under whom the deceased performed his duties. In the bi-dimensional representations studied here, the pharaoh who is standing under the muzzle of the goddess is not always identifiable (either he is not named or the inscription is missing). However, according to the numerous documents attested in the Theban area⁷⁷ and beyond Hathor's very strong link with the mountainous domain,⁷⁸ such groups probably refer to the rocky cirque of Deir el-Bahari, and in some cases even to Deir el-Medina. Whatever the case, in these depictions, the funerary architecture is clearly associated with a precise locality of the western bank of Thebes.

Following the "reality effects" in Theban tomb painting already referred to, a few rare scenes from the Ramesside period, and also to a lesser extent from the end of the Twenty-First/early Twenty-Second Dynasty, show the mountain as a collective burial ground, and perhaps seemingly as a place devoted to the funerary cult. Most of these images show a cluster of tombs⁷⁹ or a group of

⁷² Beaux, *La chapelle d'Hathor*, I, 2012, pp. 161–62.

⁷³ Nowadays in Hannover (Kestner Museum, 1935.200.82), see Drenkhahn, Ägyptische Reliefs im Kestner-Museum Hannover, 1989, pp. 62–63, n° 18.

⁷⁴ In the tombs of Khabekhenet (TT2), see PM $I^2/1$, 8 (16); Qen (TT4), see PM $I^2/1$, 12 (8); Baki (TT298), see PM $I^2/1$, 379. Also in the Theban necropolis, the tomb of Meriptah (TT387) in the Assasif should be remembered, see PM $I^2/1$, 439 (f); as well as a Saite specimen in the tomb of Basa (TT389), see PM $I^2/1$, 440 (11), and Pischikova, in D'Auria (ed.), *Servant of Mut*, 2008.

⁷⁵ Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 1993, p. 174. If the presence of such a statue in the temple remains uncertain, one must however underline the morphological similarities between the small Hathor temple of Deir el-Medina, in its Ramesside stage, and the Hathor shrine of Deir el-Bahari, see Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh* (1935-1940), 1948, p. 20, n. 1, and pp. 22–23.

⁷⁶ Amenhotep I in the tomb of Neferhotep (TT216) in Deir el-Medina, see PM I²/1, 314 (18); this same king again supposedly in the tomb of Imenmes (TT19), see Hollender, *Amenophis I. und Ahmes Nefertari*. 2009, pp. 33–39.

⁷⁷ Pinch, Votive Offerings to Hathor, 1993, pp. 3–12, pp. 175–83.

⁷⁸ Semat, "L'image de la tombe en Égypte ancienne", 2017, pp. 142-43.

⁷⁹ From the New Kingdom: in the tomb of Piay (TT344), see PM I²/1, 412 (4, I), and an anonymous stela, see Schulmann, *JARCE* 21 (1984), p. 196, doc. 28; from the early Third Intermediate Period: *Book of the Dead* of

stelae⁸⁰ in the Theban mountain [Fig. 9 and Fig. 10]. These examples, which are quite rare, are found in scenes depicting the adoration of the goddess Hathor, which can be associated with chapter 186 of the Book of the Dead, or even in scenes depicting the funeral.

The representation of several tombs undoubtedly reflects the landscape of the necropolis and especially as it could appear on the western bank of Thebes, ⁸¹ whether or not the "landscape" is contemporary with its image setting. This is particularly the case with the coffin of Ankhpashered II (Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, 20132), ⁸² which depicts pyramid-topped tombs in the Theban mountain in a very stylized manner, at a time (the Twenty-second Theban Dynasty, i.e. second half of the eighth century BCE) where the architecture of Theban tombs was no longer characterized by pyramids.

The depiction of stelae is more problematic. In two cases, the body of the stela is simply lined and the lunette bears no decoration,⁸³ but it is also possible to assume that they work here by metonymy. They can be compared to the many representations of round-topped stelae associated with the illustration of the tomb chapel and to two isolated examples, where only one stela is erected in the mountain.⁸⁴

The image on the coffin of Iuefenimen (Edinburgh, National Museums Scotland, A.1907.569) differs somewhat from the previous ones: certainly the stelae are round-topped and the inscriptions, taken as a whole, refer to the necropolis **[Fig. 10]**. The stelae mention Hathor and Osiris, two deities with a strong bond with the necropolis and the hereafter; they also bear various denominations of the necropolis, such as *jgr.t* "land of silence (literally "the silent one")"85, *s.t-wr.t*,

Bakenurel (La Havana, Museo Nacional, 1), see Lipińska, *Monuments de l'Égypte ancienne*, 1982, pp. 137–42; and the outside coffin of Ankhpashered II (Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, 20132), see Anthes, *MDAIK* 12 (1943), pp. 37–38, pl. 12. Outside the Theban region, one should mention the *Book of the Dead* of Ramose, coming from Sedment, that dates from the early Nineteenth Dynasty, see Duquesne, in Backes *et al.* (*eds.*), *Ausgestattet mit den Schriften des Thot*, 2009.

⁸⁰ From the New Kingdom: in the tomb of Panehesy (TT16), see PM I²/1, 28 (5, I); from the early Third Intermediate Period: *Book of the Dead* of Userhatmes (Cairo, Egyptian Museum, RS VII 10249/RT 14.7.35.7), see, Ahmed, *EtudTrav* 23 (2010), pp. 7–27; coffin of luefenimen (Edinburgh, National Museums Scotland, A.1907.569), see Manley and Dodson, *Life Everlasting*, 2010, pp. 47–51, n° 12.

⁸¹ For examples, see Jean-Claude Golvin's proposals, in Aufrère et al., L'Égypte restituée, I, 1991, p. 208, p. 210.

⁸² See above, n. 77.

⁸³ In the tomb of Panehesy (TT16) and the Book of the Dead of Userhatmes, see above, n. 77.

⁸⁴ In the tombs of Neferrenpet (TT178), see PM I²/1, 284 (10, I, 4); and Iny (TT285), see PM I²/1, 368 (10, II, 2).

⁸⁵ Wb I, 141, 3–6. The relation to the mountain and the desert is also implied here, $jgr.t \triangleleft \square$ being determined by the hieroglyph of the desert (Gardiner N25).



Fig. 9 Vignette of chapter 186 (detail), from the *Book of the Dead* of Bakenurel. Dated from the mid-Twenty-First Dynasty. La Havana, Museo Nacional, inv. 1 (Drawing after Niwiński, *Studies on the illustrated Theban funerary papyri*, 1989, p. 141, fig. 31).



Fig. 10 luefenimen adoring the goddess Hathor coming out of the Theban mountain. Coffin case of luefenimen (detail). Edinburgh, National Museums Scotland, A.1907.569 (Photo by National Museums Scotland).

"tomb, necropolis (literally "the great seat)"⁸⁶ and dsr.t, "necropolis (literally "the saint one, the isolated one")".⁸⁷ The term dsr.t also designates the cirque of Deir el-Bahari⁸⁸. This image of the necropolis can however be explained by one of the functions held by Iuefenimen, namely hry jgr.t, "superior of the necropolis (literally "that of silence")", and it could then possess a biographical character.

These few examples seem to indicate that the image seeks less to convey the idea of a necropolis as such than to inscribe the tomb in a territory (whether it is the mountain at large or an identifiable area, like Deir el-Bahari) and that the individual character prevails over the collective here, with the iconographic formula "the pyramid-tomb standing in the mountain".

5. CONCLUSION

Thus, during the New Kingdom, it seems that the Egyptians began to "see" the Theban mountain as a characteristic piece of landscape, related to the worship of Hathor and the place of burial.

The new attention to the outside world, perceptible for example in the first figurative backgrounds that appear around 1450 BCE or the "reality effects" visible in the depictions of the tomb and the mountain during the New Kingdom, in addition to a cultural context of increased contacts between Egypt and its foreign neighbours around the Mediterranean, especially the Aegeans, explain the development of this "iconic duet" of the mountain and the tomb. This less "hieroglyphic" rendering of reality, which again can be observed in landscape painting, must be connected with the "new solar religion". It is the radicalization of a latent cultural phenomenon during the Eighteenth Dynasty, which develops

⁸⁶ Meeks, AnLex I, 77.3303, and AnLex II, 79.2373.

⁸⁷ Wb V, 616, 1–4.

⁸⁸ Černý, A Community of Workmen, 1973, p. 93. Dsrt would apparently be an abbreviated and/or corrupted form of the names of the temples of Hatshepsut (<code>dsr-dsr.w</code>) and Thutmosis III (<code>dsr-afp.t</code>) in Deir el-Bahari, in use during the Ramesside period, in particular in pap Abbott 3, 14 (pap British Museum, EA 10221), where the "pyramid" of Montuhotep II – i.e. the king's funerary temple – is said <code>nty m dsr.t</code> "the one which is in <code>dsr.t</code>", see Peet, <code>The Great Tomb Robberies</code>, 1930, p. 39, p. 43, n. 10, and pl. II.

⁸⁹ Semat, "L'image de la tombe en Égypte ancienne", 2017, pp. 121-31.

⁹⁰ Assmann, PIASH 7/4 (1992), pp. 143–76; Assmann, Egyptian Solar Religion in the New Kingdom, 1995, pp. 67–68.

a new view of reality – or what Assmann calls "the there and now" – and gives way to phenomenology and sensory experimentation, not only in visual art, but also in literature."

Neither an imaginary depiction nor a portrait of a landscape, depictions of the Theban necropolis are made up of a sum of possibilities selected from the outside world, some reflecting the material properties of the physical world, others referring to more precise areas of the Theban west bank, but making the Theban mountain an ideal "figurative place".

Egyptian painting here is somehow similar to Graeco-Roman painting, more particularly to a notion developed in the Classical world, at the genesis of landscape in Greek and Roman mural painting, that of *topia* (according to the term used by Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, VII, 5). *Topia* are "typical elements of a landscape", more precisely aspects of the landscape in their more typical manifestations, which is what Egyptian painting already practiced a few centuries before the Greeks and the Romans, and of which the Theban mountain and the tomb are the perfect illustration.

⁹¹ Assmann, PIASH 7/4 (1992), p. 150.

⁹² Thus, in New Kingdom love songs, particularly concerning the garden as *locus amoenus*, see Mathieu, *La poésie amoureuse égyptienne*, 1997, p. 85; Ragazzoli, Éloges de la ville, 2008, p. 87.

⁹³ Grimal, Les jardins romains, 1943, p. 93, n. 5.

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RECENT RESEARCH ON THE THEBAN TOMB OF THE CHIEF WORKMAN NEFERHOTEP (TT216)

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ABSTRACT

Cleared by Bernard Bruyère in the early 1920s, Theban Tomb 216 belonging to the chief workman Neferhotep has never been published in full. In recent years, a team has been formed to study the architecture and decoration of this monument and to restore it in order to ensure its preservation. This article presents the tomb in its geological and historical environment, and summarizes past and recent research on the site. Particular emphasis is placed on the study of the French archaeologist's archives kept at the IFAO.

Since 2015, with the financial support of the French Institute of Archaeology in Cairo, the Kheops Funds for Archaeology (Paris) and the Gandur Foundation (Geneva), a team led by Dominique Lefèvre (Geneva University) and Cédric Larcher (IFAO), has been studying Theban Tomb 216 at Deir el-Medina, described by Jaroslav Černý as "the largest and once the most splendid of the whole necropolis of Deir el-Medina". Located at the northern end of the upper level of the western necropolis, this tomb was made during the second half of the Nineteenth-Dynasty for chief workman Neferhotep (ii).

1. NEFERHOTEP (ii)'S LIFE

Bearing the same name as his grandfather, Neferhotep (ii) was the last member of a family lineage of three chief workmen: Neferhotep (i), Nebnefer (i) and Neferhotep (ii), who lived at Deir el-Medina during the Nineteenth Dynasty. All three are represented on the left wall of the corridor in the chapel of TT216, Neferhotep (ii)'s funerary monument [Fig. 1]. It seems that he and his wife Webekhet did not have children, but he gave his familial protection to two young men: Hesysunebef² and the infamous Paneb. The former is known from a representation on the seat of a monumental statue of Neferhotep (ii), found in the tomb by Bernard Bruyère.3 As for Paneb, he took over as chief workman after Neferhotep (ii)'s death. We know from two ostraca that Neferhotep (ii) was chief workman by year forty of Ramesses II's reign. This is confirmed in oDM 126, a letter addressed to chief workman Neferhotep (ii) and a man named Pennub concerning the death of a man called Hormose⁴ [Fig. 2]. The text on oBM 5634, dated to year forty of Ramesses II, mentions the embalming and funeral of the same Hormose.⁵ Chief workman Neferhotep (ii) also appears in later texts, for example in one recording the announcement to the community of the accession of King Sethos II. This excerpt from the Journal de la Tombe also reports that Neferhotep was ill for several consecutive days at the beginning of the reign

¹ Černý, Community of Workmen, 1973, p. 288.

² Janssen, in Demarée and Janssen (eds.), Gleanings from Deir el-Medina, 1982, pp. 109–31.

³ Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1923-1924), 1925, p. 42.

⁴ Černý, Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el-Médineh. II: Nos 114 à 189, 1937, p. 4, pl. 7.

⁵ Černý and Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, I, 1957, pp. 22–23, pl. 83–84; KRI III, 515–24.

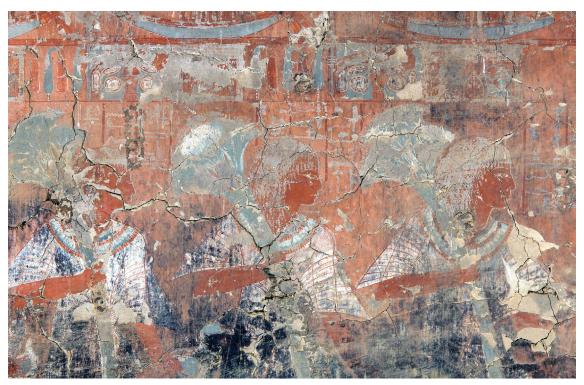


Fig. 1 Neferhotep (ii) followed by his father Nebnefer and his grand-father Neferhotep (i) on the south wall of the second room of the chapel (Photo by IFAO, nu_2014_01892).

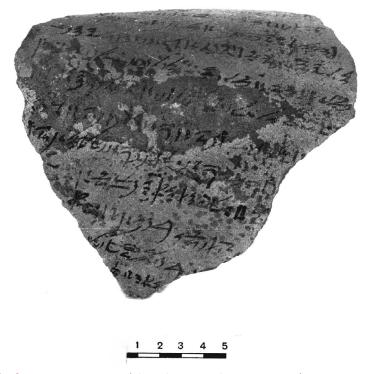


Fig. 2 Ostracon oDM 126 (Photo by IFAO, nb_2002_01611).

of Sethos II (Ostracon MMA 14.6.217). Neferhotep (ii)'s death is reported in Papyrus Salt 124, where his brother Imennakht says that the chief workman Neferhotep (ii) had been killed by "the enemy". Some scholars consider that this enemy is Neferhotep's successor and *protégé* Paneb because he would have foreseen the personal benefit that such an elimination would have brought him. Another hypothesis has been to link this violent death to a purge that took place during the usurpation of Amenmesse in the reign of Sethos II. Indeed, Neferhotep's death did take place at this time and we know that, by year 5 of Sethos II, Paneb was chief workman.

Concerning his professional status, Neferhotep (ii) was chief workman of the "crew" working on the right side of the royal tomb, his colleagues on the left side being Qaha and Inherkhawy. Textual sources indicate that Neferhotep (ii) was active for forty years, approximately during the same period as scribe Qenherkhepeshef, who is depicted in the tomb. The famous scribe is pictured behind Neferhotep (ii), Nebnefer (i) and Neferhotep (i) but before Imen[nakht], Neferhotep (ii)'s own brother. Qenherkhepeshef's place in this sequence thus indicates that he was extremely close to the chief workman.

2. THE TOMB AND ITS STATE OF PRESERVATION

2.1. Structure

This tomb⁹ is a typical Ramesside Theban tomb with three different levels: a higher level that includes the pyramid and all external structures such as a pylon, court, portico, etc; the middle level is the chapel itself whose plan displays the traditional "T" shape; the third level consists of a pit and underground rooms including the burial chamber [Fig. 3].

A long ascending double staircase, whose first steps have not yet been located, leads to an esplanade giving access to the funerary monument. The entrance is made up of a succession of two pylons separated by a first courtyard that is

⁶ Černý and Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, I, 1957, p. 18, pl. 64–64A no. 1; KRI IV, 298–9.

⁷ Černý, JEA 15 (1929), pp. 243–58; KRI IV, 408–14.

⁸ Collier, Dating Late XIXth Dynasty Ostraca, 2004.

⁹ PM I²/1, pp. 312–15.

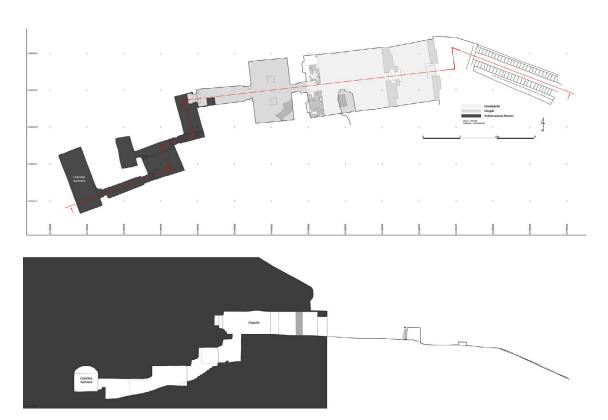


Fig. 3 Ground plan of Theban Tomb 216 (Drawing by O. Onézime / IFAO).

broader than it is deep. In this first courtyard or forecourt, Bernard Bruyère cleared three funeral pits dating to the Eighteenth Dynasty. Like many inhabitants of Deir el-Medina, Neferhotep (ii), by building his tomb, disturbed an area already densely occupied by earlier tombs. The next space is the large courtyard that precedes the chapel itself, which is 10.50 meters long and about 8.50 meters wide. On either side of a central alley, a "sidewalk" made of limestone slabs attest to the portico that had been built there, immediately preceding the facade carved into the rock. To the left of this alley, on the sidewalk, Bruyère found the base of a standing male statue which is now lost; and to the right, the lower part of a statue of a seated woman. These denote the figures of the chief workman Qaha (i) and his wife Tuy (i) [Fig. 4]. On each side of the entrance, hollows had been made in the facade to house stelae, of which only the negative outlines remain and some traces of plaster coating. The entrance passage, 1.43 meters wide, provides access to the chapel area whose walls were totally decorated with paintings. The chapel consists of a 3.20 meters high transverse hall, whose flat ceiling is supported by two square-section pillars. This first room, 8.50 meters wide and 5.25 meters deep, precedes the longitudinal corridor extending 6.70



Fig. 4 Part of Tuy's statue, the wife of the chief workman Qaha, on the north side of the entrance of the tomb (Photo by IFAO, pv 2004 08021).

meters into the mountain and terminating in a niche. At the end of the corridor, at the foot of the south wall, a vertical shaft, 3.80 meters deep, gives access to the subterranean areas of the tomb, which consist of four rooms separated from each other by various passageways and stairs carved into the rock or built of mud-brick. All the walls were leveled with *mouna* and smoothed with plaster. However, only the vault of the burial chamber received any painted decoration.

2.2. Location

The photogrammetric survey of the tomb, which provides an overall view of the architectural complexity of a monument and its relationship to the structures surrounding it, made it possible to produce a 3D model that highlighted the uniqueness of this tomb and at the same time showed how well the ancient Egyptians organized their work. The data collected concerned for example the structure, the position and the plan of the tomb. The chief workman Neferhotep (ii), who was obviously an influential person in the community of

Deir el-Medina, built for himself the largest burial monument preserved on the site on a specific location. Due to its high position, it overlooks not only the village but also the entire cemetery of Deir el-Medina. No doubt this dominant position was intended to perpetuate the memory of Neferhotep (ii). Moreover, from the esplanade, the view is unobstructed towards the Ramesseum, the temple of Millions of Years built by the pharaoh he served for more than forty-five years. The location of the monument thus refers both to the man's place within the community and to the link he wished to highlight with the king [Fig. 5]. In addition, the tomb is directly linked to TT6, the tomb belonging to his father Nebnefer, which is located immediately at the south. The 3D model of the subterranean parts of the two tombs shows how well the Egyptians were masters of quarrying tombs. Obviously Neferhotep (ii) tried to bring his burial chamber as close as possible to his father's, without endangering the structure of the two monuments, in order to rest as close as possible to him for eternity. In certain parts of the subterranean rooms less than one meter of rock separates the two tombs [Fig. 6].

2.3. State of Conservation

In the early 1920s, the first photographs of the tomb show how the entrance and the first room of the chapel were literally ripped open [Figs. 7 and 8]. This natural disaster probably occurred in the distant past. In addition, indications are that the decor had already begun to suffer in antiquity. A demotic graffito, inscribed in the first century BC in the longitudinal corridor, is partially painted on the bare rock, in a place where the original decoration had already disappeared.¹⁰

Coupled with a geoarchaeological analysis that provides physical data and the geological context of the reconstructed monument, the photogrammetric reconstruction produces data which help to understand the reasons for the deterioration of the tomb walls and the natural phenomena that threaten them. The tomb has been dug in a limestone of poor, friable quality. The geological explanation for this fragility involves two main sedimentary units that form the ground of the Deir el-Medina area: the first, dated to the Tertiary Period, is composed of what geologists called "Esna Shale" and the Thebes Limestone Formation. ¹¹

¹⁰ Spiegelberg, *Demotica II*, 1928, pp. 14–15.

¹¹ Dupuis et al., Journal of African Earth Sciences 61 (2011), pp. 245–67; King et al., Journal of African Earth Sciences 135 (2017), pp. 1–48.



Fig. 5 Outlook on the Ramesseum on the left and on the settlement of Deir el-Medina, from the upper part of the tomb (Photo by D. Lefevre).

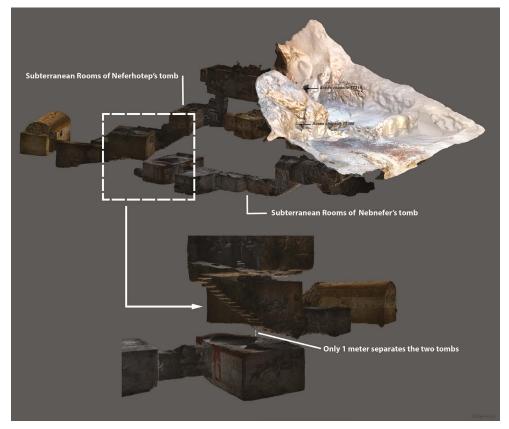


Fig. 6 3D model showing the proximity of the subterranean rooms of the Theban Tombs 6 and 216 (Model by O. Onézime / IAFO).



Fig. 7 The outside of the chapel seen from the second courtyard before restoration (Photo by IFAO, nb_2016_00062).



Fig. 8 The south part of the first room of the chapel before restoration (Photo by IFAO, nb_2016_00067).

The second significant sedimentary unit is a detrital prism outcropping at the top of the southern half of the western slope on which the IFAO house has been built. Its age is unknown but it is probably Quaternary. The detrital prism is composed of heterogeneous sediments. Its lower part is rather stratified, alternating conglomerates and sandstone-like beds of fine grain rocks.

The Theban Limestone Formation emerges from the detrital prism around TT216. Because the tomb is near this junction, the rock is weaker and contributes to the instability of the ceilings of TT216. Of all the tombs on the same terrace in the western necropolis of Deir el-Medina, it is the one whose structure has suffered most natural degradation over time. Its position at a point of the cliff which is particularly exposed to bad weather also explains the extent of the damage. Located at the mouth of a ravine formed by torrential rains that happen occasionally in the region, the rock has also probably been eroded by fast flowing water running down the mountain-side, exacerbating the degree of damage to this poor quality limestone.

The bad state of preservation of the first room of the chapel is thus explained by geological factors and the location of the tomb. The ceiling has completely crumbled away. The two pillars that originally supported the roof are virtually destroyed, with nothing left of the stone beam carved out of the rock in the middle of the roof. Only the beginning of this beam remains visible on the north wall. The second room – the corridor – and the niche of the chapel were spared from the destruction because of their location deeper in the mountain-side. In this room, however, the paintings still in place have suffered from another type of damage: one caused by man. One or more fires lit in the chapel in the past have burned the exposed pigments causing the first paint layer applied to blush pink. Because the tomb had been open until recently, the paintings were also damaged by bird droppings, bat urine, wasps' nests and covered with dust and dried mud, all of which hampered the visibility of the scenes and the hieroglyphic inscriptions that accompany them.

3. RESTORATION

In order to make possible the study of the painted decoration as well as to preserve it, an international conservation-restoration team was formed, supervised by

Manon Lefèvre (Paris) and Isabelle Vranckx (Brussels) and comprising several trainees and technicians. 12 The first action undertaken by the team entailed the thorough cleaning of the floors and the consolidation of the layers of painted plaster. The work started in 2015 with the cleaning of the floors in the underground rooms which were covered with a thick layer of very fine dust. During the process several small inscribed objects were discovered. These were mainly ushabtis dating to the Third Intermediate Period, which testify to the reuse of the tomb after the New Kingdom. At the same time, a condition report on the decoration of the vault was drawn up. As in many tombs in Deir el-Medina and the Theban region, the coatings on the walls are composed of several layers - from the plaster used to level the walls to the pictorial layer. Each layer has been damaged to some extent and requires specific treatment. In general, the tomb has suffered from the natural movement of the rock. In order to slow down this phenomenon, the first restoration interventions in the tomb focused on the consolidation of the tomb wall surfaces by fixing, gluing, filling and flashing. This was followed by the cleaning of the painted surfaces, a task which takes time, as it requires extensive testing to find the appropriate chemical treatment protocol for each type of degradation.

The intervention of the restorers was not limited to cleaning. Close observation of details of the decorated surface under different types of lighting allowed them to identify the choices made by craftsmen, overpainting and modifications they made and provide a chronological narrative for the decor. For example, they observed that the surface of some iconographic details, such as some flowers in bouquets, were sometimes enhanced by the application of a thick painted coating, a procedure that afforded texture and relief to elements of a scene while suggesting movement through the play of light and shadow.

4. THE ARCHIVES

B. Bruyère had originally planned to publish the tomb of Neferhotep (ii) but was unable to achieve this during his lifetime. Everything we know about the work

¹² Marianne Rochebeuf, Najma Bras, Valérie Emonière, Clémence Teitgen, Maya Goldberg, Perrine Franco, Fatma Mohamed Ali Kashef, Mohamed Omar, Mohamed Ragab, Mohamed Youssef Sedek.

he conducted in the tomb during his first years at Deir el-Medina comes from two *Rapports de fouilles* which he published in 1925 and 1926.¹³ In these volumes he described the structure of the tomb and devoted much of the descriptive text to the statues he found inside it. He however offered no information about what he saw when he first entered the tomb nor the processes he used to clean the interior. Fortunately, his archives, which are stored at the Department of Archives and Collections in the French Institute of Archaeology in Cairo, are more complete. In these notes he reports that the chapel was first cleared, at least partially, during the 1922 excavation campaign. The interior of the tomb was filled with rubble, mainly fragments of rock and soil resulting from the disintegration of the mountain surrounding and above the monument as well as from the collapse of the roof of the first room of the chapel. He had those parts of the monument that were accessible cleared, but his documentation gives no precise information about this stage of the excavation. It only gives a few clues that suggest that the clearing of the chapel was one of the first tasks he initiated at the site. In the section entitled "Répertoire des fouilles" in his Field Notes (Journal de Fouilles) of 1922–23, he lists the areas that he had cleared the previous year. 14 The first monument in that list bears the letter A, his code for the tomb of Neferhotep (ii). In addition, on the captions of some photographic prints of Tomb 216, Bruyère added a hand-written note that some of the rubble that clogged the rooms had been cleared in 1922, a detail which is confirmed by a passage in the report published in 1925. It is clear from these same documents that systematic clearance of the tomb followed by documentation work was initiated in January 1924.

The archives of Bruyère concerning the tomb of Neferhotep (ii) show something particularly significant: in addition to being the largest funerary monument at the Deir el-Medina site, it was undoubtedly one of the most richly endowed in terms of large stone objects. The archaeologist who described the monument as "la plus grande et la plus riche des tombes de Deir el-Medined" stated that he found about ten offering tables, several imposing statues (although all in a fragmentary state), many fragments of stelae, lintels and bas-reliefs.

¹³ Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1923-1924), 1925, pp. 36–53; Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1924-1925), 1926, pp. 35–44.

¹⁴ Mss. Ms 2004 0144 003, © Archives Bernard Bruyère Ifao.

¹⁵ Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1923-1924), 1925, p. 36.

This abundance of architectural furniture, which did not always belong to Neferhotep (ii), testifies to the attraction of the monument itself for those living at Deir el-Medina at the time as much as it is a reflection of the importance of its owner within that community. Many of these objects are no longer in the tomb; some are known only by drawings made by Bruyère and remain unpublished. In the archives of the IFAO lies a document written by Bernard Bruyère listing everything that was discovered according to the order in which they were found, an invaluable resource for indicating where in the tomb the objects were recovered.

In addition to the reports of excavations written by Bruyère, the IFAO has its own file of notes, compiled by the archaeologist, concerning specifically Neferhotep (ii)'s tomb. The notes focus less on the objects found and more on the monument itself, *i.e.* its architecture and decoration [Fig. 9]. It contains the plan of the tomb which was drawn up by Bruyère which, until this year, was the only plan in existence. The notes include a description of the paintings and reliefs on each wall, as well as the inscriptions, information that is all the more precious given that much has become less visible since the archaeologist made the survey. Some texts quoted by him have now disappeared [Figs. 10 and 11].

In addition to the notes and reports of Bruyère, the excavation campaigns of Deir el-Medina produced a significant number of photographs on glass plates. They offer a visual testimony to the discoveries, as in many cases they are frozen images of the scene at the beginning of excavations when all the movable elements were still in place, before they were moved for the purposes of further excavation. Thus, several photographs show the location of objects, including the numerous statues, at the time they were discovered. The abundance of statues found in the tomb remains one of the principal enigmas of this monument and knowing where they were placed in the monument could hold vital clues to gainning an understanding of this phenomenon. It is indeed rare to have so much statuary in the tomb of a private individual at this time and it may denote a rare practice in Deir el-Medina funerary monuments. There are few parallels which either allow us to offer suggestions as to the original location of statues with any confidence or to propose an explanation for their presence. Their current position cannot be trusted since all of them have been moved

¹⁶ Mss. ArchBruyère_0014 et ArchBruyère_0059, © Archives Bernard Bruyère_Ifao.

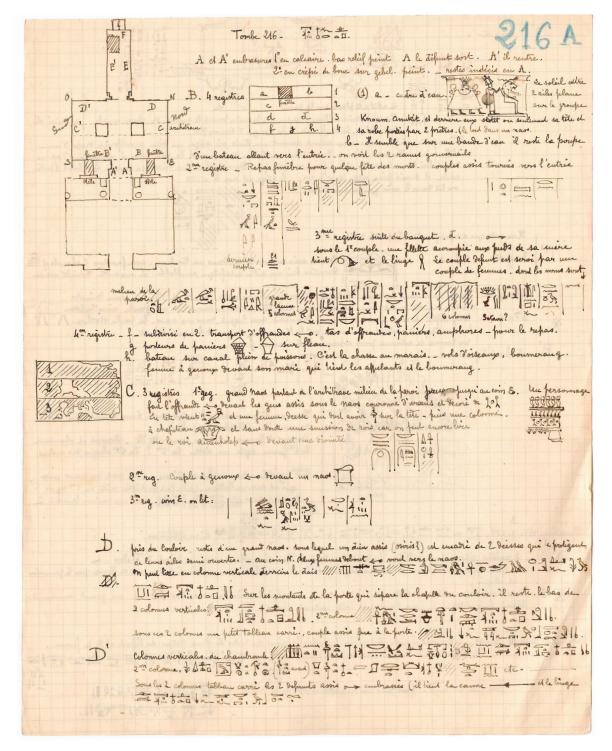


Fig. 9 Notes taken by Bernard Bruyère of Theban Tomb 216 (Photo by IFAO, ms_2015_01968).

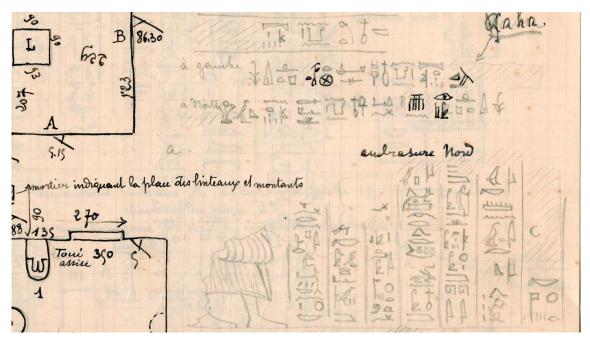


Fig. 10 Copy made by Bernard Bruyère in 1926 of the text engraved on the north side of the entrance of the chapel (Photo by IFAO, ms_2015_01973).



Fig. 11 The text still visible on the north side of the entrance to the chapel (Photo by IFAO, nu_2014_01732).

several times since the 1920s. Old photographs are therefore of fundamental significance as they compensate to some extent for the lack of precise details in the excavation reports. Photographs in the IFAO archives show that two statues, both representing Pashed, the brother of Neferhotep (ii), were placed on either side of the entrance to the longitudinal room [Fig. 12]. Other photographs make it possible to restore the location of the statue of Tuy (i), wife of chief workman Qaha (i), who was Neferhotep (ii)'s colleague, as being under the portico to the right of the entrance to the tomb [Fig. 13].

5. THE DECORATION

Despite numerous areas of damage, some of the decorated surfaces remain well preserved. They testify to the high level of technical skill of the artists who worked on the walls of the monument. The lines are drawn finely and precisely, the compositions are complex and show mastery, and some motifs are unique in Deir el-Medina and even the Theban necropolis as a whole.

The decorative scheme in the first room has suffered the most from destruction, but the little that remains shows the unexpected iconographic choices that were made. Most surprising is the presence of many elements evoking aspects of the Aswan region: although the gods of Elephantine, the triad of Khnum, Satis and Anukis, are often represented in some tombs of Deir el-Medina, 17 this is not the case of the island itself. On the east wall two scenes appear symmetrically on either side of the entrance: on the south side is a depiction of the island on which stands a now very fragmentary rendering of a chapel with the gods of Elephantine inside it. A mountain is shown nearby on which animals climb, including gazelles, emblematic of the goddess Anukis [Fig. 14]. The composition on the north side also includes a chapel located in the middle of water, thus presumably standing on an island. Despite the poor state of the decor, it is still possible to see Khnum followed by Satis. Behind them is a unique depiction of two priests looking at each other and surrounding what was supposed to be the head of the goddess Anukis. This was probably an effigy or a symbol whose only visible features now are the feathers of her headdress and the necklace. The

¹⁷ Valbelle, BIFAO 75 (1975), pp. 134-45; Valbelle, Satis et Anoukis, 1981, pp. 29-31 (n° 255-60).



Fig. 12 Statue of Pashed, the brother of Neferhotep (ii), found by Bernard Bruyère in 1922 on the north side of the entrance of the second room of the chapel (Photo by IFAO, pv_2004_08009).



Fig. 13 Photography taken by Bernard Bruyère in 1922 showing the statue of Tuy on the right of the entrance of the tomb (Photo by IFAO, pv_2004_06173).



Fig. 14 Representation of Elephantine Island in the middle of the Nile with gazelles climbing a hill (Photo by IFAO, nu_2014_01780).

three figures are draped in a single piece of richly decorated fabric. Moreover, unique scenes incorporate numerous representations of granite cliffs and plants typical of the region around Aswan.

The representations of the gods of Elephantine on walls around the tomb, as well as those of other gods, all depicted in monumental size, is typical of the Ramesside period when tombs of noblemen acquired a "temple function". It was a time when the tomb was conceived of as a sacred place where the deceased rendered worship to the gods in addition to being a funerary monument. Contrary to the tombs of the Old and Middle Kingdoms where there is no scene showing the deceased adoring the gods or to the tombs of the Eighteenth dynasty where those scenes are located in marginal spaces and with the same, limited repertoire of gods (Osiris, Anubis, the goddess of the West and sometimes the god Re), during the Ramesside period, however, these scenes, which can be large in size, are ubiquitous and include depictions of many different gods.

The architectural monumentality of the chapel and the iconographic links to Elephantine in its decorative scheme immerse the visitor in an environment which has been created by the desire to build an atypical sacred space and to give the

¹⁸ Assmann, in Strudwick and Taylor (eds.), The Theban Necropolis. Past, Present and Future, 2003, pp. 46-52.



Fig. 15 Ramesses II in front of Amon's processional 'Userhat'-bark (Photo by IFAO, nu_2014_01792).

cultic function of the tomb a specific focus. While depictions of the Elephantine divine triad are present in his father's tomb, as in many other monuments in Deir el-Medina, in Neferhotep (ii)'s tomb the owner clearly was attempting to make the publicly accessible part of his tomb a place which memorialized Elephantine and emphasized worship of the divine triad, as if he was gathering together a summation of all the things that evoked the Aswan region.

Other iconographic elements indicate that the tomb was conceived of as a place of worship incorporating scenes similar to those that one finds in temples: for example, the scene showing king Ramesses II paying tribute to the boat 'Userhat' of Amon-Ra, which stands on a base of outsized proportions, is a motif which finds indeed equivalents in royal and divine temples [Fig. 15]. In the case of our tomb, we may wonder whether the architectural elements outside the monument, whose number is unusual for a funeral monument in Deir el-Medina and which are remarkable in the local landscape, have not been used to materialize this arrangement. The large double staircase which acts as a link between the monument and processional routes used for transporting the statues of gods at times of festival, is similar to those found in temples. The tomb's two courtyards and pylons are also characteristic of temple architecture, traditionally separating the exterior of the building from the most sacred area inside where the god resided.

The decoration in the second room of the chapel is better preserved than in the first. Here again we note the originality in scenes. For example, in the one showing

the funeral procession where the coffin is being pulled on a sledge by several people, a priest dressed in panther skin makes fumigations towards it. Facing him, a priest dressed in a long white robe stands on the sledge holding a long stick alongside two officiants playing the roles of Nephthys and Isis [Fig. 16]. This motif, known from the Eighteenth-Dynasty iconography represented in the tombs of important dignitaries such as Rekhmira, vizier of Tuthmose III, and Ramose, vizier of Amenhotep III, is uncommon in Ramesside tombs. This thematically complex scene, which will be studied elsewhere, shows the s(t)m-priest acting in the role of Sokar. At the western end of the north wall another unusual scene depicts the god Osiris and the goddess Hathor inside a chapel protected by Sokar lying on its roof. What is surprising is that this chapel is portrayed on a boat which is inside the Theban mountain. This boat is represented with cobras at the front and the head of the Hathor cow protecting a representation of pharaoh.

The vaulted burial chamber is the only subterranean area to have been decorated [Fig. 17]. On the east wall, vignettes depicting divinities of the afterlife accompany formulas from the Book of the Dead. On the west wall, there are some fairly common scenes, such as the scene of the cat killing the snake. On the vault is depicted a large scene showing the winged goddess Nut, standing on a djed-pillar. Neferhotep (ii) drinks the water that the goddess pours for him.

The chapel of Tomb 216 thus shows a decoration and technique that are absolutely unparalleled in Deir el-Medina. The location of the tomb, its unusual size, the choices made by its owner: all this suggests that it is a significant monument in the landscape of the necropolis. Its design was carefully planned and Neferhotep (ii) called on highly qualified craftsmen to implement its project. The publication of such a monument is now certainly required.

¹⁹ Davies, The Tomb of Rekh-mi-re, 1943, pl. 43.

²⁰ Davies, *The Tomb of Ramose*, 1941, pls. 25–26.

²¹ Only two others example of this scene are attested in the Ramesside time: on a stela of Neferabu, cf. James, *HTBM*, IX, 1970, pl. 30 and in the Theban Tomb 273 of Sayemitef (unpublished).

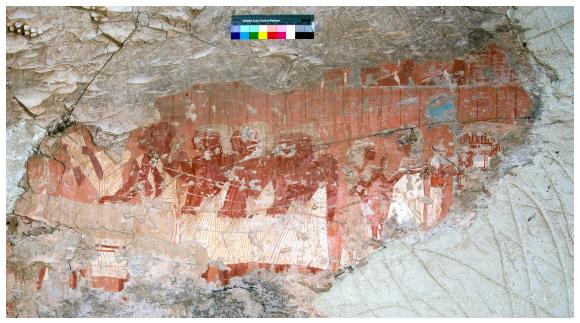


Fig. 16 The funerary procession with the s(t)m-priester wearing a long white coat (Photo by IFAO, nu_2014_01829).

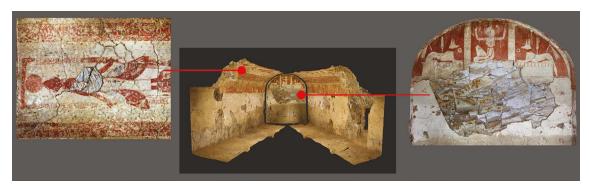


Fig. 17 3D model of the burial chamber (Model by O. Onézime/IFAO).

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CULTS AND WORSHIP IN DEIR EL-MEDINA

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines several New Kingdom private stelae from Deir el-Medina, now housed at the Museo Egizio in Turin, with a focus on the beliefs and religious practices of the non-elite individuals represented.

The ancient Egyptians of this community seemed to worship and present offerings to deities in order to propitiate them or obtain various divine interventions: the onset of illnesses or other difficult situations in life (e.g. work promotions, peer rivalries or interpersonal conflicts) were believed to be a reflection of such divine will. This paper seeks to contribute to the study of what is often called "personal piety" by asking how and to what extent the collection of Deir el-Medina artifacts displayed in the Museo Egizio inform us about the religious practices and beliefs in the private, rather than the more well attested official, sphere of ancient Egyptian life. These stelae provide us with excellent material for analysis given the individuals are depicted addressing the gods directly, without intermediaries. I perform a re-examination of the iconography of the most relevant stelae, using an analytical-descriptive approach, and subsequently cross-reference this information with the content of the texts. I then compare the obtained data to similar items from several museums, as a means of assessing this analysis in a wider context of reference.

The ancient Egyptians of Deir el-Medina appear to have worshipped and presented offerings to deities in order to propitiate them or obtain various divine interventions: the onset of illnesses or other difficult situations in life (e.g. peer rivalries, desire for work promotions, or interpersonal conflicts) were believed to be a reflection of such divine will.

Such beliefs and practices, involving instances of personal relating to dieties, fall under the Egyptological label of "personal piety" or, to use a more neutral expression, "individual religiosity".²

Certain of these interactions between humans and their gods are depicted on a group of Ramesside votive stelae currently housed at the Museo Egizio in Turin. They are well structured in their internal textual and pictorial designs and offer rich possibilities for the analysis of the dynamics of the human-divine interactions of interest here.

In a study investigating these relationships over a number of sources, Pascal Vernus³ examined the linguistic expressions featuring in these communications between believer and deity, and his textual analysis revealed specific criteria by which the nature of this relationship is expressed. These criteria have been integrated into the present textual analysis of the stela, which is carried out complementarily to their iconographic description.

The first principle of the human-god relationship is the god's willingness to listen, a *sine qua non* basic condition for this kind of interaction. In our corpus of stelae it is particularly indicated by the presence of an epithet qualifying the deity as sdm-nh(w).t, "one who hears prayer(s)", which features in the following examples.

Stela CGT 50026 (Nineteenth Dynasty, 1292-1190 BCE) **[Fig. 1]** is one of four examples from the Turin collection belonging to the so-called "ear stela" typological category, distinctive in their iconography and coming from New Kingdom Thebes (Deir el-Medina, Deir el-Bahari) and Memphis. It is a votive stela with two pairs of ears carved and accompanied by incised texts; it pertains to a certain Wesersatet (wsr-stt), who addresses the goddess Nebethetpet, referred to as *sdm-nh.t*, "(she) who hears prayer" and *nb.t-p.t*, "mistress of heaven".

¹ Bourghouts, in Demarée and Janssen (eds.), Gleanings from Deir el-Medina, 1982, pp. 1–70.

² Bickel, BIFAO 102 (2002), pp. 63-90.

³ Vernus, in Andreu (ed.), Deir el-Médineh et la Vallée des Rois, 2003, pp. 313-40.

⁴ Schlichting, in Helck and Otto (eds.), LÄ IV, cols. 562-66; Radtke, ImagAeg 2 (2008), pp. 97-108.

The devotee wishes to increase the god's willingness to hear his request for a desired intervention, by means of the depicted ears and the specific epithet.⁵

The sdm-nh(w).t epithet appears in contexts other than the "ear stelae" and describes the deities to whom the prayers and requests are addressed: Osiris, Anubis, Meretseger, Hathor, Amun and Ptah, as for instance in the following case.

This limestone wall fragment (CGT 50100) **[Fig. 2]**, 6 carved and painted, dates to the Nineteenth Dynasty (1292-1190 BCE). The decoration part shows four deities sitting on a block throne and facing left: they are Osiris, Anubis, Ptah and Mut. The lower part of the inscription partially preserved above them consists of five columns of a text written from left to right. Ptah is described with two expressions: $n \mod s \mod s$, "(he) with both ears that listen" and $s \mod s$, "(he) who listens to prayer".

A key aspect of the human-god relationship is its purpose: an exchange. The devotee addresses the gods to ask for something: a benevolent attitude, protection or some kind of concrete aid. It is a mutually beneficial relationship based on the *do ut des* concept and this is clearly stated each time, for instance on stela CGT 50060⁷ [Fig. 3].

It is a well preserved round-topped stela, carved and painted, dating to the Nineteenth Dynasty (1292-1190 BCE). The lunette shows a *šn*-ring and water waves flanked on either side by *wd3.t*-eyes arranged in a mirror image setting, a typical combination of protective and regenerative symbols. In the upper register, twelve coloured snakes face right: as claimed by Jean Yoyotte, in most cases stelae representing snakes refer to female petitioners and, even if the petitioner is male, the main beneficiary of the prayer is a *nb.t-pr*, "lady of the house". In the lower register, the *nb.t-pr* Wabet is shown kneeling, in adoring gesture: a lotus flower and a little cone of ointment are placed on top of her wig. Behind her are depicted a *h3t*-altar with a vessel flanked by a bunch of lotus flowers; below the table there are two vessels on pedestals.

Before her are three vertical lines of hieroglyphs with a dedication to the

⁵ Pinch, Votive Offerings to Hathor, 1993, pp. 250–53; for a different interpretation see Morgan, *Untersuchungen* zu den Ohrenstelen aus Deir el Medine, 2004, pp. 12–206

⁶ Tosi and Roccati, Stele ed altre epigrafi, 1972, p. 131 and p. 305, pl. 50100.

⁷ Tosi and Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi*, 1972, pp. 97–98 and p. 288, pl. 50060.

⁸ Yoyotte, in Andreu (ed.), Deir el-Médineh et la Vallée des Rois, 2003, p. 297.

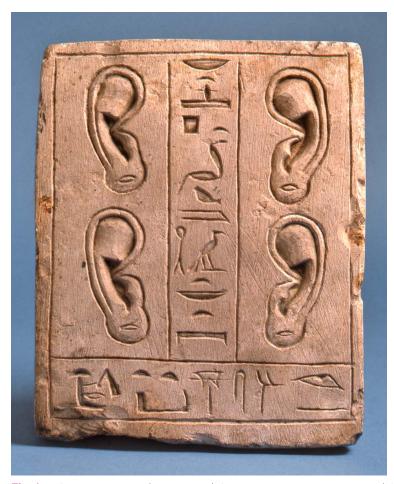


Fig. 1 Stela of Wesersatet (CGT 50026), limestone. H. 17 cm, w. 14 cm (Photo Museo Egizio).

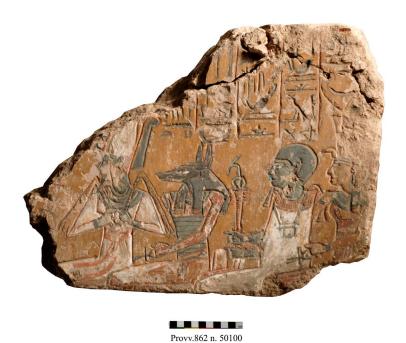


Fig. 2 Wall fragment (CGT 50100), limestone. H. 47 cm, w. 35 cm (Photo Museo Egizio).



Fig. 3 Stela of Wab (CGT 50060), limestone. H. 27 cm, w. 17 cm (Photo by Nicola Dell'Acquila and Federico Taverni/Museo Egizio).

goddess Meretseger (*mr.s-gr*); four hieroglyphic signs forming the final expression "at peace" appear behind her head. On the right side of the stela one column of text commemorates the servant Nebnefer and his son Pauebekhnu, while on the left side another inscription commemorates Nebnefer and his daughter Henutshenu.

⁹ Valbelle, in Helck and Otto (eds.), LÄ IV, cols. 79-80.

The interpretation of this piece as devotional is clear not simply on the basis of its iconography, but also because it begins with a formula typical to prayer stelae, rdi(t) i3w. The hieroglyphic text reads from left to right:

[1] rdi(t) isw n mr.t-sgr hnw.t [2] imnt.t nb.t pt hnw.t $n\underline{t}rw$ nbw di st [3] cnh wds snb n ks n nb.t-pr $w^cb(.t)$ $ms^c(.t)$ -hrw [3] m htp

"Give praise to goddess Meretseger, Mistress of the West, the Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the gods, so that she may give life, strength and health to the Lady of the House, Wabet, justified in peace".

As Wabet's stela suggests, prayers are often dedicated to a god or a goddess in order to receive something special, for example eternal life, strength and good health: this is the same wish that is usually given to a dead king.

The dynamics of human-divine interaction may become more complicated, as in the case of stela CGT 50052¹⁰ [Fig. 4].

The round-topped limestone stela refers to a $s\check{s}$ -kd(w.t) n lmn Pay (p_3y) , a popular draftsman from the years of Ramesses II's reign (1279–1213 BCE), and bears a scene carved and painted with incised text.

The body of the stela is in two registers. The upper one depicts Pay kneeling and offering a brazier containing a piece of meat to the God Khonsu, sitting on the block throne in front of a h3.t-altar with offerings and a bunch of lotus flowers placed above them.

Khonsu is the only recipient of the offering being depicted and two alternating pairs of earrings and ritual eyes appear behind him. In the lower register, on the right side, Wadjrenpet, Pay's mother, is kneeling facing left, with raised arms in a posture of adoration.

The text connected to the first section is introduced by *šsp bw-nfr*, "receiving good things", followed by the names and epithets of the three deities receiving the offering: Khonsu, Thoth and Horus. Khonsu is the first to be mentioned and occupies the highest hierarchical position. Offerings are made to guarantee peace and the god's good attitude, as is indicated in the associated text:

¹⁰ Tosi and Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi*, 1972, pp. 87–88 and 283, pl. 50052.



Fig. 4 Stela of Pay (CGT 50052), limestone. H. 43 cm, w. 28 cm (Photo by Nicola Dell'Acquila and Federico Taverni/Museo Egizio).

[4] htp sp sn p3 n htp [5] mk.tw mr <math>htp(w)

"Peace, peace, graceful of peace, be a lover of peace".

Lines 6 and 7 introduce the donor with the preposition *in*: "by the outline draughtsman of Amun, Pay, justified".

The lower register depicts Wadjrenpet facing left and kneeling with raised arms in an adoring gesture. Nine vertical columns of text begin with the introductory rdi(t) isw-formula followed by two recipient deities: Khonus, in Thebes, Nefer-Hotep, and Horus.

The most interesting part starts with the last sign, at the end of the first column and continues in the second column:

[1] di [2].=i n=f i3w shtp=<math>i k3.f htp=f n=i r^c-nb

"I give praise to him, I cause his k_3 to be satisfied, so that he may be favourably disposed towards me, every day".

The "I give that you may give" principle appears here clearly. Pay prays to the god and provides offerings to nourish Khonsu's k_3 , in exchange for something important: he desires that the god be favourably disposed towards him.

The third column, close the bottom of the register, refers to an actual or alleged "blindness" issue that has been debated in some interesting studies.¹¹

The text continues:

[3] mk di=k m³^c=i kk.w n ir=k ḥtp=k n=i sdd [4] sw ndm.wy ḥtp kḫnsw ...

"Behold you make me see the darkness, (but) you are favourably disposed towards me that makes me say it, pleased that you are satisfied Khonsu. The fact that you are favourably disposed towards me makes me say how sweet your disposition is".

The dative form in this sentence, grammatically expresses the beneficiary (Pay) of the good disposition of Khonsu, which leaves the possibility (in this author's interpretation) of the inverse implication: "Oh god (Khonsu) if you are not favourable towards me, I cannot say good things about you. It's up to you!"

¹¹ Vernus, in Andreu (ed.), *Deir el-Médineh et la Vallée des Rois*, 2003, pp. 317–20; Borghouts, in Demarée and Janssen (eds.), *Gleanings from Deir el-Medina*, 1982, pp. 43–44.

The closure is an interesting one (seventh and ninth columns):

[7] $\underline{d}d=f$ imi [8] $\underline{h}r=k$ [9] ir $\underline{h}tp$ $\underline{s}\underline{d}m$ n=i

"He says: pay attention, may you be favourable, listen to me".

The choice of the imperative mood stresses how Pay addresses the god, and the perfect connection between the end and the beginning of the text has always drawn my attention: paying attention and listening are exactly the same components represented by the figurative presence of eyes and ears, repeated twice. This is tightly linked to the god Khonsu.

In this case the "I give that you may give" dynamic is intensified: the deceased woman's son, as a mediator, makes an offering to the god so that the latter may be satisfied and favourable; in the lower register, Pay prays for the god to favour his mother and asks him to listen and pay attention to him until the text is interrupted by the gap right at the and. All of this is emphasized through the visual representation of eyes and ears and the use of the imperative tense: praying and praising in exchange for listening and regarding. The last example is CGT 50058 [Fig. 5],¹² a very interesting stela, integrating the "individual religiosity" components in a rather articulated and wide textual structure.

This limestone stela is presently part of the collections of the Museo Egizio (First Floor, Room 6).

It is a rectangular shaped stela larger than the others discussed above (h. 20, w. 54 cm) and pertains to Neferabu (nfr- c 3b), a workman who lived in Deir el-Medina (his title is $s\underline{d}m$ - c 8s1t1t2t3t4t5t6 under the reign of king Ramesses II (Nineteenth Dynasty, 1279–1213 BCE) and the owner of TT5.

On the right side, the decoration shows the threefold Meretseger: the goddess is facing left, in front of a h3t-altar with a vase of flowers and lotus buds. Her name appears in a vertical line of hieroglyphs in front of her head and is complemented by three epithets: nb.t p.t "Lady of the Sky", hn(w).t t3.wy "Mistress of the Two Lands" and the last one – right behind her crown – t3 dhn.t n imnt.t "the Peak of the West". The inscription consists of seventeen columns of text, facing right, that start with the rdi(.t) i3w-formula:

¹² Tosi and Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi*, 1972, pp. 94–96 and p. 286, pl. 50058.



Fig. 5 Stela of Neferabu (CGT 50058), limestone. H. 20 cm, w. 54 cm (Photo Museo Egizio).

[1] rdi(t) isw n dhn.t n imnt.t sn

"Give praise to the Peak of the West, kissing the earth for her"

The text starts with a prayer to the goddess Meretseger that comes to an end slightly after the first half of the first column, where the *do ut des* principle is introduced:

[1] di=i i sw s dm < n > i s < i r > i nk [2] $m s^c .t hr tp-t s$

"I deliver praise, you listen to (my) prayer (since I did) justice on earth".

The structure of the text complies with the basic principles of a persuasive speech: it begins with what Neferabu does for the addressee in order to draw her attention and gain her favour, and concludes with what makes him worthy of it.

The author is mentioned below:

[2] ir n sdm-'š m s.t m3'.t nfr-'3b m3'-hrw

"Made by the Servant in the Place of Truth Neferabu, justified".

A detailed narration of a misadventure that resulted in the goddess Meretseger punishing Neferabu begins from the third quarter of the second column:

[2] s hm iwty [3] hsty bw rh nfr r bin

"I was a heartless man, that could not tell good from evil"

This is the incipit of the misadventure: Neferabu admits he made a mistake that

is not specified in the text beyond saying he could not tell good from evil. In light of his starting declaration that he is one who does justice on earth, we might interpret that this sentence characterises his mistake as an unusual aberration in his otherwise just behaviour.

[3] iw=i hr irrt p3 sp n (t)h3 [4] r dhn.t iw=s hr irr n=i sb3 "I set up the chance to go against the Peak and she gave me a teaching".

His mistake unleashes the goddess's reaction, a "teaching", which is outlined between the fourth and sixth columns. The goddess reacts resolutely, and Neferabu illustrates the physical and psychological effects of this divine rage against him: he says that he was "in her hand night and day"; he "was sitting on the brick, like the woman in labour".

Between the sixth and eighth columns, Neferabu tries to calm down the furious Meretseger: he begged for the gust of wind to come, but she did not come to him; then he humbled himself at the Peak of the West, before every god and goddess. The fury of the goddess is unstoppable, to the point that he considers it necessary to warn every human (the big as well as the small one) in his team: "beware the Peak, since there's a lion in it!".

Neferabu continues and adds that "the Peak strikes with a fierce lion's strike" because "she comes after those who disobey her".

Finally, the eleventh and twelfth columns describe a breakthrough:

[11] iw=i ḥr 'š n t3y=i [12] ḥnw.t gm=i st ii.ti n=i m t3w ndm

"I begged my mistress and she found me coming to me like a soft wind."

It is as if the goddess expects an awareness of error and the humility of prayer to change her mood towards him, as Neferabu sums up well:

[12] iw st hr [13] htp n=i iw di s(w) m33 n=i dr.t st

"She was favourably disposed towards me, after showing me her hand"

The mistake that Neferabu made triggers the goddess's rage, which scares him and triggers physical effects: at the moment Neferabu becomes aware and begs the goddess, her rage is pacified and she helps him purify his heart, with a sort of catharsis:

[13] *iw st 'n* [14] *n=i m ḥtpy iw st ḥr di.t smḫ=i n mr(w)* [15] *wnn m ib=i* "She came back to me, favourable, once she made me forget about the sickness in my heart"

At the end of the misadventure story, the text provides a teaching: the Peak of the West is merciful if you beg her.

In conclusion, Neferabu recommends:

[16] <u>dd=f ptri sdm msdr.wy</u> [17] nb nty 'nḥ ḥr tp-t3 s3w dhn.t imnt.t "He says: behold, may the two ears of all those who are alive on the earth take heed: beware the Peak of the West!"

In this last stela the theme of individual religiosity emerges as a common theme in a text with a rather articulated structure; it starts with a prayer, it leaves room for some biographical content, and follows the classic rules of a persuasive speech: by our modern Western standards it would have served well in a trial too! The admission of the committed error, the consequent awareness and finally the catharsis, all lead to the possibility of obtaining the forgiveness offered by the goddess. However, the ending does not leave much to the imagination: "beware the goddess" is the wisest piece of advice that Neferabu can give!

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THE SO-CALLED ORATORY OF PTAH AND MERTSEGER RE-EXAMINED

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ABSTRACT

The sanctuary, known to Egyptologists as the oratory of Ptah and Mertseger, is composed of seven chapels cut into a rocky cliff between Deir el-Medina and the Valley of the Queens. The site was excavated by Schiaparelli in 1905 but his work remained unpublished. In 1926, the site was re-excavated by Bruyère and published in a volume entitled *Mert Seger à Deir El-Médineh*. Since then, no one has revised Bruyère's interpretation and conclusions about the chapels. The present author will re-examine the preserved scenes on the walls of the chapels, the objects found at the site by Schiaparelli and Bruyère, as well as consult material from Schiaparelli's archive from his work in Deir el-Medina, in order to identify the deities worshipped in the chapels and the history and chronology of religious practice at the site. It is argued from the evidence that Mertseger was not the focus of the cult at this sanctuary.

1. INTRODUCTION

The topography of the west bank of Thebes is characterised by its natural hills and cliffs housing rock-cut structures such as the temples of Mentuhotep II and Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari or the tombs at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna and Qurnet Murai. Similarly, the so-called oratory of Ptah and Mertseger was cut into a rocky outcrop to the west of the settlement of Deir el-Medina on the path leading to the Valley of the Queens [Fig. 1]. It is composed of seven chapels: some are cut completely and others partly into the cliff. They extend in a semi-circular shape of about 23 m and face north [Fig. 2].¹

The chapels had been visited by Rosellini and Champollion² during their Franco-Tuscan expedition to Egypt in 1828–29 and by Lepsius³ during his scientific expedition in 1843–45: both recorded and drew some of the rock-cut stelae found there. In 1903–09, the Italian mission led by Schiaparelli – the director of the Egyptian Museum in Turin at that time – carried out excavations in the Valley of the Queens and the site of Deir el-Medina. Schiaparelli was particularly interested in exploring the sites from which Drovetti derived his collection, as some of it was later given to the Turin Museum.⁴ Schiaparelli excavated the oratory between 18 January and 8 March 1905⁵ and collected some fragments of stelae once embedded in the chapels' walls, but he left his work on the site unpublished.

The publication of these chapels as well as the majority of the monuments in Deir el-Medina was done by Bernard Bruyère, the French excavator, as a result of his extensive work at Deir el-Medina and its surroundings over a period of about thirty years between 1921 and 1951. Between 3 January – 21 February 1926, Bruyère surveyed the chapels simultaneous to his work at Deir el-Me-

¹ Bruyère, Mert Seger, 1930, p. 11.

² Champollion, Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie, 1845, pl. CCXXX.

³ Lepsius, Denkmäler, III, 1849, pls. 204 [d], 208 [d], 218 [c].

⁴ Vassilika, Masterpieces of the Museo Egizio in Turin, 2009, pp. 3-5.

⁵ Moiso, in B. Moiso (eds.), *Ernesto Schiaparelli e la tomba di Kha*, 2008, p. 219. Contra Bruyère, *Mert Seger*, 1930, pp. 6, 283, who stated that the chapels were excavated by Schiaparelli in 1906, and contra Tosi and Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi*, 1972, pp. 127, 153; Habachi, *Tavole d'offerta*, *are e bacili da libagione*, 1977, p. 44 who mentioned that the date of the excavation was in 1904–05.

⁶ On the first page of Bruyère's excavation notebook (MS_2004_0147_004), it is written that he worked in the chapels between 3 January – 21 February. However, on another page of the same folder, he recorded that he also worked there on 10 March (MS_2004_0147_032). Available online at http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ms/



Fig. 1 The location of the rock-cut chapels on the west bank of Thebes (Photo Google Earth).

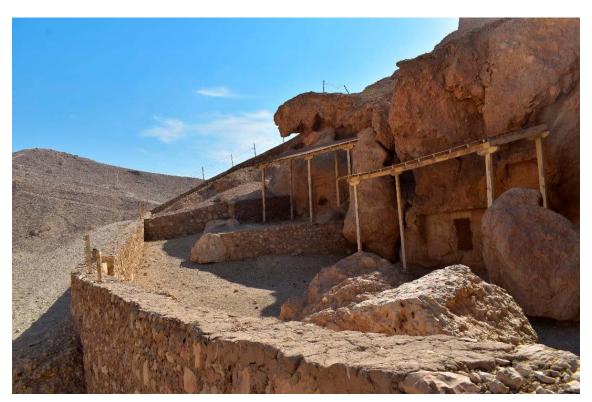


Fig. 2 The chapels today, protected by wooden sunshades and a concrete fence installed by the Ministry of Antiquities in 2010-2011 (Photo by I. Ghabriel, March 2017).

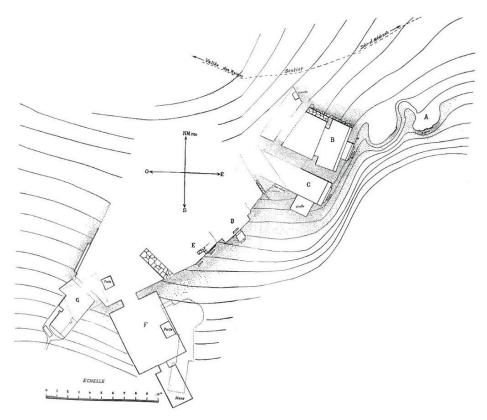


Fig. 3 The map of the rock-cut chapels between Deir el-Medina and the Valley of the Queens (From Bruyère, *Mert Seger*, 1930, pl. II).

dina.⁷ In 1929–30, he managed to publish a description of the chapels and the objects found there in his well-known monograph *Mert Seger à Deir El-Médineh*. In his publication, Bruyère labelled the seven chapels from the south-east to the south-west with the letters A to G [Fig. 3].

A re-investigation of the site by the present author⁸ revealed some inaccuracies in Bruyère's interpretations and conclusions about this series of rock-cut chapels. This paper will re-examine the extant scenes at the site together with the objects found there to present a coherent understanding of the religious function of the site during the New Kingdom. The paper will focus to a greater degree than previously on the objects discovered at the site, as they are of great importance in presenting new lines of evidence towards a different conclusion for the chronology and usage of the site.

⁷ Gobeil, The IFAO Excavations at Deir el-Medina, 2015, pp. 7–8.

⁸ The research presented in this paper is based on two field visits to the rock-cut chapels, for which I am very grateful to Cédric Gobeil, as well as a research visit to the Museo Egizio in Turin and the Turin State Archive where I was kindly assisted by Paolo Del Vesco and Tommaso Montonati. I would like also to extend my thanks to Paolo Del Vesco for his comments on this paper.

2. AN OVERVIEW OF THE SCENES IN THE CHAPELS

The scenes in the chapels depict different divinities, kings, viziers and people from the community of Deir el-Medina, and were all published by Bruyère. The royal scenes show kings Setnakht and Ramesses III either making offerings before the gods or receiving symbols of the *sed* festival from them. Ramesses III is represented burning incense and pouring libations in front of Amun-Re and Ptah in chapel B, while Setnakht and Ramesses III are both depicted burning incense before Amun-Re and Rehorakhty, respectively, in chapel D. Ramesses III receives the *sed* festival symbol of the royal jubilee from Amun-Re and Rehorakhty in chapel C¹¹ whereas in chapel E Setnakht¹² receives it from Amun-Re and Ptah.

The viziers are depicted either subordinate to the kings on the royal stelae or in primary position on the private stelae. Hori¹³ is represented following the kings in chapel D and appears in the stela's lower register in chapel B. To¹⁴ occupies the upper register scenes of adoration to Ptah and Mertseger on the private stelae in chapel A. Also, an unidentified vizier is shown in the first register offering flowers to Amun-Re and Ptah on the private stela in chapel E. The people of Deir el-Medina are depicted in the lower registers either standing or kneeling in adoration as on the stelae in chapels A and E. Only one scene in chapel G depicts a king, a vizier¹⁵ and the chief of the crew from Deir el-Medina c 3 n is.t m s.t-m3 c .t together in the same register.

On the first stela in chapel A, the chief of the crew in the place of *Maat* Khonsu is represented followed by the chief of the crew Nakhtemmut, the deputy of the crew Amen[khau], and his son the servant in the place of *Maat* Nakhtemmut.

⁹ Bruyère, *Mert Seger*, 1930, pp. 8–10, 13–22, 32–48.

¹⁰ In the lower register of the stela in chapel B, Bruyère (Bruyère, *Mert Seger*, 1930, p. 22) mentioned a god called Kashouti. The god evoked in this scene is Onuris while Kashouti is his epithet.

¹¹ The side walls of chapel C were also decorated but not mentioned by Bruyère. Each wall has a scene of a standing goddess: the scene on the east wall is no longer preserved, whereas the one on the west wall shows a goddess with lioness head wearing a crown of two plumes and two tall horns. For further details see Ghabriel, "Ptah in the Domain of Amun", 2021.

¹² Setnakht usurped this scene from king Seti II, see: KRITA V, p. 4.

¹³ Cline and O'Connor, Ramesses III, 2012, p. 77.

¹⁴ Cline and O'Connor, Ramesses III, 2012, p. 78.

¹⁵ Their names were not preserved according to Bruyère (Bruyère, *Mert Seger*, 1930, pp. 46–47. However, Sadek (Sadek, *Popular Religion in Egypt*, 1987, p. 73) identified the king as Amenmesses and the vizier as Amenmose. It might be because Bruyère (Bruyère, *Mert Seger*, 1930, p. 45) found a fragment of an offering table carrying the name and titles of the vizier Amenmose in a pit in front of chapel G.

Khonsu¹⁶ followed his father, Nakhtemmut¹⁷, as a foreman either in year 16 of Ramesses III or perhaps late in year 15 after his father's death and remained in office until year 31 of this king. Amenkhau,¹⁸ another son of Nakhtemmut and brother of Khonsu, is attested as deputy from year 17 of Ramesses III until the beginning of the reign of Ramesses IV. Amenkhau's son was called Nakhtemmut¹⁹ – like his grandfather – and he was one of the artists at Deir el-Media during the reign of Ramesses IV. On the second stela in chapel A, only the name of the *wab* priest Iyernutef was identified by Bruyère and he is followed by three of his sons. Iyernutef²⁰ is attested as *wab* priest in year 14 of Ramesses III and remained active until the beginning of Ramesses IV reign.

The chief scribe in the place of *Maat* Hori and the sculptor Qenherkhepeshef are not depicted but are mentioned in the dedication formula underneath a scene for the goddess Hathor in chapel D. Hori²¹ was a scribe during the reign of Ramesses III and promoted to chief scribe during the reigns of Ramesses V-VI. Qenherkhepeshef²² could be identified with the workman Qenherkhepeshef son of Khaemnun who was attested in documents datable to the reigns of Ramesses IV and Ramesses VI.

The royal scribe Bay and the scribe in the place of *Maat* Amennakht son of Ipuy are shown kneeling in adoration on one of the stelae in chapel E. The scribe Bay²³ started his career during the reign of Seti II or Siptah and probably remained in office until year 16 of Ramesses III because of his depiction with Amennakht on this stela. Amennakht son of Ipuy²⁴ started his career as a draughtsman during the reign of Seti II before being promoted to become a scribe in the necropolis in year 16 of Ramesses III, his promotion was recorded in one of the graffiti in chapel A.²⁵ It is noticeable that the extant scenes in the chapels depict sovereigns

¹⁶ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 48, Khons (v).

¹⁷ Davies, *Who's Who*, 1999, pp. 39–40, 46–47, Nekhemmut (i). Contra Bruyère, *Mert Seger*, 1930, p. 15, who thought that these two foremen represented the chief of the right side and the chief of the left side of the tomb.

¹⁸ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 49, Amenkhau (i).

¹⁹ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, pp. 49-50, Nekhemmut (ii).

²⁰ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 185, lyernutef (iii).

²¹ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, pp. 128, 145–46.

²² Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 254, Qenhirkhopshef (iv).

²³ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, pp. 98-99, Bay (ii).

²⁴ Davies, *Who's Who*, 1999, p. 105, Amennakht (v).

²⁵ Černý, Graffiti hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques, 1956, pp. 4–5.

and personnel from the beginning of the Twentieth Dynasty or probably from the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty.

3. THE OBJECTS FOUND IN THE CHAPELS

The objects are divided into two sets of finds: the first group was discovered by Schiaparelli in 1905 and is kept at the Egyptian Museum in Turin. The second set was found by Bruyère during his excavation in 1926. Bruyère published these objects as an appendix of seventeen pages, assigning the first seven pages to the finds of the Italian mission and ten pages to the objects which he found at the site. There are some inaccuracies in the list of Italian finds which was published by Bruyère i.e. some objects have no inventory numbers, and some inventory numbers are used for more than one object: S. 6057, S. 604429 and S. 6050. For that reason, it has been crucial to check Schiaparelli's unpublished excavation photographs and notes which are preserved in the Turin State Archive. Tosi and Roccati re-published the stelae found in the chapels which were discovered by the Italian mission; however, they were misled by Bruyère's supposed find spots for some objects.

Among Schiaparelli's few excavation photographs, one image shows his workers carrying objects and descending the path in front of the rock-cut chapels [Fig. 4]. At first glance, one might think that the workers were carrying objects found in the chapels. However, one distinctive object in the image is a wooden folding chair from the assemblage of furniture discovered by Schiaparelli in the tomb of Kha in 1906.³² This photograph was taken while the workers were transferring the objects found in the tomb of Kha to the Italian mission's temporary storage in the tomb of Amenherkhepeshef (QV55) in the Valley of the Queens before being shipped to Turin.³³

²⁶ Bruyère, Mert Seger, 1930, pp. 283-99.

²⁷ Bruyère, *Mert Seger*, 1930, p. 283.

²⁸ Bruyère, Mert Seger, 1930, pp. 284, 286.

²⁹ Bruyère, Mert Seger, 1930, pp. 285, 287.

³⁰ Bruyère, *Mert Seger*, 1930, p. 288.

³¹ Note that they swapped object number S. 6028 with S. 6029: Tosi and Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi*, 1972, pp. 155–56.

³² Schiaparelli, La tomba intatta dell'architetto Kha, 1927, p. 114, fig. 94.

³³ Donadoni Roveri, in Moiso (ed.), Ernesto Schiaparelli e la tomba di Kha, 2008, p. 136.

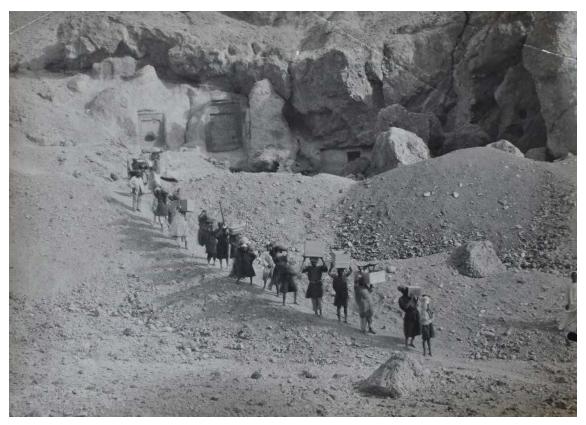


Fig. 4 The workers of Schiaparelli carrying the objects found in the tomb of Kha in front of the rock-cut chapels (Archivio Museo Egizio, C. 2004).

The archive also contains a small folder of four sheets entitled "Santuario di Merjasger" which has the inventory numbers of the objects discovered in the rock-cut chapels by Schiaparelli and kept in the Turin Museum. Schiaparelli's inventory list starts with S. 5985, leaving the first two numbers (S. 5985, S. 5986) empty (void), and ends with S. 6067. Unfortunately, he did not write a detailed description for each object, he only described three objects on the first page and one on the second page [Fig. 5]. This series of numbers corresponds to about eighty fragments of objects (S. 5987 – S. 6067) which the present author managed to trace in the register at the Turin Museum, except for six objects (S. 5991, S. 5998, S. 6005, S. 6019, S. 6031, S. 6066) which have probably lost their original numbers and been assigned new ones.³⁴

Schiaparelli's inventory list shows that Bruyère had included in his published list of finds discovered in the chapels by the Italian mission many objects which did not belong to this interval of numbers (S. 5987 – S. 6067); this observation

³⁴ For the inventory system in the Museo Egizio in Turin see: Del Vesco and Poole, in Dorn and Polis, *Outside the Box*, 2018, p. 98, n 1.

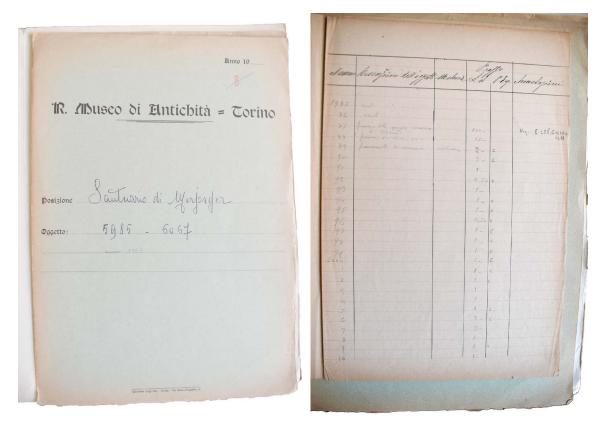


Fig. 5 Schiaparelli's inventory list of the objects found in "the sanctuary of Mertseger" (S. 5987 – S. 6067) (Photo Archivio di Stato di Torino, MAE, 2° vers, M2 n10).

casts doubt on the provenance of these objects. These numbers are 6145, 6146, 6189, 6193, 6195, 7884, 9493, 9494, 9506, 9507, 9510, 9516 & 9521. Bruyère mentioned that the first two objects in his list (S. 6145, S. 6146) were discovered by Schiaparelli in chapel D.³⁵ The first is an incomplete stela drafted in red. It represents king Seti II followed by Mut and Khonsu while receiving the symbol of the *sed* festival from Amun-Re and Ptah?³⁶ The second stela is carved with the scene of a king receiving the symbol of the *sed* festival from Amun-Re, Mut and Khonsu.³⁷ These two stelae belong to another inventory list of objects (S. 6068 – S. 7891) entitled "Deir el Medinet" [Fig. 6]. This list includes the objects found by Schiaparelli during his excavation at the site of Deir el-Medina not in the rock-cut chapels. Therefore, the ascription of the two stelae (S. 6145, S. 6146) to chapel D is not corroborated by the museum inventories.

³⁵ Bruyère, Mert Seger, 1930, pp. 39, 283; Tosi and Roccati, Stele e altre epigrafi, 1972, pp. 125-28.

³⁶ Tosi and Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi*, 1972, pp. 125–26, 301 = CGT 50089.

³⁷ Tosi and Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi*, 1972, pp. 127–28, 302 = CGT 50092.

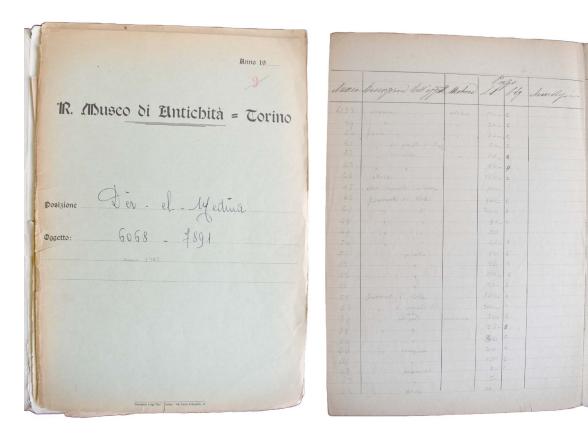


Fig. 6 Schiaparelli's inventory list of the objects found in Deir el-Medina (S. 6068 – S. 7891) (Photo Archivio di Stato di Torino, MAE, 2° vers, M2 n11).

Similarly for a wooden statue of Ahmose-Nefertari (S. 6128), Bruyère stated that this statue was discovered by Schiaparelli in chapel D.³⁸ As El Shazly has highlighted, the latter chapel D is thought to be located near the enclosure wall of the Ptolemaic temple, not to be confused with chapel D among the rock-cut chapels beside the Valley of the Queens.³⁹ In his search for the exact locations of Schiaparelli excavations, Del Vesco confirmed that Schiaparelli excavated the areas to the south-west corner and to the north-west corner – where chapel D is located – outside the Ptolemaic temple enclosure.⁴⁰ One might wonder if Bruyère himself had mixed up the two different chapels which he labelled "D". Probably the royal stelae (S. 6145, S. 6146) as well as the wooden statue (S. 6128) were uncovered by Schiaparelli in chapel D which is in the north-west area outside the Ptolemaic temple enclosure.

³⁸ Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh* (1935–1940), 1948, pp. 105–06; El Shazly, *Royal Ancestor Worship*, 2015, pp. 173–75; Del Vesco and Poole, in Dorn and Polis, *Outside the Box*, 2018, p. 107.

³⁹ El Shazly, Royal Ancestor Worship, 2015, p. 188, n. 35.

⁴⁰ Del Vesco and Poole, in Dorn and Polis, *Outside the Box*, 2018, pp. 112–13.

Bruyère's list of the Italian finds also contains another two objects (S. 9506, S. 9507), which are fragments of *naoi* dedicated to the goddess Renenutet. The first is consecrated by the lady of the house Henutdjew⁴¹ and the second fragment is dedicated by a woman named Iyi,⁴² the lady of the house and the chantress of Mut. Again, these two numbers do not belong to the Italian inventory of objects discovered in the rock-cut chapels (S. 5987 – S. 6067). These two fragments came from Schiaparelli's mission in 1908–09 when the Italians were mainly occupied with excavating some of the houses and tombs at Deir el-Medina.⁴³ After excluding these two fragments from the assemblage of votives found in the rock-cut chapels, it became apparent that Renenutet was not among the divinities worshipped there and none of the remained offerings in the chapels were dedicated by women. Clearly, it is essential to reconsider Bruyère's publication, as each object in his list will shape our interpretation and understanding of the history and usage of the chapels.

About 200 fragments were discovered in the rock-cut chapels by the Italian (S. 5987 – S. 6067) and the French missions without a single complete object appearing among them. In the excavation notes of Schiaparelli and Bruyère, there is no mention of finding or analysing any pottery in the area of the chapels. The majority of the finds were parts of stelae, eight fragments of offering tables,⁴⁴ five fragments of libation basins,⁴⁵ five fragments of door jambs⁴⁶ and three fragments of statuettes.⁴⁷ All the monuments discovered were made of limestone except for one sandstone fragment of an offering table.⁴⁸

Previous studies of votive deposits from the New Kingdom show a variety of offering materials in their assemblages. Examples include the votive deposits of Rehorakhty nearby the Great Sphinx at Giza,⁴⁹ Wepwawet in Asyut⁵⁰ and Hathor

⁴¹ Tosi and Roccati, *Stele e altre epigraf*i, 1972, pp. 188–89, 244 = CGT 50220; Davies, *Who's Who*, 1999, p. 16, n. 181.

⁴² Tosi and Roccati, Stele e altre epigrafi, 1972, pp. 187–88, 244 = CGT 50219.

⁴³ Del Vesco and Poole, in Dorn and Polis, *Outside the Box*, 2018, pp. 111, 122–28.

⁴⁴ S. 6036, S. 6037 and Bruyère, Mert Seger, 1930, p. 296 no. 9; p. 297 no. 17, 18; p. 298 no. 21-23.

⁴⁵ Bruyère, Mert Seger, 1930, p. 297 no. 14, 15, 16, 19, 20.

⁴⁶ S. 6003, S. 6005? and Bruyère, *Mert Seger*, 1930, p. 290 no. 3, 8; p. 291 no. 12.

⁴⁷ S. 6021/1-2 ex Provv. 00166 and Bruyère, *Mert Seger*, 1930, p. 296 no. 7; p. 297 no. 12.

⁴⁸ Bruyère, Mert Seger, 1930, p. 297 no. 16.

⁴⁹ Hassan, Excavations at Giza, VIII, 1953, p. 33.

⁵⁰ DuQuesne, The Salakhana Trove, 2009, p. 41.

from different sites discussed by Kemp,⁵¹ Pinch⁵² and recently by Trapani who published the deposit of female figurines found by Schiaparelli in Gebelein in 1910.⁵³ In his discussion of the deposit of objects in the Hathor shrine at Mirgissa, Kemp assigned two broad types of offerings: some are cult-specific objects and others are not.⁵⁴ The material discovered in the rock-cut chapels on the west bank of Thebes (except for the door jambs) accords with Kemp's first category as cult-specific objects with a clear lack of any small finds such as figurines, vessels, jewellery, amulets, etc. The striking absence of small finds in the rock-cut chapels raises questions about the relationship between the offerings dedicated in different cultic shrines and the resources which were locally available to the donors; and whether there was a relationship between the gender and profession of the donors of the offerings and the gender of the deities as recipients of such offerings. The assemblage of finds from the rock-cut chapels also lacks ear stelae, a category of votive object which was prominent among the offerings dedicated to Ptah in his chapel at Memphis⁵⁵ as well as among the offerings to Hathor and Rehorakhty.

Nevertheless, the prayers and formulae preserved on the fragments of stelae, offering tables and libation basins from the rock-cut chapels are similar to the inscriptions on votive objects found in other sites. The most common is the dedication formula ir n followed by the name of the donor. The offering formula htp di $nsw.t^{57}$ and the adoration formula rdi.t isw n followed by the name of the deity, have been also recovered on the fragments. The donors asked for life, t^{59}

⁵¹ Kemp, Cambridge Archaeological Journal 5/1 (1995), pp. 27–29.

⁵² Pinch, Votive Offerings to Hathor, 1993, pp. 265–300.

⁵³ Trapani, in Miniaci et al. (eds.), Company of Images, 2017, pp. 457–77.

⁵⁴ Kemp, Cambridge Archaeological Journal 5/1 (1995), p. 28.

⁵⁵ Petrie, *Memphis*, I, 1909, p. 7, pls. 10–13.

⁵⁶ S. 6004, S. 6026 + S. 6050, S. 6030, S. 6036 and Bruyère, *Mert Seger*, 1930, p. 292 no. 4; p. 296 no. 2. For parallels see: Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 1993, p. 100; Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae*, *Reliefs and Paintings*, 1976, p. 39.

⁵⁷ S. 6037, S. 6049 + S. 6061 + S. 6062 and Bruyère, *Mert Seger*, 1930, p. 296 no. 9. For parallels and discussion about the difference between the usage of the *htp di nswt* formula in funerary and votive contexts see: Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 1993, p. 99.

⁵⁸ S. 6040, S. 6042, S. 6067 and Bruyère, *Mert Seger*, 1930, p. 292 no. 4. For parallels see: Sadek, *Popular Religion in Egypt*, 1987, pp. 202–03.

⁵⁹ S. 6049 + S. 6061 + S. 6062. For parallels see: Sadek, *Popular Religion in Egypt*, 1987, p. 221.

good lifespan,⁶⁰ good old age⁶¹ and good burial⁶² from the gods in return. On one of the fragments from an offering table, the servant in the place of $Maat - s\underline{d}m$ 'š m s.t ms'.t – Horemwia wished that the god might allow him "entry to and exit from his house (sanctuary)".⁶³

4. THE HISTORY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE CHAPELS

The objects discovered in the chapels were all fragmentary, making it difficult to trace the identity of the donors unless their professions and genealogies have survived in the inscriptions. On some fragments, the personal name has not been enough to identify the donor, given the frequency of names such as Amenmose, Pashedu and Neferhotep at Deir el-Medina. Nevertheless, the fragments provide valuable information about the names of the worshippers in these chapels [Table 1] and present new lines of evidence leading towards a different conclusion for the chronology of the chapels.

The extant wall decoration of the chapels seems to have been carried out in the early Twentieth Dynasty during the reigns of Setnakht and Ramesses III, leading Bruyère to date the chapels to that period. However, the objects found in the chapels represent a much wider range of dates for religious practice at the site. It is evident from the objects that the earliest usage of the site went back to the reign of Horemheb or Seti I after the end of the Amarna period; and it remained in use at least until the reign of Ramesses VI. In other words, it seems that the sanctuaries were in use at least 150 years before being decorated or redecorated by the kings of the Twentieth Dynasty.

It is also noticeable that most of the found materials are associated with personnel from the reign of Ramesses II (Nineteenth Dynasty), with fewer materials from the time of Setnakht and Ramesses III, whose images appear on the chapel walls. The history of the finds from the chapels correlates with the date of the remains in the site of Deir el-Medina. As Andreu-Lanoë highlighted: the site of

⁶⁰ Bruyère, Mert Seger, 1930, p. 291 no. 10. For parallels see: Sadek, Popular Religion in Egypt, 1987, p. 222.

⁶¹ Bruyère, Mert Seger, 1930, p. 296 no. 1.

⁶² Bruyère, Mert Seger, 1930, p. 297 no. 20. For parallels see: Pinch, Votive Offerings to Hathor, 1993, p. 99.

⁶³ S. 6063: Habachi, *Tavole d'fferta*, *are e bacili da libagione*, 1977, p. 44; Bruyère, *Mert Seger*, 1930, p. 289 gave it number 3036.

Deir el-Medina has thirty-nine decorated tombs and thirteen houses datable by names to the reign of Ramesses II and only seven tombs and two houses from the time of Ramesses III-IV, despite the fact that there were 120 artists working in the tomb of Ramesses IV.⁶⁴ In the chapels, we can see the same "mystery" as Andreu-Lanoë noticed and a similar question: why do we have more offerings for the workers of Ramesses II than those who decorated the tombs of Ramesses III and his successor and who most likely also decorated the walls of these chapels?

⁶⁴ Andreu-Lanoë, in C. Leblanc and G. Zaki, Les temples de millions d'années, 2010, pp. 174-75.

Table 1 The viziers and artists mentioned/represented on the objects

NAME	TITLE	OBJECTS	DATING ⁶⁵
Amenemh[eb] ⁶⁶	Artist/servant in the place of Maat (sdm 'š m st m³'t)	S. 6048	19th Dyn., Ramesses II
Amenmes ⁶⁷	Vizier (tsty)	S. 6037	19th Dyn., Seti II – Amenmesses
Apehty ⁶⁸	Artist	S. 6061 + S. 6049 + S. 6062	19th Dyn.
Baki ⁶⁹	Chief of the crew	S. 6036	19th Dyn., Seti I
Horemwia ⁷⁰ son of Baki	Artist	S. 6036	19th Dyn., Ramesses II
Hori ⁷¹	Vizier	S. 6016	19th – 20th Dyn., Seti II, Siptah, Setnakht, Ramesses III
Hori ⁷²	Chief scribe (hry sšw m st m³ ^c t)	S. 6033	20th Dyn., Ramesses III – VI
Khay ⁷³	Vizier	S. 6000	19th Dyn., Ramesses II
Khay ⁷⁴	Chief guard (ḥry sɜwty)	(Bruyère: 294 n° 10)	20th Dyn., Ramesses IV
[Nebnefer] ⁷⁵	Chief of the crew (hry ist)	S. 6047, (Bruyère: 288 n° 2) ⁷⁶	19th Dyn., Ramesses II

⁶⁵ The dating of the artists is based on Davies, *Who's Who*, 1999. However, many of these objects were not mentioned among his sources.

⁶⁶ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 216, Amenemheb (vi) or Amenemheb (viii).

⁶⁷ Weil, Die Veziere des Pharaonenreiches, 1908, p. 107.

⁶⁸ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 205, Apehty (i) or Apehty (ii).

⁶⁹ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 2, Baki (i).

⁷⁰ Davies, *Who's Who*, 1999, p. 2, Haremwia (i).

⁷¹ See note 13.

⁷² See note 22.

⁷³ Weil, Die Veziere des Pharaonenreiches, 1908, p. 102.

⁷⁴ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, pp. 198–99, Khay (iv).

⁷⁵ Davies, *Who's Who*, 1999, pp. 32–33, Nebnefer (i).

⁷⁶ Bruyère, *Mert Seger*, 1930, p. 288 gave it number 6050 which is the same number as the previous object in his list.

NAME	TITLE	OBJECTS	DATING
Nebre ⁷⁷	Draughtsman (sš ķdw)	(Bruyère: 297 n° 15)	19th Dyn., Ramesses II
Neferhotep ⁷⁸	Chief of the crew (hry ist)	S. 6047	18th – 19th Dyn., Horemheb, Ramesses I, Seti I, Ramesses II
Neferhotep same as previous or his grandson ⁷⁹	Chief of the crew ('3 n ist)	S. 5990	19th Dyn., Ramesses II, Merenptah, Seti II
Panehsy ⁸⁰	Vizier	(Bruyère: 293 n° 1)	19th Dyn., Merenptah
Paser ⁸¹	Vizier	S. 6032 (Bruyère: 294 n° 6)	19th Dyn., Seti I – Ramesses II
Patjauemdiamen ⁸²	Artist	(Bruyère: 296 n° 1)	19th Dyn., Amenmesses
Penniut ⁸³	Artist	(Bruyère: 296 n° 4)	Mid 20th Dyn.
Piay	Sculptor (tsw mdst)	(Bruyère: 290 n° 7) ⁸⁴	18th – 19th Dyn., Horemheb, Ramesses I, Seti I
Qenherkhepeshef ⁸⁵	Royal scribe (sš nswt)	S. 6043?, (Bruyère: 294 n° 12, 296 n° 7)	19th Dyn., Ramesses II, Merenptah, Seti II, Amenmesses, Siptah
Ramose ⁸⁶	The scribe of Maat $(s\check{s}\ m_3^c t)$	S. 6011 + 6027	19th Dyn., Ramesses II

⁷⁷ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, pp. 149, 153, Nebre (i).

⁷⁸ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, pp. 31-32, Neferhotep (i).

⁷⁹ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, pp. 32-33, Neferhotep (ii).

⁸⁰ Weil, Die Veziere des Pharaonenreiches, 1908, p. 104; Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 151.

⁸¹ Kitchen, Pharaoh Triumphant, 1982, p. 125.

⁸² Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 225, Patjauemdiamun (i).

⁸³ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 262, Pennuit (i).

⁸⁴ This fragment of stela belongs either to Piay (ii) or to one of his sons Neferronpet, Nakhtamun, Ipuy or Reweben who were artists in Deir el-Medina during the first half of the reign of Ramesses II: Davies, *Who's Who*, 1999, pp. 178–80.

⁸⁵ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, pp. 84-85, Qenhirkhopshef (i).

⁸⁶ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, pp. 79-83, Ramose (i).

5. WHO WERE THE DEITIES WORSHIPPED IN THE CHAPELS?

Owing to the bad state of preservation for some of the oratory scenes, not all the figures of deities and sovereigns can be identified with certainty. Nevertheless, the securely attested names amount to a significant range: Ptah, Amun-Re, Hathor, Mertseger, Mut, Min, Shu, Osiris, Isis, Harsiesis, Rehorakhty, Onuris, Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari [Table 2]. In the survived assemblage of objects, votive offerings were not found for Rehorakhty, Shu, Onuris, Mut, Isis and Harsiesis. Other divinities received offerings in the chapels; however they were not depicted in the chapels, or at least no scenes have survived of them. These are the triad of Elephantine: Khnum, Satet and Anukis, along with Montu.

It is apparent from the chapel scenes and objects that Ptah was the most frequently represented god and received the highest number of offerings [Table 2]. It is also noticeable that Mertseger was not in fact the main goddess venerated in these chapels alongside Ptah; an idea wrongfully carried by the name traditionally given to the oratory. In comparison, Amun-Re and Hathor surpass Mertseger in the number of offerings and scenes.

Table 2 The deities and sovereigns mentioned/represented on the chapel walls and on the objects

NAME	OBJECTS FOUND IN THE CHAPELS	CHAPEL SCENES
Ahmose or Ramesses I []phty r	S. 6003	(N/A)
Ahmose-Nefertari	S. 5989, S. 6038, S. 6051	Chapel B
Amenhotep I	S. 5997, S. 5999, S. 6001, S. 6002	Chapel A, B
Amun-Re	S. 5987, S. 5994 + S. 6057, S. 6033, S. 6067 (Bruyère: 292 n° 15, n° 22)	Chapel B, C, D, E, G
Anukis	S. 6015	(N/A)
Harsiesis	(N/A)	Chapel G
Hathor	S. 6011 + 6027, S. 6037, S. 6040, S. 6059 (Bruyère: 292 n° 4, n° 5, 292 n° 11, n° 12, 293 n° 32, 296 n° 8)	Chapel B, D, E, F
Isis the great	(N/A)	Chapel G
Khnum	S. 6006	(N/A)
Mertseger	S. 6014 (Bruyère: 292 n° 10, 296 n° 12)	Chapel A, B, C, G
Min	(Bruyère: 291 n° 1)	Chapel F, G
Montu	S. 6028	(N/A)
Mut	(N/A)	Chapel E
Onuris	(N/A)	Chapel B
Osiris	(Bruyère: 297 n° 18)	Chapel B, F, G
Ptah	S. 5987, S. 6002, S. 6005, S. 6006, S. 6013, S. 6028, S. 6016, S. 6023, S. 6025, S. 6040, S. 6042, S. 06045, S. 6061 + S. 6049 + S. 6062, S. 6052, 87 S. 6059 (Bruyère: 290 n° 1, 292 n° 4, n° 12, n° 16, n° 17, n° 18, n° 19, n° 21, n° 22, 293 n° 35, 296 n° 14, 297 n° 16, n° 19)	Chapel A, B, D, E, G
Ramesses II	S. 6005 (Bruyère: 293 n° 31, 297 n° 16)	(N/A)

⁸⁷ Bruyère, *Mert Seger*, 1930, p. 286 gave it number 6057 instead of S. 6052.

NAME	OBJECTS FOUND IN THE CHAPELS	CHAPEL SCENES
Ramesses III	S. 6000	Chapel B, C, D, G
Rehorahkty	(N/A)	Chapel C, D, G
Satet	(Bruyère: 291 n° 1)	(N/A)
Setnakht S. 5988 ⁸⁸ (Bruyère: 290 n° 3)		Chapel D, E
Shu	(N/A)	Chapel B

6. THE ANCIENT NAME OF THE CHAPELS

In addition to the decorative patterns and the offerings found therein, the name given to the rock-cut chapels by the ancient Egyptians indicates that they were dedicated to many divinities. On one of the stelae fragments found by Bruyère in 1926,⁸⁹ the artist Penniut⁹⁰ stated that:

"I made a stela in the houses of the gods (sanctuaries) beside the place of beauty (the Valley of the Queens), the servant in the place of *Maat* Penniut true of voice before ..."

iry.n=i wd m hw.wt ntr.w r-gs t3 s.t-nfr.w sdm 's m s.t-m3'.t pn niw.t m3' hrw hr

Schiaparelli was the first to call the site "the sanctuary of Mertseger". Once he found the image of the goddess in these rock-cut chapels, he thought that he had found the place where Drovetti collected some private stelae dedicated by the servants in the place of *Maat* to Mertseger. 91 Afterwards, many scholars followed Bruyère 92 in calling it "the oratory of Ptah and Mertseger". Both names overlook the fact that the site was a place for worshipping many different deities. This naming later in-

⁸⁸ Bruyère, Mert Seger, 1930, p. 283 described this fragment without mentioning its museum number.

⁸⁹ Bruyère, Mert Seger, 1930, p. 48.

⁹⁰ Davies, Who's Who, 1999, p. 262.

⁹¹ Such as: Cat. 1519, 1533, 1564, 1590, 1593 & 1606.

⁹² Bruyère, Mert Seger, 1930; Bierbrier, The Tomb-Builders of the Pharaohs, 1982, p. 88; Valbelle, Les ouvriers de la tombe, 1985, p. 315; Andreu, Les artistes de Pharaon, 2002, pp. 33–34; Yoyotte, in G. Andreu (eds.), Deir el-Médineh et la Vallée des Rois, 2003, p. 286; Gobeil, The IFAO Excavations at Deir el-Medina, 2015, p. 9.

fluenced the provenance attributions of many objects in museum collections, as has been suggested for the votive stela dedicated to Mertseger now in the Petrie Museum (UC 14439).⁹³ It is crucial to refer to the chapels in the same way as the artists and workers of Deir el-Medina did and name them "the sanctuaries beside the place of beauty". Unfortunately, it is very difficult to know the provenance and context for many of the objects obtained by museums through donations from private collectors or through purchase and in our scholarly writings we should separate the objects with securely attested find spots from those which have been purchased.

These chapels have also been presumed by Bruyère and various scholars⁹⁴ to be the cult centre for Ptah of the place of beauty (the Valley of the Queens) 'pth n t3 s.t-nfr.w'. The ancient name of the chapels has an important geographical reference locating the chapels not within the Valley of the Queens 'm t3 s.t-nfr.w' but beside it 'r-gs'. As mentioned before, Ptah can be considered the main deity worshipped in these sanctuaries. He appeared with different epithets in the oratory such as lord of Maat, south of his wall, creator of craftsmen, etc.; however, none of the surviving scenes or objects mention Ptah of the place of beauty.⁹⁵ Possibly the cult centre of that form of Ptah was in a different place which has yet to be located.

7. CONCLUSION

Many archaeological sites on the west bank of Thebes including Deir el-Medina were disturbed and plundered to feed the avidity of nineteenth century antiquarians such as Drovetti, Bankes and Salt to build their collections. Eventually some of these private collections ended up forming the core Egyptian collections in various museums. This history presents a challenge for modern professional Egyptologists to reconstruct the archaeological context of many sites and objects. The archives of early excavators like Schiaparelli, Bruyère and many others can help us to understand and reconstruct the archaeological landscape

⁹³ Stewart, Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings, 1976, p. 43.

⁹⁴ Bruyère, Mert Seger, 1930, pp. 48–52; Černý, A Community of Workmen at Thebes, 1973, p. 89; Leblanc, Ta Set Neferou, 1989, pp. 4, 7; Demarée, Ramesside Ostraca, 2002, p. 26; Yoyotte, in Andreu (eds.), Deir el-Médineh et la Vallée des Rois, 2003, p. 286.

⁹⁵ For further discussion about Ptah of the place of beauty see: Ghabriel, "Ptah in the Domain of Amun", 2021.

of Thebes. However, despite the valuable work done by these early excavators to record the ancient sites, their manuscripts lack much essential information and were not always entirely accurate.

The chapels between Deir el-Medina and the Valley of the Queens are just one example of how challenging it can be to understand and reconstruct the ancient landscape of Thebes. After revisiting Schiaparelli's and Bruyère's records, I would conclude that the site was chosen by the artists of Deir el-Medina during the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty and the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty as a place for worshipping divinities such as Ptah, Amun-Re, Hathor, Mertseger, Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari, among others. Conversely, the evidence seems to show firstly that Ptah of the place of beauty was not one of the deities honoured in this place, and secondly that it remains doubtful whether this oratory can be considered as the provenance of the offerings dedicated to the goddess Mertseger by the artists of Deir el-Medina.

⁹⁶ Malek, in Strudwick and Taylor (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis*, 2003, pp. 230–31.

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ON SOME GUARDIANS OF THE PTOLEMAIC TEMPLE OF DEIR EL-MEDINA: A PRELIMINARY STUDY

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ABSTRACT

The sequence of twelve knife-wielding guardians represented on the external doorjambs of the southern chapel in the temple of Deir el-Medina is subject to a preliminary study that enables associations with some documents from different periods. Even if this group cannot be related to the better-known companies of funerary or temple demons, it shows a certain degree of consistency. This paper constitutes a first step in the study of all the demons of this temple, which will continue as part of the analysis of the whole decoration of the edifice. It also draws attention to a specific set of forty-eight demons who deserve further investigation.

The site of Deir el-Medina is especially known for the community of workmen of the New Kingdom, their village and the numerous tombs found in the area. Later occupations are also attested, and a new temple was erected during the Ptolemaic Period. It was built and decorated under the reign of Ptolemy VI and his successors until the Roman emperor August. The temple was dedicated to Amun and Hathor, but the Osirian family is also well represented. This small edifice consists of a hypostyle hall, a pronaos with a staircase leading to the roof of the temple, and three chapels. A so-called *mammisi*, built in mud bricks, was leaned against the south wall,² then a contra-temple was added in Roman times. A number of knife-wielding guardians³ are represented on the external doorjambs of both lateral chapels. This preliminary study deals exclusively with the twelve characters of the southern chapel, which is well known for its rare attestation of a judgement scene in a temple accompanied, on the opposite wall, by a representation of the bark of Sokar. The nature of these entities justifies their presence in this specific location. The question that arises is how each of them was selected to be part of the decoration and for what purpose.

1. THE GUARDIANS OF THE SOUTHERN DOOR

Outside of the southern chapel, twelve deities are watching over the entrance. On each side of the doorjamb, three pairs of figures have been carved thoroughly.

¹ Baraize, ASAE 13 (1914), pp. 19–42. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1935-1940), 1948, pp. 12–124. Arnold, *Temples of the last Pharaohs*, 1999, pp. 174–46, 198, 216. Toivari-Viitala, in Dielemand and Wendrich (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, 2011, pp. 9–10.

² Vuilleumier, in Budde and Abdelhalim (eds.), Acts of the 1st Colloquium on Mammisis of Egypt, to be published.

³ Generally considered as demons, see Te Velde, in Helck and Otto (eds.), LÄ I, 1975, col. 980–84; Meeks, in *Génies, anges et démons*, 1971, pp. 17–84; Meeks, in Redford (ed.), *Oxford Encyclopaedia of Ancient Egypt*, I, 2001, pp. 375–78; Lucarelli, in Dieleman and Wendrich (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, 201, https://bit.ly/2XN6If8.

⁴ Du Bourguet, Le temple de Deir al-Médîna, 2002, pp. 50-51, 72-73, 300, 309.

⁵ Du Bourguet, *Le temple de Deir al-Médîna*, 2002, pp. 56–59, 303–04.

⁶ Du Bourguet, Le temple de Deir al-Médîna, 2002, pp. 50-01, 300.



Fig. 1 Deir el-Medina, doorjamb to the southern chapel, left side, first register (no. 46) (Photo by Sandrine Vuilleumier).

Left side, first register⁷ [Fig. 1]:

46, 1: *Rwty* "Double Lion".8

Kneeling mummy with a lion head, holding one knife.

Well attested in various contexts, he can refer symbolically to Shu and Tefnut as well as other deities, and is a symbol of resurrection; he also is the guardian of the horizon.

46, 2: [...] "[...]".

The name and representation of the second guardian are completely lost.

Left side, second register [Fig. 2]:

47, 1: ∰ *Ḥny* "Kheny". ¹⁰

Kneeling mummy with two bull heads, 11 holding one knife.

⁷ The guardians are presented following the numbering of the publication, from bottom to top and from left to right.

⁸ LGG IV, 654a-656a, [113] for this attestation. Read [rwj] "[Rouy]" by Elebaut, in Leuven Online Index of Ptolemaic and Roman Hieroglyphs, 2006, 46, 1; see also LGG IV, 654a.

⁹ De Wit, *Le rôle et le sens du lion*, 1951, esp. pp. 7, 107–08, 124–27, 164–66; Yoyotte, *ChronEg* 30 (1955), pp. 49–51.

¹⁰ *LGG* V, 756c–757a, [3] for this example. See also the bull-headed *Hmn/Hnn* "the Destroyer", member of the fourth company of guardians from Edfu, mentioned by Goyon, *Les dieux-gardiens*, 1985, pp. 107–08, no. 12.

¹¹ His representation with two bull heads evokes the Double Bull *Ḥns*, see *LGG* V, 761a; Leitz, *Tagewählerei*, 1994, pp. 437–8; Leitz, *Geographisch-osirianische Prozessionen*, 2012, p. 393, also p. 302.



Fig. 2 Deir el-Medina, doorjamb to the southern chapel, left side, second register (no. 47) (Photo by Sandrine Vuilleumier).

Attested on two Late Period sarcophagi (\underline{T}_3 - \underline{H}_r - p_3 - t_3 ¹² and P_3 -di-3s.t¹³) as a kneeling god with two bull heads and thus four horns, 14 holding two knives.

47, 2: $\int_{-\infty}^{\infty} Bnt(y)$ "Baboon". 15

Kneeling mummy with a baboon head, holding a knife.

Attested in funerary compositions, on coffins and in temples, this god can be represented as a god with a baboon head or as a sitting baboon.¹⁶

¹² Cairo CG 29306 (Saqqara, Thirtieth Dynasty): Maspéro, *Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque*, I, 1914, p. 233, pl. 20.

¹³ Berlin ÄM 29 (Saqqara, Thirtieth Dynasty or early Ptolemaic period): Erman, *Ausführliches Verzeichnis*, 1899, pp. 270–01, fig. 54; Schäfer and Andrae, *Die Kunst des alten Orients*, 1925, p. 458; PM III/2, p. 720. I am very grateful to Jana Helmbold-Doyé for sending me pictures of this sarcophagus.

¹⁴ In his description of CG 29306, Maspéro (*Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque*, I, 1914, p. 233) indicates however: "une tête de taureau surmontée de quatre cornes".

¹⁵ *LGG* II, 807a-b, [21] for this example; *PtoLex*, 320; Larcher, *ZÄS* 143 (2016), pp. 61-62, n. 29.

¹⁶ E.g. Maspéro and Gauthier, *Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque*, II, 1939, pl. 27; Davies, *Hibis* III, 1953, pl. 3, II.



Fig. 3 Deir el-Medina, doorjamb to the southern chapel, left side, third register (no. 48) (Photo by Sandrine Vuilleumier).

Left side, third register [Fig. 3]:

48, 1: $\int_{-\infty}^{\infty} Bnt(y)$ "Baboon". 17

Sitting baboon with raised tail, holding one knife.

Kneeling mummy with a crocodile head, holding one knife.

It appears to be a unique attestation.

Right side, first register [Fig. 4]:

49, 1: \$\frac{1}{2} < \frac{1}{3} > nrw \text{"Great of terror".\frac{19}{3}}

Kneeling mummy with a crocodile head, holding a knife.

This entity is well attested in funerary compositions, on coffins, in tombs and in temples.

¹⁷ LGG II, 807a-b, [22] for this example; PtoLex, 320.

¹⁸ LGG VI, 664b, [1] for this sole attestation. Probably related to skn "greedy" (Wb 4, 318–319).

¹⁹ Read [*nfr-mwt*] "[Nefermut]" by Elebaut, in *Leuven Online Index of Ptolemaic and Roman Hieroglyphs*, 2006, 49, 1, but a reading '3-nrw should be preferred, see *LGG* IV, 211c with cross-reference to '3-nrw (*LGG* II, 30a–31a, [23 sic] for this example).



Fig. 4 Deir el-Medina, doorjamb to the southern chapel, right side, first register (no. 49) (Photo by Sandrine Vuilleumier).

49, 2: | ○ *Snw* "Unveiler (?)".²⁰

Kneeling mummiform figure holding one knife; its head is represented as a basket with a *wedjat*-eye on it.

This god is attested on a lintel of Ramses III discovered in the Ramesseum, where his name is written 21 Under the name of Sdg "Concealer", 22 a guardian represented with the same attribute is known from the sarcophagus of T_3 - $H_{r-p_3-t_3}$. 23 A further attestation can be found on the sarcophagus of T_3 - T_3

²⁰ See *LGG* VI, 176c, [2] for this example. The other attestation (see *infra* n. 21) is written nw. Besides nw can be a reading of the painted eye (D6), see Kurth, *Einführung* I, 2007, p. 168, nos. 11, 13, 14, and the verb nw is related to vision (Wb IV, 157, 5; PtoLex, 856). The sign nw can also have the value nw (Daumas, Valeurs phonétiques I, 1988, p. 149, no. 103 referring to nw (Daumas, Valeurs nw) to the parallel nw (See nw) nw (See nw) nw (See nw) nw) nw) nw) nw) nw0 n

²¹ Quibell and Spiegelberg, The Ramesseum, 1898, pl. 14. See supra n. 20.

²² *LGG* VI, 719c, with this unique example. The verb *sdg* has two meanings "to hide, conceal" (*Wb* IV, 372, 5-13; *PtoLex* 975) and "to cause to see" (*Wb* IV, 373, 3-6; *PtoLex* 975). The second one can be related to the meaning of *Snw*, see *supra* n. 20. The representation including a basket (dissimulation) with an eye (revelation) is perhaps related to the dual meaning of *sdg*.

²³ Cairo CG 29306: Maspéro, Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque, I, 1914, p. 234, pl. 21.

²⁴ Second god on the left side of sarcophagus Berlin ÄM 29.



Fig. 5 Deir el-Medina, doorjamb to the southern chapel, right side, second register (no. 50) (Photo by Sandrine Vuilleumier).

Right side, second register [Fig. 5]:

50, 1: ** '\$3 \(\hat{h}r.w\), "Numerous of faces". 25

Kneeling mummy with a snake head.²⁶

As its name suggests, this god can be depicted in various forms,²⁷ but is often represented with three snakes in place of the head.²⁸

²⁵ *LGG* II, 218b–219a, [29] for this example.

²⁶ Clearly drawn in du Bourguet, *Le temple de Deir al-Médîna*, 2002, p. 51, but hardly recognisable today, see fig. 5.

²⁷ For example, Coffin Cairo CG 6006 with a vulture or a snake head: Chassinat, *La seconde trouvaille*, 1909, p. 21 et fig. 2. Coffin Cairo 6016 with a jackal head: Chassinat, *La seconde trouvaille*, 1909, p. 53, pl. 6. Mummy-case Brighton HA 282002 (Twenty-Second to Twenty-Fifth Dynasty) where \$3-hr.w (rather than the god \$\vec{s}\$) is standing with three different heads (lion, vulture et snake): Shorter, *JEA* 11 (1925), pp. 78–9, pl. 9. I am grateful to Dan Robertson for sending me pictures of this coffin.

²⁸ For example Coffin Cairo CG 29318: Maspéro and Gauthier, *Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque*, II, 1939, p. 120, pl. 35. Healing statue Turin 3031: Kákosy, *Egyptian Healing Statues*, 1999, p. 104, pl. 32 (left, x+2); Sternberg-El Hotabi, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Horusstelen*, II, p. 110. Berlin ÄM 29: Schäfer, *Die Kunst des alten Orients*, 1999, p. 458. Relief Bologna KS 1870: Curto, L'Egitto antico nelle collezioni, 1961, pp. 88–90 (no. 69), pl. 39; Bresciani, *La collezione egizia*, 1975, pp. 71–2, pl. 47; *La collezione egiziana*, 1994, p. 103.



Fig. 6 Deir el-Medina, doorjamb to the southern chapel, right side, third register (no. 51) (Photo by Sandrine Vuilleumier).

50, 2: $[^{r}n]$ -m-r3=f, "[Who is nice] with his mouth". $[^{29}m]$

Kneeling mummy with a crocodile head, mouth open, holding one knife.

This guardian is also attested on the relief Bologna KS 1870 with a crocodile head, mouth open.³⁰ A similar depiction can be found on the sarcophagus of T_3 - H_r - p_3 - t_3 with the name T_r . t_s - t_s with the name T_r . t_s - t_s -t

²⁹ LGG II, 120a-b, [2] for this second example, with a cross-reference to 'Ir.t=f-m-r3=f, see LGG I, 426b.

³⁰ Bologna KS 1870 (Late Period, Thirtieth Dynasty, reign of Nectanebo I): Curto, *L'Egitto antico nelle collezioni*, 1961, pp. 88–90 (no. 69), pl. 39. Bresciani, *La collezione egizia*, 1975, pp. 71–2, pl. 47. *La collezione egiziana*, 1994, p. 103.

³¹ Cairo CG 29306: Maspéro, *Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque*, I, 1914, p. 236, pl. 21. *LGG* I, 426b, [1] as sole attestation.

³² Twenty-first god on the left side of sarcophagus Berlin ÄM 29.

This guardian is depicted on a lintel of Ramses III³⁵ from the Ramesseum and is attested on the Late Period sarcophagi of $\underline{T}3-\underline{H}r-p3-t3$, ³⁶ P3-di 'Imn-ip.t³⁷ and P3-di-3s.t.³⁸

2. THE SEQUENCE OF THE SOUTHERN CHAPEL

These twelve gods form a first sequence of guardians in the temple of Deir el-Medina.³⁹ The identity of one of them is lost (46, 2). The others are known from various sources. Some of them are attested more broadly (Rwty, Bnty, $^{\varsigma}$ 3-nrw, $^{\varsigma}$ 3-hr.w), especially in funerary compositions. Two of them – Skn (48, 2) and Hbt.t (51, 1) – seem unattested elsewhere, while the others are known from a limited number of documents. Within the group, only a few connections can be recognized. These guardians are mainly related to animals apart from the one with a basket head and one lost face: three baboons, three crocodiles, two bulls, one snake and one lion. The Double Lion (Rwty) could be associated with the Double Bull (Hny/Hns).

³³ LGG V, 682b, [1] as sole attestation. Due to determinative, this name could come from $\hbar b.t$ "fire" (Wb III; 252, 16–17) rather than $\hbar b.t$ "place of execution" (Wb III, 252, 9–14), but see Elebaut, in Leuven Online Index of Ptolemaic and Roman Hieroglyphs, 2006, 51, 1, who translates "Le geôlier" ("The Jailer").

³⁴ *LGG* II, 81c, [5] for this example.

³⁵ Quibell and Spiegelberg, The Ramesseum, 1898, pl. 14.

³⁶ Cairo CG 29306: Maspéro, Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque, I, 1914, p. 231, pl. 20.

³⁷ Cairo CG 29318: Maspéro and Gauthier, *Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque*, II, 1939, p. 120, pl. 35.

³⁸ Berlin ÄM 29: Schäfer and Andrae, Die Kunst des alten Orients, 1925, p. 458.

³⁹ The twelve guardians on the door of the northern chapel (du Bourguet, *Le temple de Deir al-Médîna*, 2002, pp. 72–73, 309) constitute a separate sequence attested in other contexts and probably stem from a different background. A future study will be devoted specifically to them. Furthermore, the four doorkeepers represented with their respective gateway on the back of the door of the same chapel (du Bourguet, *Le temple de Deir al-Médîna*, 2002, pp. 82–84, 315) are related to chapters 145 and 146 of the *Book of the Dead* (Quirke, *Going out in Daylight*, 2013, pp. 330–49) and will be treated separately.

These twelve protectors thus constitute an heterogenous set of deities. A complete study of each of these guardians would go beyond the scope of this paper, ⁴⁰ which will rather focus on the study of this specific group as such **[Table 1]**. Despite their position at the door of a chapel, this set is not directly related to the doorkeepers known from chapters 144-47 of the *Book of the Dead* ⁴¹ nor to the forty-two judges of the chapter 125. ⁴² They also cannot be related to the guardians whose statues were found in the tomb of the fourth Prophet of Amun Montuemhat (TT34), also attested on coffins or in tombs. ⁴³ And we cannot trace them back within the long lists of temple guardians. ⁴⁴

Table 1 Distribution of the twelve guardians of the southern chapel at Deir el-Medina

	Left	side			Rig	ght side	
Skn	1	Bnt(y)	1	>	Ӊ҃bt.t	<u> </u>	°b.wy=f(y) m s <u>d</u> .t
Crocodile		Baboon			Baboon		Bull
Bnt(y)	1	Ӈny	1	<i>\(\)</i>	′šз-ḥr.w	\(\infty\)	[^c n]-m-r3=f
Baboon		Bulls			Snake		Crocodile
[]	1	Rwty	1	Þ	^c 3-nrw	<i>[</i>	Snw/Sdg
(Lost)		Lion			Crocodile		Basket

Christina Riggs has compared the decoration of the coffins of the Soter family with the temple of Deir el-Medina, pointing out the bark of Sokar, the judgement scene and the presence of the four winds.⁴⁵ The lid of the coffin of Soter is

⁴⁰ But such an investigation will be of interest, see for example Pantalacci, *BIFAO* 83 (1983), pp. 297–311.

⁴¹ Quirke, Going out in Daylight, 2013, pp. 323–52. Guilhou, in Aufrère (ed.), Encyclopédie religieuse de l'univers végétal, 1999, pp. 365–417. Lucarelli, in Backes et al. (eds.), Totenbuch-Forschungen, 2006, pp. 203–12. Lucarelli, BMSAES 15 (2010), pp. 85–102.

⁴² Quirke, Going out in Daylight, 2013, pp. 269-76, esp. 271-3. Only the Double Lion (Rwy) is attested.

⁴³ Leclant, in Древнии мир, 1962, pp. 104–29. Leclant, Montouemhat, 1961, pp. 114–15. Clère, BIFAO 86 (1986), pp. 99–106. Volokhine, in Vuilleumier and Meyrat (eds.), Sur les pistes du désert, 2019, pp. 268–71.

⁴⁴ Vernus, Athribis, 1978, pp. 138–71. Goyon, *Les dieux gardiens*, 1985; Pantalacci, *BIFAO* 86 (1986), pp. 269–72. Cauville, *BIFAO* 90 (1990), pp. 115–33. Coulon *et al.*, *CahKarn* 10 (1995), pp. 217–19. See also Cauville, *BIFAO* 87 (1987), pp. 107–08; Pantalacci, in Dieter Kurth (eds.), 3. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung, 1995, pp. 187–98.

⁴⁵ Riggs, *BIFAO* 106 (2006), pp. 315–32.

particularly representative. 46 In her conclusion, she adds that the guardians of the doorways to the northern and southern chapels can be compared with the decoration of the coffins of Kleopatra, Petamenophis and Kornelios Pollios.⁴⁷ This observation may help our understanding of the sequence of Deir el-Medina but some reservations must be expressed. First, the names of the guardians are not written on the coffins, compromising any secure identification. In addition, the number of guardians does not correspond: they are twelve on each door – twenty-four in all – at Deir el-Medina, but seven per side making a total of fourteen on the coffin of Soter, 48 eight/sixteen on the coffin of Kleopatra, 49 nine/eighteen on the lid and three/six on the sides of the coffin of Petamenophis.⁵⁰ On the basis of the guardians' faces exclusively, no obvious parallel can be found, particularly for the door of the southern chapel. Furthermore, it is known that the representations of guardians can vary greatly. The comparison made by Christina Riggs is valuable, especially in terms of decoration. Unfortunately, it does not provide further grounds for clarifying the current sequence of guardians represented in the temple of Deir el-Medina. The documents discussed below share more than one guardian from the sequence of Deir el-Medina and are of interest for shedding new light on them:

2.1. Sarcophagus of Thotirdis

At the head of the sarcophagus of $Dhwty-ir-di-s(w)^{51}$ in the middle register, we find the representation of four kneeling figures with baboon heads, all named Bnty. On the right side, the text evokes their role as protectors:

dd mdw in Bnty ir.n=i s3=k m d.t=f ds=f shr.n=i sbi.w hr=k Wsir NN
"To be said by Benty: I have made your protection as his own body and I have overthrown the foes for you, Osiris NN."

⁴⁶ Coffin BM EA 6705: https://bit.ly/2UCjcnT (15.01.2019)

⁴⁷ Riggs, *BIFAO* 106 (2006), p. 326.

⁴⁸ Coffin BM EA 6705: Riggs, The Beautiful Burial, 2005, p. 187, fig. 87–88.

⁴⁹ Coffin BM EA 6706: https://bit.ly/2UWC7i7 (15.01. 2019).

⁵⁰ Coffin Louvre E 13048 + E 13016: Herbin, *Padiimenipet*, 2002, p. 31, fig. 29 and p. 29, fig. 26.

⁵¹ Cairo CG 29315 (Tunah, Late Period): Maspéro and Gauthier, *Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque*, II, 1939, pp. 79–101, pl. 26–29, esp. pp. 90–1, pl. 27. Its sides are decorated with guardians from chapters 144 and 147 of the *Book of the Dead*, and the lid with chapter 146 of the *Book of the Dead*.

Symmetrically on the lower register, four guardians are represented with lion or lioness heads. On the right, they are named Tfnw.t, "Tefnut" and Mnt(y).t, "Ment(y) t". On the left side, we find Rw.w, "Lions" and Rw.ty, "Ruty". Both texts mention the justification of the deceased, thus evoking a successful trial before Osiris:

dd mdw in Tfnw.t rdi.t.n=k m3^c-hrw m w^cb.t Wsir NN m3^c-hrw

"To be said by Tefnut: you have been justified in the wabet, Osiris NN justified."

dd mdw in Rw.w w3d.tw hft M3c.ty iw=k mi wc im=sn Wsir NN

"To be said by the lions: may you prosper in front of the two Maat as you are one among them, Osiris NN."

Table 2 Summary of the guardians of the sarcophagus of Thotirdis (Cairo CG 29315)

2R-a	Bnty	Baboon	
2R-b	Bnty	Baboon	14
2L-a	Bnty	Baboon	1/
2L-b	Bnty	Baboon	1
1R-a	Tfnw.t	Lion	14
1R-b	Mnt(y).t	Lion	
1L-a	Rw.w	Lion	
1L-b	Rw.ty	Lion	1

These guardians accompany a depiction of the Djed-pillar surrounded by Isis and Nephthys on the upper register. This document associates the names and representations of Bnty and Rwty – the baboon and the lion – in the context of

⁵² *LGG* III, 286c–287a.

⁵³ LGG IV, 653c-654a; LGG IV, 654a-656a.

the justification of a deceased. Three of them are represented on the left side of the door of the southern chapel of Deir el-Medina [Table 3].

Table 3 Comparison with the guardians of the southern chapel at Deir el-Medina

	Left s	ide			Righ	nt side	
Skn		Bnt(y)		ß	Ĥbt.t		'b.wy=f(y) m s <u>d</u> .t
Crocodile		Baboon			Baboon		Bull
Bnt(y)		Ħny			°šз-ḥr.w		[^c n]-m-r3=f
Baboon		Bulls			Snake		Crocodile
[]	1	Rwty			'3-nrw	\	Snw/Sdg
(Lost)		Lion			Crocodile		Basket

2.2. Sarcophagus of Petamenipet

At the feet of the sarcophagus of *P3-di-Imn-ip.t*, right of a traditional judgement scene, four guardians are represented in two registers, each holding a knife in their hands.⁵⁴ The first one is a baboon sitting with a raised tail. The others are kneeling figures with distinctive animal heads: a ram with twisted horns, a bull with short horns, and three snakes [Table 4]. Their protective function is clearly expressed by the accompanying texts:

1a *Nhb rs=f hr=k hr dr sbiw=k*

"Nekheb,⁵⁵ he watches over you by repelling your foes."

1b $\lceil Hr \rceil ty \ m \ inb.w \ hr \ ir \ s3=k$

"Kher⁷ti in the walls⁵⁶ is ensuring your protection."

⁵⁴ Cairo CG 29318 (Tell Abu Seifa, Ptolemaic period): Maspéro and Gauthier, *Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque*, II, 1939, pp. 115–26, pl. 34–36, esp. p. 120, pl. 35.

⁵⁵ *LGG* IV, 303c lists *N\hb.f-\hr.k* "...?... dein Gesicht" with this sole example but adds that a reading *N\hb* could be considered. I would favour this opinion (cf. *LGG* IV, 303c: *N\hb* and *N\hby*) and read as *rs=f \hr=k*, "he watches over you".

⁵⁶ LGG VI, 48c, [2] for this example. The first sign was read \Leftrightarrow 3. Other attestations of $\underline{\textit{Hrty}}$ are written with a lion, cf. LGG VI, 48b-c.

2a b.wy=f(y) m sd.t hr shr sbi.w=k

"The One whose horns are a flame is overthrowing your foes."

2b 'šṣ-ḥr.w ḫ' m Iwnw di=f pr=k ḥr wṣ.t nfr dַ.t

"The One with multiple faces who appears in Heliopolis,⁵⁷ he ensures that you are going out on the beautiful way for ever."

Table 4 Summary of the guardians from the sarcophagus of Petamenipet (Cairo CG 29318)

1a	Nḫb	Baboon with raised tail	
1b	「Ḥr¬ty m inb.w	Ram with twisted horns	
2a	$^{\circ}b.wy=f(y)\ m\ s\underline{d}.t$	Bull with sort horns	1
2b	'šз-ḥr.w ḫ ^c m Iwnw	Three snakes	

The two guardians of the second register (2a and 2b) are attested on the right doorjamb of the southern door at Deir el-Medina (51, 2 and 50, 1). A sitting baboon (1a) is also depicted on the same doorjamb (51, 1), but has a different name (Hbt.t). Both names show some similarity: Nhb and Hbt.t could ultimately share a common origin. Only the ram-headed Hrty m inb.w (1b) is lacking. At Deir el-Medina, these three figures appear on the right side of the southern door and they follow each other in the first and second registers. According to this document, the reading direction of the Deir el-Medina sequence should be from top to bottom [Table 5].

⁵⁷ Mentioned as a variant for '\$3-\harmonia r.w m Twnw in LGG II, 219a, cf. LGG V, 642a-b.

⁵⁸ This god is attested on the sarcophagi of Tahorpata and Padiaset, see *infra*.

Table 5 Comparison of the sarcophagus of Petamenipet (Cairo CG 29318) with the door of the southern chapel at Deir el-Medina

	Left s	ide		Right side						
Skn		Bnt(y)				Ĥbt.t	\(\)		°b.wy=f(y) m s₫.t	
Crocodile		Baboon		= 1a		Baboon	= 2a		Bull	
Bnt(y)		Нny				´šз-ḥr.w			[^c n]-m-r3=f	
Baboon		Bulls		= 2b		Snake			Crocodile	
[]		Rwty				′з-nrw	\		Snw/Sdg	
(Lost)		Lion				Crocodile			Basket	

2.3. Relief Bologna KS 1870

In an incomplete relief preserved in the Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna,⁵⁹ the king is shown offering in front of a lion and three guardians kneeling on cubic pedestals [Table 6].

Table 6 Summary of the guardians of Relief Bologna KS 1870

x+1	[]	Lion	9.0	
x+2	°šз-ḥr.w	Three snakes		
x+3	^c n-m-r3=f	Crocodile with open mouth		>
x+4	^c 3-nrw	Crocodile		>

⁵⁹ Bologna KS 1870 (Heliopolis, Thirtieth Dynasty): Curto, *L'Egitto antico*, 1961, pp. 88–90 (no. 69), pl. 39. Bresciani, *La collezione egizia*, 1975, pp. 71–72, pl. 47. *La collezione egiziana*, 1994, p. 103.

These three guardians are part of the decoration of the door of the southern chapel in Deir el-Medina. They all appear on the right doorjamb, having the same orientation and shapes⁶⁰, and the sequence is identical.⁶¹ According to this document, the reading direction of the sequence of Deir el-Medina should be from top to bottom [Table 7].

Table 7 Comparison of Relief Bologna KS 1870 with the door of the southern chapel at Deir el-Medina

	Left s	ide		Right side					
Skn		Bnt(y)		ß	072	Ĥbt.t	ß		°b.wy=f(y) m s₫.t
Crocodile		Baboon				Baboon			Bull
Bnt(y)		Нny		<i>></i>		'šз-ḥr.w	<i>></i>		['n]-m- r3=f
Baboon		Bulls		= x+2		Snake	= x+3		Crocodile
[]		Rwty				^c 3-nrw	ß		Snw/Sdg
(Lost)		Lion		= x+4		Crocodile			Basket

2.4. A lintel of Ramesses III

On a sandstone lintel found in the Ramesseum and inscribed with the name of Ramesses III, a scene is painted on fine white plaster: it represents the bark of Sokar in its pavilion surrounded by Isis and Nephthys.⁶² On the right, Nephthys is standing in adoration in front of an offering table:

dd mdw in Nb.t-ḥw.t ḥnw.t ntr.w m s³ ḥr Wsir "To be said by Nephthys, mistress of the gods, as a protection over Osiris."

⁶⁰ Except '\$\sigma_s hr. w whose head is represented as one snake (DelM 50, 1) instead of three snakes (Bo, x+2).

⁶¹ Bo, x+2 = DelM 50, 1; Bo, x+3 = DelM 50, 2; Bo, x+4 = DelM 49, 1.

Behind Nephthys, three kneeling guardians each hold a knife in their hands.

1. The first one is a bull-headed guardian:

```
'b.wy(=fy) m sd.t m s3 hr Wsir
"(the One whose) horns are a flame' as a protection over Osiris."
```

2. The second has three snake heads:

```
's³-ḥr.w m s³ ḥr Wsir "'Multiple of faces' as a protection over Osiris."
```

3. The head of the last one is a basket:

```
S^c n \ m \ s_3 \ hr \ Wsir "The 'Concealer'63 as a protection over Osiris."
```

On the opposite side, Isis is standing in adoration in front of another offering table:

```
dd mdw in 3s.t mw.t ntr [m] s3 hr Wsir "To be said by Isis, the god's mother, [as] a protection over Osiris."
```

Behind Isis, three kneeling figures each hold a knife.

1. The first one is a bald man presumably without name:

```
m s3 ḥr [Wsir]
"(Anonymous) as a protection over [Osiris]."
```

2. The second is a baboon-headed entity:

```
Bɜst(y)
""The One of Bubastis'."<sup>64</sup>
```

3. The last one seems to have a lion head. His name is lost.

⁶³ *LGG* VI, 176c, [1] for this example.

⁶⁴ LGG II, p. 739b. He is one of the judges in Chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead.

Table 8 Summary of the guardians of the lintel of Ramesses III

R1	b.wy(=fy) m sd.t	Bull with sort horns	\
R2	°šз-ḥr.w	Three snakes	
R3	S^n	Basket	/
L1	anonymous	Bald man	
L2	B3st(y)	Baboon	
L3	[]	Lion (?)	

The first three guardians are depicted on the right doorjamb of the southern chapel at Deir el-Medina. They have the same orientation and shapes⁶⁵ and the sequence is similar.⁶⁶ The only preserved name of the second set $(B \nmid sst(y))$ is not attested in the Deir el-Medina sequence. Nevertheless, the shape of two of them might offer a clue: the baboon- and lion-headed gods could be replaced on the left doorjamb and their position corresponds to the distribution of the attested gods on the right side [Table 9]. Following this model, only the bald man does not find a place on the doorjamb of Deir el-Medina.

⁶⁵ Except 'šṣ-ḥṛ.w whose head is represented as one snake (DelM 50, 1).

⁶⁶ Ra-R1 = DelM 51, 2; Ra-R2 = DelM 50, 1; Ra-R3 = DelM 49, 2.

Left side Right side b.wy=f(y)SknBnt(y)Ħbt.t m sd.t Baboon Crocodile = R1 Bull Baboon [^cn]-m-Bnt(y)Hny 'š3-hr.w r3=f =L2 (?) Baboon Bulls = R2 Snake Crocodile Rwty [...] 3-nrw Snw/Sdg =L3 (Lost) Lion Crocodile =R3 Basket (?)

Table 9 Comparison of the lintel of Ramesses III with the door of the southern chapel at Deir el-Medina

2.5. Sarcophagi of Tjahorpata and Padisis

Each side of the lid of the stone sarcophagus of T_3 - H_r - p_3 - t_3 ⁶⁷ is decorated with forty-two guardians holding knives. We find the same gods on both side of the sarcophagus of general P_3 -di-3s.t, 68 where they are spread over two registers of eleven and thirteen guardians, organized from bottom to top and from feet to head of the sarcophagus. Each representation is accompanied by a text for the benefit of Padisis. Variations in shapes and names of the guardians can appear between the two versions, but both sequences are very similar. Among these forty-eight gods, most of the guardians of the southern door of Deir el-Medina are attested. On the right side, the snake-headed goddess Hepetet-Hor, 69 stand-

⁶⁷ Cairo CG 29306 (Saqqara, Thirtieth Dynasty): Maspéro, Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque, I, 1914, pp. 218–315, pl. 19–21, esp. pp. 231–36, pl. 20–21; Manassa, The Late Egyptian Underworld, 2007, p. 481, pl. 191–289. On the discovery and history of the sarcophagus, see Quibell, Archaic Mastabas, 1923, pp. 13–14, pl. 34–37; Gauthier, BIFAO 12 (1916), pp. 53–59; Spiegelberg, ZÄS 64 (1929), pp. 76–83; Baines, JEA 78 (1992), pp. 241–57; von Känel, Les prêtres-ouâb de Sekhmet et les conjurateurs de Serket, 1984, pp. 112–15; Hamernik, JEA 86 (2000), pp. 168–72, pl. 26–27.

⁶⁸ Berlin ÄM 29 (Saqqara, Thirtieth Dynasty or early Ptolemaic period): Erman, *Ausführliches Verzeichnis*, 1899, pp. 270–71, fig. 54; Schäfer and Andrae, *Die Kunst des alten Orients*, 1925, p. 458; PM III/2, p. 720; Manassa, *The Late Egyptian Underworld*, 2007, p. 481, pls. 287, 301–03. Édouard Naville made some drawings of this sarcophagus probably as he was a student in Berlin. They are kept in the Musée d'art et d'histoire in Geneva and have been digitised, e.g. Geneva MAH inv. A 2007-0024-003-074: https://collections.geneve.ch/mah/oeuvre/releve/2007-0024-03-074 (15.01.2019).

⁶⁹ *LGG* V, 125 b-c. On this goddess during the Third Intermediate Period, see Lenzo, in Brose *et al.* (eds.), *En détail - Philologie und Archäologie im Diskurs*, 2019, pp. 601–20.

ing with a knife in each hand, is followed by twenty-four guardians. Half of the guardians of the southern door of Deir el-Medina appear on this side [Table 10].

Table 10 Summary of the guardians of the right side of both sarcophagi

R1	c _{3-nrw}	Crocodile	J.	%
R4	Rwty	Lion/cat ⁷⁰	- File	>
R7	$b.wy=f(y) \ m \ s\underline{d}.t$	Bull with short horns		%
R13	Bnty	Baboon		%
R21	Ḥnn/Ḥns-ḥr ⁷¹	Two bulls with four horns	- File	\(\)
R24	'šз-ḥr.w (ḥ') m Ἰwnw ⁷²	Three snakes		%

On the left side, the other group is guided by the goddess Merty.⁷³ She has a double head (lion and crocodile) and wears a solar disk with two long feathers. She is standing with a knife in each hand, followed by her company. More guardians of the southern door of Deir el-Medina appear on this side [Table 11].

Table 11 Summary of the guardians of the left side of both sarcophagi

L2	Sdg ⁷⁴	Basket with eye	
L3	Rwty	Lion	
L15	Bnt.t	Baboon	1
L21	`Ir.t=f m r3=f	Crocodile	

⁷⁰ The animal has pointy ears like a cat on sarcophagus Berlin ÄM 29.

⁷¹ Variant from Berlin ÄM 29, rather than *Ḥnn* (LGG V, 756c–757a, example [2]). Cf. *Dendara* X, 359, 6: *Ḥns-m-ḥr.w*; LGG V, 758b. This attestation is an argument in favour of a connection to the Double Bull *Ḥns*, see *supra* n. 10.

⁷² LGG II, 219a-b, with Cairo CG 29306 as sole example. The variant 'šɜ-ḥr.w h' m 'Iwnw "Numerous of faces who appears in Heliopolis" of sarcophagus Berlin ÄM 29 is not referenced but classified with 'šɜ-ḥr.w (LGG II, 218b-219a, [27]) and Ḥ ' m 'Iwnw (LGG V, 642a-b, [2]). See also supra n. 57.

⁷³ *LGG* III, 332c–333a, [16] for this example. The attestation of sarcophagus Berlin ÄM 29 should be added. On the goddess *Mr.t*, see Guglielmi, *Die Göttin Mr.t*, 1990, with an example of *Mrty* on the sarcophagus Louvre D 8 (pl. V).

⁷⁴ LGG VI, 719c, [1] as sole example. The attestation of sarcophagus Berlin ÄM 29 should be added.

Most of the guardians from the southern chapel of Deir el-Medina are attested within the group preserved on these sarcophagi [Table 12]. Unfortunately, it offers no clue as to the identity of the lost guardian. The third baboon (*Hbbt.t*) is not recorded and there is no other sitting baboon on the sarcophagi. The names of the other crocodiles do not match with *Skn*. The Double Lion (*Rwty*) appears twice (R4/L3). A seemingly emerging sequence is however not conclusive: 1, 4, 7, 13, 21, 24 on the right and 2, 3, (7), 15, 21 on the left. Another model has not yet been found to explain the relationship between these documents. It must be noted that both sarcophagi were not found in the Theban area; only the relief of Ramses III originates from Western Thebes while the other artifacts come from Middle or Lower Egypt (Tunah, Saqqara, Heliopolis and Tell Abu Seifa). The provenience may have influenced the order and contents of the lists, which could have been subject to local adaptations. The funerary or sacerdotal function of these guardians could also have influenced the sequences, given that the funerary context of the southern chapel is significant.

Table 12 Comparison of the sarcophagi of Tjahorpata and Padisis with the door of the southern chapel at Deir el-Medina

	Left s	side				Right	side		
Skn		Bnt(y)				Ӊbt.t	>		°b.wy=f(y) m s₫.t
Crocodile		Baboon	= L15			Baboon	= R7		Bull
Bnt(y)		Ħny		B		۲šз-ḥr.w	>		['n]-m-r3=f
Baboon	= R13	Bulls	= R21	= R24		Snake	= L21		Crocodile
[]		Rwty		<i>></i>	J.	^c s-nrw	>	and the same of th	Snw/Sdg
(Lost)		Lion	= R4/ L3	= R1		Crocodile	= L2		Basket

⁷⁵ The three other kneeling or sitting figures with a baboon head are 'I'n, Wd3-ir.w and Pfs.t.

3. SUMMARY/CONCLUSION

The twelve guardians of the door of the southern chapel of the temple of Deir el-Medina are related to certain specific documents, demonstrating that they constitute a consistent group even if they are not associated with the best-known coalitions of funerary or temple demons. The choice of less widespread entities seems to show a particular effort in the conception of the protection of the door of the southern chapel. The tradition from which the guardians of the southern chapel derive takes on a funerary character which corresponds perfectly to the theological content of the space over which they watched. In contrast, the provenance of the various examples mentioned above indicates that this group was not specific to the Theban region. This survey has also drawn attention to a specific group of guardians attested on the sarcophagi of Tjahorpata and Padisis, which consists of a cluster of demons from different origins and deserves thorough examination. A study of the guardians of the doorjambs of the northern chapel, who do not seem to be part of a similar heritage, is in preparation. It will be particularly interesting to see how this second group of guardians has been defined according to the religious themes developed in the northern chapel. A comparison of the two collections of guardians will make it possible to gain a more precise idea of the imperatives which supported the decorative program of the temple of Deir el-Medina while offering a broader perspective of the sources which have been used during its elaboration. Ongoing research on these groups will be integrated into the comprehensive study of all guardians of the temple, as part of the IFAO research project devoted to the Ptolemaic temple of Deir el-Medina. Demons probably have more to say.

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DEIR EL-MEDINA PTOLEMAIC PAPYRI: THE ARCHIVE OF TOTOÊS¹

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ABSTRACT

The archive of Totoês and his wife Tatehathyris (TM Arch 248) was discovered in February 1905 by Ernesto Schiaparelli's "Missione Archeologica Italiana" in Deir el-Medina and is now kept in the Museo Egizio (Suppl. 6068-6125). It is comprised of 61 documents dated to the second century BCE, for the most part legal acts of a priestly family. Written and photographic evidence in modern archives allows us to specify the circumstances of both the find and the opening of the two sealed jars that preserved them. The discovery occurred north of the enclosure wall of the Ptolemaic temple of Hathor in the recess of a wall of House H or a later structure on the same spot, probably by Roberto Paribeni. A few of the thirty-three or thirty-four rolls found were unwrapped on site soon after, but most were unrolled in Turin by October 1906 and some during the summer of 1948. The resulting fifty-six Demotic and Greek papyri, along with five inscribed linen strips, received labels indicating the roll of provenance, but unfortunately these have since been lost. Modern archives sometimes contain clues on how Totoês' texts were arranged in ancient dossiers: this reconstruction helps us to understand the archive better. As an example, the fact that P.Tor. Botti 34 A, 34 B+C, 35 and 36 were wrapped together support the interpretation that they deal with the devolution, from father to sons, of the tasks of agent of Hathor and manager of the temple of Deir el-Medina in 100 BCE.

¹ I thank Paola Boffula Alimeni, Paolo Del Vesco, Sara Maria Demichelis, Federico Poole and Susanne Töpfer for their valuable comments and Andrew Monson and Todd Gillen for checking and correcting my English. Any shortcoming remains my responsibility.

1. THE DISCOVERY OF THE ARCHIVE

In February 1905, the "Missione Archeologica Italiana" led by Ernesto Schiaparelli discovered two sealed jars at Deir el-Medina. Their opening revealed 61 documents written in Greek and Demotic, dated to the second century BCE. They formed the family archive (TM Arch 248) of the priest of Hathor Totoês (twtw) and his wife Tatehathyris (tr-tw-Ḥw.t-Ḥr) and they are now kept in the Museo Egizio under the inventory numbers Suppl. 6068-6125.2. The Greek texts were published by Girolamo Vitelli in 1929,3 and Giuseppe Botti published those written in Demotic in 1967.4 The latter gave only brief details about the discovery in two preliminary articles and in the editio princes:6 the jars were found some meters outside the enclosure wall of the Ptolemaic temple of Hathor, in a house in ruins. Vitelli reported Schiaparelli's own words in the introduction to the Greek papyri:7

Nel Febbraio dell'anno 1905, dopo avere esaurito l'esplorazione della Valle delle Regine, iniziammo i lavori nella vicina valle di Deir el Medinet, ai due lati del tempio tolemaico che sta in testa alla valle medesima. Il centro di questa piccola valle, segnatamente al tempo della XXª Dinastia, e forse anche prima, era occupato da una piccola città, la città della Necropoli [...]. Sulle rovine di codesta piccola città fu costruita nell'età tolemaica una casa di abitazione di qualche importanza, a poche diecine di metri dal recinto del tempio, anche questo ricostruito nel medesimo periodo; e probabilmente per uso di persone addette al tempio stesso. Fra i ruderi di questa casa si trovarono i due vasi contenenti i papiri, collocati l'uno accanto all'altro e ancora chiusi coi loro antichi legamenti.

² The two vases are inventoried as S. 6121 and 6122.

³ Vitelli, in Vitelli and Norsa (eds.), *Papiri greci e latini*. Volume nono, 1929, pp. 15–35.

⁴ Botti, L'archivio demotico, 1967.

⁵ Botti, Aegyptus 31 (1951), p. 192; Botti, in Milano, Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere (ed.), Atti dell'XI congresso internazionale di papirologia, 1966, p. 92 (the last passage cited also in Botti, Dal Monte Rosa alla Terra dei Faraoni, 2010, p. 174).

⁶ Botti, L'archivio demotico, I, 1967, p. 1.

⁷ Vitelli, in Vitelli and Norsa (eds.), *Papiri greci e latini. Volume nono*, 1929, p. 15; Del Vesco and Poole, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, p. 117.

Schiaparelli never described this discovery in his publications, but letters he sent to the Royal Ministry of Public Education are fortunately richer in detail. The first one bears the title "Rinvenimento di papiri" and is a short communication stored in the Archivio Centrale dello Stato in Rome, written in the Valley of the Queens and addressed directly to the Minister, Vittorio Emanuele Orlando. Its date, the 14th of February 1905, in all likelihood reveals the exact day of the discovery. A longer account occurs in a field report of the 1905 campaign, dated the 24th of August 1905 and now housed in the Archivio di Stato of Turin: 10

Gli scavi iniziati il dì 1<u>8 gennai</u>o, si proseguirono ininterrottamente fino al dì 4 luglio [...].

L'espl<u>orazione del</u>la Valle de<u>lle Regi</u>ne si poté esaurire in meno di due settimane; né vi furono, come già si prevedeva, importanti rinvenimenti [...].

Il lavoro di maggiore importanza nella necropoli tebana, fu, nell'anno corrente lo scavo di quella parte della necropoli di Deir-el-Medinet, che si trova sulla destra e sulla sinistra dell'omonimo tempio; scavo che ci occupò per oltre quaranta giorni, impiegandovi giornalmente anche più di 500 operai. [...]

Prima di giungere allo strato archeologico più antico, e sovrastanti alle rovine delle tombe e delle altre costruzioni ora menzionate, si erano colà costruite nel periodo romano numerose abitazioni i cui resti, dopo che furono diligentemente rilevati a cura del Dott. Paribeni, si dovettero demolire per arrivare agli strati inferiori. Eseguendo appunto la demolizione di una di queste casette, che si era innestata sulla cappella consacrata al faraone Seti I, vennero in luce due vasi fittili, intatti, colla bocca chiusa con un piattello ben assicurato alle anse con più giri di spago, che, aperti, si rinvennero pieni di papiri in perfetto stato di conservazione. Erano 34 rotoli di varia lunghezza, ben legati con spago e fasciati con tele, nella condizione medesima in cui dal loro antico proprietario erano stati

⁸ Schiaparelli, *Relazione sui lavori*, 1927, pp. V–VI, focuses on Kha and Merit's tomb and defers to further publications the description of other finds, included the archive of Totoês. Then Schiaparelli died on the 14th of February 1928.

⁹ ACSR, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, Divisione II 1908-1912, envelope 3. I owe this reference to Dr. Paola Boffula Alimeni, that I sincerely thank.

¹⁰ ASTo, MAE, secondo versamento, doss. 1, fasc. 9; Moiso, in Moiso (ed.), *Ernesto Schiaparelli e la tomba di Kha*, 2008, pp. 218–19; Roccati, in Consonni *et al.* (eds.), *L'Egitto di Francesco Ballerini*, 2012, p. 34; Moiso and Lovera, in Del Vesco and Moiso (eds.), *Missione Egitto* 1903-1920, 2017, pp. 154 and 164; Del Vesco and Poole, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, p. 117.

riposti in un vano nel muro. Di quelli che intanto si sono aperti, uno è greco e gli altri sono demotici; tutti sono atti privati costituenti l'archivio di una famiglia egiziana nel periodo romano.

Given that Roberto Paribeni, one of the field assistants in 1905 at Deir el-Medina, mapped the house at issue before its dismantlement, it was almost certainly he who discovered the sealed jars in the recess of a wall. The following year, a similar letter of report by Schiaparelli confirmed the general framework, adding more information about the content of the vases:¹¹

La campagna si iniziò nella necropoli tebana, nella regione che è conosciuta col nome di Deir-el-Medinet. L'anno passato la nostra Missione già vi aveva lavorato esplorando la zona ai due lati dell'omonimo tempio, e trovandovi la necropoli a cui era addetta la confraternita dei <u>Sotem-ash</u>, le cappelle in onore dei Faraoni defunti, e, in una casa tolemaica rovinata, un gruppo di 52 papiri demotici e greci, del tempo di Cleopatra III.

The paucity of written records is often compensated for by the abundant photographic documentation produced by the Italian Archaeological Mission. A printed copy of a photo shows a chapel in Deir el-Medina during the excavations, and its back side displays the following handwritten note that connects the place with the finding of the archive: "Luogo del ritrovamento dei papiri. Deir el Medinet 1905". Del Vesco identified this sanctuary as Chapel G, at the northernmost edge of the cult building cluster north of the Ptolemaic enclosure wall of the temple of Hathor. Schiaparelli assigned it to the reign of Seti I, 14 but

¹¹ ASTo, MAE, secondo versamento, doss. 1, fasc. 10; Del Vesco and Poole, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, pp. 110, 117.

¹² Moiso, in Moiso (ed.), *Ernesto Schiaparelli e la tomba di Kha*, 2008, pp. 122–23 and 128; Moiso and Lovera, in Del Vesco and Moiso (eds.), *Missione Egitto* 1903-1920, 2017, pp. 167–70; Del Vesco and Poole, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, p. 108.

¹³ ASTo, MAE, secondo versamento, doss. 1, fasc. 8; Archivio Museo Egizio, C 930; Del Vesco and Poole, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, pp. 114–15 (the picture in fig. 13 is C 933, hard to distinguish from the almost identical C 930).

¹⁴ As reported even in an article of the Turin newspaper *La Stampa*: "Ma era a Der-el-Medinet una delle piccole valli della necropoli tebana che lo Schiaparelli doveva fare la sua scoperta più preziosa. Scavando attorno al tempio della Dea Hathor scoprì le cappelle votive di Seti I, e accanto a queste due vasi di terracotta contenenti 52 papiri perfettamente conservati, 43 demotici e 9 greci, del tempo di Cleopatra III, e contenenti atti privati (E. Thovez, "Tra le meraviglie dell'Egitto dissepolto. Un colloquio col prof. Schiaparelli", *La Stampa, Torino, Giovedì*



Fig. 1 Surroundings of the discovery location of the archive of Totoês, identified by a handwritten note on the back: "Luogo del ritrovamento dei papiri. Deir el Medinet 1905" (Archivio Museo Egizio, C 930).

indeed, Del Vesco recognized in the Museo Egizio the relief visible on the bottom wall of the sanctuary depicted on another photo of the excavations, ¹⁵ and he was thus able to ascribe the erection of the chapel to Amenmesse and its usurpation to Seti II. ¹⁶ Accordingly, the building where the archive of Totoês was found is identified by Del Vesco either as House H or as a later structure erected over it, immediately to the south of Chapel G [Fig. 1]. ¹⁷

2. THE OPENING OF THE JARS AND THE UNROLLING OF THE PAPYRI

An aspect that still needs to be clarified is when the two jars were opened. It is probable that, after the end of the mission activity on site, all of the 1905 find-

¹⁵ Ottobre 1908, p. 3)". See also Del Vesco and Poole, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), Outside the Box, 2018, p. 117.

¹⁵ Archivio Museo Egizio, C 897. Another photo from the museum archive, bearing the number C 922, is very similar.

¹⁶ Del Vesco and Poole, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, pp. 114–16.

¹⁷ Del Vesco and Poole, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), Outside the Box, 2018, pp. 117–18.

ings from Deir el-Medina were first catalogued and temporarily stored in the facilities of the Franciscan mission in Luxor, then submitted to the Egyptian antiquities service for inspection and *partage*, and finally arrived in Turin in 1906 thanks to Gondrand transport company. Even if these objects were shipped in the same year they were found, it would have happened not before the 10th of August, as is indicated by a Gondrand company note bearing this date and listing the number (111) and weight (35 tons) of the crates containing the archaeological objects. ¹⁹

Botti stated that the vases containing the archive of Totoês arrived in Turin still sealed:²⁰

Giova sin da ora rilevare che per le rotture che si incontrano nei papiri, le mancanze di parte del testo, e i frammenti conservatici si devono ascrivere allo stato dei testi all'epoca stessa della loro introduzione nelle giarre, non già in seguito alla loro apertura; essendo esse, come già si è detto, giunte a Torino ermeticamente chiuse, così come si erano trovate.

In contrast to such a reconstruction, in a letter dated the 23rd of May 1905, Vitelli wrote to Annibale Evaristo Breccia that Schiaparelli already knew, well before the end of the excavations in Egypt on the 4th of July²¹ and his subsequent return to Italy, that the jars contained papyri:²²

Oggi ho avuto notizie anche dello Schiaparelli da Matarié. Passerà ancora del tempo prima che torni in Italia. Pare sia contento dei risultati ottenuti. Mi accenna anche ad alcuni papiri: vedremo cosa saranno, se toccherà a me vederli.

¹⁸ Moiso, *La storia del Museo Egizio*, 2016, pp. 72–74. An inquiry to the Franciscan Mission in Luxor, whose staff I would like to thank for their hospitality and kindness, has unfortunately produced no results. For the collaboration between the Italian Archaeological Mission and the "Società Nazionale di Trasporti Fratelli Gondrand" between 1903 and 1908: Moiso *et al.*, in Del Vesco and Moiso (eds.), *Missione Egitto* 1903-1920, 2017, p. 321.

¹⁹ Moiso, in Moiso (eds.), Ernesto Schiaparelli e la tomba di Kha, 2008, p. 222.

²⁰ Botti, *L'archivio demotico*, I, 1967, p. 3. Pestman, in Boswinkel and Pestman (eds.), *Textes grecs, démotiques et bilingues*, 1978, p. 193, also supposed that the opening of the vases took place in Turin.

²¹ ASTo, MAE, secondo versamento, doss. 1, fasc. 9; Moiso, in Moiso (ed.), *Ernesto Schiaparelli e la tomba di Kha*, 2008, pp. 217 and 222.

²² Vitelli, in Morelli and Pintaudi (eds.), Cinquant'anni di papirologia in Italia, I, 1983, p. 149.

In the abovementioned letter that announced the discovery, dated the 14th of February 1905, Schiaparelli partially resolves the discrepancies between these two versions:²³

Mi è grato annunziare a V. E. che negli scavi che, a cura di questa Missione archeologica, si stanno eseguendo nella attigua necropoli di Deir-el-Medinet, oltre a varii pregevoli cimelii dissepelliti nei decorsi giorni, si sono ora rinvenuti due vasi intatti contenenti <u>34</u> papiri, ancora chiusi cogli antichi legacci, e in stato perfetto di conservazione. Dei detti papiri uno è greco, e gli altri, secondo ogni probabilità, sono demotici.

Indeed, he admitted that he unpacked some of the discovered rolls and that one of them was written in Greek, the other ones being "in all likelihood" in Demotic (no Demotists joined the mission, making it impossible to confirm on the spot the kind of cursive writing on the papyri). So, the opening of at least one of the two vases took place immediately after the discovery, after which Schiaparelli wrote about it to the Minister Orlando and then to Vitelli while he was still in Egypt, before resealing the jars and shipping them to Turin. In any case, both of the jars had been opened, their content unrolled and at least partially examined by some papyrologist (probably the same Vitelli) by the 9th of October 1906: in the letter of report bearing that date, Schiaparelli declared having found fifty-two papyri in Demotic and Greek in the previous year's campaign in Deir el-Medina, and also gave a more precise date for the texts, namely the reign of Cleopatra III.²⁴

It would also be important to know how the papyri were stored within the jars and whether they were subdivided into ancient dossiers. We know from different sources that the jars contained only thirty-three²⁵ or thirty-four²⁶ "rolls": three photos of them are preserved in the Archivio Museo Egizio [Fig. 2].²⁷ But

²³ ACSR, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, Divisione II 1908-1912, envelope 3.

²⁴ ASTo, MAE, secondo versamento, doss. 1, fasc. 10; Del Vesco and Poole, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, p. 110.

²⁵ Botti, *L'archivio demotico*, I, 1967, pp. 2 and 204. The same is stated in Ballerini's letter to his family dated the 14th of March 1905: Consonni and Quirino, in Consonni *et al.* (eds.), *L'Egitto di Francesco Ballerini*, 2012, p. 148.

²⁶ ACSR, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, Divisione II 1908-1912, envelope 3; ASTo, MAE, secondo versamento, doss. 1, fasc. 9; Moiso, in Moiso (ed.), *Ernesto Schiaparelli e la tomba di Kha*, 2008, p. 219.

²⁷ Archivio Museo Egizio, D 98, D 99 and D 142.



Fig. 2 Some of the still unpacked rolls (Archivio Museo Egizio, D 142).

the archive of Totoês is actually comprised of fifty-six papyri: forty-four in Demotic, eight in Greek and four bilingual. This means that some of them were rolled one inside the other, then wrapped in linen cloths tied with string, or enveloped in linen strips; five pieces of linen bear Demotic inscriptions, ²⁸ thus bringing the number of documents up to sixty-one. Unfortunately, Schiaparelli's list of archaeological objects for each field mission does not supply enough data on how the papyri were rolled together. ²⁹

In the introduction to the edition of the five Demotic texts on linen, Botti declared that, when the jars were opened, each roll received a number and each linen strip a descriptive note. In the drafts of his edition, dated between 1962 and 1964, he recorded many of the roll numbers from which each papyrus was extracted. But at least since the 10th of May 1963, only three papyri still had labels attached marking the roll of origin:³⁰

²⁸ Provv. 5056, 5057, 5064, 5065 and 6134.

²⁹ Curto, *Storia del Museo Egizio*, 1990³, pp. 57–58 and 123; Del Vesco and Poole, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, p. 108.

³⁰ ASTo, Fondo Botti, doss. 7, fasc. 4.

Solo sui Papiri seguenti rimasto cartellino indicante il rotolo:

N. 6078^{31} = rotolo 25 N. 6079^{32} = rotolo 21 N. 6080^{33} = rotolo 12

10 maggio 1963.

Because of the data lost for *P.Tor.Botti* 7 A+B + *PSI* IX 1015, *P.Tor.Botti* 20 and 27, *P.Tor.Botti* 45 + *PSI* IX 1021, and of some inconsistencies concerning *P.Tor.Botti* 16, 28, 41 and the linen strip n° 3, Botti decided to omit such notes in his drafts:³⁴

Ma i cartellini con i numeri dei singoli rotoli dei papiri, nel rimaneggiamento di questi sono in gran parte andati perduti, per cui i rotoli non sono più tutti precisabili: d'altra parte la distinzione non era ad essi inerente, fu fatta per la semplice enumerazione dei rotoli al momento dell'estrazione dalle giarre. La perdita non ha pregiudicato per nulla la classificazione dei papiri, risultata ben chiara dai singoli contesti; e quindi non mi sono preoccupato della numerazione dei singoli rotoli.

Anche per le bende con iscrizione non è possibile precisare a quale singolo papiro appartenessero, essendo i nomi propri in esse conservati, privi di particolari specificazioni, e quindi possibili le iscrizioni di diverse appartenenze.

He therefore did the same in the final publication of 1967.³⁵ The only exception is *P.Tor.Botti* 35: Botti remarked that it wrapped a group of papyri, only specifying that *P.Tor.Botti* 34 B was one of them.³⁶

In any case, probably with the help of the restorer Erminia Caudana³⁷, between

³¹ P.Tor.Botti 6 A+B.

³² P.Tor.Botti 8 A+B.

³³ P.Tor.Botti 3 A+B + PSI IX 1014.

³⁴ ASTo. Fondo Botti, doss. 7. fasc. 4.

³⁵ Botti, L'archivio demotico, I, 1967, p. 204.

³⁶ Botti, *L'archivio demotico*, I, 1967, p. 179.

³⁷ Curto, *Aegyptus* 55 (1975), p. 271. The inventory numbers of some papyri are still recorded on oval labels that Caudana put between the glass slabs. I owe this reference to Dr. Sara Maria Demichelis (Soprintendenza archeologia, belle arti e paesaggio per la città metropolitana di Torino), that I sincerely thank. Curto, *Storia del*

the 1st of July and the 15th of August 1948,³⁸ Botti personally unwrapped some of the rolls still packed at that time:³⁹

Papiro: Suppl. 6113.40 [...]

<u>Bibliografia</u>. Manca. È stato sviluppato dallo scrivente solo nel 1948 insieme con altri due 6097 - (*vacat*), sfuggiti allo Schiaparelli, nella sistemazione fatta nell'estate 1948 di tutto il materiale demotico posseduto dal Museo di Torino. [...]

Papiro: Suppl. 6103.41 [...]

Bibliografia. Manca. Sviluppato nella sistemazione del 1948. [...]

Papiro: Suppl. 6097.42 [...]

<u>Bibliografia</u>. <u>Manca. Il papiro fu sviluppato come il n. 6113 nella sistemazione del 1948.</u> El Amir. Turin Pap. 39 (6º gruppo, p. 225. [...]

Non risulta nell'articolo di El-Amir. Sviluppato nella sistemazione del 1948. El Amir, Turin Pap., (39) 6º gruppo, p. 225.

The third papyrus unrolled by Botti in place of Suppl. 6097 = *P.Tor.Botti* 42 has yet to be identified. With regard to the Greek papyri, some clues about their origin come from the preparatory files for the paper catalogue of the Museo Egizio. 43 Pencil notes lacking a date mark the original rolls for *PSI* IX 1016, 1018, 1019 and 1020. As for Vitelli, we only know that he studied them after they had been mounted between glass panes. 44 The *scripturae interiores* of PSI IX 1018, 1022 and 1025 were still sealed at least until the end of September 1927, when he went to Turin for transcriptions and collations of the originals; 45 afterwards,

Museo Egizio, 1990³, p. 124, stated that the inventory numbers of the Egyptian collection in Turin were assigned in 1948: these data would fit with Botti's stay in Turin.

³⁸ ASTo, MAE, secondo versamento, doss. 48, fasc. 12: three letters dated between the 24th of May and the 21st of June 1948, authorising Botti, who was at that time under the authority of the Florentine superintendent of antiquities Antonio Minto, to be temporarily seconded to the Museo Egizio in order to study the Demotic texts. See also Botti, *L'archivio demotico*, I, 1967, p. 4; Botti, *Dal Monte Rosa alla Terra dei Faraoni*, 2010, pp. 133 and 174; Botti, *MATur* 35-36 (2011-2012), p. 184.

³⁹ ASTo, Fondo Botti, doss. 7, fasc. 4.

⁴⁰ P.Tor.Botti 18 A+B.

⁴¹ P.Tor.Botti 20.

⁴² P.Tor.Botti 42.

⁴³ SABAP-TO, archivio cartaceo, schede pre-catalogo 6115-18 and 6123-25.

⁴⁴ Vitelli, in Vitelli and Norsa (eds.), Papiri greci e latini. Volume nono, 1929, p. 16.

⁴⁵ Botti, Aegyptus 31 (1951), p. 192; Botti, L'archivio demotico, I, 1967, p. 4.

they were unrolled for photos not long before Vitelli's *editio princeps* in 1929;⁴⁶ and finally, they were rolled up again before 1955, the date of the preparatory file for *PSI* IX 1025 that records one of its sides as wrapped up.⁴⁷

Further information about the circumstances of the discovery of the archive of Totoês and the opening of the jars could possibly be given by Paribeni's private archive in Tuscany. As for the way the papyri were rolled together inside them, it could be useful to retrieve the full-size photos of the papyri sent by Schiaparelli, in order to get quick indications about the content of the archive. Pencil notes on the images indicated either the original roll numbers or the frames in which they were mounted. The pictures of the Greek documents were addressed to Vitelli in Florence; those concerning the Demotic texts to Francis Llewellyn Griffith, afterwards passing into the hands of Henry Francis Herbert Thompson, Stephen Ranulph Kingdon Glanville and Mustafa Muhammad El-Amir in Cambridge. These latter three scholars cited certain of the roll numbers in their publications. El-Amir, even if deeply interested in the archive of Totoês, was not able to describe ten of the Demotic papyri before Botti's edition: thus, it is possible that either they were not photographed by Schiaparelli or their photos got lost before 1950.

3. THE CONTENT OF THE ARCHIVE

The archive of Totoês includes various legal documents. Most of them are title deeds for the sale, lease or gifting of days of liturgical service in several temples on the Theban west bank, which would have entitled the beneficiaries to a pro-

⁴⁶ Vitelli, in Vitelli and Norsa (eds.), Papiri greci e latini. Volume nono, 1929, p. 16, n. 2.

⁴⁷ SABAP-TO, archivio cartaceo, scheda pre-catalogo 6125.

⁴⁸ El-Amir, AcOr (C) 25 (1960), p. 205, n. 7.

⁴⁹ El-Amir, A Family Archive from Thebes, I, 1959, p. VII and II, p. 16; El-Amir, AcOr (C) 25 (1960), p. 204; Botti, L'archivio demotico, I, 1967, p. 3.

⁵⁰ Thompson, in Glanville and Macdonald Griffith (eds.), Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith, 1932, pp. 20 and 27 (n° 45), p. 34 (n° 17), pp. 21 and 29 (n° 55), pp. 32 and 35 (n° 22); Glanville and Skeat, JEA 40 (1954), p. 49 (n° 16) and p. 53 (n° 38); El-Amir, A Family Archive from Thebes, II, 1959, p. 31, n. 1, pp. 67–68, p. 76, n. 1, pp. 80–81 (n° 9 A+B and 10), p. 149, n. 2, pp. 157–59 and 162–3 (n° 13-15), p. 161 (n° 4), p. 165 (n° 8); El-Amir, AcOr (C) 25 (1960), pp. 206–26.

⁵¹ El-Amir, A Family Archive from Thebes, I, 1959, p. VII; El-Amir, AcOr (C) 25 (1960), p. 205, n. 7; Botti, L'archivio demotico, I, 1967, pp. 25, 58, 89, 116, 120, 173, 179, 188, 191 and 203.

portion of those temples' incomes; others are field leases and real estate purchases. Demotic instruments of sale are usually composed of two documents often written on the same papyrus. The first, on the right, is the real sale, sh r-db3 hd (συγγραφή πράσεως), where the seller states that he has received the right amount of money from the buyer. The second, on the left, is a quitclaim, called sh n wy (συγγραφή ἀποστασίου): here, the previous owner renounces any future claim to the assets ceded to the new one. Both of them are usually finalized by the signatures of sixteen witnesses on the verso of the papyrus.⁵² The measures taken regarding the position of the centre of the big stroke at the top of these witness lists from Deir el-Medina confirms Pestman's hypothesis, at least for the Theban region during the second century BCE, that they were sketched on the back of the sign dd, which introduces the actual content of legal deeds on the recto.⁵³. Family law is represented by five marriage contracts that fit the A type of Pestman's classification, where the bridegroom gives to his spouse a "wife's gift" (šp $n \, s.hm.t$), ⁵⁴ as well as by one of the ten divorce settlements surviving from Ptolemaic Egypt. 55 Other than official legal acts (sh), the archive of Totoês also contains several Demotic documents in an epistolary format $(\check{s}^c.t)$:56 four acknowledgements of debt,⁵⁷ an agreement before witnesses⁵⁸ and an exchange of animals.⁵⁹

⁵² Seidl, *Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte*, 1962, pp. 50–51 (n°s 1-2) and pp. 118–19; Lippert, *Einführung*, 2012², pp. 91–93, § 4.1.2.1.1, pp. 147–50, § 4.2.6.1.1 and pp. 153–54, § 4.2.6.2.3; Manning, in Keenan *et al.* (eds.), *Law and Legal Practice*, 2014, pp. 53–56; Depauw, in Keenan *et al.* (eds.), *Law and Legal Practice*, 2014, pp. 56–57; Manning, in Kehoe *et al.*, (eds.), *Law and Transaction Costs*, 2015, p. 106. For their structure, see Zauzich, *Die ägyptische Schreibertradition*, I, 1968, pp. 113–56 and II, tables 1 and 3.

⁵³ Pestman, L'archivio di Amenothes, 1981, p. 161; Pestman, Il processo di Hermias, 1992, pp. 225–32; Pestman, Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenhor, I, 1994, pp. 26–27.

⁵⁴ *P.Tor.Botti* 5, 11, 22 A, 38 and 39: El-Amir, A *Family Archive from Thebes*, II, 1959, pp. 139–47 and 162–63; Lüddeckens, Ägyptische Eheverträge, 1960, pp. 254–333, 339–53 and tables I-XII; Pestman, *Marriage*, 1961, pp. 9–32, 50–71, 75–102, 108–80 and table A; Seidl, *Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte*, 1962, p. 52, n° 6 a and pp. 170–77; Lippert, *Einführung*, 2012², pp. 119–23, § 4.1.5.1 and pp. 166–69, § 4.2.6.12.1; Manning, "4.1 Marriage", in Keenan *et al.* (eds.), *Law and Legal Practice in Egypt*, 2014, pp. 149–50.

⁵⁵ *P.Tor.Botti* 16: El-Amir, *A Family Archive from Thebes*, II, 1959, pp. 148–49 and 165; Pestman, *Marriage*, 1961, pp. 58, 71–79, 167–81 and table Z; Seidl, *Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte*, 1962, p. 52, n° 7 and pp. 177–78; Lippert, *Einführung*, 2012², pp. 123–24, § 4.1.5.2 and p. 171, § 4.2.6.13.1.

⁵⁶ Seidl, Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte, 1962, pp. 56-58 (n° B); Lippert, Einführung, 2012², pp. 138-40, § 4.2.1.1-2.

⁵⁷ *P.Tor.Botti* 13, 14, 15 A and 26: Seidl, *Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte*, 1962, p. 51, n° 5, pp. 113–14, p. 133, n° 1 and pp. 137–39; Lippert, *Einführung*, 2012², pp. 99–102, § 4.1.3.1.1 and pp. 160–61, § 4.2.6.8.1.

⁵⁸ P.Tor.Botti 23 A: Seidl, *Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte*, 1962, p. 53, n° 9, p. 54, n° 3, pp. 113–14 and 178–79; Lippert, *Einführung*, 2012², pp. 103–04, § 4.1.3.1.5-6, p. 116, § 4.1.4.4, pp. 163–64, § 4.2.6.10.1 and p. 174, § 4.2.6.17.

⁵⁹ P.Tor.Botti 18 A: Lippert, Einführung, 2012², p. 94, § 4.1.2.1.4 and p. 156, § 4.2.6.4.1.

In addition, the Greek language was used in legal deeds written by *agoranomoi*: to the left of the full text (*scriptura exterior*), these Greek officials usually drew up a summary (*scriptura interior*), that was then rolled up and sealed. Afterwards, if one of the parties had charged the other with modifying the terms of the transaction on the accessible part of the document, then the seal could have been broken: this method would have allowed one to verify the consistency between the full text and its secured summary. Local bankers, too, issued transfer tax receipts in Greek: four of them are conserved in this archive, in connection with both Demotic and Greek legal deeds. Lastly, Greek was employed to record two documents in the form of homology: one of the objective type for a cession, the other of the subjective type for a receipt of partial repayment in money, linked to another one in Demotic.

4. NEW PERSPECTIVES ON SOME DOCUMENTS

The abundance of Demotic official legal acts preserved in the archive of Totoês allows us to identify peculiar scribal practices and to reconsider the attribution of some documents. In this regard, the frequent transmission of grandfathers' names to grandsons inside the same scribal family often creates confusion in modern scholars' reconstructions. For instance, eighteen texts have been signed by a certain Harsiêsis (Hr-s3-Is.t) son of Chestephnachthis (Hsw-t3y=f-nt.t) in Djême: Pestman, Quaegebeur and Vos suggested the identification of at least three different scribes bearing that name. 65 On the one hand, they admitted that

⁶⁰ Seidl, Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte, 1962, pp. 62–63, (n° a) and pp. 121–22 (n° III); Wolff, Das Recht der Griechischen Papyri Ägyptens, 1978, pp. 184–97; Lippert, Einführung, 2012², p. 142, § 4.2.2.1.3.

⁶¹ PSI IX 1014, 1015, 1017 and 1025 C: Seidl, Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte, 1962, p. 68, n° ee; Lippert, Einführung, 2012², pp. 173–74, § 4.2.6.16.2.

⁶² PSI IX 1019 A: Seidl, Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte, 1962, p. 61, n° 3; Lippert, Einführung, 2012², p. 141, § 4.2.2.

⁶³ PSI IX 1023: Seidl, Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte, 1962, p. 61, n° 2 and p. 134; Wolff, Das Recht der Griechischen Papyri Ägyptens, 1978, pp. 106–14; Lippert, Einführung, 2012², p. 141, § 4.2.2, p. 144, § 4.2.2.2.3 and pp. 161–62, § 4.2.6.8.2.

⁶⁴ P.Tor.Botti 42.

⁶⁵ Pestman et al., Recueil, I, 1977, pp. 148–52. Accordingly, Pestman, L'archivio di Amenothes, 1981, pp. 77–78 and 154; Andrews, Ptolemaic Legal Texts from the Theban Area, 1990, p. 30, n. 29, p. 34, n. 92 and p. 63, n. 22; Pestman, The Archive of the Theban Choachytes, 1993, pp. 128, 131, 134, 149, 155, 158, 260 and 319; Felber, Demotische Ackerpachtverträge der Ptolemäerzeit, 1997, pp. 29 and 78; Arlt, in Widmer and Devauchelle (eds.), Actes du IXe Congrès International des Études Démotiques, 2009, pp. 35–37, 40–41 and 44–46.

the hands of these homonym scribes are quite similar; on the other, they noticed some variations in the writing of one of these Harsiêsis, depending on the thickness of the reed used.⁶⁶

The general layout of the document could help in assigning each document to individual scribes, when purely palaeographical arguments fail. As an example, *P.Tor.Botti* 9 is characterized by a broad format with few long lines and the signatures of sixteen witnesses on the verso; *P.Tor.Botti* 37 on the other hand has far more points in common with *P.Tor.Botti* 16. In particular, the vertical format made by several narrow lines and four witnesses' signatures at the end of the legal act on the recto: the last one was a quite common feature in other places like Pathyris, where the scribe Nechtminis (*Nḫt-Mn*) son of Nechtminis drew up at least seven documents this way,⁶⁷ but was exceptional in the Theban area. Therefore, I suggest the attribution of both *P.Tor.Botti* 16 and 37 to the same Harsiêsis, who would have acted as official scribe in Djême between 114 and 101 BCE at least [Figs. 3, 4 and 5].⁶⁸

The relevance of tracing back the roll of origin for each document, and so of reconstructing ancient dossiers, is evident from the following case.⁶⁹ In several publications, Pestman has mentioned how some papyri were wrapped together;⁷⁰ unfortunately, he never pointed his source out, but probably he obtained this kind of information during his frequent working sessions in the Museo Egizio.⁷¹ In particular, he stated that *P.Tor.Botti* 35 was used as an envelope for *P.Tor.Botti* 34 A, 34 B+C and 36 A+B, all rolled one inside the other, forming together the roll number 11.⁷² *P.Tor.Botti* 34 A and 36 A+B are legal agreements; *P.Tor.Botti* 34 B+C and 40 are temple oaths linked to the same matter⁷³ (the last

⁶⁶ Pestman et al., Recueil, I, 1977, pp. 94-95, 148 and 149, n. g.

⁶⁷ P.Adl.Dem. 5 and 6; P.Dryton 8, 26 and 27; P. Brit. Mus. EA 10533 (TM 332) and 10835 (TM 130909).

⁶⁸ Uggetti, *ChronEg* 95/189 (2020), pp. 48-49, 61-62 and 64.

⁶⁹ Uggetti, BIFAO 121 (2021), pp. 475-97.

⁷⁰ Pestman, in Boswinkel and Pestman (eds.), *Textes grecs, démotiques et bilingues*, 1978, pp. 194–95, n. 1; Pestman, in Pestman (ed.), *Familiearchieven uit het land van Pharao*, 1989, p. 27; Thieme and Pestman, in Boswinkel and Pestman (eds.), *Textes grecs, démotiques et bilingues*, 1978, p. 144, n. 1; Pestman, in Pestman (ed.), *Textes et études de papyrologie*, 1985, p. 181, n. *; Den Brinker *et al.*, A *Berichtigungsliste of Demotic Documents*, I, 2005, p. 388.

⁷¹ Pestman, in Pestman (ed.), Textes et études de papyrologie, 1985, p. 167, n. *.

⁷² Pestman, in Pestman (ed.), *Textes et études de papyrologie*, 1985, p. 169, n. 8; Den Brinker *et al.*, A *Berichtigungsliste of Demotic Documents*, I, 2005, p. 398.

⁷³ "Promissorischer Eid". See Kaplony-Heckel, *Die demotischen Tempeleide*, I, 1963, pp. 9 and 17; Lippert, Einführung, 2012^2 , p. 105, § 4.1.3.2.1 and pp. 174-75, § 4.2.7.1.



Fig. 3 P.Tor.Botti 9 (Suppl. 6069) (Photo Museo Egizio).



Fig. 4 *P.Tor.Botti* 37 (Suppl. 6087) (Photo Museo Egizio).



Fig. 5 *P.Tor.Botti* 16 (Suppl. 6094) (Photo Museo Egizio).

one not included in the original bundle). These documents have been kept in the archive of Totoês because he was one of the elders of the temple of Hathor,⁷⁴ probably being at that time the leader of this representative body, and he was one of the parties entrusted with the task of ensuring the proper organisation and of acting in the best interests of the sanctuary.⁷⁵

The other party was formed by three brothers, Harsiesis, Amenothes (*Imn-htp*) and Pikôs (P3y-k3). Their names are followed by a title they shared, transliterated by El-Amir and Zauzich as hs, "singer", because of the determinative of the man with hand to mouth in most of the papyri. 76 On the contrary, in P.Tor. Botti 34 C, this same word carries the determinative of the bow-string (T12 in Gardiner's hieroglyphic sign list), which has the same phonetic value⁷⁷ as the variant reading for the preceding ligatured group of signs: rwd, "agent". In P.Tor. Botti 36 A, one of the three brothers, Amenôthês, loaned three chests to the offerings to Hathor for a period of five years, and was also responsible for "maintenance" expenditures, expenses and provisions",79 "for covering with gold the shrine of Hathor"80 and for keeping the account book of the goddess:81 these tasks would be more appropriate to an "agent" of Hathor than to a "singer". Furthermore, the determinative of the man with hand to mouth, at the end of the title defining Amenôthês' function, appears only in documents written or directly influenced by him: P.Tor.Botti 34 A and 36 A were signed by Amenôthês, acting as scribe; P.Tor.Botti 36 B and 40 bear no signature, but they show graphic peculiarities in some personal names that, in the Ptolemaic period, are shared only with documents written by Amenôthês' scribal family,82 thus suggesting that he himself

⁷⁴ P.Tor.Botti 34 A, II. 1-2. See Pestman, in Pestman (ed.), Textes et études de papyrologie, 1985, pp. 168–70; Allam, in Ryholt (ed.), Acts of the Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies, 2002, pp. 15–26.

⁷⁵ P.Tor.Botti 34 B+C, II. 16-17 and P.Tor.Botti 40, II. 14-16.

⁷⁶ P.Tor.Botti 34 A, I. 10, P.Tor.Botti 36 A, I. 8, P.Tor.Botti 36 B, I. 1, P.Tor.Botti 40, II. 7 and 13, and P.Tor.Botti 35, I. 1. See El-Amir, AcOr (C) 25 (1960), p. 220 (n° 25); El-Amir, BIFAO 68 (1969), p. 116; Zauzich, Enchoria 3 (1973), pp. 65–66 and 68.

⁷⁷ Wb II, p. 413.12-26; DemGloss, pp. 256-57.

⁷⁸ Kaplony-Heckel, *Die demotischen Tempeleide*, I, 1963, pp. 348–50; Botti, *L'archivio demotico*, I, 1967, pp. 174–75, 178–79, 181–82, 184, 194–95; Pestman, in Pestman (eds.), *Textes et études de papyrologie*, 1985, p. 169; Den Brinker *et al.*, A *Berichtigungsliste of Demotic Documents*, I, 2005, pp. 396–400.

⁷⁹ P.Tor.Botti 36 A, I. 18: hy he <u>h</u>r.t.

⁸⁰ P.Tor.Botti 36 A, l. 19: *r ḥd=w n nwb r t3 gw.t n Ḥw.t-Ḥr*.

⁸¹ P.Tor.Botti 36 A, II. 20-21: mtw=y in p3 ip n Hw.t-Hr i.ir-hr=tn n p3 hrw nty i.ir=tn r sn.t=y r-r=f n-im=f, "And I shall bring the ledger of Hathor before you on the day on which you will demand it from me".

⁸² For the name Chestephnachthis: Lüddeckens et al., *Demotisches Namenbuch*, 1980-2000, I, 12, pp. 880–81. For the name Snachomneus: Lüddeckens et al., *Demotisches Namenbuch*, 1980-2000, I, 9, pp. 680–82.

could have written them; without any doubt, the archival note *P.Tor.Botti* 35 was drafted while the scribe was looking at the texts to which it referred, namely both *P.Tor.Botti* 34 A and 36 A. Indeed, the graphic development of both the bowstring and the bound enemy determinative (Z6 in Gardiner's hieroglyphic sign list) had the same iconographic result in Demotic writing. Therefore, Amenôthês' preference for the more neutral determinative of the seated man with hand to mouth could be explained as a hypercorrection that he consciously made in order to avoid associating his own title with the common determinative for evil things. He acted likewise with the term *sḥn*, "loan": in *P.Tor.Botti* 36 B, instead of the papyrus scroll with a stroke underneath, ⁸³ he used the cobra, the usual determinative for the homophone *shn*, "crown".

This interpretation, made possible by the clear inclusion of all these documents in the same roll, could shed new light on this ancient dossier: between the 15th of January and the 17th of April 100 BCE, P.Tor.Botti 34 A, 34 B+C, 36 A and 40 show the devolution of Chestephnachthis' functions as agent of Hathor and manager of the temple of Deir el-Medina to all of his three sons first, then only to Amenôthês. The core of P.Tor.Botti 34 A mentions 17 talents:85 in the same period, a house in Djême would have cost between 3 and 12 talents.86 Moreover, there is reference to renovation works and expenses already begun by the father Chestephnachthis, 87 which could imply that the agents of Hathor may have invested the amount of 17 talents in building projects related to the temple of the goddess in Deir el-Medina. One possible destination could have been the gilding of the wooden shrine of Hathor mentioned in P.Tor.Botti 36 A,88 but a direct intervention on the stone structure of the temple could also be a possibility. The father Chestephnachthis started his activity as a scribe in Djême in the last years of the coregency between Cleopatra III and Ptolemy IX Sôtêr II, and in the same period he probably played the role of agent of Hathor as well. If so, he could have eventually directed the building and the decoration of the so-

⁸³ DemGloss, p. 448; Pestman, Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenhor, II, 1994, p. 47, n° Y 1 c.

⁸⁴ DemGloss, p. 446; Botti, L'archivio demotico, I, 1967, p. 184, n. 1; CDD S, p. 352.

⁸⁵ P.Tor.Botti 34 A. II. 16-21.

⁸⁶ *P.Choach.Survey* 63 (16th of March 103) and *P.Choach.Survey* 64 (1st of April 103) show that a sixth of a house could have cost between half a talent and two talents.

⁸⁷ *P.Tor.Botti* 34 A, II. 18-20. For the meanings of *hy* and *he*, see Hughes and Nims, *AJSL* 57 (1940), pp. 247–48; Hughes, *JNES* 16 (1957), p. 60; *CDD H*, pp. 4–11.

⁸⁸ P.Tor.Botti 36 A, I. 19.



Fig. 6 P.Tor.Botti 34 A (Suppl. 6102) (Photo Museo Egizio).

called "mammisi"⁸⁹ of Deir el-Medina,⁹⁰ whose reliefs bear cartouches of these two sovereigns. Or alternatively, he and his three sons Harsiêsis, Amenôthês and Pikôs could have been in charge of the work on the temple portal, whose cartouches remained empty,⁹¹ but probably completed before the decoration of the enclosure wall portal under Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos [Fig. 6].⁹²

⁸⁹ Daumas, *Les mammisis des temples égyptiens*, 1958, pp. 43–44 considered the surviving inscriptions on this structure not specific enough to call the latter "mammisi".

⁹⁰ Du Bourguet, Le temple de Deir al-Médîna, 2008, p. 167.

⁹¹ Du Bourguet, Le temple de Deir al-Médîna, 2008, § 171–80.

⁹² Du Bourguet, Le temple de Deir al-Médîna, 2008, p. 177.

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RECENT TRENDS IN COPTIC STUDIES OF WESTERN THEBES

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In memory of Tomasz Górecki

ABSTRACT

The recent and spectacular development of Coptic studies related to Western Thebes is the subject of this contribution. It aims to offer an overview of works and research in archaeology, papyrology, epigraphy, and history, in order to emphasize the necessity of combining these different disciplines as well as to show that this multidisciplinary approach makes it possible to reconstruct a more and more detailed picture of the landscape and life in Western Thebes in the sixth-eighth centuries CE.

Over the last twenty years, Coptic studies related to Western Thebes have developed in a spectacular fashion, with an increasing number of works on the archaeology, papyrology, and epigraphy of the region, as well as projects combining these fields. These studies allow us to reconstruct a more and more detailed picture of the landscape and life in Western Thebes in the sixth-eighth centuries CE. The aim of the present paper is to give an overview of this activity and to summarize its main contributions. Moreover, Western Thebes, it seems, is a region where the interests of Egyptologists and Coptologists converge, and I hope to give some insights on common directions of research at the end of this article.

This paper is dedicated to the memory of Tomasz Górecki, a Polish archaeologist who died in September 2017. It was he who discovered a Christian hermitage at the back of Sheikh Abd el Qurna and supervised its excavation from the early 2000's onwards. As I was in charge of the ostraca found there, we had many occasions to discuss the various issues raised by his discoveries, to which I will return later. His persistent concern for the necessity of close cooperation between archaeologists and philologists, and above all his efforts to effect this cooperation, will remain an example for years to come.

By "Western Thebes" or the "Theban region", I mean the area that extends along the western bank of the Nile, from Medinet Habu in the south to Dra' Abu el-Naga in the north, even though we will see that these boundaries are not entirely justified. Between the end of the sixth century and the end of the eighth, numerous pharaonic temples and tombs of this region were extensively re-used by Christian inhabitants. While economically poor at this time, Western Thebes has produced a range of documentation of exceptional variety and interest, which continues to grow.

1. ARCHAEOLOGICAL ACTIVITY

In addition to the important archaeological activity in this region, several recent studies have focused on the way the people of late Antiquity used the Theban

¹ See Derda, *JJP* 47 (2017), pp. XXXIII–XLI. I am grateful to Korshi Dosoo for his readiness to correct the English of this article.

landscape and transformed it into a monastic landscape.² These studies propose a global approach to Christian and more specifically monastic life in this region, rather than considering each site individually. Even before these studies began, however, the region had already provided one of the first examples of the comprehensive excavation and publication of a Christian site in Egypt, namely the so-called "Monastery of Epiphanius", at the beginning of the twentieth century. The results of this seminal work remain a constant inspiration.³

Several sites have since been excavated.⁴ This is not the place here for a complete survey, but two examples are especially significant for showing recent progress.⁵

1.1. A Coptic hermitage in MMA1152

A monastic installation of the "hermitage" type was discovered in two Middle Kingdom tombs (MMA1151 and 1152) by T. Górecki during Polish excavations he directed between 2003 to 2012. In several careful reports, Górecki explains the process the two tombs underwent during their conversion into a monastic site: the construction of a mud-brick tower, a division of the space using mud brick walls, the decoration of several walls and even the floor of what was perhaps an oratory. Several objects (pots, various tools, textiles) were also found during the excavations, as well as 300 ostraca and some papyrus fragments, and most importantly, three manuscripts, a discovery which made the site famous. Based on the ceramics and the wall paintings, Górecki suggested that the site might have been used between the sixth and eighth centuries. The ostraca principally document two periods, namely the beginning of the seventh century, when important institutional changes were taking place in the region (see be-

² See especially O'Connell, in Sessa (ed.), *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 15 (2007), pp. 239–74. The recent book by Brooks Hedstrom, *The Monastic Landscape of Late Antique Egypt*, 2017, is not very informative, in spite of its title, but the bibliography is helpful.

³ Winlock and Crum, The Monastery of Epiphanius, 1926.

⁴ For a comprehensive historical study of research on Thebes, see O'Connell, in Gabra and Takla (eds.), *Christianity and monasticism in Upper Egypt*, II, 2010, pp. 253–70. Also see the map of Western Thebes in the Byzantine period published by Pimpaud and Lecuyot, *Memnonia* 24 (2013), pp. 147–54, pl. XXXII.

⁵ I deliberately omit here TT29, the hermitage on the monk Frange, for which see, among other publications, Boud'hors, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, pp. 71–82.

⁶ See, among other reports, Górecki, Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean 19 (2010), pp. 297-303.

⁷ Preliminary report in Górecki, in Laskowska-Kusztal (ed.), *Seventy Years of Polish Archaeology in Egypt*, 2007, pp. 183–90. The manuscripts are under study and still unpublished.

low), and the first half of the eighth century, a period in which the site demonstrates connections with the neighboring hermitage of the monk Frange.⁸

1.2. The "Monastery of St. Paulos" in Dra' Abu el-Naga

Situated on the ridge of Dra' Abu el-Naga, the monastery of Deir el-Bakhît, now identified as the "Monastery of St. Paulos", is a good representative of a different kind of monastic settlement. Although the site had long been known, it was not properly excavated until surveying activity began in the early the 2000's, followed by systematic excavations under the direction of Ina Eichner and Thomas Beck.9 It is a huge monastic complex, with many buildings, several of them apparently pointing to a cenobitic way of life, that is to say a community of monks instead of one or two monks living in a hermitage. For instance it seems that two round tables with benches have been identified, which could indicate a refectory. There, as in MMA1152, many objects were found, among which more than 2500 ostraca. ¹⁰

1.3. Dialogue between disciplines

These recent excavations, combined with the study of the artefacts and ostraca, make possible a fruitful dialogue between archeology and papyrology, continuing the work of H. Winlock's and W. E. Crum's wide-ranging publication (see n. 3). Of special interest is the new light this dialogue sheds on the local production of books and textile, which seems to follow certain local standards or habits.

1.3.1. Book production

At some time in the first half of the eighth century, the monk Frange wrote the following letter:

Your Brothership told me "Copy a book for me costing one tremissis". Now that I've copied it, its price is more than a tremissis. So, abandon all business, take the golden tremissis and come to me very soon, so that I may exchange it for papyrus,

⁸ For the ostraca, see Boud'hors, *JJP* 47 (2017), pp. 45–100; Boud'hors, *JJP* 48 (2018), pp. 53–102; Boud'hors, *JJP* 49 (2019), pp. 41-96.

⁹ https://www.oeaw.ac.at/en/ancient/research/monumenta-antiqua/early-christianity/deir-el-bakhit-and-the-theban-monastery-of-st-paulos/

¹⁰ Pictures and editions of the ostraca are available online, thanks to Suzana Hodak's work; see *Koptische Ostraka online* (abgekürzt: Koptoo): htp://koptolys.gwi.uni-muenchen.de. In addition, see Beck et al., *MDAIK* 67 (2011), pp. 15–30.

and you will take the book for you. Bring the leather for the book when you come, because I took the leather that belonged to me to put it to your book.¹¹

Frange was engaged in copying books on commission, and exchanging them for goods or money in order to buy papyrus. He also took care of the book's leather binding. All the elements found in this story can now be found among the material from one or another excavation of the region: reeds and remnants of ink, pages and fragments of books written on papyrus, the remains of bindings made with papyrus fragments glued together and covered with leather, and even the gold coins (*tremissis*), each worth a third of the more valuable gold coins (*holokottinoi*) which were the primary currency at the time. We may also note that many of the fragments of books discovered in the various sites of the region resemble one another, following a kind of 'Theban standard' in terms of material (papyrus), handwriting (Coptic "Biblical" majuscule), and page layout (one column). Defining this standard makes it possible in turn to identify Theban manuscripts in libraries and museums, a nice illustration of what is called "museum archaeology", which has proved very productive for this region. 12

1.3.2. Textile production

In Western Thebes, the monks seem to have specialized in the weaving of textiles, most of them funerary. Many Christian sites in this area contain one or several loom pits, which once contained vertical looms for the weaving of large linen sheets. In the *topos* of St. Mark, excavated by a French mission in the 1970's, the corpse of a monk has been discovered and carefully studied. These studies have shown that the body was wrapped in five pairs of shrouds, bound together by 60 meters of bandages. All this is consistent with the frequent mentions of the order, payment, or delivery of pairs of shrouds in the Theban ostraca. Besides being a copyist, the monk Frange also wove textiles, following in this tradition. Not only did the courtyard of TT29 contain a loom pit similar

¹¹ Boud'hors and Heurtel, Les ostraca coptes de la TT29, 2010, n° 68.

¹² See Boud'hors, in Brakke et al. (eds.), From Gnostics to Monastics, 2017, pp. 175–212.

¹³ See Sigl, in Looay Mahmoud and Ahmed Mansour (eds.), *Copts in the Egyptian Society Before and After the Muslim Conquest*, 2016, pp. 59–79.

¹⁴ By Castel, in Vercoutter (ed.), *Hommage à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron*, II, 1979, pp. 121–43.

¹⁵ Heurtel, *Grafma Newsletter* 7/8 (2003-2004), pp. 60-66.

to those mentioned above, but he also had a small portable loom pit, on which he wove linen bandages. This small loom pit was quite a valuable object, as we may observe from the following message written by him: "You are bound in the presence of God: You will not give my loom for weaving bands to people who could work on it and damage it. If you do not work on it yourself, do not give it to anyone".¹⁶

Activities common to the different inhabitants of the region, as well as circulation of products, point to the existence of relationships between the different sites and even of networks. This is again a perspective where much progress has been made during the last decades.

2. INDIVIDUALS AND NETWORKS

2.1. Relations between Christian sites of Western Thebes

Let us start with an example. In 2003, Chantal Heurtel published an ostracon from the *topos* of St. Mark, situated on the hill of Qurnet Murai. This text is a work contract for a camel driver. It concerns, among other duties, the monthly transport of water for two monastics, Ezechiel and Djor. Whereas the first of these names is common, the second is not, and the association of both allowed us now to recognize them as the two inhabitants of the MMA1152 hermitage, to whom several letters are addressed. As for the sender of the letter, namely the priest Victor, he was the secretary of Abraham, bishop of Hermonthis and abbot of the monastery of Phoibammon at Deir el-Bahari at the beginning of the seventh century (see below).

A map published by T. Górecki [Fig. 1] conveniently shows the possible relationships between the inhabitants of the hermitage MMA1152 and different places in the region, according to the information given by the texts, but also based on the monk's needs for materials that were not immediately available.¹⁹

¹⁶ Boud'hors and Heurtel, *Les ostraca coptes de la TT29*, 2010, n° 198.

¹⁷ Heurtel, *BIFAO* 103 (2003), pp. 297–306. The ostracon has been published again in Boud'hors and Heurtel, *Ostraca et papyrus*, 2015, n° 41.

¹⁸ See Garel, in Derda et al. (eds.), Proceedings of the 27th Congress of Papyrology, 2016, pp. 1041–54.

¹⁹ Górecki, EtudTrav 27 (2014), pp. 130–50.

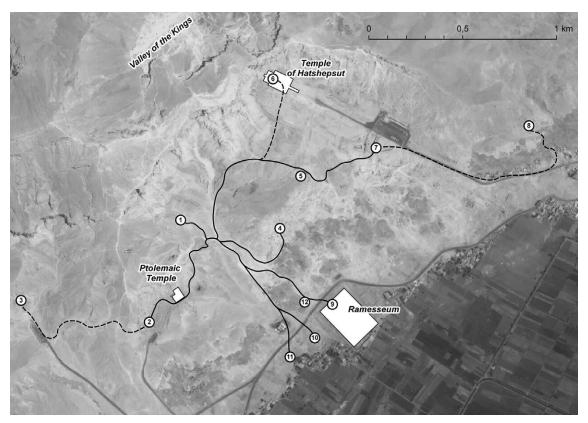


Fig. 1 Map of Thebes (Reproduced from Górecki, EtudTrav 27 (2014), pp. 130-50).

- 1. Coptic hermitage in MMA1152.
- 2. Deir el-Medineh and TT9.
- 3. Monastery Deir el-Rumi.
- 4. Tomb of Sennefer (TT99).
- 5. Monastery of Epiphanius.
- 6. Monastery of Phoibamon.

- 7. Tomb of Padineith (TT197).
- 8. Monastery Deir el-Bakhit.
- 9. Temple of Ramesses II (Ramesseum).
- 10. Temple of Thutmose IV
- 11. Temple of Siptah.
- 12. Tomb of Ramose (TT132).

2.2. Approaches to individuals and social links?

I present as a case study the two best known characters of the first part of the seventh century, namely Abraham, bishop of Hermonthis, and Pisentius bishop of Coptos.

In the twentieth century a traditional approach using paleography and prosopography contributed to the identification and documentation of these two prominent figures. Abraham's dossier was studied carefully by Martin Krause in his dissertation, still unpublished, but much circulated and used.²⁰ As for Bishop Pisentius of Coptos, who is attested to have resided in the Theban region during the Persian invasion (619-629 CE), his archive has been published, albeit poorly,

²⁰ Krause, "Apa Abraham von Hermonthis", 1956.

by Eugène Revillout, and its republication is still forthcoming and much anticipated.²¹ The two characters are comparable, although not similar in terms of context. Abraham is a purely local Theban saint, while the figure of Pisentius fueled important hagiographic literature in Coptic, and is still celebrated nowadays.

Renate Dekker has recently applied the methods of Social Network Analysis to the inhabitants of Western Thebes with relationships to these two bishops, a technique for investigating social structures through the use of networks and graph theory.²² The first graph borrowed from her work [Fig. 2] is a good illustration, in my view, of the different extensions of Abraham and Pisentius' circles (on the left and right respectively). The latter's network is more complex and dense. In the second graph [Fig. 3], illustrating the "Theodosian network" (see below § 4), we find several people we have already encountered: Ezechiel and Djor (from the hermitage in MMA1152), linked with a thick blue line (since they lived together), and the priest Victor, closely linked to Abraham, as his secretary and his successor as abbot of the monastery of St. Phoibammon.

Another interesting character is the priest Mark, who is well-known from the ostraca of the *topos* of St. Mark, and closely linked with several members of Pisentius' network, as well as with Moses, an anchorite who lived in TT29 at the beginning of the seventh century. According to R. Dekker's graph [Fig. 3], Mark seems to have no direct link with Bishop Abraham. However, new work in paleography shows that Mark is in fact linked with both him and his monastery,²³ and he is probably one of the most important people of these two networks, although completely obscure, as a kind of power behind the throne, and at the same time a factotum, in the first half of the seventh century.

Let us summarize what we know about him. That Mark was already active at the very beginning of the seventh century is attested by the famous ostracon kept in the Museo Egizio (C. 7134), when his hand recorded a solar eclipse dated to 601 [Figs. 4 and 5].²⁴ At some time, probably also the beginning of the sev-

²¹ Revillout, *RdE* 9 (1900), pp. 133–77; 10 (1902), pp. 34–47; 14 (1914), pp. 22–32. A new edition is being prepared by Jacques van der Vliet (see his article in Boussac *et al.* [eds.], *Autour de Coptos*, 2002, pp. 61–72).

²² Dekker, *Episcopal Networks and Authority*, 2018. Also see O'Connell and Ruffini, in Teigen and Seland (eds.), *Sinews of Empire*, 2017, pp. 167–84.

²³ See Garel, in Maravela and T. Mihálykó (eds.), New Perspectives on Religion, Education, and Culture at Christian Western Thebes (VI-VIII) (Oslo, 12-13 January 2017), forthcoming.

²⁴ On the date, see Gilmore and Ray, *ZPE* 158 (2006), pp. 190–2; the last edition of the ostracon is in Heurtel, in Anne Boud'hors and Catherine Louis (eds.), *Études coptes XII*, 2013, pp. 77–84, esp. pp. 78–79.

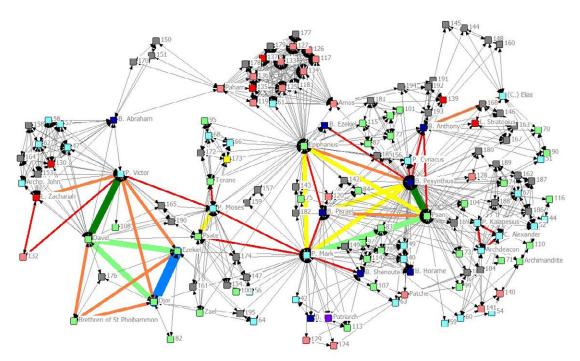


Fig. 2 The network in 620-630 (Reproduced from Dekker, Episcopal Networks, 2018, pl. 5/7, p. 323).

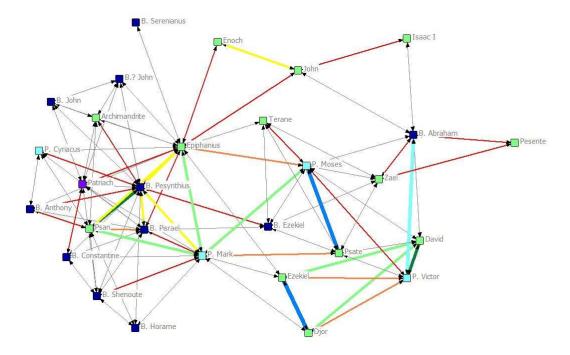


Fig. 3 The Theodosian network (Reproduced from Dekker, Episcopal Networks, 2018, pl. 2/1, p. 320).

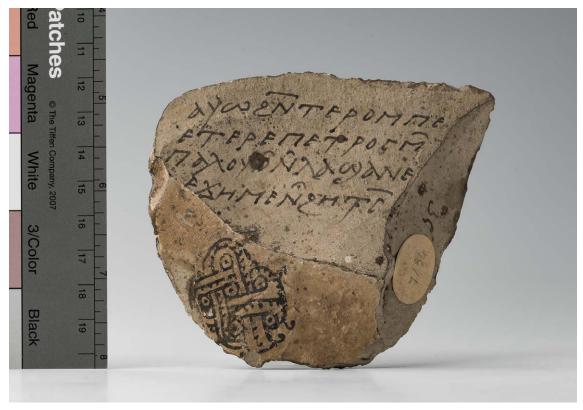


Fig. 4 Turin, Museo Egizio C. 7134, recto (Photo by Nicola Dell'Aquila and Federico Taverni/Museo Egizio).

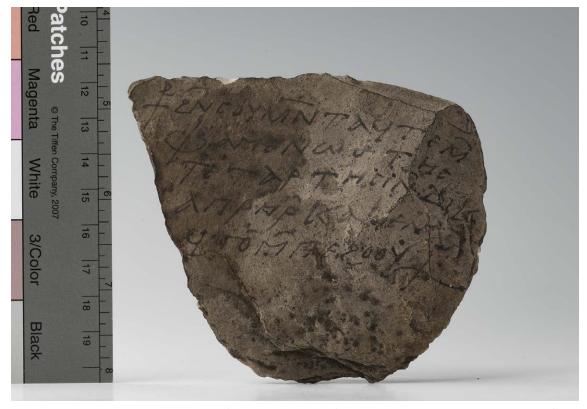


Fig. 5 Turin, Museo Egizio C. 7134, verso (Photo by Nicola Dell'Aquila and Federico Taverni/Museo Egizio).

enth century, he copied several large inscriptions on the walls of the "Monastery of Epiphanius", ²⁵ a tomb converted into a monastic space. Then (or at the same time) he was the priest of the *topos* of St. Mark on the hill of Qurnat Murai, where Chantal Heurtel and I have been able to reconstruct a dossier of about 200 texts, letters, accounts, legal texts (among which is the work contract of the camel driver mentioned above). In the publication of this dossier, we listed twenty-seven ostraca written by Mark which do not come from the *topos* of St. Mark. ²⁶ The number keeps growing. The latest I know of is an ostracon found during recent work in South Assasif. ²⁷ The priest Mark certainly deserves a dedicated study. ²⁸

3. CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS TRENDS IN WESTERN THEBES

A very talented scribe and copyist, as well as an excellent writer in terms of Coptic grammar and spelling, Mark is a good representative of the level of education people could reach at this time and place as far as scribal practices are concerned. These scribal practices are under current study by several scholars and were central to discussions in the workshop organized in Oslo in January 2017: "New Perspectives on Religion, Education, and Culture at Christian Western Thebes (VI-VIII)".²⁹

3.1. Legal and scribal practices

Recent work, in particular by Jean-Luc Fournet and Esther Garel, has shown how Coptic juridical and diplomatic language was constructed at the end of sixth century, through the imitation of Greek documents.³⁰ The monastery of St.

²⁵ See Winlock and Crum, The Monastery of Epiphanius, II, 1926, pl. XV.

²⁶ Boud'hors and Heurtel, Ostraca et papyrus, 2015, pp. 19–22.

²⁷ Near the Ramesseum and the temple of Seti I. It was discovered in 2018 by the mission South Asasif Conservation Project headed by Elena Pischikova. I am deeply grateful to Matthias Müller for sending me a picture of this ostracon. For a survey of Coptic ostraca previously discovered by the mission, see Müller, in Pischikova (ed.), *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis*, 2017, pp. 281–312.

²⁸ For an introduction to such a study, see Boud'hors and Heurtel, in Andreu-Lanoë and Bergerot (eds.), *Une aventure égyptologique*, 2022, pp. 105-116.

²⁹ This workshop was organized by Anastasia Maravela and Ágnes T. Mihálykó in Oslo in January 2017: "New Perspectives on Religion, Education, and Culture at Christian Western Thebes (VI-VIII)".

³⁰ Garel, Héritage et transmission dans le monachisme égyptien, 2020; Fournet, in Boud'hors and Louis (eds.) Études coptes XV, 2018, pp. 199–226.

Phoibammon at Deir el-Bahari may have been the center of this development. The same research also deals with the learning and use of diglossia and digraphy (the use of Coptic and Greek in separate sections of legal documents, with different writing styles for each language).

3.2. Education

From the numerous school exercises to the long legal documents and literary manuscripts, paleographic "styles" can indeed be detected in the documents and connected to scribal training. However, it is not easy to define what this so-called "training" consisted of. In the case of the monk Frange, scribal practice was certainly central.³¹ In other cases, for instance an ostracon where a verse by Homer written in Greek is followed by the draft of a Coptic letter, one could wonder whether Homeric texts were part of the education or if it was simply a tool to practice Greek writing.³²

Greek writing was especially useful in legal texts, and in the liturgy. From this last point of view, it is worth mentioning that a ground-breaking study on the liturgy used in Theban monastic centers has been achieved by Ágnes T. Mihálykó in her dissertation on liturgical papyri.³³

3.3. Forms of monastic life

The most common way of life seems to have been a so-called "semi-eremitism", with hermitages grouped around a church. The funerary landscape of Western Thebes was especially well-adapted to this kind of monasticism. There were probably other more organized monasteries, at least the monastery of St. Paulos at Dra' Abu el-Naga (see above § 1.2). There are also traces of more extreme asceticism, namely temporary hermitages in rock holes, as well as graffiti, sometimes found far away in the Western Desert, where living conditions were very hard.³⁴

³¹ See Boud'hors, in Cromwell and Grossman (eds.), Scribal Repertoires in Egypt, 2017, pp. 274–95.

³² Winlock and Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius*, II, 1926, n° 611. See Maravela, in Larsen and Rubenson (eds.), *Monastic Education in Late Antiquity*, 2018, pp. 125–49.

³³ Mihálykó, The Christian Liturgical Papyri, 2019, pp. 140-152.

³⁴ Surveys of these isolated sites have been carried out by Alain Delattre, Guy Lecuyot and Catherine Thirard: see their article in Boud'hors and Louis (ed.), *Études coptes X*, 2008, pp. 123–35.

4. CHRONOLOGY AND PERIODIZATION

This leads us to the question of the beginning and the duration of Christian life in this region. In the absence of dating or prosopographical clues, Coptic texts are generally attributed to the period sixth-eighth century, and this is especially true for Thebes. However, two periods are better documented: the first third of the seventh century and the first half of the eighth century. Recent works are beginning to deal with these chronological limits as well as with the "change and continuity" issue.

4.1. Origins of Christianity in Thebes

Until recently there was a certain agreement that, in the absence of written documentation before the very end of the sixth century, the Christianization of the region could be considered to have occurred rather late. This may be the case for the limited definition of the Theban region (see the introduction of this article), because what happened in Western Thebes at the end of the sixth century relates to a new turn in the history of the Egyptian Church. From the Council of Chalcedon (451) and the "Monophysite" schism, two parallel ecclesiastical hierarchies were in competition in Alexandria, with an alternation of periods of tolerance and persecution by the emperors towards the non-Chalcedonian (or "Monophysite") Church. Under the emperor Justin II (565-578), an anti-Chalcedonian clergy of Syrian origin took its place at the head of the Egyptian Church. Its key character was Damian, archbishop of Alexandria (577-606), who appointed many bishops, including Abraham of Hermonthis and Pisentius of Coptos (see § 2.2). The Theban branch of the new Church was heavily reliant on monastic institutions (both Abraham and Pisentius were monk-bishops), and the "Monastery of Epiphanius", with the striking inscriptions on its wall (copied by the priest Mark), might have been its theological center.³⁵

However, there are indications that monks were already present long before this time. Some remains of Coptic documents possibly dating back to the fifth century have been discovered in Deir el Bahari.³⁶ T. Górecki observed in 2014:

³⁵ Much has been written on this from 2010 onwards: see Vliet, *Journal of the Canadian Society of Coptic Studies* 3–4 (2012), pp. 27–42; Dekker, *Episcopal Networks*, 2018, pp. 4–11; Wipszycka, *The Alexandrian Church*, 2015, pp. 141–42, and now Booth, *Millennium-Jahrbuch* 14 (2017), pp. 151–90; Booth, *Le Muséon* 131 (2018), pp. 21–72.

³⁶ Polish excavations directed by S. Zafranski. The two papyri are still unpublished.

"The earliest pottery in hermitage 1152 is from the end of the fifth century, the latest from the early eighth century. The author's observation of surface collections of pottery from around the monasteries of Epiphanius, Deir el-Roumi, Deir el-Bakhit and other monastic sites in Thebes (conducted in 1993 and 2000) have led to similar conclusions". Moreover, it is very likely that the monasteries located in the "mountain of Armant", that is to say south of the defined region, already existed at the beginning of the sixth century. With one exception, these monasteries have not been excavated, but the written documentation from one of them has been identified and studied very recently. 38

4.2. The impact of the Arab conquest?

As I have noted, the first half of the eighth century is well documented, thanks to many fiscal documents and to the monk Frange's archive. By contrast, there are only a few texts datable to the period of the conquest and to the sixty years that follow it. One of the results observable in the eighth century seems to be a change of geographical orientation in relationships and traveling: southern sites (Armant) are mentioned only occasionally, whereas Djeme (Medinet Habu) had become the administrative center of the region, as attested by the work of many scribes. One of them, called Aristophanes son of John, has been the object of a recent book.³⁹ The pressure of taxation increased, as did limitations on the circulation of individuals.⁴⁰

5. COPTOLOGISTS AND EGYPTOLOGISTS: COMMON ISSUES?

I believe that the Theban region is particularly well adapted to common reflections on certain themes. Indeed some of these reflections are already at work. I propose below a short list of topics where Late Antique documents could helpfully be included within a broad chronological perspective.

³⁷ Górecki, EtudTrav 27 (2014), p. 134, n. 17.

³⁸ See Krueger, *JCoptStud* 21 (2019), pp. 73–114.

³⁹ Cromwell, Recording Village Life, 2017

⁴⁰ We are beginning to see synthetic work carried out on this period, such as the study of taxation by Delattre and Fournet, in Boud'hors *et al.* (eds.), *Coptica Argentoratensia*, 2014, pp. 209–44.

- Daily life: textiles, food, travel

Practical preoccupations of the people living in this region did not change much from Antiquity to Middle Ages.

- Magical practices

This very important field, which I did not deal with here because it deserves a special presentation, is one of the most productive in Coptic studies.⁴¹

- Production of ostraca

Both Laurent Bavay and Tomasz Górecki have long stressed the importance of describing the material of ostraca with proper terminology. As a result, Laurent Bavay and Alain Delattre have been able to show that the Theban eighth-century tax receipts were generally written on fragments of amphorae dating to the New Kingdom.⁴² On the other hand, a recent study on the production of limestone ostraca has also proven relevant for later periods.⁴³

- Scribal practices, language, epigraphy

It is indisputable in this field that dialogue between disciplines is extremely active and fruitful, thanks to conferences on transversal themes,⁴⁴ and to parallel studies by specialists of different steps and variations of the Egyptian language.⁴⁵ Concerning epigraphy, I think particularly of secondary epigraphy: Chloé Ragazzoli's work on the one hand,⁴⁶ and the study of Coptic graffiti by Alain Delattre and Guy Lecuyot on the other (see n. 34), share much common ground.

Such dialogue can take place at conferences, in museums, on site at excavations, and at universities, and I am confident that it will continue to endure and to develop.

⁴¹ See especially Dosoo, *BASP* 53 (2016), pp. 251–74.

⁴² Bavay and Delattre, *CdE* 88 (2013), pp. 379–84.

⁴³ Pelegrin, Andreu-Lanoë and Pariselle, BIFAO 115 (2016), pp. 325-52.

⁴⁴ See Cromwell and Grossman (eds.), *Scribal Repertoires in Egypt*, 2017. Another conference, was held in Liège in June 2016: Carlig *et al.* (eds.), *Signes dans les textes*, 2020.

⁴⁵ Winand, in Dorn and Polis (eds.), *Outside the Box*, 2018, pp. 493–524; Richter, *Lingua Aegyptia* 14 (2006), pp. 311–23.

⁴⁶ See Ragazzoli, La grotte des scribes à Deir el-Bahari, 2017.

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