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# STUDIEN ZUR ALTÄGYPTISCHEN KULTUR

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## Zum Tod von Professor Peter Kaplony: Nachruf<sup>1</sup>

Renate Siegmann

Der unzeitige, überraschende Tod von Professor Peter Kaplony am 11. Februar 2011 hat uns tief bestürzt und betroffen gemacht. Noch im August 2010 hatte er sorgfältig die Kopiervorlagen für seinen Lektürekurs im September zusammengestellt und in der ägyptologischen Bibliothek der Universität Zürich bereit gelegt. Die letzte Reise mit dem Freundeskreis der Ägyptologie/Zürich zur Eröffnung des Neuen Museums Berlin, die er sehr genossen hat, lag erst wenige Monate zurück, wir waren fassungslos.

Peter Kaplony wurde am 15. Juni 1933 in Budapest geboren, im Dezember 1944 gelangte er mit einem Kinderzug des Roten Kreuzes in die Schweiz und fand liebevolle Aufnahme bei einer entfernten Verwandten und deren Ehemann in Zürich. Bereits im Obergymnasium betrieb er ägyptologische Studien mithilfe von Büchern, die er sich bei der Zürcher Zentralbibliothek auslieh. Als wissenschaftliche Seminararbeit legte er eine neue Übersetzung mit Kommentar zum ägyptischen Papyrus Anastasi I vor. Nach der Matur begann er eine Grafikerlehre, erhielt gleichzeitig die Erlaubnis, sich an der Universität Zürich zu immatrikulieren und Vorlesungen zu besuchen.

Nach der Abschlussprüfung als Grafiker im Jahr 1957 begann Peter Kaplony mit dem Studium der Ägyptologie bei Professor Ursula Schweitzer in Basel, mit dem Studium der Alten Geschichte (Professor Ernst Meyer) und arabischen Sprache und Literatur (Professor César E. Dubler) in Zürich. Im November 1959 wurde Peter Kaplony promoviert mit einer Dissertation über die „Inschriften der Ägyptischen Frühzeit“. Es gehört zur Tragik seines Lebens, dass seine Doktormutter nur wenige Monate nach der Promotion verstarb und die Publikation der umfangreichen Dissertationsarbeit nicht mehr betreuen konnte.

Die „Inschriften der Ägyptischen Frühzeit“ (3 Bände mit Kommentar- und Abbildungsband: Erscheinungsjahr 1963; Supplementband: erschienen 1964; Kleine Beiträge zu den Inschriften der Ägyptischen Frühzeit: erschienen 1966) beinhalten die systematische Sammlung und Bearbeitung aller archaischen Texte aus der Zeit der ersten drei Dynastien. Es handelt sich vorwiegend um Material aus Gräbern, um gesiegelte Lehmverschlüsse bzw. eingeritzte Etiketten von Vorratskrügen und ähnlichen Behältnissen, um monumentale Schminkpaletten und beschriftete Steinschalen und -gefäße mit Festnotizen, ferner um Grabplatten mit Speisetischszenen und Opferlisten. Wegen ihrer Kürze war die Entzifferung dieser archaischen Texte besonders schwierig, doch vermittelt die unglaubliche Fülle an Material einen unerwarteten Einblick in die wirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse und die komplexe Verwaltung der frühen altägyptischen Kultur.

<sup>1</sup> Mit Peter Kaplony verstarb dieses Jahr einer der zweifellos besten Kenner der Inschriften des 3. Jahrtausends v. Chr. Die verbindende Nähe des Forschungsgebietes trug zur Entscheidung der Herausgeber bei, folgenden Nachruf in den SAK zu publizieren, zumal Peter Kaplony noch kurz vor seinem Tod das in vorliegendem Band abgedruckte Manuskript eingereicht hatte. (Die Herausgeber)

1968 erfolgte die Publikation des ersten Band einer dreiteiligen Monographie (*Monumenta Aegyptiaca*): „Steingefässe mit Inschriften aus der Frühzeit und des Alten Reichs“ (*MonAeg 1*), die historische Dokumentation von erstklassigen Objekten aus einer Schweizer Privatsammlung, deren Inschriften Könige, Privatpersonen, Verwaltungen, Paläste und Festlichkeiten nennen.

Bereits 1964 hatte sich Peter Kaplony an der Universität Zürich mit einer Arbeit über die Göttin Neith habilitiert, 1970 wurde er zum Assistenzprofessor ernannt. Es folgten erfüllte Jahre mit Lehre und Forschung. Die Ägyptologie hatte er, aufgrund der geltenden interuniversitären Regelung in Zürich durch keinen Lehrstuhl vertreten, in ihrer vollen Breite abzudecken, bevorzugte Disziplin blieb die Philologie. Unvergessen sind seine „Mustersätze zur mittelägyptischen Grammatik“, die Generationen von ÄgyptologiestudentInnen mit Sprache und Gedankenwelt Altägyptens vertraut machten. Mit grosser Dringlichkeit widmete er sich dem Ausbau einer umfassenden Präsenzbibliothek, um den StudentInnen das Arbeiten im Seminar zu erleichtern.

1977 erschien der 1. Band der „Rollsiegel des Alten Reichs I, Allgemeiner Teil mit Studien zum Königtum des Alten Reichs“ (*MonAeg 2*), 1981 konnte die Publikation der Rollsiegel („Die Rollsiegel des Alten Reichs II, Katalog der Rollsiegel“, 2 Bde./*MonAeg 3*) abgeschlossen werden. Diese Monumentalwerke begründeten seinen Ruf als international anerkannten Wissenschaftler. Der Erfolg seines Buches über die Rollsiegel brachte ihn in Kontakt mit dem tschechischen Ägyptologen Miroslav Verner, der als Grabungsleiter in der Nekropole von Abusir etwa 2000 neue Siegelabdrücke des Alten Reiches gefunden hatte, die Peter Kaplony in den folgenden Jahren in Kairo bearbeitete.

Sodann wurde er beauftragt, die Siegel von Buto, die er an Ort und Stelle konsultieren konnte, zu publizieren. Leider liegt über diese Siegel nur ein Vorbericht vor („Archaische Siegel und Siegelabrollungen aus dem Delta: Die Arbeit an den Siegeln von Buto, *The Nile Delta in Transition: 4th.-3rd. Millennium B.C.*“, *Proceedings of the Seminar Held in Cairo, 21.-24. October 1990, at the Netherlands Institute of Archaeology and Arabic Studies, Tel Aviv -Jerusalem 1992, 23-30*). Eine hochinteressante, in Israel gefundene Topfinschrift, die Handelsbeziehungen zwischen Ägypten und Palästina bereits um 3000 v. Chr. bezeugt, wurde 2002 publiziert : „*The Bet Yerah Jar Inscription and the Annals of King Dewen - Dewen as ‘King Narmer Redivivus’*“, *Egypt and the Levant, Interrelations from the 4th through the Early 3rd Millennium BC, New Approaches to Anthropological Archaeology, London - New York 2002, 464-486*). Die vollständige Liste seiner Veröffentlichungen kann unter folgender Adresse heruntergeladen werden: [http://www.rapidshare.com/files/3944839782/Publikationen\\_Kaplony\\_II.pdf](http://www.rapidshare.com/files/3944839782/Publikationen_Kaplony_II.pdf). Nach seiner Emeritierung setzte Peter Kaplony den Unterricht fort. Ein Grüpplein seiner langjährigen Schülerinnen und Schüler trifft sich noch heute in unregelmässigen Abständen zu einem Lektürekurs in der ägyptologischen Bibliothek. Das hätte ihn sehr gefreut.

Mit Peter Kaplony ist ein Grosser der Geisteswissenschaft von uns gegangen, er hat die Ägyptologie an der Universität Zürich entscheidend geprägt. Wir sind sehr traurig. Und dankbar.

Greifensee, im August 2011

# Third Intermediate Wooden Stela from the Cairo Museum

Mohamed Abdelrahiem

(Taf. 1)

## *Abstract*

This article deals with a painted wooden funerary stela from Cairo Museum (JE 3390). It belongs to the door-keeper of the temple of Amun Pa-nesy, son of a foreigner called J-r-r-t. The stela was found at El-Qurnah in 1859 and measures 31.5 by 24.4 by 3.1 cm. The inscriptions contain some interesting features in the spellings of the epithets and offering formulae. On the basis of stylistic features, the stela can be dated to the 21/22 Dynasties.<sup>1</sup>

## *1 Introduction*

The stela of the door-keeper of the temple of Amun *P3-nsj* (S.R. A 9907 = JE 3390) is one of a large number of very interesting Late Period wooden funerary stelae among the objects in the magnificent collection of antiquities in the Cairo Museum.<sup>2</sup> The stela was found at El-Qurnah in 1859<sup>3</sup> and has been mentioned without being edited by H. Saleh.<sup>4</sup>

In the Old and Middle Kingdoms, funerary stelae were inscribed with a depiction of the deceased before an offering table and a list of offerings. In the New Kingdom greater importance began to be placed on association of the deceased with the divinities as a mean of survival in the afterlife, and thus the stelae began to depict the deceased adoring a deity. By the Third Intermediate Period the funerary cult had so diminished in importance that funerary chapels became very rare, except as part of a few large and archaizing tombs, the funerary stelae placed in the underground burial chambers may have been substituted for the

<sup>1</sup> I am most grateful to Dr. Sameh Shafik for making the facsimile of this stela. To Prof. U. Verhoeven I owe a debt of gratitude for having taken time from her own busy schedule to read this paper.

<sup>2</sup> A few publications geared specifically to the study of Late Period funerary stelae, see: S. Bosticco, *Museo Archeologico di Firenze. Le stele Egiziane di Epoca Tarda*. Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, Rome 1972; P. Munro, *Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen*, ÄF 25, Glückstadt 1973; H. Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection III: The Late Period*, Warminster 1983. A large number of Late Period funerary stelae have been published in detail, see: A. Zayed, *Painted Wooden Stelae in the Cairo Museum*, in: RdE 20, 1968, 149-170; A. David, *Tomb Groups from the End of the New Kingdom to the Beginning of the Saite Period*. Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Birmingham, Birmingham 1987; A. Abdalla, *Wooden Stela from the Late Period on the Cairo Museum*, in: VA 4, 1988, 5-16; H. El-Leathy, *Stela of the Servant of the Hypostyle-Hall of Amon Ne-menkht-Amon in the Cairo Museum (JE 37691)*, in: ASAE 78, 2004, 57-63; H. El-Leathy, *Painted Wooden Stelae from Thebes. From the 21st to the 26th Dynasties*, in: OLA 150.1, 2007, 585-594. Four doctoral dissertations have dealt with Late Period wooden funerary stelae, see: J. Taylor, *The Development of the Theban Coffins During the Third Intermediate Period: A Typological Study*. Vol. I-II. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Birmingham, Birmingham 1985, D. Aston, *Tomb Groups from the End of the New Kingdom to the Beginning of the Saite Period*, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Birmingham, Birmingham 1987; S. Onstine, *The Role of the Chantress (*šmꜣyt*) in Ancient Egypt*. Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Toronto, Toronto 2001; L. Swart, *A Stylistic Comparison of Selected Visual Representation on Egyptian Funerary Papyri of the 21st Dynasty and Wooden Funerary Stelae of the 22nd Dynasty (c. 1069-715 B.C.E.)*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Stellenbosch, 2004.

<sup>3</sup> It is noteworthy that all stelae seem to originate from Thebes and its neighbourhood, namely from the Ramesseum, Deir el-Bahari, El-Qurnah, and Medinet Habu. It is suggested that the Late Period wooden funerary stelae were a Theban phenomenon (H. Saleh, *Investigating Ethnic and Gender Identities as Expressed on Wooden Funerary Stelae from the Libyan Period (c. 1069-715 B.C.E.) in Egypt*, Ph. D. Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley 2006, 3), although some stela may have come from Abydos (A. Leahy, *Two Late Period Stelae in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, in: SAK 8, 1980, 169-180).

<sup>4</sup> Saleh, *op.cit.*, 452 (stela no. 51).

funerary cults. This coincidentally allowed the stelae to be made of fragile material plastered and painted instead of stone which became very popular in Thebes from the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty and the painted wooden stelae are very similar, differing only in minor and details.<sup>5</sup>

## 2 Description (Fig. 1, Taf. 1)

This small rounded-topped stela <sup>(a)</sup> was constructed from a single piece of wood and plastered in white before adding the painted polychrome decoration on the recto <sup>(b)</sup>. The upper part contains 11 vertical columns of text <sup>(c)</sup> in black hieroglyphs over a yellow background with blue division lines.

The remainder of the surface of the stela is occupied by a scene showing the deceased standing on the right on a line represented the ground <sup>(d)</sup>, his hands raised in adoration to the god Rē-Horakhty <sup>(e)</sup>. The deceased wears a shoulder length wig, held in place by a fillet tied at the back <sup>(f)</sup>. On the top of the wig are a perfume-cone <sup>(g)</sup>, and a lotus bud with a long stem. He has a short beard, and is clad in a loose garment of finely pleated, transparent linen <sup>(h)</sup>. Between the deceased and the god sitting in front of him is a small offering-table, on which is a large lotus flower over a large, green vegetal leaf <sup>(i)</sup>.

The god Rē-Horakhty is depicted sitting at the left on a throne over a *M3̄c.t*-platform <sup>(j)</sup>. He is hawk-headed, crowned with a large solar disk and uraeus, and holds the flail, *w3s*-scepter and the crook. His body is swathed in mummy-wrappings <sup>(k)</sup>.

The deceased's skin is painted reddish-brown, while his costume is painted white with reddish-brown lines. The perfume-cone and the fillets are painted white, while the lotus bud is painted yellow. The offering-table and the offerings themselves are reddish-brown, white and blue. The god's throne and the *M3̄c.t*-platform are painted blue and reddish-brown with yellow outlines, the costume is blue and reddish-brown, the solar disk is reddish brown with white outlines <sup>(l)</sup>. Varnishes have been used to grant divine status to the deceased <sup>(m)</sup>.

- (a) The arch of the stela probably imitates the vaults of burial chambers in Upper Egyptian rock-cut tombs and/or symbolizes the heaven and the central solar path that the deceased must traverse, see: R. Hölzl, Round-Topped Stelae from the Middle Kingdom to the Late Period. Some Remarks on the Decoration of the Lunettes, in: Sesto Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia: Atti I, Turin 1992, 285; A. Niwinski, Sarcophagi, Stelae and Funerary Papyri of the Third Intermediate Period and the Late Period, in: A.M. Donadoni Roveri (ed.), The Egyptian Museum of Turin. Egyptian Civilization: Religious Beliefs, Milan 1988, 224.
- (b) Some stelae were put together from a number of smaller pieces, which were held together with small wooden dowels. A heavy layer of plaster was used to mask the cracks and any other flaws that might have been present on the wood. However, it

<sup>5</sup> D. Silvermann, Searching for Ancient Egypt: Art, Architecture, and Artifacts from the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Dallas 1997, 284; El-Leathy, in: OLA 150.1, 2007, 585, cf. A. Niwinski, Sarcophagi, Stelae and Funerary Papyri of the Third Intermediate Period and the Late Period, in: A.M. Donadoni Roveri (ed.), The Egyptian Museum of Turin. Egyptian Civilization: Religious Beliefs, Milan 1988, 212-225; A. Niwinski/C. Uehlinger (eds.), Iconography of the 21st dynasty: Its Main Features, Levels of Attestation, the Media and their Diffusion, OBO 175, Friburg 2000, 21-43.

- appears that the stelae may have been made largely from sycamore wood, see: A. Lucas/J. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, London 1962, 355.
- (c) Eleven columns of inscriptions is the highest number, which may have been executed on funerary wooden stelae dated to 21/24 Dynasty. The inscription is usually arranged in vertical columns, which can be as few as three, see: Saleh, *op.cit.*, 53.
- (d) An amalgamation of solar and Osirian concepts dominates the religious iconography of Late Period art and is particularly apparent on wooden funerary stelae, which symbolized a microcosm of the universe and integrated the heavenly sphere with the worldly reality (J. Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt*, London 2001, 170). Heaven or the sky is represented in the lunette of the funerary stela, and the earth or ground is depicted in the bottom-most register (Aston, *op.cit.*, A. 109), see: Saleh, *op.cit.*, 37.
- (e) The main scene illustrates a transitional stage in which the mortal encounters the divine, and the deceased is shown making an offering before a deity. This main scene depicts the successful conclusion of the Judgment Scene and is based on spell 125 of the Book of the Dead (J. Taylor, *Theban Coffins from the Twenty-Second to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: Dating and Synthesis of the Development*, in: *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future*, London 2003, 105). After this stage, the deified deceased was identified with the Creator God or the „Great God“ *ntr ʿ3*, who personified both solar and Osirian aspects, see: Niwinski, *op.cit.*, 212; G. Robins, *The Art of ancient Egypt*, Cambridge 1997, 200.
- (f) The fillet refers to the divine status of the deceased, see: Taylor, *op.cit.*, 104.
- (g) Funerary or unguent cones *hjt* were probably made from animal fat or beeswax scented with myrrh, see: M. Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity in Ancient Thebes, 1419-1372 B.C.E.*, Brussels 2004, 92. For the types of funerary cones that appear specifically in the Third Intermediate Period, see: Taylor, *op.cit.*, 101-102. A full typology of funerary cones has been published by É. Maraite, *Le Cône de Parfum dan l’Ancienne Égypte*, in: *Amosiadès. Mélanges offerts au professeur Claude Vandersleyen par ses anciens étudiants*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1992, 213-219.
- (h) Dynasty 21/22 male garments on wooden funerary stelae perpetuate the Late New Kingdom traditions of elaborate costumes. As was the case in the New Kingdom, men were shown with reddish-brown skin colour under their sheer garments. They appear almost barefoot, see: Saleh, *op.cit.*, 68; J. Taylor, *The Development of the Theban Coffins During the Third Intermediate Period: A Typological Study*. Vol. I-II. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Birmingham, Birmingham 1985, 31; J. Taylor, *Theban Coffins from the Twenty-Second to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: Dating and Synthesis of the Development*, London 2003, 99.
- (i) A large, green vegetal leaf frequently acts as a backdrop to the selection of offerings placed on top of the altar. Vegetal backgrounds to offerings placed on altars do not appear in temple or funerary scenes before Dynasty 19, see: G. Robins, *Piles of Offerings. Paradigms of Limitation and Creativity in Ancient Egyptian Art*, in: C. Eyre (ed.), *Proceedings of the seventh International Congress of Egyptologists*, Cambridge, 3-9 September 1995, OLA 82, Leuven 1998, 961.

- (j) The god sits on a multi-colored, low-backed throne, whose design resembles somewhat the hieroglyph for temple ‘*hwt*-block throne’, see: Hartwig, *op.cit.*, 113.
- (k) The god, whom the deceased worships, is Rē-Horakhty in the form of Osiris. Osiris is also called Rē-Horakhty on an early sixth century stela in the Calvet Museum, Avignon (A. Moret, *Monuments égyptiens du Musée Calvet à Avignon*, in: RT 35, 1913, 52-53, no. XXVII, pl. VII.2). Conversely, a falcon-headed deity is sometimes called Osiris, e.g. Cairo JE 21991 (Munro, *op.cit.*, 311, fig. 155 – wrongly numbered 21971) and Chicago FM 31275 (Munro, *op.cit.*, 307). On the close relationship between Osiris and Rē-Horakhty, see: Leclant, *Sacerdotes*, 19-20, cf. Leahy, in: SAK 8, 1980, 176, n. 29; G. Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt*, Cambridge, 1997, 203; R. Fazzini, *Relief from a Sed Festival Gateway*, in: *Eternal Egypt. Masterworks of Ancient Art from the British Museum*, Berkeley 2001, 221, cf. K. Mysliwiec, *Die Parallele von Atum und Re-Harachte*, in: SAK 10, 1983, 305-306.
- (l) The artist has used several colours to paint the stela; these colours may have symbolic meanings. The main colours in the stela are white, yellow and blue. The colour white, which associated with purity (J. Taylor, *Patterns of Colouring on Ancient Egyptian Coffins from the New Kingdom to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: An Overview*, in: V. Davies (ed.), *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, London 2001, 165) is the predominant background colour used on many wooden funerary stelae dated to 21/22 (Saleh, *op.cit.*, 49-50). The colour yellow probably symbolized gold, which was related to the concepts of stability and everlastingness. It was also linked symbolically to divine and solar properties associated with life and regeneration (J. Baines, *Colour Use and the Distribution of Relief and Painting in the Temple of Sety I at Abydos*, in: W.V. Davies (ed.), *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, London 2001, 154; S. Colinart, *Analysis of Inorganic Yellow Colour in Ancient Egyptian Painting*, in: *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, London 2001, 1; F. Daumas, *La valeur de l’or dans la pensée égyptienne*, in: RHistRel 149, 1956, 1-17). Blue, which symbolizes the lapis lazuli, was another colour attached to divinity (Baines, *op.cit.*, 154-155).
- (m) M. Serpico/R. White, *The Use and Identification of Varnish on New Kingdom Funerary Equipment*, in: Davies (ed.), *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, London, 2001, 37. They were also employed to create specific colorations. For example, they can produce a uniform, reflective coating, or they serve to contrast specific features of the design to the background, see: Hartwig, *op.cit.*, 110.

### 3 Text

The text begins with four columns on the left reading from right to left and referring to the god. It continues in the middle where two columns relating to the offerings. Five columns on the right side are to be read retrograde, written from left to right and contain the title, name and genealogy of the deceased.

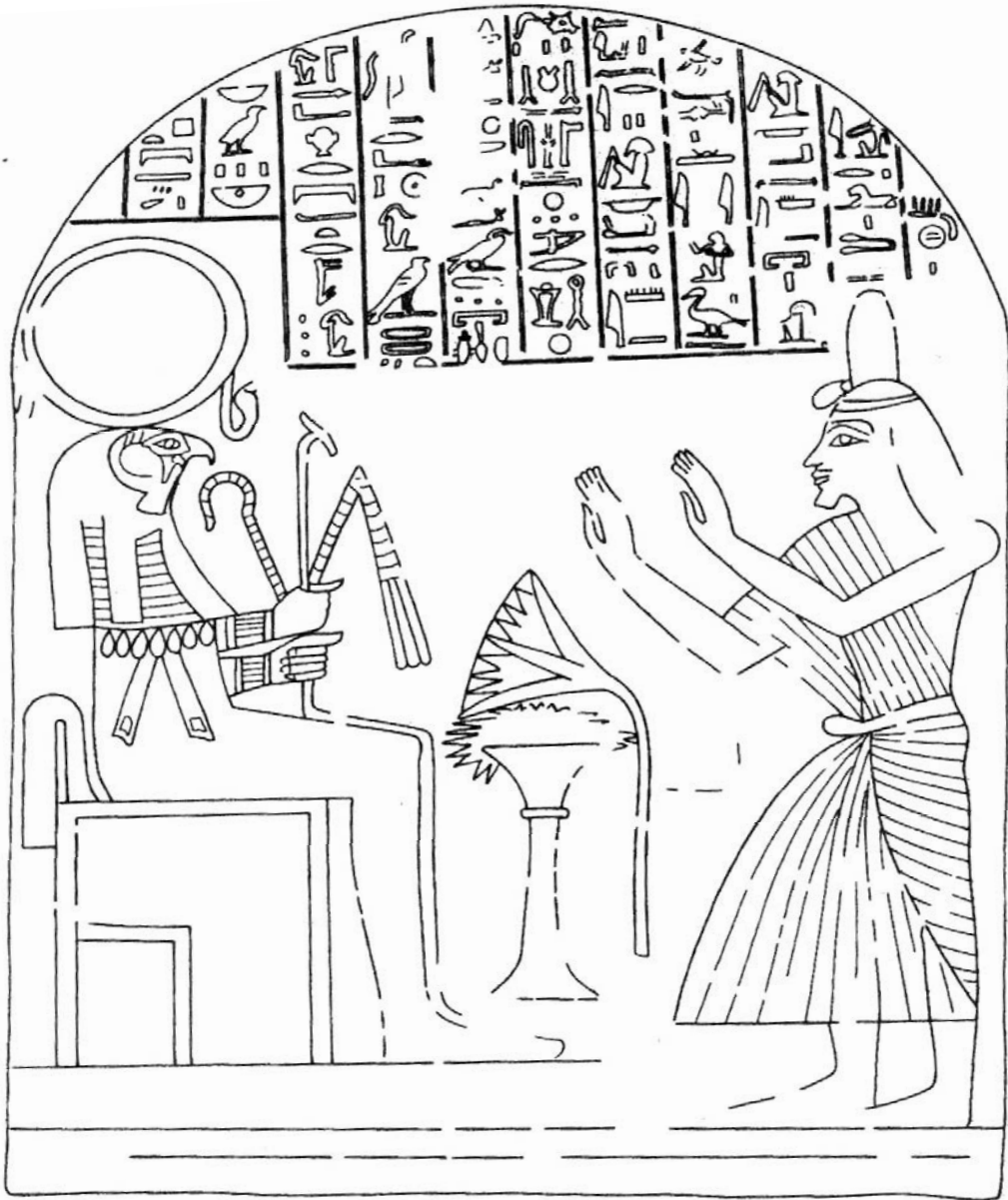
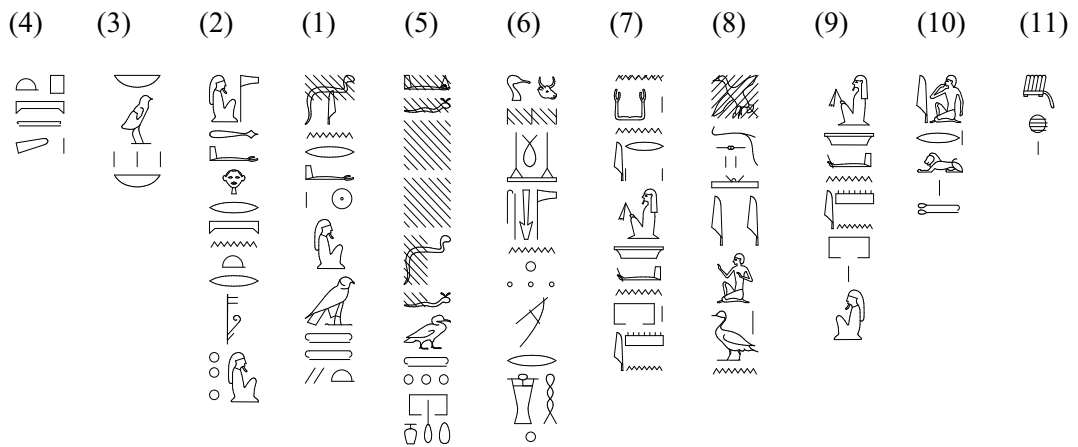


Fig. 1: Stela of *P3-nsj* Cairo S.R. A 9907 = JE 3390  
(drawing: Dr. Sameh Shafik)



(1) *dd jn R<sup>c</sup>-Hr-3ḥtj* (2) *ntr ʿ3 ḥrj ntrw* (3) *nbw nb* (4) *pt t3* (5) *dj=f [ḥtpw] dḥw prt-ḥrw t ḥnkt* (6) *k3w 3pdw šs mnḥt sntr mrḥt* (7) *n k3 n jrj-ʿ3 n pr-Jmn* (8) *P3-nsj s3 n* (9) *jrj-ʿ3 n pr-Jmn* (10) *J-r-r-t* (11) *jm3ḥw*

Said by Rē-Horakhty, the Great God, the one who presides above all the gods<sup>(a)</sup>, Lord of Heaven and Land: May he give [offerings]<sup>(b)</sup>, provisions, and an invocation-offering (of) bread, beer, oxen, fowl, linen, clothing, incense and perfume, for the Ka of the Door-Keeper<sup>(c)</sup> of the temple of Amun<sup>(d)</sup> *P3-nsj*<sup>(e)</sup>, son of the Door-Keeper of the temple of Amun *J-r-r-t*<sup>(f)</sup>, the honored one<sup>(g)</sup>.

- (a) The writing of *ntrw* is very uncommon because of the use of three single phonetic signs and the sign T19 with the value *t(w)r*.
- (b) The restoration *ḥtpw* or *ḥtpw nb* „every offering“ is supported by parallels from the Late Period stela. Similar phrases can be seen for instance in the following examples: Cairo A 9449 (El-Leathy, in: OLA 150.1, 2007, 592, pl. II.2); London BM EA 8447 (Munro, op.cit., Abb. 2), Cairo JE 65757 (El-Leathy, in: OLA 150.1, 2007, 589, pl. I.2); Cairo A 9916 (Munro, op.cit., 287-288, Abb.7).
- (c) The title *jrj-ʿ3* or doorkeeper, especially ‘Doorkeeper of the Temple of Amun’ (D. Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles. Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*, Oxford 2000, 312, n. 1140; J. Taylor, *An Index of Male Non-royal Egyptian Titles, Epithets & Phrases of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty*, London 2001, 63, n. 575-576) has been recorded on many Late Period funerary stela. Some scholars have viewed ‘Doorkeeper’ as a minor functionary, who acted as a type of porter (A. Blackman, *Priest, Priesthood (Egyptian)*, in: A.B. Lloyd (ed.), *Priests and Men. Studies in the Religion of Pharaonic Egypt*, London 1998, 139), others interpret this title less literally. Based on the artifacts left behind by certain ‘Doorkeeper’, it could be deduced that they were moderately well-to-do members of society who were able to commission funerary equipment. Member of this class of priests earn their social status not so much by their excessive wealth, but rather by virtue of their cultic du-

- ties that bring them close to the heart of the religious center of the country. They will still be considered ‘lesser’ elites in this work, see: Saleh, op.cit., 198.
- (d) The writing of *pr Jmn* is rather unusual as *Jmn* is not written before *pr*. This mistake has been realized by the scribe in line 9 in which *Jmn pr* is honorifically transported as usual. But there the scribe added a determinative of god after the *pr*-sign (at the end of col. 9) finishing the reading of *pr-Jmn* (cf. the same sign in col. 1 and 2 after *R<sup>c</sup>* and *ntr/ntrw*).
- (e) The meaning of this name is unclear, but it may imply ‘the one who belongs’, cf. Ranke, PN I, 114.1 (citing a wooden coffin from Leiden, 22<sup>nd</sup> dynasty).
- (f) The name of the father *J-r-r(w)-t(n)* is written in syllabic letters which seems to be interpreted as a foreign name, it does not contain recognizable Egyptian words and does not seem to have any meaning in the Egyptian language, see: Th. Schneider, *Asiatische Personennamen in ägyptischen Quellen des Neuen Reiches*, OBO 114, Göttingen 1992, 36f. (N54). Ranke, PN I, 5.19 cited this name as a name that appears on a Late Period Shabti.
- (g) The epithet *jm3hw* belongs to the first category and associates the deceased with a favorable state in the Underworld. It is one of the most popular non-royal, personal epithets and appears regularly on many wooden funerary stelae, see: M. Doxey, *Egyptian Non-royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom. A Social and Historical Analysis*, PÄ 12, Leiden 1998, 91.

#### 4 Dating

The father of the owner of the stela *J-r-r(w)-t(n)* has a foreign name, which was known during the Libyan Period (defined as Dynasty 21-24, c. 1069-715 B.C.E). It was common for foreigners coming into to Egypt to adopt native Egyptian names for their children<sup>6</sup>. For instance, *J-r-r(w)-t(n)* was the father of *P3-nsj*, which is a common Egyptian name<sup>7</sup>.

Beside, there is a group of wooden funerary stelae dated to the 21/22 Dynasty which have a white background. The lunette lacks specific decoration and is filled entirely with a funerary inscription. The inscriptions, typically written in black hieroglyphs, were organized in columns over a yellow background with blue division lines. The most basic scene depicts the deceased requesting assistance from a god, predominantly Rē-Horakhty. The deceased appear on the right side raising both hands in adoration to the god on the left. An altar topped with a single flower stands in between the two figures.

Aston has classified Third Intermediate Period wooden funerary stelae into eight groups based largely on the presence or absence of particular border decorative patterns. Our stela belongs to Aston’s Type I, which lack any sort of border symbols; they are unframed. Type I seems to continue Late New Kingdom tradition and is probably slightly earlier in date than other types. Type I is further divided into Type Ia (c. 1070-950 B.C.E.)

<sup>6</sup>W. Ward, *Foreigners Living in the Village*, in: L. Lesko (ed.), *Pharaoh’s Workers of Deir el-Medina*, Ithaca/London 1994, 63.

<sup>7</sup>Saleh, op.cit., 183-184.

if the main scene contains a seated Osiris and Type Ib (c. 950-850) if the main scene includes a seated Rē-Horakhty.<sup>8</sup>

A combination of these features provides a date of 21/22 dynasty for this stela, a date which is confirmed by the similarities, in terms of the decoration of the arch, the position and orientation of the text and the disposition of the figures, between this stela and the following stelae, which is confined to Thebes and to the 21/22 Dynasty:

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 3389

Stela of Nehem-es-Bastet, Mistress of the House = Saleh, *op.cit.*, 451 (stela no. 50).

2. Houston, Museum of Natural Science, Houston 1947.10.

Stela of Sha-wey-Amun-im-es, singer in the Interior of the Temple of Amun = Saleh, *op.cit.*, 457 (stela no. 56).

3. Besancon, Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Besancon. DA 989.23.19.

Stela of Ankh-es-en-aset, Mistress of the House and Chantress of Amun = A. Gasse, *Loin du Sable: Collections égyptiennes du Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie de Besancon*, Besancon 1990, 81, fig. 83.

4. London, Petrie Museum of Archaeology, UC 14695.

Stela of Ihefey-sheri, Door-Keeper of the Temple of Amun = H. Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection III. The Late Period*, Warminster 1983, 5, pls. 7-8.

<sup>8</sup> Aston, *op.cit.*, 567, 575, cf. Taylor, *The development of the Theban Coffins during the Third Intermediate Period*. Vol. I-II. Ph.D. Dissertation, Birmingham 1985, 29.

# The Wilbour Papyrus revisited: the land and its localisation. An analysis of the places of measurement

Jean-Christophe Antoine

## *Abstract*

The Wilbour papyrus is a major source for the study of the agricultural economy of the Ramesside Period. Here, logistic regression powered to provide knowledge of the relationships and strengths among multiple variables was used to analyze the field places of measurement in Text A and B. Results gave new information on land localisation in the agricultural landscape of Middle Egypt and improved the understanding of technical terms used to designate categories of land including *kꜣyt*, *tni*, *nḥb*, *idb*, and *pꜣt*. Although each of the four zones of Text A showed a specific pattern, there was no difference in the agricultural landscape in Text A and B. Land in P. Wilbour probably lay across the flood plain, from the Nile banks to the desert edge and along the Bahr Yusuf. These results do not support the hypothesis that fields in Text A were devoted to summer crops.

The Wilbour Papyrus<sup>1</sup> consists of two land-registers: Text A which records the field-works of surveyors in Middle Egypt from Tihna to the Fayum during the summer season of year 4 of Ramesses V and Text B which is devoted to the khato-lands of wholly the same region. Although posterior to Text A, Text B is based on a document anterior by a few years.<sup>2</sup> Beside invaluable indications on the administrative status and taxation of land, P Wilbour contains many more information in particular of geographical and social nature. By its good state of preservation, the regularity and consistency of its layout and the number of assessed plots it is especially suitable for a statistical analysis. Statistics afford powerful tools to describe and measure underlying correlations in large and complex phenomena. Such an approach has seldom been used with P Wilbour. The only attempt is that of Katary in 1989,<sup>3</sup> but this study was restricted to the apportioning paragraphs of text A and the methodology did not permit a fine analysis. Therefore, reassessing the document may provide new and important results. Here we present a study on the geographical information contained in P Wilbour and try to answer the essential question once raised by Fairman: what kind of land was surveyed in text A?<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A.H. Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus*, Oxford 1941-48, 4 volumes, especially vol II, Commentary. Reviews of the publication by Edgerton in: *JAOS* 70, 1950, 299-304; H.W. Fairman in: *JEA* 39, 1953, 118-123, and M. Malinine in: *BiOr* 8, 1951, 64-72. Specific studies: W. Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches (= Materialien)*, Vol II, Mainz am Reihn 1960; K. Baer, *The low price of land in Ancient Egypt* in: *JARCE* 1, 1962, 25-45; B. Menu, *Le régime juridique des terres et du personnel attaché à la terre dans le Papyrus Wilbour*, Lille 1970; J.J. Jansen, *Prolegomena to the study of Egypt's economic history during the New Kingdom*, in: *SAK* 3, 1975, 127-185; J.J. Jansen, *Agrarian Administration in Egypt during the Twentieth Dynasty* in: *BiOr* 43, 1986, 352-366 (review article of I.A. Stuchevsky, *Zmledel'tsy gosudarstvennogo chozayaistva drevnego Egipta epoki Ramessidov*, Moscow 1982). B.J.J. Haring, *Divine households. Administrative and economic aspects of the New Kingdom royal memorial temples in Western Thebes (= Divine household)*, Leiden 1997; K.S. Katary, *Land-tenure in the New Kingdom: the role of women smallholders and the military*, in: A.K. Bowman/E. Rogan (eds.), *Agriculture in Egypt from pharaonic to modern times*, Oxford 1999.

<sup>2</sup> Probably no more than one year: J.C. Antoine, *Dead people in P Wilbour: what can we learn from them?* in: *GM* 225, 2010, 5-14.

<sup>3</sup> S.L.D. Katary, *Land tenure in the Ramesside period (= Land-tenure)*, London 1989.

<sup>4</sup> Fairman, in: *JEA* 39, 1953, 118-123.

### 1 Material en methods

Both Text A and B use the same method to describe plot localisation, which can be summarised as follows: *(orientation mark) main geographical landmark [(orientation mark) secondary geographical landmark]*<sup>5</sup> where the elements into brackets can be omitted. The logical link between the main and secondary landmarks is not explicit but deduced from the context.<sup>6</sup> Orientation marks consist of any of the cardinal points and occasionally „front of“, „back of“, or „opposite to“. When there is no need to specify the orientation, the landmark is introduced by *m* „in“. Proper names are frequently used in the composition of landmarks. They may stand alone as with well-identified towns or toponyms or be appended to categorical terms such as villages, houses, or mounds.<sup>7</sup> The genitive preposition *n* is then frequently used. Thus, a landmark is either determined when designated with a proper name or undetermined when only a categorical name is used.

For the analysis, all the data concerning each of the 2,793 plots of Text A and 602 plots of Text B were entered into a single table. From this a second table was derived limited to the places of measurement identified by their main and, wherever present, secondary landmarks plus their orientation marks. Such a procedure avoids bias due to the overweighting of localities harbouring a high number of assessed fields but necessitates a description of how each landmark was individualised.

First, for main undetermined landmarks, the orientation toward the main and secondary landmarks was taken into account. Thus the „*idb* east of X“ and the „*idb* south-west of X“ were considered as two different places in the same way as a „measurement made in X and in the south of Y“ were considered as referring to a place different from that of a „measurement made in X“. Conversely, with determined main landmarks, orientation toward the main landmark was not considered. Thus „measurement made at the west of Village of X and north of the *idb* of Y“ and „measurement made at the north of Village of X and north of the *idb* of Y“ were considered as referring to a single landmark, namely Village of X. Lost main landmarks were excluded from the analysis<sup>8</sup> while lost secondary landmarks were kept to avoid statistical bias and included in the analysis.

Second, landmarks were classified into discrete categories based on the number of data in each category and on the general meaning of the words entering in the category when landmarks of rarer occurrence needed grouping.<sup>9</sup> Thus, items such as *idb*, *p<sup>c</sup>t*, *k<sup>3</sup>yt*, mound (*i<sup>3</sup>t*), island and new island (*i<sup>w</sup>* and *i<sup>w</sup> n m<sup>3</sup>wt*), and new land (*m<sup>3</sup>wt*), which were sufficiently represented constituted as many categories while the less frequent words

<sup>5</sup> In rare instances, the secondary place is composed of two elements. E.g.: “measurement in the riparian land east of the riparian land east of Menonkh” (A86, 25). In this case only the first and last elements were entered in the analysis.

<sup>6</sup> It usually does not need to be translated but the meaning may be different if „and“ or „at“ are intended.

<sup>7</sup> For a similar terminology see B. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: anatomy of a civilization* (= Ancient Egypt), London 2006, 311.

<sup>8</sup> There are 20 lost main landmarks.

<sup>9</sup> Discussion on the meaning of words used as landmarks can be found in A.H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (= AEO), Oxford 1947, Gardiner, *Commentary*, 25-36 and in F. Grieshaber, *Lexikographie einer Landschaft. Beiträge zur historischen Topographie Oberägyptens zwischen Theben und Gabal as-Silsila anhand demotischer und griechischer Quellen* (= Lexikographie), GOF IV/45, Wiesbaden 2004. I thank the referee of SAK for this last reference.

designating basins, lakes, and ponds (*hnm*, *m-hnm*, *š*, *brkt*), all of them referring to still-waters in the Amenemope Onomasticon were collected to form a category called „still water areas“. To them *dnit*, dykes, which are traditionally associated with canals or basins, were added.<sup>10</sup> Other categories included toponyms corresponding to the almost 220 localities which are not attested elsewhere in the documentation; well-known cities or their temples sometimes referred to by their pylons (*pr*, *hwt*, *bhn*);<sup>11</sup> villages (*whyt*); houses (*ʿt*); groves (*nhzt*, sycamore; *štz*, copse; *hđ*, clearing (?); and other types of plants or plantation);<sup>12</sup> villas (*bhn*)<sup>13</sup> and agricultural buildings including byre (*ihzy*),<sup>14</sup> granary (*šnwt*), or stable (*ihw*); other buildings (*isbt*, shelter; *sgz*, keep<sup>15</sup>; *wđz*, storehouse; *hr*, tomb; *int*, wall; *grg*, settlement) and others (*int*, valley; *wndw*, hollow; *mšrw*, possibly plain or wetland;<sup>16</sup> *hzyt*, flooded land (?); *hn* swampy lake; *ht* cutting; *šz* meadow). Text A or B and the four zones of Text A were other analysed categories. For purpose, a last specific category was created called „riverside“ combining islands, new islands, *mzwt* and other words referring to the proximity of running waters.

Statistics were performed with the SPSS14™ software. For the analysis of frequency distribution of categorical data, the chi2 and exact Fisher's tests were used. Correlations were estimated by the non parametric Spearman's test. Multivariate logistic regression was used to provide knowledge and model of the relationship and strength among the different variables. For this, each of the categories considered above, either dependent or independent,<sup>17</sup> was coded „1“ or „0“ whether the condition was fulfilled or not. Identification of significantly explicative variables started with a univariate analysis followed by a multivariate forward and backward logistic regression.<sup>18</sup> Model fit was measured by the Hosmer-Lemeshow's test. The strength of each independent variable in the model was measured by its odds ratio which is the ratio of the odds of an event occurring in one condition to the odds of its occurring in the alternative condition.<sup>19</sup> An odds ratio of 1 indicates that the variable under study is equally likely in both conditions. An odds ratio greater than 1

<sup>10</sup> Gardiner, AEO I, 7\*-8\*. *Dnit*, which does not occur in this section of the Onomasticon is included here because traditionally dykes are closely associated with canals or basins: see C.J. Eyre, the water regime for orchards and plantations in pharaonic Egypt, in: JEA 80, 1994, 75.

<sup>11</sup> See Amenemope Onomasticon (Gardiner, AOE II). Many have a mayor (Gardiner, Commentary, table III following p. 196).

<sup>12</sup> Gardiner, Commentary, 31-32.

<sup>13</sup> Gardiner, Commentary, 34 translates *bhn* by “castle” but D. O'Connor, The geography of settlement in Ancient Egypt (= Man settlement) in P.J. Ucko/R. Tringham/G.W. Dimbleby (eds.), Man settlement and urbanism, London 1972, 693 rightly propose “villas” which is more appropriate.

<sup>14</sup> Gardiner, Commentary, 34. The word also designates a military camp: J. Yoyotte, Notes de toponymes égyptiens, in: MDAIK 16, 1958, 418-419.

<sup>15</sup> According to Gardiner, Commentary, 35; but J. Černý, Some Coptic Ethymologies III, in BIFAO 57, 1958, 209-210 proposed “hill (?)” for this word.

<sup>16</sup> J.E. Hoch, Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period, Princeton 1994, 158ff. I how these last two references to the referee of SAK.

<sup>17</sup> The dependent variable is the variable of interest on which the effect of independent or explanatory variables is tested.

<sup>18</sup> Independent variables with a p value <0.20 representing more than 3% of the total population were selected to be entered in the multivariate analysis.

<sup>19</sup> The OR is given with its 95% confidence interval (CI).

indicates that the variable of interest is more likely, while an odds ratio below 1 indicates that it is less likely. A p value <0.05 was considered as significant. Sensitivity and specificity of the models to identify adequately each category of landmark were checked with ROC curves. Finally, a classical analysis was performed to reconstruct the position of different localities in Text A and P Wilbour was compared to other land registers.<sup>20</sup>

## *2 Landmarks and their signification*

A total of 777 landmarks was identified of which 421 pertained to Text A, 356 to Text B, and 142 to both of them. Of these, 341 (43.9%) were associated with a secondary landmark (table 1). When considering the topographical categories defined above, there was a strong inverse correlation between the % of proper names (determined landmarks) and the % of association with a secondary landmark (Correlation Spearman's Rho = -0.924, p=0.004) (fig. 1A). As a rule, inhabited places were usually determined and therefore had a low frequency of associated landmarks while the reverse situation occurred with non-inhabited localities.<sup>21</sup> All of this throws interesting light on how land localisation was described in P Wilbour. When plots were in the vicinity of a well identified and inhabited locality designated with a proper name, the only need was to specify its orientation according to the cardinal points. In opposition, when fields lay in the countryside where no remarkable landmark stood in the surroundings, the scribes had recourse to a secondary reference which included a proper name in 97.4% of cases and, as a consequence, was mostly an inhabited place. In addition, the reference used for plot localisation depended on what the scribe or local tradition thought to be the most relevant and on the distance from the plot to this reference mark. Hence, among several possibilities, the surveyors probably chose the one they considered to be the most discriminative and discarded others that could have been informative for us as well. All of this must be remembered when interpreting the results.

Interesting further information was obtained from the study of plot orientation according to the cardinal points (fig. 1B). Concerning main landmarks, the possible orientation marks are almost equally distributed indicating a relatively precise estimation while, in contrast, secondary landmarks are preferentially orientated according to the main cardinal points suggesting more vagueness probably because these landmarks were distant. Of note, with secondary landmarks, 49.9% of plots are in an east-west axis against 26.5% in a north-south axis indicating that the orientation of secondary landmarks generally refers to the Nile course.

<sup>20</sup> S.P. Vleeming, *Papyrus Reinhardt. An Egyptian land list from the tenth century B.C (= P Reinhardt)*, Leiden 1993; A. Gasse, *Données nouvelles administratives et sacerdotales sur l'organisation du domaine d'Amon. XX<sup>e</sup>-XXI<sup>e</sup> dynasties (= Données nouvelles)*, IFAO BdE 104, Cairo 1988; D. Meeks, *Le grand texte des donations au temple d'Edfou (= Grand texte)*, IFAO BdE 59, Cairo 1972; J.J. Jansen, *Grain transportation in the Ramesside Period. Papyrus Baldwin (BM EA 10061) and Papyrus Amiens (= P. Amiens-Baldwin)*, London 2004; A.H. Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents (=RAD)*, Oxford 1948.

<sup>21</sup> The main exception is represented by mounds which are always designated with a proper name.

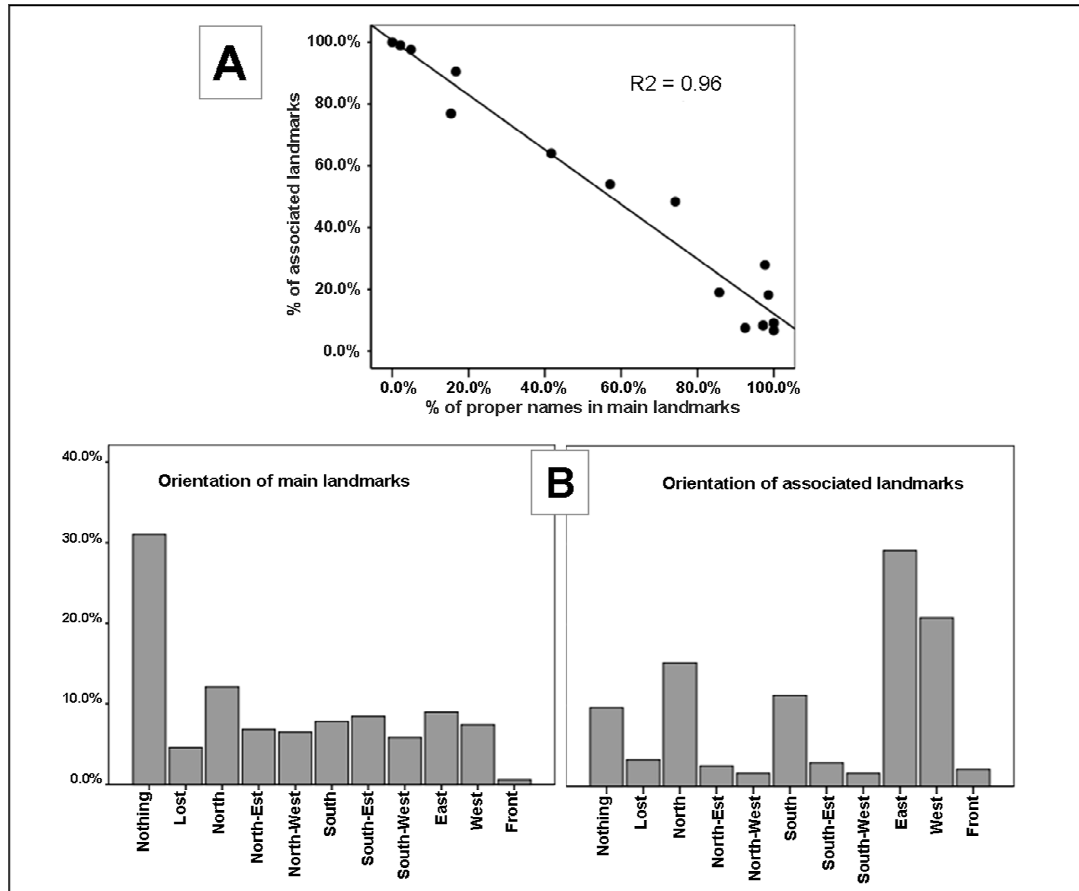


Fig. 1: A. Linear regression of the % of secondary landmarks against the % of „proper“ name in the different categories of main landmarks.

B. Frequency distribution of plot orientation in main and secondary landmarks

### 2.1 Landmark profiles: an analysis of the association of main and secondary landmarks

A difficult point when studying geography in P Wilbour is our frequent limited knowledge of the signification of the words used to describe land topography. Therefore an analysis of landmark association has great chance to be informative. For this, we used logistic regression with the 777 places of measurement to identify their specific association. Undetermined places, which have a high degree of association, were used as the dependent variable and the associated landmark as the independent ones and the reverse was done with determined places since they were highly associated with primary landmarks.

### 2.2 *ʾw/iw n mꜣwt* (island/new island)

They form 5.4% of main landmarks and group 3.1% of plots. In 16.7% a proper name referring to Amun designates the island, while other islands which we may suspect to be of recent formation are nameless. Logistic regression showed that riversides including new lands (*mꜣwt*) and islands (*ʾw/ iw n mꜣwt*) are significantly associated with this category (OR 7.99, 2.43-25.24). Islands are also frequently near villages (OR 13.82, 5.54-34.51) and

toponyms (OR 6.21, 2.90-13.20). It is commonly admitted that *iw* and *iw n m3wt* designate either true island or a piece of land attached to a riverbank by at least one of its sides.<sup>22</sup> It remains to determine whether these islands belonged to the Nile or to another watercourse. Interestingly, their secondary landmarks are mostly situated at their west (33.3%), followed by the east (16.7%) and then the south (16.7%). Since most of the places of measurement identified by Gardiner are on the west bank of the Nile, we may suppose that these islands wholly refer to the Nile River but with a significant proportion of them adjoining a waterway running westwards, the Bahr Yusuf being the best candidate.<sup>23</sup>

### 2.3 *Idb*

This category of landmark is one of the most suitable for the analysis since it is associated with another landmark in 99% of cases. *Idb* represent 12.5% of landmarks and 7.8% of plots. They occur with a variety of secondary landmarks with the noteworthy exception of *iw/iw-n-m3wt*. By logistic regression, *idb* are specifically associated with riversides (*m3wt*) (OR 8.84, 4.00-19.50), still waters (OR 16.93, 5.14-55.76), cities and temples (OR 3.49, 1.76-6.93), villages (OR 6.97, 2.68-18.15) and localities (6.55, 3.71-11.57). *Idb* are mostly (55.4%) oriented to the east or west of their secondary landmarks. The exact meaning of *idb* is debated. Gardiner argued that the word designates a narrow strip of land abutting to the Nile or an irrigation canal.<sup>24</sup> Meeks stressed that at Edfu *idb* were

à la frange des hautes terres (*k3yt*) et se trouvaient resserrées entre celle-ci et une *m3wt*, un canal ou encore le fleuve.<sup>25</sup>

In P. Reinhardt, Vleeming also underlined the association with *m3wt* and cautiously suggested that *idb* were on old and abandoned natural levees of the Nile.<sup>26</sup> The picture obtained here suggests that *idb* are widely distributed in the floodplain with the noticeable exception of the proximity of islands.

### 2.4 *Pct*

This word of obscure meaning seldom occurs elsewhere.<sup>27</sup> In P. Wilbour, *pct* represent 5.3% of landmarks and 2.9% of plots and show a high degree of association (97.6%). They frequently occur near human settlements (cities and temples: OR 7.08, 2.58-19.44; villages: OR 9.36, 2.32-37.82); toponyms: OR 9.36, 2.32-37.82) and are especially numerous near riversides (OR 22.67, 8.09-63.55) suggesting a general localisation next to the Nile or the

<sup>22</sup> Gardiner, Commentary, 27; Vleeming, P Reinhardt, 48; W. Schenkel, Die Bewässerungsrevolution im alten Ägypten, SDAIK, Mainz 1978, 62; Eyre, in: JEA 80, 1994, 75; D. Bonneau, Le Fisc et le Nil, Paris 1971, 70, 114 and 168.

<sup>23</sup> That the Bahr Yusuf is intended in text A is definitively demonstrated by the presence of an island west of Ninsu in section 1 of Text A (A: 6, x+14). Conversely, we may deduce from the mention of an island east of the temple of Ramesses IV at Anasha (A: 79, 30 and 86, 1) that this monument was near the west bank of the Nile. The same conclusion is reached with U-Nemti (A: 83, 4 and 93, 27) and Village of Inroyshes, the later being apparently near a river bend which ran to its east and south (A: 23, 37 and 24, 11).

<sup>24</sup> Gardiner, Commentary, 26-27.

<sup>25</sup> Meeks, Grand texte, 149.

<sup>26</sup> Vleeming, P Reinhardt, 47-48.

<sup>27</sup> Contrarily to the opinion of Gardiner, Commentary, 27, n. 1.

Bahr Yusuf.<sup>28</sup> The picture is thus quite different from that of *idb* although both words are contiguous in the Amenemope Onnomaticon.<sup>29</sup>

### 2.5 *Mꜣwt* (new land)

*Mꜣwt* are commonly thought to designate low land connected with islands and new islands near the riverbanks.<sup>30</sup> Here, they represent 4.0% of landmarks and 2.3% of plots. A proper name is appended to 68.5% of them suggesting that many existed since a certain time. As a consequence, a secondary landmark is mentioned in only 48.4% of cases explaining that logistic regression was not possible when taking *mꜣwt* as main landmark. Nevertheless, they are frequently used as secondary landmarks. As such, *mꜣwt* are associated with islands (OR 3.76, 1.23-11.56), *pꜥt* (OR 8.71, 3.38-22.41) and *idb* (OR 5.47, 2.36-12.69). Further information comes from their orientation. Regarding *idb*, *mꜣwt* are equally distributed at their west or east. In contrast, *pꜥt* are mostly said to be at the front (*hnty*, the southern part<sup>31</sup>) or directly adjoining *mꜣwt*.<sup>32</sup> This suggests that *idb* have a general position parallel to *mꜣwt* following the Nile River axis, but at some distance, while *mꜣwt* are intercalated with *pꜥt* on the riverbanks.

### 2.6 *Kꜣyt* (high land)

They are seldom mentioned in P Wilbour, representing 1.8% of landmarks and 2.8% of plots. All of them occur with another landmark, mostly a city or a temple. *Kꜣyt* adjoin mounds (OR 10.70, 1.16-98.68), riversides (OR 7.78, 1.46-43.62) and cities and their temples (OR 10.70, 1.16-98.69). Their orientation strikingly departs from that of other categories since it is north-south in 57.1% of cases. In addition, *kꜣyt* are never at the east of their secondary landmark but at their west in 35.7% of cases. This suggests a disposition in part parallel and in part perpendicular to the west bank of the Nile. In Text A, *kꜣyt* are restricted to section 2 and 4 where fields wholly adjoin the riverbank. It is commonly admitted that *kꜣyt* refer to high grounds in opposition to *mꜣwt* and thus are to be found on the sloping desert fringes.<sup>33</sup> But this is only true where the Nile Valley is narrow.<sup>34</sup> Where it enlarges, as in the region surveyed in P Wilbour, the figure is clearly more complex.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>28</sup> The two examples of *pꜥt* in P. Amiens-Baldwin are in keeping with this conclusion. The first (B rt. III.2) is associated with an island (*iw*) and the second (B rt. IV.9) with a river-bank (*mrryt*) (Janssen, P. Amiens-Baldwin, 23). In the inscription of Penne at Aniba (K.A. Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions (= RI) VI, Oxford 1983, 351, 12-15) a *pꜥt* is surrounded by another *pꜥt* on the north side and by a *hrr* (a carry?) on the three others.

<sup>29</sup> Gardiner, AEO I, 12\*-13\*. Katary, Land-tenure, 254 reached the same conclusion by a frequency analysis restricted to plots of the apportioning paragraphs of Text A.

<sup>30</sup> Gardiner, Commentary, 26; Vleeming, P Reinhardt, 45-6; Eyre, in: JEA 80, 1994, 75-77.

<sup>31</sup> Gardiner, Commentary, 26.

<sup>32</sup> As showed by the absence of orientation mark.

<sup>33</sup> Gardiner, Commentary, 27-28 and Vleeming, P Reinhardt, 46.

<sup>34</sup> Meeks, Grand texte, 148-149 and the Hauswaldt Papyri where the floodplain near Gebel es-Silsileh is especially narrow: J.G. Manning, Land-tenure regime in Ptolemaic Upper Egypt (= Land-tenure) in A.K. Bowman/E. Rogan (eds), Agriculture in Egypt, Oxford 1999, 97-98.

<sup>35</sup> Meeks, Grand texte, 148.

### 2.7 Š, brkt, hnm, and dnit

These areas of still-waters represent 8.1% of landmarks and 5.4% of plots. They are associated with another landmark in 54% of cases, mainly inhabited places or themselves. The logistic regression retains an association with other still-water areas (OR 6.65, 1.94-22.82), villages (OR 3.50, 1.23-9.75), and castles and farm buildings (OR 4.31; 1.64-16.88). This suggests that these watering places tended to form clusters and mainly lay next to small settlements. In text A they are especially numerous in section 3.

### 2.8 Groves

P Wilbour mentions different groves. Except for sycamores, the plants growing in these localities remain unidentified. They represent 3.3% of landmarks and 3.1% of plots. They are associated with another landmark in 76.9% of cases. The logistic regression shows a significant association with cities and temples (OR 12.49, 4.93-31.61), and toponyms (OR 4.46, 1.52-13.14) suggesting that these groves were not natural but resulted from human activities related to urban areas.

### 2.9 ʾst (Mounds)

They represent 6.7% of landmarks and 6.2% of plots. Being mostly determined by a proper name, they can only be used as secondary landmarks. As such, mounds occur mainly with *idb*, toponyms, and castles and farm buildings, but the logistic regression found no specific association. Mounds also show no specific orientation *vis-a-vis* their primary landmark.

### 2.10 Castles and farm buildings

*Bhn* designates large villas, possibly fortified, where, according to literary sources, various activities related to stock-breeding and agriculture were conducted. For this reason, byres, granaries and stables were grouped with them to obtain a category of sufficient size. They form 5.1% of landmarks and 7.0% of plot, and are mostly determined. As secondary landmarks, castles and farm buildings are associated with mounds and with ponds and other still-water areas (OR 3.92, 1.03-14.85).

### 2.11 Cities and temples

They represent 5.5% of landmarks and 9.1% of plots. As secondary landmarks they are especially suitable for the logistic regression. As such, towns and temples are associated with groves (OR 11.02, 4.79-25.33), *m3wt* (OR 3.09; 1.20-7.94), *idb* (OR 2.17, 1.14-4.14) and *pct* (OR 3.12; 1.35-7.18).

### 2.12 Toponyms, villages (*wḥyt*) and houses (*ct*).

Toponyms form the majority of landmarks (28.3%) and collect one third of plots. In 66% of cases, their name ends with the town determinative<sup>36</sup> suggesting inhabited places of probably middle or small size. In what they are different from villages (*wḥyt*) or cities

<sup>36</sup> Gardiner's sign list O49. In 6% of cases the determinative is the falcon on a standard (sign G7) suggesting some sacred place and in 7% the determinative incorporates the canal sign N36.

(*dmi*)<sup>37</sup> is a matter of guess. As secondary landmarks, toponyms are adjoined by groves (OR 3.78, 1.44-9.92) and *idb* (5.37, 3.14-9.18) but also landmarks indicating that some of them were near the Nile River or the Bahr Yusuf (*pʿt*: OR 5.85, 2.82-12.12 and islands/new islands: OR 6.30, 3.08-12.87). Villages represent 4.2% of landmarks and 5.9% of plots and could only be analysed as secondary landmarks. Some of them are probably located near a watercourse (*pʿt*: OR 8.35, 1.92-36.28 and islands/new islands: OR 11.14, 2.87-43.19). *ʾidb* (OR 8.23, 2.55-26.49) and still-water areas (OR 9.12, 2.56-32.44) are also associated with villages. Owing to their low occurrence as associated landmarks, houses (*ʿt*) were not suitable for the study.

### 2.13 Sensitivity of the landmark profiles

Using the logistic regression coefficients and ROC curves, 63% of landmarks were as a whole identified with 100% specificity by the models described above.<sup>38</sup> But this varied with the categories. Models were fairly effective with *idb*, *pʿt*, *mʾwt*, *iw/iw-n-mʾwt*, groves and villages, since they identified specifically 71-90% of them. *Kʾyt* followed the model in 64% of cases; cities and temples, and toponyms in 49-60% and still-waters areas and villas and farm buildings in 25-35%.

### 2.14 Text A versus Text B

Text A and Text B do not deal with the same administrative category of land although a few *khato*-lands are also surveyed in Text A. An important question is whether land in the two texts is of similar agricultural nature. This can be approached by analysing their respective landmarks. For this, we performed a multivariate logistic regression comparing Text A versus Text B as the dependent variables and the 777 main landmarks and their secondary landmarks as the independent ones. In Text A, *idb* are more frequent main landmarks (OR 2.34, 1.45-3.78) and city/temple are more frequently used as a secondary landmark (OR 4.76, 2.62-8.65). In addition lost secondary landmarks are less frequent in Text A (OR 0.18, 0.04-0.79).

## 3 The geography of text A

Of the two texts of P Wilbour, Text A is the most suitable for a geographical reconstruction. Gardiner has showed that (1) its four sections correspond to mutually exclusive geographical zones arranged in a north-south manner and (2) that within each section there is a general south-north sequence of local owning institutions. From this and with the assumption that plots of local institutions were not very distant from the institution centre, he drew the general limits of the four zones and proposed the localisation of several localities.<sup>39</sup> Here, we analyzed the 421 landmarks, main and secondary, named in the four sections of Text A to determine whether the different regions displayed different

<sup>37</sup> The word is not present in P Wilbour but appears in the Amenemope Onomation to introduce the list of Egyptian towns (Gardiner, AEO II, 1\*). For a recent review concerning *whyt* see A.J. Spalinger, a garland of determinatives, in: JEA 94, 2008, 154-162.

<sup>38</sup> This signifies that none of the landmarks belonging to another category is identified by the model.

<sup>39</sup> For Gardiner, Commentary, 39 n. 1 a fair geographical arrangement of landmarks in the paragraphs devoted to each institution is far from certain contrarily to Helck, Materialien II, 1080-1111.

agricultural landscapes. This study was completed with the elaboration of clusters of landmarks in which localities were linked together by the fact that they shared a main or a secondary landmark.<sup>40</sup> We also measured land dispersion by weighting the number of plots against the number of clusters and the time the surveyors stayed in each section. Wherever possible, the position of localities *vis à vis* the Nile River was analyzed (fig. 2). For this, it must be taken into account that the Nile course varied with time and that in the Ramesside Period, the River probably ran at the west of its present bed.<sup>41</sup> The same applies to Lake Karun that probably had a larger extension.<sup>42</sup>

### 3.1 Zone 1

Section 1 is incomplete since the Theban, Heliopolitan, and a part of Memphite domains were recorded in another and now lost papyrus roll.<sup>43</sup> We thus ignore how many days the surveyors spent in Zone 1. Section 1 covers 467 plots totalizing 3,724 arouras. Sixty-seven clusters were identified with 6.8 plots per cluster (1 to 59) indicating that fields scattered in small groups. Logistic regression showed that plots in Zone 1 are associated with *m3wt* (OR 5.10, 1.51-16.91) and *pct* (OR 2.64, 1.57-6.03). This suggests that land, which here mostly pertains to local temples, wholly adjoined a watercourse. Zone 1 extends from the neighbourhood of Ninsu/Herakleopolis (*Nmsw*) to the Fayum entrance and Shedit (*Šdd*), modern Medinet el-Fayum. The Bahr Yusuf is likely the main watercourse in this section. However, the eastern extension of Zone 1 is to be discussed. In Gardiner's reconstitution, Zone 1 is limited at the east by Zone 2 which follows the Nile course up to the level of El-Wasta. Two landmarks are shared by Zone 1 and 2: namely Pi-pma (*Pr-p3-m3*) and the House of Ptahmose (*t3-ct-Pth-ms*). In Zone 2, the former has a *iw* and a *iw n m3wt* at its east and the latter belongs to a cluster which includes the island Amun-with-Manifolds-Brave-Deeds (*Im-š3-knw*). All of this indicates that Gardiner was true in placing a part of Zone 2 at the east of Zone 1. It also shows that Zone 1 extended eastward in a relatively short distance of the river neighbourhoods provided that at this time the Nile ran to the west of its present bed.

### 3.2 Zone 2

Zone 2 accounts for 674 plots and 4,841 arouras distributed over 58 clusters (11.62 plots/cluster, range 1-100). It took 6 days to assess the fields at a rate of 112 plots per day. The figure is similar to Zone 3 and indicates relative plot dispersion comparatively to the other zones. Zone 2 is characterised by the presence of *iw/iw n m3wt* (OR 5.14, 2.01-13.14), *pct* (OR 2.64, 1.08-6.46), *k3yt* (OR: 5.8, 1.29-26.1) and villages (OR 4.74, 1.51-14.87) while cities and temples are rare (OR 0.12, 0.04-0.37). In keeping, P Harris I and the

<sup>40</sup> For example, the occurrence of measurements made "at the east of X and west of Y" and "in Y at the south of Z" indicates that X, Y, and Z were not very distant from each other and thus form a cluster.

<sup>41</sup> See K.W. Butzer, *Early hydraulic civilization in Egypt: a study in cultural ecology (= Hydrolic)*, Chicago 1976, 33-35; R. Said, *The River Nile, geology, hydrology and utilization*, Amsterdam 1993, 61-63; K. Lutley/J. Bunbury, *The Nile on the move in: EA 32, 2008, 3-5.*

<sup>42</sup> F. Hassan/G. Tassie, *modeling environmental and settlement change in the Fayum in: EA 29, 2006, 37-40.*

<sup>43</sup> Gardiner, *Commentary*, 11.

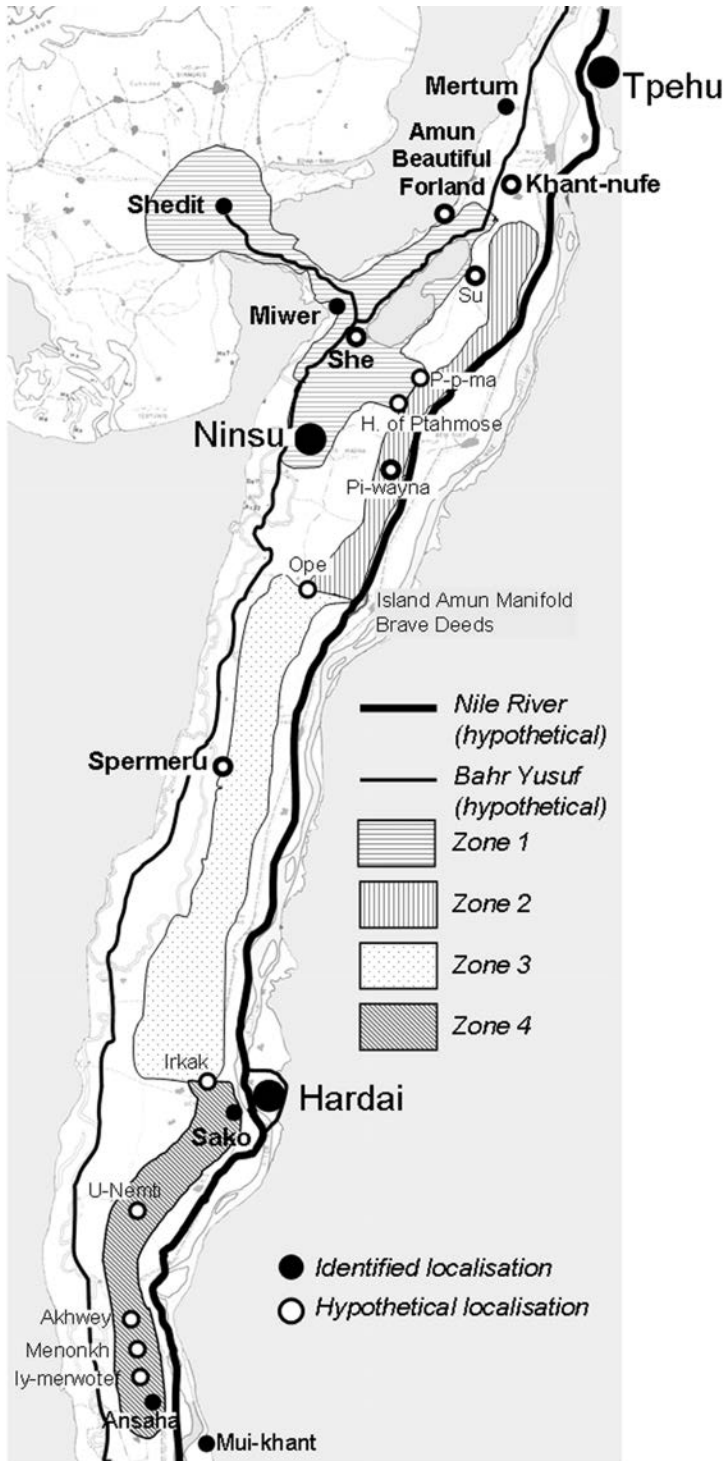


Fig 2: Tentative reconstitution of the topography of land and main localities in Text A. Cities named in P Harris I or the Amenemope Onosmasticon are in bold. The largest points indicate Nome capitals. Plots in each region form clusters distant from one another.

Amenemope Onomasticon do not name any town which can be ascribed to Zone 2. Zone 2 possesses the highest number of plots located near a riverside,<sup>44</sup> either on (*m*) islands or to their west indicating that the Nile is probably understood. As a whole, after landmark clustering, at least 37.1% of plots are next to the west bank of the Nile. As seen, this applies to its frontier with Zone 1 but also with Zone 3 where plots near Pen-Kenroy (*Pn-p3-knrꜥy*) are at the south or east of this locality and the west of the Island Amun-Uniting-himself-with-Eternity (*Im- hn- nhh*). Other localities can similarly be located near the river banks. Thus, with the hypothesis that *pꜥt* are close to a riverside we may assume that the villages of Djasasati (*D3s3š3ty*) and Inroyshes (*Iwn-r-yš*) were near the Nile west bank, the latter being in addition associated with the island Amun-Overrrunning-its-Boundary (*Imn-shsh-t3š*). In contrast, the western limit of Zone 2 is difficult to delimit and the question of whether Zone 2 extends to the Bahr Ysuf at the south of Ninsu is open. The complete absence of plot ascribed to a temple of Ninsu suggests that Zone 2 is restricted to a long strip of land along the west bank. Its south and north limits are also difficult to trace out. As seen, in the south Pen-Kenroy and the Island Amun-Uniting-Himself-with-Eternity are probably at its eastern limit, while Ope (*Ipt*) which is not related to a riverbank is probably westwards. The northernmost sanctuary is the House of Amun Khant-Nufe in Memphis (*Pr Imn-hnty-nfr m Mn-nfr*) where Gardiner placed the south limit of the Memphite Nome, which at this time encompassed the XXI<sup>st</sup> Nome of Upper Egypt.

### 3.3 Zone 3

This is the largest zone with 924 plots and 6,557 aouras disseminated over 67 clusters (11.55 plots per cluster ranging from 1 to 115). The surveyors spent 8 days there with a daily number of assessed plots similar to Zone 2 (115) suggesting important land dispersion. Houses (OR 21.2, 6.42-70.0), villas and farm buildings (OR 11.11, 4.0-30.85), lakes and other still-water areas (OR 4.99, 2.17-11.46) characterise Zone 3. As with Zone 2, the general picture is that of a region without large inhabited settlement in keeping with the fact that P Harris I and the Amenemope Onomasticon name Spermeru (*Spr-mrw*) as the only city between Sako (*S3-k3*) and Ninsu. According to Gardiner, Spermeru was on the western desert fringe.<sup>45</sup> The „waters of Spermeru“ in the Edfu Nome list may thus refer to the Bahr Yusuf. In P Wilbour we do not find the least indication that plots at Spermeru were near a watercourse. The only reference to water is the „Swamp“ (*hn*)<sup>46</sup> east of Spermeru“ in A 63, 21. Thus Spermeru although not distant from the desert was probably at the east of the Bahr Yusuf which at this time probably ran close to the desert fringe.<sup>47</sup> The same uncertainty applies to other localities in Zone 3. The most striking feature is the complete absence of riverbanks, *pꜥt* and *idb*, while lakes (*š*) and sometimes basins (*hnm*) are the

<sup>44</sup> Zone 2 has the highest number of island bearing a proper name.

<sup>45</sup> Gardiner, AEO II, 388\*. The name means “the desert approach”.

<sup>46</sup> A.H. Gardiner/H.I. Bell, the name of Lake Moeris, in: JEA 29, 1943, 37-46.

<sup>47</sup> Traces of an ancient bed of the Bahr Yusuf lining the eastern desert edge of the Valley indicate that this channel once ran at the west of its present course. See the Reconnaissance Soil Map of Egypt 1/200,000 of the FAO for the U.A.R High Dam Soil Survey Project 1963; sheet V, Samalut-El Fayum. The desert may also have extended to the western bank of the Bahr as represented on the map of the Description de l’Egypte, Paris 1822, sheaves 15, 16, and 19. This may explain why near Ninsu, plots are only on the east bank of the channel.

only hydrologic references (66/925 plots, 7.1%). Thus, fields in Zone 3 are probably on the west bank far from the Nile and the Bahr Yusuf clustering around small or isolated settlements in the middle of the floodplain.

### 3.4 Zone 4

Despite the erasure of paragraphs devoted to *mine* and *khato* land, this section is the second by the number of plots (729 plots) and the surveyed surface with 4,852 arouras distributed over 40 clusters of 1 to 144 plots (mean 18.23) making Zone 4 the most densely clustered region. This may explain why the surveyors spent only three days assessing 243 plots daily. *Idb* (OR 2.41, 1.3-4.23), and, as secondary landmarks, cities and temples (OR 4.95, 2.84-8.64), and riversides (OR 3.42, 1.27-9.19) characterise Zone 4. The whole picture is that of fields mostly located in the vicinity of towns and near the Nile banks. Zone 4 extends from Mui-Khant (*Pr Imn Mwy-hnty*, Tihna el-Gebel) to Sako (El-Qeis) and Hardai (*hr-dy*, near El-Sheikh Fadl). An important city is Anasha (*Išznš*) -Nazlet el-Amudayn (56 plots),<sup>48</sup> today 5 km at the west of the Nile. Its name (the Island of the *nšš*-plant) suggests that it was once near the Nile. In P Wilbour, most plots lay near the city temples, mounds or a grove while only two indicate a *iw n mšwt* at the east. Thus, in the Ramesside Period, the Nile is likely to have run at some distance in the east. The same applies to Sako-El-Qeis, presently 4.5 km at the west of the river.<sup>49</sup> Of 144 plots, 63 indicate a *kšyt* at their west and 28 a riverbank at their east and north. This strongly suggests that the Nile course has also varied at this point. Between Anasha and Sako, Menonkh (*Mn-ḥnḥ*)<sup>50</sup> gathers 99 plots shared with the *idb* of Tuta (*Twtš*). Most of them are near the city, its temple or a basin. Riverbanks are absent, but 51 plots are close to an *idb* at the east or north-east of Menonkh. As *idb* were generally not on the riverbanks, we may deduce that Menonkh was at some distance of the Nile on the West bank. The same conclusion applies to U-Nemti (*W-Nmtj*)<sup>51</sup> and its 27 plots of which 3 are at the west of a *iw n mšwt*. An important cluster (96 plots) is centred by Irkak (*Ir-kš.k*) at the limit of Zone 3 and 4.<sup>52</sup> None of the plots of this cluster is linked with a riverbank suggesting that Irkak was also far from the Nile. There remain 10 clusters. One (Tent-mer-itehu, *Tnt-mr-ithw*) mentions a riverbank and three (Tent-mer-itehu, Village of Kasha, *Kššš*, and the *ḥwn* grove) an *idb* at their east. The whole picture of Zone 4 is that except near Sako and probably Anasha, the surveyed land is at some distance of the Nile on the West bank. The plots were probably also at some distance of the Bahr Yusuf since there is no indication of a watercourse running at their east.

<sup>48</sup> See D. Kessler, *Historische Topographie der Region zwischen Mallawi und Samalut*, TAVO Beihefte. B 30, Wiesbaden 1981, 291 and P. Grandet, *le Papyrus Harris I* (= P Harris I), Cairo 1994, I, 202.

<sup>49</sup> Gardiner, AEO II, 386\* and Commentary, 49-50.

<sup>50</sup> Gardiner, AEO II, 384\* and Commentary, 51.

<sup>51</sup> Gardiner, AEO II, 384B\* and Commentary, 52.

<sup>52</sup> In Zone 3, a Village of Irkak is mentioned while in Zone 4 we find Irkak, the Sycamores of Irkak or the Sycamores alone that we have considered as same or very closely related places. This Irkak is different from the Tombs of Irkak in Zone 1.

#### 4 Discussion

Landmark analysis permitted to obtain interesting findings on the localisation of land both transversally and longitudinally in the Nile Valley and gave new information on the meaning of several words used to describe the places of measurement in P Wilbour.<sup>53</sup> The way plots localisation is described in P Wilbour is not exclusive to this document since the Griffith-Louvre Fragments and the Reinhardt papyrus use the same.<sup>54</sup> However, P Wilbour is more precise since it frequently combines two landmarks.<sup>55</sup> If the preserved data are representative, fields in the Griffith-Louvre fragments seem especially concentrated around inhabited settlements<sup>56</sup> while in P Reinhardt they are restricted to the riverbanks.<sup>57</sup>

For an adequate interpretation of the results it must be remembered that logistic regression allows both the identification and weighing of factors that significantly and independently explain variables of interest. Hence, exclusion of factors by the analysis does not mean that these factors are never associated with the variable under study but that their association is not discriminative because it forms a sort of background noise. However, the models obtained here were wholly efficient to identify specifically the pattern of the different landmarks but, as seen, with variations according to landmark categories. Another factor of uncertainty is our ignorance, but for a few exceptions, of the distance separating main and secondary landmarks. What can only be said is that in the two available examples it amounts to 1-4.5 kilometres.<sup>58</sup> Keeping all of this in mind, we can propose the tentative model of the Nile Valley landscape shown in fig. 3.

Landmark vocabulary in P Wilbour provides invaluable information on the irrigation system and the relative position of cultivated land in the floodplain of this region of Middle Egypt. Interestingly, most of this vocabulary occurs in two different sections of the Amenemope Onomasticon suggesting that they are not semantically related. There are twelve different words referring to hydrology in the Onomasticon<sup>59</sup> of which *ḥn* (swampy lake), *š* (lake or pond), *ḥnmt/m-ḥnmt* and *brkt* (pool) occur in P Wilbour. If there are only two *ḥn* (near Spermeru and Mi-wer) the number of *š* amounts to 11, all of them bearing a proper name, which suggests that they had a longstanding existence. Although *š* could be

<sup>53</sup> For a classical descriptive analysis of landmarks in Text A see O'Connor, Man Settlement, 690-697 and Kemp, Ancien Egypt, 310-311.

<sup>54</sup> Gasse, Données nouvelles, 54-60, Vleeming, P Reinhardt, 45-48. Other documents such as P Prachov, the Grunbuch, the Louvre fragments 6346-6347 (Gasse, Données nouvelles, 75-138) or the Gurob and Louvre leather fragments (Gardiner, RAD, 30-3 and 60-3) are either incompletely published or lacunar.

<sup>55</sup> This may be due to a different administrative practice or to the local geography since these documents concern the X<sup>th</sup> Nome of Upper Egypt where the Valley is narrower so that a single landmark may suffice to localize a given plot.

<sup>56</sup> The preserved landmarks are 17 toponyms, 4 temples, 4 *sgr*, 3 *iw* or *iw n m3wt*, one bog (*ḥm*), one *kdb*, and one *nḥb*-land. For comparison, almost 40% of landmarks and 60% of plots of P Wilbour are near toponyms and other inhabited places.

<sup>57</sup> Of 15 preserved landmarks, there are 6 *iw*, 4 *iw n m3wt*, and 1 *m3wt*, the last being an *idb*.

<sup>58</sup> Ninsu and Sako respectively, provided that the course of the Bahr Yusuf and the Nile have not varied at these points, which is probably not the case at least near Sako as already seen.

<sup>59</sup> Gardiner, AEO I, 7\*-8\*.

artificial, most of them were probably natural<sup>60</sup> and were likely to be found at the foot of the desert hills or in the central depression of the floodplain.<sup>61</sup>

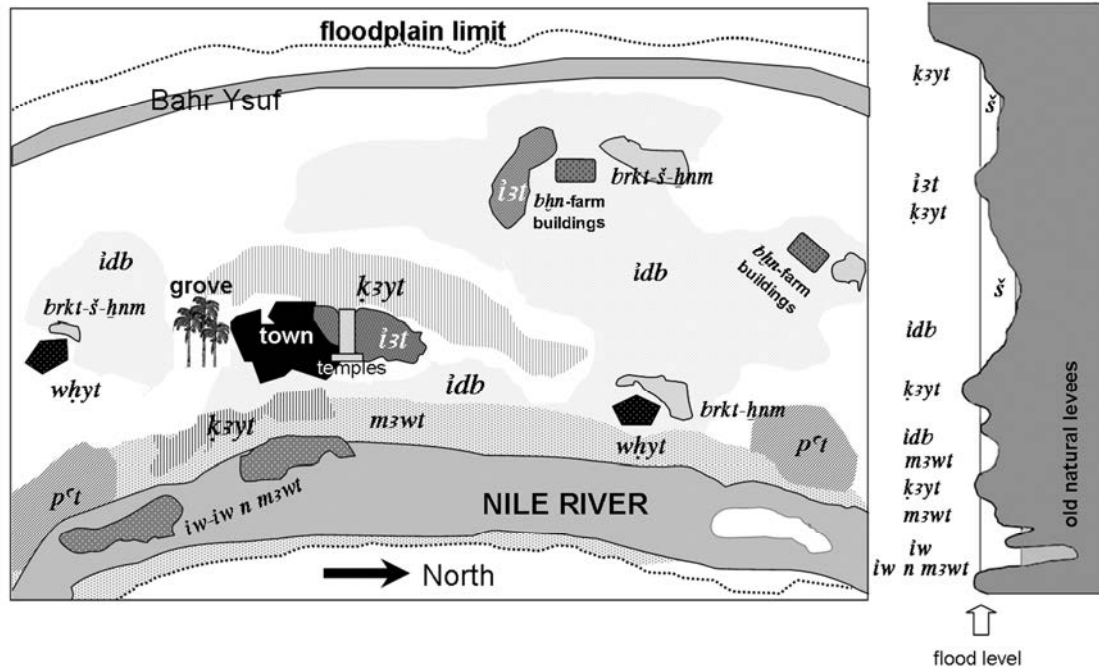


Fig. 3: Tentative reconstitution of the disposition of landmarks in the floodplain from the results of the logistic regression. On the right is a counter-clockwise rotated diagram of an idealised cross section of the Nile Valley adapted from Butzer, 1976.

P Wilbour identifies 24 *brkt* clearly associated with non urban settlements.<sup>62</sup> As the Arab *birket*, they may designate watering-places formed in holes left by mud extraction for house-making purpose.<sup>63</sup> The most mysterious word is *hnm/m-hnm* for which Gardiner tentatively proposed „basin“.<sup>64</sup> Nineteen of them are named and like *birket* they are mainly associated with settlements.

<sup>60</sup> Eyre, in: JEA 80, 1994, 63-68.

<sup>61</sup> Butzer, *Hydrolic*, 15. The *Description de l’Egypte*, Paris 1822, l’Etat Moderne, vol II, 200-201 indicates the presence of a depression parallel to the Nile in the centre of the Beni Souef region (grossly covered by P Wilbour) where water stayed a long time after the flood has receded forming what is called the Bahr Bathen, ‘la mer intérieure’.

<sup>62</sup> Two are associated with the *hn* of Mi-wer.

<sup>63</sup> J. Besançon, *L’Homme et le Nil*, Paris 1957, 199-200.

<sup>64</sup> Gardiner, *Commentary*, 30-31. It is assumed that *hnmt* and *m-hnmt* are probably a variant of the same word.

Words absent from P Wilbour are paradoxically informative as well. Among them, *šdt* designates wells dug by man and sometimes associated with fields.<sup>65</sup> It may be significant that despite the innumerable localities named in P Wilbour there is no *šdt*. However, the most striking feature is the absence of irrigation canals. Nevertheless, *mr* is a component of eleven toponyms suggesting that a canal once ran there but without certitude on the situation at the epoch of Ramesses V.<sup>66</sup> Several hypotheses may explain this. The first is that canals were not considered as discriminative landmarks because their long course did not provide specific local information.<sup>67</sup> The second is that at this time the word had fallen into disuse as suggested by its similar absence in the Amenemope Onomasticon.<sup>68</sup> Therefore, another word should designate irrigation or feeding canals, *hnm* being a possible candidate.<sup>69</sup> The last hypothesis, is that canals were seldom if not virtually absent. As a consequence, land irrigation would mostly have depended on the flood with minimal arrangement, if any, of the natural basins in the floodplain while natural wells, lakes or ponds contributed to the cultivation of fields in the immediate surroundings of settlements. In keeping with this view, dykes (*dnit*), which with canals characterise the basin irrigation system, are only mentioned twice.<sup>70</sup>

Another remarkable absentee is the Nile (*itrw*) itself which for probably the same reasons as canals was not suitable for plot localisation.<sup>71</sup> Instead, *iw* and *iw n m3wt* are widely used. In keeping, when they are the main landmarks plots are mostly said to be „in“ (*m*) them and therefore on the very riverbanks (table 1).<sup>72</sup> A similar proportion occurs „in“ *m3wt*, *k3yt*, *idb*, and *p3t*, all words designating geographical categories of land.<sup>73</sup> The results obtained here help to establish their relative position in the floodplain. An important finding is that *idb* show a ubiquitous and therefore non specific distribution including near still-water areas, which, as seen above, are located in the middle of the floodplain and near the desert fringe. Although *idb* contact *m3wt*, it is noteworthy that they do not adjoin the

<sup>65</sup> See for example the so called Stèle de l'Apanage: A. Legrain, Deux stèles trouvées à Karnak en février 1897, in: ZÄS 35, 1897, 14, with discussion by Eyre, in: JEA 80, 1994, 63. In Arabic times, wells are usually found in the central depression of the floodplain where the water-table is easily reached and permit the *kedî* crop sown in the early spring and harvested before the inundation (Besançon, l'Homme et le Nil, 89).

<sup>66</sup> Seven of them have the town determinative indicating inhabited places. The determinative is lost or unspecified in 3 and the last one *p3 mr sbk*, the Canal of Sobek, has no specific determinative. *Mr* occurs also in the compound T-My (*t3-my*) (Zone 2) which probably designates a region rather than a specific place (Gardiner, Commentary, 47).

<sup>67</sup> Conversely they provide precise information to delimitate plots and are for this reason frequently used in donation texts.

<sup>68</sup> *Mr* still occurs in official or literary compositions using an academic style such as P Harris I (Grandet, P Harris I, I, 50). In P Turin Cat. 1923 Rt1-8 (Kitchen, RI VI, 368), an administrative document, *mr* probably designates the canal joining the Ramasseum to the Nile, which may indicate a restricted meaning of this word.

<sup>69</sup> Eyre, in: JEA 80, 1994, 80 n. 161.

<sup>70</sup> One near Spermeru in Zone III and the other at Pi-ohé in Zone IV. This compares with the small number of dykes in the Edfu text which grossly covers the same surface of land. On these dykes see Grieshaber, Lexikographie, 21 ff.

<sup>71</sup> Conversely, the Nile is used to fix the limits of plots in the Edfu text (Meeks, Grand texte, 77, n. 74) or in the Penne's inscription (Kitchen, RI VI, 350-352).

<sup>72</sup> In P Amiens-Baldwin, 4/5 of the mooring posts are in a *iw* or a *iw n m3wt*.

<sup>73</sup> They are found in another section of the Amenemope Onomasticon (Gardiner, AOE I, 10\*-13\*) which starts the series of word devoted to land by *iw* (island) just after the last word related to water.

riverbanks themselves since they do not occur with islands and new islands. *Pḥt* and *idb* are also significantly linked with *mꜣwt*, but *idb* seem relatively distant from *mꜣwt* while *pḥt* probably intermingle with *mꜣwt* near the riverbanks. In opposition, *ḳꜣyt* connect with *iw* or *iw n mꜣwt* and non urban settlements. If we project these results on the transversal profile of the Nile Valley (fig. 3), the best suitable situation for *idb* is the floodplain itself, probably in the flooding basins that they may designate while *ḳꜣyt* are to be searched on the actual and old levees lining the minor bed of the River and not near the desert fringes.<sup>74</sup> Connection of *ḳꜣyt* with *mꜣwt* and islands is demonstrated in Zone 3 where the three of them are absent while interestingly, in Zone 1, which in part follows the Bahr Yusuf and the desert, *ḳꜣyt* are absent despite the presence of new lands and islands. The reason is probably that contrarily to the Nile, the water regime of the Bahr Yusuf was not sufficient to develop levees. Finally, *pḥt* and *mꜣwt* are to be found near riverbanks. Of note, *mꜣwt* frequently bore a proper name which suggests that in fact these „new land“ have formed from old and resulted from the many changing moves that once affected the Nile bed. This contrasts with *pḥt* which are mostly undetermined and may refer to lands that commonly abut to the river. This general pattern is somewhat different from that found in Upper Egypt in the Edfu Donation text or the Hauswaldt papyrus in which the opposition is between *ḳꜣyt* and *mꜣwt* reflecting probably a different geographical situation.<sup>75</sup>

It has long ago been underlined that the surface of land assessed in Text A is lower than the potential amount of arable land even though the flood plain was probably not completely exploited in Antiquity.<sup>76</sup> A further puzzling problem arises from the date of the survey which corresponds to the second half of July when the flood was growing.<sup>77</sup> All of this led Fairman to postulate that Text A is devoted to summer crops raised on artificially irrigated soil protected against the flood and lying along the Nile banks or canals.<sup>78</sup> This study strongly contradicts this hypothesis since fields appear to be distributed all over the floodplain. Moreover, *idb*, basin lands distant from the riverbanks if our interpretation is correct, are slightly but significantly more frequent in Text A, a fact that is probably only due to the difference of the administrative nature of the land surveyed in the two texts.<sup>79</sup> This also strongly contradicts the idea that land was under different methods of cultivation in Text A and B. Moreover, fields in Text A form clusters of a variable size more or less

<sup>74</sup> In contrast with Vleeming, P Reinhardt, 47-48, who proposes to identify *idb* with „the protruding rim of embankment“ near abandoned levees. However, the Tefnakht's donation stela of the Athens Museum mentioning „10 arouras of land in the *idb* (+ water determinative), field added by the Inundation God to be called ‚the New Land of the House of Neith“, W. Spiegelberg, Die Tefnachthosstele des Museums von Athen in: RecTrav 25, 1903, 190-198, shows that *idb* are dependent on the inundation. This here applies to basin-land and *mꜣwt* as well, and explains its wide distribution across the floodplain.

<sup>75</sup> Meeks, Grand texte, 147-8, Vleeming, P Reinhardt, 45-6, Manning, Land-tenure, 95-99.

<sup>76</sup> Fairman, in: JEA 39, 1953, 119-120.

<sup>77</sup> Jansen, in: JNES 1987, 46, 129-136.

<sup>78</sup> Fairman, in: JEA 39, 1953, 119. This hypothesis was supported by O'Connor, Man settlement, 690 and Harring, Divine households, 284; discussed by Janssen, in: SAK 3, 1975, 140-141 and Katari, Land-tenure, 23-24; and rejected by Baer, in: JARCE 1, 1962, 40 n. 2.

<sup>79</sup> A preliminary study not presented here shows that fields are not situated in the same region of the floodplain whether they pertain to the normal or apportioned paragraphs in Text A and that a similar result is obtained when comparing the topography of fields pertaining to the *pḥt* paragraphs of Text A to those classified as *ḳꜣyt*, *mi* or *nhb* in the normal paragraphs of Text A and Text B.

loosely scattered and probably separated from each other by kilometres. Their localisation in the floodplain varies strikingly from one region to another which is a further argument against the hypothesis that fields in Text A are artificially irrigated.

As Text A admittedly does not cover all the available surface, the only alternative is that the assessment concerned a variety of land administratively defined.<sup>80</sup> It is probable that P Wilbour pertained to a series of records<sup>81</sup> which possibly concerned lands of different status. The general north south arrangement of Text A indicates the direction followed by the surveyors and suggests that a great land inspection was carried out in year 4 of Ramesses V with probably Memphis as starting point. Such a comprehensive survey most likely needed several months to be completed and fields in Text A were possibly the last to be assessed a few days before the inundation reached them.

<sup>80</sup> Jansen, in: SAK 3, 1975, 141 argued that *ih*t used to designate the fields in Text A may have a specific, probably legal, meaning.

<sup>81</sup> See Gardiner, Commentary, 4.

	main landmarks				secondary landmarks		plots		
	N	%	% associated	% „proper“ name	N	%	N	%	In (%)
lost					14	4.1	128	3.8	2.3
groves	26	3.3	76.9	15.4	2	0.6	106	3.1	38.7
mounds	45	5.8	6.7	100	13	3.8	208	6.2	9.6
<i>k3yt</i>	14	1.8	100	0	0	0	95	2.8	98.9
<i>idb</i>	97	12.5	99.0	2.1	3	0.9	106	7.8	87.2
<i>pʿt</i>	41	5.3	97.6	4.9	3	0.9	98	2.9	89.8
<i>iw/iw n m3wt</i>	42	5.4	90.5	16.7	6	1.7	106	3.1	94.3
<i>m3wt</i>	31	4.0	48.4	74.2	24	7.0	81	2.3	88.6
still-waters	63	8.1	54.0	57.1	12	3.5	183	5.4	73.2
villas/farm buildings	40	5.1	7.5	92.5	12	3.5	187	7.0	4.7
other buildings	21	2.7	19.0	85.7	13	3.8	63	1.9	38.1
houses	36	4.6	8.3	97.2	14	4.1	137	4.0	3.6
villages	33	4.2	9.1	100	24	7.0	201	5.9	2.0
cities/temples	43	5.5	27.9	97.7	82	24.0	311	9.1	2.6
toponyms	220	28.3	18.2	98.6	105	30.8	1099	32.3	15.8
other	23	3.2	64.0	41.7	14	4.1	76	2.4	58.0
Total	777	100	43.9	64.7	341	100	3109	100	31.0

Annex Table 1: Number (N) and % of plot and main and secondary landmarks for each category of landmark. For main landmarks, the % of association with a secondary landmark and proper names are also given. With plots, „In (%)“ indicates the % of plots that actually lay „in“ the main landmark.



# Drei Stelen des Alten Reiches und der frühen 1. Zwischenzeit aus Abydos im Ägyptischen Museum (Kairo CG 1450, CG 1589 und CG 1616)\*

Khaled Hamza Awad  
(Tafel 2-4)

## Abstract

Grundlage des Artikels ist die Publikation dreier bislang nur ungenügend veröffentlichter Stelen aus Abydos vom dem Ende des Alten Reiches bzw. Anfang der 1. Zwischenzeit, die im Ägyptischen Museums in Kairo aufbewahrt sind: CG 1450, CG 1589 und CG 1616. Alle wurden von Mariette im Nordgraben von Abydos in der Nähe der Umwallung des Osiris-Wepwawat-Tempels in Kom el-Sultan gefunden. Die Stele CG 1450 gehört der Königsedlen *Snb*t, CG 1589 dem Einzigem Königsschmuck und Priesterin der Hathor *Nbt* und CG 1616 dem Königsverwalter und Vorsteher der Aufträge des Pharaos *Ndm-Jb*. Gegenstand der Untersuchung sind auch die Titel der Inhaber dieser Stelen und ihre Beziehung zu den auf den Stelen abgebildeten Personen sowie Epigraphik, Paläographie und Datierung.

Gegenstand dieser Arbeit sind drei abydenische Stelen, die von Mariette im Nordgraben von Abydos in der Nähe der Umwallung des Osiris-Wepwawat-Tempels in Kom el-Sultan gefunden wurden<sup>1</sup>: CG 1450, CG 1589 und CG 1616. Heute stehen sie im Erdgeschoss des Ägyptischen Museums in Kairo, in den Magazinen des Alten Reichs (Lagerraum Nr. 37). Die Stele CG 1450 gehört der „Königsedlen“ (*špswt nswt Snbt*, CG 1589 einer Frau namens *Nbt* mit den Titeln „Einzigem Königsschmuck (*ḥkrt nswt w<sup>c</sup>tt*) und Priesterin der Hathor“ (*ḥm-nṯr Ḥt-Ḥr*)“ und CG 1616 schließlich dem „Königsverwalter (*hrj-tp nswt*) und Vorsteher der Aufträge des Pharaos (*jmj-r3 wpwt pr-<sup>c</sup>3*)“ *Ndm-Jb*. Die drei Stelen lassen in die Zeit des späten Alten Reiches bzw. an den Anfang der Ersten Zwischenzeit datieren.

Diese Stelen haben einen besonderen künstlerischen Stellenwert, denn sie stellen ein Verbindungsglied dar zwischen dem ausklingenden Scheintür-Stil – bei dem die Scheintüren Rundstäben und Hohlkehlen hatten – und dem aufkommenden Stil rechteckiger Stelen, die keine Dekorationselemente der Scheintüren mehr aufweisen. Die hier behandelten Stelen (mit Ausnahme der *Snb*t-Stele) weisen einige Elemente der Scheintüren, und zwar die Hohlkehle, den Rundstab und den zusätzlichen Außenrahmen, auf und stehen damit für die letzte Entwicklungsphase der Scheintüren.

\* An dieser Stelle möchte ich meinen herzlichen Dank und Respekt Frau Dr. Wafaa Sadek, Direktorin des Ägyptischen Museums in Kairo und Herrn Mahmoud El-Halwagy, Chef der Abteilung für das Alte Reich im Ägyptischen Museum aussprechen, da sie mir das Fotografieren und die Edition der hier behandelten Stelen gestattet haben. Mein besonderer Dank gilt auch Herrn Dr. Matthias Müller (Universität Basel) für wertvolle Hinweise und Hilfe bei der Fertigstellung dieses Manuskripts.

<sup>1</sup> Zu diesen Abydos-Stelen siehe: W.K. Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13*, New Haven/Philadelphia 1974, 1ff.

*I Scheintür-Stele der Snbt (CG 1450) (Taf. 2, Abb. 1)*<sup>2</sup>

*I.1 Einleitung*

Die Stele CG 1450 besteht aus Kalkstein und ist, in Form einer Scheintür gearbeitet, ca. 70 cm hoch und 46 cm breit. Sie ist in versenktem Relief dekoriert und weist keine Bemalungsspuren auf. Der Erhaltungszustand ist gut, abgesehen von einigen Absplitterungen an den Außenrahmen.

Die Stele enthält die Hauptelemente einer Scheintür: sie hat die Form einer Tür mit Hohlkehle<sup>3</sup>, die auf einem Rundstab aufsitzt. Die Tür besteht aus zwei Sturzbalken, vier Türflügeln (je zwei äußere und innere), einer Tafel und einer Türtrommel. Die Tür wird von einem flachen zusätzlichen Außenrahmen umrandet. Die Hauptnische ist klein und lässt an ihrem oberen Teil die Öffnung für die Türtrommel erkennen.

Kennzeichnend für die Dekoration des Rundstabs ist eine spiralförmige Wickel-Dekoration. Die Hohlkehle zeigt eine Reihe von Palmwedeln, die unten gebündelt sind und deren Blätter sich nach Außen neigen.

*I.2 Der zusätzliche äußere Rahmen über der Hohlkehle.*

Im oberen Teil der Hohlkehle befindet sich eine hieroglyphische Inschrift, geschrieben in einer horizontalen Zeile von Rechts nach Links, die sich folgendermaßen lesen lässt:



(1) *ḥtp-dj-nswt Wsjr (a) nb 3bdw (b) (n) jm3ḥt (c) špst (d) nswt (e) Snbt (f)*

*Übersetzung*

(1) Ein Opfer, das der König an Osiris, Herr von Abydos, gibt, (für) die Versorgte und Edle des Königs *Snbt*.

*Anmerkungen*

a) Die Position des Zeichens des Auges über dem Sitz und die Beiworte des Gottes erscheinen in einigen Scheintüren vom Ende der 6<sup>4</sup>. Dynastie, werden aber auch in der 8. und 9. Dynastie weiter benutzt<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> L. Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches I*, (CGC), Kairo 1937, 135-136, Taf. 34; A. Mariette, *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos découverts pendant les fouilles de cette ville*, Paris 1880, 93 (Nr. 536). Im Ägyptischen Museum lässt sich eine weitere Stele der *Snbt* nachweisen (CG 1507): Borchardt, *Denkmäler I*, 212-213.

<sup>3</sup> All diese neuen Elemente, die hier im Bau der Scheintür erscheinen (d.h., Rundstab und Hohlkehle) sind Dekorationselemente, die seit dem Ende der 5. Dynastie in allen ägyptischen Bauten erschienen: J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne II*, Paris 1954, 401-402.

<sup>4</sup> Vgl. z.B. die Scheintür des *Mrjj*, aus El-Hagarsa: N. Kanawati, *The Tombs of El-Hagarsa I*, Sydney 1993, Taf. XI (rechts) und die Scheintür-Stele des *Sbk-nfr*, aus El-Hagarsa: Kanawati, *El-Hagarsa I*, 25-34, Taf. 27.

<sup>5</sup> Siehe z.B. die Scheintür des *Nfr-jw*, MMA 12.183.8, aus Dendera: H.G. Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C.*, New York 1968, Taf. XXV und die Scheintür-Stele des *In-jt=f*, Boston MFA 12.1478, aus Naga ed Der: D. Dunham, *Naga ed Der Stelae of the First Intermediate Period*, London 1937, 16-17, Taf. III (2).

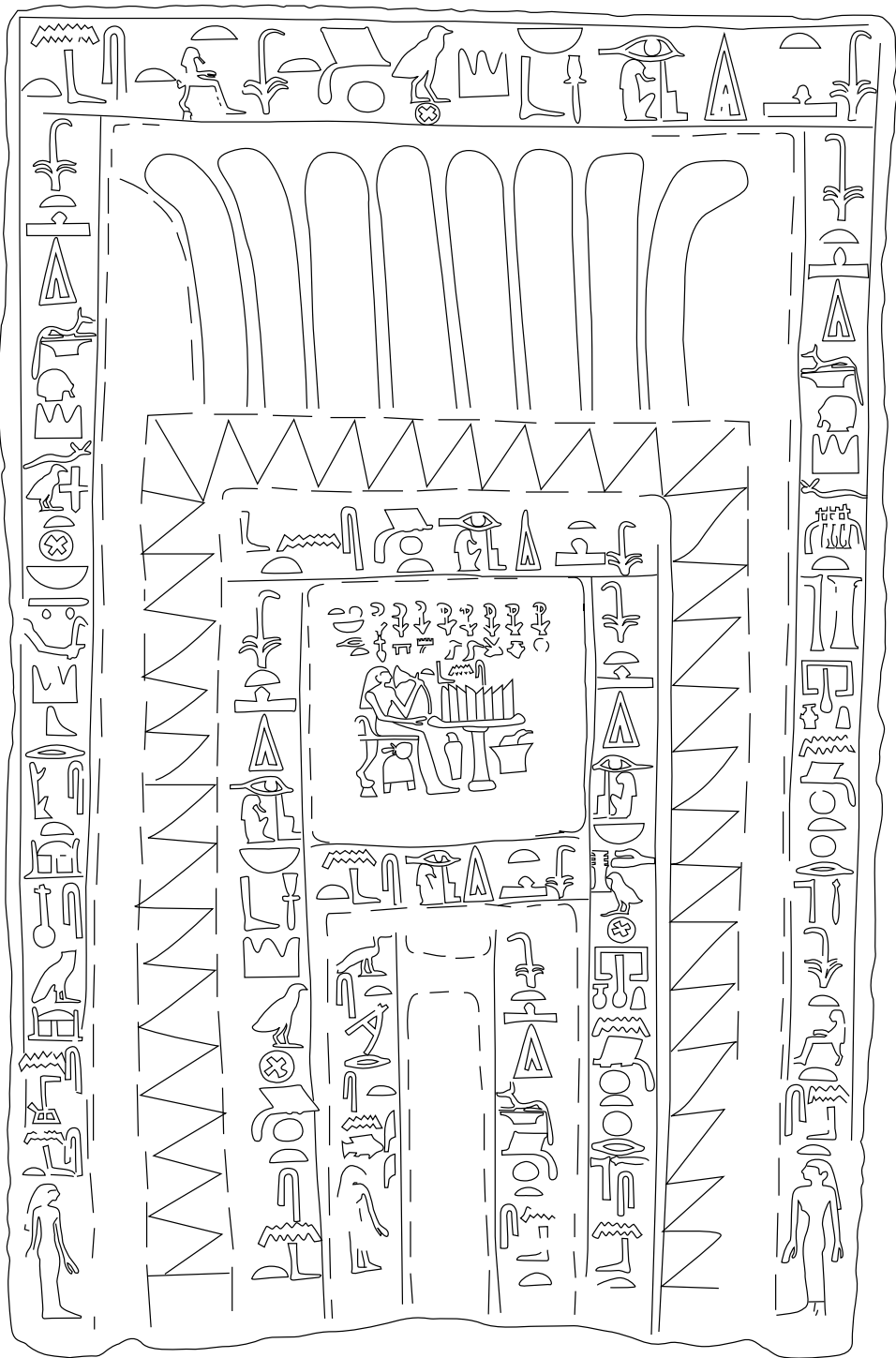


Abb. 1: Scheintür-Stele der *Snt* (CG 1450)

- b) In der Schreibung des Ortsnamen  $\bar{\text{I}} \text{ } \bar{\text{J}} \text{ } \bar{\text{M}} \text{ } \bar{\text{D}} \text{ } \bar{\text{W}}$   $\bar{\text{I}} \bar{\text{J}} \bar{\text{M}} \bar{\text{D}} \bar{\text{W}}$  ersetzt das Zeichen  $\bar{\text{M}}$   $\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{s}}\bar{\text{t}}$  das Zeichen  $\bar{\text{M}}$  auf einigen Objekten der 8. Dynastie und des Endes der 12. Dynastie<sup>6</sup>. Die Schreibung mit dem Stadtdeterminativ  $\bar{\text{D}}$  erscheint auch auf Scheintüren aus der Zeit zwischen dem Ende der 8. und dem Anfang der 9. Dynastie<sup>7</sup>. Während  $\bar{\text{I}} \bar{\text{J}} \bar{\text{M}} \bar{\text{D}} \bar{\text{W}}$  die wichtigste Stadt für Osiris (besonders) im Süden und in Ägypten im Allgemeinen war, war  $\bar{\text{D}} \bar{\text{D}} \bar{\text{W}}$  seine Stadt im Norden, zu deren wichtigsten Gegenständen der  $\bar{\text{d}} \bar{\text{d}}$ -Pfeiler gehörte, dessen Aufstellungszeremonie als Symbol für die Auferstehung von Osiris gefeiert wurde<sup>8</sup>.
- c) Die Bezeichnung des Verstorbenen mit dem Wort  $\bar{\text{j}} \bar{\text{m}} \bar{\text{s}} \bar{\text{h}}$  „der Versorgte“ erscheint regelmäßig in der Opferformel nicht nur von Stelen. Damit endet der Text, in dem die Titel des Verstorbenen oder die Opferformel gefolgt vom Namen des Türinhabers erwähnt werden. Die Schreibung des Wortes „der Versorgte“ nach der Formel, die das Opfergebet umfasst, ohne dass vor dem Wort „dem Versorgten“ einer seiner Titel erwähnt wird, ist ein Merkmal der Texte nach dem Ende der 6. Dynastie<sup>9</sup>. Im Mittleren Reich finden wir in den Provinzen, wie auch in Memphis, den verbreiteten Gebrauch von Äußerungen der Freisprechung, wie der  $\bar{\text{m}} \bar{\text{s}} \bar{\text{c}} \bar{\text{h}} \bar{\text{r}} \bar{\text{w}}$  „Gerechtfertigte“.
- d) Das Zeichen  $\bar{\text{c}}$  fehlt bei der Wiedergabe des Wortes  $\bar{\text{s}} \bar{\text{p}} \bar{\text{s}} \bar{\text{t}}$  bei Borchardt<sup>10</sup>.
- e)  $\bar{\text{s}} \bar{\text{p}} \bar{\text{s}} \bar{\text{t}} \bar{\text{n}} \bar{\text{s}} \bar{\text{w}} \bar{\text{t}}$  „Die Edle des Königs“ ist einer der Ehrentitel ausschließlich für die Ehefrauen und Töchter einiger Beamten und Priester. Er ist ab dem Alten Reich belegt, insbesondere in der frühen 6. Dynastie<sup>11</sup>. Die Ehefrauen der Provinzverwalter, besonders in Deir el Gebrâwi und Akhmim, trugen zu dieser Zeit ebenfalls diesen Titel<sup>12</sup>. Er erscheint weiterhin in der Ersten Zwischenzeit<sup>13</sup> und im Mittleren Reich<sup>14</sup> und verschwindet dann in der Zeit des Neuen Reichs<sup>15</sup>. Die meisten Ehefrauen von hohen Beamten, die diesen Titel trugen, waren auch „Priesterinnen der Hathor“. Siehe unten § II.2.1. (h).

<sup>6</sup> Z.B. auf der Scheintür des *Wsr* (aus El-Atamne), die ohne Nummer im Museum von Assiut aufbewahrt wird, siehe A. Kamal, *Objects recueillis dans la necropole d'El-Atamne*, in: ASAE III, 1902, 185-187.

<sup>7</sup> Zur Schreibweise des Wortes  $\bar{\text{I}} \bar{\text{J}} \bar{\text{M}} \bar{\text{D}} \bar{\text{W}}$  mit dem Stadtdeterminativ auf den Scheintüren aus der Zeit zwischen der 8. und dem Anfang der 9. Dynastie siehe z.B. die Scheintür-Stele der *Sst-jn Tjt*, Boston MFA 24.693, aus Saqqara: C. M. Firth/B. Gunn, *Teti pyramid Cemeteries II*, Excav. Saqq. 1926, Taf. 21 (1).

<sup>8</sup> J.G. Griffith, *The Origins of Osiris*, MÄS 9, 1966, 85ff.

<sup>9</sup> Siehe z.B. N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd*, London 1901, Taf. XXI; N. Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish. The Cemetery of Akhmim I*, Sydney 1980, 14 (Grab Nr. M 8), III, Sydney 1982, 10 (Grab Nr. H 15); id., *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom*, *The Australian Centre for Egyptology Studies* 2, Sydney 1992, 118-119.

<sup>10</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler II*, 135.

<sup>11</sup> Diesen Titel trugen in der 6. Dynastie viele Frauen, zum Beispiel *Htp-hpw*: Mariette, *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos*, Nr. 539; *Nbt*: CG 1575, *Sntj*: M.G. Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers contemporains de Pepi II*, Le Caire, 1929, 50; *Hnw*: M.A. Murray, *Index of Names and Titles of the Old Kingdom*, BSAE Studies I, 1908, 45, N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrâwi I*, ASE 11, London 1902, Taf. V.

<sup>12</sup> H.G. Fischer, *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom and of the Heracleopolitan Period*, New York 1989, 15-16.

<sup>13</sup> Belege für diesen Titel in der Ersten Zwischenzeit siehe: Dunham, *Naga ed Der Stelae*, Taf. 16, Nr. 1 und Taf. 27, Nr.1.

<sup>14</sup> Belege dieses Titels aus dem Mittleren Reich finden sich auf CG 22881, 28015 und 28017.

<sup>15</sup> Für den parallelen Titel  $\bar{\text{s}} \bar{\text{p}} \bar{\text{s}} \bar{\text{t}} \bar{\text{p}} \bar{\text{r}} \bar{\text{c}} \bar{\text{s}}$  vgl. ÄIB II, Berlin 2297; WB IV, 450.

- f) Der Name *Snbt* ist im Alten Reich relativ selten. Die Beispiele, die Ranke aufführt<sup>16</sup>, beziehen sich auf Denkmäler derselben Frau, d.h., der Inhaberin der vorgestellten Stele. Dem ist noch der Verweis auf die Stele Kairo CG 1629 hinzuzufügen<sup>17</sup>.

### 1.3 Der rechte äußere Rahmen

Auf diesem befindet sich eine Kolumne einer nach innen ausgerichteten Inschrift:



(2) *ḥtp-dj-nswt Inpw* (a) *tpj ḏw=f ḥntj šh-ntr* (b) *prt-ḥrw t ḥnqt n* (c) *jm3ḥt ḥr ntr* ʿ3 (d) *špst nswt Snbt*

### Übersetzung

(2) Ein Opfer, das der König an Anubis, den auf seinem Berg Ruhenden, der vor dem Gotteshalle ist, gibt, [auf dass er] ein Totenopfer [bestehend aus] Brot und Bier für die Versorgte bei dem großen Gott und Edle des Königs *Snbt*, gewähren möge.

### Anmerkungen

- a) Die Graphie des Gottes Anubis über dem Schrein erscheint auf Scheintüren nach der 6. Dynastie (der Epoche von Pepi II.)<sup>18</sup>, aber auch in der 1. Zwischenzeit<sup>19</sup>. Die frühesten Belege datieren womöglich erst in die 6.<sup>20</sup> statt an das Ende der 5. Dynastie<sup>21</sup>.
- b) Die Totenopferformel erscheint in dieser Form nach dem Ende der 6. Dynastie und dem Anfang der 8. Dynastie<sup>22</sup>, wurde aber auch im Alten Reich verwendet. Die Rückkehr zu dieser Schreibweise in der 1. Zwischenzeit stellt vielleicht eine archaisierende Tendenz dar.
- c) Die Schreibung des Wortes *ntr* ohne Determinativ des Gottes lässt sich auf Scheintüren vom Anfang der 5. Dynastie<sup>23</sup> bis zum Mittleren Reich<sup>24</sup> nachweisen.

<sup>16</sup> Ranke, PN I, 303, 27.

<sup>17</sup> Borchardt, Denkmäler II, 98.

<sup>18</sup> Vgl. z.B. die Scheintür-Stele des *Rḥ-ḥr-k3-Ipj* (Jéquier, Tombeaux de particuliers, 121-125, Abb. 138) und des *K3j* aus Saqqara (A. El-Khouly/N. Kanawati, Excavations at Saqqara, North-West of Teti's Pyramid II, Sydney 1988, Taf. 22) sowie die Scheintür-Stele des *Ppj-ḥnḥ-ḥnij-km* aus Meir (A. M. Blackman/M. R. Apted, The Rock Tombs of Meir V, London 1953, 42, Taf. XXXIII).

<sup>19</sup> Vgl. z.B. die Scheintür-Stele des *Nstj* (Jéquier, Tombeaux de particuliers, 32-40, Abb. 36; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 681), des *Ḥtp* (Firth/Gunn, Teti Pyramid Cemeteries II, Taf. 73 [1]) und die Scheintür-Stele des *Msjj* alle aus Saqqara (N. Strudwick, Review on Excavations at Saqqara, North-West of Teti's Pyramid I, in: JEA 73, 1987, 277).

<sup>20</sup> S. die Scheintür-Stele des *Nj-ḥnḥ-Ppj-Sbk-ḥtp-ḥpj-km* aus Meir (Blackman/Apted, The Rock Tombs of Meir V, 1-2, Taf. X).

<sup>21</sup> Zur Graphie des Zeichens für Anubis s. Fischer, Dendera, 84 [14] und 86.

<sup>22</sup> Vgl. die Scheintür-Stele des *ḥnt=f* aus Saqqara (Firth/Gunn, Teti Pyramid Cemeteries II, 194-195 (25) und die Scheintür-Stele des *S3t-jn-Ttj* alle aus Saqqara (Boston MFA 24.693: Firth/Gunn, Teti Pyramid Cemeteries II, 21 (1)).

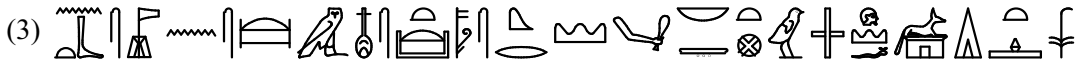
<sup>23</sup> Vgl. die Scheintür-Stele des *Nj-k3w-Rḥ* aus Saqqara (CG 1416: Borchardt, Denkmäler I, 87-89, Taf. 20; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 697).

<sup>24</sup> Vgl. z.B. die Scheintür-Stele der *Mwt-m-s3=s* (Kairo JdÉ 55618: PM III<sup>2</sup>, 548-549; G. Posener, Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie: Textes hiératiques sur des figurines d'envoûtement du Moyen Empire, Bruxelles 1940, 15-17) oder des *Sk-wšht* aus Saqqara (Kairo JdÉ 55618: PM III<sup>2</sup>, 548-549; Posener, Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie, 15-17).

*I.3.1* Am Ende der Kolumne findet sich die kleinformatige Abbildung einer Frau, die in einer typischen Haltung steht und nach Innen (in Richtung des Türeingangs) blickt. Sie trägt ein langes, enges Gewand und ihre Arme sind ihren Körper entlang ausgestreckt. Diese steht sowohl für die Darstellung der Steleninhaberin *Snbt* als auch für das Determinativ des Namens.

#### *I.4 Der linke äußere Rahmen*

Auf diesem befindet sich ebenfalls eine Kolumne einer nach innen ausgerichteten Inschrift:



(3) *h̄tp-dj-nswt Inpw tpj dw=f jmj-wt* (a) *nb t3 dsr qrs.tw=s* (b) *nfr(t) m qrs.s* (c) *n hrt-ntr* (n) *Snbt*

#### *Übersetzung*

(3) Ein Opfer, das der König an Anubis, der auf seinem Berg Ruhende, der in der Balsamierungsstadt ist (c) und Herr des heiligen Landes „Friedhofes“<sup>25</sup>, gibt, damit sie in ihrem Begräbnis in der Nekropole schön begraben wird, (für) *Snbt*.

#### *Anmerkungen*

- a) Die Schreibung von *jmj-wt* weist das Stadtdeterminativ auf und ähnelt damit den älteren Schreibweisen, die im Alten Reich und in der 1. Zwischenzeit verbreitet waren. Die Schreibweisen, in denen das Beiwort der Stadt nicht erwähnt wird, stammen aus späteren Zeiten<sup>26</sup>.
- b) „Der in der Balsamierungsstadt ist“<sup>27</sup> – Der Gott Anubis war der Gott, der am häufigsten in den Opferformeln nachzuweisen ist. Er wird zum Beispiel als *hntj sh-ntr* „der vor dem Gotteshalle ist“, *tpj dw=f* „der auf seinem Berg ruht“ oder *jmj-wt* „Der in der Balsamierungsstadt ist“ bezeichnet. Der letztere Titel bezieht sich auf seine Verbindung mit den Balsamierungsorten, da bis auf *Sp3*, die heilige Stadt für diesen Gott, die bis heute nicht genau lokalisiert werden konnte, keine genauen Ortschaften definiert wurden<sup>28</sup>.
- c) Das Determinativ von *qrst* stellt einen Sarg dar und wurde in dieser Form am Ende des Alten Reichs benutzt. Der Gebrauch dieses Determinativs ging zurück, da das Zeichen *mstpt* — ein Schlitten, auf dem ein Sarg liegt — an seine Stelle trat, indem es ersteres bis zum Ende der 11. Dynastie<sup>29</sup> ersetzt. Es wurde zusammen mit dem Zeichen *qrs* in einer Inschrift aus Qasr-es-Sayed benutzt, die in Dendera entdeckt wurde<sup>30</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> WB V, 228, 6; R.O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, Oxford, 1962, 293.

<sup>26</sup> Fischer, Dendera, 84.

<sup>27</sup> WB I, 380, 1, 2; Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary*, 17.

<sup>28</sup> WB IV, 101.

<sup>29</sup> Fischer, Dendera, 79.

<sup>30</sup> Fischer, Dendera, 79.

1.4.1 Am Ende des Kolumne findet sich parallel zu anderen Seite eine Darstellung der *Snbt*, siehe § I.3.1.

### 1.5 Die Scheintür-Tafel

Die Zentralszene der Stele stellt die gewöhnliche Totenmahlzeit dar. Auf der linken Seite der Szene ist die Steleninhaberin dargestellt. Sie sitzt vor dem Opfertisch auf einem Sitz mit einer niedrigen Lehne mit einem Kissen, das auf den Rücken des Sitzes fällt, und Löwenbeinen. Bekleidet ist sie mit einem langen, engen Gewand und einer lange Perücke, die ihre Ohren zeigt. Die rechte Hand ist in der Richtung des Opfertisches ausgestreckt, während die linke eine Lotusblume hält, an der sie riecht<sup>31</sup>. Unter dem Sitz sind ein Spiegel und ein Kasten dargestellt. Der Name der Frau ist vor ihrem Gesicht und auf dem Opfertisch in einer horizontalen Zeile geschrieben:

(4) 

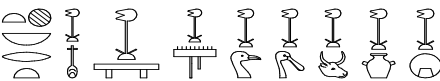
(4) *Snbt*

#### Übersetzung

(4) *Snbt*

Der Opfertisch vor ihr besteht aus einem niedrigen Träger und einer Platte, die leicht nach innen gebeugt ist. Auf dem Opfertisch liegen acht Brote in Form von Schilfröhren. Unter dem Opfertisch stehen Weihrauch und lange Ölgefäße mit Deckel.

### 1.5.1 Über dem Opfertisch werden Opfer aufgelistet:

(5) 

(5) *h3 p3t h3 hnqt h3 k3 h3 p3q h3 3bd h3 mnht h3 h3wt h3 ht nbt nfrt*

#### Übersetzung

(5) Tausend Brote, tausend Biere, tausend Ochsen, tausend von *p3q*-Vögel, tausend Vögel, tausend Gewänder, tausend Opfertische und tausend von allen guten Dingen.

### 1.6 Der obere Sturzbalken

Hier verläuft eine Zeile mit der Widmung des Opfers an den Gott Osiris für die Versorgte *Snbt*. Die Inschrift verläuft von rechts nach links:

<sup>31</sup> Harpur erwähnt, dass die Inschriften und Szenen aus dem Alten Reich nur drei Möglichkeiten zeigen, in denen der Verstorbene mit einer Lotusblume erscheint, die er an seiner Nase hält. Die Lotusblume erschien eher bei Frauen und nicht bei Männern. Erst mit dem Dass Ende der 6. Dynastie erscheinen auch Männer, die eine Lotusblume in der Hand halten, diese an ihren Nasen hielten und daran rochen. Des Weiteren hat sie schon gezeigt, dass die blühende Lotusblume charakteristisch für die 1. Zwischenzeit ist. Wahrscheinlich war diese eine blaue Lotusblume, die sich von der weißen Lotusblume unterscheidet. Diese ist blau und hat enge und scharfe Spitzen: Y. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom. Studies in Orientation and Scene Content*, London/New York 1987, 134-136.

(6) *htp-dj-nswt Wsjr (n) jm3ht Snbt*

### Übersetzung

(6) Ein Opfer, das der König an Osiris, gibt, (für) die Versorgte *Snbt*.

### 1.7 Der rechte äußere Türflügel

Auf diesem befindet sich eine einkolumnige und nach innen orientierte hieroglyphische Inschrift mit der Opferformel für Osiris, den Herrn von Busiris:

(7)

(7) *htp-dj-nswt Wsjr nb Ddw (a) prt-hrw t hnqt n jm3ht hr ntr 3 Snbt*

### Übersetzung

(7) Ein Opfer, das der König an Osiris, den Herrn von Busiris, gibt, [auf dass er] ein Totenopfer [bestehend aus] Brot und Bier für die Versorgte bei dem großen Gott *Snbt*, gewähren möge.

### Anmerkungen

a) Die Schreibung des Wortes *Ddw* in einer horizontalen Reihenfolge erscheint zum ersten Mal auf Scheintüren datiert in die Zeit zwischen dem Ende der 6. Dynastie und dem Anfang der Ersten Zwischenzeit<sup>32</sup>.

### 1.8 Der linke äußere Türflügel

Auch hier findet sich eine einkolumnige und nach innen orientierte hieroglyphische Inschrift mit der gewöhnlichen Formel für vom Gott Osiris für die Versorgte *Snbt* die gereichten Opfer.

(8)

(8) *htp-dj-nswt Wsjr nb 3bdw (n) jm3ht Snbt*

### Übersetzung

(8) Ein Opfer, das der König an Osiris, den Herrn von Abydos, gibt, (für) die Versorgte *Snbt*.

### 1.9 Der untere Sturzbalken

Auf ihm befindet sich eine von rechts nach links verlaufende horizontale Inschrift.

<sup>32</sup> Für die Schreibweise von *Ddw* auf anderen Scheintüren derselben Epoche, siehe z.B. die Scheintür-Stele des *Hnjj* aus Akhmim: Kanawati, Akhmim II, Sydney 1981, 24-25, Abb. 4; die Scheintür-Stele des *Gm-n=j nḥw* aus Saqqara: Firth/Gunn, Teti pyramid Cemeteries II, Taf. 74 (2) und die Scheintür-Stele der *Tst-Mstnj*, aus Saqqara, CG 57206: J. E. Quibell, Excavations at Saqqara (1905-1906), Taf. XVI (links); PM III<sup>2</sup>, 563.



(9) *ḥtp-dj-nswt Wsjr (n) Snb*

*Übersetzung*

(9) Ein Opfer, das der König an Osiris, gibt, (für) *Snb*.

*I.10 Der rechte innere Türflügel*

In einer nach innen orientierten Kolumne findet sich die Opferformel an den Gott Anubis für die genannte Person *Snb*.



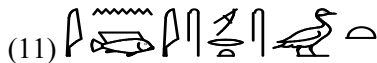
(10) *ḥtp-dj-nswt Inpw (n) jm3ḥt Snb*

*Übersetzung*

(10) Ein Opfer, das der König an Anubis gibt, (für) die Versorgte *Snb*.

*I.11 Der linke innere Türflügel*

Auch hier findet sich eine nach innen orientierte Kolumne mit hieroglyphischer Inschrift, die den Namen und die Titel der Tochter von der Steleninhaberin beinhaltet.



(11) *s3t=s mrt=s 'Inj (a)*

*Übersetzung*

(11) Ihre geliebte Tochter *'Inj*.

*Anmerkungen*

(a) Ranke, PN I, 33 (4).

*I.11.1* Die Inschriftenkolumne wird von der kleinformatischen Darstellung einer Frau beschlossen, die in einer traditionellen Haltung steht. Sie ist die Tochter der Steleninhaberin. Sie trägt ein langes, enges Gewand, eine lange Perücke und ihre Arme sind ihren Körper entlang ausgestreckt.

*I.12 Schlussbetrachtungen*

Die vorgeschlagene Datierung dieser Stele basiert auf den Kriterien des Stils und des Typus der Stele und der Epigraphik. Die hier besprochene Stele entspricht einem Typus in Form einer Scheintür, deren oberer Sturzbalken sich auf die äußeren Türflügeln stützt, und der untere Sturzbalken auf die inneren Türflügeln stützt. Gleichzeitig gibt es einen flachen zusätzlichen Rahmen um die Tür<sup>33</sup>. Dieser Stil erschien vom Ende der 6. bis zur 8. Dynastie

<sup>33</sup> Vandier, Manuel II, 401ff.