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# 1. THE MEROITIC INSCRIPTIONS FROM GEBEL ADDA

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## Abstract

A portion of the Meroitic texts found at the site of Gebel Adda are published here. The stelae, offering tables, and jars upon which these texts are found are now housed in the Royal Ontario Museum, the Cairo Museum and the National Geographic Society in Washington, DC.

## Key Words

Gebel Adda, Meroitic, Nubia

(Editor's Note: The manuscript of this article was found on the desk of Dr. Millet at his death and was the last item on which he worked during his long illness. He had indicated his desire to see these important texts published. When this volume was proposed, it was suggested that his last article be included. All of the contributors to this dedicatory volume agreed and we present this study in its unfinished condition. As noted in the article, many photographs of the excavation were lost and not every text was included in this publication. Likewise, we were unable to find the hand copies mentioned. We have included all that we could find and have edited the text to include the handwritten corrections Nick made on the manuscript. Even in its unfinished condition, the article provides the publication of these very significant Meroitic documents. There were originally 80 texts to be covered, for which see **Table 1** at the end of the article.)

## Introduction

The inscriptions published here are those found by the American Research Center in Egypt's Nubian Expedition during its four seasons of work at Gebel Adda, from 1962 to 1966.

They were first dealt with in a doctoral dissertation written under Professor William Kelly Simpson at Yale University (*Meroitic Nubia*. University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1968; printed copies are available from that archive). The new version which follows includes some new interpretations, but the treatment of many of the grammatical and historical points has been reduced, since these have been touched upon since then in works written by workers in the field.

Those of the stelae and offering-tables discovered which were not retained by the Egyptian authorities were released by the Cairo Museum, carefully packed by Thomas Cook and Sons' expert packers, and sealed by the Museum officials in preparation for export. Unfortunately, when it came time for the actual shipping to the National Geographic Society in Washington, D.C., a misunderstanding arose between the staff at the American Research Center in Cairo and the Museum curators; the cases were returned to the Museum, opened at the insistence of a junior official attached to that institution, duly examined, and then repacked by members of the Museum's janitorial staff, with predictable results. Many of the large stone objects arrived in America broken into fragments or powder, the sandstone from which they were made being often of a very poor quality.

A few pieces had been donated permanently to the National Geographic Society in Washington DC, in return for the Society's generous support, which is here very gratefully

acknowledged. The balance of the collection was sent by the Society on long-term loan to the Royal Ontario Museum in 1973, and later generously made an unconditional gift.

The new photographs here reproduced were taken by Angelica Magsisi of the Royal Ontario Museum. Earlier photographs had been taken by Richard A. Edlund in the first three seasons, and in the last (1965-66) by Freddi Haller; the drawings are the work of Reinhard Huber and occasionally myself. The writer deeply regrets to have to confess that a great deal of the photographic record of the Expedition has been lost; in the course of moving of all the records from Cairo to New Haven, Connecticut, thence to Cambridge, Massachusetts, and subsequently to Toronto, several hundred negatives, including many whole rolls of film, have inexplicably disappeared, and assiduous search in all these places has unfortunately failed to discover them. Obvious restorations in the texts are enclosed in square brackets. When characters are missing and their number can be estimated, a corresponding number of dots indicate the approximate length of the gap. All the Meroitic texts are in the later form of the script. Included here are some few Egyptian Demotic texts, mostly graffiti on amphorae from Adda tombs of the same period.

\* \* \*

**GA04:** Sandstone stela, register no. 63:3:30. The measurements are (or rather were) .37 x .39 x .075 m. Found in Tomb 6 of Cemetery 3, in the fill of the shaft, on the south side, along with an offering table of the “well” type. Now (although shattered in the 1966 re-packing) in the Royal Ontario Museum, but not accessioned. Much of the stone is now lost, having been reduced to chips.

#### TEXT

- 1: *wosi soreyi qo . . . . .*
- 2: *niye qowi stmdese p[eseto]*
- 3: *lise mheye : terikeli : terik[e]*
- 4: *lowi xbxenekdi : lh : arete : p/k/n*
- 5: *boteli : yiqeliteli : tedxeli*
- 6: *tedxeli : tedxelowi : pelmos a*
- 7: *tolite[b] : yetmdelowi lh : modli*
- 8: *teb : yetmde : qebetowi : per[i]*
- 9: *te : wosteb : qorene : wosteb*
- 0: *yetmde : qebetowi : mlolowi :*
- 1: *mlo mrse : phrsetelowi : ato*
- 2: *mxe : pisihekese at [m]x[e p]i[si]*
- 3: *xrkese :*

#### COMMENTARY

The name of the dead person is damaged, and only the last four letters are preserved, unless the surviving *qo* in line 1 is the beginning of the name rather than the honorific. There is nothing specific in the text to tell us whether the deceased was male or female, but I have assumed that a male of such good family would boast at least one title of his own. The punctuation is

erratic, as in many of the Lower Nubian Meroitic inscriptions, and suggests that the stone-carver was less literate than the scribe who (presumably) drew up the text. The father of the person commemorated, Makheye, must be the same person whose tombstone, found in 1910 by the Oxford Expedition at Faras, was published by Griffith as Faras Inscription 44; on it he lists a long series of noble relatives who held office as “princes in Akin.”

The name and description of the mother of the deceased are less easy to understand. Her name seems to be *Yiqeliteli*, and the first title, *xbxene-kdi lh* or “great *xbxene*-lady” shows that she was not of the princely family like her husband, but of the other prominent family of Nubia, that of the “generals of the river.” The phrase just before what I take to be the mother’s name must be one descriptive of her:

*arete . boteli* = verb? + object

meaning something like “the one who *aret*es the *.bote*,” whatever may be the interpretation. At least such an analysis would explain the otherwise awkward presence of the definite article, if that is what it is, after the dubious *.bote*.

In the expression *lh mod-li-se-leb*, as I explained in *Meroitic Nubia*, I see a reference to “the great ones of the Moda,” Moda being presumably some part of Lower Nubia; in GA 20+21 (see below) we find that the dead woman was

*pelmos atoliteb lh wrosteleb lh modliteb xrxne sqekiteleb kditebetowi*

Thus the deceased was the “sister of the generals of the river, the great ones in Waros, the great ones of the Moda, and the governors in Shaqeki.” A place-name *amod* occurs in the well-known stela Faras 21, but the other two names are unattested outside the Adda inscriptions, and nothing can be said about any of the three with certainty.

With regard to the suggested translation of the title *qorene* see the treatment of GA 21 below. In the same work (p. 148), I put Makheye’s date of death at sometime “in the last twenty years of the third century,” and that of his child commemorated here would presumably be correspondingly later.

Is the title of *xbxene* itself to be understood as “writing officer” (*x-bxe-ne*), that is, “scribe”?

#### RENDERING

“O Isis! O Osiris! It is the noble . . . niye, the noble one, whose father was the *stmdese* of the prince, Maheye, whose mother was the great *xbxene*-lady, one who *.botes* the *arete*, Yiqeliteli; she was related to the generals of the river; she was related to the great ones of the Moda; she was related to the agents of Isis, and to the secretaries of Isis; she was a good person; she was good of repute(?) in Faras. Much water may she drink! Much bread(?) may she eat!”

**GA05:** Fragment of sandstone stela, register no. 63:3:31, found in surface debris on the Citadel. The measurements are .245 x .23 x .09 m. Now in the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM accession



no. 973.24.508). **Photograph 1-1.**

x+

- 1: [traces only]  
 2: ]tl yetmde  
 3: yet]mdelowi : pese  
 4: ]ye : yetmdel  
 5: p]eseto : mlo.ye  
 6: ]elowi : peseto s  
 7: ]ye [

#### COMMENTARY

The left-hand edge of the stone is preserved for much of the remaining text. Some of the readings here are quite different from those given in the earlier publication. All that is left of the text is part of a list of the deceased's relatives, apparently including *peseto*-princes, among whom is a man named Malo.ye(?), not known elsewhere.

**GA06:** A group of seven open-air graffiti on a stone ledge on the south edge of Wadi al-Ur, just to the north of the Adda citadel.

a: Near many incised outlines of feet pointing west.

*smtlh : qoriti :*

“The great *smt*-officer of the king”

The title “great *smt*” is known from Kar 52.

b: Near many incised outlines of feet pointing west.

*prhn-qo  
 plto : treb :  
 ken*

c: Inside one of many incised outlines of feet pointing west; very poorly written.

*hselmli :  
 hniy :  
 llyn*

d: Inside the incised figure of a cow, in C-group style.

. s : mlone : sebe : sli  
 . . d . ptkineqo :

e: Probably not a palimpsest, as averred in Meroitic Nubia.

aqewrtlonloli :  
 yt . . . : anoqo  
 sirele  
 [traces]

f:

renelr

g: This is the longest of the group and the most like others of the same sort, such as those at Kawa, notably Kawa 73.

ariteneqo : ydxne : anoqo  
 3 kene 6 : snse : penn 1 dteqo  
 we  
 h . qo : asode : [traces]

#### COMMENTARY

With such a carelessly written scrap of text it is difficult to make very much, despite its resemblance to other pious graffiti. The prayer or proscynema is clearly addressed to the god Ariten rather than to Amanapate, as at Kawa, and the following two words are those encountered there. The rest of the text, however, involves words associated with numeral signs. Even though two of the words, *kene* and *penn*, are known elsewhere, their position relative to the numerals is such that one wonders whether some of the right-hand end of the text has been lost; what is apparently the numeral 3 should surely be preceded by the noun it numbers. The *we* written below the second line must be a correction to the line above, but does not materially aid us. As pointed out in *Meroitic Nubia*, the word *penn* may mean “year”; the more or less vertical stroke following it may or may not be the numeral sign for “one.” In any case, the fact that a date may be mentioned here cannot be ruled out, although numerals in the similar Kawa graffiti are common.

**GA07:** Relatively well-made sandstone offering table with double spout and two cartouche-shaped basins, register no. 63:3:79. Found in Cemetery 3, re-used as a cover for an infant burial of the Muslim period with no number beside another Muslim burial, Tomb 3. The measurements are .50 x .38 x .15 m. Now in the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM accession no. 973.24.374). **Photograph 1-2.**

TEXT

- 1: *wos wetneyi*  
 2: *neqeli so*  
 3: *ri w[etr]ri : qo : xrp̄x*  
 4: *[ne] : p[h]rsete : dikeseqowi a[to m]he : pi*  
 5: *sihe[ke]se : at mhe : pisi*  
 6: *xrke*  
 7: *se [traces]*

## COMMENTARY

A few faintly scratched signs are visible at the end of the text, presumably representing an earlier version of the inscription overwritten by the surviving text. A similar double-spouted offering-table, also inscribed for but one person, was found at Karanog (Kar. 72).

The person commemorated was the governor of the city of Faras, to the south of Adda, which had an ancient and capacious cemetery of its own, certainly still in use in the second half of the third century; why Dikes and at least one other governor of that town (see below in the remarks on GA24) chose to be buried at Adda is something of a puzzle. In *Meroitic Nubia*, p. 57, I advanced the suggestion that the intermarriage of the two chief families of Lower Nubia in the generation of Amanitewawi, may have had the result of redistributing the traditional hereditary titles of the two clans. In such a case, a “governor of Faras,” if he belonged to the family of the “generals of the river,” might well have chosen to be buried at Adda, by this time apparently a seat of the northern line.

## RENDERING

“O Isis *wetneyineqe!* O Osiris *wetrr!* It is the noble governor in Faras, Dikes. Much water may he drink! Much bread(?) may he eat(?)!”

**GA08:** Unregistered small fragment of a sandstone stela. Not photographed. Found in surface sand in Cemetery 3.

*]mos : a[*

**GA09:** Unregistered small fragment of a sandstone stela. Not photographed. Found in surface sand in Cemetery 3.

*]: mibemi[*

**GA10:** Unregistered small fragment of a sandstone stela, the signs filled with red paint; found near south side of Pyramid 3. Not photographed.

*]lowi : q[  
 ]elw : a[*

**GA11:** Unregistered small fragment of sandstone stela, signs filled with red paint; found at south side of Pyramid 3. Not photographed.

]se: qor[  
]ye :[

**GA13 & GA16:** Two fitting fragments of a sandstone stela, register nos. 63:3:285 and 340; the signs are filled with red paint. The first was found in surface sand southwest of Pyramid 3, the second between Pyramids 2 and 5. Now in the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM accession no. 973.24.1198). The measurements, when the two pieces are joined, are .32 x .26 x .12 m. **(Photograph 1-3)**

#### TEXT

x+

- 1: ]isel . . . . . teketi[n
- 2: ]mese rekelise : beltore : I[
- 3: ]e 10 kene : 1 tlt # my : tk : teketi[n
- 4: ]se : 10 kelw : axide[
- 5: ]e : abse : leto[

#### COMMENTARY

The restoration of *teketin* in lines 1 and 3 is suggested by a word in Ib. 1, where numerals are also involved. The restoration *kl-* in the first surviving word in line 2 is also based on an Ibrim inscription (No. 2), where a *klmese* is among the offerings made by “the prince.” The word also occurs in an ostrakon from Arminna published by myself in *Aegypten und Kusch* (Berlin, 1977), a text which I took to be a private letter; if so, it seems unlikely to be an object of a strictly funerary purpose. A further example of the word occurs on one of Griffith’s Faras ostraca, where two *klmeses* are mentioned in a list of other items followed by numeral signs. The following element in the present text, *rekelise*, I am assuming is the genitive form of a definite noun beginning in *a-* with elision of the initial vowel. The word that follows, *beltore*, must be related to the *belebeltore* of Ib. 1, 11, in a similar list of objects which I now incline to think are probably diplomatic gifts from the Roman emperor to a Meroitic envoy, rather than funerary offerings, as I suggested in 1982. The sign after the word *tlt* must be a numeral, but does not accord with any of those listed by Griffith in *JEA* 3 (1916).

The word *kene* appears frequently in the Meroitic corpus, beginning with MI 101; it seems almost always to be followed by a numeral. The gloss “year” I suggested for it in *Meroitic Nubia* was fatuous and should be forgotten. *axide* is presumably the predicate verb or whatever that I discussed in Mills, *The Cemeteries of Qasr Ibrim*, p. 72.

The preserved portion of this text seems to list a series of objects, no doubt of some worth, “sent/given(?)” to the deceased. The list is very similar to that given in Ib. 1, and one wonders if our anonymous Adda notable was not also in something of the same social or political situation, whatever it was, as Tameye of Ibrim.

## RENDERING

“a . . . of the . . . . . , a *teketin* . . . , a *klmese* of the *areke*, one *beltore*. . . 10 . . .s (of?) 1 *kene*, # *tlts*, and 10 my *tk teketins* . . . of . . . he sent(?) . . .”

**GA15:** Small fragment of a sandstone stela with bilingual text, the first part in Meroitic and the second in clumsily executed Egyptian Demotic (the transcription here rendered in bold type). Found in Cemetery Three in surface sand between Pyramids Two and Three, register no. 63:3:287. The measurements are .225 x .22 x .07 m. Now in the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM accession no. 973.24.718). (**Photograph 1-4**)

x+

- 1: [no traces remain]  
 2:                    ]I[  
 3:    *ato mhe*] *pisi*[*hekese*  
 4:    *at mhe pisixr*] *kese* ‘**nḥ by**[  
 5:                    ]**n phrse** [  
 6:                    ]**š<sup>c</sup> dt iw.š** .[  
 7:                    ]**ḥ** . . . [

## NOTES

The last few signs of line 6 are most uncertain; the transcription is based on the forms in Ph. 421 as given by Griffith.

## COMMENTARY

This tantalizing fragment of a bilingual Meroitic-Egyptian tombstone points up sharply the dual cultural heritage of the Meroitic inhabitants of Lower Nubia in the early centuries AD. Even, however, had the whole text been preserved, it would probably not have afforded us much in the way of useful glosses; the preserved end of the Meroitic funerary text (parts of offering formulae A and B) and what follows in Demotic Egyptian ("may the soul of N live") make it clear that each of the two texts was composed in the traditional funeral formulae peculiar to each culture. The strangeness of some of the Demotic forms in the last two lines may be due to scribal inaccuracy or to the ineptness of the Meroitic stonecutter, who was presumably tracing unfamiliar signs which had been written for him on the rock surface. The fragment of Egyptian suggests that the deceased was either an officer of the city of Faras or perhaps, in view of the highly problematical last signs of line 6, a female relative of such; considering the rarity of official titles connected with that city it is scarcely to be doubted that the magnate mentioned was one of the governors of Faras, two of whom at least were interred at Adda. Given the position of the fragment when found, the deceased may well have been buried in or near one of the large pyramid-tombs (Pyr. 1, 2, or 3). It is interesting in any case to see the name of Faras (Mer. *phrse*) rendered into Egyptian.

## RENDERING

“ . . . [much water may she] drink, [much bread may she] eat! **May the soul of [. . . . . the governor?] of Faras live! She was? . . .**”

**GA17:** Fragment of the right-hand edge of a sandstone stela, register no. 63:4:214, found reused in the blocking of an X-group child's tomb (tomb 376 in Cemetery Three). The measurements are .13 x .12 x .05 m. Quite destroyed during the re-packing of 1966. Never apparently photographed.

x+1: *yetmde[lowi . . . . .yet*  
 2: *mdelowi : pe[lmos : atoliteb : yetmdelo*  
 3: *wi pelmos a[dbliteb yetmdelowi : lh mo*  
 4: *dliteb : lh wr[oseteleb yetmdelowi*

#### COMMENTARY

The restorations suggested above are fairly certain, given the limited possibilities. The deceased, whose sex is uncertain, is claiming kin with “the generals of the water,” “the generals of the adb,” whatever that may be, “the great ones of the Amoda,” and “the great ones in Waros”; for a consideration of these last titles see below in the treatment of GA20.

**GA19:** Well-preserved sandstone stela in two columns; register no. 63:4:356. Found lying in surface sand in Cemetery Three, near Tomb 293, not far from Pyramid Five. The measurements are .51 x .40 x .075 m. The stone was found in the surface sand of Cemetery Three, not far from Pyramid Five; it is now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

#### TEXT

A (right column)

1: *wos wetneyi*  
 2: *neqeli : sori qe*  
 3: *trri : qodoqe*  
 4: *neqowi : pmete*  
 5: *terikelo : wi : wo*  
 6: *msemdeto : mdetowi*  
 7: *lowi : amxye :*  
 8: *mokelowi : aqo :*  
 9: *bili : qelowi : a*  
 0: *to mxe psihekese*  
 1: *at mxe pisxrke*  
 2: *tni mokelowi :*  
 3: *xteri : yesds*  
 4: *towi ato mx psi*  
 5: *hekese :*

B (left)

1: *wos wetneyi* :

2: *neqeli sori qe*

3: *trri : qomehi qo*

4: *wi : abrite : pme*

5: *te : qowi : tyesi : yet*

6: *dxelebkwi : ssemri*

7: *pesetoliti terike*

8: *lebkwi : steqete*

9: *b : yersxini ye*

0: *ritelebkwi : tro*

1: *tih qore mholit : a*

2: *xidesxini axilowi x*

3: *tede atoti : sklye*

4: *tek : 5 moqelowi :*

5: *ase : tkereketms*

5b: *5 ni mokelowi : d*

#### NOTES

Line A 7: the detached *-lowi* at the beginning of the line is perhaps the most glaring example of the corrupt nature of the text.

Line A 15: the apparent word-divider at the end may be an accident.

Line B 11: the sequence transcribed here as *mholit* looks much more like *msolit*, and the late and much regretted Andre Heyler and I once agreed it should be so rendered. In view, however, of the carelessness of the writing (and see my remarks on this and other occurrences of the word in the article on the Makho in *JSSEA* 1999) I feel obliged again to take it as *mho* rather than *mso*.

Line B 16: the isolated *d* at the very end can I think only be a correction to the line above, another instance of the lack of competence of either the scribe or the stonemason. Consequently, perhaps, one should read the last word of the preceding line as *tmsd*.

#### COMMENTARY

This text bristles with difficulties, most them due to the extreme carelessness with which it was made; it is, however difficult, quite possibly an important one, having an extensive anecdotal section relating apparently to one of the three persons commemorated. Unfortunately, of all the Meroitic tombstones from Adda, it is unquestionably the worst executed; either it was written by a near illiterate, or it was carved by an incompetent stonemason, perhaps both. It is very likely that the preposterous errors to be found here are the result of the text having been dictated. The text is clearly corrupt; the only question is whether it is hopelessly corrupt.

Three persons are commemorated; the first is one Qodoqen, whose father was Pamete, but whose mother's name, if indeed that is what is intended in lines A 5-6, is obscure in the extreme. The term *mdeto* occurs after a personal name in MI 88, and after a perfectly normal statement of

the parentage of the deceased lady; Griffith suggested it might mean “beloved” of the person named. When dealing with this term in *Meroitic Nubia* (p. 71), I expressed doubt of this suggestion; on pages 73-74 of that work I proposed the meaning of “directly descended” for this word, and I am still inclined to this interpretation. In the present text it may simply be an elaborate substitute for the word *tedxe* “born of,” in which case we must, I suppose, accept the strange-sounding Womasemadeto as the mother of our Qodoqen. It is, however, more likely that the name was simply Womase and that the second *mdeto* is simply the result of a careless duplication.

The second and third persons, commemorated on the left-hand column, were a certain Qomehi and Pamete, the last of which names is preceded by what must be some kind of epithet, the word *abrite*. This word, by analogy with the word *kdite* “sister” (clearly a derivative in *-te* from *kdi* “woman”), ought logically to mean “brother.” See below, however, for doubts on this score. In any case, we seem to have three members of a family buried together and named in the same memorial: a man named Pamete, his sibling Qomehi, and Pamete’s offspring, Qodoqen, most probably a daughter from her lack of titles. Why Pamete should specifically be described as a “brother,” when the filiation expression makes the relationship perfectly clear, is more than a little mysterious; but the word may have had some more exact nuance (such as “eldest brother”) that now escapes us, or it may be a title of some sort. The form of the maternal relationship verb, *yetdxe-*, is odd but there can hardly be any mistaking its meaning; indeed, it may simply be the result of another carelessness, this time in punctuation, which has separated the last syllable of the name *tyesiye* and wrongly attached it to the verb. The filiation of the two is thus given in the usual formulae; their mother was a lady with an Egyptian name, Tayeshi(ye?), while the father is not mentioned by name but simply called the “*ssemri* of the prince.” The title, although known elsewhere, is obscure, although its presence here does suggest that the old Meroitic governmental structure was still in place, at least in the father’s time. Since the words of filiation are in the plural, there can be no doubt that the two were siblings.

Line A 7: Here we read *amhye mokelowi*, where the first word suggests a personal name, although one not known elsewhere. The word *moke* and a very similar one, *moqe*, occur several times in the Lower Nubian Meroitic corpus, but one can only guess at their meaning, or even whether they are in reality two distinct lexemes. The present example suggests another Meroitic relationship term, “moke of (a person named) Amakhaye,” but an occurrence in the Serra stela published by Rosenwasser (1964) - *doke-li neket moke-lo* - occurs just before the clause that I believe records the capture of a Noba tribesman and may imply a related warlike event: see *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson* (ed. R. Freed, Boston 1996, p. 609 ff).

Lines A 8-9: The clause, if such it be, that follows (*aqo bili qelowi*), is obscure and unclear even in terms of the subdivision of its components. One might very hesitantly suggest that it might mean something like “she was one belonging to the nobility (*aqo-b*).”

Lines A 9-11: There follow versions of the offering formulae A and B.



Line A 12 : *tni mokolowi*: the word *moke* appears again, following the word *tni*. In a paper on possible Meroitic number-words given in Berlin several years ago (Millet 1999), I suggested, again very hesitantly, that this last word might be a numeral-word, perhaps the Meroitic word for “five”; if this conjecture is correct, our Qodoqen would have been “in a *moke*-relationship to five (unspecified persons?).”

Lines A 13-15: Another even more obscure clause follows, presumably to be analysed as *xteri yesds-se-lowi*. This is in turn followed oddly by a repetition of the offering formula A, perhaps simply as a filler.

Lines B 8-12: At this point in the left-hand column we are clearly dealing with stiches which must be called at least “anecdotal,” and perhaps even of historical import; they are certainly at least not the usual recitation of family relationships. The subdivision into components of the first two might be something like the following:

*ste-qe-se-leb yer-sxi-ni yerite-leb-kwi*  
*trotihi gore mho-li-se-l axide-sxi-ni axi-lowi*

Both sentences share words which involve the element *sxi-ni*, the word *sxi* being presumably the well-established one meaning “small, young.” The first sentence of the two has, however, a plural subject, *ste-qe-se-leb*, which ought to mean “his mothers.” As remarked in an earlier article of mine published in 1977 (in *Schriften und Kultur des Alten Orients 13*, Berlin), it is not impossible, in view of the position of women in the Meroitic family, that we are to take this as simply meaning his mother and her sisters, the maternal aunts of one or the other of the persons commemorated. It is, however, also perfectly possible that the short word *ste* has an entirely different meaning here, since the possibility of homophones in Meroitic must always be kept in mind. For example, in GA30 there occurs a word *st*, followed by the numeral sign for 200 (and therefor presumably a noun) which may be the same; and in the great Kalabsha inscription of Kharamandoye we encounter in line 26 the sequence *ste we-se # bgo-bte* (“his/her/its [unknown number-sign] *stes* possessed them”? or “he/she possessed his/her/its [number] *stes*”?) where we are again faced with the noun in the plural. In both these cases at least the meaning “mother” for *ste* is surely out of the question, and the case for so taking it in the present text is correspondingly weakened. One must therefore conclude that all that can be said is that a number of *ste* elements or persons are involved in each case. Is it possible that the word *ste* is in this case a *-se/te* formation from the word *s* “person”? Perhaps it means something like “follower,” or even “soldier.”

In the article just cited I was also bold enough to suggest that the final particle *-ni* might be the indicator of a subordinate clause of a circumstantial nature, and rendered the sentence as “his mothers chose/appointed(?) him while he was (yet) young,” with the gloss suggested for the main verb being obviously the merest shot in the dark.

The next Tactical Group is presumably, given what has been said just before, to be analysed

*trotihi gore mho-li-se-l axide-sxi-ni axi-lo-wi*

A possible scheme of the structure of the sentence might then be

Subject or object? (personal name + epithet) + subordinate clause + verb

I am here suggesting that we are dealing with a sentence in which either the grammatical subject or the object is a king of Makho named Tarotikhi; for the Makho the reader should see my remarks on the subject (Millet 1995). There I suggested, as I have before, that Makho was in fact a name for the Blemmyes or their land. The word *axide* I have suggested elsewhere (Millet 1982) is to be taken as meaning “to send” or the like. We may thus be again dealing with a subordinate clause, specifically a compound circumstantial verbal expression meaning “(he) being sent (while) young.”

The main verb, or at least the predicate word, of the sentence would seem to be *axi*. This may be the same as that which appears in MI 94, in the elaborate royal titulary beginning the text, in which the king, Kharamandoye, is described in terms of his relationship to various deities; one of the phrases used is *arette wos-selw xi-rette*, which I have suggested is to be taken as meaning “Arentate (Harendotes) before? Isis, nurse of Arentate” (BIM no. 13). The notion here is that *axi* in GA19 may be a form of *xi* and thus mean something like “to nurse, raise, bring up.” A conceivable rendering of this sentence might then be “Tarotikhi, the king of Blemmye-land, raised him, he having been sent (while still) young.” Conversely it might rather be “(he) raised Tarotikhi, the king of Blemmye-land, who had been sent when young.” Insofar as we understand Meroitic grammar both interpretations are possible.

If this notion has any degree of correctness at all, we would seem to have two possible scenarios; either one or two of the persons commemorated in GA19 were sent while they were young to be raised at the court of one Tarotikhi, a king of the Blemmyes, or, more likely, a young Blemmy prince was himself sent to the valley to be brought up, or perhaps to be kept safe from dynastic complications. The fact that one of the two persons referred to in GA19B has a rather un-Meroitic sounding name which ends in the same syllable as does that of the king leads me to suspect that we are dealing here with an at least partly Blemmy family living in the Nile valley, to whom a young Blemmy princeling was sent for his upbringing. It should be pointed out, however, that although actually two of the three deceased persons have un-Meroitic sounding names, the third, Pamete, has what would seem to be a perfectly good Meroitic name, and that all three persons commemorated in the tombstone are descended from a Meroitic official whose wife bore an Egyptian name!

In lines B 13-14, there is an even more obscure section:

*xtede atoti skl yetek 5 moqelowi*

Here the numeral 5 is the only thing that seems certain, and it suggests that the word *yetek* which precedes it is a noun. The mysterious word *moqe* appears here again. The word *skl*, if not part of a personal name *sklye*, must be related to the *sklw* in GA30, where we have

*tereke : skl-w : wemoke : wi : st 200*

apparently as an interpolated epithet of a distinguished relative of the deceased lady Apanbalaye (see below).

Line 15: The noun *ase* in the funerary texts from Lower Nubia is to my knowledge always followed by a numeral or number word. In an article written for *Studies in Honour of William Kelly Simpson*, p. 614, I made the suggestion that *ase* is the Meroitic word for “cow.” If the following *tkereke* is in fact a number word, it must be a compound one (forty-six?; see *Meroitica 15*, p. 618). The problem is again the word *moke*; it is unlikely that any one of the deceased commemorated here was in the same relationship to cattle that he or she was to Amakhaye in A 7-8 above. But what role could forty-six cows and 5 *tmdss* have played in their lives? In the Serra tombstone published by Rosenwasser in *Kush XI* (1963), cited above, we have

*mlok tereke skl-lo*  
*doke-li neket moke-lo*  
*nob br-lh 1-ni dt-we-se-li yik-xe-lo*

The first stiche contains the sequence *tereke skl-(w)* which appears in GA30, 3b. Whatever the first may embody, the last stiche was rendered by me in the *Meroitica 15* article just referred to as describing the capture of a Noba man or chieftain, and the possibility necessarily opens up that the preceding tactical groups also deal with warlike actions to which the taking of an important prisoner was a consequence. If such is the case it is most unlikely that the word *moke* in this text has the meaning of “to be in a blood-relationship to” a certain number of persons, and some other interpretation must be invoked. Although one *ase* was offered as a grave gift in Ib. 2 (see Mills, *Cemeteries of Qasr Ibrim*), many are mentioned as booty in REM 1509 (*ase-tk mreke-tk 1700*) and I am inclined to feel that the animals here must play the same role (meaning that of plunder). If, however, all this is true, we must accept the word *moke* as involving a pair of homophones, implying in some cases “in (some way) related to,” in others “capture”! It should be pointed that homophonous pairs of this kind are quite common in modern Nubian (as indeed they are in English).

#### RENDERING

A rendering into English of the whole text would then be (with the greatest reservations) something like what follows. In the last part of the B section I have elected to use the masculine pronoun singular, presumably referring to Pamete, since what I have suggested follows would seem somewhat more likely to suit male behaviour in those times than that of a woman. It is however strange to find him the last mentioned of the three persons commemorated if he is in fact the most distinguished. Perhaps the only epithet given him - *abrite* - means something other than I have imagined, and (if we could only understand it fully) would clarify matters.

A:

“O Isis *wetneyineqeli!* O Osiris *qetrr!* It is the noble Qodoqen, whose father was Pamete, whose mother(?) was Madasmadeto(?); he/she was *moke* of Amakhaye; *aqo bili qelowi*; much water may he/she drink! Much bread(?) may he/she eat! He/she was *moke* of five(?) (persons?); *xteri yesdslowi*; much water may he/she drink!”

B:

“O Isis the *wetneyineqe!* O Osiris *qetrr!* It is the noble Qomekhi, (and) the brother(?), the noble Pamete; their mother was Tayeshi, and their father was the *ssemri* of the prince; his *stes* chose/appointed(?) him when he was (yet) young(?); he raised Tarotikhi, king of Makho, who had been sent young(?); *xtede atoti skl yetek 5 moqelowi*; he captured(?) forty-nine(?) cattle and 5 *tmsds.*”

It is possible, one may suppose, that *moke* and *moqe* are in fact the same word, or that an ignorant scribe has managed to confuse two words, but as matters stand I cannot think of any convincing gloss to suggest for either.

\* \* \*

(Editor’s Note: **Photograph 1-5** appears to be the second GA20 on the publication list given in Table 1. Millet does not appear to have dealt with this fragment in his text.)

\* \* \*

**GA20:** Fragment of a sandstone stela, register no. 63:12:22, found built into the superstructure of Pyramid 6; an apparently matching but not fitting fragment is 63:12:21 (GA21). Both style and content make it clear that the two were parts of a stela in two columns, commemorating two persons. The stela must have been quite a large one, probably more than 75 cm. high and about 54 cm. wide; the measurements of the two fragments are respectively .395 x .275 x .085 m. and .33 x .295 x .08 m. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

TEXT

1: *wos wetneyineqeli : sori*

2: *qetri : qo xbxnekdi*

3: *amelye qowi mnitwi :*

4: *terikelowi kdibede*

5: *wetel : tedxelowi : pe*

6: *lmos : atoliteb : lh*

7: *wroseteleb : lh*

8: *modliteb : xrp*

9: *xne sqekitele*

0: *b kditebetowi [ . .*

1: *n : [ . . . . ] : [ . . . . .*

A fragment (63:12:25) in the same style may be part of the lower portion of the text.

x+1: *nk*[  
 2: *rite*[

Since GA20 and GA21 are clearly part of the same tombstone, any commentary will be deferred until the two texts are dealt with together.

**GA21:** A sandstone stela fragment, certainly part of GA20, being the lower left hand part of a stela in two columns; register no. 63:12:21. Perhaps the commemoration of a child of the woman described in GA20, since the deceased in this text is also said to be related (*yetmde*) to *xrpxnes* in Shaqeki but is not designated by any closer term of relationship. The stone was found built into the vault of Tomb 411, one of the two burials in Pyramid 6. Of the two fragments, the first is in the collections of the National Geographic Society in Washington, DC, the second in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

#### TEXT

x+1: |[*yetmdelowi qo*]  
 2: *ro|renelh : kttre*  
 3: |*leb : yetmdelowi*  
 4: : |*qorene kroro*  
 5: |*leb yetmdelo*  
 6: |[*wi*] *xrpxne sq*  
 7: |[*eki*] *teleb yetm*  
 8: |*delowi*] *qorene :*  
 9: |*yetmdelowi a*] *pote*[  
 10 [this and remaining lines not preserved]

#### COMMENTARY

The person commemorated in GA20 is one Amelaye, who was the daughter of a man named Manitawi and a woman named Kadibedewetel. The father was obviously the well-known “general of the river” Amanitewawi (here written in the somewhat abbreviated form in which it appears in Egyptian Demotic at Philae and elsewhere); the mother is also already known from the Demotic graffito Ph. 120, where her name is rendered *grmrwet*. Griffith shrewdly suspected that the Demotic might be an Egyptian transcription of the Meroitic *kdibedewetel*, and it is delightful to find his idea verified. Our lady Amelaye must then have died some time in the second half of the third century, perhaps around 270.

It may be appropriate at this point to suggest that the familiar Meroitic title *qorene* is almost certainly the direct ancestor of the Old Nubia OURAN-, rendered in the Greek *Vorlage* of the Old Nubian Lectionary as γραμματεὺς “scribe.” Its uses in Meroitic certainly do not conflict with such an interpretation, and I have no hesitancy in rendering it here as “scribe” or perhaps rather as “secretary” in view of the importance of the title in the Meroitic hierarchy. Perhaps it was the equivalent of the Egyptian *sš nswt*, “royal scribe”; it must certainly be derived from the Meroitic *qore*, “king.”

The find-spots of the two portions of the tombstone present us with another problem. Pyramid 6, with its two graves (tombs 410 and 411), is almost certainly one of the later pyramids of the Adda group, and Amelaye's stela must have belonged to an earlier monument, since both fragments were used in building the superstructure of Pyr. 6 and one of its two vaulted chambers. Also in tomb 410 there was found an amphora (63:2:104) bearing a short Demotic graffito on the shoulder giving the name of Wayekiye (see below under text GA67), presumably part of the original burial. An explanation must in any case be sought for the despoilment of Amelaye's tomb and the reuse of her stela.

The explanation may well be that at some time after the burial of Amelaye the fortified town of Adda came under siege from an enemy who, controlling the plain and the cemetery area, was able to plunder at will the finer tombs without serious interference from the beleaguered inhabitants. Such a scenario is not impossible; the last third of the third century is known to have seen serious incursions by the Blemmyes, now well on the way to establishing themselves in northern Lower Nubia, into Roman Egypt, and it is not to be imagined that this southern part of the country could have entirely escaped their dire attentions.

#### RENDERING

##### GA20

"O Isis the *wetneyneqe*! O Osiris qetri ! It is the noble *xbxne*-lady Amelaye, the noble one. Her father was Manitawi, her mother was Kadibedwetel. She was the sister of the generals of the river, of the great ones in Waros, of the great ones of the (A)moda, and of the governors in Shaqeki . . ."

##### GA21

". . .related to . . . ; related to the chief secretaries *kttre*; related to the secretaries *kroro*; related to the governors in Shaqeki; [related to] a secretary; [related to an e]nvoy(?) . . ."

**GA22:** Sandstone stela, defaced by a wide irregular furrow down the centre, presumably done with the intention, never carried out, of breaking the slab into two pieces for building material; register no. 63:12:2. The projection at the top has also been broken off. The measurements are: width .46 m, height .37 m., thickness .06 m. Found in surface sand in Cemetery 3 near Pyramid 6. Now in the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM accession no. 973.24.888). (**Photograph 1-40**) (Editor's note: GA22 appears not to have been shipped to the ROM and remains part of the Cairo collection. The photograph is an old expedition one.)

#### TEXT

- 1: *wosi : sor[eyi : q]o : beni : blye qo*
- 2: *wi : aplhy[e : terik]elowi : akdiye*
- 3: *tdxelowi : te[meyl]h : dbrete : hlhi*
- 4: *li : trse : ap[eloye? :] yetmdelowi te*
- 5: *mey : lh : dbr[ete . . .]mlye semlowi*
- 6: *. . .rene : dpp . . . . ye ~~ter~~ikeli :*

- 7: *tdxelowi* : [*temeylh* :] *dbrete* :  
 8: *s:qoye* : *ye[tmde]lowi* : *trq*  
 9: [*l*]*hli* : *kditelo[wi]* *trq* : *meteli* : *kdi*  
 0: [*tel*]*owi* : *steli* . . *eteliyetelowi*  
 1: . . . . *k* : *adoli* *yiwillowi* : *steli*  
 2: . . . . *abli* . . *teweteb* : *yilk*  
 3: [ . . *lowi?* ] : *te[m]eykdilh* :  
 4: [*dbrete?* : *lo*]*w[i]* . . . . .

## NOTES

The restorations suggested above to the personal names of relatives are based on information about the same family emanating from GA30, for which see below.

In line 6 the first three characters in the word *terikeli* have been cancelled by a horizontal stroke quite carefully carved through them, leaving only the last four letters.

In line 8 the name *sqoye* has been carelessly divided into two parts by the word-divider, no doubt reflecting its etymology.

In line 10 the photograph shows a single dot after the word *ste*; whether it is a blundered version of the word-divider or not is uncertain.

## COMMENTARY

This stela commemorates a lady named Benibalaye, who calls herself a “chief Temeya lady,” in other words, a woman of a family some of whose male members bore the title of “chief Temeya” as an inherited distinction. In addition to having several close relatives who bore this title, she married a man who was also entitled to it; the genealogy of the family can be drawn up with the help of GA30, the tombstone of another member of the family, and this will be done when that text is treated. This writer still adheres to the theory he expressed in *Meroitic Nubia*, namely that the word *temey* here and in the great Kharamandoye inscription in the Kalabsha temple, MI 94, denotes an ethnic group rather than being a true title. Thus *temey-lh* would mean, not “great *temey*-officer” or the like, but “chief of Temeya-folk.” It is not impossible that in this ethnic term we have the Meroitic version of the old Egyptian *tmhw* “Libyan”; it is true that the word is not found in any Egyptian source later than Persian times, and had clearly by the time we are speaking of long since fallen out of use in Egypt, but if it was in fact the Tjemehu Libyans’ name for themselves (and there is certainly no known Egyptian root involved) it might well have survived among them themselves into third century times if not beyond.

In line 6 we are confronted with a puzzling situation. First, in view of the partial deliberate erasure of the word *terikeli*, it is not certain whether or not we are to read the text so roughly corrected as

. . *rene* : *dpp* . . . . *yekeli* : *tdxelowi*

The last word is of course the term used to indicate the mother of the deceased. Benibalaye’s mother has of course already been named early in the text, and unless some egregious error has

been committed, one can only imagine that Benibalaye's mother is here being described in different terms, by an epithet or title of some sort.

In line 10 there occurs the word *ste-li*, which ought to mean "the mother." The destroyed part of the line comes unfortunately immediately thereafter. In the next word the *-te* may conceivably be the object pronoun of the third person, with *ste-li* being the subject and the predicate word being *-eteliye*, in which case some such rendering as "The (i.e. her) mother .*eteliye*'d her" would be possible.

In line 11, *yiwł*, the predicate word, if I may call it that, is also found in GA30, the tombstone of another member of the family. There it follows a lost word followed by two others, each succeeded by *-li*. The meaning in both texts is of course quite unguessable.

The reading here given as *adoli* must I think replace the *adote* offered in *Meroitic Nubia*, p. 324, since the traces of the first part of the sign show a leftward curve not visible in other examples in this text of the *te*-sign.

In the final preserved lines the restoration seems inescapable; the deceased lady was herself, we must accept, a "chief Temeya-lady in Dabare." This apparent toponym is attested only here and in GA30, the tombstone of another member of the family, and only with the title *temey-(kdi) lh*. We are left wondering whether Dabare is another name for Adda - most unlikely - or denotes a town near it; in the respected opinion of Karl-Heinz Priese, it should be the modern Debeira, some twenty miles to the south of Adda; the Joint Scandinavian Expedition's examination of the area, however, revealed only the sparsest indications of Meroitic presence in that region, and judgement must be reserved on the identification.

#### RENDERING

"O Isis! O Osiris! It is the noble Benibalaye, the noble one. Apelakhaye was her father; Akadiye was her mother. She was related to the Temeya chief in Dabare, the one who *trse*'s the Khalakhi, Ap[eloye?]; she was the wife of the Temeya chief in Dabare . . . *laye*; the . . . . . was her mother(?); she was related to the Temeya chief in Dabare, Shaqoye; she was the sister of Big Taraqa; she was the sister of Little Taraqa; her(?) mother . . . . . d her(?); she . . . . *k adoli* . . *yiwłlowi*; her(?) mother . . . . *yilk* . . d her(?) . . .s; she was the chief Temeya-lady in Dabare."

**GA24:** Fragment of a fine carved sandstone offering table, register no. 63:12:151, found in surface sand near the north-east corner of Pyr. 9. What remains of the raised relief representations shows the figure of Anubis making libation, bunches of grapes, etc. Now in the possession of the National Geographic Society, Washington, DC. The measurements are: height .41 m., width .25 m., thickness .14 m.

- 1: [*wosi* : *sor*]
- 2: *eyi* : *qo* : *xrp*
- 3: *xne* : *phrsete belileye qowi*
- 4: *b*[

#### COMMENTARY



The offering table commemorates a “governor in Faras” named Belileye. It is surprising to see the governor of a town some twenty-five miles away buried here at Adda rather than in the large cemetery at Faras, but at least one other holder of the title was also interred here (see above under GA07). The anonymous owner of the bilingual stela fragment GA15 (q.v.) was very likely also a holder of the title. The last preserved character, *b-*, is, one supposes, the initial character of the name of one or the other of his parents.

## RENDERING

“[O Isis! O Osiris!] It is the noble governor of Faras, Belileye; *b*[ . . .].”

**GA25:** Fragment of the lower part of a sandstone stela, register no. 63:12:159, found in surface sand near Pyramid 9. The measurements are .29 x .41 x .12 m. Now in the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM accession no. 973.24.1158). (**Photograph 1-6**)

## TEXT

x+1: . . . . . : *kd . . . . etepbotest*[ . .  
 2: . . . . . *emekwdplhli : yihlhite : kdibe*  
 3: . . . . . *metowi : mlolowi mlo stohelowi : mlo mr*  
 4: . . . . . *towi : mlo mrse : phrsetelowi : wo*  
 5: . . . . . *i : ato mhe psihekete : at mhe psix*  
 6: *rke]te atepoke dotlxe psitkkete*  
 7:  
 8:  
 9

## NOTES

The readings from the beginning of the damaged first line are dubious in the extreme save for the first two signs. The use of the word-divider (:) is quite erratic.

## COMMENTARY

In line x+2 the root *hlhi* is well attested; its meaning, however, is obscure. In GA22 and GA30 it occurs in an epithet of a noble relative of the deceased.

The remainder of the text is taken up with the usual formulae; the syllable *wo-* at the end of line x+4 must be the beginning of the name of Isis, being invoked again, as she presumably was at the beginning of the text.

In line x+3 the reading *stohelowi* represents an amendment to that I offered in *Meroitic Nubia*, p. 327. In MI 97 the same phrase *mlo stohelo*, whatever it may mean, occurs as part of the description of one of the Meroitic dignitaries commemorated in the Meroitic Chamber, and it occurs again in Nag<sup>c</sup> Gamûs 8. The phrase may represent two laudatory adjectives in tandem -- “good and *stohe* he/she was.”

## RENDERING

In view of the fragmentary nature of the text, it would be futile to attempt any connected treatment. It is clearly a tomb text of the usual type, commemorating a person of unknown name and sex who is said to be “of good name(?)” in several respects, including “in Faras.”

**GA26:** Upper fragment of a sandstone stela with *ansate* projection at top, field no. 64:1:61; found in surface sand near the north end of the pyramid field. The signs preserve some of the red pigment with which they were filled; the measurements are .26 x .26 x .085 m. Now in the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM accession no. 973.24.1204). (**Photograph 1-7**)

## TEXT

- 1: *wosi : so]reyi : qo : mento : . . .*  
 2:                    ]: *yetolhye qo[wi . . .*  
 3:                    ] *rlh : peseto . . . . .*  
 4:                    ]: *lhye : . . . . .*  
 5:                    ] *ter . . . . .*  
 6: (traces)

## COMMENTARY

The deceased would seem to have been one Yetolakhaye, whose name is preceded by what must have been a very long title or epithet, if such it was, beginning with the word *mento*. In line 3 there may have been mention of a relative (“the great . . . *ssor*(?)”) of the *peseto*-prince, which may, from its position in the text, have reference to the father of the person commemorated. The word *lhye* in line 4 may, from its position, have been the name of the dead person’s mother.

**GA28:** Inscription consisting of two slabs of sandstone, field nos. 64:1:282+283, the text continuing from one to the other; found re-used as roofing of Tomb 751, a child’s grave, probably of the X-group period. The measurements are: A. .51 x .45 x .07 m.; B. .52 x .45 x .07 m. Both parts are now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

## TEXT

## A

- 1: *wosi : sor[eyi : ] qo pte . . . ye qowi :*  
 2: *amegemeteye tedxelowi : adil*  
 3: *xeyye : terikelowi : womnith sklte*  
 4: *. lxe ye yetmdelowi womnith : br*  
 5: *toye yetmdelowi : womnith : sklte*  
 6: *sese kemher : yetmdelowi : womni*  
 7: *th : sklte : tnelxe : aror : yetmde*  
 8: *lowi : womnith sklte dqelikey*  
 9: *li yetmdelowi : smlo : adeqeyit*  
 0: *bre : yetmdelowi : aribet :*  
 1: *tpoteneteli : yetmdelowi :*

2: *aribet sesekemxr yetmde*

B

1: *lowi : aribet : wetemtr :*

2: *yetmdelowi : aribet yete*

3: *kemxr : yetmdelowi : aribe*

4: *[r] : tedeqeli : ble : yetmdelowi : wo*

5: *[m]nith : deletenkeli : yetmdelo*

6: *wi : smlo : nkbli : yetmdelowi qore*

7: *semle : mhli : kde : mdetowi : qoresem*

8: *le : mlidnse : mdetowi : ateqi : a*

9: *tiyete twtenekeli : yetmdelo*

0: *[w]i ateqi : mkliseye yetmdelowi*

1: *ateqi : sebewyenkeli : ateqi*

2: *sitkemoli : ateqi : adotrqli : p*

3: *qr : tlmekeli beloloke : aby*

4: *tli beloloke dsekemxr belolok[e]*

5: *qoriteyli ateqi : hrqye*

6: *yetmde aqebetowi*

#### NOTES

The name of the deceased is badly damaged; the suggestion I made in *Meroitic Nubia*, p. 329, that it is an Egyptian masculine name should surely be abandoned. The other names are certainly good Meroitic, and seem to fall into familiar patterns; the names recall, in their forms and in the components involved, those traditional in the princely family of Akin.

#### COMMENTARY

The sex of this person thus remains unknown; nor indeed is the name legible, but the fact that the deceased does not boast of any personal titles inclines me to think that a woman is involved. The persons mentioned as relatives (some twenty-five, not including the parents) exceed, I believe, the number named in any other Meroitic funerary inscription in Lower Nubia. Since none of the persons named are claimed as brothers, we are presumably dealing with earlier or later generations. The individuals fall into three main groups, those described as chief *womnises*, as *aribets*, and as *ateqis*. The titles *aribet* and *ateqi* are known elsewhere, notably in the tombstone from Serra published by Rosenwasser in *Kush* XI (1963), but in no case is it clear whether the titles are civil or priestly; it is not impossible, indeed, that they are military.

The word *mdetowi* (= *mdese-lowi*) was dealt with in *Meroitic Nubia*, p. 74 and earlier here, it being suggested that it must mean something like “directly descended” of a person.

The references at the end of the text to the two *qoresemles*, the *belolokes*, and a *pqr* suggest that the deceased was at least distantly related to the princely family of Akin; it would seem, however, that the “chief *womnises* in Sakala,” judging at least by the modifier, were of quite a different class than the individuals called “chief *womnises*” belonging to the family of the princes

of Akin (see *Meroitic Nubia*, p. 112 ff.). A *womnith sklte* is mentioned, but not named, in the two funerary texts of Natemakhar from Sedeinga (REM 1090 and 1091), where the title *ateqi* also occurs.

With regard to the place-name Sakala, there is a village called Mashakeila, some way down the river from Sai, which is mentioned in this text under its Meroitic name of Atiye; that name, however, seems more likely to be of Arabic or possibly Nubian origin. Whether there can be any connection with Ptolemy's Sakolh, equated by Priebe (1984) with Dungeil upstream from the Fifth Cataract in the Sudan, is something one might consider.

The title or epithet *s-mlo* "good person(?)" may mean nothing more than our "worthy" and indicate a person of good family and standing who had no specific title.

#### RENDERING

"O Isis! O Osiris! It is the noble P. . . oye, the noble one; born of Ameqemeteye, begotten by Adilakheyeye. She(?) was related to the chief *womnise* in Sakala .*lakheye*; she was related to the chief *womnise* Baratoye; she was related to the chief *womnise* in Sakala *Sesekemakhar*; she was related to the chief *womnise* in Sakala *Tanlakhe-aror*; she was related to the chief *womnise* in Sakala *Dakelikeye*; she was related to the "good person" Adeqeyitabare; she was related to the *aribet* Tapoteneteli; she was related to the *aribet* Sesekemakhar; she was related to the *aribet* Wetematar; she was related to the *aribet* Yetekemakhar; she was related to the *aribet* Tedeqelibale; she was related to the chief *womnise* Deletenakeli; she was related to the "good person" Nakabali; she was descended(?) from the royal consort Makhalikade; she was descended(?) from the royal consort Malidanase; she was related to the *ateqi* in Atiye Tawatenetakeli; she was related to the *ateqi* Makaliseye; she was related to the *ateqi* Sebewayenakeli; she was related to the *ateqi* Sitakemoli; she was related to the *ateqi* Adotaraqali, the crown-prince Talamenakeli, the *beloloke*-priest Abayetali, the *beloloke*-priest Dasekemakhar, the *beloloke*-priest Qoriteyali, and the *ateqi* Kharaqaye."

**GA29:** Sandstone stela with *ansate* projection at top decorated with the winged ankh-sign, register no. 64:1:317. Found re-used as vaulting material in tomb 780 in Cemetery Three, an early X-group child's burial. The measurements are .84 x .475 x .12 m. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

#### TEXT

- 1: *wos wetneyineqeli sori*
- 2: *qetrri qo : kdiqoroye qowi : pe*
- 3: *deqinye tdxelowi : apote abrye*
- 4: *terikelowi mrebqo slotey : li ye*
- 5: *tmdelowi mrebqo : xmlonk : yetmde*
- 6: *lowi mrbqo boqterel : kdite*
- 7: *lowi ant mno tmneteleb : kdi*
- 8: *teqebetowi : wkite tmneteleb : ste*
- 9: *aqebetowi : soni tmnete : brmete*

- 0: *yetmdelowi : ad : knmre kdiyose*  
 1: *mli yirohetelowi wrethn : t*  
 2: *mnetelowi*  
 3: *wos : wetneyineqeli : sori qetr*  
 4: *ri : qo : mliye qowi : kdiqoroye*  
 5: *tedxelowi : setyesiye : te*  
 6: *rikelowi : mrebqo : kttreleb*  
 7: *mrebqo : qoroteb : kelw : yetm*  
 8: *de aqebetowi : xrpaxne : phrsete*  
 9: *axdeye semlowi : ant : tmnete*  
 0: *leb : yetmdelowi : wkite tmnetele*  
 1: *b : soni tmneteleb : y[et]mdelowi : mlo*  
 2: *lowi ato mhe bi[si]heke[se] : at*  
 3: *mhe bisixrkese :*

## NOTES

The stela is extremely carelessly executed, the rules are uneven, and the signs are not always clear; the word-divider (:) is very carelessly made use of and is unusually small; after the word *qetrri* in line 2 the lower dot is obscured by the next character. After the preserved text in line 12 there are the faintest traces of an earlier inscription, almost entirely erased.

## COMMENTARY

This tombstone commemorates a woman and her daughter, and mentions many relatives, many of them said to be “in” the place Taman known from a Karanog text (Kar 47) and elsewhere, and believed by Priese (1984) to be in the Dabarosa/Wadi Halfa region. The suggestion is somewhat strengthened by the evidence of Kh. 5587, apparently from Dabarosa (a transcription of this piece was kindly sent to me by the late Fritz Hintze); this is the tombstone of the “soni in Taman” Baramete mentioned as a relative in our text. The mother in our text, indeed, is also called a *wrethn* in that town, the title here being spelled with an *h* instead of the *x* found at Karanog. This title, one of the very few actually recorded as born by a woman, was discussed by Griffith (1911, 82), and again by Hintze (1963).

The daughter is said to have been the wife of one Akhadeye, a governor of Faras; at least two persons bearing that title were buried at Adda (see GA07 and GA24, and, possibly, GA15). The conclusion would seem to be inescapable that in the third century some at least of the governors of Faras, for reasons we can only guess at, abandoned the time-honoured cemetery there in favour of burial at Adda. Whether or not Adda also served as their actual administrative headquarters remains of course an open question. Wherever Taman may have been, we are clearly dealing here with a family which had its roots there, one member of which married a governor of Faras and was buried at Adda along with her mother; perhaps her husband Akhadeye was also interred there?

In a somewhat more mysterious stiche in lines 10 and 11, where we have

*ad knmre kdiyosemli yirohetelowi*

the only familiar word is the last, which I have suggested elsewhere (Millet 1977, p. 319) may have the meaning of “to send”; it is here followed by what is probably the singular third person object indicator. The preceding word, if indeed it is a single word, *kdiyosemli*, has very much the look of a feminine personal name, but it may in fact be two words, since the break of the line makes it possible that *mli* is to be regarded as a separate word. If so, it is not impossible that it is a truncated version of the name of the second person commemorated, Kadiqoroye's daughter Maliye, preceded here by a title *kdi-yose*; for titles formed with this last element see below, p. 32. With regard to the word immediately preceding that (*knmre*), the suggestion that I made in *Meroitic Nubia*, p. 332, should certainly be disregarded. If the solution offered here is by any chance correct, the stiche might conceivably be analysed as

(noun object + adjective?) + unmarked indirect object + (verb + object pronoun) + *-lo-wi*

and interpreted as “she (meaning Kadiqoroye) sent an *ad knmre* (to) the superior(?) lady Mali(ye),” whatever that might mean. In any case I am unable to propose anything more intelligent than this admittedly feeble suggestion.

The title *mrebqo* does not seem to be attested elsewhere.

The variant in the first consonant of the offering formulae (*b-* instead of the usual *p-*) is known from three Karanog texts.

## RENDERING

“O Isis *wetneyineqeli*! O Osiris *qettri*! It is the noble Kadiqoroye, whose mother was Pedeqinaye, whose father was the envoy Abaraye. She was related to the *mrebqo* Shaloteyali; she was related to the *mrebqo* Khamalonaka; she was the sister of the *mr(e)bqo* Boqaterel; she was the sister of the priests of Amani(?) in Taman; she was the mother of the *wkites* in Taman; she was related to the *soni*-priest in Taman, Baramete; she sent(?) an *ad knmre* to the superior(?) lady Maliye(?); she was *wrethn* in Taman.

“O Isis *wetneyinqeli*! O Osiris *qettri*! It is the honourable Maliye, whose mother was Kadiqoroye, whose father was Setayeshiye; she was related to *mrebqos kttre* and *mrebqos* of the king; she was the wife of the governor in Faras Akhadeye; she was related to the prophets in Taman; she was related to the *wkites* in Taman and to the *sonis* in Taman; she was a “good person.” Much water may she drink! Much bread(?) may she eat(?)!”

**GA30:** Sandstone stela with *ansate* projection at top decorated with the winged ankh-sign; register no. 64:1:320; found in fragments reused in the construction of the vault of Tomb 820 in Cemetery 3. A small part of the left-hand side of the stela is missing. Lines 3 and 14 have double lines of text between the rules. Now in the National Geographic Society's collections in Washington, DC. The measurements are .705 x .46 x .075 m.

## TEXT

- 1: *wosi : soreyi : qo : widelhye qo*  
 2: *wi : apne : blye : terikelowi : ak*  
 3: *diye : tedxeli : tedxelowi :*  
 3b: *tereke : sklw : wemoke : wi : st 200*  
 4: *temeylh : apeloyle : hlhili : te*  
 5: *telitreli : yetmdelowi : teme*  
 6: *ylh : trqlhli : yetmdelowi : tr*  
 7: *q : meteli : yetmdelowi : abese*  
 8: *ye : kdite : hlhlowi : prsn : pelekli*  
 9: *se phoye : semlowi : temey[lh : s?]*  
 0: *qoye : yetmdelowi : . . . . .*  
 1: *asrli : mrxeli yiwł.[lo]wi : kwtł :*  
 2: *lqoye : semlowi : bekelhye :*  
 3: *stelowi : temeykdi : lh*  
 4: *dbretelowi : ato mxepisi*  
 4b: *hekese : at mxepisi : psixrkese :*

## NOTES

Line 1: The first letter of the dead woman's name is damaged, but *w* is the most likely reading.

Line 3b: This line was obviously added as an afterthought, and perhaps was a last-minute expansion of the series of epithets in the line below.

Line 10: Of the first character of the last word in the line only the tail is preserved; therefore *a*, *k*, *n*, and *p* are all possible restorations.

## COMMENTARY

The deceased lady was, as her relationships show, another member of the family of “chiefs of the Temeya,” one of whose members, Beniblaye, is commemorated in GA22; many of the same persons are mentioned in both texts, and the two ladies must have been contemporaries or nearly such.

Why the expression “in Dabare” is added as a qualifier to the titles “chief Temeya” and “chief Temeya-lady” remains a puzzle. It is presumably a normal locative in *-te*, but as pointed out earlier, it is quite uncertain whether Dabare is to be understood to be the name of some town otherwise unattested or of a larger region. A tombstone from Arminna West commemorates a “Chief Temeya in adomne”; it is possible that weakening and subsequent loss of the second vowel in this toponym may have produced the modern place-name (see Heyler in Trigger 1970, p. 25 for the original suggestion). All in all, I am inclined to think that Dabare was most likely also a town, probably one in the vicinity of Adda; see above under the treatment of GA22 for Priese’s identification of this place with the modern Debeira in the Wadi Halfa reach, very likely correct. It is interesting that if both Dabare and Taman were in that stretch of the river, some twenty miles

or so south of Adda, some of their eminent citizens were buried here rather than closer to home (there was, after all, a tiny Meroitic cemetery at Debeira East), but perhaps relocation after marriage may have been a factor.

In line 8 the word *prsn* occurs, which I have taken, perhaps incorrectly, to be a variant of the well-known *plsn* “temple administrator,” from Egyptian *p3 mr-šn*.

The predicate-word *yiwl* occurs also in GA22, line 11.

The damaged name in lines 9-10 is probably that of the chief Temeya Shaqoye known from GA22, another tombstone of the same family.

With the baffling addition inserted after line 3 compare the Serra stela, line 13:

*mlok tereke skl-lo*

The Adda example is presumably to be regarded as an insertion into the next stiche as an additional qualification of the person there referred to, the chief Temeya Apeloye. In the Serra text what follows seems to involve military action; the reader may see Millet 1996 for some suggestions on that text.

The names *trq-lh-li* and *trq-mete-li* “Big Taraqa” and “Little Taraqa” of two of our lady’s relatives are perhaps a late recollection of the name of the great Kushite pharaoh Taharqa or Tahraqa, QARAKA in the Septuagint.

It is interesting to learn, by collating GA22 and GA30, that the *yetmde*-relationship includes half-siblings by one’s mother.

#### RENDERING

“O Isis! O Osiris! it is the noble W(?)idelakhaye, the noble one; it was Apanbalaye who was her father, it was Akadiye who was indeed her mother. She was related to the chief Temeya Apeloye, who *tre’d* the *hlhi* (and?) the *tete*, and (also) *tereke skl wemoke wi 200*. She was related to the chief Temeya Big Taraqa; she was related to Little Taraqa; she was the elder sister of Abeseye; she was the wife of the temple administrator(?) of the *pelek*, Pakhoye; she was related to the chief Temeya Sha(?)qoye; . . . *asrli mrxeli yiwllowi*; she was the wife of the *kwtl*(?) Laqoye; she was the mother of Bekelakhaye; she was chief Temeya-lady in Dabare. Much water may she drink! Much bread(?) may she eat(?)!”

**GA31:** Two fitting fragments of a sandstone stela, register no. 64:2:118. Found reused in the construction of Tomb 849 in Cemetery 3. Part is missing. The measurements are .44 x .24 x .06 m., the shape being unusual in that the stela is wider than it is high. Fragments of the stela, which was shattered in the Cairo re-packing referred to earlier, are now in the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM accession no. 973.24.1206). **(Photograph 1-8)**

#### TEXT

- 1:                   ]ye qowi : xrwse
- 2:                   teri]kelowi : wetye tdx
- 3:                   lowi a]ntleb : yetmdelo



- 4: *wi : me?]senleb : yetmdelowi*  
 5: *ate?]qileb : yetmdelowi : pne*  
 6: *qoteb : ssimeleb yetmdelo*  
 7: *wi : ato mhe : psihekese*

## NOTES

This text seems to have begun without the usual invocation to Isis and Osiris, as did Kar. 47; the name of the deceased is lost save for the final syllable. The restorations suggested here seem to be reasonable. The usual final offering formulae have here been reduced to Formula A alone.

## COMMENTARY

This tombstone commemorates a person of unknown name and sex whose parents were a man named Kharawase(ye?) and a lady Wetaye. Among the nameless relatives mentioned are priests, *mesens*, *ateqis(?)*, and *pnqoses*. A *mesen* of the god Amani is known from Kar 105. *Pnqoses* of Amani are known from Karanog and Nag° Gamûs, and it would seem that the person commemorated in this text was of an active priestly family. In line 6 the title *ssime* also appears in the plural; this may be a blundered version of the more common *ssimete*, or perhaps a resurfacing of the older title *ssime* which appears in the Tanyidamani stela from Barkal (Hintze 1960, l. 25).

## RENDERING

“. . . the noble . . . . ye; his/her father was Kharawase(ye?), his/her mother was Wetaye; he/she was related to the prophets; he/she was related to the *mesens*; he/she was related to the *ateqis*, and he/she was related to the *pnqoses* and the *ssimes*. Much water may he/she drink!”

**GA37:** Two fitting fragments of a sandstone stela, register no. 65:1:37. The top and bottom of the slab are missing. Found reused in the superstructure of a Christian grave in Cemetery 2, Tomb 90. The right-hand margin of the stela is preserved for the first four lines, the left has been slightly shaved down. The carving of the characters is better than average. The measurements are .24 x .22 x .07 m. The stone was shattered in the Cairo re-packing; fragments are now in the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM accession no. 973.24.1207). (**Photograph 1-9**)

## TEXT

- x+1: *mse siremroke : kr[o]*  
 2: *roleb : stebetowi : pe*  
 3: *rite wosteb : qore[ne]*  
 4: *wosteb : kditebetowi*  
 5: *[. . .]sleb : stebetowi [:]*  
 6: *[. . . .]pelm[os . . . .]*

## NOTE:

The first preserved sign is uncertain, as is the word to which it belonged. Some of the left-hand edge of the stone has been shaved away.

#### COMMENTARY

It is not impossible, judging by the style of the lettering, the neatness of the ruling, and the dimensions that these fragments are part of the large stela to which GA20 and GA21 belong, and nothing in the contents rules it out. The deceased lady, whose name is not preserved, was the mother of several persons bearing the title of *siremroke kroro*, and the sister of “agents” of Isis and *qorenes* of Isis. The other titles are among those held by the families of the “generals of the river,” and our lady was presumably a member of that line. In the last part of the preserved text she states that she was the mother of other worthies whose precise quality is not apparent, although in lines 5 and 6 “generals” may well have been mentioned.

The preserved letters (*mse*) at the beginning of the first preserved line are puzzling, unless they are the ending of a personal name, that of the last of two or more named individuals of whom the deceased lady was the mother. *siremroke kroro* is a known title of unknown meaning; in Sh. 4, the deceased gives himself this title as well as many others, including that of “king's envoy,” and in a graffito on a relief fragment from the Meroe pyramid field, now in Berlin (MI 65), we hear of a “chief siremroke” named Taqoroye.

#### RENDERING

“ . . . she was the mother of . . . , the *siremrokes kroro*; she was the sister of the agents of Isis and of the *qorenes* of Isis; she was the mother of the . . . ”

**GA39:** Sandstone stela, complete save for *ansate* projection at the top, which is broken off; register no. 65:3:229. Found in plunderers' rubbish above vault of tomb 288 in Cemetery Four. The inscription was carelessly ruled but the characters are fairly clearly drawn. Now in the Egyptiam Museum, Cairo.

#### TEXT

- 1: *wosi : soreyi : qo : sxiye qo*
- 2: *wi : atiyetmeye : terike*
- 3: *lowi : ameneye tedxelowi*
- 4: *mlekeyose : yetekye yet*
- 5: *mdelowi : ml[ekeyo]se : tre*
- 6: *ye : m[leke]yose : atoye : mle*
- 7: *keyose : . . dokeye : mlekey[o]*
- 8: *se : qoqoye : mlekeyose tk*
- 9: *reye kelw yetmdebet*
- 0: *[w]i : mlekeyose : treye : kdi*
- 1: *towi : ssor : atbose : mlek*
- 2: *ye yetmdelowi : ttneleb :*
- 3: *yetmdelowi : ato mhe psi*

3b: *hekese* :

#### NOTES

Line 13b was crowded in below and at the end of the preceding line, within the same rules.

#### COMMENTARY

The tombstone commemorates a noble lady named Shakhiye (“the little one”), the daughter of one Atiyetameye and his wife Ameneye. She declares herself to be related to a number of persons bearing the title of *mleke-yose*, and also of officers called *tnes*, a distinction long known from the Meroitic corpus, most notably perhaps in a tombstone from Qasr Ibrim, Ib. 1, line 8 (Mills 1982), where the dead person claims to be related to a “chief *tnne*” of the *peseto*, the “prince.”

The title *mleke-yose* poses more in the way of problems. The simple form *mleke* occurs in several of the Karanog texts (37, 38, 94) usually followed by the words “of Masha”; this would seem to make it a priestly title, if Griffith’s conjecture about Masha being the sun-god is correct (it is after all based only on the fact of its similarity to the Nubian word for “sun”). In MI 131 a *mlke-yose* is mentioned. The added element apparently has a long history; in a text of Napatan times, the stela of king Harsiotef (Urk. V, 125), the Kushite ruler donates a hundred captives as slaves - fifty men and fifty women - and ten *i3ss* (Gardiner A30+S29+A1), one presumes as overseers (in a ratio of 1 in 10) for the slave group, to the temple of Amani. If this is at all significant, a *mleke-yose* should be a supervisor of sorts for a lower class of *mlekes*, or, more likely, simply a “superior *mleke*.”

Lines 5 and 6: the *mleke-yose* Tareye appears as a relative (*yetmde*) of the deceased, but it must be noted that he is mentioned again in line 10 specifically as her brother, presumably simply to point up the closeness of her relationship to one particular member of this notable family.

Line 11: Here the deceased lady is said to be related to the *ssor atbose mlekye*, probably the mysterious personage I discussed in Mills 1982, 79, where the evidence regarding this worthy is reviewed. In that article I suggested that the word might, despite its appearance, have been a title rather than a name, on the grounds that the time span between two of the appearances of the name was too great for a single life span. This suggestion was based on my assumption that two texts from Ibrim, Ib. 1 and Ib. 2, were more or less contemporary; the two stones were found together, re-used as covering slabs for a tomb of later but uncertain date. Since I believed, and still do, that one person mentioned in Ib. 1 was the Roman Caesar Maximin, who was in office in the early fourth century (for which see below), the persons commemorated in Ib. 2 should have been active at more or less the same time.

On further reflection I have come to the opinion that the assumption of contemporaneity of the two Ibrim stelae is most likely wrong, and that it produces more problems than it solves. A further point lies in the documented presence at Philae in AD 260 of the *pqr* Abaratoye, to whose funerary outlay Malekaye seems to have contributed, according to the text on Abaratoye's offering table (REM 1509, where the form is Malakaye). We have

of course no idea of the date of Abaratoye's death.

It must be pointed out that the parallelism of the mention of Malekaye here to other persons named with their titles is *prima facie* evidence in favour of the understanding of the word as a personal name rather than as a title.

The title given here to Malekaye, *ssor atbose*, is unique in the Meroitic record; the first word is best known from the Karanog texts, where it is usually connected to the god Amanappa, and would seem at first glance to be, as Griffith took it to be, a priestly title. It should always be borne in mind, however, that gods, temples, and cults may have personnel of a more secular nature than serving priests; stewards, treasurers, scribes and so forth are as likely to have been part of a Meroitic temple establishment as they were of their Egyptian counterparts. In view of the position of Malekaye as revealed by the other references to him in Lower Nubian texts, it seems probable that he was himself some sort of administrative personage, the "*ssor* of two," presumably referring to the prince and the general with whom he is connected in AW 3a:

*mlekye*  
*mr-de peseto-li-se-li*  
*mr-de pelmos-li-se-li kelw*  
*xrpxe-bxe-li*  
*yetmde-leb-kwi*

This must mean something like "they (the deceased persons commemorated) were related to Malekaye, the favoured(?) of the prince and the favoured(?) of the general as well (*kelw*), the one who commanded for them(?)." For the details of this interpretation see Mills, *ibid.*, p. 80. Alternatively, of course, the "two" in *ssor atbo-se*, if that is what the expression means here, may refer to two rulers, the Roman emperor and the king of Meroe.

Equally puzzling is another mention of Malekaye in MI 132; here we read that the deceased, the son of a general named Atankitanideye, was

*mlekye xlbine yitki-te-lo*

This is puzzling, but might be conceivably construed as a direct genitive of the sort we appear to encounter in such titles as *wos-ger* ("*ger* of Isis") and *qore-sm* ("royal consort"), meaning "he was Malekaye's *xlbine* in Yitanki," the place referred to being probably Toshka (Trigger 1962).

If the title *ssor* can in fact be used in relation to official personages as well as to gods, we are faced with a further question in the interpretation of the text of Ib 2, in which Malekaye is mentioned as a donor, and one which has a direct bearing on the matter of the dating of this mysterious figure.

In my treatment of Ib 1 (Mills 1982, 79) I tentatively identified a certain *kisri mkesemene*, one of the donors listed (although probably not as I thought then of contributions to the dead man's funerary equipment, but rather of diplomatic gifts from a Roman emperor to a member of a foreign embassy) with the early fourth century Roman Caesar Maximinus Daia (the Meroitic form *mkesemene* representing perhaps /*maksemen*/). This, if correct, would date that particular text to

some time after AD 305, when Maximin was raised to the dignity of Caesar.

#### RENDERING

“O Isis! O Osiris! It is the noble Shakhiye, the noble one; her father was Atiyetameye, her mother was Ameneye. She was related to the *mlekeyose* Yetekaye; she was related to the *ml[ekeyo]se* Tareye, to the *m[leke]yose* Atoye, to the *mlekeyose .dokeye*, to the *mlekey[o]se* Qoqoye, and to the *mlekeyose* Takereye; she was the sister of the *mlekeyose* Tareye; she was related to the *ssor* of two Malekaye; she was related to the *ttnes*. Much water may she drink!”

**GA40:** Sandstone offering-table, register no. 64:1:62. The offering-table has a single spout and cartouche-shaped basin carved with bunches of grapes around it. Found in Cemetery 3 near the east wall of Pyramid 11, and possibly belonging to it; now in the possession of the National Geographic Society, Washington, DC. The text is extremely poorly carved, and one corner of the stone has been abraded away. The measurements are .36 x .26 x .085 m.

#### TEXT

- 1: *wosi sore*
- 2: *yi qo ke*
- 3: *ṭome : mokeye : qowi*
- 4: *ato : mxe psihek[e*
- 5: *te] pi[ sixrk]*
- 6: [line lost]
- 7: . *ete*

#### COMMENTARY

The text seems to commemorate a person named Mokeye, whose name is preceded by a doubtful title, unless it is in fact a part of the name.

**GA41:** Sandstone offering table with single spout, register no. 64:1:38. Carved with the representation of an amphora surrounded by four circular loaves of bread. Found in surface sand near the west side of Pyramid 12 in Cemetery 3. The workmanship is rather better than in the case of most such objects at Adda. The measurements are .37 x .37 x .085 m. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

#### TEXT

- 1: *wos wet*
- 2: [*neyine*]qeli
- 3: *sori qettri qo*
- 4: *kdilhoye qowi ato mhe*
- 5: *psihekete : at mhe*
- 6: *pisixrkete*
- 7: *mlolowi*

## COMMENTARY

The offering-table is that of a lady named Kadilakhoye, who does not mention any titles or relationships that would enable us to say more about her.

## RENDERING

“O Isis, the *wetneyinqe!* O Osiris *wetrri!* It is the noble Kadilakhoye, the noble one. Much water may she drink! Much bread(?) may she eat! She was a good (person).”

**GA42:** Lower part of a sandstone stela, register number 65:2:52; found reused in the foundations of a Christian construction (Locus 101) on the Citadel. The measurements are .36 x .325 x .11 m. Now in the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM accession no. 973.24.1209). (**Photograph 1-10**)

## TEXT

x+1: ]neye : yet[mdelowi  
 2: p]eseto : yidtye [:] ye  
 3: ]tmdelowi : beloloke [:] nptetel  
 4: y]etmdelowi : mlolowi mlo mr  
 5: [se] at mhe pisirkese xmlo

## NOTES

Line 5: The *-k* instead of the usual *-x-* is unexpected and not among the variants listed by Griffith. It has however been ably treated by Trigger (*JEA* 53 [1967], p. 166 ff.).

## COMMENTARY

This fragment was part of the lower portion of the tombstone of a person related to an otherwise unknown *peseto*-prince named Yidataye and a *beloloke* in Napata whose name has not survived. Judging by the relatives mentioned the deceased was one of the princely family of Akin, but little more can be said about him or her.

**GA43:** Fragment of a sandstone stela, register no. 65:12:2. The stela has the usual *ansate* projection decorated with the winged ankh-sign. The left-hand margin of the stone is largely preserved. Found built into a crude stone wall of the late Christian period on the south side of the Adda citadel (Trench 9). The measurements are .34 x .34 x .115 m. Shattered in the course of the repacking in Cairo; surviving fragments are now in the Royal Ontario Museum.

## TEXT

1: wosi : soreyi : ]go : xbxenekdi : t[ . . .  
 2: . . . . .]bliye : terikelow[i . .  
 3: . . . . .]amsxiye : tdxelowi [:] po[lmos  
 4: atolise?] : hlome : yetmdelowi : polmos :  
 5: bedewetel?]: mqoltemome yetmdelowi : polmo  
 6: s : atoli]se : wyekiye : yetmdelowi : polmo

7: s : . . . . .]se : . ye . . ye : yetm[de]lowi : polmo

8: s : . . . . .]se : wsiteye : ye[tmdelowi

#### NOTES

Only a rough approximation can be made of the number of characters missing from the beginnings of the lines.

The spelling of the word for “general” as *polmos* is unusual but known from other Adda texts and also from some of those from Toshka.

It is probable that *atoli-se* is to be restored at the beginning of lines 4, 6, 7, and 8, but Maqolatemome, mentioned in line 5, is called simply “general” in MI 88 and “general in Meroe” in MI 89. Perhaps that last phrase in Meroitic, *bedewe-te*, could have been fitted into the space before Maqolatemome’s name in line 5, but it would have been, I think, somewhat crowded.

#### COMMENTARY

The lady of “*xbxene-rank*” who is commemorated here tells us that she was related to a number of generals, some of whose names are known elsewhere. In MI 88 and 89 Wayekiye I and his wife Tayeshi, herself a member of the same family and perhaps a cousin of her husband, mention among their mutual relatives a “general of the river” Khalome and a “general in Meroe” Maqolatemome, who is also known from a Demotic graffito at Philae (Ph 344), where no title is given. The next general in the present text is Wayekiye himself. The name that follows his cannot be restored as Wayekiye (I mean the second of that name), as long of the tail of the *k* would have surely left a trace. In MI 132 the dead man is one Wayeteye, the son of a general Atankitanideye, and although the name and the lineage might fit, the deceased does not list the title of general among his many distinctions, and he is not very likely to be the man commemorated here.

The next name, that of one Wasiteye, also a general, is otherwise unknown, and since we have only the beginning of what may have been a long list of generals, it is impossible to ascertain the deceased’s place in the Wayekiye family (for which see *Meroitic Nubia*, p.77 ff.) with any accuracy, save to say that she obviously died considerably later than did Wayekiye I, since two or possibly more later generals are listed.

#### RENDERING

“ . . . [it is the] honourable *xbxene*-lady, T[ . . . , the honourable one], whose father was . . . beliye, whose mother was the . . . Amashakhiye. She was related to the general of the river(?) Khalome; she was related to the general in Meroe(?) Maqolatemome; she was related to the general of the river(?) Wayekiye; she was related to the general of the river(?) . . ye . ye; she was [related to] the general of the river(?) Wasiteye ; . . .”

**GA44:** Rectangular block of sandstone now in two pieces; register no. 66:1:37. The inscription is roughly carved in large awkward characters within a rectangular frame, and is worn and largely illegible. Found lying in Late Christian rubbish in Square E4 of the Citadel, the area of the Meroitic temple. The measurements are .69 x .17 x .07 m. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

## TEXT

- 1: . . . . ]bi : qo . . . e . . te . ro .  
 2: m . . lek . . . . xe :  
 3: httkyeto :

## COMMENTARY

I can make nothing of the preserved text.

**GA45:** A crude offering-table of sandstone with faint traces of an incised inscription, found on the Citadel surface; register no. 66:2:36. The measurements are .38 x .24 x .14 m. Now in the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM accession no. 973.24.1213). (**Photograph 1-11**)

## TEXT

- 1: w[o]s[ . . . . . ]p[  
 2: s asoyi .yape qowi  
 3: . sem[

## COMMENTARY

The text would seem to commemorate a person named Ashoyi .yape(?).

**GA46:** Fragment of a sandstone stela, register no. 66:2:119, found in Late Christian rubbish on the Citadel. The measurements are: .35 x .30 x .13 m. Quite destroyed in the repacking referred to above.

## TEXT

- x+ 1:                               ]setk : a . . . . .  
 2:                               ]se : dokese : a . . . .  
 3:                               ]roheto : axi : adete .  
 4:                               ]tedipxide : aqese  
 5:                               ]tebnreq : betekno  
 6:                               ]irohekye : ambeli :  
 7:                               ]teqelexw : dik : dime  
 8:                               ]k : arete : dodoli : td .  
 9:                               ]elw : yekk : dime : sox . .  
 0:                               ]selw : yobeq . . . . .

## COMMENTARY

The rules and characters are executed with great care; the traces of a double horizontal (possibly indeed triple) line at the bottom of the fragment and a single vertical line bounding the text on the preserved left-hand edge, as well as the absence of any funerary formulae, suggest that we are here dealing not with a tombstone but with the very end of a more formal official inscription, and the lack of any indication in the text of the usual relationship statements or titles



would support this conclusion. The relative thickness of the stone (about twice the usual) would seem also supportive of the notion; most of the tombstones are only about seven to nine centimeters in thickness.

This scrap of text is a prime example of how helpless the student of Meroitic is in the presence of an inscription of whose subject matter he is entirely ignorant.

In line 6 *-irohekye* has the appearance of being a personal name. A few other words can be identified in the surviving text, but no sense can be made of the general trend of the contents. The word *dime* is, however, known from several other texts, notably the two parallel graffiti MI 64 and 70 at the pyramid field of Begarawiya:

MI 64: *dmkte-qo xlbi 3 dime 24 kelw qensper-lo*

MI 70: *dmkte-qo xlbi 3 [di]me 4 kelw qensper-lo*

Griffith saw in these two inscriptions the possibility of actual dates (“Meroitic Studies” in *JEA* 3 [1916], p. 29). Only fairly recently, however, has the word *kelw* been identified as a postpositive element meaning “and,” like the Latin *-que*. Thus we cannot hold any longer to his suggested interpretation of these as meaning “season three, year (twenty-) four,” but must lean rather to something like “three x and (twenty-)four y,” and imagine that the “noble” Damakate was commemorating the length of his stay on duty in some capacity at the royal tombs, or perhaps telling us how long a time the construction of each pyramid took. In such a case it may be suggested that the word *xlbi* means “month” and *dime* has the meaning “day.” This suggestion perhaps draws more strength from the mention of *xlbi-li* “the xlbi” in MI 94, among a series of deities being invoked; if it is there the moon or moon-god, it is not unlikely that the word for month would be the same; *dime*, it would easily follow, would be a word for “day.” In a narrative of events on an official stela, as I imagine GA46 to have been, such a word might well occur more than once, as it in fact does.

**GA47:** A small wooden label with cotton string attached, written on both sides in black ink in a fairly clear hand; register no. 66:2:96. Found in Square C3 of the Citadel, in the fill of an early X-group pit-shelter dug in the floor of the Meroitic temple just south of the south wall of the sanctuary, a shelter which was in later times filled with rubbish from the plundered temple. The measurements are .215 x .123 x .028 m. Now in the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM accession no. 973.24.952). (**Photographs 1-12 & 1-13**)

#### TEXT

*recto* 1: *txbo : sebetelebse :*

2: *adkelise : areketo :*

3: *dimeleb : ab*

*verso* 1: *kele : sm : lqoli :*

#### COMMENTARY

It should be noted that the readings given here differ somewhat from those given in the

original publication in *Meroitic Nubia*, p. 354.

This label was presumably intended to be attached to a container of some sort, or perhaps a book, as a description of the contents. Close examination shows that the ink text on the verso is a palimpsest; very faint traces of three erased lines can be seen, of which only the first two characters of the first line are at all legible (*ds+ c. 14*).

In 1992 I gave a paper in Berlin in which I suggested that the word *areketo* might be analysable as *are-keto* and be the word for a number, perhaps “fourteen.” This suggestion and the rather slender justification for it have now appeared in print (Millet 1999).

The word already suggested as meaning “day” appears here in the plural, rather unexpectedly in such a document. The last words of the surviving text may conceivably be a personal name, but the word before it, *sm*, is probably not a title, as it has sometimes been taken to be, including by myself in *Meroitic Nubia*.

#### RENDERING

“A *txbo* of the fourteen(?) *sebetes* of the *adke*; the days *abkele sm lqoli*.”

**GA53:** Sandstone stela with *ansate* projection (now broken off); register no. 65:3:55. Much of the bottom is missing and the object is in two pieces. Found in the fill of tomb 173 in Cemetery 4. The measurements are: .29 x .27 x .07 m. Now in the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM accession no. 973.24.888). (**Photograph 1-14**)

#### TEXT

1: *wos qetneyi[ne]qeli : sori qe*  
 2: *trri : qo pelye qowi : tobe*  
 3: *ne : tedxli td[xe]lowi : sele*  
 4: *bne terikelo[wi] : antosep*  
 5: *y : ssimete : mxtebedetel*  
 6: *yetmdelow[i :] yetere ssi*  
 7: *metel ye[tmd]elowi : qerete*  
 8: *sk tmnetelise : txrn : nle*  
 9: *m : bedewitel bqol : yetm*  
 0: *delowi : mk . . . . . : qe*  
 1: *retel . . . . .*  
 12: *te : ne . . . . .*

#### NOTES

In line 9 there are faint traces of what may be the word-divider (:) after *bedewitel*.

#### COMMENTARY

This is the tombstone of a person of unknown sex named Pelaye or Paleye, who was related among others to two persons bearing the common title *ssimete*, whatever that may imply; one of them, a man with the strange name of Anatospaya, seems to have held office in a place

called Makhatebede, an unusually long toponym for a Meroitic locality, and perhaps a compound.

In lines 7 to 9 there is another relative mentioned, whose name was Takharana. All in all, the names of the persons mentioned on the stone seem oddly non-Meroitic, save perhaps for that of the deceased. The ending *-n/-ne* is, after all, not a common one for a Meroitic personal name at this period, and none of the names seem susceptible to analysis into familiar-sounding Meroitic components. One is tempted, despite the Meroitic titles and the mention of Meroe itself, to conclude that we are dealing here with a family of Meroitized foreigners, like the Temeya mentioned here earlier, or perhaps of that same mysterious stock.

In lines 7 and the following we have a complex and more than usually puzzling segment in

*qeretsk tmne-te-li-se txrn nlem bedewi-te-l bqo-l yetmdelowi*

The place names Taman and Bedewi (Meroe) are of course well attested, and the word *bqo* is known from the inscription of Kharamandoye at Kalabsha, where it occurs frequently. In my treatment of that text (in *Bulletin d'informations Meroitiques* 13) I suggested that it meant something like “to have, possess, control”; if that suggestion was to any degree correct we would have a passage suggesting that “he/she was related to the *qeretsk* in Taman, Takharana, who possesses the *nlem* in Meroe,” whatever this might signify. The word *qeretsk* would seem from the construction to be a title or epithet referring to the personage Takharana.

#### RENDERING

“O Isis, the *qetneyineqe!* O Osiris *qettri!* It is the noble Pelaye, the noble one. Toben was his/her mother, Seleban was his/her father. He/she was related to Anatospaya, the *ssimete* in Makhatebede; he/she was related to Yetere, the *ssimete*; he/she was related to the *qeretsk* in Taman, Takharana, who possesses the *nlem* in Meroe . . .”

**GA54:** Sandstone stela , roughly rectangular; found on top of the fill of Tomb 273 in Cemetery Four; register no. 65:3:33. Also found lying in the fill of the tomb was an uninscribed sandstone stela inscribed with the standing figure of a woman (ROM accession no. 973.24.654), very probably the deceased Tankade. The stone of the stela is of unusually good quality and the characters are carved with care and clarity; the measurements are: .40 x .24 x .08 m. Now in the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM accession no. 973.24.655). (**Photograph 1-15**)

#### TEXT

1: *wosi : wetneyi :*

2: *neqeli : sori we*

3: *trri : qo : tnekde*

4: *qowi : asemiye*

5: *tedxeli : tdxelo*

6: *wi : abeleqebr :*

7: *mhloke : toebre : yi*

8: *qte : mniti : teri*  
 9: *kelowi : bokelhl : ye*  
 0: *tmdelowi : bokemetel ye*  
 1: *tmdelowi : ssimete : kt*  
 2: *kelise : medoye semlo*  
 3: *wi : yiqereye : yet*  
 3b: *mdelowi*

## NOTES

The text is unusually clearly written and carved; unlike many late Meroitic tombstones, there is never any doubt as to the readings. Line 13b is crammed in below the preceding one with no rule of its own.

## COMMENTARY

The deceased lady was the daughter of a woman named Asmiye and a man called Abeleqebbar, who is described as the *mhloke torebre yiqte* of the god Amani, whatever that may imply. She was the wife of a *ssimete* of the Queen-mother named Medoye. On the strength of two texts from Karanog and Shablul, which speak of *ssimetes* of divinities, Griffith concluded that the title was priestly. Here, however, it obviously refers to a local representative of the interests (whatever they may have been) of the Candace - a man who, we may also presume, was located at Adda. Perhaps some kind of steward is meant in all cases. Among Tankade's relatives were two persons named Big Boke and Little Boke, who may have been twins from their names; they were obviously well-enough known personalities that they did not have to be described further, as was the Yiqereye mentioned just after. We are reminded again how small was the social world of the upper classes in Meroitic Nubia at this period.

## RENDERING

“O Isis! O the *wetneyineqe*! O Osiris! O the *wettri*! It is the honourable Tankade, the honourable one; she was born of Asmiye, and begotten of Abeleqebbar, the *mhloke torebre yiqte* of Amani; she was related to Big Boke, she was related to Little Boke; she was the wife of the *ssimete* of the Queen-mother, Medoye; she was related to Yiqereye.”

**GA55 & GA56:** Two fragments of a sandstone stela, register nos. 65:3:38 and 65:3:30, with an *ansate* projection decorated with the usual winged ankh-sign. The first was found in the fill of Tomb 110 in Cemetery 4, the other near the neighbouring Tomb 302. The measurements are: GA55: .25 x .20 x .06 m., GA56: .27 x .145 x .07 m. The text is carelessly carved and in two cases two lines of texts have been jammed in between rules. The similarity of style and the content suggest that the two fragments belong together. Both are now in the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM accession nos. 973.24.1211 and 97324.1210). (**Photograph 1-16**)

## TEXT

GA55:

1: *wosi : sor]eyi : qo : arom*  
 2: . . . . .]ye qowi : *abrlo*  
 3:                   ]li : *terikelowi*  
 3b:                  te]dxeli [*tedx*

Perhaps two or three lines are missing between the fragments at this point, judging by the usual proportions of tombstones of this type.

GA56:

1:                   ]at  
 2:                   ]arom  
 3:                  aro]mri : yi .  
 4:                  a]romri : m  
 5:                  ]te : leteye : a  
 6:                   ]ye : aqe  
 6b:                ]e : kelw : ye  
 7: *tmdelowi* : ]ato mhe p  
 8:                   ]:

#### NOTES

The *r* of the father's name has been added as a correction beneath the line. Lines 3 and 3b in the upper fragment are crammed together between one pair of rules; one wonders why, since the first line was obviously reduced in height in anticipation of another line being added.

#### COMMENTARY

There can be little doubt that these two fragments belong to the same stela; the title *aromri*, found only here, seems to occur on both pieces. They then represent part of the tombstone of a person whose name ended in the common termination *-ye*. Given the number of lost characters, the last four of the first line must be part of a title, probably that *aromri* found three times later in the text, rather than the beginning of the dead person's name. Whether the new title is to be regarded as parallel in some way with the better-known epithet *ssmri* (Sh 8 and GA 19) is uncertain.

The name of the father of the deceased was apparently Abaralo[. . .]; the mother's name is wholly lost. The remaining *aqe-* in line B 6 might have been the beginning of another name coupled with the one preceding; the postpositive conjunction *kelw* indicates that several persons previously listed were summed up in one relationship-word, probably *yetmdelowi* as restored here. The rest of funerary formula A, if it was ever written, must have been crowded in under the beginning of the last line.

Apart from the occurrences of the title (unique to this text) of *aromri*, there is little in this text to justify the kind of rendering which has been offered here before in the case of better preserved texts. The only relative's name which is preserved is Leteye, not known elsewhere.

**GA57:** Part of a sandstone stela with *ansate* projection, representing roughly the right-hand half of the whole; register no. 65:3:204. Found in the upper fill of Tomb 35 in Cemetery Four. The measurements are: .28 x .20 x .06 m. Now in the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM accession no. 973.24.1212). **(Photograph 1-17)**

## TEXT

- 1: *w[o]si sorey[i] . . . .*
- 2: *seye q[owi] . . . . .*
- 3: *td[x]elo[wi] . . . . .*
- 4: *terik[el]ow[i] . . . . .*
- 5: *šliter[ . . . . .*
- 6: *we a[ . . . . .*

## COMMENTARY

Faint traces of text at the very top of the stone above the first rule represent the remains of an earlier inscription which has been erased; it is clear that many of the Adda inscribed objects have been subject to reuse.

The name of the deceased ended in *-seye*; those of both parents have been lost. The preserved word in line 5 may be the name or title of a relative.

**GA58:** Two fitting fragments of sandstone (field no. 4-62:1, never registered) decorated with four lines of Meroitic text. Found on the surface near Tomb 62 in Cemetery Four. The object appears to have had a complex history of reuse; it appears to have been at one time part of a roughly-shaped round-topped stela made from a piece of stone already bearing an incised drawing, perhaps of an animal. To further complicate the question the smaller fragment is twice the thickness of the larger, which last has also been carved with a rough cross-like mark on the back. The inscription that is published here is enclosed in neatly cut rules with a left-hand vertical border-line which leaves considerable space further to the left, in a manner difficult to explain if one were dealing with a normal Meroitic stela, although there may well have been a figure occupying the left-hand portion of the surface. Traces of red paint survive at the upper corner of the face. The measurements are : .145 x .95 x .03-.06m. Now in the Royal Ontario Museum (unregistered). **(Photograph 1-18)**

## TEXT

- 1: *qereht*
- 2: *wwi : ntmene*
- 3: *py : y[ . . .*
- 4: *n : k : t[ . . .*

## COMMENTARY

The text is quite obscure to me; it is by no means certain that it was a funerary inscription.

**GA67:** Black ink dipinto in Egyptian Demotic on the shoulder of an amphora from Tomb 410 in Pyramid 6, register no. 63:12:104. The amphora is now in the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM accession no. 973.24.1202). (**Photographs 1-19 & 1-20**)

TEXT

**wyge**

COMMENTARY

This is the same personal name, certainly representing the Meroitic *wyekiye*, that appears on another amphora; see below, GA73. The two “generals of the water” who bore the name Wayekiye (or Wayenkiye) were dated by me (in *Meroitic Nubia*, pp. 106-7) to roughly 227-231 and 252-255; the later date is perhaps to be preferred here. The dates of course are a guess at the period during which each of the two men held the highest office in the family’s possession, and they would have been active for some time before that in lesser capacities.

**GA68 & GA69:** Two Meroitic black ink dipinti, partially erased, on the shoulder of an amphora, register no. 63:4:285, from Tomb 220 in Cemetery Three. The amphora is now in the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM accession no. 973.24.1200). (**Photographs 1-21 through 1-24**)

TEXT

*mb*

*nwt*

**GA71:** A black ink dipinto in Meroitic on an amphora, register no. 63:12:149, from Tomb 470 in Cemetery Three. The amphora is now in the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM accession no. 973.24.1203). (**Photographs 1-25 through 1-27**)

TEXT

*.sxiye*

COMMENTARY

The first sign is blurred and may well be an accidental smear; the personal name Shakhiye is after all well-known elsewhere. Below are very faint traces of another inscription, perhaps deliberately erased, ending in *-ye*.

**GA72:** A Meroitic black ink dipinto on an amphora, register no. 64:2:23, from Tomb 800 in Cemetery Three.

TEXT

1: *tmeyeq* :

2: *t*:

**GA73:** Two black ink dipinti in Egyptian Demotic on opposite shoulders of an amphora, register no. 63:12:16, from tomb 450 in Pyramid Seven in Cemetery 3. Now in the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM accession no. 973.24.653). (**Photographs 1-28 through 1-31**)

## TEXT

A: **wyge**

B: **wyge**

For commentary, see above under GA67.

**GA76 & GA77:** These are two short Meroitic texts on the shoulder of an amphora, register no. 63:4:121, from the burial chamber of Pyramid Three. The first is a black ink dipinto:

*att[*

The other is an incised group of signs immediately below:

*snkte*

The jar is now in the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM accession no. 973.24.1056). (**Photographs 1-32 & 1-33**)

**GA78:** A Meroitic black ink dipinto on the inside of a shoulder fragment from an amphora, register no. 64:2:73, found in a rubbish-heap in the North Suburb. The sherd's maximum measurement is 13.5 cm. Since the inside rather than the outside of the sherd was used, the graffito was obviously made after the breaking of the jar and not a user's or dispatcher's mark. Another small unregistered shard (GA78b) from an amphora of the same type bears on the outside surface the traces of a text: *..lise*. Both fragments are now in the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM accession no. 973.24.1205). (**Photograph 1-34**)

## TEXT

1: ]*as* . . [

2: ]*lise* :

3: *adote!*[

## COMMENTARY

This fragment of text is probably to be analysed as N + N + *li-se ado-te-l*, meaning “the x of the y in Ado.” Ado or Addo is an obvious candidate for the Meroitic name of Gebel Adda, known in Christian times as Addô and to the Arab chroniclers as Al-Dû (= /addû/; see Monneret de Villard, 1938, pp. 135 and 140-141). If this be indeed the Meroitic name of Gebel Adda, it is very strange that this is the only appearance of the name in the relatively large body of texts from the site.



**GA79:** A faint black ink dipinto in large sprawling Meroitic characters on the outside of a body sherd from a ribbed amphora, register no. 66:3:47. Now in the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM accession no. 973.24.1214). (**Photograph 1-35**)

TEXT

]p  
]he  
]iso

**GA80:** A faint black ink dipinto of one line on the outside of a ribbed amphora, below the shoulder, register no. 65:2:3, from an unnumbered burial of an adult in a crevice in the bedrock of the Christian Cemetery 2. On the other shoulder there is a rough drawing in cream paint of a Meroitic-style “divine crown” design, a horizontal crescent surmounted by a conventionalised ankh-sign. Now in the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM accession no. 973.24.1208). (**Photographs 1-36 to 1-39**)

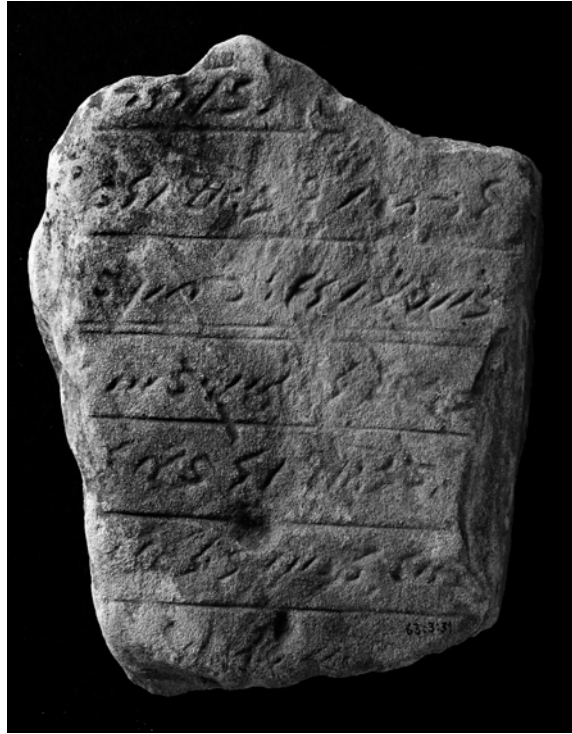
TEXT

[Editor’s note: Millet manuscript ends here.]

Table 1 - Gebel Adda - Inscriptions List

Number	Register Number	ROM Accession Number	Comments	Objects	Material	Location
GA01			no entry			
GA02			no entry			
GA03			no entry			
GA04	63:3:30		shattered in shipment	Stele fragment	sandstone	ROM
GA05	63:3:31	973.24.508		Stele	sandstone	CC607-Z.01.049
GA06			only hand copy exists			
GA07	63:3:79	973.24.374		Offering table	sandstone	CC607-V.03.003
GA08			unregistered			
GA09			unregistered			
GA10			unregistered			
GA11			unregistered			
GA12			no entry			
GA13	63:3:285	973.24.1198		Stele (joins 63:3:340)	sandstone	CC607-W.01.045
GA14			no entry			
GA15	63:3:287	973.24.718		Stele fragment	sandstone	CC607-W.01.034
GA16	63:3:340	973.24.1199		Stele (joins 63:3:285)	sandstone	CC607-W.01.045
GA17	63:4:214		shattered in shipment	Stele fragment	sandstone	ROM
GA18			no entry			
GA19	63:4:356		Cairo	Stele fragment	sandstone	Egyptian Museum, Cairo
GA20	63:12:20			Stele fragment	sandstone	Egyptian Museum, Cairo
GA20	63:12:25	973.24:1201		Stele	sandstone	CC607-Z.03.106
GA21	63:12:21		Washington	Stele fragment	sandstone	National Geographic Society, Washington
GA22	63:12:2	973.24.888	ROM	Stele fragment	sandstone	
GA23			no entry			
GA24	63:12:151		Washington	Stele fragment	sandstone	National Geographic Society, Washington
GA25	63:12:159	973.24.1158		Stele	sandstone	CC607-X.01.033
GA26	64:1:61	973.24.1204		Stele	sandstone	CC607-Z.01.003
GA27			no entry			
GA28	64:1:282		Cairo	Stele fragment	sandstone	Egyptian Museum, Cairo
GA28	64:1:283		Cairo	Stele fragment	sandstone	Egyptian Museum, Cairo
GA29	64:1:317		Cairo	Stele fragment	sandstone	Egyptian Museum, Cairo
GA30	64:1:320		Cairo	Stele fragment	sandstone	National Geographic Society, Washington
GA31	64:2:118	973.24.1206	Washington	Stele	sandstone	CC607-W.01.045
GA32			no entry			
GA33			no entry			
GA34			no entry			
GA35			no entry			
GA36			no entry			
GA37	65:1:37	973.24.1207	2 fragments	Stele	sandstone	CC607-W.02.045





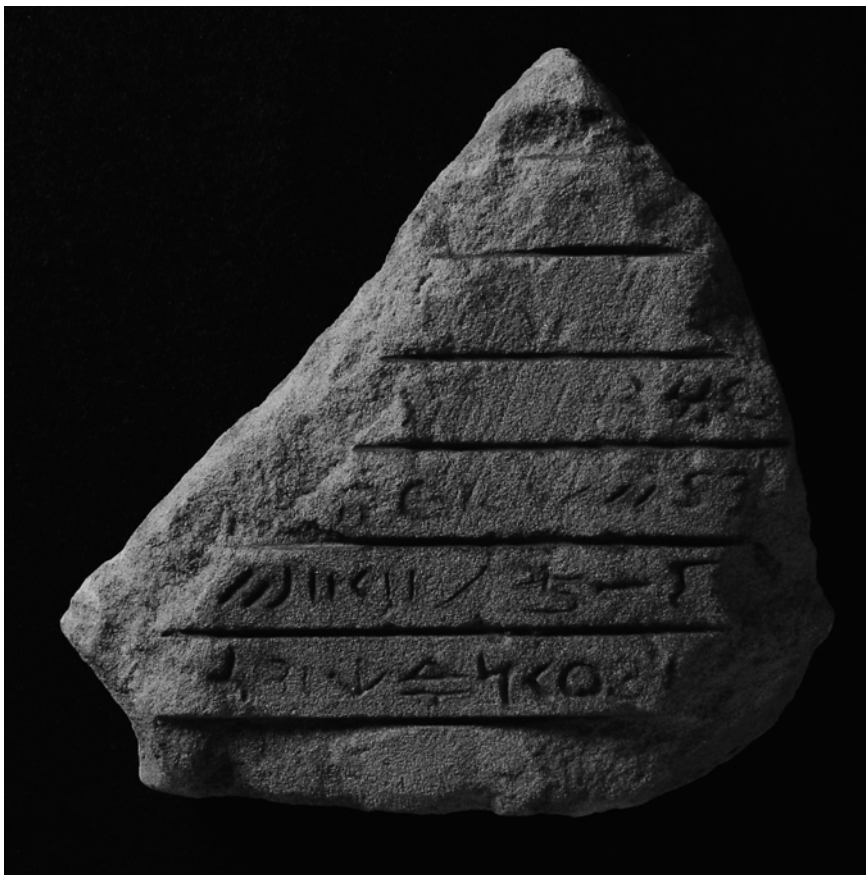
Photograph 1-1. GA05 - ROM accession no. 973.24.508



Photograph 1-2. GA07 - ROM accession no. 973.24.374



**Photograph 1-3**  
 GA13 & GA16  
 ROM accession no.  
 973.24.1198



**Photograph 1-4**  
 GA15  
 ROM accession no.  
 973.24.718





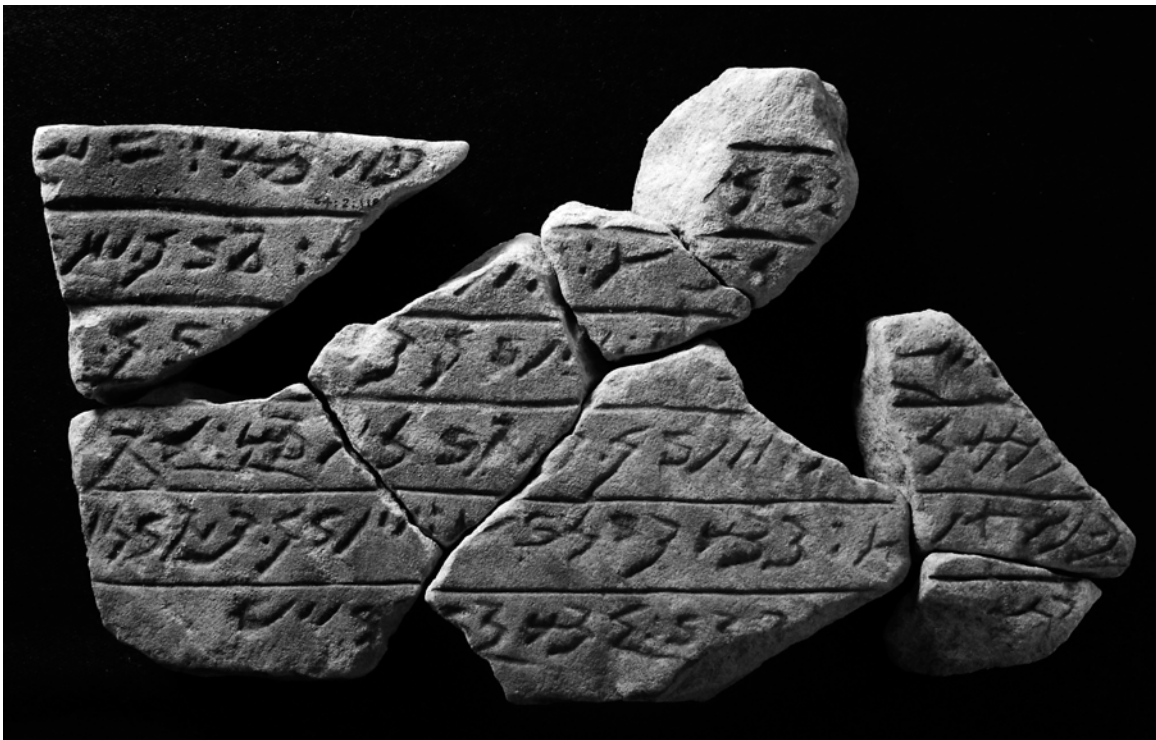
Photograph 1-5 - GA20 - ROM accession no. 973.24.1202



Photograph 1-6 - GA25 - ROM accession no. 973.24.1158

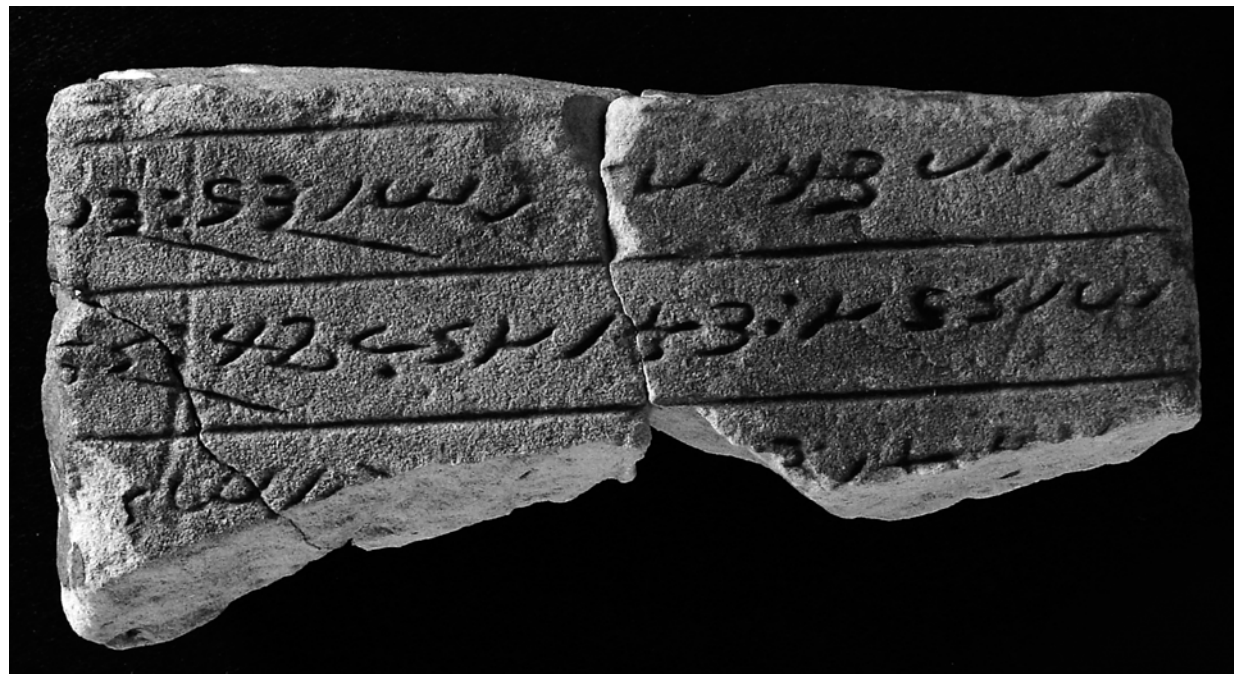


Photograph 1-7 - GA26 - ROM accession no. 973.24.1204



Photograph 1-8 - GA31 - ROM accession no. 973.24.1206





Photograph 1-9  
GA37  
ROM accession no.  
973.24.1207



Photograph 1-11  
GA42  
ROM accession no.  
973.24.1213





Photograph 1-10 - GA42 - ROM accession no. 973.24.1209



Photograph 1-12 - GA47 - recto - ROM accession no. 973.24.952



Photograph 1-13 - GA47 - verso





Photograph 1-14 - GA 53 - ROM accession no. 973.24.888



Photograph 1-15 - GA54 - ROM accession no. 973.24.655



Photograph 1-16 - GA55  
& 56 - ROM accession  
nos. 973.24.1211 and  
97324.1210



Photograph 1-17 - GA57  
- ROM accession no.  
973.24.1212





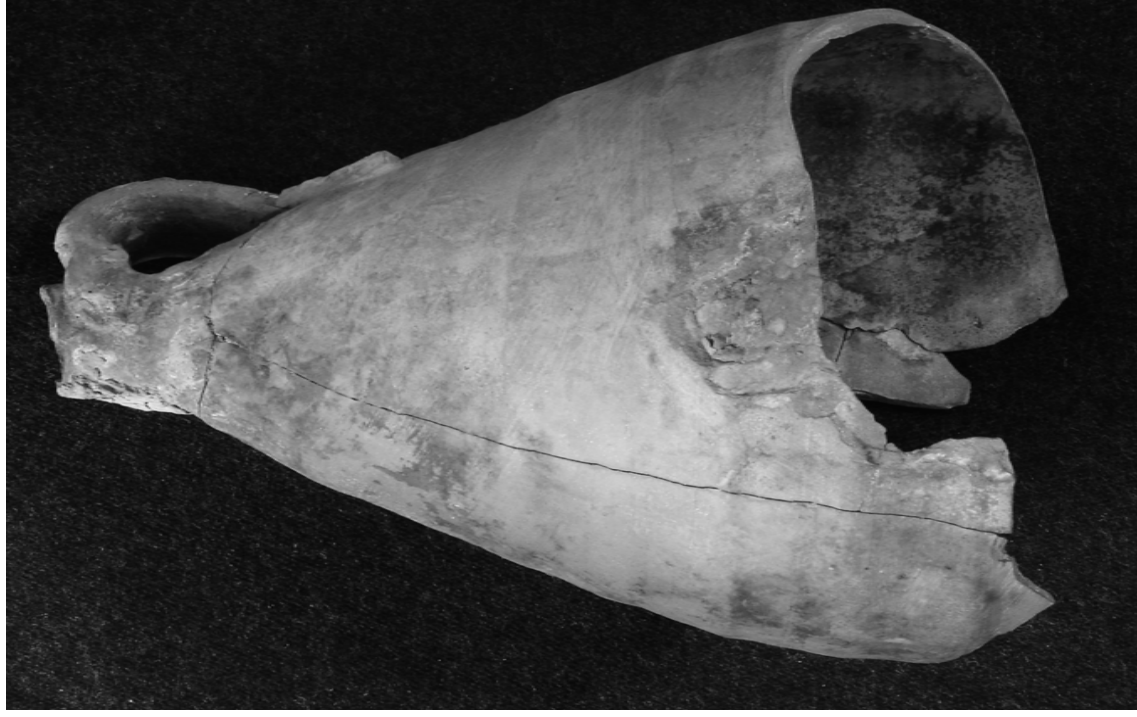
Photograph 1-18 - GA58



Photograph 1-19 - GA67 - jar



Photograph 1-20 - GA67 inscription - ROM accession no. 973.24.1202

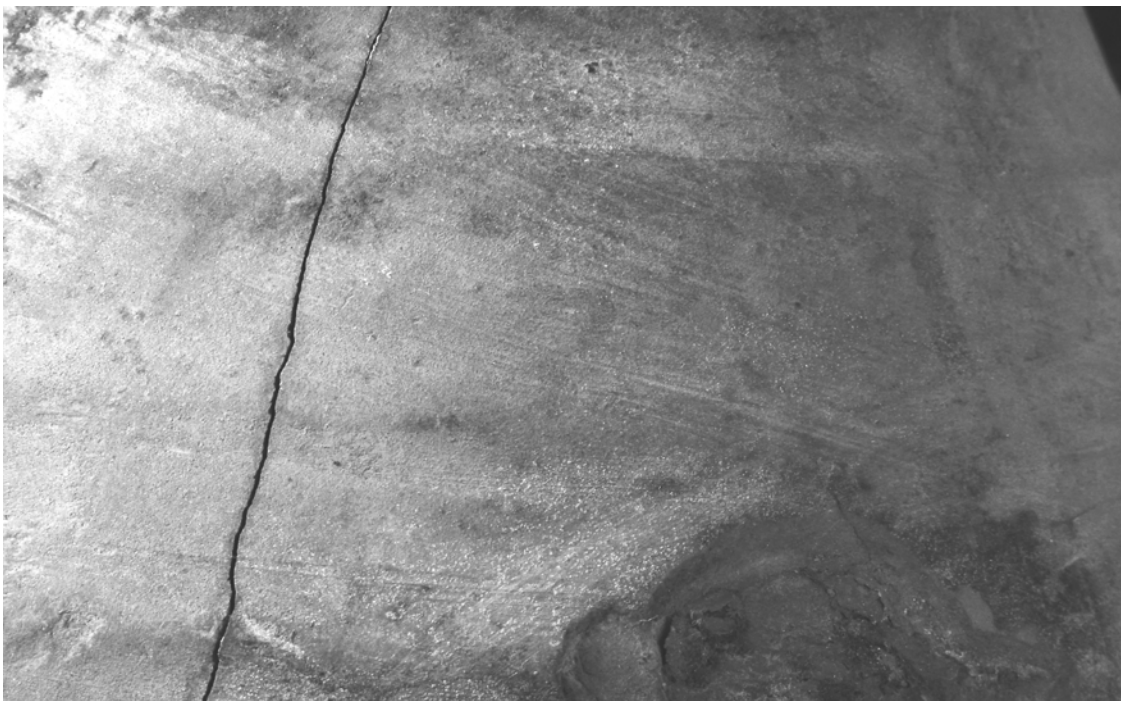


Photographs 1-21 and 1-22 - Amphora with GA68 & 69 - ROM accession no. 973.24.1200

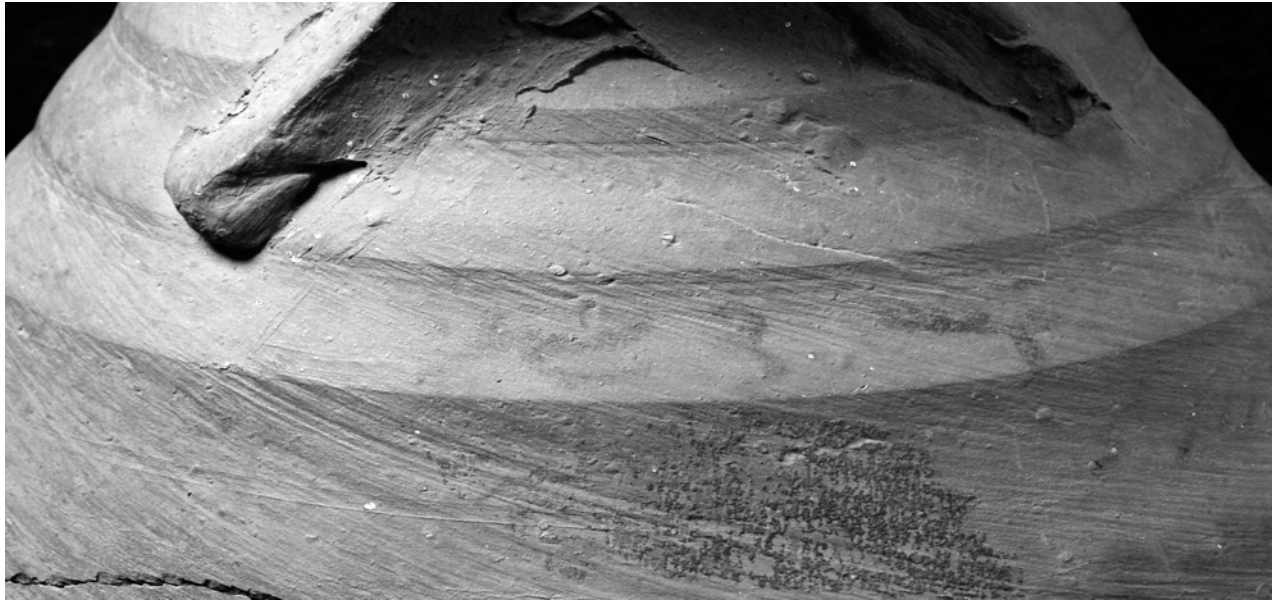




**Photograph 1-23 - GA68 - ROM accession no. 973.24.1200**



**Photograph 1-24 - GA69 - ROM accession no. 973.24.1200**



Photographs 1-25, 1-26, 1-27 - GA 71 - ROM accession no. 973.24.1203







Photograph 1-28 - GA73 - Inscription A

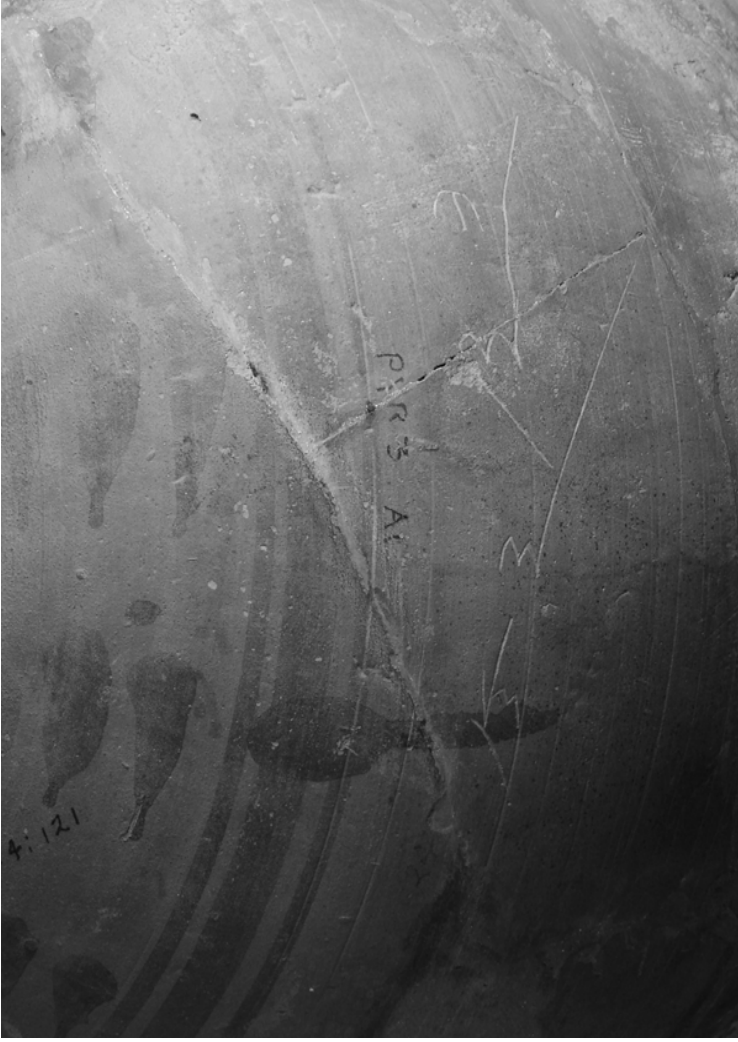


Photograph 1-29 - GA73 - Inscription B

ROM accession no. 973.24.1203



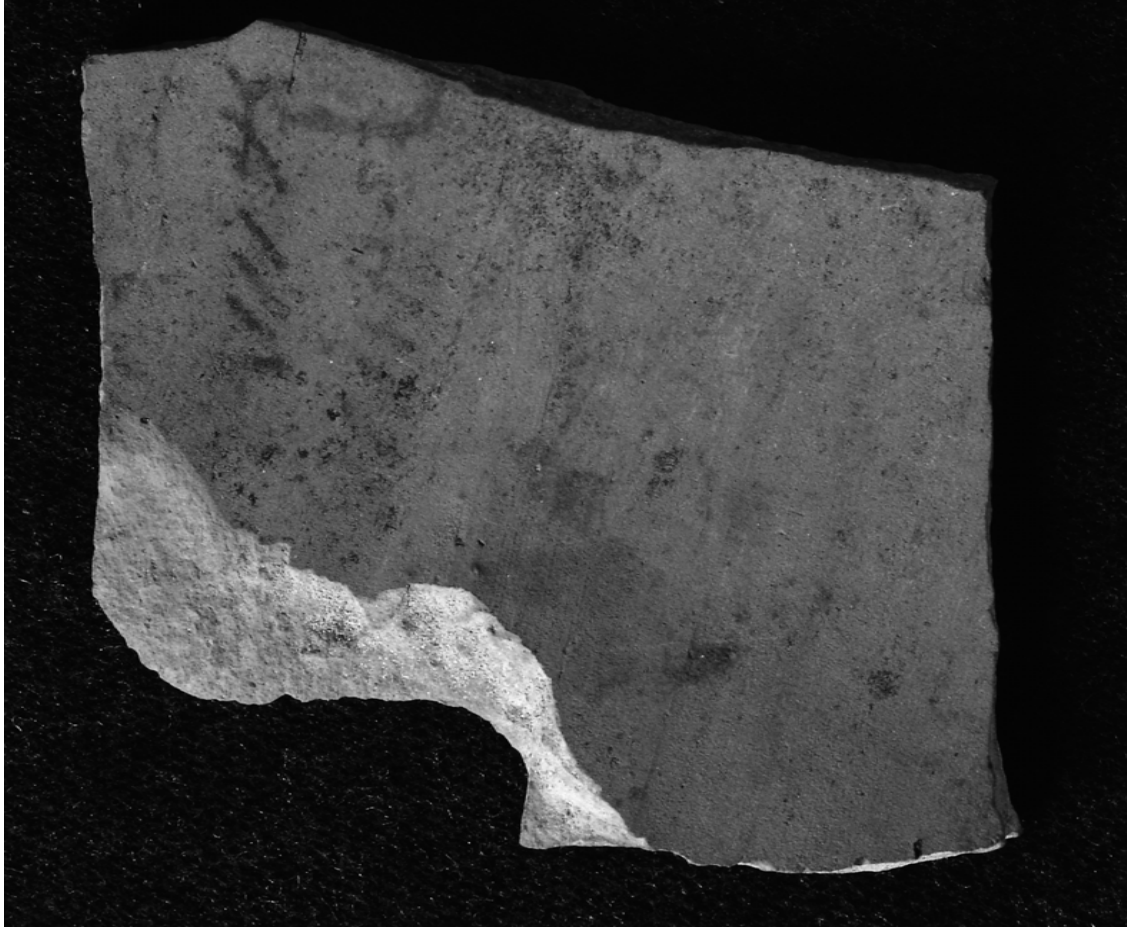
Photographs 1-30 & 1-31 - GA73 - views of amphora



Photograph 1-33 - GA76 & 77

Photograph 1-32 - GA76 & 77 - ROM accession no. 973.24.1056





Phototgraph 1-34 - GA78 - ROM accession no. 973.24.1205



Photograph 1-35 - GA79 - ROM accession no. 973.24.1214



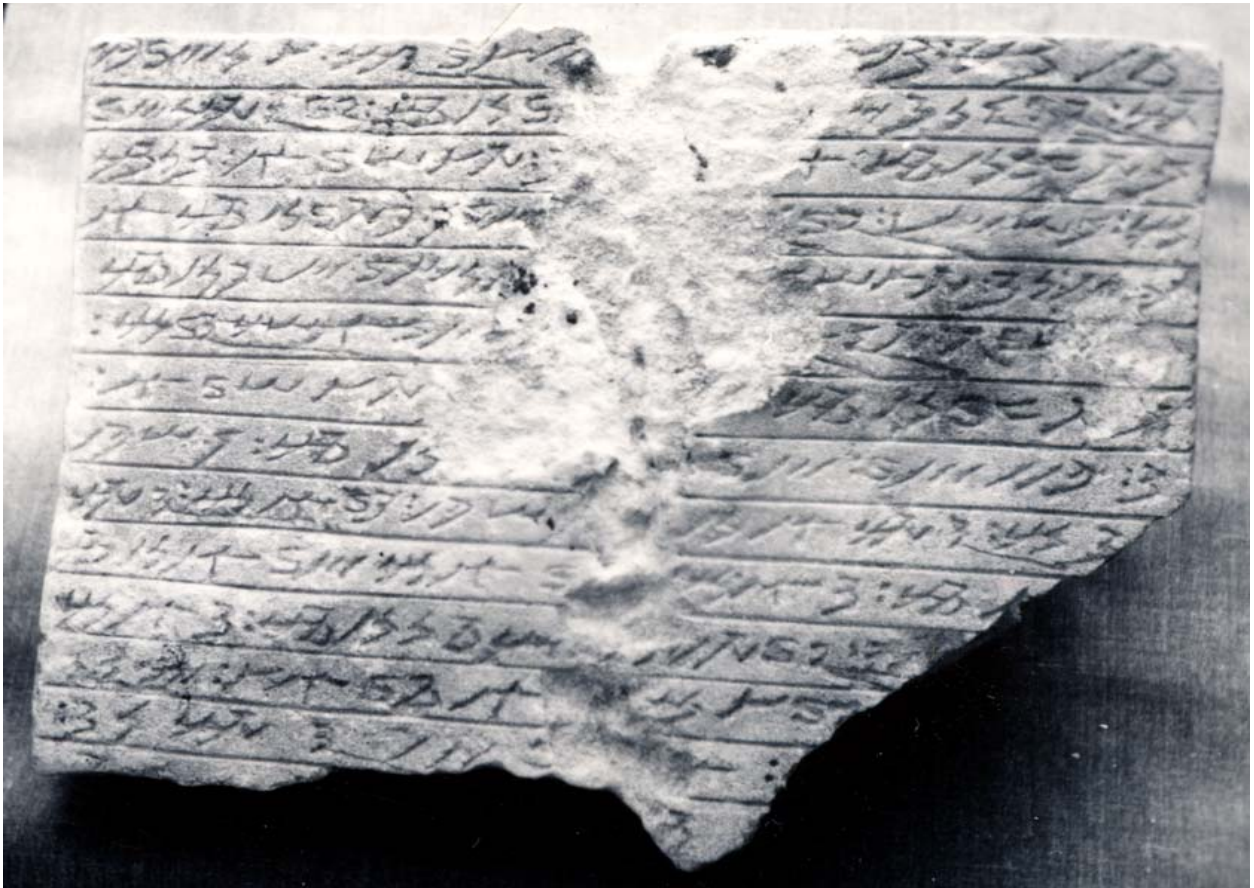
Photographs 1-36 & 1-37 - ROM accession no. 973.24.1208 - Views





Photograph 1-39 - GA80 - ROM accession no. 973.24.1208

Photograph 1-38 - GA80 - Drawing of "divine crown"



Photograph 1-40 - GA22



## 2. SOME PREDYNASTIC AND EARLY DYNASTIC REPRESENTATIONS OF THE DOG

Kathryn A. Bard

### Abstract

There is representational evidence of domesticated dogs in Egypt in hunting scenes of the 4<sup>th</sup> millennium BC. The quadrupeds carved on the rims of the Two Dog and Four Dog Palettes, however, are representations of the African wild dog (*Lycaon pictus*), not the domestic dog. Old Kingdom hunting scenes in tombs depict the long-legged *tjesem* hound, but absent from such scenes are the mythical composite animals first seen on some late Predynastic palettes.

### Key words

dog, Egyptian hounds, Hunter's Palette, Two Dog Palette, Four Dog Palette, Hierakonpolis, Gebel el-Arak knife handle, Gebel Tarif knife handle

*This is an excerpt from a paper that was written in 1977 for Nick Millet's class, Egyptian Art and Iconography. My dog Nini came to this class, which was held in Nick's office in the ROM Egyptian Department, then in the Canadiana Building. Nick always welcomed Nini, who slept in front of his desk on the thick red carpet.*

### Introduction

One of the earliest representations of a dog in Egypt is painted on a White Cross-line class bowl of the Naqada I phase (ca. 4000-3500 BC), formerly in the Golenishchev Collection in Moscow (No. 2947; see Epstein 1971: 67). Four dogs with prick-ears and short curled tails are held on leashes by a hunter who grips a bow in the other hand. In this scene there are also feather-like plants, which may represent desert scrub, and four triangular forms (mountains?) are painted around the rim. The dogs appear to be long-legged hounds, but the strange globular "pendants" hanging from their throats are also seen on cattle in rock drawings found throughout the eastern Sahara. Animals of any kind, however, are not frequently depicted on C-class pottery, and it is not until later Predynastic times that hunting scenes (usually with dogs) are found on a number of artifacts.

On the Hunters' Palette (Louvre E11254), of unknown provenance, there is a more elaborate hunting scene than that painted on the much earlier C-class bowl. The scene on this palette depicts two rows of hunters and possibly also beaters, lengthwise along the edge of the palette, who have encountered three aggressive male lions. In class Millet commented that the circular hole in the center of the palette (a vestige of the palette's original use for grinding eye/body paint), could possibly represent a pool around which wild animals watered. Aside from the three lions, which are depicted being shot with arrows, there are a fallow deer, hartebeests (both *Lelwel* and *Tora*), a small antelope such as a *dikdik*, a hare, a male(?) ostrich, and two wild canines (jackals?). No domestic dogs are found in this scene, which may indicate that some hunting was done without dogs. The ropes that are depicted may be lassos for capturing some of the wild animals to take back to fenced enclosures, such as is seen on the Narmer Macehead (with three enclosed hartebeests) from Hierakonpolis.

Also excavated at Hierakonpolis is the Two Dog Palette (Quibell and Green 1902: pl.



28). The two dogs carved in profile on the palette's edge are not domestic dogs, nor do they appear to be jackals, as Quibell proposed (Quibell and Green 1902: 41). Their big rounded ears and the details of their tails suggest that they are African wild dogs (*Lycaon pictus*; now found in east and southern Africa), which have long bushy tails with white tips. Carved on the obverse of the Two Dog Palette is a scene of desert animals, including two hartebeests, an oryx, and an ibex being chased by three domestic dogs with lop-ears, of a different type than is depicted on the C-class bowl in Moscow.

Similar to the Two Dog Palette is the Four Dog Palette (Louvre E11052), of unknown provenance, with four wild dogs carved in profile around its edge. Also carved on this palette are a lion, ibis, and some kind of fantastical serpopard (obverse), and two giraffes (reverse), but there is no hunting scene or hunting dogs, as on the Two Dog Palette.

Several ivory knife handles with carved scenes, which are stylistically late Predynastic, also depict desert fauna. Purchased at Gebel Tarif in 1866, the knife known by this name is in the Cairo Museum (14265) (Currelly 1913: 251). Four rows of pairs of animals are carved on one side of this handle, from top to bottom: 1) a spotted feline (leopard?) attacking a hartebeest, 2) a male lion attacking an oryx, 3) a heavy-set domestic (?) dog with a curled tail attacking an unknown animal, and 4) a winged quadruped chasing an ibex. Although the dog does not have a collar, its curled tail most likely indicates that it is domesticated, but it is a different type from the well known *tjesem* hounds in Old Kingdom tomb scenes.

Although the best known vignette on the Gebel el-Arak ivory knife handle (Louvre E11517) is that of a *hero dompteur* with two standing lions to either side, other figures suggest a hunting scene. Below the *hero dompteur* are two collared dogs, three gazelles, an ibex, lion, and an animal on a leash. Ridley (1973: 19) proposed that the leashed animal is a "lynx or serval" cat, but it is more likely that this is a domestic dog, held on a leash as is later seen in a number of Old Kingdom tomb scenes.

At Hierakonpolis a number of carved maceheads were found in the "Main Deposit," with artifacts that are stylistically late Predynastic, Dynasty 0, and Early Dynastic. One of these is of steatite carved with "three dogs chasing three lions" (Quibell 1900: 8, pl. 19). The dogs have lop-ears, rope collars, and tails which hang down straight behind them. It is more likely, however, that the hounds and lions were grouped together on this artifact for their symbolism (as aggressive predators?). A lion and collared dog are also paired together on the handle of an ivory spoon found at Ballas by a woman who was digging for salt (Petrie and Quibell 1896: 46).

Carved figurines of dogs have also been found. One of the ivory artifacts that Petrie excavated in the 1<sup>st</sup> Dynasty tomb of Djer at Abydos is a small dog figurine, carved with lop-ears and a banded collar (Petrie 1901: pl. 34). It is similar to a carved ivory dog from the Main Deposit at Hierakonpolis (Quibell 1900: pl. 12). The artifacts in the Hierakonpolis Main Deposit were intentionally buried for ritual reasons, but Millet suggested that the ivory dog from Djer's tomb may have been a gaming piece.

Probably the most striking representation of dogs in the Early Dynastic period are the two on the black steatite disc from the Saqqara tomb of Hemaka, a high official of Den (see Emery 1938: 28, pl. 1). This artifact is only 7.6 cm in diameter (Smith 1998: 20), and Emery thought that it was a "gaming disc" (Emery 1961: 46). The hounds on the disk are of the long-legged *tjesem*-type, with tightly curled tails and long prick-ears. One dog, carved in relief in the black stone, is shown biting the throat (jugular vein) of a gazelle which lies dead on its back. The other dog gives chase to a still living gazelle. This dog and both gazelles are carved out of

inlaid travertine stained pink.

The images of dogs on Predynastic artifacts indicate that different types of dogs were already domesticated and were used for hunting in the 4<sup>th</sup> millennium BC. In the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC, when hunting in the desert was increasingly becoming a sport of elites, long-legged *tjesem* hounds with prick- (not lop-) ears and tightly curled tails were probably bred for this purpose, as is depicted on the Hemaka disc and later in tomb reliefs of the Old Kingdom.

But the fantastical animals carved on the Two Dog and Four Dog Palettes suggest another context – one in which scenes of real hunts with dogs eventually disappeared. Apotropaic “wands” known from the Middle Kingdom were intended to protect the living and recently dead from malevolent spirits (Robins 1997: 115). They were carved with the images of both real and mythical animals, and deities. The protective animals include dangerous ones, such as snakes and lions, and serpopards (composite beasts with the body of a lion and a long, serpent-like neck). Perhaps originally a ritual artifact in the late Predynastic temple at Hierakonpolis (or one which was donated to the temple), the Two Dog Palette not only has serpopards on both sides, but on the reverse there are also a winged quadruped with a bird’s head and an anthropometric figure with a donkey-like head that plays a flute.

Also from Hierakonpolis, in the Main Deposit, is another ritual artifact which suggests something transitional between the images on the Two Dog and Four Dog Palettes and the Middle Kingdom wands. It is a curved “ivory blade” with “notching” on the inner edge (Quibell 1900: 7, pl. 16). Animals carved on both sides of the blade include several types of birds, lions, leopards(?), oryx, and possibly a jackal, as well as three serpopards, but no hunting scenes with dogs. From hunting scenes in the desert, which was also the realm of mythical beasts, these scenes were transformed into protective symbols on artifacts depicting a world which was inhabited not by real animals but by ones that were spirits.

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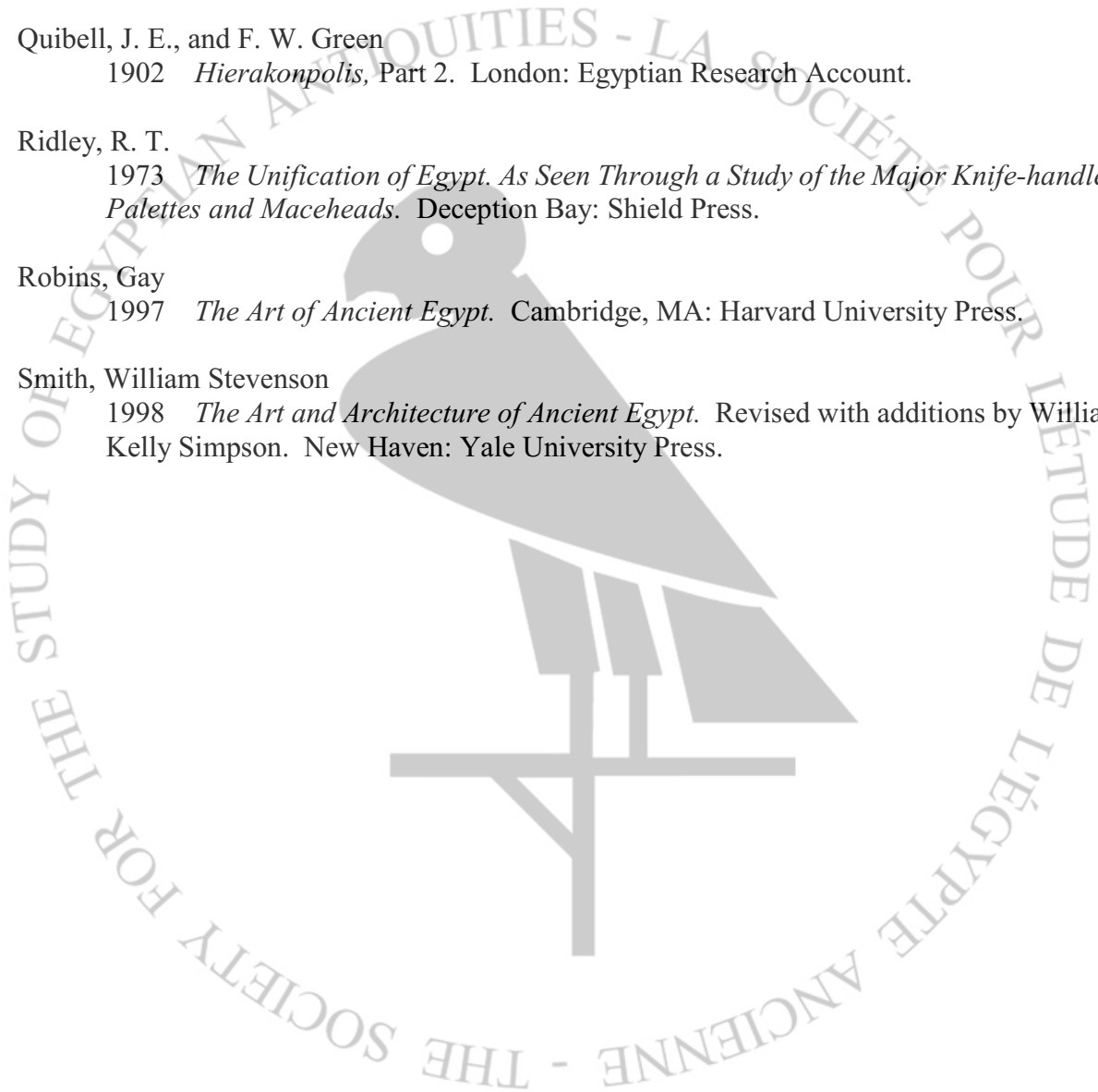
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### 3. SOME PERSONAGES TRANSITIONAL BETWEEN THE 18<sup>TH</sup> AND 19<sup>TH</sup> DYNASTY AND THE INDETERMINACY OF THE UNPROVENANCED OBJECT

Robyn A. Gillam

#### Abstract

This paper examines what can we can learn from an unprovenanced canopic jar inscribed for the commander of troops Ramose in relation to the historical record of the 18th to 19th Dynasty.

#### Key Words

unprovenanced, Ramose, Paramesse, Ramesses, military.

*Nicholas Millet was a scholar of unrivaled connoisseurship whose appreciation and knowledge of ancient arts and crafts allowed him to glean more than most from objects found in private collections and dealers' showrooms. This was central to his role as a museum curator, but none was more mindful of the importance of a proper archaeological context, and on at least one occasion, Dr. Millet was instrumental in successfully restoring a stolen fragment to its rightful place in an ancient site.<sup>1</sup> While UNESCO and AIA guidelines nowadays discourage the publication of unprovenanced objects which have come to light after 1973 for obvious reasons,<sup>2</sup> researchers can still often find the discussion of such materials helpful or necessary, especially if they have been in circulation before 1973. The following brief study is intended both as a homage to Dr. Millet and his expertise in dealing with such unprovenanced objects as well as an examination of their limitations for scholarly use.*

In 1981, when I was a student in London, I saw an inscribed canopic jar in the Old Drury antique store on Drury Lane. While a full examination of this object was not possible, I was able to photograph it, examine the inscription and make some rough exterior measurements.<sup>3</sup> The jar, which lacked its lid, was carved in alabaster (calcite). Its overall height was 32.5 cm and its diameter at the widest point was 19 cm (**Photograph 3-01**). It was engraved with the customary text panel in four columns<sup>4</sup>. The shape of the jar is of the tapered, broad shouldered-type characteristic of the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasties.<sup>5</sup> The inscription, which is lightly and rather roughly engraved, has suffered some abrasion at the top of the third and in the middle of the second, third and fourth columns. It may be read as follows (**Photograph 3-02**):

- 1) *dd mdw in 3s.t sn.t<sup>c</sup>.wy*
- 2) *r im.t stp s3 r dw3-*
- 3) *[mw]t.f im.t im3hy r dw3-*
- 4) *[mw]t.f Wsir hry pdt r<sup>c</sup>-ms m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw*

- 1) Words spoken by Isis (sic)<sup>6</sup>: May you clasp (your) arms
- 2) around what is in you, protect Dua-
- 3) [mu]tef, who is in you (and) the one revered before Dua-
- 4) [mu]tef, the Osiris, the troop commander, Ramose, true of voice.

Apart from apparent semantic dissonance produced, the combination of two different formulaic structures observed above in note 5, it should also be noted that the protective god Duamutef, identified with the stomach of the deceased is customarily paired with Neith, not Isis, but these rules were more often honoured in the breach than in the observance.<sup>7</sup> Despite such infelicities, the inscription closely corresponds to Sethe's type VIIIa, attested in the mid to later 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.<sup>8</sup> This leaves us only with the enigmatic, yet terse designation of ownership, *hry pdt r<sup>c</sup>-ms*, the troop commander, Ramose. The name is certainly common enough, but the title, of rank lower than that of the far better attested *imy-r ms<sup>c</sup>*, (perhaps better translated as "overseer of the army/hosts" rather than "general") is more important than often thought. According to Schulman, this was one of the highest ranking officers, subject only to the *imy-r ms<sup>c</sup>*. One of his main duties was the commanding of strategic installations and office could be both inherited or bestowed by the king.<sup>9</sup> Of a total of 23 title holders known from the New Kingdom, a handful named Ramose, Ramesses or Paramesse, whatever their semantics<sup>10</sup> (the names can all be written like the one on the jar)<sup>11</sup> are among some of the most interesting figures of the late 18<sup>th</sup> to early 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. The possibilities for the ownership of a lonely canopic jar become intriguing if not exciting. Let us review the possible candidates.

First there is Paramesse (*P3-r<sup>c</sup>-ms-sw*) son of Sety, whose offering statues were found sited in a highly privileged position before the 10<sup>th</sup> Pylon in the great temple of Amun-Re at Karnak.<sup>12</sup> Apart from being a *hry pdt* like his father Sety, Paramesse has worked his way up to be, among other things, *imy-r ms<sup>c</sup> n nb t3.wy*, overseer of horse, overseer of all prophets, herald or envoy (*wpwty*) of the king in all foreign lands, overseer of the residence city, vizier and *iry p<sup>c</sup>t*, the title borne by his sovereign Horemheb, before he became king. Today, most scholars identify this individual with the future Ramesses I.<sup>13</sup>

The *hry pdt* Paramesse (*P3-r<sup>c</sup>-ms-sw*), also *iry p<sup>c</sup>t* and vizier owned a magnificent rose granite sarcophagus carved in anthropomorphic form like other late 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty examples<sup>14</sup> which was found in a large tomb chamber at Gurob, which also contained a fragmentary lid of a canopic jar.<sup>15</sup>

Paramesse/Ramesses, a *hry pdt*, was the owner of a very similar rose granite sarcophagus found in a pit near the main temple at Medinet Habu in 1939. Apart from holding the same titles as found on the Gurob sarcophagus, this person shares a number of the same titles found on the Paramessu statues at Karnak as well as the title "king's son".<sup>16</sup> Daniel Polz has demonstrated that these two sarcophagi form a set consisting of an inner and outer container and has plausibly identified their owner with both Paramesse of the Karnak statues and the future Ramesses I.<sup>17</sup>

A *hry pdt* Paramesse (*P3-r<sup>c</sup>-ms-sw*) is mentioned on the "400 year stela."<sup>18</sup> Like Paramesse of the Karnak statues and granite sarcophagi, he is also *iry p<sup>c</sup>t*, vizier, overseer of the residence city and overseer of horses. These titles are also shared by his son Sety, who is actually depicted in the lunette of the stela, paying homage to Ramesses II and Seth-Ba'al. Given that Sety is shown as the same size of the king and wearing a bull's tail,<sup>19</sup> a number of scholars<sup>20</sup> have concluded, in the light of the similarities between their titularies and those of Paramesse and his father Sety on the Karnak statues, that the men commemorated on this monument are none other than Sety I (named after his grandfather and likewise a *hry pdt*) and Ramesses I as private persons.<sup>21</sup> No matter that Sety I is elsewhere referred to as the royal forebear (complete with cartouches) of Ramesses II in this inscription or that king Sety's mother was *S3t-r<sup>c</sup>* and not *Tiy3*, the wife of Paramesses and mother of Sety depicted behind the king in the lunette,<sup>22</sup> the equation has been simply so tempting that many are prepared to overlook the difficulties. The inscription must surely commemorate the devotion

of father and son to their city god (the anniversary of whose cult is also celebrated),<sup>23</sup> guaranteeing their elevation to the throne of Horus.

Unfortunately for this appealing hypothesis, apart from the difficulty of having an individual shown both as a king and private person,<sup>24</sup> there are also the titles of Sety and his father Paramesses, not held by any of the other men under discussion. Both of them are overseers of the fort of *t3rw* and Sety holds priestly positions connected with Seth, Banebdjed, the Ram of Mendes and the sacred city of Buto, all located in the Delta, for the most part in the east. These men and the sites they are connected with, like the 400 year stela itself, stand in contrast to the all the other objects commemorating the other like-named men under discussion which are found in Upper Egypt. Since Ramesses II is described in the inscription as “Lord of Jubilees,”<sup>25</sup> it is likely that the persons it commemorated are to be placed in the latter part of his reign, after year 34 and not before. As for their names- Seth-Ba'al had been the city god of Paramesse or Avaris, as it was formally known, since it had been made the residence city of rulers of foreign countries who had taken over Egypt in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century BCE— for about 400 years, as the stela makes clear.<sup>26</sup> In the intervening time, not only had the eastern delta become a melting-pot of Egyptian and other eastern Mediterranean culture, but the temple and cult of Seth would have provided a spiritual and cultural centre for the area. If the practices documented in other part of the country are any guide, many if not most male children born in this area would be named after the city god.<sup>27</sup> That the name Sety does not appear in the written record much before the later 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty is perhaps a function of the required “pacification” of the area following the defeat of the Hyksos rulers. Their elite may have been gone, but the multicultural population continued to trust in their god until such time as they could afford to memorialize his cult in more permanent ways.<sup>28</sup> The name Ramose/(Pa)Ramesse whose initial popularity reflects the late 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty interest in solar cults was made even desirable when one bearing it appeared as king. The Sety and Paramesse of the 400 year stela probably had no blood relationship with the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty royal family. They owed their prominence to their proximity to the royal residence city, their military competence and their devotion to their city god.

Another *hry pdt* named Ramose (*R<sup>c</sup>-ms*) is commemorated on a round-topped stela in the Staatlichen Museen, Berlin (n. 7306).<sup>29</sup> The lunette depicts the man's funeral at which his brother officiates.<sup>30</sup> Ramose is both *hry pdt* and *hry pdt n nb t3.wy*, a variant more honorific than substantive.<sup>31</sup> He was also *idnw n p3 mš<sup>c</sup>* or lieutenant commander of the army<sup>32</sup> and king's scribe, an official who performed special commissions for the king and played an increasingly important role in the higher administration.<sup>33</sup> Although these last two titles indicate scribal and administrative expertise, it is clear that the *idnw n p3 mš<sup>c</sup>* and *hry pdt* Ramose seems to point to an essentially military background.<sup>34</sup> His large brick tomb in the south of the Memphite necropolis near those of Horemheb, Maya and other prominent worthies of the late 18<sup>th</sup> to early 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty was discovered in 1986 by the EES-Leiden expedition.<sup>35</sup> In Horemheb's nearby tomb, the great man is constantly attended by Ramose, a scribe of the army of the *iry p<sup>c</sup>t*, whose name replaced that of an earlier attendant, Sementawy.<sup>36</sup> Can this be the ever ambitious Ramose working his way up to his own great tomb<sup>37</sup> or even to being Paramesse, the *iry p<sup>c</sup>t* of the whole land and later king like Horemheb himself?<sup>38</sup> Given that the Memphite Ramose was actually buried in his tomb, he cannot be identified with the later king.<sup>39</sup> It is possible that the Ramose shown in Horemheb's tomb and the man buried close by are to be identified, but unlikely as the former has no purely military titles and none of the other persons so far discussed has the title *sš mš<sup>c</sup>*. An inscribed limestone fragment, identified as one of Ramose's canopic jars by the excavators of his tomb, is different in both form and style from the piece under discussion.<sup>40</sup>

Last, and perhaps least, is the *hry pdt* Ramose (*R<sup>c</sup>-ms*) who was apparently buried in the vicinity of Sedment, not so far from Gurob where the imposing outer sarcophagus of Paramesse was found. He is commemorated on a few crude pottery shabtis with roughly painted inscriptions. He was also a king's scribe and *hry ʕwtyw* (?).<sup>41</sup> The excavators dated the shabtis and their context to the reign of Sety, I.<sup>42</sup>

It is, of course, practically speaking, impossible that all of the men listed above could be the same person. While the magnificent inner and outer sarcophagus of Paramesse were obviously made for the same person and it seems highly likely that he is to be identified with both Paramesse of the Karnak statues and the later Ramesses I, there does not seem to be a plausible argument linking him to the Paramesse of the 400 year stela, who must date from the latter part of the reign of Ramesses II. This leaves us with the Memphite Ramose, who was buried in a fine tomb in an elite section of the necropolis and the holder of two high military titles. As for the future king in mid-career, who had been born in near the old Hyksos town of Avaris, it has been suggested that we could find him in Memphis as the assistant of the *iry p<sup>t</sup>* Horemheb. Later, he acquires a double granite sarcophagus and a intercessory statue in the most prestigious spot in the great temple of Amun at Ipet-sut. The outer sarcophagus was found in a large tomb in Gurob, perhaps reflecting Paramesse's position of trust as the guardian of the royal harîm.<sup>43</sup> Still, it is odd that the inner sarcophagus, that finally designates him as king's son and writes his name as "Ramesses" was found hundreds of kilometres away in Thebes. Perhaps the outer sarcophagus was removed from Thebes after being given to the person who was ultimately buried in it.<sup>44</sup> Finally, Ramose of Sedment seems too remote and his burial too poor to have anything to do with these other great lords.

And what of our canopic jar? The inscription was roughly carved on its surface, but the quality of the texts inscribed on Paramesse's inner sarcophagus was not much better.<sup>45</sup> The workmanship of the jar itself is quite fine. Indeed the size and proportions more closely approximate the jars used in KV55<sup>46</sup> than any other accessible photographic images. As it was not possible to examine the interior of the jar, so it could not be ascertained whether it had been used or not. However, this might or might not tip the balance in favour of the future Ramesses I, as many jars legitimately placed in burials do not show signs of use. While both the form and inscription of the jar place it in the late 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and its carving worthy of a royal workshop, the same cannot be said for the inscription. The casually scratched inscription betrays an even greater semantic sloppiness, pairing Isis with Duamutef instead of Imsety. Besides would the future king be content merely to be a *hry pdt* on his afterlife equipment?

The prosopography of the late 18<sup>th</sup> to early 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty is full of surprises, uncertainties and a lot of people with the same names and titles, just as in other periods of Egyptian history. An unprovenanced canopic jar is of little assistance in solving this puzzle, although some knowledge of its original context would have been of inestimable help. Unprovenanced objects can sometimes be interesting but not always helpful. A scholar should always approach them with caution.

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#### Notes

1. N. Millet, "A Fragment of the Hatshepsut Punt Relief," *JARCE* 1 (1962): 55-57.
2. For UNESCO policy see [http://www.unesco.org/culture/legalprotection/theft/html\\_eng/index\\_en.shtml](http://www.unesco.org/culture/legalprotection/theft/html_eng/index_en.shtml); AIA,

<http://www.archaeological.org/webinfo.php?page=10040> (accessed September 5, 2005). On the effects of the market for stolen antiquities in the present see C. Renfrew, *Loot, Legitimacy and Ownership*, (London, 2000).

3. The jar had been in the store for some time and remained thereafter for a considerable period. The general nature of the shop suggests that the jar most likely come from some old estate and had been in the UK well before 1973.

4. This originated in the Middle Kingdom. See K. Sethe, "Zur Geschichte der Einbalsamierung bei den Ägyptern und einiger damit verbundener Bräuche," *SPAW, philosophische-historische Klasse*, 1934, pp. 226, p. 1\*; W. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt I* (New York, 1953), p. 325, fig. 212; E. Brovarski, *Canopic Jars. CAA, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Mainz, 1978), Introduction, p. 2.

5. W. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt, II*, (New York, 1958), p. 423.

6. The text appears to combine the mutually exclusive formulae of Sethe's type VIII and X/XI. The former combines *dd mdw* ("quote/speech") with a second person prospective (optative) *sdm.f*, while the latter begins *dd mdw in*, followed by the first person *sdm.f* (K. Sethe, "Zur Geschichte," pp. 228-29).

7. Sethe, "Zur Geschichte," pp. 226, 229-30, 235.

8. Sethe, "Zur Geschichte," pp. 3\*- 4\*.

9. A. Schulman, *Military Rank, Title and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom* (Berlin, 1964), pp. 53ff., 150-53.

10. *P3-i<sup>c</sup>-msi-sw*, "It is Re who has made him," (*PN I*, p. 114.14); *R<sup>c</sup>-ms(iw)*, "It Re who has made (me)," (*PN I*, p. 218.3); *R<sup>c</sup>-ms-sw*, "It is Re who has made him," (*PN I*, p. 218.6).

11. E. Cruz-Urbe, "The Father of Ramses I: OI 11456," *JNES* 37 (1978), p. 243, nn. 41-51.

12. G. Legrain, "Au Pylône d'Horamhab à Karnak," *ASAE* 14 (1914), pp. 29-38; Urk. IV, 2175-6.

13. Legrain, *ASAE* 14, pp. 34-38; K. Sethe, "Das alte Ritual zur Stiftung von Königsstatuen bei der Einweihung eines Tempels," *ZÄS* 70 (1934), pp. 51-56; A. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (Oxford, 1961), pp. 247-48; A. Zivie, "Ramses I," *LÄ V*, 101.

14. Compare the sarcophagus of Merimes, (A. Kozloff, B. Bryan and L. Berman, eds., *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, [Cleveland, 1992], pp. 318-321) and Usermontu (L. Habachi, "Unknown or Little-known Monuments of Tutankhamun and his Viziers," *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honor of H. W. Fairman*, J. Ruffle, G. Gaballa and K. Kitchen, eds. [Warminster, 1975], pp. 37-39). The coffin or sarcophagus that represented the owner as dressed in life originated in the late 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty at Deir el Medina, S. Ikram and A. Dodson, *The Mummy in Ancient Egypt* (London,



1998), pp. 215-225.

15. G. Brunton and H. Engelbach, *Gurob*, (London, 1927), 19ff., frontispiece, pl. XXII; A. Thomas, *Gurob: A New Kingdom Town*, (Warminster, 1981), pp. 20, 81, pl. 21. The jar stopper (UC 22986) is hawk-headed, and animal-headed jars can occur from the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty onwards (E. Brovarski, *Canopic Jars. CAA, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* [Mainz, 1978], introduction, p. 3). However, as Thomas points out, unpublished documentation suggests the tomb was used at a later date, against the conclusions of the original excavators.

16. G. Brunton, "The Inner Sarcophagus of Prince Ramessu from Medinet Habu," *ASAE* 43 (1943), pp. 133-148.

17. D. Polz, "Die Särge des (Pa-) Ramessu," *MDAIK* 42 (1986): 146-166.

18. *KRI* II, 287-88.

19. R. Stadelmann, "Die 400-Jahr Stele," *CdE* 40 (1965), p. 48, no. 2; "Vierhundertjahrstele," *LÄ* VI, 1040-1.

20. Legrain, *ASAE* 14, pp. 32ff.; P. Montet, "La stèle de l'an 400 retrouvée," *Kémi* 4 (1931), pp. 210ff.; Sethe, "Der Denkstein mit Datum des Jahres 400 der Ära von Tanis," *ZÄS* 65 (1930), pp. 185-89; Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, pp. 247-48; W. Helck, "Noch einmal zur 400-Jahr Stele?" *CdÉ* 41 (1966), pp. 234-41; M. Bietak, *Tell el-Dab'a II* (Vienna, 1975), pp. 183ff.

21. Montet, *Kémi* 4, pp. 210ff.; Sethe, *ZÄS* 65, pp. 185-89.

22. Bietak, in *Tell el-Dab'a II*, pp. 185, n. 786, suggested that this woman's title *šmꜣy.t pꜣ rꜥ* provided the inspiration for her royal name, thereby identifying her with *Šꜣ.t-rꜥ*, Sety I's mother.

23. See no. 19.

24. H. Goedicke, "The '400-year Stela Reconsidered'," *BES* 3 (1981), pp. 26-29.

25. *KRI* II 288.2.

26. Bietak, *Tell el-Dab'a II*, pp. 186-88.

27. The custom of naming children for local gods or giving them theophorous names based on them is well documented in a number of Upper Egyptian sites, eg., Khnum in the 16<sup>th</sup> Nome (P. Newberry, *Beni Hasan, I and II* (London, 1893-4) and the *W*-fetish in the 14<sup>th</sup> Nome, R. Gillam, *Topographical, Prosopographical, and Historical Studies in the Fourteenth Upper Egyptian Nome*. Unpublished Diss. U. of Toronto, 1991, pp. 575-655; see further D. Franke, *Personnendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich* (Wiesbaden, 1984) and *PN* II, 216-27.

28. W. Wettengel, *Die Erzählung von den beiden Brüdern* (Freiberg and Göttingen, 2003), pp. 233-44.

29. G. Roeder, *Ägyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin II* (Leipzig, 1924), 131.
30. See A. Schulman, "The Iconographic Theme 'Opening of the Mouth' on Stelae," *JARCE* 21 (1984), p. 186, fig. 15; G. Martin, J. Van Dijk, M. Raven, B. and D. Aston, E. Strouhal and L. Horáčková, *The Tombs of Three Memphite Officials* (London, 2001), pls. 4, 46.
31. Schulman, *Rank and Title*, p. 56. This title was held by Sety, who also had a son named Ramose, a stablemaster (*hry ihw*) rather than a *hry pdt* who is commemorated in a stela (OI 11456) of similar style and period (Cruz-Uribe, *JNES* 37, pp. 237-42).
32. Gardiner, *AEO* I, 25\*; R. Faulkner, "Egyptian Military Organization," *JEA* 39 (1953), p. 46.
33. Most famously in the case of Amenhotep son of Hapu (Urk. IV 1813-1829, Kozloff, Bryan and Berman, eds., *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, pp. 45-48). Other examples from the reign of Amenhotep III are *H<sup>c</sup>-m-ip.t*, the royal scribe who communicated that the granary official *Nb-nfr* be appointed in the place of his father (Urk. IV 1884.2-6) or *Sbk-htp/P3-nhsy* who was sent to Sinai to procure turquoise for a Sed festival (Urk. IV 1891.3-4); Gillam, "Akhenaten: A Recontextualization," paper presented at the ASOR Annual Meeting, Boulder CO, 2001.
34. Cf. Schulman, *Rank and Title*, p. 79, §204.
35. Martin et al., *Tombs of Three Memphite Officials*, pp. 1-9, pls. 1-2.
36. Martin, *Horemheb*, Vol. 1 (London, 1989), pls. 57, 97, p. 57, n. 6. This Ramose is also described as: *imy-<sup>c</sup>f m st nb hnd.f, imy-ht n nb.f, sh3w nb n nsw* and *hsw(t) <sup>c</sup>3 mry n nb.f*. Another such image in Horemheb's tomb shows another attendant, whose name has been lost, with the following titles: *r-gs nb.f, sš mš<sup>c</sup> n nb t3.wy, idnw m st iry-p<sup>c</sup>t*. While these titles probably belong the same person, they still do not demonstrate any clear military connection, pace Martin, et al., *Tombs of Three Memphite Officials*, p. 9.
37. Martin et al., *Tombs of Three Memphite Officials*, p. 9.
38. Martin, *The Hidden Tombs of Memphis* (London, 1991), pp. 60-61, 119.
39. Martin, *Hidden Tombs*, pp. 4, 9.
40. Martin, *Hidden Tombs*, pp. 34, 38, pl. 75 [15].
41. W. M. F. Petrie and G. Brunton, *Sedment II* (London, 1924), pl. LXXVII., nos. 1, 3, 4, and 5. On (I) Ramose has the variant *sš nsw n nb t<sup>c</sup>.wy*. "battalion commader" is written *hry pdtyw*, with *pdtyw* spelled with the horn bow (T9), the *t* (X1) and the *tyw* bird (G4). For *hry h3wtyw*, "commander of the warriors," see Hannig, *op. cit.*, p. 547.
42. Martin, *Hidden Tombs*, pp. 3-6. For similar shabtis of 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty date, compare Leiden Museum, 3.3.1.13, 3.3.1.27, 3.3.1.30 (H. Schneider, *Shabtis* [Leiden, 1977], II, pp. 99-100, 103,

104, III, pls. 39-41).

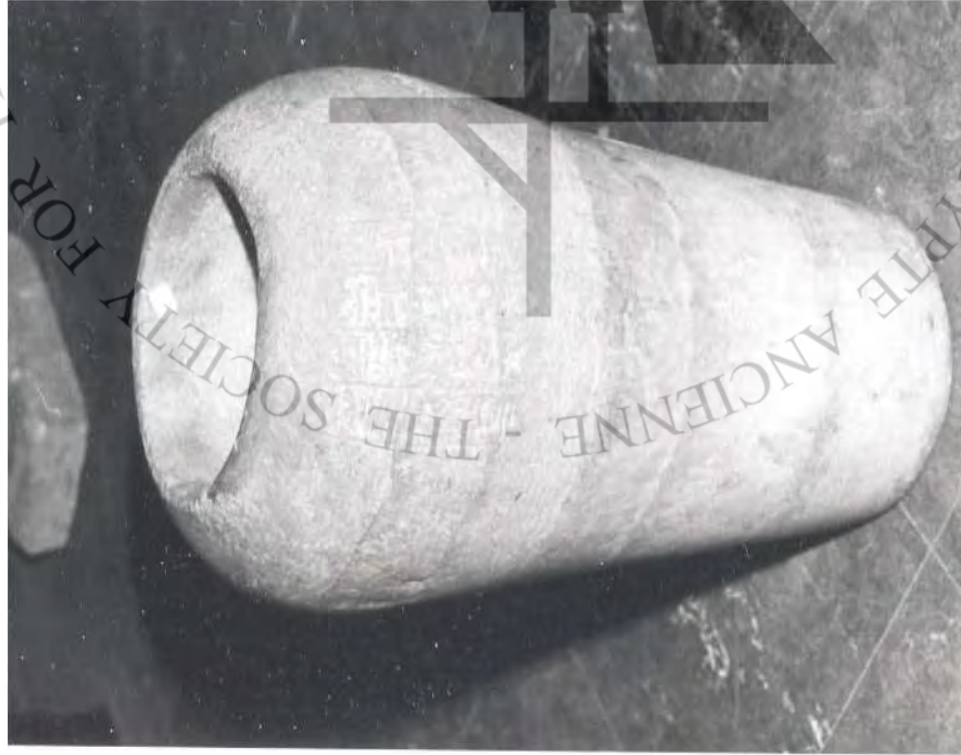
43. B. J. Kemp, "The Harim-Palace at Medinet el-Ghurab," *ZÄS* 105 (1978), pp. 122-33.

44. Brunton (*ASAE* 43, pp. 133-148) suggested that the inner sarcophagus was remodelled for a son of Sety II who predeceased him and it has also been suggested that it was re-used by a son of Ramesses II (Ikram and Dodson, *The Mummy in Ancient Egypt*, p. 216).

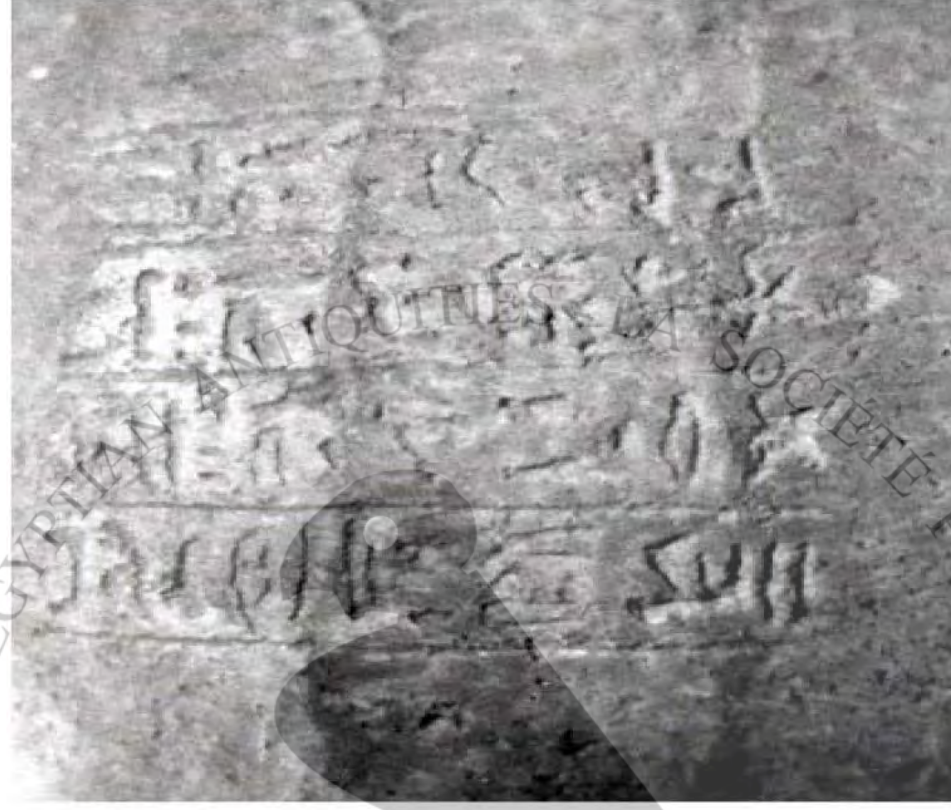
45. Polz, pl. 23. The roughness of the signs suggest that they might have been intended to be filled with a coloured pigment, blue in the case of alabaster or yellow which was used with black or red stones, such as some of the sarcophagi of the Thuthmosid family.

46. A. Dodson, *Canopic Equipment of the Kings of Egypt* (London, 1994), p. 22, pl. 22.





Photograph 3-01



Photograph 3-02



## 4. A NEW ROYAL CHARIOT SCENE FROM TELL EL-BORG

James K. Hoffmeier and Lyla Pinch-Brock<sup>1</sup>

### Abstract

During the excavations at Tell el-Borg we discovered a series of inscribed blocks. This short discussion looks at these blocks and how they may represent a scene depicting the pharaoh in his chariot.

### Keywords

Tell el-Borg, chariot, inscribed blocks, Ramesses II, Seti I

*One of the things Nicolas Millet impressed upon his students was the importance of paying attention to small details when studying Egyptian art. To illustrate this point, he required the members of his Archaeology in Art class to spend several weeks studying the remarkable paintings from the tomb of Rekhmire, trying to get us to see, and appreciate, the minutiae. This exercise proved to be tremendously valuable to young graduate students like ourselves and certainly helped us to develop a keen eye. It has certainly paid off at Tell el-Borg in North Sinai, where in the past five years we have discovered a number of relief blocks with intriguing motifs. With fondness for Dr. Millet we offer this study with hopes that it reflects the kind of careful attention to details he exacted from us.*

### Introduction and Description of the Blocks and Fragments

During the surveying stage of our work at Tell el-Borg in January 2000, we discovered a number of limestone blocks exposed on top of a pile of debris from the recently excavated canal that is a part of the As-Salam irrigation project.<sup>2</sup> Visible at the water's edge was a limestone relief block (TBO I 5<sup>3</sup>) measuring 66 X 50 X 25 cm. When we flipped it over, we could see a shoulder and arm in the pose of an archer, carved in sunk relief (**Figure 4-01 a-b**).<sup>4</sup> In fact, the top part of the hand may show a trace of the bow-string. The near life-size scale of the relief and the canonical nature of the pose suggested to us that a king shooting arrows while riding in a chariot was depicted.

The richness of the surface finds discovered beside the canal prompted us to begin our excavations there in March 2000. This area thus became Field I.<sup>5</sup> Seven inscribed and eighteen unscribed blocks and fragments of blocks were uncovered from what appeared to be a pit (in Square A) where the blocks had been deposited haphazardly in ancient times.<sup>6</sup> We found that two pieces of the same scale as TBO 0015, TBO I 10 (41 X 17 X 15 cm) and TBO I 11, (37 X 30 X 16 cm) joined (**Figure 4-02 a-b**).<sup>7</sup> TBO I 10 shows an abdomen and clearly incised navel, and just below it a line indicating the top of the kilt. The lines that run out from the body toward the right represent the reins. These would have passed around the king's waist to free up his hands so that he could fire his arrows. Note that the reins are slightly slackened and not taut. TBO I 11 has three important details: on the right side is the upper part of a quiver holding weapons, the ends of which form an angle of 60°. The ends actually continue across the join and terminate just below the reins. The second feature is what appears to be a tie for some article of clothing. The final detail on this block is a deeply-carved line angling down from just below

the top of the kilt. This probably represents either the front edge of the kilt or the sporran, common features of Ramesside period kingly attire.<sup>8</sup> By combining the limited data offered by these two blocks with TBO I 5, it confirms that a royal hunt or military scene was represented.

Two years after the initial discovery we were able to excavate the debris mound running parallel to the canal, which a few years earlier had been dug from the area around the stone-filled pit. Three more inscribed pieces came to light which probably complement the scene that includes TBO I 5, TBO I 10 and TBO I 11. TBO 0125, a wedge-shaped piece of limestone measuring 51 X 30 X 46 cm, depicts a section of a chariot wheel (**Figure 4-03 a-b**). It shows just one partially-preserved spoke and only the end that intersects with the felloe of the wheel. The six-spoked wheel, standard on chariots from the mid-18<sup>th</sup> through to the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasties,<sup>9</sup> is likely represented here. The spokes are regularly angled at 60°, and normally point to 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, and 11 o'clock. The spokes on TBO 0125 appear to point between 12 and 1 o'clock. The wheel itself is shown with concentric circles which may be explained as follows: among the chariots recovered from the tomb of Tutankhamun, there were two kinds of wheels; the one type is formed from a slender laminated wood, while the second is crafted from two strips of wood, composing inner and outer wheels.<sup>10</sup> The latter was considerably thicker and therefore sturdier. It is also possible that in some representations the thin outer circle may represent the leather tire wrapped around a wooden wheel. The use of the leather tire is known from actual surviving examples and from workshop scenes. The chariot discovered in the tomb of Yuya, father-in-law of Amenhotep III, for example, has its leather tire still intact.<sup>11</sup> In the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty tombs of Menkheperresenb and Hepu, wheelwrights are shown wrapping leather straps around a wooden tire.<sup>12</sup> However, the outer wheel on TBO 0125 is actually twice as thick as the inner, therefore it is probably too thick to represent a leather tire.

The relief block numbered TBO 0129 (54 X 30 X 46 cm), also discovered in the canal embankment, shows parts of five figures. At the top are three legs, representing three figures (front leg of one on left; back legs of two on the right (**Figure 4-04 a-b**). The bent feet and wavy ground line show they are running on hilly terrain. At the bottom are the tops of the heads of two men. All that remains of the one on the right is the nose, an eye (closed?), the top of the ear and his headdress. Even less of the figure on the left has survived -- the nose and eye, and part of the headgear. Not shown is this man's hand, but the duckbill axe he carries is nicely preserved. The man on the right seems to be also carrying a weapon of some sort that is behind his head. The foe depicted on TBO 0129 appears to be a Shasu.<sup>13</sup> The elements of this scene conform nicely with those shown on the far right of the Seti I battle scene at Karnak, where the enemy fleeing towards hills and a fort surrounded by trees and a body of water are depicted.<sup>14</sup> The content of this relief demonstrates that these blocks displayed the classical battle scene showing the monarch firing arrows from his chariot in pursuit of his fleeing enemies. Theoretically, this would have been a mural of considerable size.

One final piece that merits discussion is TBO 16, the largest block of this group (74 X 46 X 25 cm) found in the same pit (Field I, A). It is either a corner piece of a doorway, with inscriptions on two surfaces that meet at a corner, or a reused block. One surface has a very large partial cartouche, deeply incised (only the right side bottom portion survives) with signs that read: *(s)tp n*, likely the bottom of the prenomen *wsr m3't stp n r<sup>c</sup>* or Ramesses II (TBO 0016a, **Figure 4-05**). Below the bottom of the cartouche half of the goose sign for the writing *s3 r<sup>c</sup>* is visible. It is the other surface that concerns us (TBO 16b, **Figure 4-06**). On the left is a line that runs vertically, apparently the boundary marker for a scene. To its right is a slightly



curved line that could represent the posterior of a large standing figure, perhaps the king standing on his chariot. Careful examination of this relief, however, has led us to question whether the fragment actually belongs to our battle scene. First, the register line should match that on TBO I 5, located immediately left of the archer's elbow, but it does not. Second, if the curved line on TBO 16 is indeed the king's back, we would expect to see part of the top of the chariot body running across the hip or thigh area and very likely the top end of the rear quiver. For the time being, we will have to set aside TBO 16 until another fragment is discovered which links this piece with TBO I 10/ I 11.

### **Superimposing the Borg Blocks on a Battle Scene of Seti I**

One of the ways we can try to visualize our blocks as part of the typical battle scene mentioned above is to superimpose them on a published version (**see Figure 4-07**). Thanks to modern technology we can do this quite easily using a computer program such as Adobe Photoshop. We are fortunate to have available the fine publication of the Seti I battle scene on the east side of Karnak Temple published by The Epigraphic Survey of the University of Chicago in 1986. In this process, the blocks are traced full-size on site, then inked in. The finished inkings are then scanned into the computer and reduced (using "transform" in the "edit" menu) to fit the relative proportions of the scanned illustration of the Seti I Shasu scene from outer (northern) wall of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak Temple.<sup>15</sup> In this case, the direction of the scene has been flipped to accommodate the left to right direction of our scene. The fragments are then shifted into place while the whole group is on screen. The latter is made easier by changing them into an opaque mode in the layers menu. The results of this effort shows that the partial scene represented by the Tell el-Borg blocks in scale and proportion fit nicely on the well-preserved Karnak reliefs.

### **Comparing and Dating the Borg Battle Scene**

We now turn to comparing the Borg battle scene with other chariot-battle scenes to determine whether we can date the scene and identify the Pharaoh. Of course, if TBO 16 belongs to the scene, the partial cartouche of Ramesses II would clinch the issue. In the same pit in Field I, another block (TBO 17) was uncovered that contains the bottom of the cartouche reading: [r<sup>c</sup>-]ms-sw, the *nomen* of Ramesses II.<sup>16</sup> Thus two different blocks were found in the same locus with the names of Ramesses II. These texts do not prove that the scene portrays Ramesses II, but it certainly enhances the possibility since no other monarch's name was found on any block in the same pit.

Chariot scenes showing the king engaged in battle from a chariot, while firing an arrow at fleeing enemies is a familiar motif in the repertoire of New Kingdom art. Stephen Harvey's recent discovery of relief fragments from a temple of Ahmose at Abydos shows chariot horses in a battle context, but the available fragments, unfortunately, do not allow us to determine if the king is shown in the classic pose.<sup>17</sup> Thus the earliest known occurrence of this type of scene is on the chariot body of Thutmose IV.<sup>18</sup> Throughout the Ramesside era, such battle scenes are ubiquitous in temples like Karnak and Luxor, and in reliefs at the Ramesseum and Medinet Habu.<sup>19</sup> These temples are all from Upper Egypt, and royal battle scenes of any sort from north of Abydos are not known. The temples of Pi-Ramesses undoubtedly contained such scenes, but the published remains from Qantir,<sup>20</sup> or the blocks transferred to Tanis or Bubastis have not furnished us with a single example of this motif. Ideally, the Tell el-Borg blocks should be



studied alongside parallel material from the surrounding region or at least from Lower Egypt. In the absence of regionally comparable material, our analysis will have to be based upon Upper Egyptian sources.

The tie of the kilt in TBO I 10/I 11 (**Figure 4-02**) looks very similar to that found on the kilt of Seti I in the Libyan battle scene at Karnak,<sup>21</sup> (**Figure 4-07**) and on reliefs of Ramesses III.<sup>22</sup> The attachment of a long quiver to the chariot body, as depicted in TBO I 11, is a common feature of these scenes beginning with Seti I, but not before. The long quiver may have contained arrows, but one can often see the ends of javelins sticking out of the quiver.<sup>23</sup> The short arrow quiver is typically worn over the shoulder of Ramesside kings.<sup>24</sup> In 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty chariot scenes, one normally sees only a bow case attached to the carriage of the chariot. The Thutmose IV chariot body scene, however, includes an arrow quiver over the shoulder of the king, while a second one is attached to the back of the chariot frame.<sup>25</sup> Tutankhamun's magnificent painted box contains two panels portraying the king in battle and two hunting from his chariot. A quiver or two hang from the king's shoulder.<sup>26</sup> The two battle scenes appear to show an arrow quiver attached to the rear of the chariot. But no 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty example can be cited where a quiver is attached to the front of the chariot, and never is the long javelin quiver depicted.

The Ramesside long quiver can be attached to the front and the back of the chariot, and as many as three are attested (two in the back and one in the front).<sup>27</sup> When the butts of javelins are shown protruding from the top end of the quiver, they often terminate in a round ball, sometimes with flowing strings attached.<sup>28</sup> The Tell el-Borg relief depicts the top of the quiver in TBO 0011, while the ends of the javelins extend up into TBO I 10. The photograph clearly shows two holes, likely intended to represent the ball-shaped terminals (**Figure 4-02b**). Thus it can be concluded that, based on the presence of the javelin quiver on TBO I 10/I 11, this battle relief is unquestionably post-18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.<sup>29</sup>

Correctly placing the wheel fragment to fit the scene is challenging indeed. The reasons for this are that less than one sixth of the wheel is preserved, and the lines so critical to interpreting the chariot's features are either not clear, or are missing. After considerable study of this block and various photographs of it, it appears that the flat portion or the unbroken edge of the block is the top. The triangularly pointed end of the spoke is visible intersecting with the felloe, a detail ubiquitous to scenes showing Ramesside chariot wheels, and present in some of the chariot wheels from the tomb of Tutankhamun.<sup>30</sup> As noted above, the spokes on the top of the wheel in 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty scenes typically point to 1 and 11 o'clock, with the two that point to 3 and 9 o'clock being parallel to the ground, and aligning with the bottom of the chariot's body. This is true even in battle scenes where the horses are rearing. One might expect that the rearing action of the horses would cause the chariot body to tilt upwards, but this is not the case. If the placement we propose is correct, then the canonical orientation is slightly off, with the surviving spoke pointing mid-way between 12 and 1 o'clock. There are some examples where this type of orientation is followed, one being from the Libyan war scenes of Ramesses III when the victorious pharaoh brings prisoners back from the battle.<sup>31</sup> In this case, just as the spokes are slightly off the normal pattern, the bottom of the chariot is uncharacteristically tilted back about 10° greater than what is typical. Thus it could be that the Tell el-Borg chariot wheel was slightly off, unless different artistic canons existed in northern chariot scenes. Unfortunately, we lack the comparative data to support such a claim.

There is a line to the right of the spoke that continues onto the other side of the wheel,

running at an approximately 40° angle (**Figure 4-03a-b**). This line runs parallel to one about 15 cm. to the left and near the top left-hand corner of the block. These two lines likely represent the leather bow case that would have been affixed to the chariot body and pointed forward. The 40° angle of the bow case is remarkably consistent on chariot scenes of the Ramesside period we have checked.<sup>32</sup> If we are correct in suggesting that these lines represent the bow case, then its top end would have been located to the right of and below the long quiver in TBO I 11, and hence not shown on TBO I 11. Furthermore, the javelin case may have been attached to the opposite side of the chariot body. Displaying the bow case and the javelin quiver on the front of the chariot at 40° and 60° angles respectively, in the manner shown on TBO 0125, finds good parallels during the time of Ramesses II.<sup>33</sup>

After comparing the minute details of the Tell el-Borg pieces with other New Kingdom royal chariots battle scenes, we can safely conclude that the scene does not date to the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, and most certainly falls somewhere within the Ramesside era. The discovery of other pieces with diagnostic features may help date the scene more precisely, but based on our investigation, this battle scene could well fit into the lengthy reign of Ramesses II.

Finally, it might be natural to think that the Tell el-Borg battle scene originated on a temple, and this was our initial theory. In the course of our excavations in Field V, around 350 meters directly north of Field I, we uncovered the foundations of a double-towered gate of a Ramesside era fort. There is evidence that the gate was attacked militarily and burnt, and subsequently most of the limestone blocks were robbed out for reuse. We have uncovered thousands of chips and fragments, some incised with hieroglyphs and other decoration.<sup>34</sup> Unfortunately no limestone gates with decorations from New Kingdom forts have survived for comparison. Given the proximity of the blocks from Field I<sup>35</sup> and the nature of the construction of the gate, it might be tentatively suggested that the battle scene originally adorned the façade of the gate. Certainly a battle scene would be an appropriate message to post at the entrance to an Egyptian military installation on the eastern frontier.

Deerfield, IL  
Luxor

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Millet was James K. Hoffmeier's academic advisor from 1973-1975 when he was working on his MA in Egyptian Archaeology. Hoffmeier, professor of Near Eastern History and Archaeology at Trinity International University (Deerfield, IL), has been the director of the East Frontier Archaeological Project at Tell el-Borg since 1999. Lyla Pinch-Brock, now Research Associate with the Royal Ontario Museum and Co-Director of the ROM Theban Tombs Project, was also a student of Nicholas Millet, majoring in Egyptian Archeology in pursuit of a Ph.D beginning in 1986. She has been the archaeological illustrator at Tel el-Borg since the project's inception, and was a part of the reconnoitering team that first visited Tell el-Borg in May 1999.

<sup>2</sup> For discussion of this discovery and publication of some of the blocks, see James K. Hoffmeier and Mohamed Abd el-Maksoud, "A New Military Site on 'the Ways of Horus'-

Tell el-Borg 1999-2001: A Preliminary Report,” *JEA* 89 (2003) 169-78.

<sup>3</sup> In our registration system TBO represents Tell Borg Object and number; in our first year of operation the numbers were prefaced by field designations, i.e., TBO I 2, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Hoffmeier wrote major papers for Dr. Millet on archery and chariotry in ancient Egypt. These papers in turn spawned several published articles: “Hunting Desert Game with the Bow: A Brief Examination,” *JSSEA* 6, No. 2 (1975): 8-13; “The Hieroglyph { and the Egyptian Bowstring,” *SSEA Newsletter* VI, No. 3 (1976): 6-11; “The Evolving Chariot Wheel in the 18th Dynasty,” *JARCE* 13 (1976): 43-45; “Comments on an Unusual Hunt Scene from the New Kingdom,” *JSSEA* 10, No. 3 (1980): 195-200.

<sup>5</sup> On the excavation of Field I, see Hoffmeier and Abd el-Maksoud, *JEA* 89 (2003): 179-80.

<sup>6</sup> For a discussion of the excavations and discovery the blocks, see Hoffmeier and Abd el-Maksoud, *JEA* 89 (2003): 178-180.

<sup>7</sup> This match was made by another student of Nicholas Millet, Edwin Brock, during a visit to the site during the 2000 season.

<sup>8</sup> For examples, see The Epigraphic Survey, *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I. Vol. 4, Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1986), 3, 5, 28 and 34.

<sup>9</sup> Hoffmeier, *JARCE* 13 (1976): 43-45.

<sup>10</sup> These two types of wheels can be seen in Harry Burton’s original photographs of the chariot wheels taken in the tomb of Tutankhamun, cf. M.A. Littauer and J.H. Crowel, *Chariots and Related Equipment from the Tomb of Tut ‘ankhamun* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1985), plates IV and V. See also plates XXV, XXIX, XXX, and XXXI; the latter two show the double-wheel type, which clearly makes the wheel considerably thicker.

<sup>11</sup> Theodore M. Davis and Percy E. Newberry, *The Tomb of Iouiya and Touiyou* (Westminster: A. Constable, 1907), plate XXXII and p. 32.

<sup>12</sup> Nina Davies, *The Tombs of Menkheperasonb, Amenmose and Another* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1933), plates 11-12; idem., *Private Tombs at Thebes IV* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1963), plate 8.

<sup>13</sup> This piece requires further study to classify the type of Shasu we are dealing with here, but this will have to be the subject of another publication.

<sup>14</sup> The Epigraphic Survey, *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I. Vol. 4*, plate 3.

<sup>15</sup> The Epigraphic Survey, *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I. Vol. 4*, plate 3.

<sup>16</sup> Kenneth A. Kitchen, the epigraphic consultant for this project, has examined this cartouche and assigned it to Ramesses II.

<sup>17</sup> Stephen Harvey, "Monuments of Ahmose at Abydos," *Egyptian Archaeology* 4 (1994): 3-5.

<sup>18</sup> Howard Carter and Percy Newberry, *The Tomb of Thoutmôsis IV* (Westminster: A. Constable and Co., 1904), 24-32. Scenes of pharaoh firing arrows from a chariot scene are attested as early as the reign of Amenhotep II, but in that case, he is shooting at a target, see H. Chevrier, "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak," *ASAE* 28 (1928): 126.

<sup>19</sup> Given the frequency of the motif in funerary temples of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasties, it may well be that this type of scene would have adorned 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty temples. Some fragmentary reliefs showing the feet of horses and chariots were discovered by Bruyère while excavating the funerary temple of Thutmose II (see *FIFAO* IV, part 4, plates II-IV). These are almost certainly a battle scene of some sort that involved chariots. Beyond this, little can be said, but it does illustrate that battle scenes with chariots are attested earlier.

<sup>20</sup> The recent publication of the early work of Labib Habachi at Qantir and Tell el-Dab'a contains no such examples: Ernst Czerny, ed., *Tell el-Dab 'a I: Tell el-Dab 'a and Qantir the Site and Its Connection with Avaris and PiRamesse* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2001).

<sup>21</sup> The Epigraphic Survey, *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, plate 28.

<sup>22</sup> The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu II* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1930), plates 17, 19 and 24.

<sup>23</sup> For an examples of this type of quiver and a javelin in use, see Epigraphic Survey, *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, plate 27; W. Wrezsinki, *Atlas zur Altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1938-41), 56.

<sup>24</sup> The Epigraphic Survey, *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, 3, 4, 5, 6, 28, and 34; Wrezsinki, *Atlas zur Altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, 54a, 67, 77, 96a, 109; The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu II*, 19.

<sup>25</sup> Carter and Newberry, *The Tomb of Thoutmôsis IV*, plates X and XI.

<sup>26</sup> Howard Carter, *The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen I* (New York: George Doran Co., 1923), plates L, LI, LII, and LIII.

<sup>27</sup> The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu II*, 17, 18, and 19.

<sup>28</sup> See references in note 19.

<sup>29</sup> Hoffmeier's study of Amarna Period chariot scenes did not identify any examples of the javelin case in use among the *talatat* scenes or the Amarna tombs where chariots are depicted. See "The Chariot Scenes," in *The Akhenaten Temple Project 2*, D.B. Redford, ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 35-45.

<sup>30</sup> Littauer and Crowel, *Chariots and Related Equipment from the Tomb of Tut 'ankhamun*, plates XXIX, XXXI, LVIII and LIX.

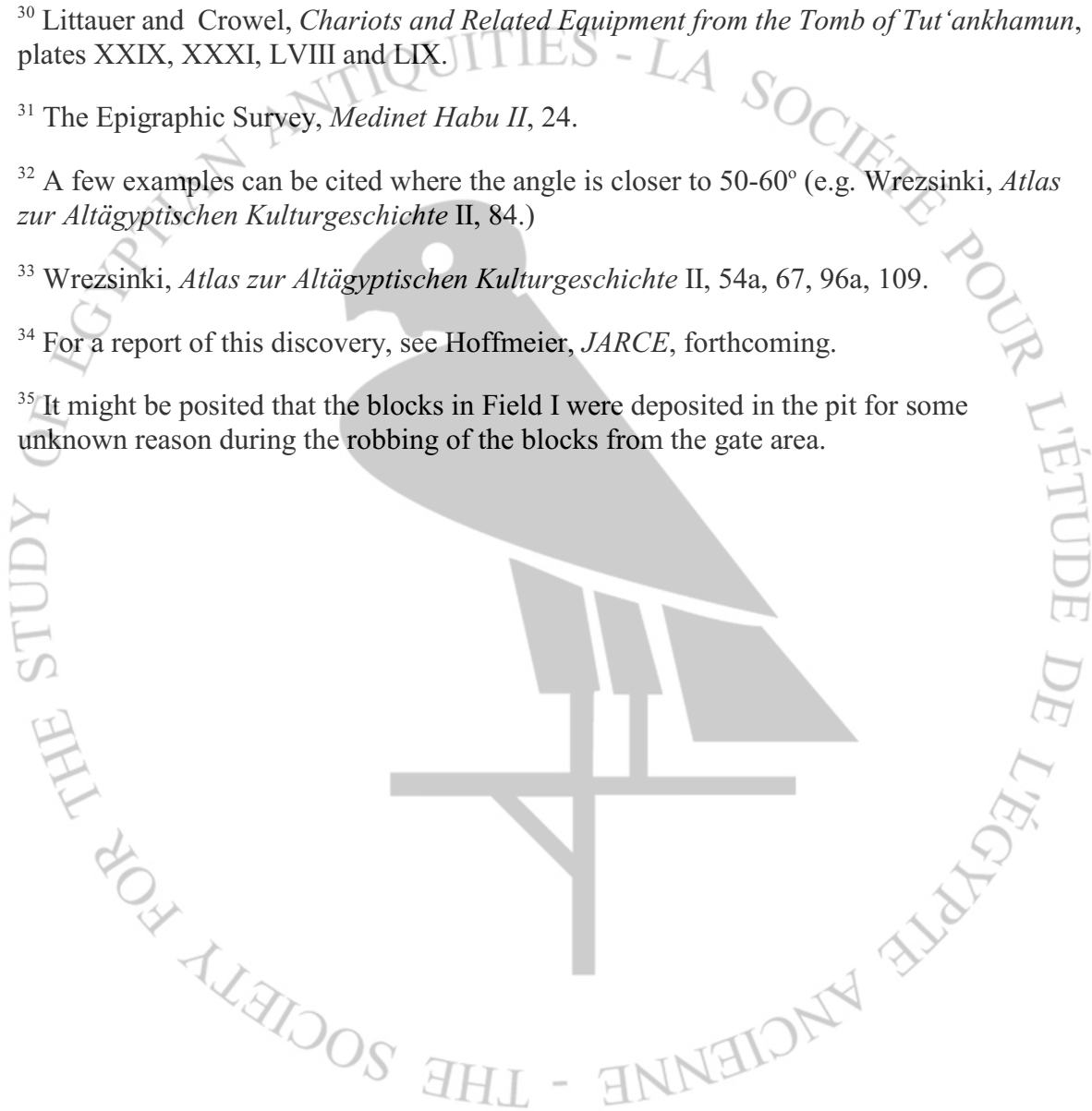
<sup>31</sup> The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu II*, 24.

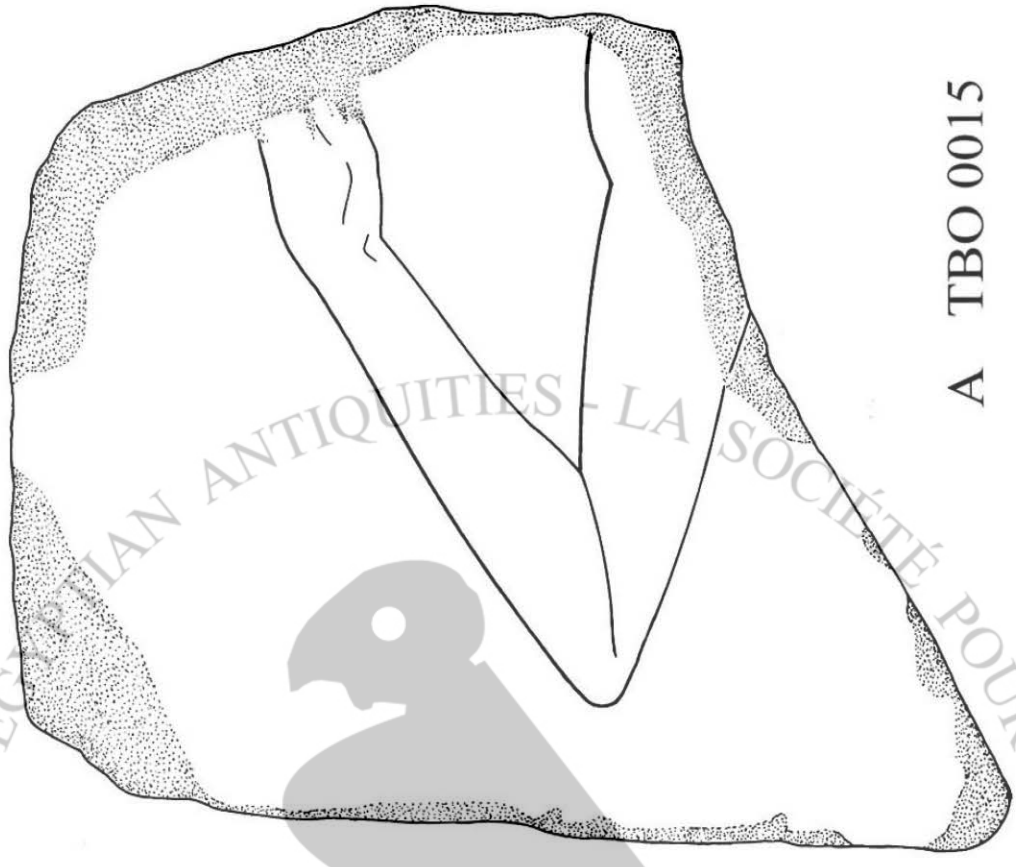
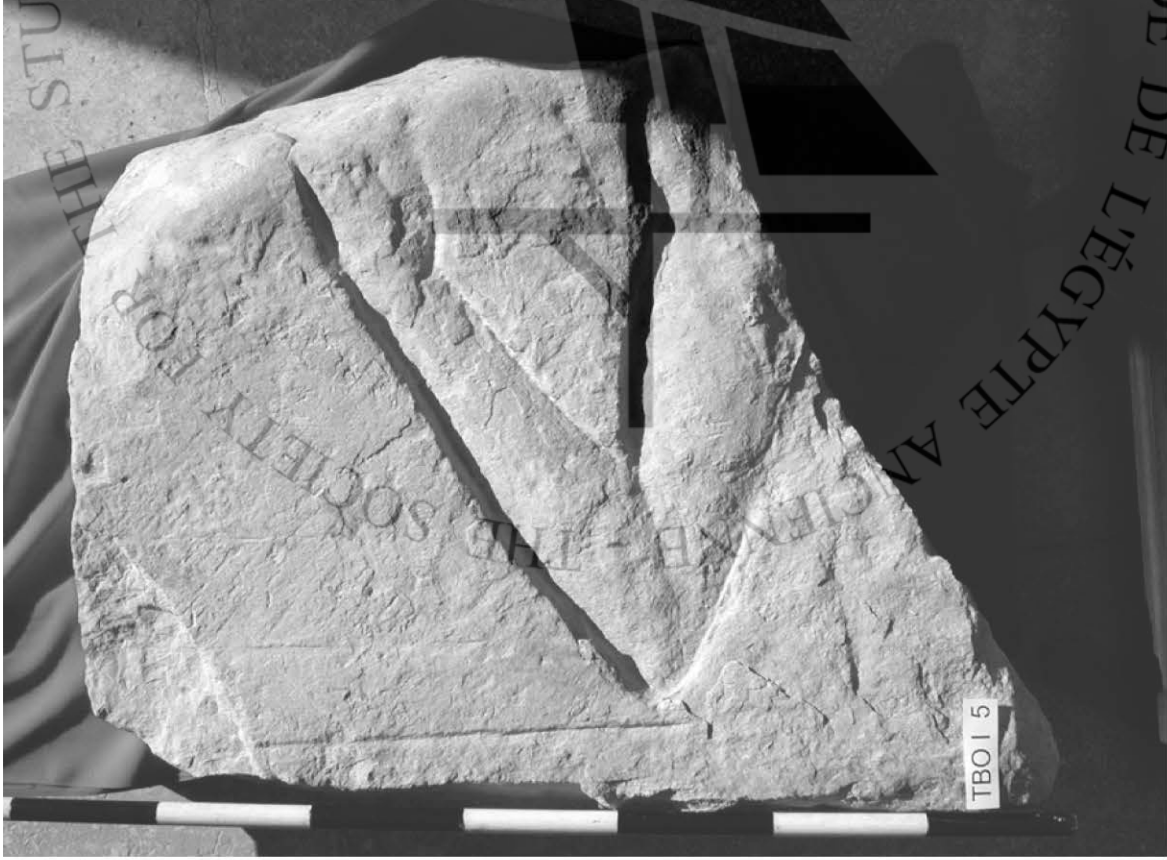
<sup>32</sup> A few examples can be cited where the angle is closer to 50-60° (e.g. Wrezsinki, *Atlas zur Altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte II*, 84.)

<sup>33</sup> Wrezsinki, *Atlas zur Altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte II*, 54a, 67, 96a, 109.

<sup>34</sup> For a report of this discovery, see Hoffmeier, *JARCE*, forthcoming.

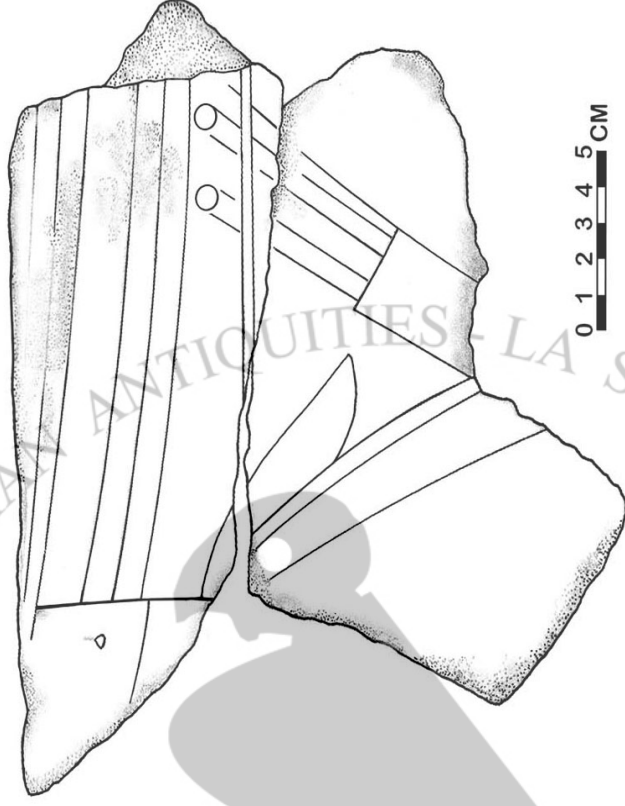
<sup>35</sup> It might be posited that the blocks in Field I were deposited in the pit for some unknown reason during the robbing of the blocks from the gate area.





A TBO 0015

Figure 4-01 a-b



TBO I 10, 11

Figure 4-02 a-b



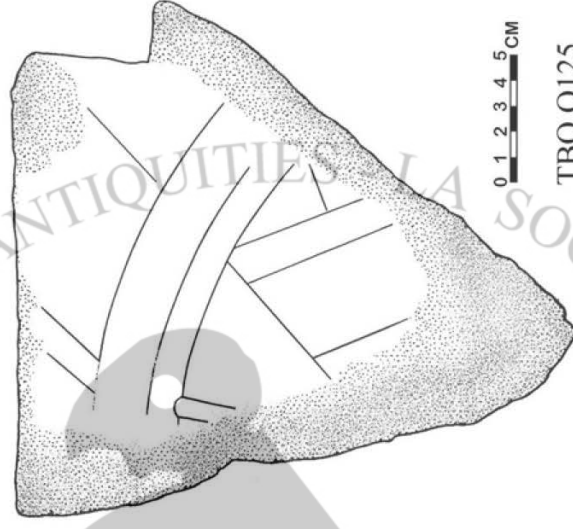
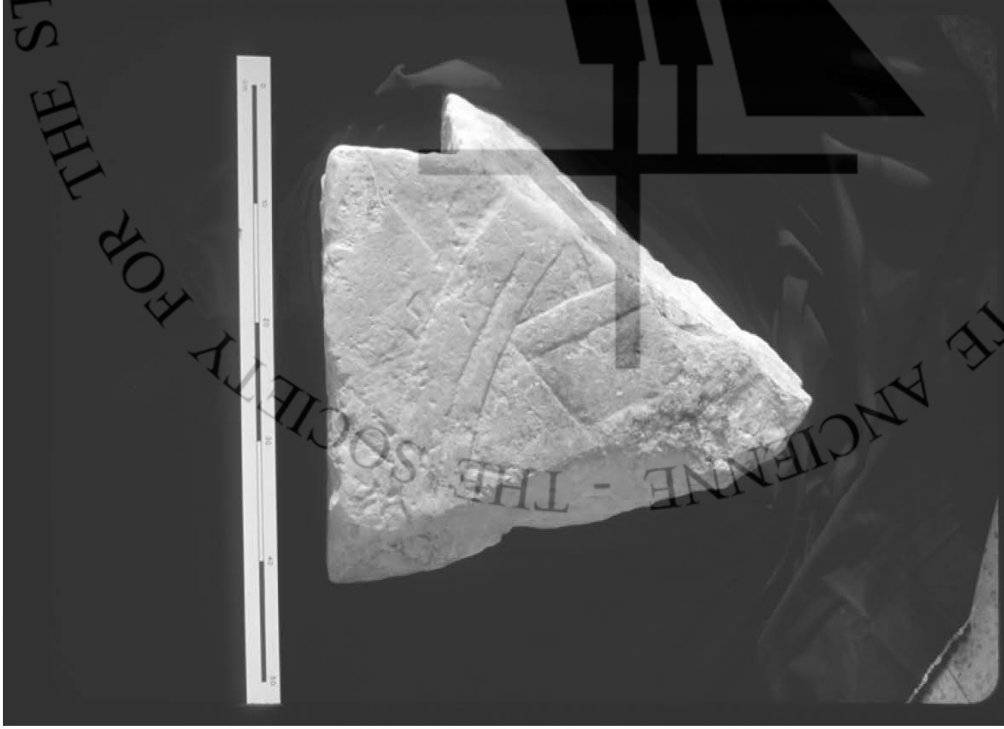


Figure 4-03, a-b

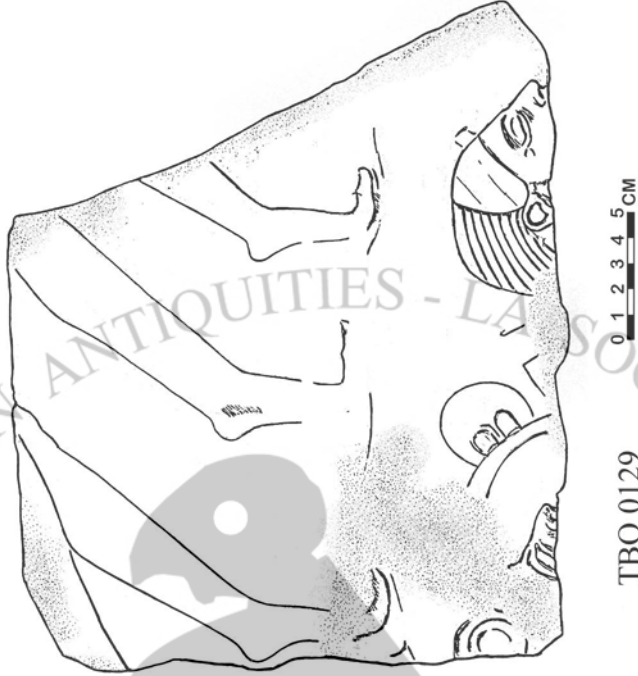


Figure 4-04 a-b

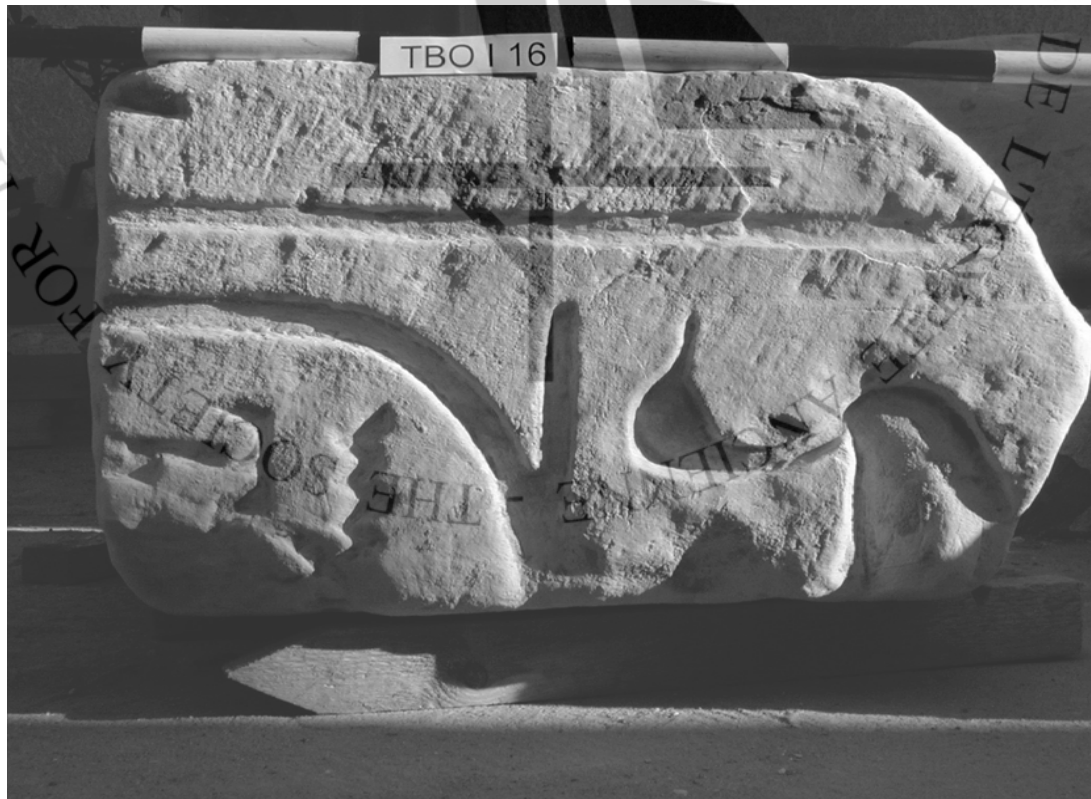


Figure 4-05

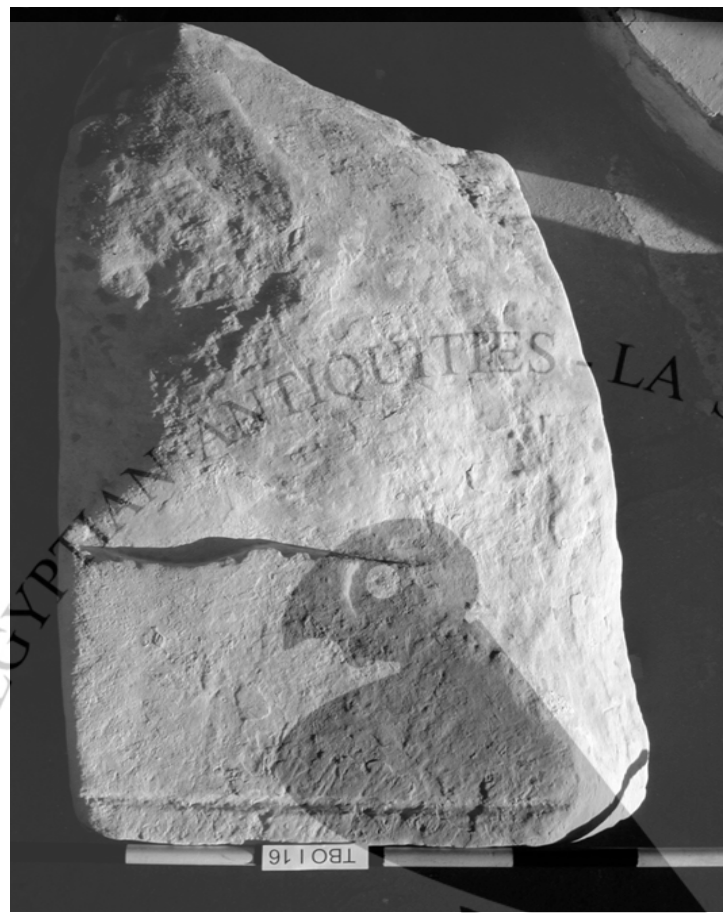


Figure 4-06



**Figure 4-07 - Illustrations of blocks found beside the canal at Tell el-Borg superimposed on the Seti I battle relief from Karnak Temple, showing that the elements were probably part of a similar composition, but facing in the opposite direction. Copy of the Battle Scene reproduced courtesy of the Epigraphic Survey of the University of Chicago. The scene has been flipped for comparative purposes. Computerized illustration: L. Pinch-Brock.**



## 5. THE MEROITIC KIOSK AT TABO

Helen Jacquet-Gordon

### Abstract

The kiosk of Tabo was built by one of the Meroitic kings during the first century AD, but thus far remains unpublished. This short study examines some of the decorations of the kiosk and proposes some reconstructions of certain decorated scenes.

### Key Words

kiosk, Tabo, Gebel Barkal, Akedis, Apedemak, Khonsu

Kiosks of Meroitic date have been found associated with the temples of most of the important sites in what was the Kingdom of Kush: Meroe, Naga, Gebel Barkal, Kawa. The evolution of their forms and their proportions has been studied by Fritz Hinkel whose publication includes detailed plans of all of them. The kiosk whose remains were brought to light in the court of the XXVth dynasty temple at Tabo on the island of Argo in the northern Sudan<sup>1</sup> figures likewise in this study.<sup>2</sup> I propose to examine here, in this volume dedicated to the memory of Nicolas Millet one of my earliest associates and friends in Cairo, certain aspects of the decoration of this kiosk which have not yet been published.<sup>3</sup>

The kiosk was 30m long by 22m in width and was oriented east-west along the main axis of the temple between the doorways of the first and second pylons. It was constructed on foundations of red brick but above, the walls and columns were of sandstone. The two parallel constructions forming its long northern and southern sides were composed each of five columns connected by inter-columnar walls. The east and west sides of the kiosk consisted only of narrow panels attached at right angles to the columns forming the corners of the building, leaving a wide entrance at each end which seems not to have been covered by an architrave nor to have contained a door of any kind.<sup>4</sup>

The exterior of the kiosk, on its north and south sides, was marked by the rounded contours of the five columns visible between the sections of the inter-columnar walls. The latter formed panels adorned with a moulding but no other decoration. The interior, on the contrary, masked the roundness of the columns under a uniformly smooth surface entirely occupied by scenes sculptured in sunk relief. The plan of the building is practically identical with that of the kiosk built by Natakamani and Amanitore in the court of the Amon temple at Meroe (Meroe 279) and of that of the Gebel Barkal kiosk (Barkal 501.1) as well as of Barkal 551, but its overall dimensions are slightly larger than those of all three of these structures.<sup>5</sup>

Only the foundations and two courses of blocks belonging to the north wall together with the projecting elements of the east and west walls attached to it at its northeast and northwest angles have been preserved *in situ*. The scenes depicted on this wall occupy the second course, the first course of narrow blocks being left blank. The elements of the decoration still visible on the wall include the feet of the various personages who figured in the scenes and the lower parts of their garments up to just below the knees. The relief is comparatively well preserved and provides us with important indications for the reconstruction of the scenes depicted there. The south wall has entirely disappeared except for its foundations and one block forming its south-west angle, together with an element of its adjacent west wall. A number of blocks found dispersed in the strata which

covered the ruins of the temple can be identified as coming from the destroyed parts of these walls.

The decoration preserved on the remaining course of blocks of the north wall can be divided into two scenes occupying the eastern (**Figure 5-02**) and western (**Figure 5-03**) halves of the wall respectively. In each of these scenes the royal family, king, queen and prince, followed by a protecting divinity, is depicted face to face with one or more gods. Beginning on the narrow panel which forms the northern half of the east wall and continuing on the north wall, the procession of figures facing to their right (the spectator's left) is as follows.

N1. A goddess ←, bare-foot, the tips of whose outstretched wings reach down to her ankles (**Figure 5-01**). She holds before her a sceptre of which the lower end finishes in a point. A long tight-fitting robe covered with a pattern of feathers and bordered at the bottom by a broad band leaves her anklets just visible. She is protecting the royal family at the entrance to the kiosk.

N2. The first figure in front of her, at the east end of the north wall (**Figure 5-02**), is a prince ←. He is shod in light sandals with a loop projecting upwards over the toes. His long robe is sumptuously decorated with long fringes at the bottom and his over-garment appears to be checkered, each square containing a uraeus with sun disk on its head. A long tasseled cord hangs down in front of him as well as on his left side. His hands are not visible.

N3. In front of the prince stands the queen ←. Over her long robe decorated with an overall pattern of vertical rectangles are to be seen the wings, claws and tail of a vulture belonging to her over-garment which appears to hang from her shoulders. Her sandals have solid straps across the instep to each of which is attached a uraeus with a sun-disk on its head. Her hands are not visible.

N4. The king ← who stands at the head of the procession was apparently wearing a short Egyptian style kilt of which nothing is visible but the tail. However, a fragment found at the base of the wall proves that the point of his kilt was adorned with a lion's head like that of Ergamenes at Dakka.<sup>6</sup> Anklets adorn his bare legs and his sandals, like those of the queen, have wide straps over the instep to each of which are attached two uraei crowned with sun-disks. Here also the king's hands are invisible. Probably all three persons were in a position of adoration with hands uplifted before the gods.

N5. Facing to his left opposite the king, is a god →, bare-footed but wearing anklets wider than those of the monarch. He also wore the short Egyptian style kilt of which only the tail and an unidentifiable object hanging in front of his forward leg are to be seen. He holds before him a sceptre ending in a trident.

N6. The god is followed by a female divinity who closes the scene on the west side. She is dressed in a tight-fitting robe decorated with a pattern of feathers and her bare feet are adorned with broad anklets. The pointed base of her sceptre is planted in front of her.

The beginning of the second scene (**Figure 5-03**) is marked only by the orientation of the figures.

N7. A goddess facing right ←, thus turning her back to the deity who brought up the rear of the first scene, is shown with wings out-spread protecting the royal family with the same gesture as that of goddess number N1 at the entrance of the kiosk. She is bare-foot and wears a tight-fitting robe covered with a pattern of vertical rectangles like that of the queen's robe but finished at the bottom with a broad embroidered hem below which her anklets are visible. A tasseled shawl hangs down in back of her. The pointed base of her sceptre is discernable below her wings.

N8. & N9. The prince ← and the queen ← here depicted in front of the goddess appear to be wearing the same apparel as in the previous scene.

N10. The king ← on the contrary no longer wears the Egyptian kilt but is dressed in a long Meroitic style robe. The stone here is somewhat damaged, but the robe appears to be similar to that of the prince with long fringes at the bottom. The two uraei with sun-disks on their heads attached to his sandal straps are not very clear but were probably present.

N11. Facing left opposite the king is a god → who wore the short Egyptian kilt of which only the tail is to be seen. Despite the fact that he is bare-foot, two uraei coiffed with sun-disks are placed before his toes and two more are attached to his wide anklets. The object held before him has a double haft.

N12. A second god → follows the first. He wears a *shendiyt* kilt recognizable by the central tab which falls between his knees. The tail of his garment and his anklets are much weathered but traces of them remain. He is bare-foot. The sceptre that he holds before him finishes in a trident.

N13. Behind the two gods is a goddess → attired in a long tight-fitting robe adorned like that of the queen with vertical rectangles finishing in a broad hem above her anklets. She holds before her a sceptre with pointed base.

N14. The procession ends with a god → placed on the adjacent panel of the west wall (**Figure 5-04**). He stands on a low pedestal approached by three steps. The hem of his long robe leaves his anklets visible. He is shod in light sandals that end in loops above the feet and he holds before him a sceptre finishing in a trident.

With the help of a number of fragments found in the debris at the base of the wall, we can suggest the following identifications for the deities represented in these two scenes. Goddess N1 is probably Isis although there is no proof of this. The god (N5) facing the king in the first scene is identified by his high feather crown (present on a fragment) as one of the forms of Amon, followed by Mut (N6)(?). Goddess N7 who introduces the second scene is unidentifiable but the god N11 facing the king is undoubtedly Apedemak who holds in front of him the double hafted pole that supports his insignia of the lion. He is followed by Sebiumenter (N12) whose bearded head is preserved on a loose block (**Figure 5-05**). The goddess behind him is perhaps Hathor or Satet. The final figure standing on a pedestal and garbed in sandals and a long robe is Arensnuphis (N14) who guards the exit of the kiosk on the west.

Vague remains of wings discernable in front of the queen (N9) and between the legs of god N11 and traces of recutting on the feet of the queen, the king and the first god (N9 to N11) suggest that the second scene was at some time remodeled. But nothing more can be deduced from these traces.

Unfortunately, no remains of reliefs such as those present on the north wall are preserved from the south wall to guide us in the reconstruction of its decorative layout. However, a number of blocks found in front of and in the embrasure of the doorway through the first pylon can be identified as coming from this wall. Their eccentric find position can be explained by the fact that the southern wall of the kiosk appears to have been dismantled and the blocks reused in the construction of the church which in Christian times crowned the kôm. The apse of the church, oriented as was the custom towards the east, was built into the doorway of the pylon. The fragments of the kiosk were found in the rubble which was all that remained of the apse.

An assemblage of five of these fragments forms an angle belonging to the door-jamb which defined the eastern entrance to the kiosk on its south side. Unlike the northern jamb, decorated only on its inner face (as far as one can see), the southern jamb was decorated on two adjacent sides: that which formed the embrasure of the entrance and that which constituted the inner face of the east wall.



On the embrasure side there remain the traces of a long robe and possibly a sandaled foot supporting a uraeus. Here then was the king → entering the kiosk. On the inner face of the fragment is preserved the lower half of the long pleated robe of a god (S1) → . His sceptre is held at an angle across his body so that the trident base protrudes in back of him while the missing top (probably in the form of a *was* sceptre) was tilted forward to protect the person in front of him. Although the figure's feet are missing, leaving us in doubt as to whether or not he was shod, it seems probable that we have here once more the god Arensnuphis.

The composition of the scenes on this wall is difficult to reconstruct as it depends almost entirely on the orientation of the fragments of which we dispose. Those on which elements of the royal family are preserved are oriented towards their left → whereas the deities on the contrary are facing right ← . Fortunately, one fragment, on which are discernable two legs turned in opposite directions, witnesses to the fact that this wall also was divided into two large scenes. It is evident that the leg on the left is that of the individual who brought up the rear of the first scene ← , whereas that on the right belongs to the person who introduces the second scene → .

Of all the personages who figured on this wall, it has been possible to restore, almost in its entirety but lacking the feet and the headdress, only one figure → (**Figure 5-06**). The figure is no doubt that of the king, but it is unusual in several respects. He wears an ankle-length, rather simple robe with long sleeves gathered at the wrists. The robe is entirely covered with a pattern of small crescent moons and the wide bracelets which adorn his upper arms and his wrists cover the material of his sleeves. A tasseled (?) cord descends from his right shoulder. His left arm hangs by his side but his right arm is extended across his chest and proffers a bouquet to whichever deity it was who stood before him. A strap passing over his cheek and held in place by his chin is adorned with three uraei coiffed with the white crown of Upper Egypt. A crescent moon supporting an ankh appears to be attached to a band encircling his forehead. A further fragment, probably belonging to this figure but impossible to join directly to it, preserves a crown whose high central element is framed on each side by an ostrich feather. The twisted ram's horns on which it rests are adorned at each end with uraei coiffed respectively with the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt.

It is likewise possible to recognize among our fragments parts of several other figures: the head and shoulder of a second king who appears to be undergoing a rite of purification by a shower of ankh signs which fall over his head and along his arm (**Figure 5-07**); the shoulder and arm of a prince; a fragment of the robe of a queen or goddess and various pieces of fringed shawls belonging to the costumes of the royal personages; a hand and parts of the costume of Apedemak; the name, in Meroitic hieroglyphs, and elements of the headdress of Akedis (**Figure 5-08**); a second figure of Arensnuphis *in situ* on the block at the south-west corner of the kiosk.

With the exception of the figure of Arensnuphis (S1) attached to the jamb at the south-east corner of the kiosk and of that which is still *in situ* at the south-west corner (S14), it is not possible to determine with certainty the sequence of the two scenes nor the persons belonging to each of them. The following reconstruction is therefore entirely hypothetical, but is nevertheless based on the identifications suggested by the fragments listed above.

In scenes in which the king is being purified with a shower of water (or ankh signs), he stands as a rule between two deities (Horus and Thoth) placed on high pedestals who perform the rite,<sup>7</sup> but there is no trace of such an arrangement here. It is conceivable that the sceptre of the god, tilted forward as it is, ended in an ankh sign which projected the shower of further ankhs over the head of the royal family (S2 and S3) to descend again in front of the king (S4).

Facing the king there stood in all probability the god Apedemak (S5) whose characteristic

vest covered with an over-all lozenge pattern can be identified on one of the fragments. The hand, preserved on a small fragment, which is stretched out horizontally to the god's right ← and grasping an object such as a bouquet or the lion fetish on a support, no doubt belongs to him. In his wake came one or more deities (S6 & S7) to the last of whom belongs the leg visible on the fragment which marks the dividing point between the two scenes.

On this same fragment, the leg oriented in the opposite direction could belong to the figure of a female protecting deity (S8) like that depicted in the same position on the north wall of the kiosk. It is in this second scene that the king (S11), attired in his splendid costume with lunar connotations and accompanied by the queen and the prince (S9 & S10), confronts Akedis (S12) to whom he offers a bouquet; another deity (S13) no doubt followed the moon-god, but no trace of him (or her) has survived. Arensnuphis (S14) on the adjoining south-west wall closes the procession.

Whether this reconstruction is or is not correct in detail, it emphasizes one unusual aspect of the decorative scheme: the importance given to the god Akedis, the moon god equated elsewhere with Khonsu, about whom very little information is available. The king's costume suggests that he appears here in the role of chief priest of the moon-god whose cult was perhaps particularly connected to the temple of Tabo, although we have no indication of this elsewhere. The only other instance at present known where such a costume is depicted, is on the outer north wall of the temple of Naga where Prince Arikankharer is so attired.<sup>8</sup> Akedis figures on the side wall of the same temple among the gods in the following of Apédemak. Perhaps this prince likewise was connected with the cult of the moon god?

No sure date can as yet be suggested for the Meroitic kiosk at Tabo. The cartouches whose beginnings survive on a small fragment in hieroglyphic script do not seem to correspond to any known names of rulers.<sup>9</sup> Hinkel's study of the module used in the construction of the Meroitic kiosks in general led him to place the Tabo kiosk among those constructed around the beginning of the 1st century A.D. This dating appears to be supported by the similarities in plan of the Tabo kiosk with Meroe 279 and Barkal 551, both of which also date to that period. The iconographical similarities between the reliefs at the Naga temple constructed by Natakamani and Amanitore and those of the Tabo kiosk relating to the cult of Akedis would seem to further strengthen this dating. Perhaps on-going reflections on the inscribed fragments from Tabo may throw new light on the problem.

Luxor

#### Notes

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Gamer-Wallert (1983) = Ingrid Gamer-Wallert, *Der Löwentempel von Naq'a in der Butana (Sudan) III. Die Wandreliefs*. Wiesbaden, Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1983.

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Roeder (1930) = Günther Roeder, *Der Tempel von Dakke*, Vol. 2. Cairo, IFAO, 1930.

<sup>1</sup> The excavations at Tabo were made on behalf of the University of Geneva under the direction of Professor Charles Maystre.

<sup>2</sup> Hinkel (1989), p. 241 and Abb. 8.

<sup>3</sup> The complete description of the remains of the kiosk will be included in the final publication of the excavations at Tabo now in preparation.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Hinkel (1989), p. 241.

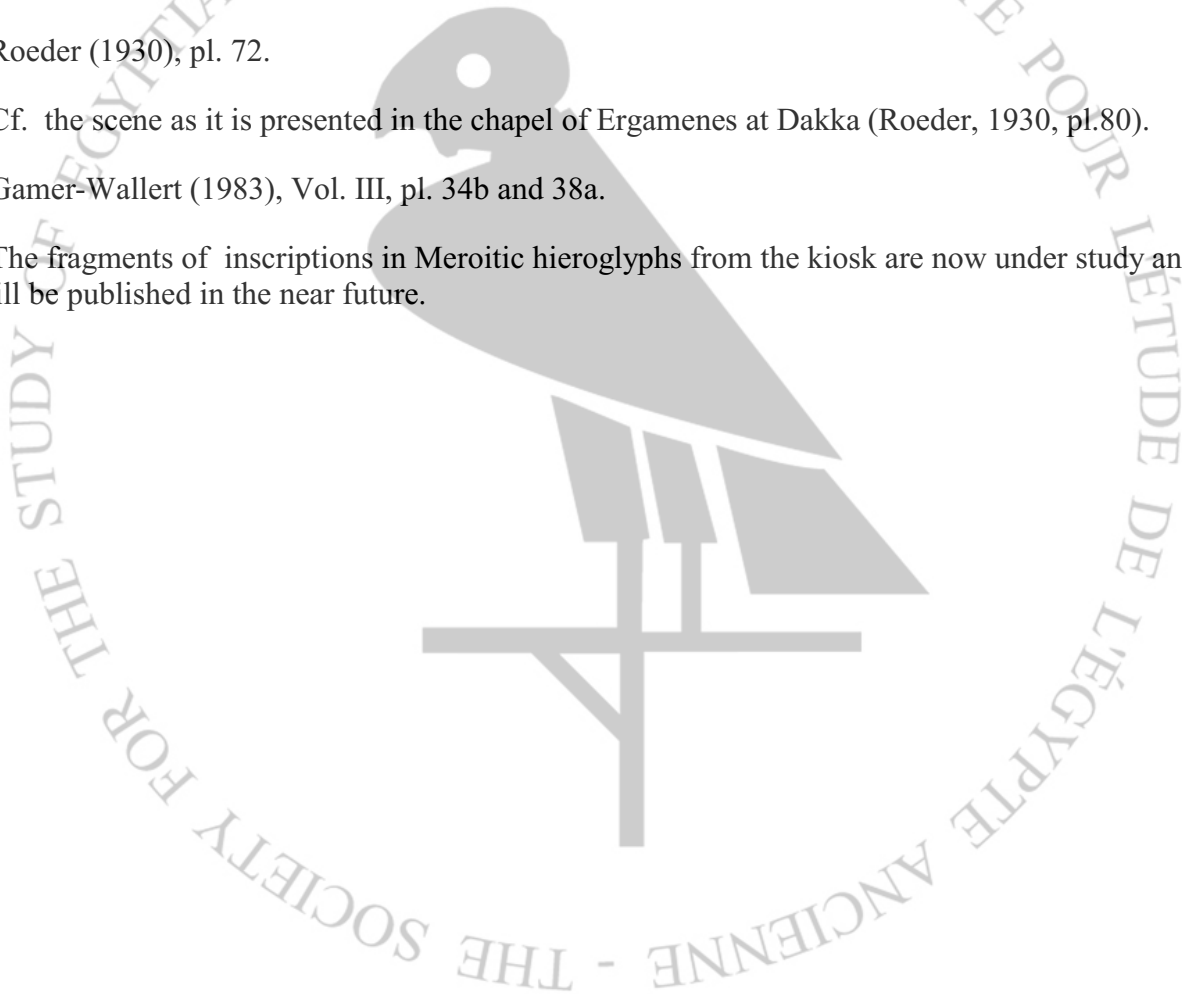
<sup>5</sup> For the plans of these two kiosks see Hinkel (1989), p. 260, Abb.7, and p. 258, Abb. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Roeder (1930), pl. 72.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the scene as it is presented in the chapel of Ergamenes at Dakka (Roeder, 1930, pl.80).

<sup>8</sup> Gamer-Wallert (1983), Vol. III, pl. 34b and 38a.

<sup>9</sup> The fragments of inscriptions in Meroitic hieroglyphs from the kiosk are now under study and will be published in the near future.



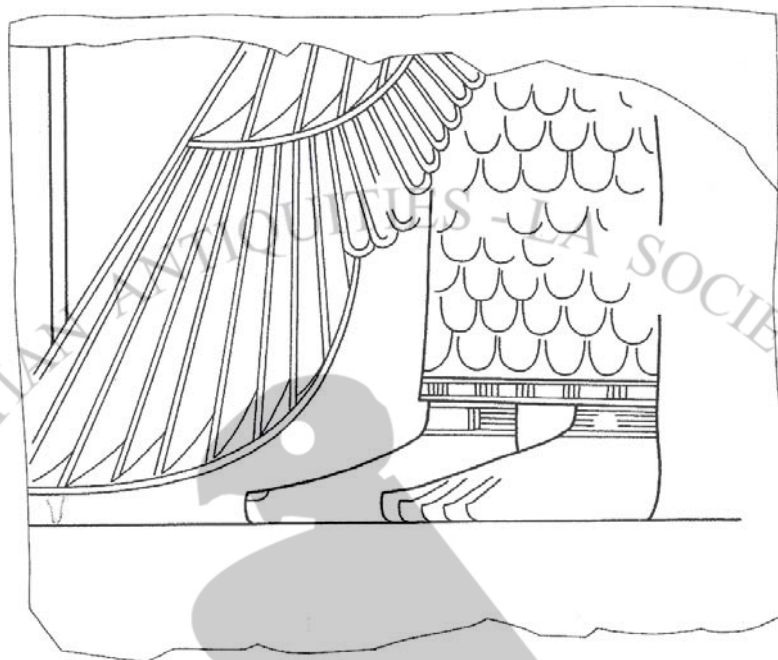


Figure 5-01 - Goddess (N1) on the east wall, north side

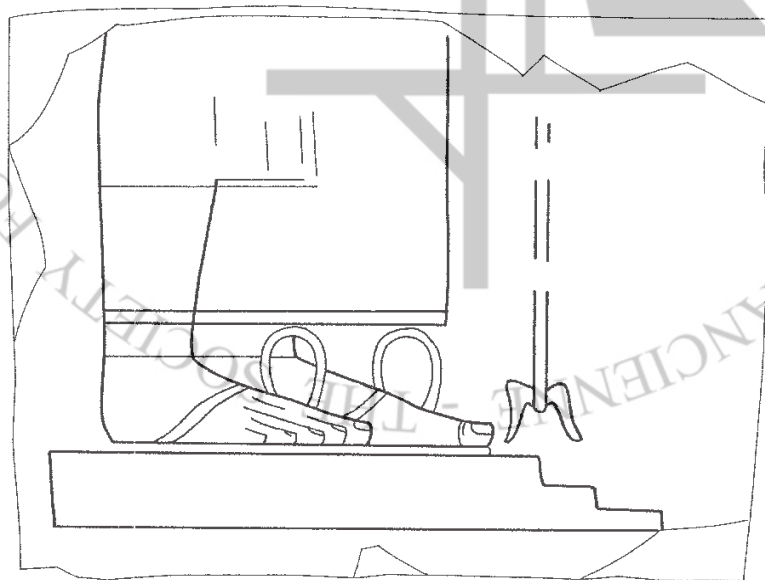


Figure 5-04 - Arensnuphis (N14) on the west wall, north side





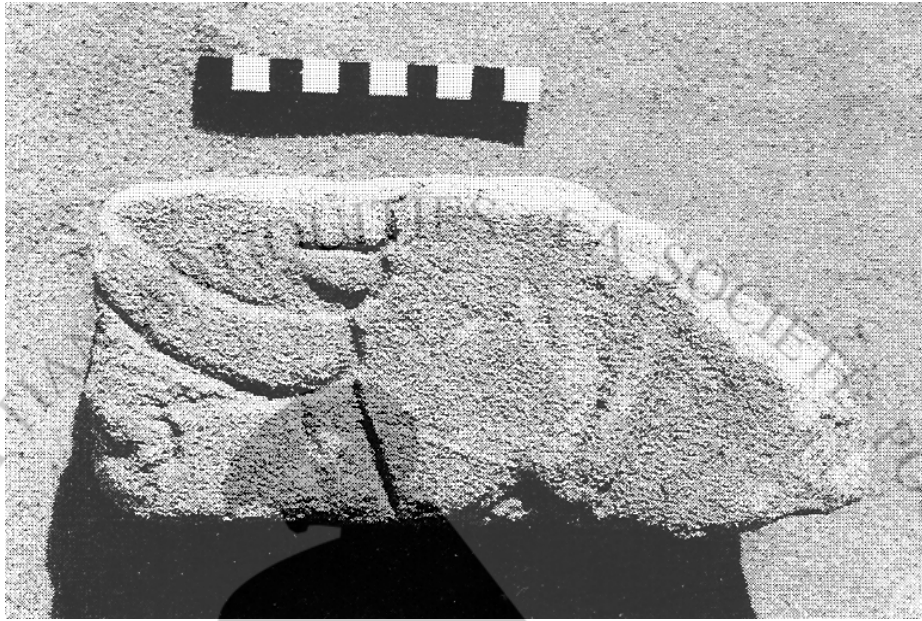


Figure 5-05 - Head of Sebiumeker (N12) on the western half of the north wall.

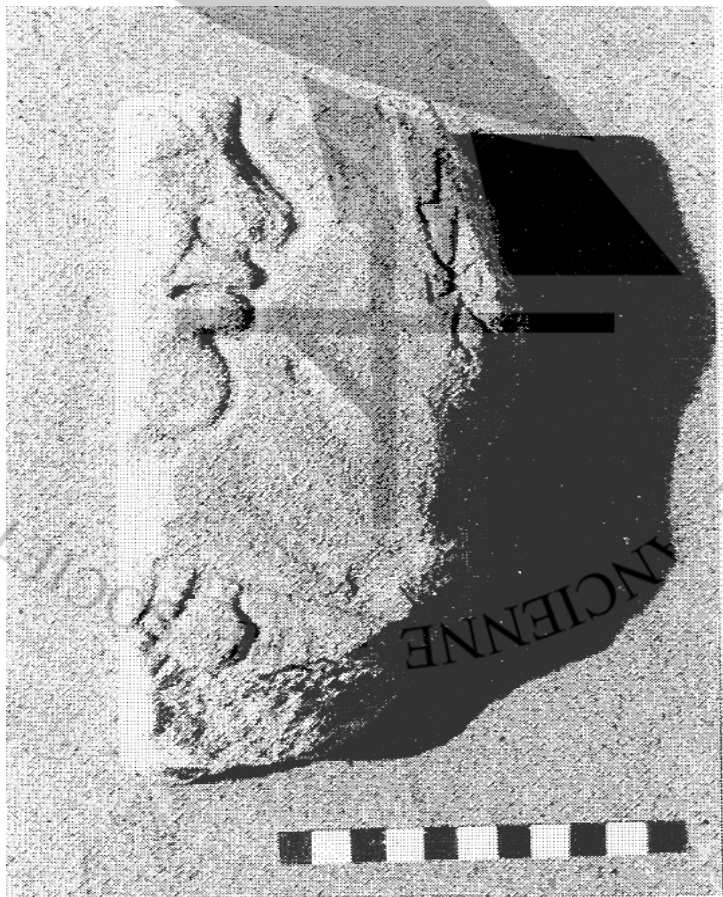


Figure 5-06 - Head of the king (S4) in the scene on the eastern half of the south wall.

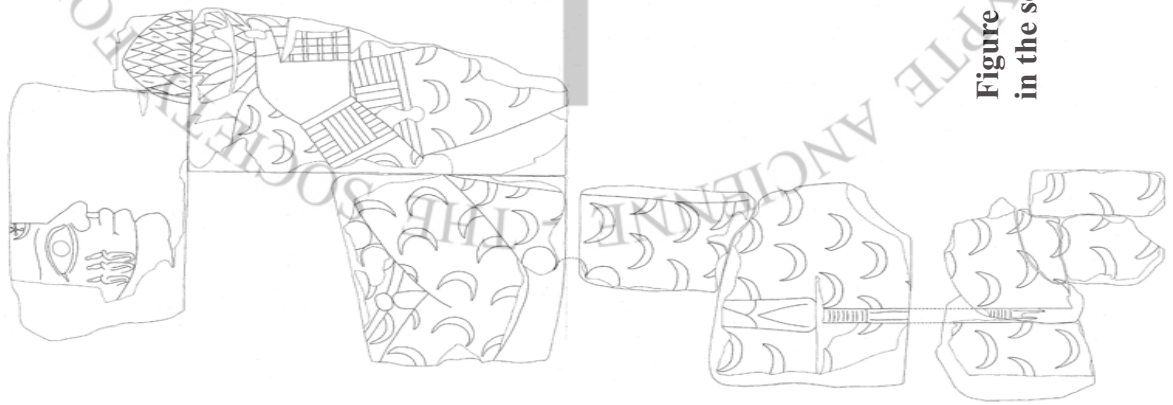


Figure 5-07 - Reconstructed figure of the king (N° S10) in the scene on the western half of the south wall.

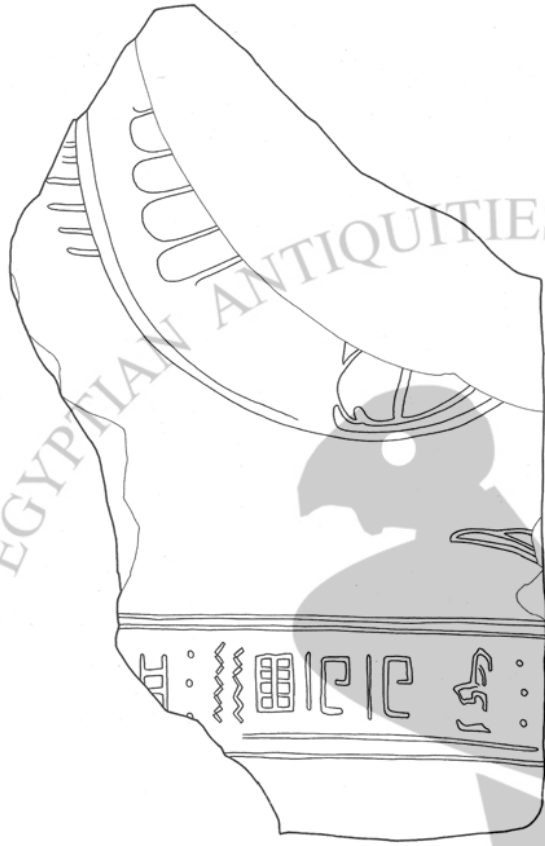


Figure 5-08 - The headdress of Akedis (N° S11) and the fragmentary inscription containing his name and title written in Meroitic hieroglyphs, in the scene on the western half of the south wall.



## 6. THE HORSE BURIALS OF NUBIA

Leanne Mallory-Greenough

### Abstract

This short study examines the numerous burials of equids (horses and donkeys) found in Nubia during the Napatan/Kushite, Meroitic and Post Meroitic periods. The study describes both methods of interment and types of tack and accessories buried with the animals.

### Key Words

horses, Meroitic, Napatan, Nubia, Qustul, chariots, Dynasty 25, burial pits, Ballana, Buhen, funerary practices

### Introduction

Horse burials appear during the Napatan, Meroitic, and Post-Meroitic periods in Nubia. There are no obvious predecessors to the chariot horse burials of the Twenty-Fifth dynasty, and the upright method of burial is unique in Nubia. The horses given this treatment may have been royal favourites who were to aid their owner in afterlife, or victims sacrificed during a victory celebration. There are no written records to help solve the puzzle.

Meroitic and Post-Meroitic rulers interred horses and donkeys in their tombs as a form of grave goods. Up to seventeen horses could accompany one person. Each horse was adorned with tack, harness and trappings so that he would always be ready for use. Pits dug into the tumulus after the burial was complete are another method for dealing with funerary sacrifices. This method is used for a short period of time and mainly at Qustul.

Distribution of mares and stallions in the burials can be determined where adequate descriptions or photographs have been published. The sex ratio of 2:1 suggests that males, who were preferentially selected for chariot and riding duties, were also the choice for funerals. There is no correlation between the sex of the human tomb occupant and the sex(es) of the sacrificed horses.

### Antecedents to the Nubian Horse Burials?

Two horse 'burials' in Nubia predate those of the Napatan kings,<sup>1</sup> but neither can be seen as a direct ancestor to the later sacrificial burials. The Buhen horse may not have been deliberately buried, as it appears to have died and then been covered by the foundations of 18th dynasty repairs to the Buhen fortress.<sup>2</sup> No tack was found on the animal, and no obvious cause of death is evident on the skeleton,<sup>3</sup> suggesting that the burial was not sacrificial in nature. The horse seems to have simply been left where it fell. The second early horse burial was found in the Soleb necropolis, and has been dated to the reign on Amenhotep III, although it may be much later in date. In this case, the burial is deliberate as the body was placed in a well shaft.<sup>4</sup> There is no evidence that it was purposely killed, and no tack was found.<sup>5</sup> Due to the lack of evidence for sacrifice and absence of tack / grave goods, the Buhen and Soleb horses cannot be considered predecessors of the Napatan and later sacrificial horse burials.

### The Napatan Chariot Horses

The horse burials discovered at Kurru (for site locations, see **Figure 6-01**) are thought to be those of the Napatan rulers' chariot horses. These graves are approximately 200m from the burials of their royal owners and are oriented SW-NE.<sup>6</sup> Twenty-four horses (**Table 6-01**), each buried individually, are arranged in four rows, four in the first and fourth, and eight in the second and third. Each horse was buried upright, head to the NE, with holes sunk into the ground for each foot, and supports made of earth for the neck and stomach.<sup>7</sup> The later graves are not as carefully excavated as the earlier ones, and lack neck, head, and stomach supports in some cases. There is no evidence that horses or other animals were sacrificed and buried within the royal tombs.<sup>8</sup>

It is impossible to determine how any of the horses died as their skulls are poorly preserved. They may have been struck in the head or pole-axed as was the later practice. The horses were not decapitated as Dunham and Reisner assumed.<sup>9</sup> Most of the burials were completely robbed and the remaining bones are fragmentary. The only graves where the skeleton was relatively undisturbed belonged to Shebitku's horses (Ku 209, Ku 210, Ku 211, Ku 212). Where the disruption to the burial was minimal, the objects buried with the animal were near the head and neck.<sup>10</sup>

Very few grave goods were found with the horses, and all the burials had been plundered. One grave, Ku 219, contained a hawk-headed plume carrier<sup>11</sup> which presumably would have been worn between the horse's ears. This was the only evidence of harness that remained. Faience cartouches discovered in each row of burials were used to assign the horses to different kings. The earliest graves, the first row, probably belonged to Pi<sup>c</sup>ankhy, the next row to Shabako, the third row to Shebitku, and the last to Tanwetamani.<sup>12</sup> All four kings were buried at Kurru. The remaining artifacts found with the horses consisted of faience, silver, and gold beads in various shapes, silver Hathor heads, bronze ball beads, and faience Udjat eyes.<sup>13</sup>

The chariot horse burials are unique in Nubia. The care with which the horse is placed upright appears only in these twenty-four graves at Kurru. There are no later parallels in Nubia or elsewhere, although upright burials of stuffed horse hides are known from more recent 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> CE Mongolian sites.<sup>14</sup> If the horses were intended to always be ready to serve their royal masters, why was no tack buried with them? The lack of written evidence and comparable Nubian sites will make a definitive answer difficult if not impossible to find.

As the horses are separate and at a distance from the royal graves, it cannot be determined if they predate or are contemporaneous with the burial of their royal owners. They could be chariot teams that were given special treatment after a life of service. Pi<sup>c</sup>ankhy is considered rather fond of horses,<sup>15</sup> and may have decided to ensure his favourites a place in the afterlife. His successors could have followed this precedent. However, there are other less romantic explanations. The historian Heliodorus describes a Meroitic sacrifice to the sun of four horses after a victory was announced.<sup>16</sup>

He does not state how the animals were killed or disposed of afterwards. Perhaps the Kurru horse cemetery is an early manifestation of this custom. No comparable horse burials have been found thus far at Meroë<sup>17</sup> or elsewhere in Nubia.

### Burial Within the Tomb

The practice of burying sacrificed animals within the tombs of the elite has a long history in Nubia. However, the use of equids (horse and/or donkey) in the funerary ritual appears to be limited to royalty and members of local ruling families. Horses are chosen six times more often than

donkeys for burial within the tomb (**Table 6-02**), suggesting that horses were thought to be more valuable and suitable.

No donkeys were found in the pyramid tombs at Meroë, but Ferlini's 'excavations' destroyed evidence of horse burials placed in the stairways of the tombs he examined. His accounts mention the presence of horse bones, saddles and other tack, but give no details.<sup>18</sup> Thus only three pyramids (Beg N1, Beg N2, Beg. N28) contained solid evidence of horse burials by the time Reisner excavated them.<sup>19</sup> In each case the equine remains were found in the stairway of the tomb. None of the skeletons were intact, but some tack which, presumably, belonged to the horse was nearby. Each animal, wearing its tack, was probably led down the stairway after the tomb was sealed. The horse was killed (pole-axed?) at the bottom of the stairs and buried by the rubble used to fill the stairway. These horses retained their heads, unlike those found in later Post-Meroitic pit burials. Perhaps the horse was to be eternally ready for its master or mistress.

The Post-Meroitic sites of Ballana, Firka, Gammai, and Qustul (see **Figure 6-01**) all have large mounds containing royal burials with horses and/or donkeys in the tombs. Firka and Gammai may represent the cemeteries of local ruling chieftains rather than kings who controlled a larger area.

There are only two burials at Firka containing equids,<sup>20</sup> and one at Gammai.<sup>21</sup> In each case, the animals were buried with their tack in the stairway, shaft, or one of the rooms of the tomb (**Table 6-02**). Like the Meroitic burials, the horses were not decapitated.

The largest Post-Meroitic tombs occur at Qustul, and the one with the greatest number of equids associated with it is Q3. This is probably the earliest royal burial at the site.<sup>22</sup> Using Török's 1996 scheme for dating, the number of equid burials per tomb decreases with time at Ballana and Qustul. The richness of finds within the tombs reflects this decline, implying that the later rulers were not as wealthy as the first ones.

Almost all the equids in the tombs at Ballana and Qustul are in the ramp (stairway) or forecourt of the tombs (**Table 6-02**). Eight horses in Q3 are within two rooms off of the forecourt. None of the horses or donkeys are within the brick rooms of the tomb proper. Each animal, wearing its tack and finery, was led to the tomb, killed, and buried where it fell. In one case, an iron axehead was found near a horse skeleton with a deep cut in its skull. The animal had been pole-axed as the axe fitted the gash exactly.<sup>23</sup>

The Post-Meroitic burials are the extreme of 'taking it with you' when it comes to animal burials. The horses and donkeys were intended to serve in the afterlife, and outfitted accordingly.

With time, and decreasing wealth, the number of animals buried with their owners decreases. Practicality may have played a part in this, for conspicuous consumption can only be sustained for so long. It is much more likely that the introduction of Christianity caused an abrupt end to a long-lived custom.

### Burial Pits

The third type of horse/donkey burial is mainly associated with the Post-Meroitic tombs located at Qustul (**Table 6-03**). The equids are buried enmasse in a pit near or within the tumulus of their owner. Skeletons may be complete,<sup>24</sup> lacking the skull,<sup>25</sup> partial,<sup>26</sup> or completely disarticulated.<sup>27</sup> Tack may or may not accompany the donkeys and horses. The majority of these pit burials are associated with Q3, and contained, in three different pits, a minimum of 35 horses, 10 donkeys, and 5 small equids based on the number of hooves found (**Table 6-03**). With time, the

number of equids buried in pit graves decreases. The pit burials seem to be afterthoughts as they are dug into the tumuli after the burial is complete.

### Sex Distribution in Meroitic and Post-Meroitic Horse Burials

Horses are the only domestic animal which can be easily sexed by their teeth. Males develop canine teeth,<sup>28</sup> located immediately behind the incisors on both the upper and lower jaws<sup>29</sup> (**Figure 6-02**). Canines rarely appear in mares, but when they do the teeth are peg-like, small and blunt, tend to exist only in the lower jaw, and can be distinguished from those of the stallion. More typically they remain in the jaw and manifest themselves as a prominent spot in the bone.<sup>30</sup> Geldings may or may not have canine teeth erupt, depending on when they were gelded.<sup>31</sup> If the animal is gelded before six months of age, permanent canine teeth do not develop. Deciduous canines (milk teeth) are vestigial and do not appear above the gum line in either sex.<sup>32</sup>

As teeth preserve better than bone, the archaeologist should be able to determine sex distributions among horse burials. Unfortunately, it appears that few know of this method even though it is simple to learn and less complicated than studying the pelvis. Clear published photographs of the horses' skulls and a magnifying glass were used to determine each horse's sex. However, the results are incomplete as publication of suitable plates rarely occurs and more often than not, the horse is given only a cursory description.

Two of the Napatan horse skeletons have been examined in detail (Ku 211 and Ku 212). Unfortunately, over the years, the unlabelled teeth of the two skeletons became mixed, and can no longer be assigned to the specific horse. Complete sets of teeth were not preserved, but one well-developed stallion canine survived.<sup>33</sup> One of the two, therefore, was a stallion. The second horse is similar in size, proportion, stature, and bone weight to the first, and is probably a stallion as well. No information is available on the other twenty-two horses buried at Kurru.

Only one of the tombs at Meroë contains a horse which is described in sufficient detail to assign a sex to it. Queen Amanitere (Beg. N1) had a stallion sacrificed and buried in the stair of her pyramid tomb. This horse had 40 teeth<sup>34</sup> which is consistent with the dentition of a stallion.<sup>35</sup> A mare would have only 36 or 38 teeth.<sup>36</sup> More than one individual is represented by the 72 teeth found in Beg. N2. Therefore, it is impossible to determine the horse(s?) sex. The teeth described as those of a horse or ox in Beg. N5 are those of a bovine.<sup>37</sup> There are too many molars and too few incisors for the animal to be an equid.<sup>38</sup> The remaining Meroitic horse burials (Beg. N28, S193) cannot be sexed due to insufficient information.

There are twenty-five Post-Meroitic tombs and animal pits containing horses or donkeys. In all, a minimum of 96 horses, 20 donkeys and 5 small equids are represented (**Tables 6-02 and 6-03**). Only twenty-one of these have been published with clear enough photographs of the animals' skulls to sex them. However, even with this 'random sample,' trends can be seen. Stallions (12 individuals) are chosen for sacrifice/burial twice as often as mares (6 individuals; see **Tables 6-02 and 6-03**). This probably reflects the preferential selection of stallions as chariot and riding horses.<sup>39</sup> No correlation could be found between the sex of the human tomb owner and the equines sacrificed and buried in or near his/her tomb. There are too few donkeys (1 jack, 2 jennys) to draw any conclusions.

### Tack and Trappings

The well-appointed horse was buried with a more or less standard set of tack and trappings. The Napatan horse burials contained almost no evidence of tack or trappings. Plundering partially accounts for this lack, but it may be that the horses were buried without any tack. The hawk-headed plume holder from Ku 219 is the only bridle ornament which was survived. A net has been reconstructed from the position of beads found in Ku 201, but it is uncertain how or where the horse would wear it. A wide collar appears on the necks of the horses shown on the walls of the Amun temple at Gebel Barkal, and is perhaps the artist's attempt to show a bead net. Beads discovered in the other graves may represent similar trappings.

Meroitic horses may have been buried with a more elaborate outfit, but the poor preservation and haphazard early excavation of the tombs makes it impossible to determine what was typical. Horses wore bronze bells attached to collars around their necks, and many of these have been found in the tombs at Meroë. A halter or bridle of some sort made it easy to lead the animal down the staircase. Silver medallions and beads decorated the leather harnesses and saddles. Although none have survived, saddle blankets with woven and embroidered designs would have completed the equine wardrobe.

The most elaborate horse trappings are from the Post-Meroitic site of Qustul. Horses and donkeys wore up to twenty-one bronze bells around their necks.<sup>40</sup> Bridles were usually made of leather that was dyed different colours and ornamented with silver or bronze medallions. Four bridles are made of interlinked and woven silver chain.<sup>41</sup> Three types of bit could be used, two which use a straight metal bar with different cheek pieces, and a more severe curb bit. This curb bit is unusual for it controls the horse using a pincer- or vice-like action on the horse's lower jaw.<sup>42</sup> Bits are either cast or beaten out of iron or silver.<sup>43</sup> Six horses were draped with trappings of interlinked silver chains and medallions on their chests and backs.

Saddles worn by the Qustul horses and donkeys look much like modern camel saddles. The tree which the leather and padding is attached to is made of wood in an upside-down Y shape. Wooden set rods run from the pommel (front 'Y') to the cantle (back 'Y'). Silver or bronze is often used to cover the wood and ornament the pommel and cantle, and may have engraved or embossed designs, or even stone inlays.<sup>44</sup> Red and black are the favourite colours for the leather. A girth strap and metal girth rings are used to keep the saddle on the horse or donkey's back. Saddle blankets of woven cloth, sometimes dyed blue and embroidered with designs, were placed between the saddle and the horses's back. No stirrups were found.

### Conclusions

Napatan, Meroitic, and Post-Meroitic horse burials are one aspect of funerary customs with a very long history. Although the location and type of graves changed through time, the purpose remained the same - the ruler needed to have a horse available to him or her in the afterlife. Horses and donkeys selected for funerary purposes tend to be stallions. This reflects the tendency to choose the larger and stronger males for chariot and riding duties, but favourite animals must have accompanied their masters as well. The care in placing the Napatan chariot horses in their upright graves, and the elaborate tack and trappings of later tomb burials reflect the need to have a horse eternally 'at the ready.' The large numbers of equids sacrificed at some royal funerals can be seen as a display of wealth, an extreme expression of 'taking it with you.'

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**Table 6-01. Napatan Horse Burials.**

Kurru	No. Individuals <sup>1</sup>	Sex <sup>2</sup>
Ku 201	1	
Ku 202		
Ku 203	1	
Ku 204		
Ku 205		
Ku 206		
Ku 207		
Ku 208		
Ku 209	1	
Ku 210	1	
Ku 211	1	M
Ku 212	1	M
Ku 213		
Ku 214		
Ku 215		
Ku 216		
Ku 217		
Ku 218		
Ku 219	1	
Ku 220	1	
Ku 221	1	
Ku 222	1	
Ku 223		
Ku 224		
Total	10	2M

Notes: 1. No. = number. Where no number appears, there was no information published. Presumably the burial was completely robbed. Data from Dunham 1950, p. 110-117.

2. M = male, F = female.

**Table 6-02. Burials Within Meroitic and Post-Meroitic Tombs**

<u>Meroitic</u> <u>Meroë</u>	Number horses	Number donkeys	Location <sup>1</sup>	Sex <sup>2</sup>	Reference
Beg N1	1		St	M	Dunham 1957, p. 119, 120
Beg N2	1		St		ibid, p. 105
Beg N28	1		St		ibid, p. 185
Total (horses)	3			1M	
<u>Post-Meroitic</u>					
<u>Firka</u>					
Fir A11	1		St	F	Kirwan 1939, p. 3, pl. 13.
Fir A14		2	St (1), Rm2 (1)		ibid, p. 10-11
<u>Gammai</u>					
Gam Y1	1		Shaft	M	Bates & Dunham 1927, p.89, pl. 45
<u>Qustul</u>					
Q2	12		R (7), Fc (3), En (2)	4M, 1F	Emery & Kirwan 1938, I, p. 28-29; II, pl. 6D
Q3	17		R (4), Fc (5), Rm1 (2), Rm2 (6)	2M, 1F	ibid, I, p. 36-37; II, pl. 9G, 9H, 9I.
Q3		2	R (1), Fc (1)		ibid.
Q17	5		R (2), Fc (3)		ibid, I, p. 51-52
Q24		1	R		ibid, I, p. 57
Q25		1	Fc	M	ibid, I, p. 59; II, pl. 12C
Q31	4		R (3), Fc (1)	1F	ibid, I, p. 63; II, pl. 13E
Q36	4	1	R (4), Fc (1)		ibid, I, p. 68
<u>Ballana</u>					
B2	1		R		ibid, I, p. 76
B3	2		R		ibid, I, p. 79
B9	1	1	R		ibid, I, p. 89
B10	3		R		ibid, I, p. 92
B47	1		R		ibid, I, p. 108
B73	1		R		ibid, I, p. 120
B118	1		R		ibid, I, fig. 74; II, pl. 30B
B10*		1	Fc	F	Farid 1963, p. 36-39, pl. 30B
Total (horses)	54			7M, 4F	
Total (donkeys)		9		1M, 1F	

Notes: 1. St. = stairway; Rm # = Room number; Fc = forecourt, R = ramp, En = entrance. Number of equids is in brackets. 2. M = male, F = female.

**Table 6-03. Pit Burials**Meroitic

	Number horses	Number donkeys	Number small equids	Associated Complex	Sex <sup>1</sup>	Reference
<u>Meroë</u> S193 <sup>2</sup>	1					Dunham 1963, p. 441-443

Post-MeroiticGammai

Gam J4/J5	1					Bates & Dunham 1927, p. 84, pl. 44
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Qustul

Q5	15	9	3	Qu3		Williams 1991, p. 225
Q20	17	1	2	Qu3		ibid, p. 231
Q26	3			Qu3	1M, 2F	ibid, p. 231, pl. 128a
Q39	1			Qu10	M	ibid, p. 223, pl. 28b
Q39		1		Qu10	F	ibid
Q265	5			Qu36	3M	ibid, p. 225.
Total (horses)	42				7M, 2F	
Total (donkeys)		11			1F	
Total (small equids)			5			

Notes: 1. M = male, F = female. 2. This is more likely to be an individual's pet that was given special burial than an animal sacrificed for funerary purposes.

## Notes

1. There are very few horse burials known in Egypt or Nubia before the Meroitic period. Only one, the early 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty Theban horse, predates the Napatan period apart from those at Buhen and Soleb. After having a saddle blanket placed on its back, this horse was wrapped in linen and placed in its coffin (Chard 1937; Boessneck 1970). The only other horse burials from Egypt are the Ptolemaic Saqqara horses. One was mummified and placed in a coffin, the second, sans head, was placed on a reed mat, and the third only survived as a hoof (Quibell and Olver 1926). These four horses may represent valued individuals and pets that were buried by their owners. They were not deliberately killed.
2. Dixon and Clutton-Brock 1979.
3. Clutton-Brock 1974.
4. Ducos 1971; Nibbi 1979.
5. Ducos 1971.
6. See **Figure 6-01**, Dunham 1950.
7. Dunham 1950, 111-117.
8. The Napatan rulers seem to have abandoned the earlier Kerma funerary practice of both human and animal sacrifice. Perhaps their need to be seen as the rightful successors to the Pharaohs led to an adoption of more Egyptian-type practices (Flores 1996)?
9. Bökönyi (1993) states that ‘...skull fragments and almost complete sets of teeth could be observed.’ Dunham (1950, p. 111) that ‘...in no case was a skull found...’.
10. Dunham 1950, p. 111. This explains the poor preservation of the skulls because robbers would concentrate on the areas where the most valuable objects were placed.
11. Dunham 1950, p. 115.
12. Dunham 1950, p. 110.
13. Dunham 1950, p. 111-117.
14. The horse would be sacrificed then skinned with the leg bones and skull left attached to the hide. The hide was stuffed and buried upright in a warrior’s grave to ensure his horse would always be ready for him. No special excavation for the legs was made, but poles could be used to keep the stuffed horse in position (Tomka 1969).
15. Pi<sup>ankhy</sup> expressed disapproval with how the Egyptians treated their horses (Grimal 1981). He also had a procession of horses, either his favourites or offerings / gifts to Amun, depicted on the

walls of the temple to Amun at Gebel Barkal (Kendall 1997).

16. Lenoble 1994, p. 121.

17. The lone burial in the south cemetery at Meroë is not of the same type although it has been lumped with the Napatan horses (eg. Lenoble 1994). This grave contained the complete skeleton of a young animal which was placed on its side in a pit with rounded ends. No artifacts were found (Dunham 1963, p. 441, 443). It may be a beloved pet that died early and was interred by its owner.

18. Kirwan 1967, p. 72.

19. Other tombs (eg. Beg N20) contain bone fragments, but what animal they are from is not stated. Horse tack, the remains of bits, saddles and bells are known from twenty-six pyramids (Dunham 1957; Lenoble 1994). Other tombs (eg. Beg N20) contain bone fragments, but what animal they are from is not stated. Horse tack, the remains of bits, saddles and bells are known from twenty-six pyramids (Dunham 1957; Lenoble 1994).

20. A horse in tomb A11, and two donkeys in A14. Kirwan 1939, p. 3-4, 10-11.

21. A horse in tomb Y1. Bates and Dunham 1927, p. 89.

22. Török 1986.

23. Kirwan 1967, p. 69.

24. Complexes Qu36, pit Q265; Qu3, pit Q26. Williams 1991, p. 231, 275.

25. Complex Qu3, pits Q5 and Q20. Williams 1991, p. 225, 231.

26. Gammai pits J4 and J5 contained one horse between them, half in each pit. Bates and Dunham 1927, p. 84. Gammai pits J4 and J5 contained one horse between them, half in each pit. Bates and Dunham 1927, p. 84.

27. Complex Qu10, pit Q39. Williams 1991, p. 223.

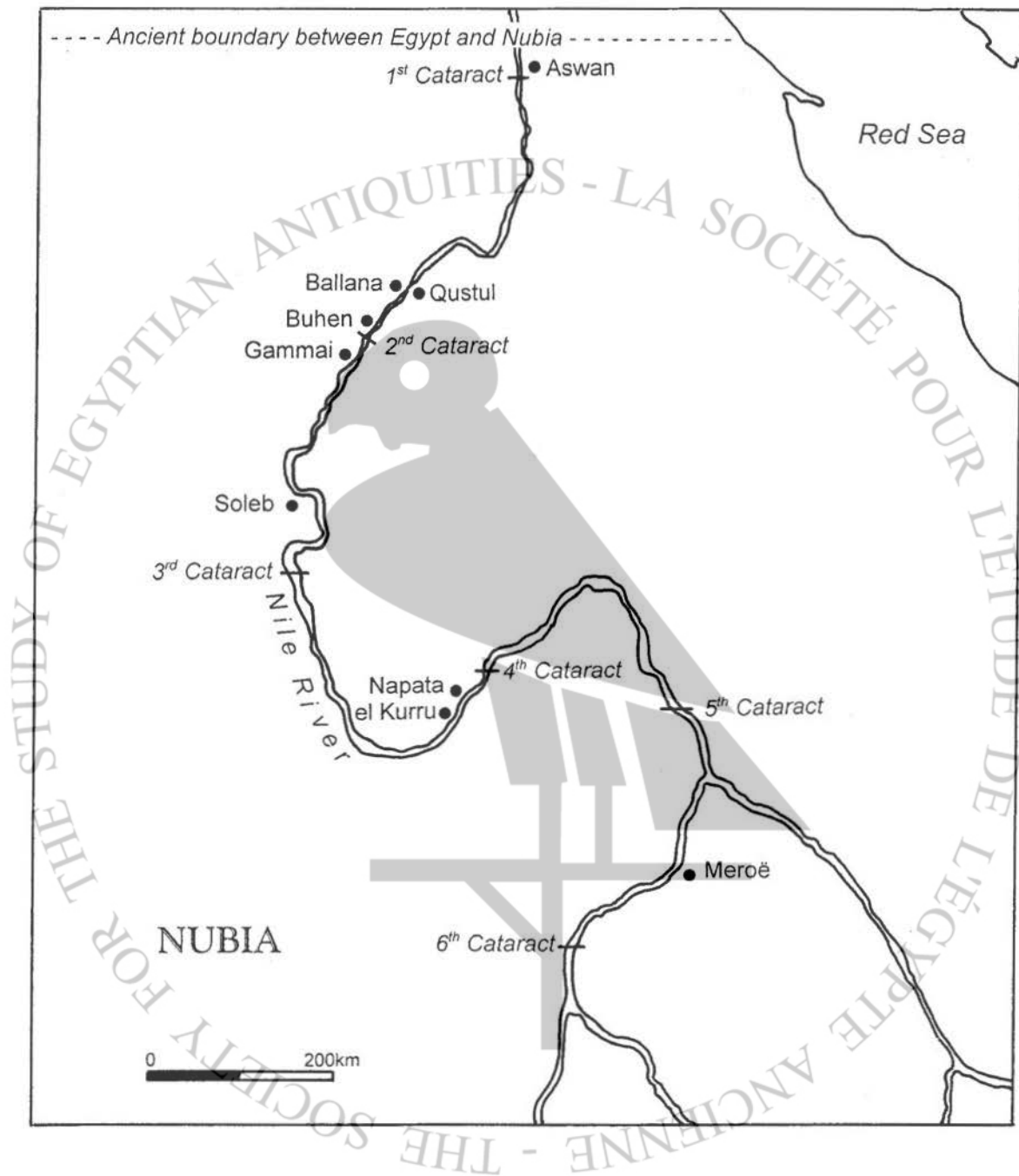
28. These are also called bridle teeth or tushes. As they can interfere with the action of a bit, modern riders often have them removed.

29. Sisson 1961, p. 398.

30. Sisson 1961, p. 400, note 1.

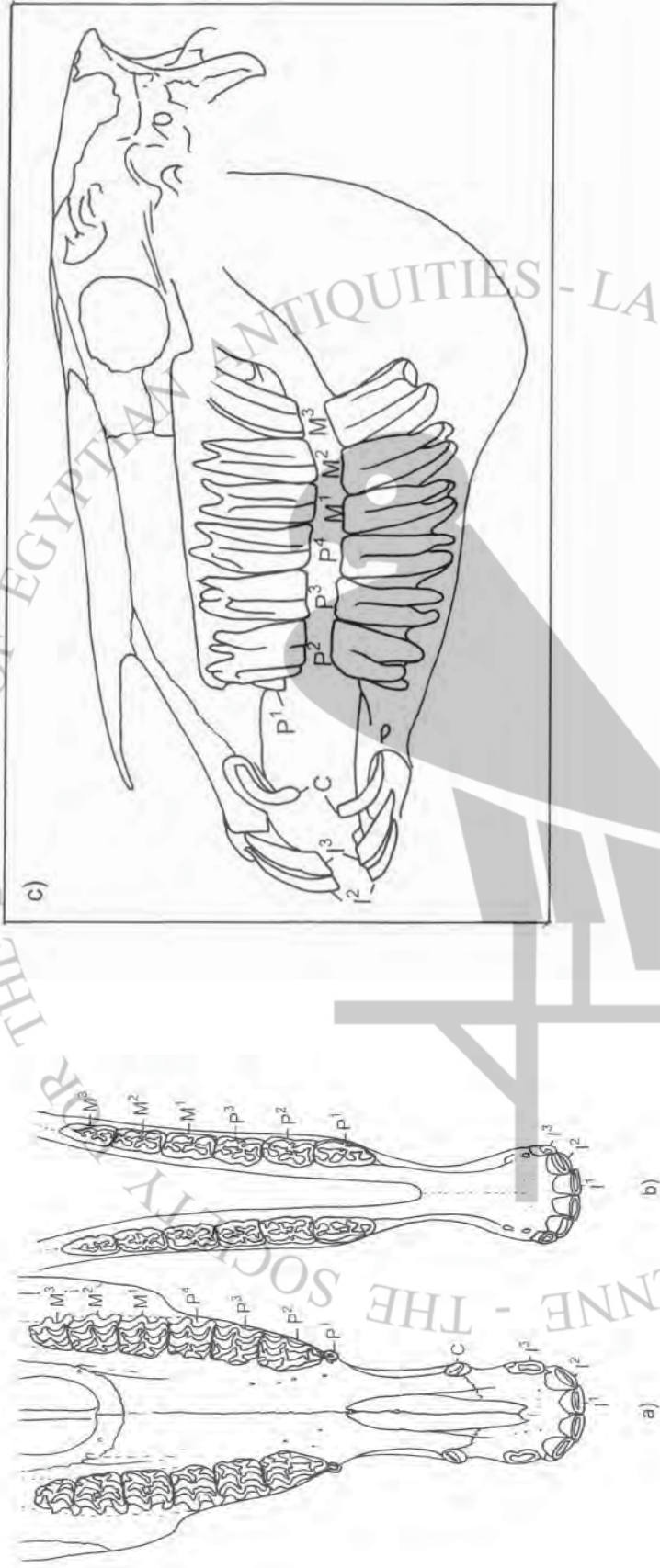
31. It is possible that stallions were gelded after they reached physical maturity (6 years). Gelding at this age retains the physical traits of a stallion and makes the horse easier to handle. Horsemen refer to horses gelded this late in life as 'proud cut'.

32. Sisson 1961, p. 405.
33. Bökönyi 1993.
34. Dunham 1957, p. 121.
35. Dental formula for a stallion: 12 incisors, 4 canine, 12 or 14 premolars, 12 molars; total 40 or 42. Sisson 1961, p. 398.
36. Dental formula for a mare: 12 incisors, 12 or 14 premolars, 12 molars; total 36 or 38. Sisson 1961, p. 398.
37. Dunham 1957, p. 125.
38. The Beg N5 animal has 8 incisors and 25 molars (Dunham 1957, p. 125) compared to a horse's 12 incisors and 12 molars. Even if a horse's 12 premolars are included, there are still not enough incisors. Bovine dentition consists of 8 incisors, 12 premolars, 12 molars; total 32 (Sisson 1961, p. 451).
39. One also needs to account for the sex ratio in horses. Due to sex-linked lethal genes, more females survive gestation and infancy than males (Jones and Bogart 1971, p. 127). Thus the ancient Nubians would have fewer stallions available than mares. Considering the value of chariot horses, sacrificing large numbers of stallions is a statement of wealth.
40. Emery and Kirwan 1938, v.I, p. 262.
41. Three were found in Q3, the other in Q31. They may have been worn by the tomb owner's favourite horses. Emery and Kirwan 1938, v. I, p. 256-257.
42. The people using these devices must have been expert horsemen. An inexperienced rider could easily do permanent damage to the horse's jaw. A reining system similar to that used by modern Western riders may have been used. This method controls the horse by touching the reins to the side of the neck to indicate direction rather than exerting pressure on the bit. A bit is only as severe as the person using it.
43. Emery and Kirwan 1938, v. I, p. 254-256.
44. Emery and Kirwan 1938, v. I, p. 259-262.



**Figure 6-01**  
**Map of Nubia showing sites where horse burials occurred.**





**Figure 6-02**

Teeth of a male horse about (a) four and one-half years (upper jaw),

(b) four years (lower jaw), and (c) about five years old.

I = incisor, C = canine, P = premolar, M = molar. Note the position of the canines.  
 (After Sisson 1961, figs. 334, 340, 341).



## 7. MESAID MISCELLANEA

Suzanne Onstine

### Abstract

This study is a preliminary examination of the predynastic material (mostly ceramics) excavated by G. Reisner at the site of Mesaid. The collection is currently housed in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

### Key Words

Naga ed-Der, predynastic, pottery, Nagada I-III

*This paper is dedicated to Nicholas B. Millet, museum curator, cat lover, my thesis advisor, and a special person to many.*

While working at Boston's Museum of Fine Arts cataloguing and identifying all the museum's predynastic material for a Museum Loan Network grant,<sup>1</sup> I became very familiar with the ceramic assemblage from a little known Upper Egyptian predynastic cemetery called Mesaid. Mesaid is part of a series of cemeteries at Naga ed-Dêr across the river from modern Girga in Upper Egypt.<sup>2</sup> The purpose of this paper is to expose some of the possibilities for further research on this collection and to bring to light some of the problems encountered when dealing with the Mesaid material.

In two field seasons at Mesaid in 1910 and 1913, the Harvard University-MFA expedition under the direction of George Reisner was responsible for excavating hundreds of individual burials. In fact, they seem to have cleared the entire cemetery. The site was identified by Quibell, Chief Inspector of Antiquities at the time, as a site in need of rescue from looters.<sup>3</sup> Apparently Reisner, and more specifically his assistant Fisher since Reisner was not present for much of the excavation, took this seriously and did not leave much in which the grave robbers would be interested.

The objects in the MFA's collection are those which were allotted to the institution in the division of finds by the Antiquities service. Many items are currently unaccessioned but they form a significant percentage of the predynastic artifacts at the MFA. The number of computer records with a provenance of Mesaid is 1748. This is not to say there are exactly 1748 objects. One of the problems dealing with this assemblage is that the early museum curators and registrars would often separate items for accessioning from other items bearing the same field number, e.g. smaller groups of beads and amulets were often separated from the larger assemblage of beads from a tomb, even if all the beads were clearly from one necklace, and all bore the same field number in the object register. Does one count the necklace as one object, or each individual bead as an object?

Additionally, there are several cases where a Mesaid provenance is not 100% certain due to the poor record keeping of the excavators and subsequent storage problems. An unfortunate shipboard fire is also the culprit for information loss as some pieces have smoke damage which obliterates tomb numbers written on objects in pencil at the time of excavation.

Those problems notwithstanding, that Mesaid is not published is truly a significant lacuna in predynastic studies, as the site contained material from the length and breadth of the era. The museum's excavation records include information about scores of then-intact tombs, including sketched plans on tomb cards indicating where bodies and grave goods were found in each grave. The object recording was rudimentary, but most objects were indicated on the tomb card either drawn or included as part of an object list (see **Figures 7-01 to 7-05**). The objects themselves were marked in pencil or ink with the number of the tomb from which they came. Objects that were sent to the MFA in the division of finds had been later marked with a red "x" or "MFA" on the tomb card. Objects found in the collection labeled as coming from Mesaid, but which were not indicated on the tomb card, were added, as seen on the card for M 509 (**Figure 7-05**), but may have been misidentified and mislabeled. Attempts to match pots with field numbers, tomb cards and photos is the current focus of research.<sup>4</sup>

There are two main styles of burial; Naqada I-II oval pits and Naqada II-III rectangular graves. My initial impression is that there is a temporal and spatial arrangement of graves due to the fact that the early graves were more commonly found in the first season. Since the excavators would not have known from the surface, I assume that they happened to start in an area which had some degree of homogeneity. Unfortunately, there is no map of the distribution of graves from the first season as there is for the second season. A plan showing the general area of each season's work exists but contains no information about individual graves. The second season's map makes no reference to previously excavated graves but shows several clusters of Naqada II-III burials, and is plagued by the same misnumbering errors as the tomb cards and object register.

In addition to a fiber-mat covering the body, these graves contained a wealth of small objects and pottery dating from Naqada I to the early Dynastic period. Non-pottery artifacts include greywacke palettes (e.g. 11.203, 11.209), flint tools (e.g. 11.251, 11.257), weapons (e.g. 11.195), shell bracelets (e.g. 13.3745), ivory objects (e.g. 11.297), beads (e.g. 13.3742, 13.3741), and stone vessels (e.g. 13.3803, 13.3827).<sup>5</sup> Some of the graves were apparently disturbed in antiquity. A pattern of broken objects and disarray at the head area of many graves may indicate an ancient practice of looking for valuable items which were generally placed near the head of the individual.

Of the 1748 Mesaid records about 83% are pottery records. Ceramic material from Mesaid is generally in good condition. Many whole pots and reconstructable vessels line the shelves of the basement storage area. While one could assume that only those in good condition were deemed worthy of shipping back to the United States, the excavation photos show that many vessels were indeed intact when found or missing only a small fraction of their pieces. It will never be known if the smaller sherds and random broken pieces were simply ignored in the excavation process, but it does seem likely that only large fragments or pieces of reconstructable vessels were collected and recorded since there are few bags of the kind of random bits and pieces that one usually finds in an excavation.

Ware-types generally follow Petrie's typology for Predynastic ceramics:

- R ware; Rough ware, made of brown Nile silt with straw and stony inclusions was extremely common, especially small shoulder jars with pointed bases (e.g. 13.5446);
- P ware; Polished Redwares are well represented in several shapes, mainly jars

and bowls (e.g. 11.687, 11.323), but also fancy shapes like a bird shaped jar (13.3933);

- B ware; Black-topped Redwares were common, especially jars, beakers and bowls (e.g. 11.302, 11.633, 13.5106);
- C and D ware; Very few decorated pots were found, but some were of very good quality (e.g. 13.3955 and 11.318, both D ware vessels). Very few C ware vessels were found, but those that were are of high quality and are decorated with hippos or chevron designs (e.g. 11.312, 11.315);
- W ware; Wavy handled pottery in various forms were also popular (e.g. 13.3958, 13.3961, 13.5364).

There is one class of objects which form an interesting sub-group, not because they are among the lovely black-topped redware beakers or white and red-figured vessels that the predynastic period is famous for, but rather since they give us a glimpse at the functionality of pottery. During the cataloguing process, several ware and vessel types stood out as predominant. For instance, one grouping often found together in a grave was nick-named “the salad set” as it consisted of a large redware bowl and several smaller redware or plain Nile silt bowls. It was these bowls that caught my attention.

The larger bowls are about 10 cm tall and have a diameter of about 20 cm. They have straight sides, plain rims, and are sometimes polished on the interior, but not the exterior. The smaller bowls are also fairly uniform. They all have slightly convex sides, a diameter of less than 10 cm at their plain rims, a volume of about one cup, and are all made of smoothed light brownish-red Nile silt without inclusions or polish (sometimes called buff, redware, or Nile silt in the museum’s database, depending on each pot’s appearance). Both the large and small bowls sometimes had gouges in the exterior surface. At first I dismissed the marks as accidents of manufacture; a slip of the smoothing instrument or a pocket left by burned-out chaff, as is common in Petrie’s R ware types. However, upon seeing hundred of pots from this cemetery, it became clear that these seemingly random marks were in fact following a kind of pattern.

The marks consisted of gashes arranged in various ways: e.g., two next to each other, two making a 45 degree angle like a “V,” or single gashes. Another variety combined dots with the gashes or dots alone. It was these dots along with the gashes that led me to suspect the other gashes had meaning. The marks appear on the exterior of the bowl, usually toward the base on the lower half of the vessel or on the base. The marks were made in wet clay with what appears to have been a blunt tipped object (e.g. a stick). They are often not very deeply depressed, nor are they of immediately recognizable forms. See for example **Figures 7-06 to 7-08**.

Several possible explanations for these marks come to mind. They may represent the marks of different makers or otherwise serve to identify the vessels and distinguish them from others of similar manufacture.<sup>6</sup> However, the marks do not occur on different vessel types as one would expect a maker’s mark to do. Further, the marks did not occur on storage vessels where such a mark could indicate contents for long term storage or trade products.

It seems possible that the marks indicate a measure of volume. Consultation with Antoine Hirsch of the University of Toronto, who is completing his doctoral degree on metrology in Ancient Egypt, confirms that some configurations of the marks may be early

forms of fractions based on the Eye of Horus system. Alternatively, the marks may indicate specific contents to be used in the bowls, the way we might mark spice jars in the kitchen. Further examination of the bowls and a determination of their actual volumes is planned and should illuminate some of these ideas. Comparison of similar potmarks from contemporary predynastic sites will also be useful.

This paper is intended only as an introduction to the material and in no way represents conclusive data. Much more work needs to be done sorting through the records and matching objects to their correct grave before a distribution analysis can be done, and an accurate date can be assigned to each grave. Several avenues of inquiry are planned for future research and hopefully one day Mesaid will be able to take its place among other important predynastic sites.

University of Memphis

#### Notes

1. I was assisted in this task by Rebeca Donahue, Elizabeth Pluta, and many of the museum's volunteers and student interns. Thanks to them and the staff of the Art of the Ancient World department for all their support. I also owe special thanks to Sophia Teller for providing the scanned images for this report, as well as her work cleaning the pots.
2. The other cemeteries of Naga ed-Dêr are Sheikh Farag and Mesheikh, artifacts from which are also in the MFA's collection. See E. Brovarski, *LÄ* 296-317 for a summary of the excavation work at the Naga ed-Dêr cemeteries.
3. Brovarski, *LÄ* 296.
4. The recording is riddled with mistakes in numbering, and many tombs for which we think we have objects have no tomb cards, the primary source of information for both seasons of excavation. Additionally, many pots have no numbers on them at all and can not be definitively associated with any known tomb. Diane Flores has been attempting to sort out the unnumbered and mislabeled pots and match them with photo records and those marked with a red "x" on the tomb cards that have not been identified in the collection. Only the later season has a field register of objects and there is little documentation to refer to for information (no diary and photo register records are minimal). With all these deficiencies in recording it is easy to see why no full publication has been undertaken.
5. Currently, much of the MFA's collection can be searched online using fields such as accession number, provenance or keyword at: [http://www.mfa.org/collections/search\\_art.asp](http://www.mfa.org/collections/search_art.asp).
6. Patricia Podzorski of the University of Memphis is working on tracing predynastic trade and manufacture zones via pottery comparisons (paper given at 2005 ARCE meetings in Boston, MA, April 2005).



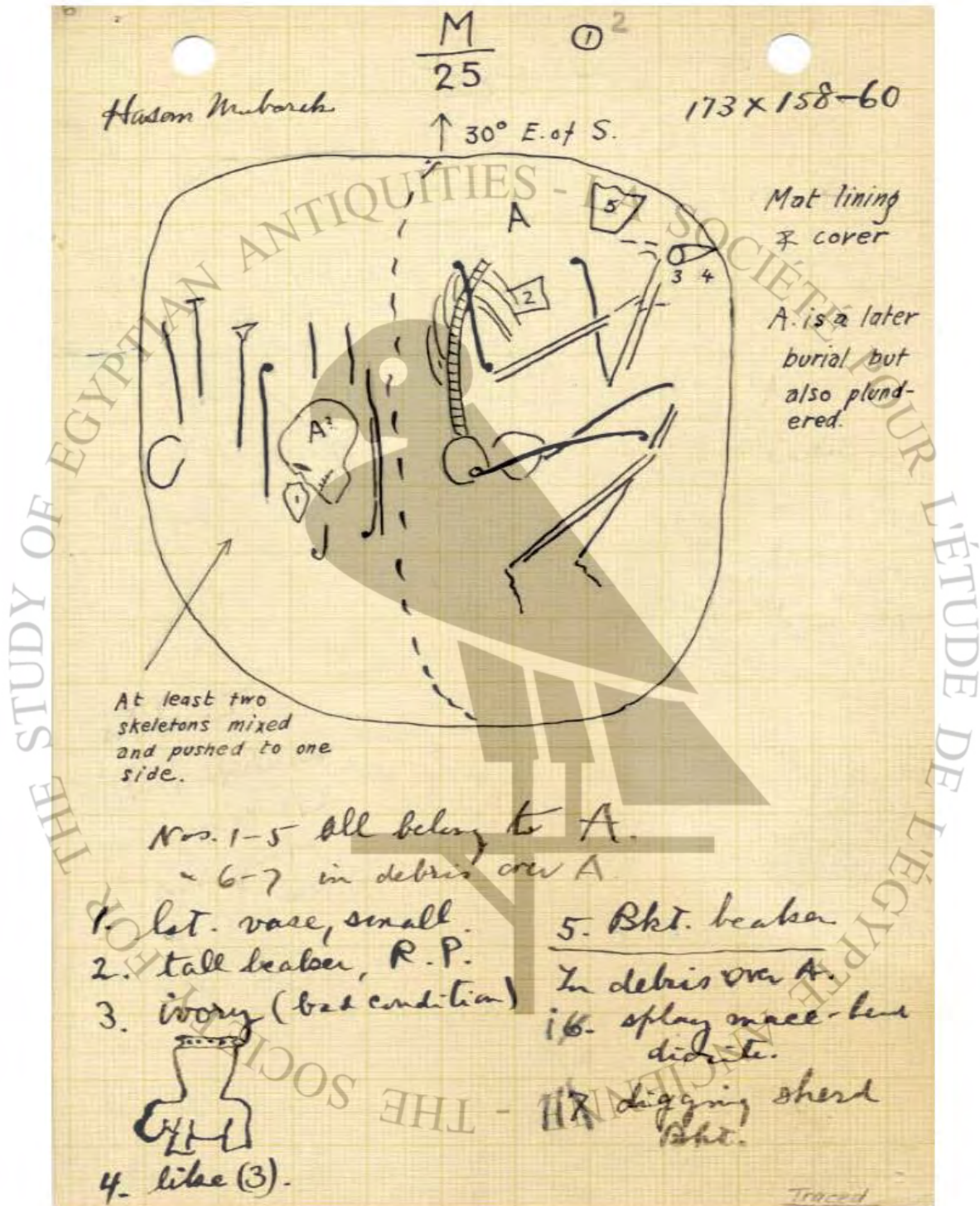


Figure 7-01



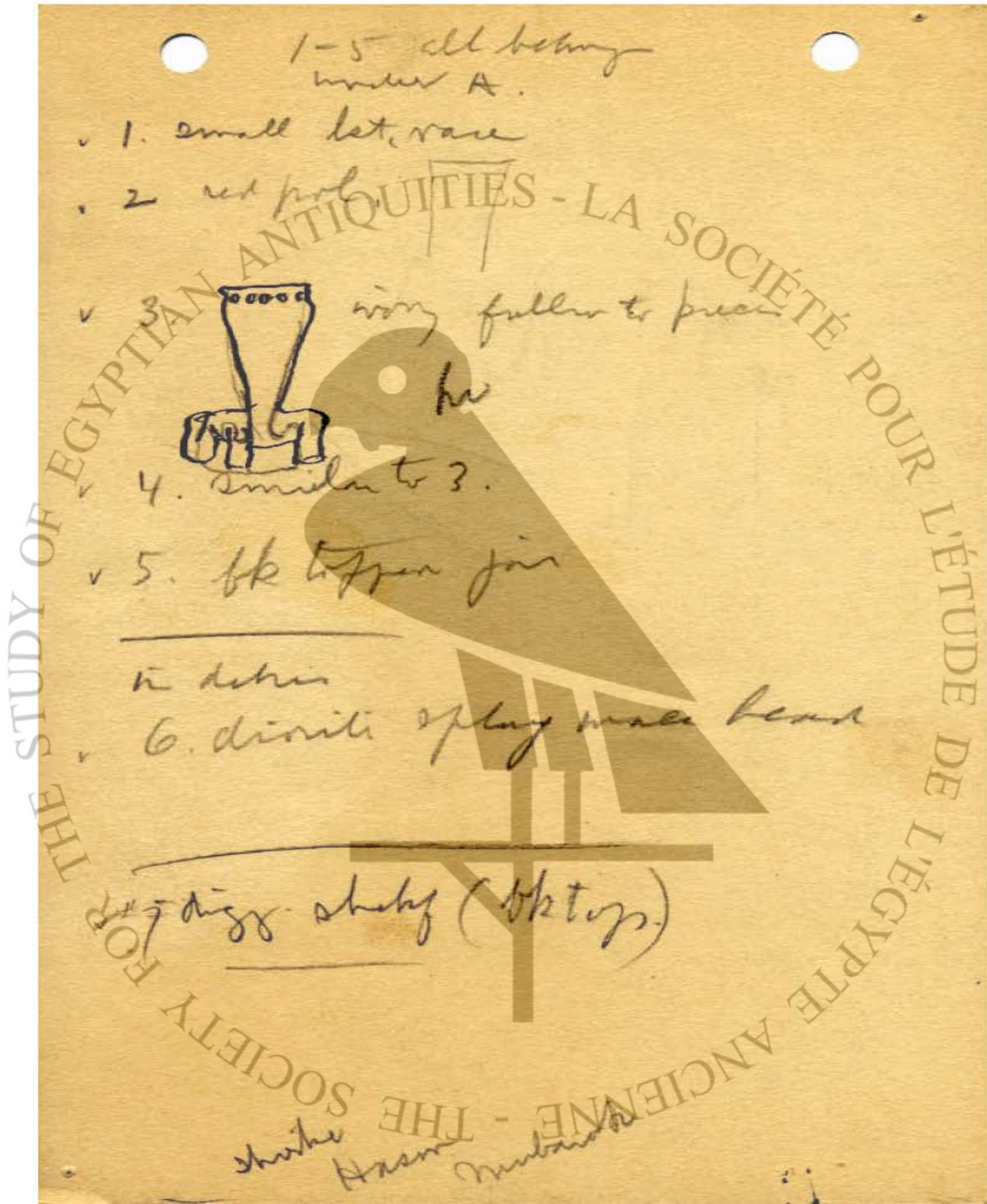


Figure 7-02

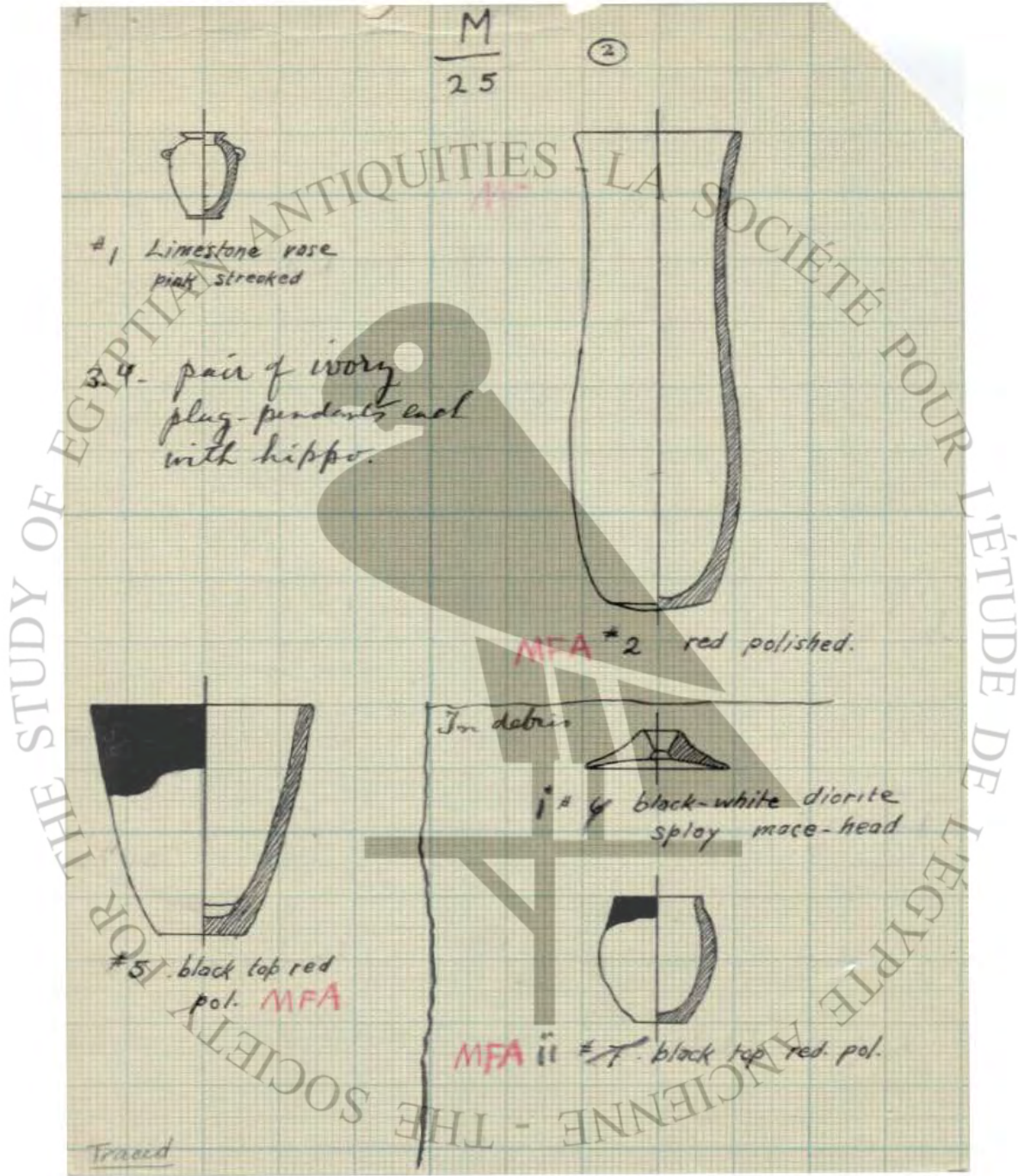


Figure 7-03



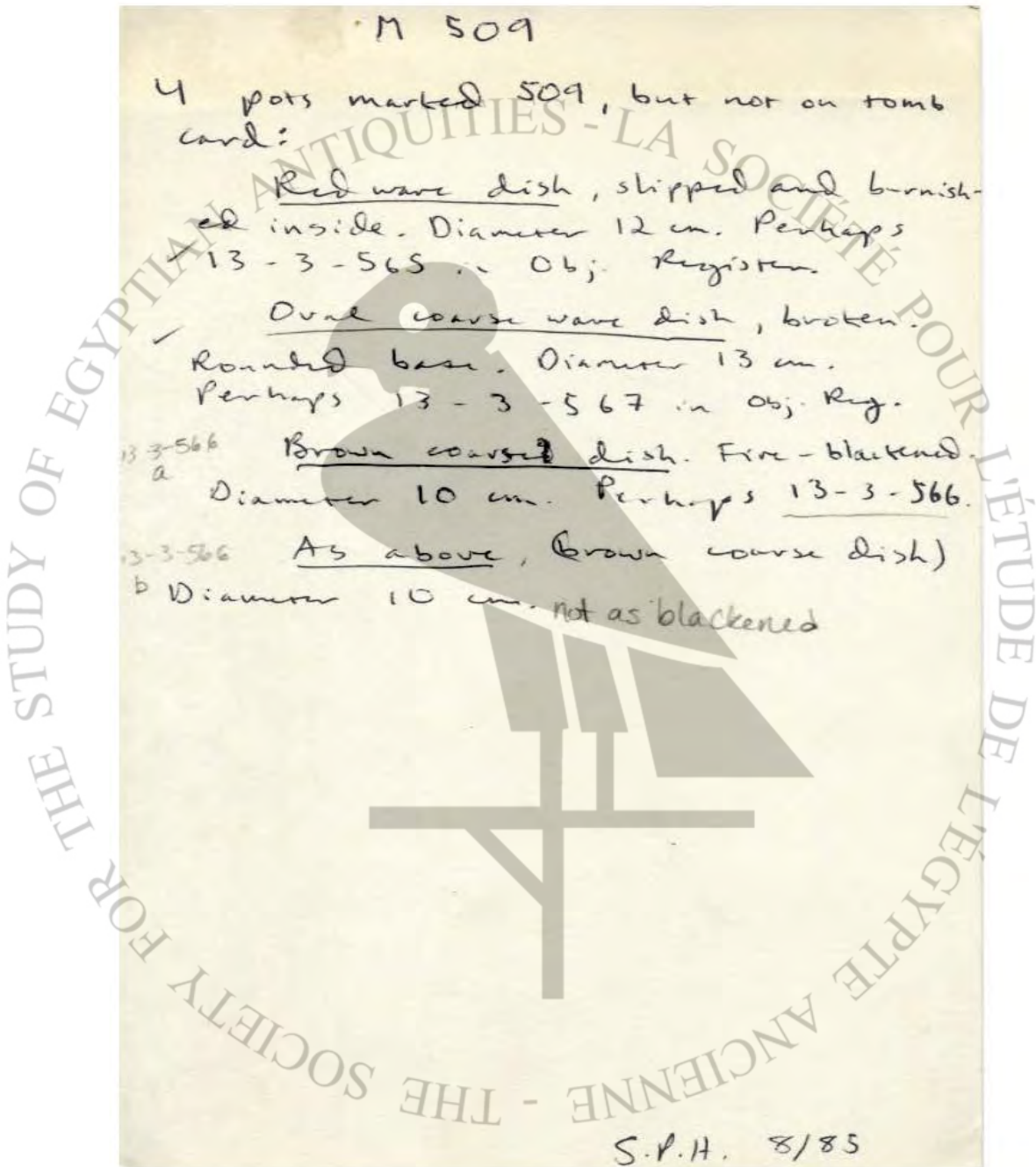


Figure 7-04



Figure 7-05



Figure 7-06



Figure 7-08



Figure 7-07

Examples of Mesaid pottery with pottery marks.



## 8. AEGYPTIACA TITANICA<sup>1</sup>

Sara E. Orel

### Abstract

This paper focuses on the intersection of the popular and scholarly aspects of Egyptology with the sinking of the Titanic, one of the big news events of the early twentieth century. Several of the passengers had been returning to the United States from a winter spent at least in part in Egypt and the presence of artifacts among their souvenirs and the survival of this material is discussed, as is the legend of the “mummy’s curse” that supposedly doomed the ship. The entanglement of ancient Egypt and the sinking of the Titanic provides an intriguing example of the way that scholars and tourists each construct the past, and the way that past is valued, both socially and monetarily.

### Keywords

Titanic, ushabti (shawabti), curse, Molly Brown, Denver, shipwreck

Since antiquity Egypt has been the subject of popular fascination, a place for destination travel, a treasure trove of intriguing souvenirs, and the subject of stories, sometimes holding a kernel of reality, sometimes with no clear connection to actual events. This paper focuses on the intersection of the popular and scholarly aspects of Egyptology with one of the big news events of the early twentieth century. The sinking of the Titanic in 1912 occasioned tremendous press coverage at the time, and some early articles connected the tragedy with a mythical “mummy’s curse” that was supposed to have doomed the ship. This supposed curse, discussed below, is not the only direct connection between the two subjects; there were several who had traveled to Egypt on board the ship and the presence of artifacts among their souvenirs and the survival of this material will also be discussed.

The exoticism of the orient, the eeriness of a culture so permeated by the presence of the dead, and the relationship between Egypt and the Bible, both Old and New Testaments, assured that Egypt was a part of an extended Grand Tour by the mid nineteenth century.<sup>2</sup> As travel became less strenuous in the early twentieth century the pyramids were still an exotic but nevertheless accessible destination for the adventurous North American. Wealthy tourists could meet up with each other in this distant location, sharing their memories on the return journey.

The general outlines of the Titanic story are engraved in the popular imagination through historical accounts and fictional presentations in literature and film, including the Academy Award-winning movie. It was the largest ship in the world, sunk by an iceberg on her maiden voyage. Less than half those on board survived, both because the ship lacked sufficient lifeboats for the number of passengers and the fact that many of the insufficient lifeboats left the ship with far fewer people they could have held.

As with many other disasters, some immediate attempts to explain it drew on supernatural causes. While human agency was also blamed by some, shortly after the sinking there were stories in circulation that the ship was lost because of a “mummy’s curse.” The outline of the legend is presented, among other locations, on the web site of the British Museum’s Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan.<sup>3</sup> In fact, the “Unlucky Mummy” story

predates the sinking of the Titanic. The “mummy” in question is actually an inner coffin lid from the burial of an unnamed twenty-second dynasty woman (EA 22542).<sup>4</sup> While in private hands, this object was purported to have been responsible for damage in whatever room it was placed, and it was credited with bad luck and even deaths. The mummy was given to the British Museum, but the disasters associated with it continued. Because of these continued problems the museum sold it to an American who was bringing it to the United States on the Titanic. Some versions of the story say it survived this sinking by being taken off the ship on a lifeboat,<sup>5</sup> while other narratives leave the mummy on the ship when it sank.

The earliest publication linking the Titanic sinking with a mummy’s curse was *The New York World*, four days after the sinking. Frederic K. Seward, a first-class passenger saved from the ship, reported that the journalist and social crusader William T. Stead, who was editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette* as well as a periodical devoted to psychic phenomena, had told him the story in the First Class Dining Saloon. According to the article “Story that Meant Bad Luck Told by Stead During Trip,” the mummy case “had had amazing adventures, but . . . punished with great calamities any person who wrote its story.” This being the circumstance, Stead had insisted that he would never write the story, but apparently did not think that simply telling the story would bring that bad fortune.<sup>6</sup>

While the object does exist, with the accession number noted in an early newspaper account,<sup>7</sup> it has never left the collection of the British Museum; in fact, it has only been on loan from the museum once since it was donated.<sup>8</sup> There is, of course, no evidence at all that any mummy was taken off the ship and placed on a lifeboat; there are no contemporary accounts of a mummy having even been loaded onto the ship as cargo.<sup>9</sup>

However, it is not just storytelling that connects ancient Egypt with the Titanic. More than two dozen passengers on board the ship were returning from winter travels which included Egypt. The majority of these were in first class:<sup>10</sup> the richest passenger, millionaire John Jacob Astor IV,<sup>11</sup> and his pregnant wife Madeleine\*; Astor’s servant Victor Robbins, Madeleine’s maid Rosalie Bidois\* and nurse Caroline Louise Endres\*; Dickinson H. Bishop\* and his wife Helen\*; Emil Brandeis; Margaret Tobin Brown\*;<sup>12</sup> Henry Sleeper Harper\* and his wife Myra\* and their servant Hamad Hassab\*;<sup>13</sup> Arthur Webster Newell and his daughters Madeleine\* and Marjorie\*; Engelhart Cornelius Ostby and his daughter Helen\* (var. Helene); Lily Potter\* and her daughter Olive Potter Earnshaw\*; John Hugo Ross; Lucian Philip Smith\* and his wife (Mary) Eloise\*; and Frank Manley Warren and his wife Anna\*. Second class passenger William Hull Botsford had also been traveling in Egypt. Of these passengers, the Astors, Bishops, and the Smiths were on their honeymoons.

As noted above, more and more wealthy Americans traveled to Egypt during the early years of the twentieth century. They would visit the Pyramids of Giza and the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, hire a boat to travel up the Nile to see some of the more important sites, and purchase souvenirs. Margaret Tobin Brown’s trip is the best documented of any passenger. She was a colourful character and never shy of the press, which was quite interested in her experiences in the spring of 1912, so we know about her excursion with the Astors. They met up with her daughter in Paris and Helen traveled with them to the east.<sup>14</sup> They apparently spent their time in Egypt in the vicinity of Cairo only. Brown’s December 31<sup>st</sup>, 1912, insurance claim, witnessed in “Weisbaden” in Germany, by a consular agent, includes a line for “Souvenirs (Egypt)” in the amount of \$500.<sup>15</sup> The next item on the list is “3 crates ancient models for Denver Museum,” also valued at \$500.<sup>16</sup>



Brown actually carried one object from Egypt with her off the ship, a small faience ushabti about three inches in length.<sup>17</sup> She presented this as a personal thank you to Arthur H. Rostron, captain of the *Carpathia*, the ship that picked up the survivors.<sup>18</sup> This was a small piece, clearly kept in her cabin and thus easy to pick up at the last moment. The other souvenirs she purchased in Egypt are not recorded anywhere and thus it is not even certain that this \$500 included antiquities. But it would not be surprising if it did. This was still a period when minor antiquities could be purchased as souvenirs, although the authenticity of such items was often problematic.<sup>19</sup> Non-ancient material that might have been purchased by Brown includes carpets and other textiles, as well as metals including gold-, silver-, and copper work.

There is no other documentation of Egyptian souvenirs on board the ship, but certainly the amount of Margaret Tobin Brown's claim is intriguing and may indicate the purchase of more than just objects designed for the tourist, whether relatively contemporary artistic products, such as an expensive rug or inlaid furniture, or older and more valuable objects of antique or ancient manufacture.

If her purchases or those of others who had been traveling in Egypt included antiquities, there are a few avenues of inquiry that present themselves. The survival of Egyptian objects (both ancient and modern) would be subject to the extreme conditions documented by the explorers of the wreck some two and a half miles down in the North Atlantic.

As shown in photographs of the wreck beginning with the joint French/American expedition that found the ship in 1985, much of the organic material, including human remains, has decayed, but that decay has not been consistent. Examination of the wreck *in situ* and of objects recovered from the debris field beginning in 1987 indicates that some woods have survived. Paper, glass, metals, and ceramics have all been recovered. Leather has lasted particularly well, and has helped to preserve objects that were placed in leather cases, including even cigarettes.<sup>20</sup> Some particularly fragile objects have survived, but others were badly broken in the sinking. The state of preservation depends on where the objects were, both within the ship and in the context of their immediate storage environment, and how they landed on the floor of the ocean. Presumably crated objects would have been relatively securely packed, but items in personal luggage might not have been as carefully stowed.<sup>21</sup> Although several thousand objects have been brought to the surface, the vast majority of the furnishings of the ship remains on the bottom of the North Atlantic and is likely to stay there for the foreseeable future.

While dry and fragile wooden objects and items such as papyrus cannot be expected to have survived intact, other types of antiquities should have been able to withstand the sinking. Items made of stone or faience (such as a second ushabti or a scarab or amulet), metal (a Late Period god statuette or jewelry), or ceramic (this sort of thing would be more likely to be a later Islamic piece, something that would fit into a general orientalist decorating scheme) would still have a good chance of recovery relatively intact. If, of course, they were included in the items picked up by these wealthy travelers to Egypt.

Given the intense interest in the Titanic story over the past century it seems very unlikely that there are letters or other texts available in family archives that would directly address the question of what souvenirs passengers purchased in Egypt. The way to answer this would be to explore the wreck, and attempt to retrieve artifacts, either from staterooms<sup>22</sup> or from stored baggage, that were bought in the course of pre-Titanic travels. However, the expense of retrieval of objects from the ocean floor, even if it were not such a controversial issue in the case of this wreck,<sup>23</sup> makes it unlikely that any academic value could be equal to the cost of obtaining the

material.

The one exception might be the baggage of Margaret Tobin Brown. Because she had bought at least one ancient object, it seems likely that her purchases included some others. By examining her belongings it might be possible to determine what was of such high value to Margaret Tobin Brown and what sorts of souvenirs, including likely attractive antiquities that were not of particular significance, these wealthy Americans purchased in their Middle Eastern sojourn.

Brown's purchases, including the models that were destined for the Denver Art Museum, also bring up an intriguing aspect of the place of the ancient world in the modern (early twentieth century) one. Her status in Denver society prior to the sinking had never been secure. She was intelligent and socially active, but she was Irish, Catholic, liberal, and she and her husband were considered "new money."<sup>24</sup> Her purchase of models for donation to the museum are both a manifestation of the value Brown always placed on education for herself and others, and an example of gifting behavior designed to better the giver as well as the receiver. The ultimate planned destination of the items listed on the insurance claim as "Souvenirs (Egypt)" is not as clear, but the fact that the objects are not listed as being destined for a museum probably means that they were to be kept as personal remembrances, given as gifts within her own family and circle of friends, or displayed in her Denver mansion.

The only item Margaret Tobin Brown saved from her purchases was the faience ushabti, which was given to Captain Rostron. This small, intrinsically low-value object ultimately takes on more social significance than those expensive items lost to the ocean and, were it to be sold at public auction, it would fetch much more than any similar artifact by virtue of its provenance, the "part" it played in the drama of the Titanic tragedy. The entanglement of ancient Egypt and the sinking of the Titanic provides an intriguing example of the way that scholars and tourists each construct the past, and the way that past is valued, both socially and monetarily.

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#### Notes

1. Dedicated to Nick Millet with the warmest thanks for being my supervisor at Toronto. Nick's interest in the Titanic came not only from his enthusiasm for sailing and ships in general; his relative, the painter Francis Millet, was a first class passenger who died in the sinking of the ship. For their assistance with drafts of this paper, I would like to thank my colleagues Anna Goodman, Julia DeLancey, Christine Harker, Amber Johnson, Heather Pulliam, Sally West, and Cole Woodcox.

2. Samuel Clemens (Mark Twain) featured it in his humorous *The Innocents Abroad, or, The new Pilgrim's progress : being some account of the steamship Quaker City's pleasure excursion to Europe and the Holy Land* (San Francisco: H.H. Bancroft, 1869).

3. "The 'Unlucky Mummy'" [www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/aes/faqs/unlucky.html](http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/aes/faqs/unlucky.html) (accessed 20 September 2005). This story is also discussed by Bob Brier, *The Encyclopedia of Mummies* (New York: Facts on File, 1998), 186.

4. This object came into the museum collection in 1889 and remains there, on display.

5. The fact that no one mentioned this lifeboat companion to the press at the time is not explained.

6. *New York World*, Friday, April 19<sup>th</sup>, 1912, 4.

7. *New York World*, Saturday, April 20<sup>th</sup>, 1912, 7.

8. For an exhibition loan to Australia.

9. Of course this does sometimes get explained by the claim that the mummy was hidden, perhaps on the bridge of the ship.

10. This group of passengers makes up more than seven percent of the total number of first class passengers.

11. Astor died in the sinking. Those who were saved are indicated with an asterisk.

12. Mrs. J. J. Brown, as she was generally called (never “Molly”), was on a trip with her daughter. The daughter chose to remain in Paris, but Brown was returning to the United States earlier than planned because of the illness of her grandson (her son’s son). She joined the Astors on the return journey, as she had on the way out.

13. Hamad Hassab or Hassab Hamad? The family name on the immigration documents is given as “Hamad” but he is elsewhere referred to as “Hamad Hassah” (sic) (Walter Lord, *A Night to Remember* [New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1955], 70, who reports that Hassah was “an Egyptian dragoman ... picked up in Cairo as a sort of a joke.” From Lord’s comment, one is left with the rather disconcerting impression that Harper hired this Egyptian servant as if he were just collecting another souvenir).

Hamad was the sole Egyptian on board the ship. He is often omitted from passenger lists, but his name is on the list of passengers from the Titanic who entered the country on the Carpathia (List or Manifest of Alien Passengers for the United States Immigration Officer at Port of Arrival, R.M.S. CARPATHIA), where he is listed as being “Turkish”, the choice that was available to the government authorities completing the document; the two pages listing Hamad are available through US government archives at [www.archives.gov/research/arc/](http://www.archives.gov/research/arc/).

14. The Molly Brown Birthplace and Museum in Hannibal, Missouri, has a photograph of Margaret and her daughter Helen on camels in front of the Sphinx, also reproduced in Kristen Iversen, *Molly Brown: Unraveling the Myth* (Boulder: Johnson Books, 1999), photograph between pages 103 and 104.

15. The insurance claim has been widely reproduced, and a copy of it is on display at the Molly Brown House Museum in Denver. It is illustrated in Stephen J. Spignesi, *The Complete Titanic: from the ship’s earliest blueprints to the epic film* (Secaucus, NJ: Carol Publishing Group, 1998), 221-222. The 2005 equivalent of \$500 is almost \$10,000 (\$9898.93, according to S. Morgan Friedman’s Inflation Calculator

[[www.westegg.com/inflation](http://www.westegg.com/inflation)]).

16. Iversen refers to them as “casts of ancient cities” but notes that what exactly these casts or models consisted of is not known (Iversen, *Molly Brown*, 169). She cites the *Denver Post* (April 27, 1912, 5) that there were “four cases of pictures and models of ancient Roman ruins” (*Molly Brown*, 173 and 272, n. 61). Judith B. Geller writes that she was bringing “two cases of Carrara marble reproductions from the ruins of Rome and the basilicas of Florence” without citing a source for her information (*Titanic: Women and Children First* [New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1998], 37).

17. This is illustrated in Iversen’s book. It is now in the collection of Stanley Lehrer.

18. His name is spelled “Rostron” in many early accounts, but the proper spelling is Rostron (John P. Eaton and Charles A. Haas, *Titanic: Triumph and Tragedy* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc.), 176).

19. Arden Beaman, who traveled in Egypt on a considerably tighter budget than did the first class passengers, writes of the mummified cats and hawks he saw for sale in Luxor that “One imagined their good wives preparing a consignment of the latter once a year, in much the same manner as her old-fashioned Western sister makes the jam” (*Travels without Baedeker* [London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1913], 49). Karl Baedeker warns the traveler that “the ordinary traveler seldom or never secures an authentic specimen” (*Egypt: Handbook for Travellers* [London: Dulau and Co., 1902], 234). For authentic antiquities a permit from the museum was required, but that was often skipped for small items (Baedeker, 29).

20. Gillian Hutchinson, *The Wreck of the Titanic: Titanic Exhibition Guide* (Tonbridge, Kent: Addax Publishing Ltd., 1994), 37.

21. Items such as Brown’s cases of models and souvenirs from Egypt would probably have been stored in the First Class Baggage area toward the bow on the Lower Deck (G), where it was set around the squash court. In a television presentation of a dive on the wreck in 2005, cameras showed the remains of the relatively well-preserved Turkish Bath just one deck above the baggage area (James Cameron, director; Andrew Wight, Producer, “Last Mysteries of the Titanic”, Discovery Channel, July 24, 2005).

22. Which passenger stayed in which cabin is generally well documented, particularly in the case of those traveling in First Class.

23. Although the question of whether the now-discontinued activities of RMS Titanic, Inc., constituted “looting” or “grave robbing” or simply appropriate salvage practice, these actions are recast when considering the possibility of antiquities, which certainly would have been looted from their original Egyptian context to be sold to tourists. Thus one must consider whether the disturbance of the wreck in this particular, relatively narrow, context is as problematic as it might be in the case of other exploration of the ship’s remains.

24. The Brown money came from mines, particularly the 1893 gold strike at the Leadville “Little Jonny Mine” (Iversen, *Molly Brown*, 103-4). The sometimes tense relationship of Margaret Brown with the elite of Denver society is well chronicled in Iversen’s book; see particularly pages 107-9 and 143-4. After the sinking of the Titanic, Brown’s social status in Denver was assured (Iversen, 176-7).







## 9. Ein Osirishymnus der Spätzeit. Textfragmente vom Gebel Barkal

Karl Heinz Priese

### Abstract

This article examines a reconstructed religious hymn to Osiris found amongst a series of blocks from the temple at Gebel Barkal.

### Keywords

Gebel Barkal, hymn to Osiris, creator god, Dedwen, dedication inscription, Late period

Vor einigen Jahren überliess mir Tim Kendall Zeichnungen von beschrifteten Wandblöcken, die im Rahmen der *Museum of Fine Arts Mission at Gebel Barkal* dokumentiert worden sind. Es waren dies Blöcke, die sich in den Räumen 703 und 704 des Tempels B 700 vorfanden. Von den fünf Blöcken, zu den noch ein kleines Fragment hinzukam, waren bereits von Reisner (1918 : 106; pl.xvi) drei bekannt gemacht worden, ein vierter bei Reisner schien jetzt nicht mehr vorhanden gewesen zu sein, einige weitere sind von ihm nur erwähnt worden. Ich bin erst durch eine gelegentliche nähere Betrachtung der Textfragmente zu der Erkenntnis gekommen, dass sie eine Kopie desjenigen Osirishymnus enthalten, der uns in zwei teilweisen Abschriften an der Westwand des Löwentempels in Musawwarat vorliegt und zusammen mit den seinerzeit anderweit bekannten Textzeugen von Hintze (1962 : 33-37) veröffentlicht wurde. Eine Kopie im Isistempel von Philae ist von Żabkar (1981) veröffentlicht und ausführlich besprochen worden. Tim Kendall hat der hier gebotenen Veröffentlichung nicht nur zugestimmt, sondern auch in seinen Unterlagen nach weiteren Fragmenten gesucht, mit dem Ergebnis, dass sowohl der 4. Block bei Reisner als auch neue Blockfragmente hinzugekommen sind. Für beides auch hier meinen herzlichen Dank. Die Zeichnungen, die ich hier wiedergeben darf, sind von N. Beaux, L. Holden und T. Kendall im Felde gefertigt worden. Zusätzlich liegen mir von einigen Blöcken Fotos vor. Meine Wiedergabe kann die endgültige Veröffentlichung nicht ersetzen, aber, wie ich hoffe, zu genauerer Erfassung des Befundes am Original beitragen. Die neugefundenen Fragmente gehören zwar nicht alle in einen direkten Zusammenhang mit der Wiedergabe des Hymnentextes, ansonsten aber doch vermutlich in den Zusammenhang eines Dekorationsprogrammes.

Zum Verständnis sind einige Vorbemerkungen zur archäologischen Situation in B 700 nötig. Der Tempel ist bekanntlich von Atlanersa erbaut und mit Reliefs versehen worden, von seinem Nachfolger Senkamanisken stammen weitere Reliefdekoration und ein Obelisk. Die Reliefdekoration in Raum 703 aus der Zeit des Atlanersa ist in vertieftem Relief und dementsprechend die hieroglyphischen Texte in vertieften Schriftzeichen ausgeführt worden, nur erhalten an den türseitigen Wandteilen und an der linken Längswand. In meroitischer Zeit sind die rechte und die rückseitige Wand erneuert worden, in letzterer ist eine Kultbildnische (Raum 704) eingetieft worden, wie wir sie auch sonst in meroitischen Tempeln vorfinden (Musawwarat Grosse Anlage, Tempel 100; Naqa Tempel F). Der gesamte inschriftliche Befund macht es sicher, dass der Tempel für Amun erbaut wurde. Im Widerspruch dazu stehen die hier zu besprechenden Blöcke, deren Inschriften und Relieffragmente sich allesamt auf einen Osiriskult beziehen und die erhaben gearbeitet und überdies unvollendet geblieben sind. Figuren und Schriftzeichen sind nur im Umriss

angelegt. Von den Blöcken und Fragmenten waren in B 704 zwei verbaut, die übrigen wurden in den Räumen B 703 und B 704 verworfen vorgefunden bis auf drei, die von Kendall in B 702 gefunden worden sind.

Sie können keine Fragmente der türseitigen bzw. linken Wandflächen von Raum B 703 oder von Wänden des Raumes B 702 sein. Die ursprüngliche Dekoration von rechter und rückseitiger Wand ist wie gesagt nicht mehr vorhanden. Für Reisner kam damit in den Blick, dass die erhaltenen gearbeitete Dekoration an die rückseitige Wand gehören könne.

Von diesen Blöcken und Fragmenten lassen sich die Mehrzahl zwei einander antithetisch zugeordneten Szenen zuweisen:

A der König schreitet nach links auf einen nach rechts gewandten Gott zu, (**Figure 9-01**).

**Block 1:** Bruchstück einer Widmungsinschrift über der Darstellung des Himmels wie auf den Blöcken B 1, B 2 und B 3, aber nach rechts laufend. Der Text nennt das Beiwort des bewidmeten Gottes, „grosser Gott in Napa(ta)“.

**Block 2:** in zwei Bruchstücken mit der Königstitulatur (4.u.5.Titel) nach links und einer senkrechten Schriftzeile nach rechts gewandt mit u.a. dem Namen des Osiris.

**Block 3:** zeigt in Umrissen den fliegenden Geier oder Falken über dem Epitheton „geliebt von Osiris“, möglicherweise rechts hinter der Titulatur von Block 2 anzuordnen, vielleicht sogar Teil von Block 2, aber in Raum B 702 gefunden.

**Block 4:** ein Fragment mit den Resten des 4. und 5. Namens des Atlanersa, könnte unter die Titulatur von Block 2 angeordnet werden.

**Block 5** (= Block D bei Reisner 1918 : 106 fig. 3): mit den Resten von drei senkrechten Zeilen nach rechts gewandt. Von der 4. Zeile sind auf dem Foto vorerst nicht deutbare Zeichenreste zu erkennen.

Vermutlich zu Szene A gehören auch die beiden Blockfragmente

**Block 6:** mit der Darstellung von zwei der vier „Horussöhne“, Kebehsenuf und Duamutef, nach rechts gewandt, und

**Block 7:** mit der Beischrift zu einem opfernden nach links schreitenden König: „(Schlagen des) Weissbrotes für (seinen)Vater (.....)“.

Die senkrechten Zeilen von Block 2 und 5 enthalten fragmentarisch den Anfang des Osirishymnus. Die 1. Zeile begann wie die folgenden ebenso wie in der Szene B auf der obersten Blocklage unter dem Himmelszeichen. Es fehlen etwa 2 und ½ Schriftquadrate. Fortsetzung ist die erste Zeile auf Block 2, als eines Blockes der zweite Blocklage von oben, unter dem in der dritten Lage Block 5 mit einer Lücke von etwa 1 Schriftquadrat den Text fortsetzt. Die Lage der erhaltenen Textteile in den Zeilen 2 und 3 dieses Blockes im Gesamtgefüge des Wortlautes des Hymnus machen es sicher, dass in Szene A insgesamt 7 Zeilen nicht weiter als bis zur Unterkante der 3. Blocklage von oben hinabreichen. Der Schriftblock entspricht damit dem der ersten 7 Zeilen der Szene B.

B der König schreitet nach rechts auf einen nach links gewandten Gott zu. Die Szene ist oben durch das Himmelszeichen abgeschlossen, über dem eine nach links laufende Widmungsinschrift angebracht ist (**Figure 9-02**). **Block 1**, **Block 2** (= Block A, Reisner 1918 : pl. xvi Mitte) und **Block 3** haben die erhaltenen Teile der Widmungsinschrift über dem Himmelszeichen und darunter die Anfänge von 6 senkrechten nach rechts laufenden Zeilen und links das nach rechts gewandte Zeichen *njsw.t* als Rest der Beischrift der Königsdarstellung. Mit der 1. senkrechten Zeile setzt nach einem *dd mdw* „Worte sprechen“ mitten im „Satz“ die Fortsetzung der in Szene A begonnenen Wiedergabe des Osirishymnus ein.

**Block 4** enthält dann die Fortsetzung von Zeile 3 bis Zeile 6 nach unten. Nach dem Wortlaut des Hymnus setzten sich die Zeilen auf einer daruntersitzenden dritten Blocklage fort. Zu rekonstruieren ist ein Schriftblock mit sieben Zeilen. **Block 5** (= Reisner 1908 : pl.xvi unten) und **Block 6** (= Reisner 1918 : 106, fig.3C) haben mit zusammen 10 Zeilen die letzten Teile des Hymnus, und zwar so, dass die Zeilen mit dem unteren Ende der Blocklage enden. D.h. die gesamte Verteilung nimmt Rücksicht darauf, dass die Inschrift sich vor (?) und über einer Darstellung befinden soll. Die fehlenden Anfänge der Zeilen standen auf den verlorenen Blöcken der obersten Steinlage. Anzumerken ist noch, dass die ersten längeren sieben Zeilen auch eine grössere Breite haben als die folgenden zehn Zeilen.

Zwei Blöcke lassen sich einer dritten Szene zuweisen (**Figure 9-03**):

C **Block 1**: mit der oberen linken Ecke einer Türrahmung mit einer waagerechten Zeile mit der linken Flügelspitze der geflügelten Sonnenscheibe und der üblichen Namensbeischrift. Darunter der Anfang einer senkrechten Schriftzeile.

**Block 2**: mit den Resten von zwei senkrechten Zeilen, von denen die rechte um 4 cm zurückgesetzt ist. Links von der linken Zeile verläuft ein Rundstab, an den sich links eine schmale Zone anschliesst. Es sind dies die beiden Blöcke, nach denen T. Kendall in unserem Schriftverkehr eine Scheintür vermutet. Es könnte sich aber auch um die Rahmung einer Kultbildnische handeln.

Auf einem weiteren Block lässt sich der fragmentarische Bildinhalt nicht beurteilen (**Figure 9-03**, Block a).

Unklar bleibt, wie die beiden Szenen und die „Scheintür“ einander zuzuordnen sind. Befanden sie sich tatsächlich an der Rückwand von B703, dann müsste sich die Szene A auf der rechten Wandhälfte befunden haben, die Szene B auf der linken Hälfte, da der König bei antithetischen Szenen an einer Rückwand immer der Mittelachse des Raumes zugewandt ist und den Rücken an Rücken dargestellten Gottheiten begegnet. Die Rückwand von B 703 ist 11,5 m breit. Die beiden Inschriftblöcke von B nehmen mit insgesamt 17 Zeilen eine Breite von etwa 3,20 m ein. Die links vor den Schriftblöcken zu vermutende Darstellung des Königs ist nach dem Befund in Szene A mit mindestens 0,90 m anzusetzen. Wir hätten eine Gesamtbreite der Szene B von  $3,20 + 0,90 = 4,10$  m. Nehmen wir an, die Szene A wäre ebenso breit gewesen, dann nahmen beide zusammen eine Breite von etwa 8,20 m ein. Die Lücke von höchstens  $11,50 - 8,20 = 3,30$  m. zu beiden Seiten der Mittelachse könnte von der „Scheintür“ oder der Kultbildnische mit ihrer Rahmung eingenommen worden sein. Die beiden Widmungsinschriften würden dann rechts bzw. links der Türrahmung beginnen, ebenso wie die beiden Widmungsinschriften Taharqas in Raum B 303 an der Rahmung der Tür zur Zella B 305.

Eine solche Rekonstruktion der Rückwand von B 703 ist aber sicherlich gegenstandslos. Zunächst ist zu bemerken, dass bei einer Rekonstruktion der Widmungsinschrift über der Szene B am rechten Ende ein freier Raum bleibt, etwa von der Breite des Blockes B 6, bevor mit dem Horusnamen die Wiedergabe der vollen fünffachen Titulatur des Königs beginnt, von der ja nur 4. und 5. Titel und Namen erhalten sind. Ich rechne für den verlorenen Anfang mit höchstens 10 Schriftquadraten. Wir müssten zusätzliche Epitheta zu den einzelnen drei ersten Namen annehmen, um den Raum bis zur rechten Kante von Block 6 auszufüllen. Wichtiger aber ist die Tatsache, dass bei 4,10 m Breite der Szene nach der zwingenden Lage von Block B 3 die Widmungsinschrift links bereits bei etwa 4,28 m angelangt ist, bevor das „Denkmal“ des Königs überhaupt genannt ist. Nur

wenn die Szene rechts bis an die Mittelachse der Wand verschoben wird und damit eine Gesamtbreite von 5,75 m gehabt hätte, würde ein sinnvoller vollständiger Text der Widmungsinschrift wohl möglich sein. Nicht zu vergessen ist auch, dass Block B 6 rechts von der rechten Begrenzungsleiste für die letzte Zeile der Inschrift einen schmalen Raum aufweist, und dann weiterhin eine auf der Zeichnung als „uninscribed“ bezeichnete Fläche bis zur Blockkante, die wir als zu Szene A gehörig betrachten müssten. Das Foto lässt aber erkennen, dass diese Fläche grob behauen ist, d.h., am ehesten in eine rechtwinklig anstossende Wand eingebunden war.

Aber müssen wir denn an der Rückwand von B 703 festhalten? Ist es nicht näherliegend, die Dekorationselemente eines Tempelraumes zu Ehren des Osiris, die schon nach dem epigraphischen Befund, geschweige denn nach ihrem Inhalt ein Fremdkörper im Amuntempel B 700 sind, ganz aus ihm zu entfernen? Ich denke an ein unvollendet gebliebenes, längst in Verfall begriffenes Bauwerk, aus dem in meroitischer Zeit Blöcke für die Reparaturen in B 703 und für die Nische B 704 entnommen wurden.

Nur kurz einzugehen haben wir auf die beiden Widmungsinschriften, die sich über den beiden Szenen hinziehen. Der Wortlaut der Inschrift über Szene B ist ja wohl so zu rekonstruieren, das Erhaltene in Fettdruck

„Horus, *>der die beiden Länder begründet<*, die beiden Herrinnen, *>der die Maat liebt<*, Goldhorus, *>der die Gesetze fest sein lässt<*, **König von Ober- und Unterägypten, >der den Ka des Re schützt<**, Sohn der Sonne, *>Atlansersa<*, **von Osiris-Dedwen, dem Ersten von Nubien geliebt**. Er machte **als** sein **Denkmal für seinen Vater Osiris** (.....)“.

Wie oben festgestellt, sind wahrscheinlich den ersten drei Namen Zusätze anzufügen.

Für die fast gänzlich zerstörte Inschrift über Szene A ist derselbe Wortlaut der Titulatur anzunehmen, aber der Gott, von dem der König „geliebt“ wird, könnte auch eine andere Erscheinungsform des Osiris gewesen sein. Von der eigentlichen Widmungsformel, die wiederum eine Erscheinungsform des Osiris genannt haben dürfte, ist allein das Epitheton „**grosser Gott in Napata**“ erhalten.

Grössere Aufmerksamkeit verdient der auf beide Szenen verteilte Hymnus. Er ist mit einigen Lücken ganz erhalten in

**K** Karnak, Kapelle der Anchsneferibre, veröffentlicht ohne die letzten Passagen nach der Abschrift Sethe, Heft 21, S.70-2 in Hintze 1962 :33-36. Für die Erlaubnis, die Abschrift benutzen zu dürfen, habe ich zu danken St. Seidlmayer, Altägyptisches Wörterbuch der BBAdW.

Ehemals vollständig war eine Kopie

**W** auf der Statue Wien ÄS 5158, zuletzt veröffentlicht Rogge (1992), nur den Anfang enthält der Text

**W 2** auf der Statue Wien ÄS 5085, zuletzt veröffentlicht Rogge (1992).

Diese Kopien können als in etwa zeitgenössisch zu der in B 700 betrachtet werden. Frühptolemäisch sind dann die Kopien

**M 1** und **M 2** an der äusseren Westwand des Löwentempels in Musawwarat, Hintze 1962 : 33-36 und

**Ph** Isistempel von Philae, veröffentlicht Žabkar 1981.

**N** bezeichne den Text in B 700 als aus Napata.

Weitere Auszüge und Zitate sind bei Hintze 1962 verzeichnet und zitiert.

In der Wiedergabe **Figures 9-04.1 to 9-04.4** sind nur die Texte K W und N berücksichtigt. Die Textgestalt und die hier gebotene Übersetzung soll nur soweit kommentiert werden, als es für das Verständnis notwendig ist, so dass ich die Ausführungen bei Hintze und Žabkar nicht wiederholen muss. Die Übersetzung macht zumeist ohne viele Worte deutlich, was ich für den richtigen Text halte. Die in N erhaltenen Textteile sind durch Fettdruck hervorgehoben. Eine religionsgeschichtliche Betrachtung der einzelnen Aussagen soll ganz unterbleiben, da sie hier für den Gott Osiris als Herrscher und Schöpfergott benutzt, Gemeingut so vieler Hymnen auf entsprechende Gottheiten sind, als dass sie an dieser Stelle besprochen werden könnten.

### Ein Hymnus auf den Gott Osiris als Herrscher, Schöpfer und Erhalter:

**Szene A:** „Gegrüsst seist du, **Osiris, Herr der Ewigkeit,**  
**König beider Länder, Oberhaupt beider Ufer,**  
 vollkommener Herrscher,  
 Geliebter, von grosser Süsse im Leibe der **Nut,**  
**den sein Vater liebend erwählte,** als er erschien,  
 Jüngling, König, **der die weisse Krone für sich nahm,**  
**der hervorkam** aus dem Leibe, die beiden Uräen an seiner Stirn  
 der das Licht schuf im Leibe seiner Mutter,  
 von ihm ist Licht gemacht für seine Brüder im Leibe,  
 millionenfach sich verjüngender, der die Ewigkeit erhob,  
 von ihm sind die beiden Länder umschlungen mit seinen Armen,  
 der die Maat erschuf und das Übel beseitigte,  
 von ihm ist in Besitz genommen

**Szene B:** **Worte sprechen:** **der Thron** des Atum,  
 trefflicher Gott, der die Opfer einrichtete,  
 der schönen Antlitzes, der mit langem **Barte,**  
**der Goldene,** der mit lapislazulifarbenem Kopfe,  
 was er liebt, ist dass jederman zu ihm aufschaut,  
**ältester erstgeborener Sohn des Geb,**  
**eingenommen sind von** ihm die beiden Länder in Triumph,  
 König im Himmel, **Fürst** auf Erden,  
**grosser Herrscher in der Unterwelt,**  
 Herr des Lebens, der seine Widersacher vertreibt,  
**von dessen Gottesmacht jederman ergriffen ist,**  
 glänzender Jüngling, der im **Urgewässer, geboren** am Ersten des Jahres,  
 von dessen Ausfluss seiner Glieder beide Länder trinken,  
 von ihm ist veranlasst, dass das Getreide spriesst aus dem Wasser,  
 in dem er sich befindet, um **leben zu lassen Pat** und Rechit,  
 der **die Opfer schuf für die Götter, die Totenopfer** für die seligen Toten,  
 von ihm ist veranlasst, dass die Ufer bewachsen sind mit Blumen  
 als **Geschenk für jedermann,**  
 der fest sein liess <seine ?> **Knochen als jegliches Holz für die**  
 .....der Tempel,  
**die Zauberreiche** aus seinem Munde,

von ihr ist vollbracht **die Vernichtung unter seinen Feinden,**  
**der den Schutz** schuf für **seinen Sohn Horus,**  
**der** die Kraft raubte **derer, die sich gegen ihn empörten,**  
 von dem **festgestellt sind** < die Jahre>?\***der Ewigkeit in diesem**  
**seinem Namen >Pfeiler<.**“

\* In K fehlt zu dem rectum „Ewigkeit“ das regens, das in der Lücke in N genannt gewesen sein muss.

Was den Hymnus bemerkenswert macht, ist nicht sein Text, sondern dass er in so unerwarteter Umgebung auftritt. Zunächst muss daran erinnert werden, dass der Gott Osiris in der Religion des Reiches von Kusch offenbar eine Stelle eingenommen hat, die nicht ohne weiteres aus der Rolle des Totengottes abzuleiten ist. Bereits Herodot überliefert, dass die Aethiopen allein Zeus und Dionysos verehrten, d.h. Amun und Osiris, was letzteren geradezu dem Amun gleichrangig erscheinen lässt. Zur Zeit des Harsiyotf, 1.V. 4. Jh, hatte Osiris nach dem Ausweis des Regierungsberichtes des Königs nicht weniger als 10 Kultstätten im Reich, eine davon bereits für die Zeit des Aspelta um 600 v.Chr. inschriftlich nachgewiesen (Sphinx aus Defeia, Vercoutter 1961).

Die hier erörterten Kultdenkmäler machen Dedwen zur Erscheinungsform des Osiris als Herrscher und Schöpfergott. Dedwen, der im Alten und Mittleren Reich in den Pyramidentexten und den Sargtexten anwesend ist, und in der von Sesostri III. an der Südgrenze Unternubiens errichteten Festung einen Kult erhielt, galt der ägyptischen Theologie als Gott des Südens, als der „Vorderste von Nubien“. Im NR ist er in Semma dann Kultgenosse des vergöttlichten Sesostri III. In Ägypten ist bisher nur eine Kultstätte nachgewiesen, s.u.

Auch im Reich von Kusch scheint er keinen besonderen Rang eingenommen zu haben. Taharqa hat dem alten Tempel des NR in Semma durch Restaurierungsarbeiten seine Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt. Zusammen mit anderen Gottheiten erscheint Dedwen am Gebel Barkal als Empfänger von Opfern in B 307 - nach Robisek (1989 : 89) einem „Gastkultsanktuar“ -, und gehört zu den Göttern, die auf den Abaki in Raum B 502, Dunham (1970 : fig. 40) genannt werden. Umso auffälliger ist die merkwürdige Erwähnung im Text der „Wahlstele“ des Aspelta. Sie beginnt ihre Darstellung der Umstände der „Orakelwahl“ des Aspelta mit der Bemerkung, dass sich das „Heer“ beim Tode des Vorgängers in einer „Ortschaft“ (*dmy*) „Heiliger Berg“ aufgehalten habe, in der sich der Gott Dedwen befinde, der ein/der „Gott von Kusch“ sei. Wie hier von dem „Heiligen Berge“, nach allgemeiner Meinung dem Gebel Barkal, und von einem hier verehrten Gotte gesprochen wird, ist so auffällig, dass seinerzeit Schäfer 1908 (= Urk III,86) anmerkte: „Nicht Napata. Etwa bei Abu Simbel?“ Diese Notiz ist m.W. in jüngerer Zeit nicht ernsthaft zur Kenntnis genommen worden und vergessen.

Leitz (2002 : VII, 578-579) verzeichnet aus Ägypten

- die Nennung eines „Gottesdieners des Osiris-Dedwen auf einem Block Thutmosis II. in El Kab, Capart (1937 : 10),
- die Darstellung des Gottes zusammen mit zwei Horusgöttern und 5 zerstörten weiteren Gottheiten in zwei antithetischen Szenen der Anbetung der aufgehenden Sonne auf Blöcken Psammetich's I., ebenfalls in El Kab, Derchain (1962),
- den Sarg, spätzeitlich, eines „Gottesdieners“ des Osiris-Dedwen aus Hierakonpolis, Brunner u. Pitsch (1984).

Derchain (1962 : 266) verweist auf die engen Beziehungen von El Kab zum Vizekönigtum von

Kusch - der Gau gehörte wenigstens zeitweise als nördlichster zum Amtsbereich des Vizekönigs, ferner auf die beiden Horusgötter als „attestés à Hiéaconpolis“, so dass „ nous pouvons admettre que c'étaient les dieux du district qui rendaient hommage au soleil levant“. Das müsste auch für den Osiris-Dedwen gelten, was die beiden anderen Belege denn auch nahelegen.

Die Verbindung Osiris-Dedwen dürfte so zu verstehen sein, dass Dedwen als Erscheinungsform des Osiris angesprochen werden soll, auf die denn auch der Osirishymnus übertragen werden konnte. Das hat seine genaue Analogie in der Übertragung des Hymnus auf den meroitischen Gott Sebiuwerker in den In-schriften M 1 und M 2 in Musawarat, auch wenn seinem Namen der des Osiris nicht vorangestellt worden ist. Beiden Göttern werden im Hymnus die Eigenschaften des Osiris zugesprochen, was aber nicht heißen muss, dass sie ihnen von ihrem Wesen her zugestanden hätten, etwa in dem Sinne, in dem Hintze (1962 : 32-33) in Sebiuwerker „eine Art Schöpfergott“ sehen wollte, ähnlich Onasch (1993 : 245), der überdies annimmt, der Gott sei dem Königtum verbunden gewesen, da der Osirishymnus „die Eigenschaften des Osiris als Herrscher stark betont“. Ich denke, hier wird der Verwendung des Hymnus als eines G a n z en zuviel zugemutet. Sie bezeugt m.E. zuerst einmal das Bedürfnis, einem Gott des eigenen Pantheons einen Namen und damit einen Rang zu verschaffen, der gleichwertig neben dem alten Reichsgott Amun und dem in meroitischer Zeit so bedeutenden Apedemak stehen konnte. Ob dies auch bei Dedwen ähnlich gewesen sein mochte, bleibe offen. Eine schwache Verbindungslinie zwischen Dedwen und Sebiuwerker finde ich angedeutet bei Török (2002 : 78). In dem bereits erwähnten „Gastkultsanktuar“ B 307 stehen sich an der „Nord“wand und an der „Süd“wand Szenen gegenüber, die jeweils den König opfernd vor einer Gottheit darstellen. Die Abfolge der Götter ist von Török so gedeutet, dass sich jeweils an Nord- bzw. Südwand symmetrical „pairs“ gegenüberstehen: Atum /Amun von Kawa, Onuris-Schu /Dedwen, zerstört/Re-Harachte. So wenig ich die Deutung für gesichert halte, sie schliesse einen Kreis: (Osiris-?) Dedwen wäre Partner von Onuris-Schu so wie Sebiuwerker der von Arensnuphis. Sebiuwerker und Arensnuphis sind bekanntlich die Beschützer der meroitischen Tempel, ausführlich bei Wenig (1974), wobei Arensnuphis wohl doch die Hypostase des (Onuris-) Schu ist, der „gute Genosse“, der die Tefnut als das Sonnenaugen aus dem Süden heimholt, nicht aber, was von vornherein wenig wahrscheinlich war, ein Gott des kuschitischen Niltales, der in Ägypten Eingang fand. Leitz (2002 : I,409) hat zweifellos Recht, wenn er die von Elias (1996 : 106; 108) missverstandenen Lesungen eines Priestertitels auf einem Sarge der saitischen Zeit und in einer Inschrift von der Qubbet el Hawa/Elephantine versteht als „Diener des Chnum und des Arensnuphis“. Angesichts der Belege zweier Papyri, Malinine (1974), die einen „Chnum-Arensnuphis“ mit einer demotischen Sonderform der Bezeichnung Arensnuphis für das Jahr 5 Artaxerxes III. und das Jahr 12 Nektanebos' II. nennen, dürfte zu lesen sein „(Gottes)diener des Chnum-Arensnuphis“. Ein Chnum-Onuris-Horus begegnet uns in Esna, Leitz (2002 : VI, 28).

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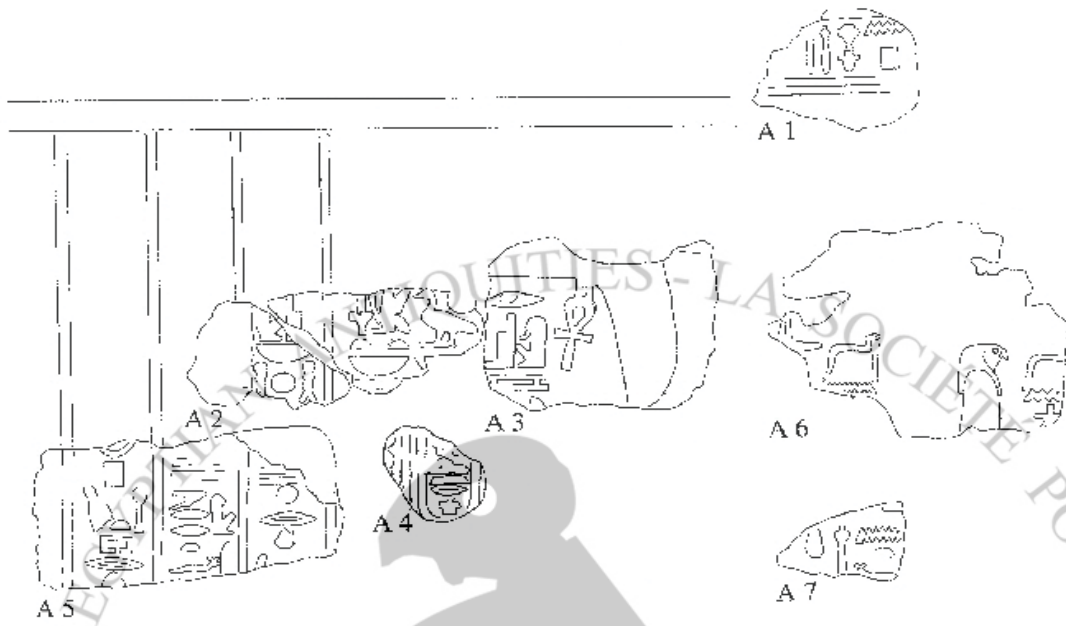


Abb. 1

Figure 9-01

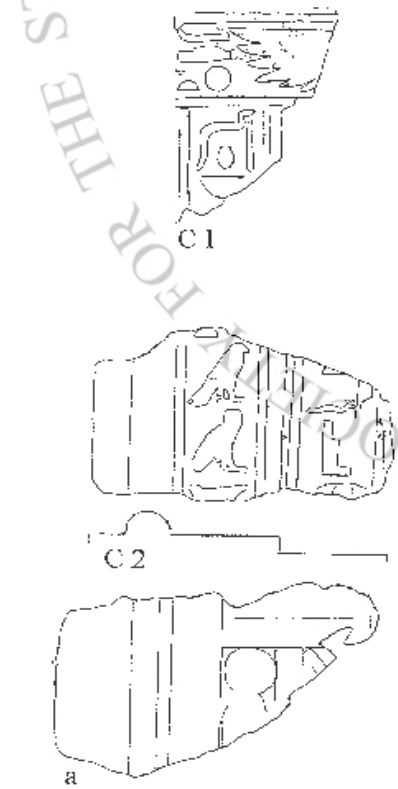
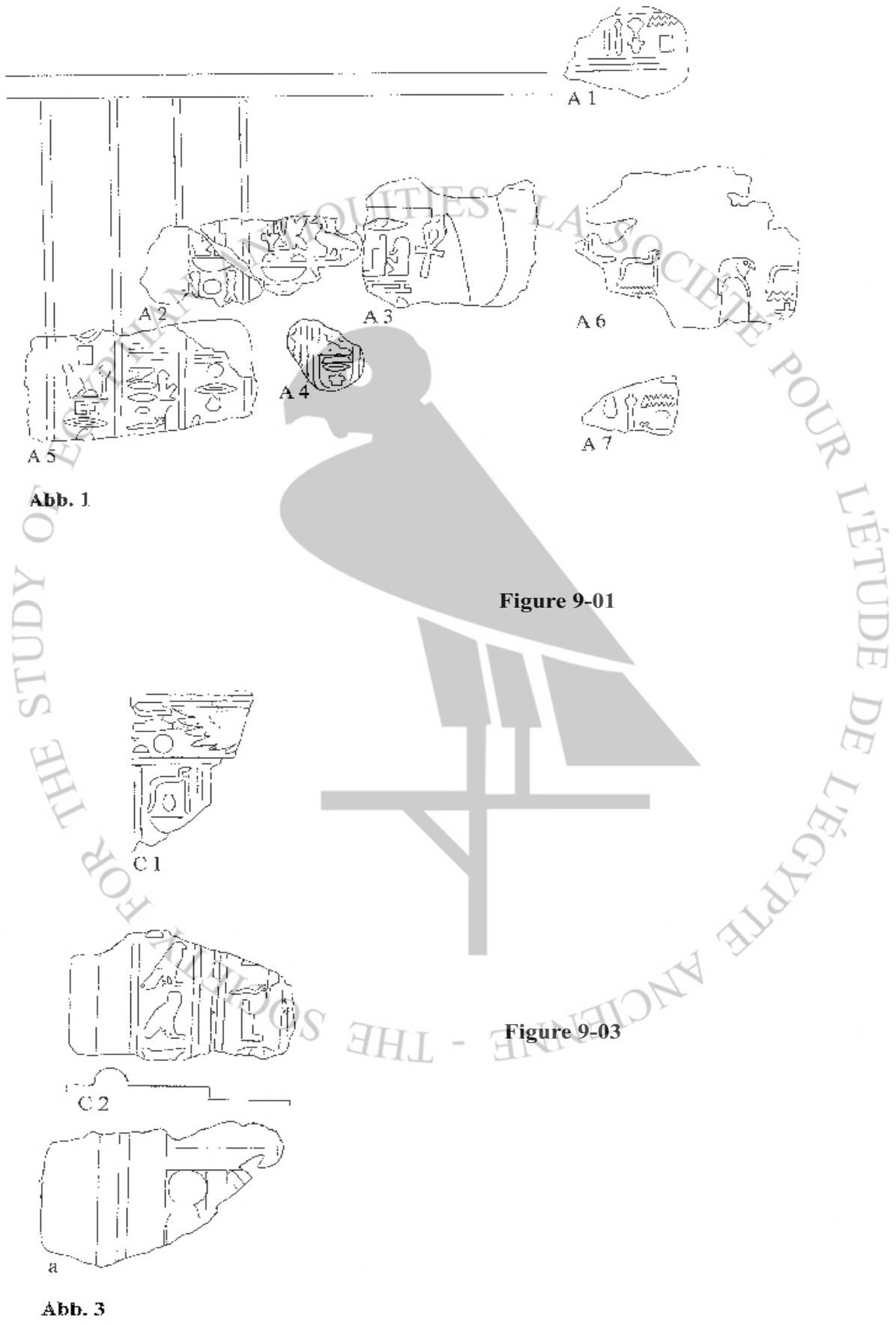


Abb. 3

Figure 9-03



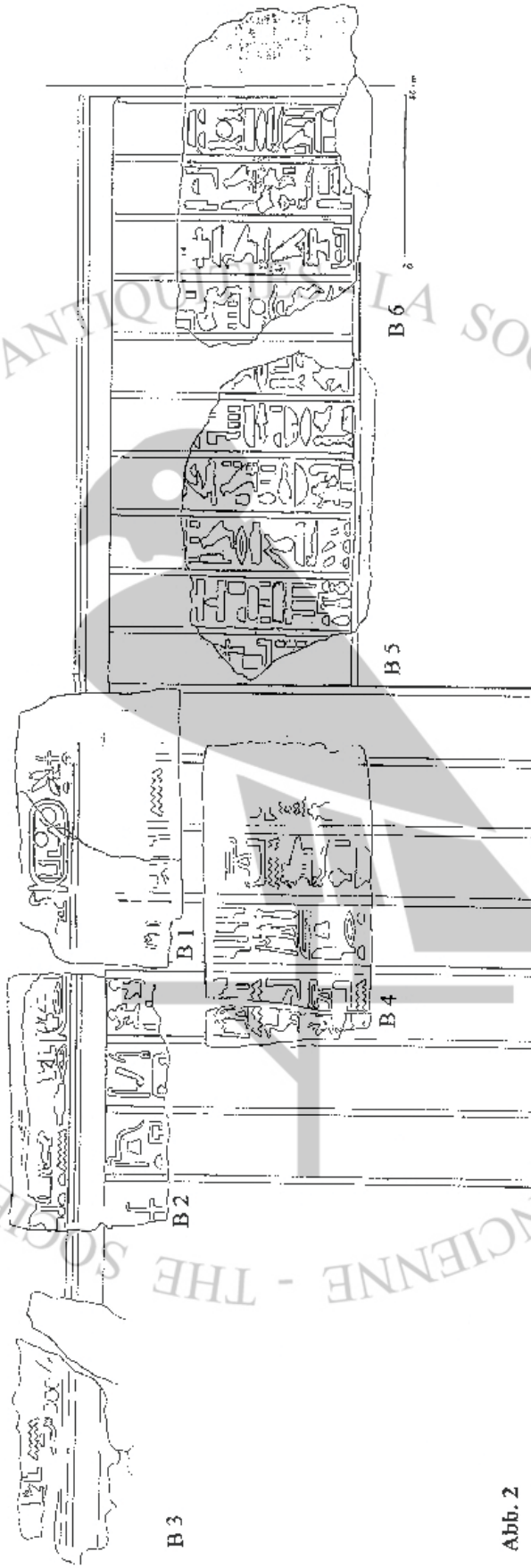


Abb. 2

Figure 9-02

STUDY OF EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES - THE SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES - LA SOCIÉTÉ POUR L'ÉTUDE DE L'ÉGYPTE ANCIENNE - THE SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES

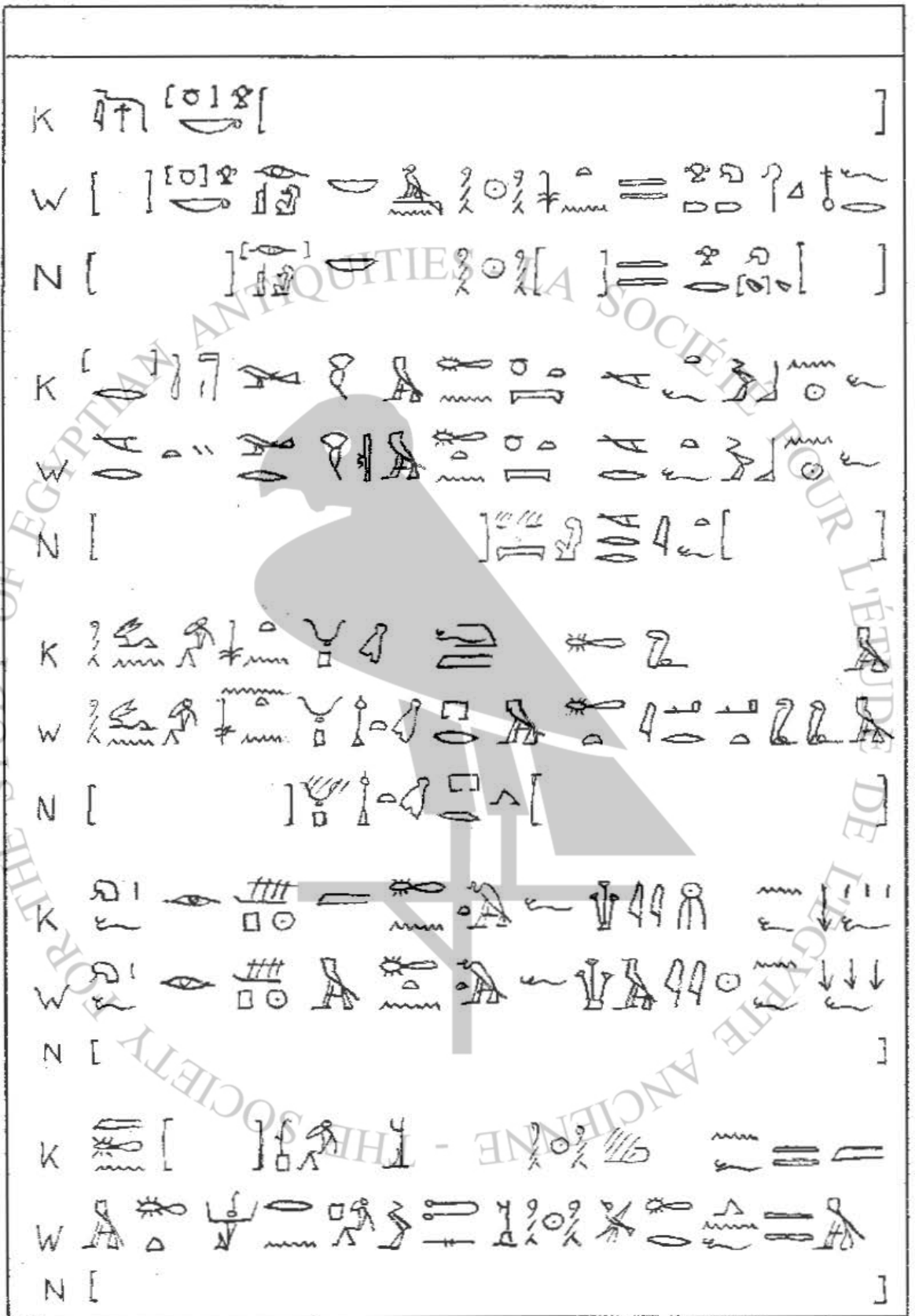


Figure 9-04.1

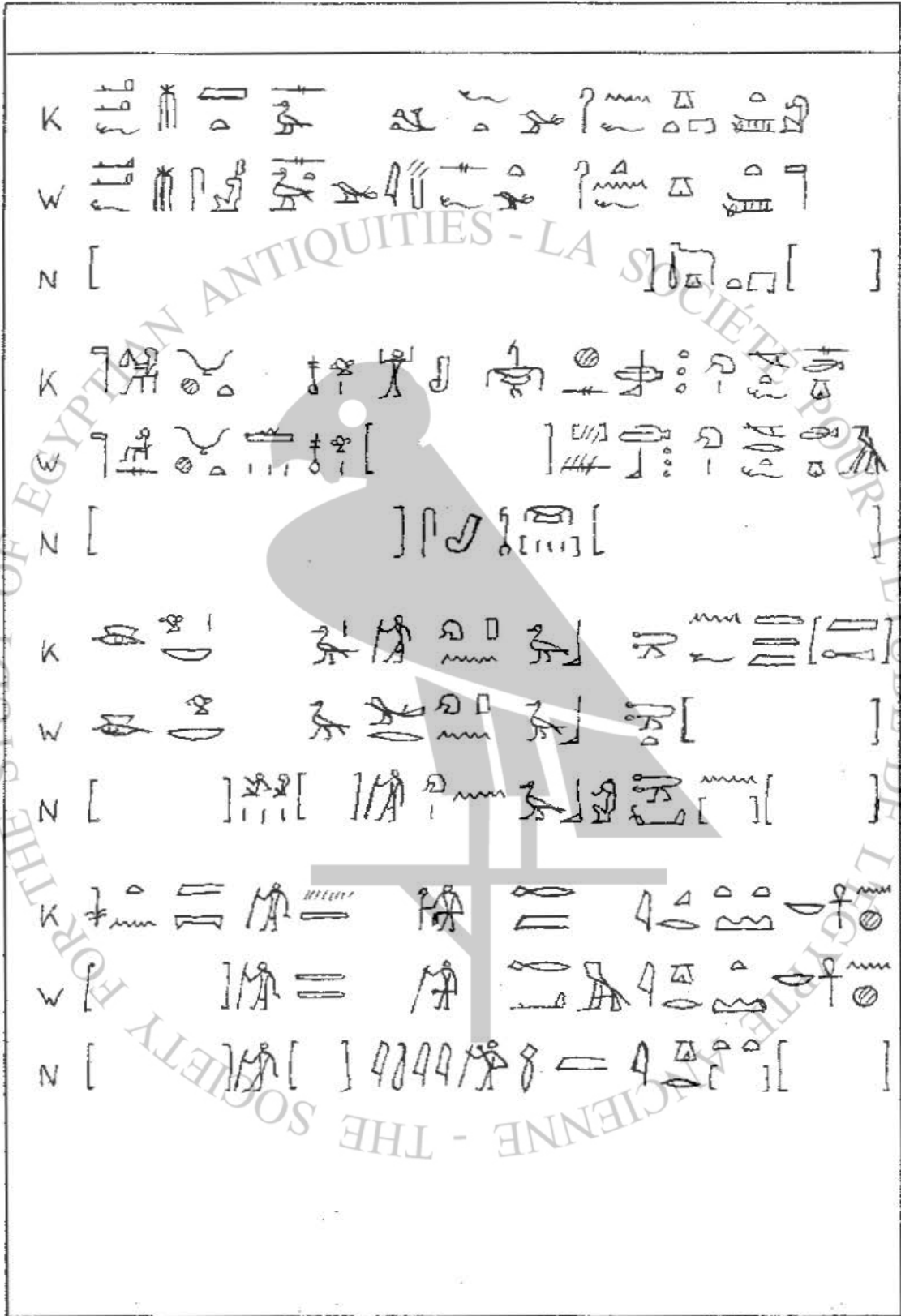


Figure 9-04.2

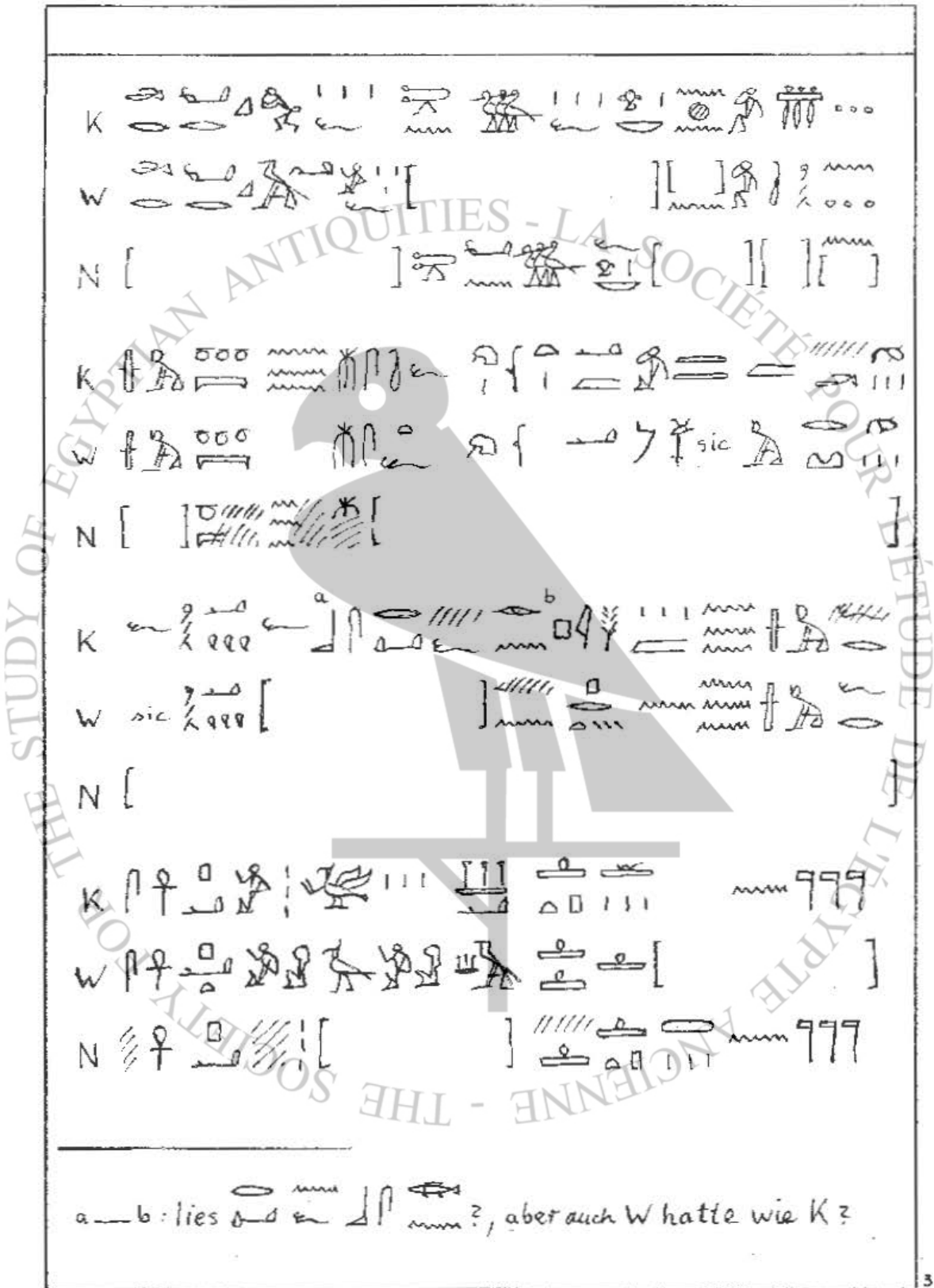


Figure 9-04.3







## 10. A Statuette of an Overseer of the Department of Food Production of the House of Amun<sup>1</sup>

Donald B. Redford

### Abstract

This study examines a statuette excavated in Temple C at Karnak belonging to an official of the estate of Amun named Ky-sadfe(t) and is dated to the New Kingdom.

### Keywords

Karnak, Temple C, *pr-šn*<sup>c</sup>, New Kingdom

In the 1987 excavations of Temple C, Karnak, by the Akhenaten Temple Project, a limestone statuette was unearthed about 25 metres south of the gate of the temple in CL Annex B (**Photographs 10-01 and 10-02**).<sup>2</sup> The find was made in locus 2, near surface, among Late Period and Ptolemaic ceramic diagnostics; so that its provenance tells us nothing about its ultimate origin or date. The temple itself, although of 25<sup>th</sup> Dynasty date, had been completely rebuilt in Ptolemaic times, and statuary and blocks had everywhere been displaced. In the New Kingdom, however, the site of the later Temple C and its environs had been occupied by large villas, and it is possible that the statuette comes from one of these.

The statuette, now lacking head and feet, is that of a man wearing a Ramesside pleated gown from waist to ankle and seated on a simple chair with hands on knees. Save for a *djed*(?)-pendant around his neck whatever jewelry or headdress he may have worn is now no longer in evidence. The sporran and the back-pillar each received a column of text. The overall preserved height is 22 cm., the height of the chair 12.5 cm., the dimensions of the column of text on the back pillar 19.8 x 2.2 cm, and the text on the sporran 11 x 2.2 cm (**Figure 10-01**).

Sporran Text: “for the *ka* of the superior (A) of the *šn*<sup>c</sup> (B) of Amun, Ky-sadfe(t) (C), justified.”

Back-pillar text: “the Osiris, the truly correct one (D), revering (E) his god who magnified his condition, the overseer (A) of the *šn*<sup>c</sup> of Amun, Ky-sadfe(t) [justified].”

### Commentary

(A) In the administration of the *šn*<sup>c</sup> the “superior” (*hry*) usually occupies a lower rank than the “overseer” (*mr*): *Wb.* IV, 508:14; S. Eichler, *Die Verwaltung des “Haus des Amun” in der 18. Dynastie* (Hamburg, 2000), 104-8. Unless the owner wishes to commemorate stages in his career (which seems unlikely), the distinction between the two ranks may have become blurred in Ramesside times, less likely inverted, W. Murnane, “The Organization of Government under Amenhotep III,” in D. O’Connor, E.Cline (eds), *Amenhotep III. Perspectives on his Reign* (Ann Arbor, 1998), 186 n. 50). For another official who combines both titles, see D. Polz, “Die *šn*<sup>c</sup>-Vorsteher des Neuen Reiches,” *ZÄS* 117 (1990), 49.

(B) The institution of the *šn*<sup>c</sup> is attested from the early Old Kingdom, and has been extensively studied: see in particular A.H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (Oxford, 1947), II, 209\*f(430); H. Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente aus dem Alten Reich* (Wiesbaden, 1967), 131-32;

W. Helck, "Arbeitshaus," *LdÄ* I (Wiesbaden, 1973), 377-78; E. Graefe, *Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung und Geschichte der Institution der Gottesgemahlin des Amun* (Wiesbaden, 1981), II, 18, 51, 74, 97; D. Polz, "Die *šn<sup>c</sup>*-Vorsteher des Neuen Reiches," *ZÄS* 117 (1990), 43-60; Murnane, "Organization of Government," 185-87; D. Faltings, *Die Keramik der Lebensmittelproduktion im Alten Reich* (Heidelberg, 1999), 189, 223; D. Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom* (Oxford, 2000), nos. 906-12; Eichler, *Die Verwaltung*, ch. VI. That the institution was associated with hard work is clear, cf. H. G. Fischer, "Marginalia 1. *šn<sup>c</sup>wt*, a collective term for 'workers'," *GM* 122 (1991), 21-30, but why cloth- and food-production should have been carried on under the same roof is not immediately apparent. Perhaps originally this department was concerned with products derived from plants and cereals. The production of bread and beer, however, for the divine offerings seems, finally, to have taken precedence: M. Roemer, *Gottes- und Priester-herrschaft in Ägypten am Ende des Neuen Reiches* (Wiesbaden, 1994), 351 n. 244; P. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon* (Leiden, 1993), 1019.

(C) The name does not appear in Ranke, but clearly belongs to the small class of *Ky*+substantive or adjective: H. Ranke, *Die altägyptische Personennamen* (Glückstadt, 1939), 343:5-8. The otherwise unknown form *sdf<t>* with stick-determinative, must derive from *sdf* "to enchain," (*Wb.* IV, 369:14-15), whence also derives *sdf*, "dependent upon": *Wb.* IV, 370:1; P. Grandet, *Le Papyrus Harris I*, vol 2 (Cairo, 1994), 54 n. 217. If the stick-determinative is to be taken seriously, the semantic range may extend to the West Semitic  $\sqrt{\text{SDP}}$ , "(to) blight, be blighted, black," A. Murtonen, *Hebrew in its West Semitic Setting I* (Leiden, 1989), 412. If *sdf<t>* is a stick or weapon, it is to be compared with *Ky-nbw* (Ranke, *PN*, 343:7-8) and Coptic (W. Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* [Heidelberg, 1977], 202).

(D) *mtym<sup>3c</sup>*: cf. D. Meeks, *Annee lexicographique I* (Paris, 1980), 176 (reading with Osing); III, 136; see D.M. Doxey, *Non-royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom* (Leiden, 1998), 43, 70; K. Jansen-Winkel, *Ägyptische Biographien der 22. und 23. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 1985), 382 (4.1.9).

(E) *tri*: *Wb.* V, 318:5. The absence of vowel between the first two radicals (cf. Coptic, Westendorf, *KHwb*, 242-43) may explain the curious writing with prothetic *alif* / *yod*.

*Ky-sadfe(t)* seems not to have been a prominent member of Theban society, and the reference to the god "who magnified his condition" might point to advancement through merit rather than family. He does not appear in the list of overseers of the *šn<sup>c</sup>* compiled by Polz (unless he is masquerading under another name). The appearance of his statuette, however, in the environs of Temple C may not be fortuitous, for in the south-east quadrant of the Amun temple enclosure there lay in ancient times the *šn<sup>c</sup>*, the closely-associated granaries and the geese-pens.<sup>3</sup> If *Ky-sadfe(t)* lived in one of the villas, traces of which our excavations revealed immediately south of temple C, his domicile would have lain close to his place of work.



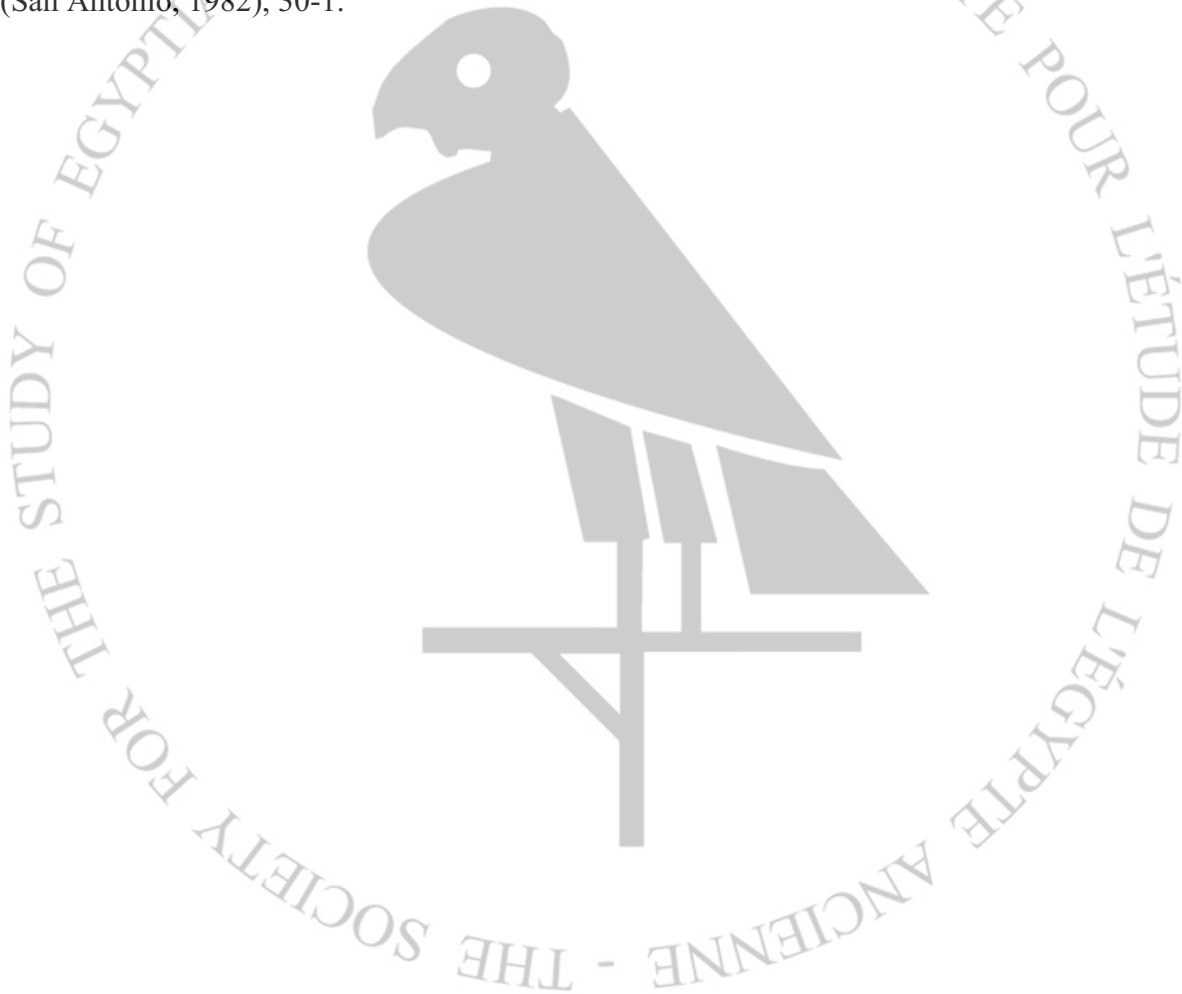
Figure 10-01

## Notes

1. It is with deep sorrow that I dedicate this to the memory of a dear and close friend who was also a mentor. I hope that, upon its periodic return, his resplendent *b3* will hover over, recognize and appreciate this humble offering from one who admired him so much.

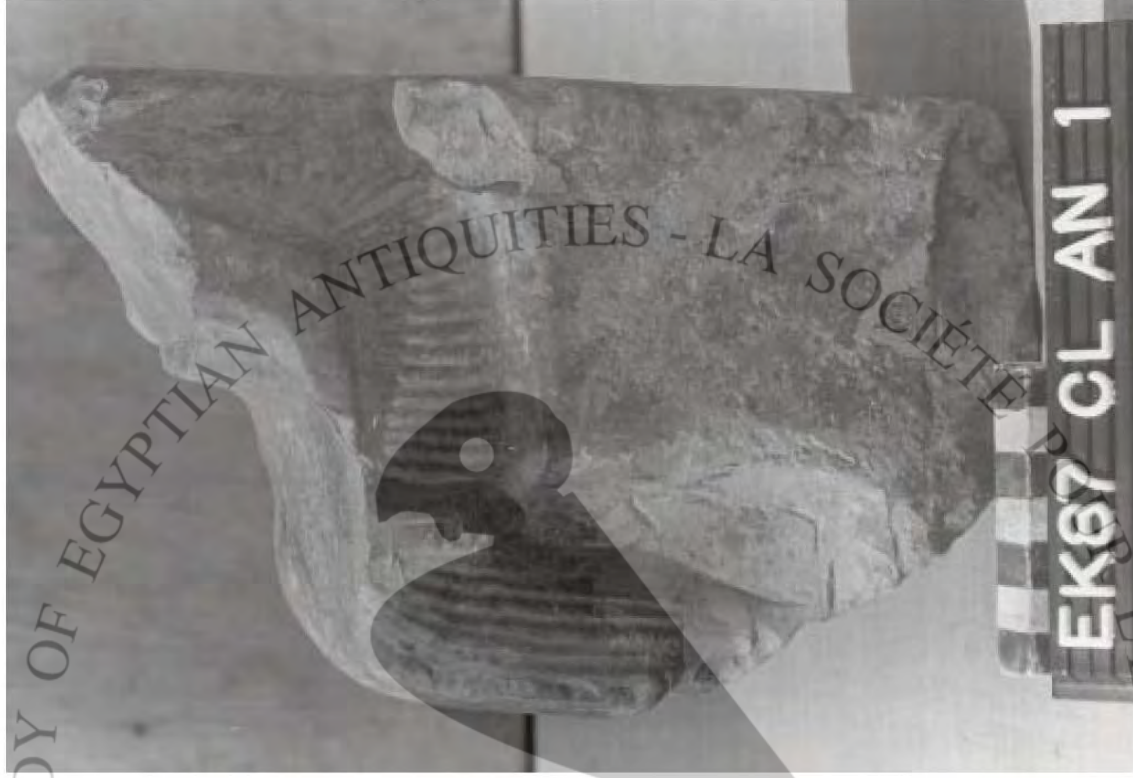
2. See D. Redford, "Three Seasons in Egypt," *JSSEA* 18 (1988), 1, fig. 1.

3. P. Barguet, *Le Temple d'Amon-re a Karnak* (Cairo, 1962), 18; B. Porter & R. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings II* (Oxford, 1972), 222-23; C. van Siclen III, *Two Theban Monuments from the Reign of Amenhotep II* (San Antonio, 1982), 30-1.





Photograph 10 - 01



Photograph 10 - 02



## 11. A NEWLY-DISCOVERED TRIAL PIECE FROM THE ASSASIF

Susan Redford

### Abstract

This article deals with a trial piece discovered in the vicinity of the tomb of Parennefer at Thebes. The black-inked drawing shows characteristics of the Amarna art style.

### Keywords

trial piece, Amarna period, Akhenaten

*I was fortunate to have had Prof. Millet as my advisor and mentor in my early years as a grad student at the University of Toronto, and will never forget his kindness, encouragement and support. It is with respect and gratitude that I offer this brief article to Nick's memory.*

Several years ago, an expedition of the Akhenaten Temple Project's Theban Tomb Survey began clearance and documentation of an unregistered tomb located to the immediate west of the tomb of Parennefer (T.T. 188). The exterior and façade of this tomb, which may be of Saite date, was completely covered by cliff debris, but could be accessed via a robber's hole through the west wall of Parennefer's hall. Once the tomb's external entrance was sited, the painstaking process of clearing it was begun. By the end of the 2002 summer field season, the entire doorway was exposed along with a portion of the open court.



*(Facsimile drawing by Tannis Davidson)*

The tomb, which was provisionally labeled ST-5, was found to have a smoothed front with some shallow niching. The frame of the entranceway protruded slightly from the façade and was



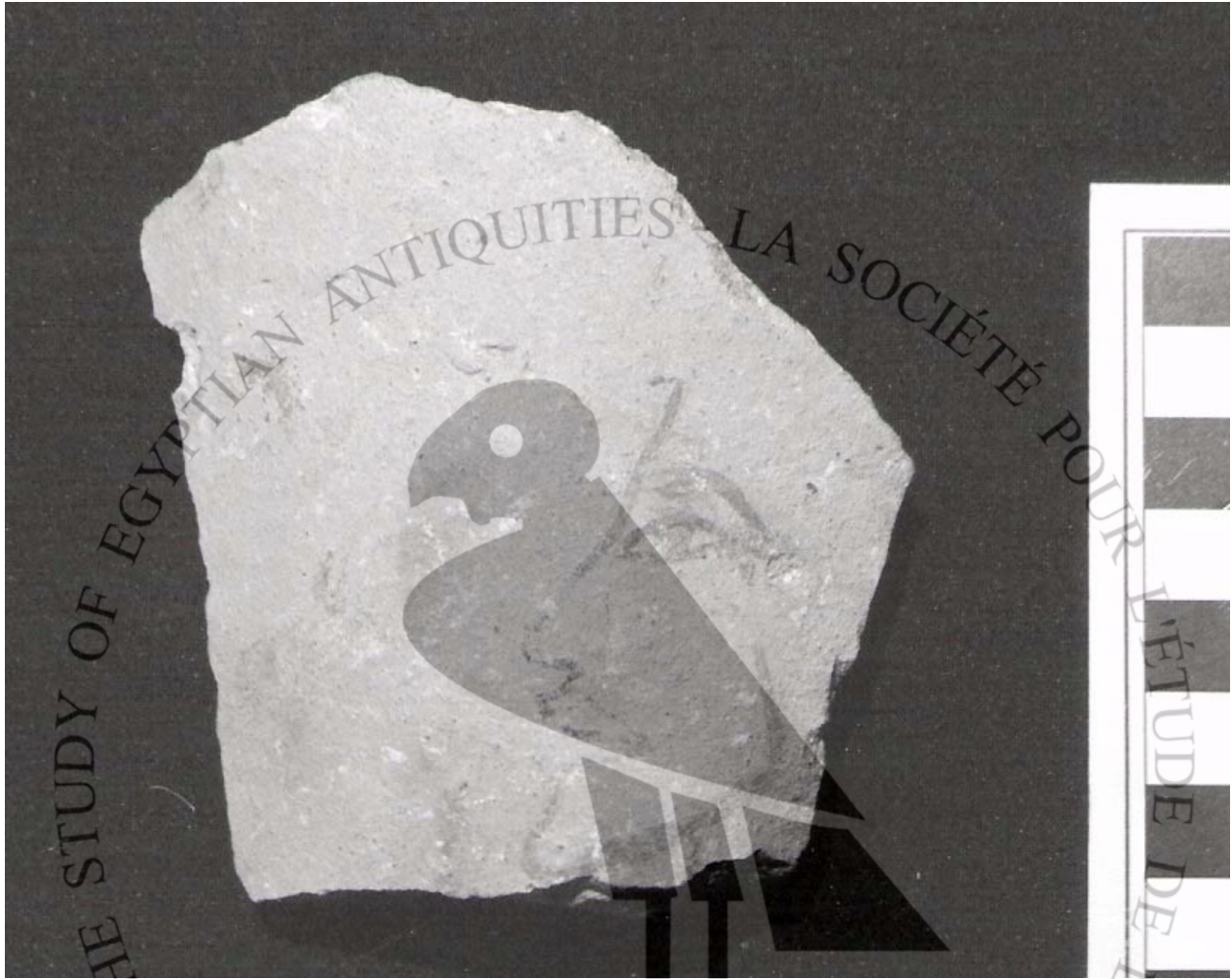
only partially intact. The bottom portion of the left jamb, made of separate limestone blocks, was preserved; however, the upper half of the jamb and the lintel were missing. The right jamb, however, had been hewn out of the rock face and remained in good condition. Uncovered to the right of the entrance and abutting the façade was a small, stepped podium carved into the living rock. By the end of the season, the entire expanse of the external face of the tomb, measuring 5.8 meters in width, had been exposed and cleared to a distance of approximately 3 meters.

This clearance operation produced a poor collection of artifacts. However, besides the usual array of displaced and broken bits of funerary objects, such as terracotta shabtis, faience beads, wood coffin fragments and mummy wrappings, there was one exceptional find. In the debris filling the door frame, a small ostrakon was uncovered. The buff-colored sherd is of marl ware and roughly square-shaped. The body fragment measures 8.8 x 8 cm., and is possibly from the bottom half of a deep vessel. On the exterior surface of the sherd is a portrait in left profile drawn in faded black paint.

The male face, done in the incipient Amarna art style, invites two comparisons. First, it is particularly reminiscent of the faces of foreigners painted on Ramose's tomb wall.<sup>1</sup> The stereotypical physiognomy of a Canaanite, represented by a slight bump in the nose and a strong jaw line, best fits the facial features drawn on our sherd. Since the squared jaw line seen in depictions of Canaanites actually outlines the beard, then the heavy line and slightly exaggerated pointed chin of the face on the sherd may also be a representation of a beard, albeit a hastily drawn one.

On the other hand, even though there is no royal insignia or crown line, it is tempting to identify this as a representation of the king himself. Although removed from its original location by modern looters, the ostrakon's recovery in the vicinity of Parennefer's tomb suggests that it was a trial piece used by the ancient draughtsmen at work on the nearby monument. Unfortunately, no depiction of the king remains intact in the tomb by which to make a comparison. Nevertheless, this is the first time a trial piece of the Amarna period has been found in the Theban area.<sup>2</sup>

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*Photo by Stephanie Palumbo*

#### Notes

1. N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose*, Mond Excavations at Thebes I, (London: 1941), pls. xxxiv-xxxvii, liv.

2. The only known black-painted sketch of the king comes from a trial pieces found at Amarna, but does not invite comparison due to its caricature -like rendition. See E. Russmann in R. Freed, Y. Markowitz & S. D'Auria, eds., *Pharaohs of the Sun*, Museum of Fine Arts, (Boston: 1999), cat. no. 136, p. 246.