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Herausgegeben von
Jochem Kahl und
Nicole Kloth



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Neues zu den Schutzsymbolen der magischen Ziegel von Totenbuch Spruch 151

Hartwig Altenmüller
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Abstract

Der Beitrag geht der Frage nach, welche Bedeutung die Schutzsymbole haben, die in der Vignette des Totenbuchspruchs 151 abgebildet sind. Die abgebildeten Schutzzeichen sind der Djedpfeiler, die Fackel, der Schakal und eine Statuette (*twt*). Ein Vergleich mit dem Bildprogramm der Zaubermesser ergibt, dass annähernd die gleichen Schutzsymbole auf dem Zaubermesser [21] Berlin ÄM 14207 aus dem Mittleren Reich abgebildet sind. Die Analyse der Zeichenfolge des Berliner Zaubermessers ermöglicht eine genauere Bestimmung der vier Schutzgottheiten von Tb151d-g, die nun erstmals für das Mittlere Reich nachgewiesen werden.

1 Einleitung und Fragestellung

Der Totenbuchspruch 151 umfasst eine Großvignette sowie mehrere Einzeltexte, die E. Naville in seiner Edition des Totenbuchs in die Abschnitte Tb151a-n unterteilt hat.¹ Ein gutes Beispiel für das Gesamttableau liefert das Totenbuch der Sängerin des Amun Muthetepti (pBM 10010 (Af)) aus der 21. Dynastie (Abb. 1). Im Zentrum des Tableaus von Tb151 steht die Vignette des anthropomorphen schakalköpfigen Anubis, der in einem Zeltbau den auf der Bahre liegenden Leichnam einbalsamiert. Unter der Bahre ist das Bild eines Ba-Vogels zu erkennen. Am Kopf- und Fußende der Bahre knien die beiden Klagefrauen, die um die Verstorbene trauern und ihre Hände auf einen Schen-Ring legen, Nephthys kniet am Kopfende, Isis am Fußende.

An den vier Seiten des zentralen Bilds mit der Mumie der Toten sind vier Felder nach außen geklappt, in denen die Schutzzeichen der sogenannten vier magischen Ziegel stehen (Tb151d-g). Im linken Feld befindet sich eine mumienförmige Figur, die sog. Statuette, im oberen ein Djedpfeiler, im rechten Feld eine Fackel, im unteren ein Schakal, der auf einem Podest liegt. In den Eckfeldern des Tableaus (Tb151k-n) befinden sich die vier Horuskinder, die als Götter der Eingeweidekrüge auch Schutzgötter des Sarges sind.

Das innere Tableau ist in ein großes äußeres Bildfeld hineingestellt, in dessen oberen Ecken je ein Ba-Vogel (Tb151h) und unten je ein mumienförmiger Uschebti abgebildet sind. Bei Muthetepti ist der rechte der beiden unteren Uschebtis ausnahmsweise einmal statt mit einem Menschenkopf mit einem Schakalkopf (Tb151i) versehen.²

Die Texte von Tb151 sind aus verschiedenen Textkorpora entnommen. Bisher ist nur für den Abschnitt Tb151a, den sog. Maskenspruch, ein direkter Vorläufer identifiziert worden. Er ist auf mehreren Mumienmasken aus Meir (M16C, M35C, M36C, M1Ann, M2Ann) und auf einer Maske aus Deir Rifeh (Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh) erhalten und wurde von A. De

¹ P. Eschweiler, Bildzauber im alten Ägypten: die Verwendung von Bildern und Gegenständen in magischen Handlungen nach den Texten des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches, OBO 137, Freiburg (Schweiz) / Göttingen 1994; B. Lüscher, Untersuchungen zu Totenbuch Spruch 151, SAT 2, Wiesbaden 1998; A. M. Roth / C. H. Roehrig, Magical bricks and the bricks of birth, in: JEA 88, 2002, 121–139; J. F. Quack, Altägyptische Amulette und ihre Handhabung, ORA 31, 2022, 183–184 mit Anm. 14.

² Lüscher, Untersuchungen, 304–314. Vgl. das Schema bei Roth/Roehrig, in: JEA 88, 2002, 127 Abb. 2.

The Mamur Zapt Mystery Series

with a postscript on Gaston Maspero's acquaintance with Ibrahim Nasif al-Wardani,
the assassin of Boutros Ghali

Marianne Eaton-Krauss

Abstract

This summary survey of the nineteen books comprising Michael Pearce's Mamur Zapt mystery series, which present an admittedly fictionalized version of life in Egypt ca. 1908–1920, is intended to provide contemporary Egyptologists with a perspective on the colonial environment in which their predecessors at the beginning of the last century lived and worked. The post-script, as its title indicates, is devoted to documentation for Maspero's relationship with the assassin of the Coptic prime-minister Boutros Ghali.

With publication of *The Mamur Zapt and the Return of the Carpet* in 1988, Michael Pearce initiated a series of mystery novels featuring Gareth Cadwallader Owen, the fictional head of the secret police in Egypt – the Mamur Zapt – from 1908¹ down to 1920.² Nominally responsible to the Khedive but appointed by and actually in the service of the British, Mamur Zapt Owen solves a number of murder cases in a total of nineteen books,³ the last – *Women of the Souk* – published in 2016. (At the end of this article, readers will find a list of editions consulted in its preparation, and how they are cited in the text, as well as references to French and German translations which were made of a few of them.)

The plots unfold against the background of the Capitulations (privileges the Ottoman Empire granted foreigners before the law)⁴ and of the entente cordiale (1904), the 'understanding' between France and Great Britain which affirmed the former's authority in Morocco and the latter's in Egypt, exercised by Consuls General Eldon Gorst and Herbert Kitchen-er, in office from 1907–1911 and 1911–1914, respectively. Following the declaration of the Protectorate on Dec. 14, 1914 and a brief term of Milne Cheetham as acting Consul General,

¹ This investigation takes place a few months after the death of Mustafa Kamil on Feb. 10, 1908 (*Return of the Carpet*, 72). For Kamil and other historical figures mentioned in the series, see the list at the end of the article.

² For the role of the Mamur Zapt down until Feb. 28, 1922 and the British 'declaration of independence' for Egypt, see O.L. Sirrs, *A History of the Egyptian Intelligence Service. A History of the Mukhabarat, 1910–2009*, London/New York 2010, 7–12; 198–99 (endnotes). Cf. the roughly contemporaneous account in the letters of Joseph W. McPherson (1866–1946), who served as Mamur Zapt for two years after his appointment on Jan. 22, 1918: *The Man who loved Egypt*. Bimbashi McPherson, B. Carman/J. McPherson, eds, London 1983, 188–221. – There can be no doubt that McPherson was "... politically a conventional Victorian Imperialist, in so far as he gave much thought to the matter" (ibid. 220). I am much indebted to Emily Teeter who recommended this book. The page numbers cited here refer to the paperback edition (London 1985).

³ I have read all nineteen thrice – for the third time before beginning work on this article. Pearce is the author of a second mystery series comprising seven titles, published between 2004 and 2010. Sleuth Sandor Seymour is a multi-lingual employee of Scotland Yard's Special Branch who is sent to a number of cities to investigate deaths. Each book is entitled *A Dead Man in* [name of a city]; the setting is pre-World War I. There are only two books in a third series with Dimitri Kameron, a lawyer in Russia at the end of the 19th century. And mention should also be made of *The Dragoman's Story*, Sutton, Surrey 2000, 'a comedy of manners' set in Egypt at the end of the 19th century, which Pearce based on Florence Nightingale's *Letters from Egypt* and Flaubert in Egypt (F. Steegmiller, translator and editor).

⁴ Briefly explained for readers of the series, e.g., in *Donkey-Vous*, 59 and *Girl in the Nile*, 52 f. See also *Death of an Effendi*, 130–134.

The Anthropoid Coffin of Wennefer

A study of a sample from the Saqqara hoard of coffins

Mohamed El-Seaidy
Supreme Council of Antiquities
(Taf. 1–4)

Abstract

Publication of the coffin of Wennefer from the Late Period, which was one of more than 300 coffins uncovered recently in the necropolis of Saqqara. In addition to the archaeological context, the decorations, that represent vignettes from the Book of the Dead, are described in detail and the texts are translated with comments. Finally, the proposed dating is discussed.

Starting from April 2018, the supreme council of Antiquities has conducted systematic excavations in the rock-cliff of the so-called Saqqara Bubasteion, to the west of the tombs uncovered by Alain Zivie.¹ As a result, many tombs from the Old Kingdom (mud-brick mastabas and some rock-cut tombs) were discovered. The most important among them is the rock-cut tomb of *W3h.tj* the wab-priest of King Neferirkare, 5th Dynasty. It was found blocked and included colored scenes executed in both low and sunk reliefs in a good condition. Outside the tomb numerous artefacts were uncovered in the debris, such as canopic jars, cosmetic vases and pottery vessels, amulets and wooden and bronze statuettes of various gods. The remarkable finds in this area are the animal mummies not only of cats as one expects from the Bubasteion, but also of lions and wild cats in addition to other species.²

Beside the Old Kingdom tombs, some shafts are dug from the Late Period. These shafts are rectangular, measuring 1.20 to 1.40 m length × 1 m width and the depth ranges between 9 to 14 m. Each shaft ends with a burial chamber with multiple niches. Inside these burial chambers more than 300 wooden anthropoid coffins have been found till the present. One of those shafts is number 65, which looks small in comparison to the other shafts. It is 1 m × 1 m with 9 m in depth. It leads to the west with a corridor about 3 m length and 1 m height. To the south is a small burial chamber, but it is in bad condition and collapsed. At the end of the corridor to the west, there is a burial chamber, its ground is 1 m lower than the corridor with about 3 m length from the north to the south, 2 m width from the east to the west, and 2.60 m height from the ground (fig. 1). This chamber contained four limestone sarcophagi, roughly hewn. Above them many anthropoid wooden coffins including the study case, covered with

¹ For the work of Alain Zivie, see: *Memphis et ses nécropoles au Nouvel Empire: nouvelles données, nouvelles questions*, Paris 1988; *Découverte à Saqqarah: le vizir oublié*, Paris 1990; *La résurrection des hypogées du Nouvel Empire à Saqqara*, in: M. Bárta/J. Krejčí (eds.), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000*, in: *Archiv Orientalní, Supplementa IX*, Prague 2000, 173–192; *Mission archéologique française du Bubasteion (Saqqara). Rapport sur les travaux de la mission durant la saison 1998–1999*, ASAE 77, 2003, 203–216; *Les tombeaux retrouvés de Saqqara*, Paris 2003; *Le point sur les travaux de la Mission archéologique française du Bubasteion à Saqqara*, *Bulletin de la Société française d'Égyptologie* 162, 2005, 287–309; *The Lost Tombs of Saqqara*, Toulouse 2007.

² For the excavations of the SCA, see: M. Waziri/M.M. Youssef, *A New Kingdom stela from the Bubasteion Necropolis Area at Saqqara*, in: *Memnonia* 29, 2018, 183–188; id., *A report on the Excavation of the Supreme Council of Antiquities in the Sacred Animal Necropolis at the Bubasteion in Saqqara*, in: *PES* 23, 2019, 83–91; id., *New Blocks from the Tomb of Ankhmahor near the Bubasteion Area in Saqqara*, in: *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2020*, Prague 2022, forthcoming.

Head of Statue (JE 91392) for a Vizier from the Temple of Behbeit el-Hagar

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(Taf. 5)

Abstract

In August 1969, a head of a statue had been found during digging a shaft for Muslim burials in the southern mud-brick wall of the temple of Behbeit el-Hagar. Since then, this statue head was registered (JE 91392) and stored in the Egyptian Museum at Tahrir, but had not received any further studies. The aim of this paper is to present a full description of this head for the first time and includes an investigation of the fragmentary inscriptions. The investigation's findings are supported with a cross-comparison of the inscribed titles on other comparable artefacts, such as statue base no. 2298 in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Lyon. The resulting analysis proposes that this head belonged to Horsiese (*hr-s3-3st*), son of Wennefer, who was a Priest of Isis, a Chief Justice, and held the role of Vizier during the 30th Dynasty.

1 Introduction

The history of the temple of Behbeit el-Hagar in the early Ptolemaic Period is well known due to the inscribed granite blocks that are scattered across the site. However, the history and the function of the site before the Ptolemaic Period is still poorly known.¹ According to the inscriptions, the temple of Behbeit el-Hagar was built by Nectanebo II (360–342 BC), despite the building, its decorations and statues were not completely finished.² Ptolemy II (284–246 BC) completed the inscriptions, and then Ptolemy III (246–222 BC) extended the building to the west.³ It has been suggested the presence of earlier buildings dated to Ramesses II (1279–1213 BC), based on new fragments that were found during the irrigation and infrastructure works around the temple⁴ along with a column inscribed with the cartouches of the same king which was first documented in the site by Naville in 1885.⁵

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¹ C. Favard-Meeks, *The Temple of Behbeit el-Hagara*, in: *the Temple in Ancient Egypt: New Discoveries and Recent Research*, London 1997, 103.

² M.A. Emam/E. Abd el-Zaher, *New Fragments of “Nectanebo the Falcon” from the Temple of Behbeit el-Hagar*, *Near Eastern Archaeology* 81(4), 2018, 239–243.

³ G. Hölbl, *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire*, London 2001, 87; C. Favard-Meeks, *Behbeit El-Hagara*, in: *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*, London 2005, 192.

⁴ M. A. Emam/E. Abd el-Zaher, *Two New Fragments of Ramesses II from the Temple of Behbeit el-Hagar*, in: *SAK* 46, 2017, 33–37.

⁵ E. Naville, *Détails Relevés dans les Ruines de quelques Temples Égyptiens*, Paris 1930, 41–63, esp. 43, pl. 1, fig. A; in addition to textual evidence which refers to a substantial settlement at the site during the Rameside Period, see Papyrus Louvre No. 3169 in K.A. Kitchen, *Rameside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical VI*, Oxford 1983, 523. Recently, a short excavation season had been conducted in the south-western side of the temple in 2017–2018 by the Ministry of Antiquities. This excavation revealed pottery and remains of huge mud-brick wall dated to the New Kingdom Period (E. Abd el-Zaher, *Forthcoming*).

The morning star of PT and CT on the move, up or down the arcs of the ecliptic

Rolf Krauss

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Abstract

Spells of the Pyramid Texts (PT) and Coffin Texts (CT) describe activities of the morning star – crossing the Bending Canal from north to south; going to the Field-of-Rushes and sitting there enthroned; travelling towards *S3h* or the southern Field-of-Offerings. Astronomically, the morning star is Venus in the planet's morning phase, appearing north or south of the ecliptic, crossing the ecliptic, moving up or down the arcs of the ecliptic, attaining maximum altitude above the horizon, and passing Orion, among other constellations.

1 Introduction

The PT cite a star called *ntr dw3w* whose identity as our morning star, or Venus in the planet's morning star phase, appears to be self-evident. Nevertheless, doubt has lingered among Egyptologists whether the identity is complete or only partial.¹ Below I shall discuss assertions about the morning star in PT and CT in technical astronomical terms and review the discussion about the astronomical identity of *ntr dw3w*.

Astronomical observations had first to be made, then processed before remarks could be formulated within the context of a funerary spell. For example, the morning star text PT 437 is first attested in the pyramid of Pepy I, and its variant PT 610 in the pyramids of Merenre and Neith.² Provided Pepy I ruled from 2256 to 2213 BC,³ then 2300 to 2250 BC could have served as a lower limit for relevant observations. Earlier visibilities could be used to analyse the morning star texts. The difference from earlier times is of minor importance, since the basic patterns of visibility do not change dramatically over a century with 12 to 13 Venus cycles. An average synodic Venus period of 583.92 days as the time between two successive superior or inferior conjunctions comprises both evening and morning visibility. Since five average synodic Venus periods are 2.4 days short of eight Julian years (365.25 days), the patterns of five successive evening and five successive morning visibilities repeat approximately in cycles of about eight years. The average difference of 2.4 days makes itself noticeable in shifting dates of the beginning and ending of visibility, and in corresponding changes in the ecliptical course travelled by the planet, cf. for example table 1.

Astronomical computations for this article have been carried out and star maps created with the programs Uraniastar 1.1 (Pietschnig and Vollmann 1992–95),⁴ and Alcyone

¹ Cf. J.F. Quack, Planets in Ancient Egypt, in: Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Planetary Science <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190647926.013.61>>. My thanks to one of the peer-reviewers for the reference.

² J.P. Allen, The ancient Egyptian pyramid texts, Leiden 2005, 231–232 (M 375, N 589).

³ R. Gautschi et al., A new astronomically based chronological model for the Egyptian Old Kingdom, in: JEH 10, 2017, 69–108, here 104.

⁴ For the reliability of Uraniastar see M.G. Firneis/M. Rode-Paunzen, Progress-Report on Egyptian Astrochronology, 47–85, in: M. Bietak (ed.), The Synchronisation of Civilisations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C. II. – Proceedings of the SCIEM 2000 – EuroConference, Haindorf 2nd of May – 7th of May 2001, Vienna 2003.

Die Überlieferung der sieben Salböle als Beispiel epistemischer Beschleunigung

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Abstract

Salböle spielten eine zentrale Rolle in altägyptischen Bestattungsritualen und sind in dieser Funktion auch in der Spruchfolge zu den sieben Salbölen (PT 72–78) genannt. Diese Spruchfolge ist erstmals in der Pyramide des Unas belegt, taucht aber auch ca. 150 Jahre später noch auf dem Kopfteil von Särgen und Sarkophagen auf, wo sie mit Darstellungen von Ölgefäßen und zum Teil auch weiteren Ritualutensilien gezeigt wird. Anhand einer Analyse textlicher und bildlicher Darstellungen von Salbölen beschreibt der Beitrag das Zusammenspiel dieser unterschiedlichen Darstellungsformen rituellen Wissens und identifiziert Beschleunigungsmomente im Hinblick auf den Transfer dieses Wissens.

Wissen manifestiert sich in unterschiedlichen medialen Formen und verschiedenen Kontexten. So ist es in Bildern ebenso enthalten wie in Texten. Bild und Text tradieren Wissen auf verschiedene Art, wobei gleiche Inhalte weitergegeben werden können oder sich das in Bild und Text enthaltene Wissen unterscheiden kann.¹ Form und Inhalt des Wissens sind damit die Unterschiede, auf die hin Bild und Text untersucht werden können. Für den Transfer von Wissen ist vor allem auch das Zusammenspiel der verschiedenen medialen Formen Bild und Text, die unterschiedlichen Kontexte dieser Medien sowie deren Anwendung von besonderem Interesse.

Die als Transfer bezeichneten Prozesse der Wissensbewegungen sind Dynamiken unterworfen: Das in Bildern und Texten enthaltene Wissen kann durch eine Neukontextualisierung beschleunigt oder verlangsamt werden und es können Wechselwirkungen mit dem Ursprungskontext entstehen. So kann beispielsweise in Texten enthaltenes Wissen eine größere geographische Verbreitung erfahren oder von verschiedenen gesellschaftlichen Gruppen aufgegriffen werden, wobei Weg und Zeit eine besondere Rolle bei der Verbreitung von Wissen spielen. Diese als „epistemische Beschleunigung“ bezeichneten Geschwindigkeitswechsel beim Transfer von Wissen lassen sich auch bei der Spruchfolge zu den sieben Salbölen (PT 72–78) und den zugehörigen Darstellungen beobachten. Das Wissen zu den sieben Salbölen und die damit verbundenen rituellen Handlungen werden in textlicher Form erstmals im Alten Reich in der Pyramide des Unas festgehalten und erscheinen im Mittleren Reich dann auch im nicht-königlichen Kontext auf Särgen und Sarkophagen hoher Beamter, wobei die Texte durch Darstellungen ergänzt sein können. Den Transfer des in Text und Bild enthaltenen Wissens von königlichen Pyramiden des Alten Reiches auf Särge und Sarkophage des Mittleren Reiches und die damit verbundenen Beschleunigungsprozesse werde ich im Folgenden darstellen. Die Sprüche zu den sieben Salbölen eignen sich besonders für eine solche Fallstudie, da die Texte einerseits Element einer standardisierten Spruchfolge sind, andererseits die Salböle in unterschiedlichen rituellen Handlungen eine wesentliche Rolle spielten.

¹ Dieses Wissen als „Wissen von etwas“ wird im Kontext des SFB 980 mit dem Begriff Episteme bezeichnet. Siehe dazu E. Cancik-Kirschbaum, A. Traninger (Hrsg.), Wissen in Bewegung. Institution – Iteration – Transfer, Episteme in Bewegung, Beiträge zu einer transdisziplinären Wissensgeschichte, Bd. 1, Wiesbaden 2015, 1f.

The Sacred Landscape of Leontopolis (Tell el-Moqdam) in an Unpublished Manuscript of Auguste Mariette

Kacper Laube
(Taf. 6–9)

Abstract

After the establishment of the *Service des Antiquités*, its creator, Auguste Mariette, started numerous large-scale excavation works, which, except for Upper Egypt, also included lesser-known sites located in the Nile Delta. The archaeological site of Tell el-Moqdam, where Mariette started his works in 1860, is among those sites. Until recently, the results of his works at this site were almost completely unknown, which can now change due to the discovery of an unpublished manuscript that sheds new light on the topography of the site, including the presence of long-lost temple enclosure walls along with different features of the site that are no longer preserved.

Tell el-Moqdam is a lesser-known archaeological site located in the south-central part of the Nile Delta. The site lies in Dakahlia Governorate and is located 10 km south-east of the modern town of Mit Ghamr and approximately 16 km north-west of the modern town of Zagazig. Tell el-Moqdam has been the subject of early excavation works, as it was excavated as early as in 1825, when Jean-Jacques Rifaud undertook his works on behalf of the French consul Bernardino Drovetti. In 1860, the site was excavated by Auguste Mariette on behalf of the *Service des Antiquités*, while in 1892, Édouard Naville started his works on behalf of the Egypt Exploration Fund. Apart from scattered and unpublished excavations undertaken by several Egyptian missions, the site witnessed regular excavations undertaken by the expedition from the University of California at Berkeley (1992–1996). The site was also the subject of several surveys undertaken by various scholars, which include Pierre Montet, who visited the site in 1939 and c. 1945.

1 Auguste Mariette at Tell el-Moqdam 1860

As the creator of the *Service des Antiquités*, Mariette undertook numerous excavations throughout Egypt and it is known that in thirty years he excavated some thirty-five archaeological sites,¹ from which only some were published, mostly to a limited extent. Among these sites is the Delta site of Tell el-Moqdam, that is known to have been excavated by Mariette in 1860. In fact, little is known about Mariette's works at the site, as, in his posthumous book published by Gaston Maspero, only three objects were mentioned to have been discovered there by Mariette.² These objects include two Ptolemaic stone sarcophagi, from which one was rectangular and belonged to Nesmahes,³ while the second was anthropoid and belonged to Padimahes.⁴ The third object represents the 14th Dynasty granite statue fragment of King Nehesy usurped by the 19th Dynasty King Merenptah.⁵ Our basic and, at the same time,

¹ B.S. Lesko, Mariette, François Auguste Ferdinand, in: K.A. Bard (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*, London and New York 1999, 469.

² A. Mariette/G. Maspero, *Monuments divers recueillis en Égypte et en Nubie*, Paris 1889, 21, pl. 63 (c–e).

³ G. Maspero/H. Gauthier, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire Nos. 29307–29323: Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque*, Cairo 1939, 131–134, pl. XL (CG 29321).

⁴ M-L. Buhl, *The Late Egyptian Anthropoid Stone Sarcophagi*, Copenhagen 1959, 109 (F, a 20), 110, fig. 63.

⁵ L. Borchardt, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire Nos. 1–1294: Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo II*, Berlin 1925, 87–88, pl. 89 (CG 538).

Eine bisher unerkannte bildliche Umsetzung des Menuliedes in Dendara

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(Taf. 10–11)

Abstract

Auf der Außenmauer hinter dem Neujahrskiosk auf dem Dach des Tempels von Dendara befindet sich ein bislang weitgehend ignoriertes Relief. Es wird gezeigt, dass es sich dabei um eine zum ursprünglichen Plan des Kioskes gehörende direkte Illustration des Menuliedes handelt.

Auf dem Dach des Tempels in Dendara konnte man sich bekanntlich bei Ritualen bewegen, um zu den Osiriskapellen oder dem Neujahrskiosk zu gelangen. Es ist daher mit einer Mauer eingefasst. Diese ist anders als der sonstige Tempelbau weitgehend undekoriert. Es gibt jedoch eine signifikante Ausnahme. Dies ist ein Relief, das direkt an der Wand nordwestlich hinter dem Neujahrskiosk liegt¹. Es ist vollständig hinter etwa zwei Dritteln des Kiosks verborgen, der sich in 1,20 m Entfernung² davon erhebt. Dies ist aber kein Problem, im Gegenteil, diese Lage ist offenkundig ganz bewusst so gewählt. Das Relief ist nämlich so hoch angebracht, dass man es aus dem Kiosk, der ja nur 1,38 m hohe Schrankenwände³ besitzt, sehen kann. Nach oben endet es wiederum genau auf der Höhe, wo es wieder von dem Architrav über den Säulen und der heute fehlenden Deckenkonstruktion verdeckt würde. Dies führt zu dem hübschen Effekt, dass die beiden Teile des Wandbildes wie in einem Bilderrahmen in den jeweils offenen Partien in der Mitte und im rechten Teil der Rückseite des Kiosks erscheinen. Man sieht es also beim Eintritt von der südöstlichen Seite, zugleich tritt im Bild selbst der opfernde König von Nordosten her auf die zentrale Szene zu⁴, was dem Umstand entspricht, dass der Kiosk selbst ebenfalls einen zweiten Zugang von Nordosten besitzt. Das Haupttableau in der Mitte erscheint direkt über dem zentralen Bildpaneel der rückwärtigen Schranke, das das „Öffnen des Gesichts“ zum Thema hat⁵. Rechts und links davon wird jeweils die „Erde geküsst“ und das „den Gott sehen“ durchgeführt – also genau das, was man in der Mitte dann wirklich tun kann.

Dieses Faktum, im Verein mit der vorzüglichen Qualität des Reliefs, lässt keinerlei Zweifel daran zu, dass es sich um einen durchdachten Teil des Gesamtensembles des Neujahrskioskes handelt und nicht um ein zufällig dort angebrachtes Sekundärbild. Umso verwunderlicher ist daher, dass dieses Relief bislang weitgehend ignoriert wurde und auch in der Standardedition von Dendara fehlt. Ein Photo durch den Kiosk hindurch findet sich immerhin bei Sylvie Cauville in ihrem Tempelführer, allerdings widmet sie dem Relief lediglich

¹ A. Rickert, Das Horn des Steinbocks. Die Treppen und der Dachkiosk in Dendara als Quellen zum Neujahrsfest, SSR 23, Wiesbaden 2019, 462–463, Farbtaf. 3.

² Dendara VIII 3, Rickert, Das Horn des Steinbocks, 421–422.

³ Dendara VIII 1–70, Pl. DCXCII–DCCXXXVII, Kh. Elgawady, Die Schranken in den ägyptischen Tempeln. Eine Studie zur Funktion und religiösen Bedeutung, QUIA 1, Hützel 2016, 379–407.

⁴ B. A. Richter, The Theology of Hathor of Dendera. Aural and Visual Scribal Techniques in the Per-Wer Sanctuary, WSEA 4, Atlanta 2016, 12, Fig. 1.11 (Hathor und der opfernde König sind kaum zu erahnen, aber aus dem konkreten Winkel hätte man tatsächlich nur den König beim Opfer vor der Göttin!).

⁵ Vgl. dazu A. Lohwasser, Die Formel „Öffnen des Gesichts“, BzÄ 11, Veröffentlichungen der Institute für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität Wien 58, Wien 1991.

Ein ägyptischer Siegelabdruck aus Tunesien

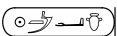
Elena Mahlich / Christoffer Theis

Universität Leipzig

Abstract

Der vorliegende Beitrag bietet eine neue Deutung eines 2008 im tunesischen Al-Ġamm gefundenen Siegelabdrucks. Durch die Entzifferung des in einer Kartusche befindlichen Könignamens ist eine zeitliche Einordnung des Skarabäus in die Hyksoszeit möglich. Entweder stammt der Siegelabdruck ursprünglich aus der Nekropole von Karthago oder aus einem bisher unbekannten Grab in Al-Ġamm, das eventuell noch weitere ägyptische Funde beinhalten könnte.

Im Jahr 2011 publizierte Detleff Hopp einen Siegelabdruck,¹ dem in der Forschung bislang keine Aufmerksamkeit zuteilwurde. Entdeckt wurde der Abdruck (Abb. 1) im Jahr 2008 in einer Kiste mit Artefakten, die Hopp bei einem Antiquitätenhändler in Al-Ġamm, der antiken Stadt Thysdrus, durch Zufall gefunden hatte. Die weiteren Funde, die sich zusammen mit dem Siegelabdruck in der Kiste befanden, werden leider nicht genauer beschrieben; es wird lediglich auf „allerlei Metallgegenstände, vor allem ‚Nomadenschmuck‘“² hingewiesen. Der Siegelabdruck selbst ist von ovaler Form und etwa 1,6 cm lang, etwa 1,5 cm breit und 0,5 cm dick.³ Der Ton wird als schwarz, mit organischem Material gemagert beschrieben. Auf der Vorderseite ist eindeutig eine Kartusche mit vier Hieroglyphen vorhanden. Die Rückseite ist leer, es zeigen sich aber mehrere, sich rechtwinklig kreuzende Linien. Insgesamt betrachtet ist der Erhaltungszustand des Siegelabdrucks mittelmäßig, da die Oberfläche bis auf die Kartusche stark berieben und an den Außenseiten sehr viel Ton abgesplittert ist.

In seiner Publikation führt Hopp an, dass eine „eindeutige Lesung und damit auch Datierung des Abdruckes (...) nicht möglich“ sei.⁴ In der Kartusche ist eindeutig der Königsname  (*M³c-ib-r^c*) zu lesen. Hierbei handelt es sich um den Thronnamen eines Herrschers der Hyksoszeit, dessen Eigenname in der Forschung als Ššī angegeben wird.⁵ Für

¹ Siehe D. Hopp, Fragezeichen aus einer tunesischen Grabbelkiste, in: *Kemet* 4, 2011, 74–75.

² Hopp, in: *Kemet* 4, 75 [Anm. 1].

³ Vgl. Hopp, in: *Kemet* 4, 75 [Anm. 1].

⁴ Hopp, in: *Kemet* 4, 76 [Anm. 1].

⁵ Z. B. J. von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, MÄS 49, München 1999, 116 f., Nr. 2f mit Anm. 5; M. Bietak, s.v. Hyksos, in: K. Bard (Hg.), *Encyclopedia of the Archeology of Ancient Egypt*, London/New York 1999, 552–555; D. Ben-Tor, Sequence and Chronology of Second Intermediate Period Royal-Name Scarabs – Based on excavated Series from Egypt and the Levant, in: M. Marée (Hg.), *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties). Current Research, Future Prospects*, OLA 192, Leuven/Paris/Walpole, MA 2010, 91–108, hier 97; O. Keel, *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus Palästina/Israel. Von den Anfängen bis zur Perserzeit*, OBO SA 10, Fribourg/Göttingen 1995, 234; K. Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period c. 1800–1550 B.C.*, CNIP 20, Kopenhagen 1997, 252–254. Da der Herrscher nicht im Turiner Königspapyrus genannt wird, ist in der Forschung umstritten, in welche Dynastie Ššī einzuordnen ist. So nannte z. B. D. D. Baker, *The Encyclopedia of the Egyptian Pharaohs*, vol. I: Predynastic through Twentieth Dynasty (3300–1069 BC), Oakville 2008, 429; Ryholt, *Political Situation in Egypt*, 98, 252–254, 321 f., 409; id., *The Date of Kings Sheshi and Yaqubhar and the Rise of the Fourteenth Dynasty*, in: M. Marée (Hg.), *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties)*, OLA 192, Leuven/Paris/Walpole, MA 2010, 109–126, hier 120 f. die 14. Dynastie; T. Schneider, *Lexikon der Pharaonen*, Düsseldorf 2002, 249 und W. F. Flinders Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names*, British School of Archaeology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account 21, London 1917, xxi; id., *City of Shepherd Kings*, British School of Egyptian Archaeology 64, London 1952, 7 die 15. Dynastie; von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, 116 f. [Anm. 5] die 15. oder 16. Dynastie. M. Bietak, s.v. Hyksos,

The Middle Kingdom Theban Project:
Preliminary report on the University of Alcalá Expedition to Deir el-Bahari
(Fifth and Sixth Seasons and Study Season – 2020/2021)

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Manuel F. Carrillo / Flavio Celis / Carmen Díaz / Enrique Dorado /
Ernesto Echeverría / Alberto González / Carlos Gracia / Lily A.B. Griffin /
Reed I. Hudson / Nisha Kumar / David Laguna / Inmaculada López /
Andrés Martín / Óscar Martínez / Patricia Mora / Beatriz Noria /
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Hazem Shared / Iria Souto / Daniel Spinelli / Jaume Vilaró / Elsa Yvanez
(Taf. 12–17)

Abstract

The present report presents the archaeological, epigraphic, conservation, and landscape works carried out by the Middle Kingdom Theban Project – a project under the auspices of the University of Alcalá (UAH, Madrid) Expedition to Deir el-Bahari and Asasif – in three campaigns (Fifth Season 2020, Study Season 2021, Sixth Season 2021). After the abrupt interruption of the Fifth Season due to the outbreak of the SARS-COVID 19 pandemic, the team organized a (summer) Study Season (Summer 2021), mainly to complete the analysis and documentation of required materials, and the Sixth Season (Fall 2021), where the focus stood on: i) the excavation of the courtyards of Henenu (TT 313) and Ipi (TT 315); ii) the excavation of the inner sections of TT 313 and E1; iii) the epigraphic analysis of hundreds of relief blocks retrieved from TT 313; iv) the implementation of new conservation protocols for the findings as well as the analysis of the conservation conditions and problems in Dagi's tomb (TT 103); and v) the detailed analysis of textiles, ceramics, and human remains from TT 315.

Introduction

The current report presents a description of the works conducted by the Middle Kingdom Theban Project and the University of Alcalá Expedition to Deir el-Bahari and Asasif in the Study Season 2021 and the Sixth Season (November–December 2021),¹ although it also contains some references to the Fifth Season, which took place for a few days only due to the SARS-COVID global crisis and the cancellation of the season. On the meeting of the Permanent Committee held in February 2021, its members approved the proposed plans of the University of Alcalá and its Middle Kingdom Theban Project for continuing our work in the mortuary complexes of Henenu (TT 313), Ipi (TT 315), tomb E1 (MMA 521), and the tomb of Dagi (TT 103) in the Asasif plateau (see fig. 1 below).² After the unsuccessful Fifth Season

¹ These three campaigns of work in Luxor would not have been possible without the support of the University of Alcalá (UAH, Madrid) and the financial aid offered by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation (PDC2021-121406-I00; PID2020-114188GB-I00; HAR2017-84505-P), the Spanish Ministry of Culture and Sports, the Regional Government of Castilla-La Mancha (SBPLY/19/180501/000267), the Regional Government of Madrid (CAM/JIN/2019-006), Palarq Foundation (Barcelona), the Spanish Association of Egyptology (AEDE, Madrid), and the Association of Friends of the UAH (Alcalá de Henares, Madrid).

² The members of the University of Alcalá Expedition to Deir el-Bahari and the Middle Kingdom Theban Project would like to express their gratitude to all the MSA divisions and officials who have supported the three campaigns in Luxor (Fifth Season 2020; Study Season 2021; and Sixth Season 2021). Thanks are due to the

A pyramid casing stone with the opening passage of Kemyt Dahshur, pyramid precinct of Senwosret III

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University of Oxford – University of Reading

Abstract

The secondary epigraphy in the pyramid precinct of Senwosret III in Dahshur has revealed a new excerpt of *Kemyt* (reg. no. 03.467). This paper offers the edition of this new dipinto and provides a discussion of its context. It also highlights parallels between royal and non-royal secondary epigraphy.

The pyramid complex of Senwosret III in North-Eastern Dahshur was frequently visited during the 18th dynasty and probably largely dismantled during the 19th dynasty (some of the burials had probably been robbed already in the Second Intermediate Period). Hitherto, most of its attested secondary epigraphy production related to the visitors' specific and localised experience at that time¹. The find of *Kemyt*² expands the known repertoire of the secondary epigraphy contents. It adds an instruction text to the visitors' texts (of the *iw.t pw* narrative type³), and to historical references to the reign of Thutmose III (using phraseology close to biographical texts and monumental record⁴), not to mention the specific demolition texts⁵. Yet, no excerpt or quotation of literary texts were recorded in this precinct up to now.

¹ Cf. J.P. Allen/H. Navratilova/F. Arnold, New Kingdom graffiti in Dahshur, pyramid complex of Senwosret III: preliminary report. Graffiti uncovered in seasons 1992–2010, in: JARCE 49, 113–141; H. Navratilova, Ramesside dockets on blocks from the pyramid complex of Senwosret III in Dahshur, in: JEA 101, 2015, 107–116.

² See *inter alia* W.C. Hayes, A much-copied letter of the early Middle Kingdom, in: JNES 7, 1948, 4–6; B. van de Walle, La transmission des textes littéraires égyptiens, with an appendix of G. Posener, Brussels 1948; G. Posener, Catalogues des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el Médineh: II (Nos 1109 à 1167), Cairo 1951; A. Gasse, Catalogue des ostraca littéraires de Deir al-Medīna: nos 1775–1873 et 1156; Tome V, DFIFAO 44, Cairo 2005; B. Mathieu/V. Ritter, Les sections finales du manuel scolaire Kémyt (§ XV–XVII). In Chr. Gallois/P. Grandet/L. Pantalacci (eds), Mélanges offerts à François Neveu: par ses amis, élèves et collègues à l'occasion de son soixante-quatrième anniversaire, Cairo 2008, 193–238; E. Petersmarck, Die Kemit. Ostraka, Schreibtafel und Papyrus, Göttingen 2012; or A. Motte, Kemit, writing-boards, and palaeographic studies. In S. Gülden/T. Konrad/U. Verhoeven (eds.), Ägyptologische „Binsen“-Weisheiten IV. Hieratisch des Neuen Reiches, Stuttgart 2022, 337–379 with further bibliography.

³ About this specific corpus, see for instance W. Helck, Die Bedeutung der ägyptischen Besucherinschriften, in: ZDMG 102 (1), 1952, 39–46; M. Negm, 1998, Tourist graffiti from the Ramesside period, in: DE 40, 1998, 115–123; H. Navratilova, Visitors' graffiti of Dynasties 18 and 19 in Abusir and northern Saqqara: with a survey of the graffiti at Giza, southern Saqqara, Dahshur and Maidum, Wallasey² 2015; Chl. Ragazzoli, Lire, inscrire et savoir en Égypte ancienne: les inscriptions de visiteurs du Nouvel Empire, in: Chr. Jacob, Lieux de savoir 2: Les mains de l'intellect, Paris 2011, 290–311; U. Verhoeven (ed.), 2020. Dipinti von Besuchern des Grabes N13.1 in Assiut, The Asyut Project 15, Wiesbaden 2020 (DOI: 10.13173/9783447115230) 15–19; or Chl. Ragazzoli, Les inscriptions de visiteurs dans les tombes thébaines (I). Epigraphie secondaire en Égypte ancienne, MIFAO, Cairo forthcoming.

⁴ Examples of this type include fragments reg. nos 94.1411 and 94.1413 from the South Temple area of the pyramid precinct of Senwosret III at Dahshur.

⁵ About 350 New Kingdom written and figural graffiti have been recorded up to now. See J.P. Allen/H. Navratilova/F. Arnold, New Kingdom graffiti in Dahshur, pyramid complex of Senwosret III: preliminary report. Graffiti uncovered in seasons 1992–2010, in: JARCE 49, 2013, 113–141 for an earlier overview and previous bibliography.

From crypt to cult

Pyramid Texts on Middle Kingdom mortuary stelae*

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Abstract

In the late Middle Kingdom a number of cult stelae dedicated to ancestors (in tombs and Abydos shrines) are inscribed with ritual spells first known from the tomb chambers of royal pyramids in the 5th and 6th Dynasties over half a millennium earlier. This paper begins by tracing this phenomenon in terms of the contents and cultural context of the spells in question, and discusses the significance of the occurrence of the ‘same’ text in rather different surroundings: First, in the sealed burial chamber of the royal family, and later as displayed on the focal point of the ancestor cult performed for private individuals. While some of the texts are clearly offering spells and thus fit quite seamlessly into the context of the mortuary cult, others look like texts usually read as dealing with the deceased’s manifestation in the next world, which raises important questions concerning the understanding (by the ancient Egyptians as well as Egyptologists) of the subject matter of the spells. In turn, such considerations can provide input to ongoing discussions about the relationship between myth and ritual in ancient Egypt.

The nature and function of ancient Egyptian funerary literature has attracted the attention of scholars since the birth of the discipline, and the question cannot be said to be fully resolved yet. The early idea of funerary texts as a kind of guidebook to, or at least description of, the afterlife is still encountered, although Sethe’s interpretation of the texts as basically another kind of grave goods has also been highly influential.¹ These texts, whatever their medium, tended to be placed in the sealed burial chamber, thereby ruling out any role as communication in the ordinary sense, as in the ideal case where the tomb remained undisturbed, there would be no audience. The tradition of funerary texts was first encountered by Western scholars in the shape of the Book of the Dead, a varying collection of ritual texts inscribed on papyrus and deposited in tombs.² Scholars of the early 19th century, like those of the early 21st, were naturally interested in what the ancient Egyptians believed would happen after death. Helped along by the images in the Book of the Dead depicting the deceased in various strange situations, a consensus quickly crystalized that conveniently, this document happened to be a literal answer to just that question. A more specific interest in what the funerary texts were thought *by the Egyptians* to do is of a rather more recent date, and even then, such

* The research presented here was carried out as part of SFB 980, ‘Episteme in Bewegung: Wissenstransfer von der alten Welt bis in die frühe Neuzeit’ at the Freie Universität Berlin during my time there as *wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter* from 2017 to 2018. Previous versions of this paper were presented at the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities Scholars’ Colloquium, 3–5 November 2017 and the workshop Substitution: Narrowing or Broadening of Knowledge, held at Freie Universität Berlin, 24–25 May 2019. It has benefitted significantly from discussions with participants on both occasions. My thanks are also due to the anonymous reviewer for useful suggestions. I am very grateful to Henriette Vex Nyord for drawing the diagrams for this article.

¹ For a recent discussion about these different viewpoints and their present implications, see R. Nyord, On interpreting ancient Egyptian funerary texts, in: *Clarusculo* 19/2, 2020, 1–23.

² B. Lüscher, *Auf den Spuren von Edouard Naville: Beiträge und Materialien zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte des Totenbuchs*, TbTS 1, Basel 2014; B. Lüscher, The rediscovery of the Book of the Dead, in: *Book of the Dead: Becoming god in ancient Egypt*, ed. F. Scalf, OIMP 39, Chicago 2017, 149–160.

Akhmim in Durham: Investigating the Mummy Coffin DUROM.1999.32

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(Taf. 18–29)

Abstract

The article studies a mummy and coffin exhibited on the entrance level of Durham University's Oriental Museum with a registration number DUROM.1999.32. In 1964, x-ray analysis of the mummy revealed what appeared to be a prosthetic hand. This has attracted considerable academic attention and been the focus for the majority of research ever since. This article presents a more holistic study of the mummy and coffin. It addresses a range of issues including coffin's potential provenance in Akhmim, whether or not it could have been excavated by Maspero in his investigation of the site (1884–1888) and the possibility that mummy, and coffin were exhibited in the old Boulaq Museum. The dating and gender of the mummy, which have also been a source of some debate, are also addressed using both scientific and art historical methods.

Introduction

The cemeteries of Akhmim embrace a whole complex of burial places from various periods. The extensive cemeteries are situated on the edge of the Eastern Desert to the northeast of Akhmim, almost touching the Nile at their southern end. The three key cemeteries continuously in use from the pre-dynastic to the Byzantine Period are:

- I. El-Hawawish cemetery A 'Naga al-Diabat',¹ a hill of about 15–20 m height, located 4 km east of Akhmim. This is in the valley close to the village of El-Hawawish 'ridge cemetery'.²
- II. El-Hawawish cemetery B 'Beit al-Madina', located 6 km east of Akhmim. The mountain of about 310 m height and contains rock cut tombs, dating from the Old Kingdom through to the Middle Kingdom.³
- III. El-Salamunī cemetery C, about 6 km north of Akhmim and adjacent to El-Salamuni modern village. This contains tombs from the Late Ptolemaic to the Late Roman Period

*I would like to thank Rachel Barclay, Curator of the Oriental Museum, for providing me with the required photos and data about the mummy coffin DUROM.1999.32.

¹ Y. El-Masry is the first scholar to use the name 'Naga al-Diabat', Y. El-Masry, Recent Explorations at the Ninth Nome of Upper Egypt, in: Z. Hawass (ed.), *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century, Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists*, I, Archaeology, Cairo/New York 2000, 335.

² The term 'ridge cemetery' was coined by J. Elias in 2005; it is used in J. Elias, Akhmim, *Encyclopedia of Ancient History*. (Wiley Publ.), it is SW of the cemetery zone, which is up on the ridge on the north side of the Coptic monastery of Deir el-Adhara/Deir el-Qibli. For the excavations in this cemetery, see G. Maspero, *Sur Les fouilles exécutés en Égypte de 1881 à 1885*, BIE 6-1885, Le Caire 1886b, 84–90; id, *Trois années de fouilles*, BIE 5-1885, Paris 1886a, 69–91; id, *Rapport à l'Institut Egyptien sur les Fouilles et Travaux Exécutés en Égypte, pendant l'hiver de 1885–1886*, BIE 7-1886, Le Caire 1887, 210–223; id, *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes*, BE 1, Paris 1893, 233–234.

³ N. Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish, the Cemetery of Akhmim*, 10 vols., Sydney 1980–1992; id, *The Watchers/Dependents of Min of Akhmim in the Old Kingdom*, in: Z. Hawass/J. Richards (eds.), *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt, Essays in Honor of David B. O'Connor*, CASAE 36, II, Le Caire 2007, 1–19; K. Kuhlmann, *Materialien zur Archäologie und Geschichte des Raumes von Achmim*, SDAIK 11, Mainz 1983, 63–71, pls. 22–26; E. Neweberry, *The Inscribed Tombs of Ekhmīm*, LAAA 4, Liverpool 1912, 99–120; E. Schiaparelli, *Chemmis (Akhmīm) et la Sua Antica Necropoli*, in *Études archéologiques, linguistiques et historiques dédiées à Mr. Le Dr. C. Leemans à l'occasion du cinquantième anniversaire de sa nomination aux fonctions de Directeur du Musée archéologique des Pays-Bas*, Leiden 1885, 85–88.

Some Interesting Copies of the Kemit*

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(Taf. 30–34)

Abstract

Since 2018, the IFAO mission at Deir el-Médina started to document and study the objects that are still stored on site within magazine 25. This article provides a first edition of the found Kemit-ostraca. These ostraca have been examined in more detail with the help of DStretch. Based on the text carriers available here, some considerations on the writing practice are made.

The Kemit is primarily preserved on ostraca dating to the New Kingdom, most of them coming from Deir el-Médina.¹ Most of the surviving texts were written on limestone ostraca, but occasionally also on wooden² or limestone tablets,³ pottery,⁴ and papyrus⁵. The text itself begins with an introduction formula similar to the one used by Heqanakht in his letters dating to the early 12th Dynasty.⁶ Neither the addressee nor the sender are mentioned.⁷ Therefore, it was believed to be a model letter, probably used in scribal training.⁸ According to S. Jäger, the Kemit most likely derived from an original letter and has to be regarded as such.⁹ The first known attestations of the Kemit were first published in 1912 by G. Möller.¹⁰ But it was not until 1951 that G. Posener was able to reconstruct the complete text of the Kemit mainly using the ostraca stored at the French Institute in Cairo for a synopsis.¹¹ W. Barta classified the Kemit into three main parts mainly according to their content: the introduction formula

* I would like to thank C. Larcher for allowing me to publish these ostraca. Furthermore, I am grateful to C. Dietrich, V. Geissler, J. Jüngling, and R. Pauer for many helpful corrections and suggestions that significantly improved the quality of this contribution. Last but not least I wish to thank the anonymous reviewer for comments and suggestions. All remaining errors and inconsistencies are those of the author.

¹ E. Petersmarck, *Die Kemit: Ostraka, Schreibtafel und ein Papyrus*, GMB 12, Göttingen 2012, 13.

² J.M. Galán, *An Apprentice's Board from Dra Abu El-Naga*, in: JEA 93, 2007, 95–116.

³ Cf. C. Barbotin, *Une nouvelle attestation de Kémit*, in: RdÉ 48, 1997, 247–50.

⁴ A. Gasse, *Catalogue des ostraca littéraires de Deir Al-Médina: Nos 1775–1873 et 1156*, DFIFAO 44, Le Caire 2005, oDM 1828, oDM 1844.

⁵ M. Collier/S. Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Religious, Literary, Legal, Mathematical and Medical*, BAR IS 1209, Oxford 2004, 50 f.

⁶ R.B. Parkinson, *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt: A Dark Side to Perfection*, London/New York 2002, 323; J.P. Allen, *The Heqanakhte Papyri*, PMMAEE 27, New York 2002, 128–129 with additional references to older discussions on this topic on page 128, footnote 8.

⁷ S. Jäger, *Altägyptische Berufstypologien*, LingAeg – StudMon 4, Göttingen 2004, 165.

⁸ Parkinson, *Poetry and Culture*, 322 f.

⁹ Jäger, *Berufstypologien*, 160 f. Especially C. Peust and E. Petersmarck tend to see a model letter in this text (cf. C. Peust, *Das Lehrstück Kemit*, in: G. Wilhelm/B. Jankowski (eds.), TUAT 3, Gütersloh 2006, 307 ff. and Petersmarck, *Die Kemit*, 16 ff.). The latter argues that the person *ḫw* is only known from the story part. Following the classification by W. Barta, who suggests the end of the introduction formula at § VI *ḫtp=k r nb.t B3s.t* (W. Barta, *Das Schulbuch Kemit*, in: ZÄS 105, 1978, 9), this is not the case as some examples name *ḫw* before the end of this formula (cf. DEM_2018_M25_176–DEM_2019_M25_096).

¹⁰ G. Möller, *Hieratic Texts from Tomb No. 37*, in: G.H. Carnarvon/H. Carter (eds.), *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes: A Record of Work Done 1907–1911*, London, 1912, 90–92.

¹¹ G. Posener, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir El Médineh: II* (Nos 1109 à 1167), DFIFAO 18.2, Le Caire 1951, pls. 1–21.

Die Horussöhne als Gabenbringer

Zur Überlieferung und Texttradierung auf Sarkophagen der ptolemäischen Epoche

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Abstract

On selected sarcophagi from the Ptolemaic period, the area between the chest and the knees of the lid is occupied by a scene depicting the four children of Horus with various gifts. They bring substances and return the components of the body and aspects of the person to the deceased so that he can use all his abilities in the afterlife. Special attention is paid in this paper to the transmission of this scene, known since the New Kingdom, with the associated texts on the late sources.

1979 veröffentlichte Jan Assmann zwei Blöcke mit drei Szenen aus dem verlorenen Grab des *Imn-m-ḥʿt* (TT 163) aus der mittleren bis späten XIX. Dynastie, die sich heute im British Museum befinden (BM EA 55336 und BM EA 55337).¹ Auf dem Block BM EA 55336 bringen die vier menschengestaltigen Horuskinder dem Verstorbenen unterschiedliche Gaben dar: Imseti gibt ihm das Herz zurück, Hapi seinen Ba, Duamutef seinen Ka und Qebehsenuef seine Mumie. Inschriften erläutern die Handlung und liefern zusätzliche Informationen. Aus dem Neuen Reich existieren zudem zwei weitere Belegen dieser Szene aus den ramessidischen Gräbern des *Nb-wnn=f* (TT 157) und des *Imn-ms* (TT 373).² In TT 157 tritt außerdem der Gott Thoth mit dem Mund des Verstorbenen in der Hand auf, was als Anspielung an die Rückgabe von Herz und Mund beim Totengericht zu verstehen ist.³ Dieses Motiv erlangt große Beliebtheit in ptolemäischer Zeit, wie die vielen Belege auf anthropoiden Sarkophagen und im Grab des Petosiris (*P3-dl-Wsʿr*) in Tuna El-Gebel zeigen.⁴

* Für die Erlaubnis Bilder von dem Sarkophag MAM 267 im Musée d'archéologie méditerranéenne publizieren zu dürfen, bin ich Gilles Deckert zu Dank verpflichtet. Mareike Wagner und Jan Tattko danke ich für ihre wertvollen Kommentare und Anregungen. Victoria Altmann-Wendling, Stefan Baumann, Susan Böttcher und Jan Tattko sei dafür herzlich gedankt, mir in ihre noch nicht erschienenen Beiträge Einsicht gewährt zu haben.

¹ J. Assmann, Harfnerlied und Horussöhne. Zwei Blöcke aus dem verschollenen Grab des Bürgermeisters Amenemḥet (Theben Nr. 163) im Britischen Museum, in: JEA 65, 1979, 54–77. Vgl. J. Assmann, Altägyptische Totenliturgien II. Totenliturgien und Totensprüche in Grabinschriften des Neuen Reiches, Heidelberg 2005, 583–584 sowie die Angaben bei PM I, 1, 276. Eine farbige Aufnahme des Blockes BM EA 55336 findet sich bei J. H. Taylor, Death and Afterlife in Ancient Egypt, London 2001, 14–15. Zum Grab vgl. Fr. Kampp, Die thebanische Nekropole. Zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. bis zur XX. Dynastie, 2 Bde., Theben 13, Mainz 1996, 452. Siehe ferner für einen ähnlichen Text U. Rummel, Ein Bildostrakon aus dem Tal der Könige. Der Gott Iunmutef als Dekorationselement der Pfeilerfronten in den Gräbern der Familie Ramses' II., in: MDAIK 59, 2003, 389–409.

² Zu TT 157 siehe L. Bell, Dra Abu el-Naga: The Monuments of the Ramesside High Priests of Amun and Some Related Officials, in: MDAIK 37, 1981, 51–62; J.-Fr. Champollion, Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie I. Notices descriptives conformes aux manuscrits autographes rédigés sur les lieux, I, Paris 1844, 535–536 und 852; Kampp, Die thebanische Nekropole, 445–447 sowie PM I, 1, 266–268 und zu TT 373 siehe K.-J. Seyfried, Das Grab des Amonmose (TT 373), Theben 4, Mainz 1990 sowie Kampp, Die thebanische Nekropole, 595–596 und PM I, 1, 433–434.

³ Dazu vgl. Assmann, Totenliturgien II, 487.

⁴ Die Szene wurde von L. Kákosy, Probleme der ägyptischen Jenseitsvorstellungen in der Ptolemäer- und Kaiserzeit, in: Ph. Derchain (Hrsg.), Religions en Égypte hellénistique et romaine. Colloque de Strasbourg 16–18 mai 1967, Paris 1969, 65–68 als Beispiel von neuem kreativem Material auf ptolemäischen Sarkophagen anhand älterer Traditionen beschrieben. Dass dieses Motiv ikonographische und textliche Entsprechungen in den

The First Zodiac Sign and the *Daimon*: The Advent of an Astrological Tradition and Seven Elaborate Horoscopes*

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Taf. 35–38

Abstract

Known as the cradle of astrology in antiquity, Egypt has produced an astonishing amount of evidence for its practice. The multifaceted sources at our disposal show the widespread popularity of astrology during the Graeco-Roman period. The material includes monumental zodiac depictions, astrological manuals, and horoscopes of various levels of sophistication in both Greek and Demotic. While the majority of the published horoscopes in Egyptian are regarded as so-called simple horoscopes, the Greek examples are a more varied lot. Nevertheless, elaborate horoscopes were also compiled in the native language. Here seven horoscopes on ostraca written in demotic and hieratic are presented and discussed. The texts are among the oldest sources for natal astrology from ancient Egypt, recording nativities between the years 48 BC and AD 1. They are also the most elaborate horoscopes in Egyptian known to date. The positions of the planets in the zodiac signs are given in degrees of longitude, and these are correlated to the so-called system of terms. The astrologers compiling the horoscopes, furthermore, calculated the position of the lots, such as the Lot of *Daimon* and the Lot of Fortune. In total, eight such points are mentioned. Other astrologically relevant phenomena that are mentioned include prenatal syzygies, which were established by correlating the lunar and civil calendars. The date of the nativity is connected to a year in the 25-year lunar cycle seemingly following the system laid out in P.Carlsberg 9.

1 Introduction

In 1968, O. Neugebauer and R.A. Parker published two Egyptian horoscopes in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*.¹ One of the pieces was the demotic O.Berl. 6152 (AD 57), a rather standard text for its kind, and the other text was ANash.Mus.D.O. 633 (44 BC).² The latter horoscope appeared to be an outlier. The text is written in a mix of scripts, both demotic and hieratic and in the interpretation of the *ed.pr.*, it contained unusual terminology and mentioned several astrological reference points which were not otherwise attested in similar materials. The two editors also noted that the piece was the oldest text of its kind from ancient Egypt.³ The nativity could be dated to the reign of Cleopatra VII Philopator, referred to as ‘The Queen^{L.P.H.}’ (*t3 pr-ꜣ.t.w.s.*) (see below).

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¹ O. Neugebauer/R.A. Parker, Two Egyptian Horoscopes, in: JEA 54, 1968, 231–235.

² The text has been discussed in, for instance, J.F. Quack, Egypt as an Astronomical-Astrological Centre between Mesopotamia, Greece, and India, in: D. Brown (ed.), The Interactions of Ancient Astral Science, Bremen 2018, 100; A. Winkler, A Starry Summer Night in AD 142: A Demotic Horoscope (MSS Griffith 3.59) in Context, in: K. Donker van Heel/F.A.J. Hoogendijk/C.J. Martin (eds), Of Making Many Books There Is No End: Festschrift in Honour of Sven P. Vleeming, PLBat 34, Leiden 2018, 304, note 34. The text is also discussed on the basis of the *ed.pr.* by S. Heilen, “Hadriani genitura”: Die astrologischen Fragmente des Antigonos von Nikaia, Texte und Studien 43, Berlin 2015, 316; D. Gieseler Greenbaum, The Hellenistic Horoscope, in: A.C. Bowen/F. Rochberg (eds), Hellenistic Astronomy: The Science in Its Context, Leiden 2020, 452–453 and 467; M. Ross, Demotic Horoscopes, in: Bowen/Rochberg (eds), Hellenistic Astronomy, 414–415.

³ See A. Winkler, On the Demotic-Hieratic Horoscopes from Athribis, in: JHA 53, 2022, 336, note 13, for literature on the published Greek and Egyptian horoscopes.