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# **STUDIEN ZUR ALTÄGYPTISCHEN KULTUR**



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# STUDIEN ZUR ALTÄGYPTISCHEN KULTUR

Herausgegeben von  
Jochem Kahl und  
Nicole Kloth



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# The Coffin of Wepwawet-em-hat (S2Shu) at Shutb Storage Museum in Asyut

Mohamed Abdelrahiem

Sohag University

(Taf. 1–4)

## *Abstract*

The article aims at editing the coffin of Wepwawet-em-hat (S2Shu) for the first time in full, including the texts inscribed on the exterior and analyzing its general aspect of being a funerary object. The coffin is stored in the Storage Museum of the village of Shutb at Asyut under nos. 2–3. There are no records with details about the discovery of the coffin which comes from an undocumented excavation at “Gebel Asyut al-gharbi”. The coffin measures 2.0 m in length, 50.0 cm in width and the overall height is c. 60 cm. Based on the parallels, textual reasons, epigraphical and paleographical features, it is suggested that the coffin dates back to the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and the early beginnings of the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, possibly going back to the early years of Senwosret I.<sup>1</sup>

## *1 Introduction*

In a previous article, the coffin of Nakhti (S1Shu) stored in the Storage Museum of the village of Shutb at Asyut under no. 1 was fully published. It was found in a box bearing no. 1 transferred from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo to Asyut within the plan of the Egyptian Supreme Council of Antiquities for developing the Storage Museums.<sup>2</sup> In the same box the coffin under discussion was found disassembled into seven planks used to enveloping S1Shu. The long sides, e.g. lid, front, back, and bottom panels are registered in the register book of Shutb Magazine “Register Book of the Boxes at the Basement of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo” under no. 2, while the short sides, which wrongly were thought to belong to a different coffin, are registered under no. 3 (figs. 1–2).<sup>3</sup> The coffin which will be coined here as S2Shu<sup>4</sup> was collocated and restored by the member of the SCA restoration department in Asyut to whom I would like to express my deep thanks.<sup>5</sup> There are no records with details about the discovery of the coffin, but it is said to come from an undocumented excavation at Gebel

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<sup>1</sup> I am greatly indebted to Professor Jochem Kahl (Freie Universität Berlin) who proofread an early draft of the entire manuscript and saved me from many errors in spelling and judgement. I also thank Professor Joachim Quack (Universität Heidelberg) for valuable comments.

<sup>2</sup> See M. Abdelrahiem, *The Coffin of Nakhti (S1Shu) at the Shutb Storage Museum in Asyut*, in: J. Kahl/A. Kilian (eds.), *Asyut – The Capital That Never Was. The Asyut Project 18*, Wiesbaden 2022, 115–144.

<sup>3</sup> The approval to study the material of the boxes was given in 2015 to the “Shutb Magazine Project”, funded by Freie Universität Berlin and directed by Prof. Jochem Kahl and the author.

<sup>4</sup> For this siglum which will be used from now on, see M. Abdelrahiem, in: J. Kahl/A. Kilian (eds.), *Asyut – The Capital That Never Was*, 117, n. 10.

<sup>5</sup> On behalf of “Shutb Magazine Project”, I would like to express my indebtedness for the generosity of our sponsor Freie Universität Berlin, without which the realization of this project would have been practically impossible. I would like also to express my deep appreciation and sincere thanks to the staff of the Ministry of State for Archaeology who helped us in various ways. Special thanks to the former State Minister of Archaeology Prof. Dr. Khaled Anany and to the present Dr. Ahmed Eissa, to the former Chairman, Dr. Mostafa Wathery, to the former Head of the Foreign and Egyptian Mission Affairs and Permanent Committee, Dr. Nashwa Gaber, to the former Directors General of Asyut Mr. Mahmoud Mahdy and Mr. Assam Magazy, to the Director of Mission Affairs Mr. Adely Garas, to the Director of Shutb Storage Magazine, Mr. Medhat Fayze, to our accompanying inspector Mr. Tarek Hassan. The staff of “Shutb Magazine Project” were most co-operative in the work. In this connection my thanks are due to Prof. Jochem Kahl, Director of the project, to Dr. Teodozja Rzeuska, Dr. Andrea Kilian, Mr. Adel Refat, Mr. Fritz Barthel, the photographer, Reis Ahmed Atitou, Reis Aid, and our driver Mr. Sobhey.

# Die Metall-Depots im Scheschonk-Tempel von el-Hibe

Horst Beinlich

(Taf. 5)

Reinhard Grieshammer

Zum 24.2.2024

## *Abstract*

After the end of the “Baden excavations” in el-Hibe and Karâra (1913–1914), the finds from the metal deposits of the Amun temple of el-Hibe were packed in boxes and taken to Heidelberg and Freiburg, where they remained unnoticed for a long time until the 1970s. Now they have finally been restored to the extent that statements can be made about these metal hiding places.

Wenn ich jetzt zum dritten Mal einen Beitrag zum Thema Metallversteck im Tempel von el-Hibe publiziere,<sup>1</sup> so hat das seine Gründe. Bezüglich der früheren Publikationen ist eine Anzahl von Fakten bekannt geworden, die auch die Interpretation der Metallgegenstände in ein neues Licht rücken. Im Nachfolgenden soll deshalb der gesamte Fund noch einmal besprochen werden.

In den Wintern 1913 und 1914 wurden unter Leitung von Hermann Ranke und unter Mitwirkung von Hans Abel und Karl Breith im Auftrage der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft in Freiburg im Breisgau Grabungen in den koptischen Friedhöfen bei Karâra und im Amun-Tempel Scheschonks I. bei El-Hibe durchgeführt. Diese Grabungen sind als die Badischen Grabungen bekannt. Hermann Ranke konnte an den Grabungen 1914 aus gesundheitlichen Gründen nicht teilnehmen. Sie wurden in diesem Jahr von Dr. Hans Abel (Wismar) geleitet, dem der Regierungsbaumeister Karl Friedrich Breith (Kaiserslautern) und speziell für etwaige Papyrusfunde der Papyrologe Dr. Friedrich Bilabel zur Seite standen.

Die hier interessierenden Grabungen innerhalb des Tempels Scheschonks I. fanden im Winter 1914 statt. Den Bericht darüber verfasste und publizierte Karl Breith in der Publikation von Hermann Ranke (48–69).<sup>2</sup> Auf ihn gehen wohl auch alle Architekturdarstellungen auf diesen Seiten und auch die Pläne im Anhang zurück.<sup>3</sup> Ein Archäologe war an den Grabungen anscheinend nicht beteiligt.

Der Tempel liegt innerhalb der Stadtmauer keine 400 m südlich des stark befestigten Nordtors der Festung von el-Hibe.<sup>4</sup> Zwei Phasen der Bautätigkeit im Bereich des Tempels lassen sich deutlich unterscheiden. Der Bau des Tempels ist durch die Inschriften und Darstellungen innerhalb des Tempels in die Regierungszeit Scheschonks I. (um 946 bis 924

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<sup>1</sup> H. Beinlich, Ein ägyptischer Räucherarm in Heidelberg, in: MDAIK 34, 1978, 15–31; H. Beinlich, Fragmente eines Opferständers aus dem Tempel von el-Hibe, in: SAK 33, 2005, 41–46.

<sup>2</sup> H. Ranke, Koptische Friedhöfe bei Karâra und der Amontempel Scheschonks I. bei El-Hibe, Berlin / Leipzig 1926. Das einzige Foto des hier behandelten Metall-Depots findet man bei Ranke auf Taf. 25,3.

<sup>3</sup> Karl Breith signiert seine Zeichnungen meist mit einem in sich verschlungenen KB.

<sup>4</sup> Der Tempel von El-Hibe und seine Inschriften wurden schon 1901 von Ahmed Kamal beschrieben: A. Kamal, Description générale des ruines de Hibé, de son temple et de sa nécropole, in: ASAE 2, 1901, 84–91. El-Hibe war in der 21. Dynastie die nördlichste Grenzbefestigung der Thebais. Spätere Grabungen sind für das Problem der Metall-Depots in el-Hibe nicht weiterführend (W. Habermann, Die badischen Grabungen in Qarâra und el-Hibe 1913 und 1914, Heidelberg 2014).



# Social and Spatial Constructions of Late Scribal Expertise\*

Katherine E. Davis  
University of Michigan

## *Abstract*

This paper suggests that scribal expertise in the Greco-Roman period is thematized through the space of the temple and notions of access and movement. Recent social analyses of scribal identity in Egyptology (largely focused on the New Kingdom), as well as broader theoretical approaches, provide important frameworks for analyzing the intersection of writing, hierarchy, and identity in later phases of Egyptian history. Here, two textual groups—Roman Period priestly treatises and inscriptions on early Ptolemaic Period private statues from temple contexts—elucidate how Egyptian elites during this time operated within temple space and oriented their identity as literate individuals with respect to movement within that space.

## *1 Introduction*

The phrase “scribal expertise” immediately evokes notions of literacy, textual output, and erudition displayed through linguistic and literary feats. Yet scribal education, along with the subsequent use of writing in a professional or even personal capacity, produces a social community linked by shared experiences and access to the cultural capital of literacy. Thus, in the performance of scribal expertise, reading and writing might be only one aspect that conveys competence. Even beyond matters such as how a scribe holds his pen and papyrus, an expert would know where writings are held and how to access them, and would comport himself in a manner appropriate to the social status of a literate person. Similarly, an observer, be the observer someone equally literate or someone with little to no literacy skills, might recognize this expert’s competence through these extra-literate factors as much if not more than from the demonstration of reading and writing itself. Therefore, the texts produced by scribal experts can be mined not only for evidence of technical aspects of literacy, but also the broader social conceptualization of literacy.

To this end, the following study suggests that scribal expertise in the Greco-Roman period is thematized through the space of the temple and notions of access and movement. Recent social analyses of scribal identity in Egyptology (largely focused on the New Kingdom), as well as broader theoretical approaches, provide important frameworks for analyzing the intersection of writing, hierarchy, and identity in later phases of Egyptian history. Here, two textual groups—Roman Period priestly treatises and inscriptions on early Ptolemaic Period private statues from temple contexts—elucidate how Egyptian elites during this time operated within temple space and oriented their identity as literate individuals with respect to movement within that sacred space.

## *2 Accessing Identity and Social Communities*

The nature of scribal expertise and by extension the social status of scribes is a frequent theme in ancient Egyptian texts and remains a favorite topic amongst Egyptologists. In the New Kingdom, textual traditions (like the Late Egyptian Miscellanies) and monumental

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\* A preliminary version of this paper was presented at the 13th International Congress of Egyptologists in Leiden, 6-11 August 2023. I would like to thank Ashley Arico for many helpful comments and suggestions. I am also grateful to the reviewer for valuable comments and additional references.

# Formule 660 des Textes des Sarcophages

## Naissance et voyage d'un défunt dans l'au-delà<sup>1</sup>

Alix Frauchiger  
Université de Genève

### *Abstract*

Spell 660 of the Coffin Texts is only attested on the coffin B1Bo (USA ; Boston MFA 20.1822–27), discovered in the necropolis of Deir el-Bersha and belonging to the nomarch Djehoutynakht IV or V. It stands out from the other spells due to its length and the variety of themes it covers. This study aims to discuss the meaning of the spell, identify the difficulties involved in its comprehension and define its themes and structure. Based on coffin photographs and the hieroglyphic text established by de Buck (CT VI, 280n–286u), a new transliteration and translation are proposed. The thematic division of the text reveals a logical sequence in the narrative: spell 660 begins with the arrival of the deceased in the afterlife and continues with the preparation of his journey there, finally concluding with his departure. The similarities of the spell with others issued from the Coffin Texts suggest that it is the outcome of a fusion of several spells.

Le cercueil B1Bo (USA; Boston MFA 20.1822-27)<sup>2</sup> est considéré comme l'un des plus beaux cercueils retrouvés, avec sa décoration soignée et ses nombreuses formules des Textes des Sarcophages<sup>3</sup>. L'identité de son propriétaire est incertaine. Il s'agit soit de Djéhoutynakht IV, fils d'Ahanakht I le constructeur du temple de Thot à Hermopolis, soit de Djéhoutynakht V fils de Néheri I. Tous deux étaient nomarques du Nome du Lièvre et grands prêtres de Thot entre la fin de la XI<sup>e</sup> dynastie et le début de la XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie<sup>4</sup>. Ils jouissaient d'une grande influence et semblent avoir entretenu des contacts avec le pouvoir royal<sup>5</sup>. Cette autorité transparaît dans la remarquable qualité du cercueil, découvert à Deir el-Bersha, cimetière de la ville d'Hermopolis. Consacrée à Thot, Hermopolis était un centre religieux égyptien majeur, à l'origine notamment de la cosmogonie hermopolitaine et du Livre des deux chemins, attesté exclusivement sur les cercueils de Deir el-Bersha<sup>6</sup>. Le cercueil B1Bo illustre cette expertise

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<sup>1</sup> J'ai effectué cette recherche dans le cadre de mon mémoire de Master d'égyptologie et copte de l'Université de Genève, sous la direction du professeur Philippe Collombert. Elle a été évaluée par un jury composé de Philippe Collombert, Dominique Lefèvre et Youri Volokhine. Je les remercie sincèrement pour leur expertise. J'adresse également mes remerciements à François Ghiringhelli pour ses précieux conseils.

<sup>2</sup> H. Willems, *Chests of Life*, Leiden 1988, 20, B1Bo.

<sup>3</sup> D. Dunham, *The Egyptian Department and its excavations*, Boston 1958, 67–70 ; R. E. Freed/L. M. Berman/D. M. Doxey/N. S. Picardo, *The Secrets of Tomb 10A* ; E. L. B. Terrace, *Egyptian Paintings of the Middle Kingdom*, London 1968.

<sup>4</sup> H. Willems, *Dayr Al-Barsha I*, OLA 155, Leuven/Paris/Dudley 2007, 84–87.

<sup>5</sup> H. Willems, *Historical and Archaeological Aspects of Egyptian Funerary Culture*, *Culture and History of the Ancient Near East* 73, Leiden/Boston 2014, 80 ; Willems, *Dayr Al-Barsha I*, 155, 102–107.

<sup>6</sup> B. Backes, *Das altägyptische « Zweiwegbuch »*, *ÄA* 69, Wiesbaden 2005 ; L. Gestermann, *Sargtexte aus Dair al-Birsha: Zeugnisse eines historischen Wendepunktes*, in: S. Bickel/B. Mathieu (éds.), *D'un monde à l'autre*, BdE 139, Le Caire 2004, 201–217 ; Sokolova suggère qu'Hermopolis n'était pas un centre de création des Textes des Sarcophages en raison de la forte reproduction de séquences erronées de formules. La ville pourrait néanmoins être considérée comme lieu de leur transmission et de leur copie, dû à la présence du temple de Thot, dieu de l'écriture ; M. Sokolova, *The tradition of the Coffin Texts in Hermopolis: productive or reproductive?*, in: T. Gillen (éds.), *(Re)productive traditions in ancient Egypt*, *AegLeod* 10, Liège 2017, 85–86.

# The Study of a Provincial Stone Sarcophagus from the New Kingdom: An Iconographical Analysis and Virtual Reconstruction

Kevin L. Johnson\*

Taylor University

(Taf. 6–14)

## *Abstract*

In the early 1920s, Sir Flinders Petrie and Guy Brunton discovered the limestone sarcophagus of a New Kingdom *ḥ3ty-<sup>c</sup>* named Menna in the cemetery at Sedment, not far from the ancient site of Herakleopolis (modern-day Ihnasya el-Medina). Stone sarcophagi, while typical for royalty, are less common for officials, especially those who held office in provincial Egypt. Shortly after its modern discovery, tomb robbers cut this sarcophagus into a number of pieces and sold them on the antiquities market. Over the years, the sections have found their way into public and private collections in both North America and England. During the last few decades, a majority of the decorated pieces from the sides of the sarcophagus trough have been located, and thus it is now possible to reassemble it virtually. With this reconstruction, a proper iconographical and textual study can be presented, and as such valuable details can be gleaned, not only about the sarcophagus's owner, but also about non-royal stone sarcophagi of this period in general.

## *Introduction*

From December 1920 to April 1921, Guy Brunton, under the direction of Sir Flinders Petrie, excavated a number of burials at Sedment, the necropolis that serviced the ancient inhabitants of Nennesut.<sup>1</sup> Brunton found a number of grave goods belonging to a *ḥ3ty-<sup>c</sup>* named Menna while clearing one of the tombs, designated 1955, which he describes as follows:

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\* I would like to acknowledge the following for their assistance during the course of this endeavor: Stephen Harvey, Melinda Hartwig, Lorelei Corcoran, and Peter Brand for their many helpful comments pertaining to this study, which began while I was a graduate student at The Institute of Egyptian Art and Archaeology at the University of Memphis; the Bedi Center for Teaching and Learning Excellence at Taylor University for providing funds in support of this research; Rosa Erika Feleg for her excellent work drawing each of the pieces and for her expert eye pointing out some of the orthographic anomalies; and Ryan James for his assistance scanning and enhancing the images. The existence of five of the nine pieces examined in this article were first briefly made known in this very journal in 1994 by Nicholas Reeves, (The Sarcophagus of Menna from Sidmant el-Gebel: Five Fragments), where he states, "If this note should lead to the identification of further pieces from Menna's sarcophagus, from which a full and reliable reconstruction of the monument might be attempted, then its primary aim will have been achieved" (256). Since that publication, four additional pieces have been identified as belonging to the same sarcophagus. Altogether, these nine pieces allow for the "reliable reconstruction" hoped for by Reeves.

<sup>1</sup> This site's full Egyptian name, *ḥwt Nn-nswt*, means "the city of the Royal child," with the child in question most likely to be identified with Horus, thought to have been crowned king in this town along with his father Osiris. The Greeks associated the local god Herishef ("he who is upon his lake") with their own Herakles, thus calling the city Herakleopolis, or "the city of Herakles." See M. Mokhtar, *Ihnasya el-Medina (Herakleopolis Magna): Its Importance and its Role in Pharaonic History*, Cairo 1983, 65. Cf. F. Gomaà, *Herakleopolis Magna*, in: *LÄ 2*: 1124–1127. For further information on the site, see W. Grajetzki, *Sedment: Burials of Farmers and Noblemen Over the Centuries*, London, 2005; M. Serpico, *Sedment*, in J. Picton and I. Pridden (eds), *Unseen Images: Archive Photographs in the Petrie Museum. Volume 1: Gurob, Sedment and Tarkhan*, London 2008, 100–3; H. Franzmeier, *Die Gräberfelder von Sedment im Neuen Reich: Materielle und kulturelle Variation im Bestattungswesen des ägyptischen Neuen Reiches*, 2 vols., PdÄ 34, Leiden/Boston 2017. It has also been argued that the burials at Sedment might not be from those living in the town proper, but those living in villages just outside Nennesut. See S.J. Seidlmayer, *Gräberfelder aus dem Übergang vom Alten zum Mittleren Reich*, Heidelberg 1990, 247.

# „... a martial frame of mind“: Nubische Bogenschützen und Truppenaufmärsche in Assiut

Jochem Kahl

Freie Universität Berlin

(Taf. 15 a–b)

## *Abstract*

Nubian bowmen played a significant role during the final phase of the First Intermediate Period as well as at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom. The hitherto unknown depiction of Nubian archers in the tomb of Iti-ibi (Tomb III) at Asyut is the starting point for reevaluating the attestations of Nubian soldiers at this site.

## *1 Assiuts Elite und ihr „martial frame of mind“*

Im Jahre 2014 bescheinigte Harco Willems sehr treffend den lokalen Potentaten von Assiut einen „martial frame of mind“.<sup>1</sup> Ich möchte diese Bemerkung aufgreifen und dazu einige klärende bzw. neue Informationen zum Militär und insbesondere zur Frage der Präsenz nubischer Bogenschützen im Assiut der ausgehenden Ersten Zwischenzeit und des frühen Mittleren Reiches liefern.

Am Ende der Ersten Zwischenzeit bildete Assiut scheinbar das letzte Bollwerk im Abwehrkampf des herakleopolitanischen Königshauses gegen die nordwärts expandierenden thebanischen Truppen. Nach Ausweis der biographischen Inschriften in den Gräbern V (Cheti I.), III (Iti-ibi) und IV (Cheti II.) erkannten die Machthaber von Assiut zwar die Könige in Herakleopolis durch Bezugnahmen auf dieselben an, hoben gleichzeitig aber auch ihre eigene Führungsstärke hervor.<sup>2</sup> Oblag es doch im Ernstfall ihnen allein, die Bevölkerung zu schützen und mit Nahrung zu versorgen sowie die Grenzen des Territoriums zu sichern. Durch diese Aufgaben in dem von thebanischen Truppen bedrohten Krisengebiet erhielten die Potentaten von Assiut eine relative Autonomie in ihrem Handeln und ihrer Führung. Insbesondere die militärische Gewalt lag in ihren Händen – ein Warten auf Befehle oder Entscheidungen aus Herakleopolis war im Ernstfall kaum möglich. Denn ihr Herrschaftsbereich lag über 250 Kilometer südlich von Herakleopolis, weit entfernt vom Sitz des Königshauses, in unmittelbarer Nähe des Kampfgeschehens.

Ausdruck dieser besonderen Situation – sicherlich verursacht durch die geographische Lage der Stadt, die Kulturstadt, Grenzstadt und *wounded city* war,<sup>3</sup> – sind die auffällig zahlreichen Soldatendarstellungen, Waffenbeigaben und Holzmodelle von Soldaten und Waffen in den Gräbern der Eliten Assiuts (Abb. 1). Seit den Anfangszeiten der Ägyptologie bekannt ist die unvollendet gebliebene Reliefdarstellung aufmarschierender Soldaten auf der Südwand

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<sup>1</sup> H. Willems, *Historical and Archaeological Aspects of Egyptian Funerary Culture: Religious Ideas and Ritual Practice in Middle Kingdom Elite Cemeteries*, Leiden 2014, 44, Anm. 135.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. W. Schenkel, *Memphis – Herakleopolis – Theben. Die epigraphischen Zeugnisse der 7.–11. Dynastie Ägyptens*, AA 12, Wiesbaden 1965, 68–89; E. Edel, *Die Inschriften der Grabfronten der Siut-Gräber in Mittelägypten aus der Herakleopolitenzeit*, ARWAW 71, Opladen 1984; M. El-Khadragy, *The Decoration of the Rock-cut Chapel of Khety II at Asyut*, in: SAK 37, 2008, 219–241.

<sup>3</sup> J. Kahl, *Ancient Asyut. The First Synthesis after 300 Years of Research*, The Asyut Project 1, Wiesbaden 2007, 3–20.

## The Asyut Project: Seventeenth Season of Fieldwork (2023)

Jochem Kahl, Mohamed Abdelrahiem, Aneta Cedro, Ramona D'Alfonso,  
Katarzyna Kapiec, Andrea Kilian, Amandine Mérat, Adel Moustafa,  
Marina Shimizu, Paulina Wołodźko  
(Taf. 16–22)

### *Abstract*

The Egyptian-German joint mission of Sohag University and Freie Universität Berlin conducted its seventeenth season of fieldwork in the ancient necropolis situated in the western mountain of Asyut (Gebel Asyut al-gharbi). Fieldwork commenced on the 21<sup>st</sup> of August 2023 and lasted until 19<sup>th</sup> of September 2023. It focused on Tomb I, the Tomb of Mesehti, the Coptic school building (F10.x) and mountain surveying. Additionally, objects were studied in the magazine of the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities at Shutb from 20<sup>th</sup> of September to 19<sup>th</sup> of October 2023.

From 21<sup>st</sup> August 2023 to 19<sup>th</sup> September 2023, the Egyptian-German Mission from Sohag University and The Freie Universität Berlin conducted its seventeenth season of fieldwork<sup>1</sup> in the ancient necropolis of Asyut situated in the western mountain.<sup>2</sup> Fieldwork focused on:

- cleaning the ground floor of Tomb I (P10.1)
- cleaning the tomb of Mesehti (K11.3)
- cleaning a Coptic school building (F10.x)
- surveying the western mountain
- mapping the necropolis

The mission studied objects from Gebel Asyut al-gharbi on the mountain itself, as well as in the magazine of the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities at Shutb.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For previous fieldwork, cf. the preliminary reports in SAK 32, 2004, 233–243; SAK 33, 2005, 159–167; SAK 34, 2006, 241–249; SAK 36, 2007, 81–103; SAK 37, 2008, 199–218; SAK 38, 2009, 113–130; SAK 39, 2010, 191–210; SAK 40, 2011, 181–209; SAK 41, 2012, 189–235; SAK 42, 2013, 123–153; SAK 44, 2015, 103–161; SAK 46, 2017, 113–151; SAK 47, 2018, 137–148; SAK 50, 2021, 207–259; SAK 52, 2023, 127–163.

<sup>2</sup> Fieldwork on Gebel Asyut al-gharbi and studies in the magazine of the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities at Shutb were part of the German-Polish project “Asyut – centre of ancient trade” within the framework of the Beethoven Classic 3 founded by the German Research Foundation (project number 426702318) and the National Science Centre (UMO-2018/31/G/HS3/03386). In addition, the joint Japanese-German-Egyptian research project “Religion and animals of Greco-Roman Egypt - case studies of Middle Egypt” (JSPS KAKENHI Grant no. 22KK0008) contributed to the successful season. Members of the mission were: Prof. Dr. Jochem Kahl (project director; field director), Prof. Dr. Mohamed Abdelrahiem (field director), Prof. Dr. Teodozja Rzeuska, Prof. Dr. Ahmed Alansary, Dr. Adel Moustafa Ahmed Ali, Dr. Hesham Faheed Ahmed, Dr. Katarzyna Kapiec, Dr. Andrea Kilian, Dr. Chiori Kitagawa, Dr. Amandine Mérat, Dr. Henryk Meyza, Mohamed Alshafey, Marta Bajtler, Fritz Barthel, Anja Buhlke, Aneta Cedro, Ramona D'Alfonso, Ana Sofia de Carvalho Gomes, Sira Renée Lengert, Adel Refaat, Marina Shimizu, Paulina Wołodźko.

<sup>3</sup> During the fieldwork we received full cooperation and encouragement from the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities. Thanks are due in particular to the former Minister of Tourism and Antiquities Mr. Ahmed Issa, to the former secretary-general of the Supreme Council for Antiquities Dr. Mostafa Waziry, to the Head of the Foreign and Egyptian Mission Affairs and Permanent Committee, Dr. Nashwa Gaber, to the general director of Asyut Antiquities, Mr. Mohamed Sadky, to the former Head of Excavation and Missions Section at Asyut Mr. Adly Garas Mata, to the director of the magazine of the Ministry of Antiquities at Shutb Mr. Medhat Fayez Tadros. We are also thankful to the accompanying inspectors Mr. Ramadan Hussein Ibrahim Kasem, Mr. Hussein Mostafa Hussein Mahmoud and Mr. Tarek Hassan.

## The Middle Kingdom Theban Project:

Preliminary report on the University of Alcalá Expedition to Deir el-Bahari  
(Seasons Seventh, Eighth and Ninth – 2023–2024)

Antonio J. Morales / Sergio Alarcón / José M. Alba / Ella J. Andrews /  
Jaime Colás / Carmen Díaz / Alberto González / Lily A.B. Griffin /  
Laura Hernando / Reed I. Hudson / Ana Jiménez / Miguel Ángel López /  
Jesús Martínez / Patricia Mora / Beatriz Noria / Olivia O'Dwyer /  
Katherine E. Rose / Rocío Ruiz / Raúl Sánchez / Jaume Vilaró / Elsa Yvanez  
(Taf. 23–26)

### *Abstract*

The present report introduces the archaeological, epigraphic, conservation, and landscape activities carried out by the Middle Kingdom Theban Project – a project run by the University of Alcalá Expedition to Deir el-Bahari and Asasif – in its Seventh, Eighth and Ninth Seasons. The areas identified as a priority for the seasons were: i) the eastern sector of the courtyard of Dagi (TT 103); ii) the eastern sector of the transversal hall in the same tomb; iii) the southern sector in the courtyard of Djari's tomb (TT 366); iv) the northern sector of the transversal hall at the same complex; iv) further documentation of the funerary chamber and sarcophagus in the tomb of Ipi (TT 315); and v) the surrounding territories and landscapes of the Theban necropolises, targets for the production of a DEM. In addition, the project team – with the permission of MoTA and Museum of Luxor – proceeded to the transfer of the exceptional findings of the embalming deposit at TT 315 to the museum storage for further study.

### *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 Seventh Season (April–May 2023), Eighth Season (November–December 2023), and Ninth Season (February–March 2024).<sup>1</sup> In the meeting of the Permanent Committee held on November 3, 2022, the Egyptian authorities approved the proposed plans of the University of Alcalá and the Middle Kingdom Theban Project,<sup>2</sup> providing permission for the continuation

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<sup>1</sup> These campaigns of work in Luxor would not have been possible without the support of the University of Alcalá (UAH), and the financial aid offered by the following agencies: Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation (PDC2021-121406-I00; PID2020-114188GB-I00); Regional Government of Castilla-La Mancha (SBPLY/19/180501/000267); Gerda Henkel Foundation (AZ 68/V/23; Düsseldorf), Palarq Foundation (Barcelona); Spanish Association of Egyptology (Madrid); and Association of UAH Friends (Alcalá de Henares).

<sup>2</sup> 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 MoTA divisions and officials who have supported this campaign in Luxor. Thanks are due to the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, Ahmed Issa, to the General Director of the Supreme Council of Antiquities, Mostafa Wazery, the Director of the Foreign Missions, Nashwa Gaber, the General Administrator of Upper Egypt Committee, Fathy Yassin, the Head of Luxor, Baha Abdel Gaber, the Head of the West Bank, Ezz Er-Din El-Noby, and the Manager of the Middle Sector, M. Abdelgany.

Regarding the Seventh Season, extending from April 27 to May 28, 2023, the expedition members participating in this campaign were: A.J. Morales, S. Alarcón, R. Sánchez, J.M. Alba, E.J. Andrews, J. Colás, C. Díaz, L.A.B. Griffin, L. Hernando, R.I. Hudson, A. Jiménez, M.Á. López, J. Martínez, P. Mora, J. Pérez, O. O'Dwyer, K.E. Rose, J. Vilaró, E. Yvanez. The Eighth Season, from 29 November to 22 December 2023, included A.J. Morales, J.M. Alba, F. Döner, J. Martínez, P. Mora, B. Noria, R. Ruiz. The Ninth Season, from 8 February to 8 March 2024, included A.J. Morales, J.M. Alba, E.J. Andrews, J. Colás, L.A.B. Griffin, R.I. Hudson, M.Á. López, J. Martínez, P. Mora, B. Noria, O. O'Dwyer. The archaeological inspectors of the Ministry of Tourism and



# Typology and decoration of Old Kingdom wooden coffins and stone sarcophagi: similarities and differences

Marie Peterková Hlouchová / Věra Nováková\*  
(Taf. 27–28)

## Abstract

Even though wooden coffins and stone sarcophagi had the same practical and religious meaning with their goal to protect the corpse and to ensure the resurrection of the deceased, several differences in terms of their type and decoration can be observed. Three basic types of these burial containers can be distinguished, i.e. the simple rectangular form with a flat lid, the form with a vaulted lid and rectangular end bars, and the rectangular case with a lid in the shape of the cavetto cornice. In terms of the decoration displayed on burial containers, several motifs of religious significance (palace façade, *wꜥt* eyes, false door, seven sacred oils, granaries, head and legs) occurred on both types, but not always at the same place and at the same time. Such a comparison of the typology and decoration between containers made of different materials (wood and stone) has not been done yet, and that is why the article aims to investigate this topic in detail and to offer new insights into this seemingly simple topic. However, this investigation can help with understanding the traits of the development of burial containers in general. Some of the latest finds from field excavations will be included as well.

Excavations of many necropoleis from ancient Egypt have brought to light a remarkable number of burial containers of various materials (wood, stone, reed, pottery, clay). However, the containers were not preserved and published with the same detail for all periods of Egyptian history. Predominantly, attention has been devoted to later historical eras, especially the Middle Kingdom,<sup>1</sup> the Twenty-first Dynasty and the First Millennium BC in general<sup>2</sup>. For the

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\* Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Prague. This study was supported by the Czech Science Foundation “Ancient Egyptian Burial Containers of the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period. Evolution, Contextualisation and Significance” (No. 23-04989S). The illustrations were prepared with the support of the Cooperatio Program provided by Charles University, research area Archaeology, implemented at the Faculty of Arts of Charles University, and the non-investment subsidy no. 1-VEG 2024, MSMT-1232/2024-8. The authors would also like to thank to Anthony Arias for language editing.

<sup>1</sup> H. Willems, *Chests of Life. A Study of the Typology and Conceptual Development of Middle Kingdom Standard Class Coffins*, Leiden 1988; M. Zitman, *The necropolis of Assiut: a case study of local Egyptian funerary culture from the Old Kingdom to the end of the Middle Kingdom*, OLA 180, Leuven 2010; Painted for Eternity (<http://meketre.org>; last access on 4<sup>th</sup> March 2024).

<sup>2</sup> See, for instance, J.H. Taylor, *Egyptian Coffins*, Aylesbury 1989; J.H. Taylor, *Death and Afterlife in Ancient Egypt*, Chicago 2001; J.H. Taylor, *Theban coffins from the Twenty-second to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty: dating and synthesis of development*, in: N. Strudwick/J.H. Taylor (eds), *The Theban Necropolis. Past, Present and Future*, London 2003, 95–121; J.H. Taylor, *Coffins as evidence for a ‘north-south divide’ in the 22<sup>nd</sup>–25<sup>th</sup> Dynasties*, in: G.P.F. Broekman et al. (eds), *The Libyan period in Egypt: historical and cultural studies into the 21<sup>st</sup>–24<sup>th</sup> Dynasties*. Proceedings of a conference at Leiden University, 25–27 October 2007, Leiden 2009, 375–415; K.M. Cooney, *The Cost of Death: The Social and Economic Value of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Art in the Ramesside Period*, Leiden 2007; K.M. Cooney, *Changing Burial Practices at the End of the New Kingdom: Defensive Adaptations in Tomb Commissions, Coffin Commissions, Coffin Decoration, and Mummification*, in: JARCE 74, 2011, 3–44; K.M. Cooney, *Ancient Egyptian funerary arts as social documents: social place, reuse, and working towards a new typology of 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty coffins*, in: R. Sousa (ed), *Body, Cosmos and Eternity. New Research Trends in the Iconography and Symbolism of Ancient Egyptian Coffins*, Oxford 2014, 45–66; K.M. Cooney, *Coffin commerce: how a funerary materiality formed ancient Egypt*, Cambridge Elements: Elements in Ancient Egypt in Context, Cambridge 2021. DOI: 10.1017/9781108913881; É. Liptay, *Coffin and Coffin Fragments of the Third Intermediate Period*, Budapest 2011; R. van Walsem, *From skin wrappings to architecture. The evolution of prehistoric, anthropoid wrappings to historic architectonic coffins/sarcophagi; separate contrasts optimally fused in single Theban ‘stola’ coffins (±975–920 BC)*, in: R. Sousa (ed), *Body, Cosmos and Eternity*. New

## Interconnectedness of graffiti, writers, and landscape.

### Graffiti production in the royal necropolis with focus on the area behind the tomb of Ramses VII<sup>1</sup>

Muhammad R. Ragab

Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities (MoTA)/Uppsala University

#### *Abstract*

This study analyses the graffiti found in the area behind the tomb of Ramses VII, in the Valley of the Kings, with the aim of addressing two questions: The first focuses on the analysis of the impact of work location on the presence of graffiti on nearby cliffs. Thus, the study investigates whether the practice of graffiti writing on the walls has changed over time due to the changing distance between the walls and the work locations. The second question examines how the social relations, status, and position of the graffiti writers within the hierarchy of the workforce influenced the placement of the graffiti on a particular wall. The research can serve as a paradigm to be applied to other graffiti walls, thereby enhancing our understanding of the intricate connections between graffiti, their creators, and the surrounding landscape.

The majority of graffiti found in the Theban Mountain<sup>2</sup> were created by the tomb builders, also known as the workmen from Deir el-Medina.<sup>3</sup> However, these graffiti are only rarely discussed in relation to the work environment.<sup>4</sup> Various factors, such as visible tombs, tombs under construction, huts, resting places, sun exposure, shade, and hiddenness, which must have had an impact on the practice of graffiti writing, either encouraging or discouraging its production, are yet to be further investigated.

This study analyses the graffiti in the area behind the tomb of Ramses VII (KV 1) in the Valley of the Kings, designated in the existing documentation of the GMT as sector A4 (fig. 1 A and fig. 3). The valley splits at the entrance of the tomb into two arms so that the tomb entrance is located at the junction of the three arms of a Y. Few known graffiti are

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<sup>1</sup> This article emanates from and constitutes an integral component of my doctoral thesis entitled 'The Workmen's Graffiti in the Valley of the Kings', conducted at Uppsala University. I wish to extend my gratitude to Dr. Nashwa Gabe from the Foreign Missions Office at the MoTA, for granting me permission to conduct fieldwork in the Theban Mountain. I also express my deepest appreciation to my colleagues in Luxor who facilitated my research, including Mr. Mohamed Abd el-Badie (Under-secretary of State of Upper Egypt), Mr. Mohamed Yahya (General Director of the Antiquities Service in Upper Egypt), Mr. Hussain Fawzy (Head Inspector of the Valley of the Kings), and Mr. Ahmed Mahmoud Mohamed (Accompanying Inspector).

<sup>2</sup> W. Spiegelberg, *Ägyptische und andere Graffiti (Inchriften und Zeichnungen) aus der thebanischen Nekropolis*, Heidelberg 1921; J. Černý, *Graffiti hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques de la nécropole thébaine: Nos 1060 à 1405*, Cairo 1956; J. Černý, Černý MSS 6.13: Theban Graffiti copied by Carter in 1917; J. Černý et al., *Graffiti de la montagne thébaine, I-IV*, Le Caire 1969–1983 (abbreviated here as GMT); T. Kikuchi, *Graffiti Nr. 3974–3982 aus dem Gebiet des Grabes Amenophis' III im Westtal der Könige*, in: *Memnonia* 7, 1996, 163–184; A. Dorn, *Graffiti de la Montagne Thébaine (GMT) 2012/2013: old and new graffiti from Western Thebes*. Report of the 1st campaign of the Graffiti in the Valleys of Western Thebes Project, in: A. Dorn/S. Polis (eds.), *Outside the box: selected papers from the conference 'Deir el-Medina and the Theban Necropolis in Contact'* Liège, 27–29 October 2014, *Ægyptiaca Leodiensia* 11, Liège 2018, 141–55.

<sup>3</sup> J. Černý, *A community of workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period*, Cairo 1973; S. Rzepka, *Who, where and why: The rock graffiti of members of the Deir el-Medina community*, Warsaw 2014.

<sup>4</sup> H. Altenmüller, *Das Graffiti 551 aus der thebanischen Nekropole*, in: *SAK* 21, 1994, 19–28; M. R. Ragab, *Transformation of a sacred landscape: Veneration of Amun-Re in graffiti in the Valley of the Kings*, in: *JEA* 107, 2021, 191–205; A. Dorn/M. Müller, *Regenfälle in Theben-West*, in: *ZÄS* 133, 2006, 90–3.



# Answering the Sycamore

Ilona Regulski

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

(Taf. 29–31)

## *Abstract*

The appearance of a remarkable Chinese ink rubbing of Egyptian hieroglyphs at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (V&A) led to a reassessment of the known versions of the ‘Answer to the Sycamore’, including a hitherto unpublished sarcophagus lid at the British Museum (EA1343). The known parallels of this rare text provided information on the original object represented by the Chinese rubbing and its relationship with earlier known versions of this text. It also encouraged the publication of the British Museum sarcophagus lid. The ‘Answer to the Sycamore’ became popular during the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE and its text transmission history shows a distinct northern and southern tradition.

In 2021, my attention was drawn to an ink rubbing of Egyptian hieroglyphs at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (V&A).<sup>1</sup> The rubbing was made by Duanfang (1861–1911), a Chinese politician and collector during the late Qing period.<sup>2</sup> Duanfang travelled to Cairo in 1906, where he bought antiquities and made several rubbings and casts of ancient Egyptian artefacts. The tradition of making rubbings of Chinese texts on stone and bronze was long established in China, but Duanfang pioneered this technique to foreign inscriptions. The rubbing was created in a style reminiscent of Far Eastern scrolls with Chinese characters on either side of an Egyptian inscription (Taf. 29 a). The Chinese text suggests that Duanfang was the owner of the rubbing, and presented it as a gift to a certain Mr. An in 1907. The Egyptian inscription consists of three vertical lines of hieroglyphs framed at the top by a broad sign representing the sky. Given Duanfang’s whereabouts in Egypt, it is possible that the source would have been available to him at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo or at an archaeological site close to the capital city of Egypt.

At the time this rubbing was shown to me, I was working on the redisplay of Galleries 49 and 50 in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo in the framework of the EU-funded project ‘Transforming the Egyptian Museum Cairo’.<sup>3</sup> Galleries 49 and 50 present Late Period, Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt (380 BCE–395 CE) and house a large number of anthropoid sarcophagi from the Ptolemaic period. Due to my regular interactions with these objects, it became clear to me that Duanfang’s rubbing must have been taken from an engraved inscription on such a sarcophagus. My suggestion was confirmed by the parallels I later discovered for the text in

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<sup>1</sup> <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1639639/rubbing/?carousel-image=2021NA4240> (accessed 24-06-2024). I thank British Museum China curator Jessica Harrison-Hall for drawing my attention to these rubbings, and V&A curators Hongxing Zhang (senior curator for China) and Ben Hinson (curator, Middle East Section) for allowing me to publish the rubbing. The description on the V&A website adds: ‘Two more rubbings of the same text are known to exist. Comparing the three rubbings, one can be confident that the present rubbing is taken from the original stone, while the other two are probably from a replica of the original.’ Two more rubbings by Duanfang are in the Maidstone Museum: <https://museum.maidstone.gov.uk/scroll-paintings-in-maidstone-museums-collection-part-2/> (accessed 21-04-2024)

<sup>2</sup> J. Harrison-Hall/J. Lovell, *China’s hidden century: 1796–1912*, London 2023, 289.

<sup>3</sup> I. Regulski, *Transforming the Egyptian Museum in Cairo*, in: *Newsletter Egypt and Sudan Issue 7–8, 2020–2021*, 20–22; [https://www.britishmuseum.org/sites/default/files/2021-06/Egypt\\_Sudan\\_Newsletter\\_2020-2021.pdf](https://www.britishmuseum.org/sites/default/files/2021-06/Egypt_Sudan_Newsletter_2020-2021.pdf) (last accessed 28-06-2024)

# BM EA 75019+10302, a letter from Piankh's second Nubian campaign?\*

Ad Thijs

## Abstract

This article discusses pap. BM EA 75019+10302, maintaining that it was most likely a letter written by the High Priest/general Piankh to the scribe Dhutmose during the last phase of Piankh's second Nubian campaign. It is shown that this Late Ramesside Letter supports the view that Piankh's second Nubian campaign was aimed at negotiations with Panehsy rather than at a military confrontation. Several of the items requested by Piankh only make sense if they were intended as gifts or as paraphernalia during some official ceremony.

## *Piankh's two Nubian Campaigns*

Since the publications of Spiegelberg,<sup>1</sup> Černý<sup>2</sup> and Wenté,<sup>3</sup> the corpus of Late Ramesside Letters has gradually grown.<sup>4</sup> More often than not, these new additions are little more than short notes but, on occasion, a source turns up which might provide some valuable new information. Here, we will look into the intriguing BM EA 75019+10302 and see if we can establish its place within this fascinating body of texts.

When E. Wenté published his translation of the Late Ramesside Letters, he did so, methodologically correct, on the working hypothesis that all „Nubian letters“ belonged to one single expedition.<sup>5</sup> Eight of these letters (no.3; no.8; no.2; no.50; no.9; no.16; no.10 and no.28) contained enough information to cluster them into what Wenté dubbed „the Core Group“.<sup>6</sup> Several other letters also seemed to be connected to this Nubian campaign, but could not be placed more precisely.<sup>7</sup> However, in some letters there are details which suggest Dhutmose must have gone out on one but on two Nubian campaigns with the High Priest/General Piankh.<sup>8</sup> Tables 1 and 2 give the distribution of letters over the two campaigns as suggested by the present author in GM 177. The asterisk denotes letters from Wenté's Core Group. These tables can only give a rough chronology, since letters may have crossed each other or were

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\* I would like to thank Dr. R.J. Demarée for his valuable advice and overall support.

<sup>1</sup> M.W. Spiegelberg, *Correspondances du Temps des Rois-Prêtres*, Paris 1895.

<sup>2</sup> J. Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca IX, Brussels 1939.

<sup>3</sup> E.F. Wenté, *Late Ramesside Letters*, SAOC 33, Chicago 1967; *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, Atlanta 1990.

<sup>4</sup> I.E.S. Edwards, *The Bankes Papyri I and II*, in: JEA 68, 1982, 126–133; Y. Koenig, *Nouveaux textes Rifaud I*, in: CRIPEL 10, 1988, 57–60; Jac. J. Janssen, *Late Ramesside Letters and Communications*, Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, London 1991; R.J. Demarée, *The Bankes Late Ramesside Papyri*, British Museum Research Publications 155, London 2006.

<sup>5</sup> Wenté, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 6, 13.

<sup>6</sup> Wenté, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 9–17.

<sup>7</sup> Wenté discusses no.4; no.7; no.13; no.15; no.25; no.29; no.30; no.31; no.38; no.39; no.43 and no.45.

<sup>8</sup> A. Thijs, *Piankh's second Nubian campaign*, in: GM 165, 1998, 99–103; „Please tell Amon to bring me back from Yar“, Dhutmose's visits to Nubia, in: GM 177, 2000, 63–70; Pap. Turin 2018, the journeys of the scribe Dhutmose and the career of the Chief Workman Bekenmut, in: GM 199, 2004, 79–88; The troubled careers of Amenhotep and Panehsy: The High Priest of Amun and the Viceroy of Kush under the last Ramessides, in: SAK 31, 2003, 289–306, with an inlay for an erroneously dropped „paragraph (3)“ on page 299, which was later incorporated in Thijs, „I was thrown out from my city“, Fecht's views on Pap. Pushkin 127 in a new light, in: SAK 35, 2006, 323–324.