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Abstract

The subject of this article is a wooden stela (AAd6) kept in the National Museum of Denmark in Copenhagen. By iconographical and typological criteria, this object is datable to the 22nd Dynasty and probably comes from the Theban area. The stela displays several particularities, among others, one of the longest genealogies preserved on this object type. Alongside a careful investigation of the different iconographical elements and a new translation of the text, this contribution looks into the onomastic and the prosopographical material, examining different titles such as "ḥnk-nw.w-priest in southern Heliopolis" or "wab-priest in chief of the estate of Mut, the great one, the mistress of Isheru." This study not only reconstitutes the family tree but also connects this object with three others, that are datable to a timeframe from the 21st Dynasty to the beginning of the 26th Dynasty. An excursus focusing on the painting sequence of the text and depictions contributes to a better understanding of the creation of wooden stelae in the Third intermediate Period.

Project References

Challenging Time(s): A New Approach to Written Sources for Ancient Egyptian Chronology

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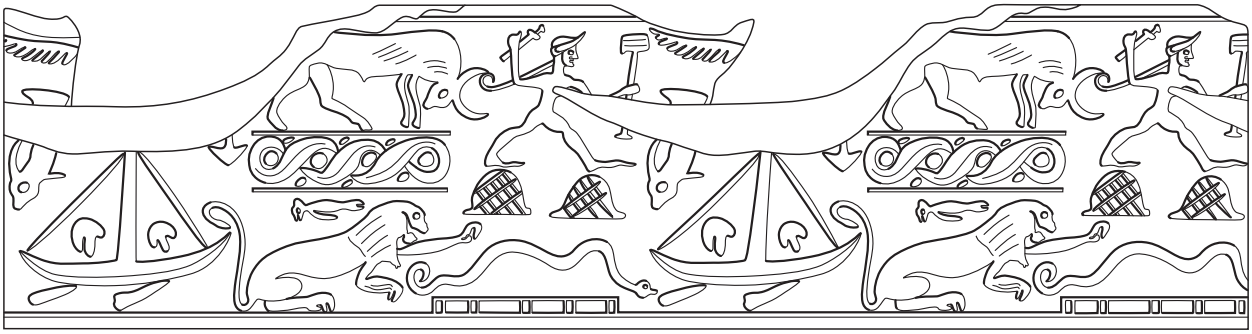
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Abkürzungen/Abbreviations

Ä&L	*Ägypten und Levante*
AA	*Archäologischer Anzeiger*, Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Berlin
AAAS	*Annales archéologiques arabes syriennes*
AASOR	*Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
ADAJ	*Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*
AHL	*Archaeology and History of the Lebanon*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*, Boston, New York
Annuaire EPHE	Annuaire de l'École pratique des hautes études, Paris.
ARTANES	*Aids and Research Tools in Ancient Near Eastern Studies*, Malibu
ASAE	*Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte,* Cairo
ÄUAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament
AUWE	*Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka*: *Endberichte,* Mainz am Rhein
BAAL	*Bulletin d'archéologie et d'architecture libanaises*
BABELAO	*Bulletin de l'Académie Belge pour le'Etude des Langues Ancienne et Orientales*
BACE	*Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology,* Sydney
BAH	Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, Paris
BAR/IS	British Archaeology Reports, International Series
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, Chicago, New Haven
BdÉ	Bibliothèque d'Étude.
BES	*Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar,* New York
BICS	*Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, London
BME	British Museum Expedition to Middle Egypt
BMNV	*Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie,* Varsovie
BMRP	British Museum Research Publications
BMSAES	British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan, London.
BNE	*Bioarchaeology of the Near East,* Warsaw
BSA	*The Annual of the British School at Athens*, London
BSAE	British School of Archaeology in Egypt, London
BSAE/ERA	*British School of Archaeology in Egypt/ Egyptian Research Account,* London
CAENL	Contributions to the Archaeology of Nubia, Egypt and the Levant, Vienna
CAJ	*Cambridge Archaeological Journal*
CCE	*Cahiers de la céramique égyptienne,* Cairo
CChEM	Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean, Vienna
CMAO	Contributi e Materiali di Archeologia Orientale
CRAIBL	*Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*
CRIPEL	*Cahier de Recherche de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Egyptologie de Lille*
DamMitt	*Damaszener Mitteilungen,* Mainz am Rhein
DDD[2]	K. van der Toorn, B. Becking, P.W. van der Horst (eds.), *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible. Second extensively revised edition*, Leiden/Boston/Köln, 1999.
E&L	*Egypt and the Levant,* Vienna
EA	*Egyptian Archaeology*, the Bulletin of the Egypt Exploration Society, London.
EES Exc. Mem.	Egypt Exploration Society Excavation Memoir
EES OP	Egypt Exploration Society Occasional Publication
EtTrav	*Etudes et Travaux,* Warsaw
EtudTrav	*Études et travaux,* Varsovie
Fouilles de l'IFAO	*Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo*
GAMAR	*Gdansk Archaeological Museum Archaeological Reports*
GM	*Göttinger Miszellen*
HALOT	L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (5 vol.), translated and edited under the supervision of M.E.J. Richardson, Leiden/New York, 1994–2000.
HdO	*Handbuch der Orientalistik*, Leiden
IANSA	*Interdisciplinaria Archaeologica – Natural Sciences in Archaeology*
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*, Jerusalem
JAEI	*Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections*
JARCE	*Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, Boston-New York.
JAS	*Journal of Archaeological Science*, Oxford
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*, Atlanta
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, London
JEH	*Journal of Egyptian History*
JFA	*Journal of Field Archaeology*, Boston
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series

KAI	H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften. 5., erweiterte und überarbeitete Auflage*, Wiesbaden, 2002.
KTU	Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. and Sanmartín, J., *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani und anderen Orten. Dritte, erweiterte Auflage, KTU³. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 360/1*. Münster 2013.
LÄ	W. Helck and W. Westendorf (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (7 vol.), Wiesbaden, 1975–1992.
LAAA	*Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*
LGG	C. Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* (7 vol.), *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 110–116, Leuven/Paris/Dudley (MA), 2002.
Man	*Man: A Monthly Record of Anthropological Science,* London
MDAIK	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*
MDOG	*Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, Berlin
MDP	Mémoires de de la mission archéologique en Iran
MEEF	Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund, London.
NARCE	*Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt*, New York.
NEA	*Near Eastern Archaeology*, Chicago
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OINE	*Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition*
OIP	The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications, Chicago, Illinois
OIS	The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Seminars
OJA	*Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, Oxford
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, Leuven
OMRO	*Oudheidkundige mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*, Leiden.
OpAth	*Opuscula Atheniensia*, Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae, Lund
OpAthRom	*Opuscula: Annual of the Swedish Institutes at Athens and Rome*
OrEx	*Orient Express*, Paris
PAM	*Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean,* Warsaw
PM	B. Porter and R.L.B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings* (7 vol.), 2nd ed., Oxford, 1960 ff.
QDAP	*Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, London
RA	*Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*, Paris
RAr	*Revue archéologique*, Paris.
RB	*Revue Biblique*
RdÉ	Revue d'Égyptologie, Paris.
Rec. Trav.	*Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes, pour servir de bulletin à la Mission française du Caire*, Paris.
S&N	*Sudan & Nubia*
SAAC	*Studies in Ancient Art and Civilization,* Krakow
SAHL	Studies in the Archaeology and History of the Levant
SAK	*Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur*
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization
SDAIK	Sonderschriften des Deutschen Archäologische Instituts, Abteilung Kairo, Mainz
SIMA	*Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*, Gothenburg, Jonsered, Uppsala
SMEA	*Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici*
SVA	*Schriften zur vorderasiatischen Archäologie*
UE	*Ur Excavations*, London
UZK	Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes, Wien
Wb.	A. Erman and H. Grapow (eds.), Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache (6 vol.), Berlin/Leipzig, 2nd ed., 1957.
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, Wiesbaden
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, Berlin
ZÄW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Berlin
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*

Vorwort

Das vorliegende Heft 31 (2021) von Ägypten und Levante enthält 20 Beiträge. Mehr als die Hälfte davon sind dem Bereich der ägyptischen Archäologie und der Ägyptologie gewidmet, wobei sich die behandelten Themen von der Vor- und Frühgeschichte Ägyptens bis in die Dritte Zwischenzeit erstrecken. Den Beginn in dem diesmal rein alphabetisch nach Autoren angeordneten Band macht eine Studie von Johannes Auenmüller über den Wesir der Ramessidenzeit Juty, dessen Bestattung in Bubastis entdeckt worden war.

Jadwiga Iwaszczuk macht die Fragmente von bisher unbekannten Streitwagendarstellungen (battle scenes with chariots) bekannt, die aus dem von Hatschepsut für ihren Vater errichteten Totentempel Thutmosis' I. in Qurna stammen. Die 16 Fragmente gehören zu mindestens zwei unterschiedlichen Szenen, und stellen eine bedeutende Bereicherung des ikonographischen Repertoires der frühen 18. Dynastie dar.

Vermutlich unter Ramses III entstand die Festung von Tell el-Qolzum (heute Suez). Diese interessante und gut erhaltene Anlage, die einen königlichen Palast umfasste, war bereits 1960-62 von Shafik Farid ausgegraben worden, wurde jedoch nicht publiziert. Im Archiv des Schweizerischen Instituts für ägyptische Bauforschung und Altertumskunde in Kairo wurden jüngst Photographien von zwei Originalplänen Farids aufgefunden. Cornelius von Pilgrim kann nun eine Neuvorstellung und -Bewertung der Festung vornehmen, deren archäologische Reste mittlerweile unter der Stadt Suez verschwunden sind. Die Festung ist wohl im Zusammenhang mit der Erneuerung der großen Festung Tell er-Retabe im Wadi Tumilat zu sehen. Der Autor vermutet, dass die Anlage der Bekämpfung der Shasu-Beduinen diente oder als Basis für Expeditionen zu den Minen des Westsinai genutzt wurde.

Die ungewöhnliche Grabstele mit einer Opfertischszene und der halbplastischen Darstellung der Grabinhaber (Sekhemka und Henutsen) aus Abusir-Süd steht im Mittelpunk des Beitrages von Martin Odler, Marie Peterková Hlouchová und Veronika Dulíková. Neben der sorgfältigen Publikation des wohl aus der frühen 5. Dynastie stam-

Preface

Egypt & the Levant Volume 31 contains 20 articles. More than half of these are devoted to Egyptian archaeology and Egyptology, ranging from the Predynastic to the Third Intermediate Period. The papers in the volume are organised alphabetically. The volume begins with a study by Johannes Auenmüller of the Ramesside vizier Juty, whose tomb was discovered by Shafik Farid in the 1960s at Bubastis.

Jadwiga Iwaszczuk publishes fragments of at least two battle scenes with chariots, which were recovered from the Mortuary Temple of Thutmoses I, built by Hatshepsut for her father. These 16 fragments considerably enrich the iconographic repertoire of the early 18th Dynasty.

The fortress of Tell el-Qolzum at the site of modern Suez was probably built by Ramesses III. Shafik Farid excavated this interesting and well-preserved structure, which included a royal palace, from 1960 to 1962, but his work remained unpublished. Two photographs of Farid's original maps, depicting architectural remains from the New Kingdom and Byzantine periods, were recently discovered in the archive of the Swiss Institute for ägyptische Bauforschung und Altertumskunde in Cairo. Based on these maps, Cornelius von Pilgrim reconsiders the architecture and meaning of the fortress, the remains of which have, in the meantime, disappeared beneath the modern town of Suez. The fortress may be associated with the re-building of the large fortress at Tell er-Retaba in the Wadi Tumilat and a number of minor defensive structures, which were most likely destroyed during the construction of the Suez Canal. The author suggests that the fortress was intended to fight Shasu-beduins and/or as a basis for expeditions to mines in western Sinai.

Martin Odler, Marie Peterková Hlouchová, and Veronika Dulíková's paper focuses on the extraordinary tomb-stela of Sekhemka and Henutsen from Abusir-South, which features an offering table scene as well as the engaged statues of the two deceased. Along with the publication of this rare object, which is thought to be from the early 5th Dynasty, the paper includes a detailed examination of typological connections with false doors

menden Objektes steht eine ausführliche typengeschichtliche Diskussion, die vor allem auf die typologischen Berührungspunkte des Stücks mit Statuenschreinen und Scheintüren eingeht. Die ursprüngliche Polychromie der Stele ließ sich rekonstruieren.

Heidi Köpp-Junk untersucht Abwassersysteme ägyptischer Tempel von der frühdynastischen bis zur griechisch-römischen Periode und geht der Frage nach einer möglichen Nachnutzung des gesammelten Abwassers bzw. Regenwassers nach.

Von Anastasiia Stupko-Lubczinska stammt eine Untersuchung über den *Antichambre carrée* genannten Raum der Pyramidentempel des Alten und Mittleren Reichs. Nach sorgfältiger Analyse der erhaltenen Darstellungen und Texte beurteilt sie den oft angenommenen Zusammenhang mit dem königlichen Verjüngungsritual des sog. *Sed*-Festes kritisch.

Dem Bereich der Siedlungsarchäologie ist der Aufsatz von Natalia Małecka-Drozd zuzuordnen. Zehn Siedlungen der Frühzeit und des Alten Reichs im Nil-Delta, die urbane Strukturen zeigen, werden einer strukturellen Analyse unterzogen, wobei besonders der Frage nach der „königlichen“ Beteiligung an deren Genese nachgegangen wird.

Magdalena Kazimierczak dagegen legt eine Untersuchung der proto- und frühdynastischen Keramik aus der Grabung im Friedhof von Tell el-Murra im Ostdelta vor. 24 Gräber waren mit Keramikbeigaben versehen, die in fünf Gruppen gegliedert wurden, welche Phasen der späten Negade-Zeit (Negade IIIB-C1 bis Negade IIID) zugeordnet wurden.

Schließlich sei noch auf die Studie von Annik Wüthrich verwiesen, die der Neuvorlage und Auswertung einer hölzernen Grabstele der 22. Dynastie (Copenhagen AAd6) gewidmet ist. Diese Stele enthält umfangreiche genealogische Informationen, die, nebst weiteren ikonographischen, onomastischen und prosopographischen Aspekten, ausführlich besprochen und diskutiert werden. In einem Annex untersucht Charlotte Dietrich den Herstellungsprozess dieser und weiterer hölzerner Stelen der 3. Zwischenzeit.

Nicht dem Bereich der Archäologie, sondern der Astro-Chronologie zugehörig ist der Artikel von Rolf Krauss. Ausgehend von zwei Monddaten aus dem Neferirkare Archiv, die von Paule Posener-Kriéger publiziert wurden, entwickelt der Autor ein absolut-chronologisches Modell des späten Alten Reichs ab König Djedkare Asosi. Dieser

and statue shrines, as well as the reconstruction of the original polychromy of the stela.

Heidi Köpp-Junk's paper explores the drain and sewage systems of Egyptian temples from the Early Dynastic to the Graeco-Roman periods. Special emphasis is given to the possible reuse of drain water or rainwater.

The significance of a specific room in Old and Middle Kingdom pyramid temples, commonly called an *antichambre carrée*, is frequently associated with the royal rejuvenation ritual of the *Sed*-festival. Anastasiia Stupko-Lubczinska analyses and evaluates the remains of decoration and texts from such rooms, calling the traditional interpretations into question.

Amid the numerous settlement remains from the Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom periods identified in the Nile Delta, only 10 display urban structures. These are analysed in Natalia Małecka-Drozd's paper in an effort to define the spatial structure of settlements and the degree of "royal" impact on the towns and villages of the Delta. Environmental settings, urban walls, urban plans, domestic vs. industrial quarters, official architecture, temples, and cemeteries are among the topics covered by the author.

Magdalena Kazimierczak investigates Proto- and Early Dynastic pottery from the eastern Delta's Tell el-Murra cemetery. Pottery vessels from 24 tombs are organised into 5 groups, each of which is assigned to chronological phases within the Naqada Period, ranging from Naqada IIIB-C1 to Naqada IIID.

Annik Wüthrich devotes her study to a wooden tomb-stela from 22nd Dynasty Thebes (Copenhagen AAd6). The stela is notable for its comprehensive genealogical information, which, together with iconographic, onomastic, and prosopographic features, is reconsidered and discussed by the author. The manufacturing process of this stela and similar specimens from the Third Intermediate Period is analysed in an annex by Charlotte Dietrich.

Rolf Krauss contributes a paper on Egyptian astro-chronology. He develops an absolute-chronological model of the late Old Kingdom, starting with Pharaoh Djedkare Asosi, based on two lunar dates from the archive of Neferirkare, published by Paule Posener-Kriéger.

Karin Sowada, Mary Ownby, Jane Smythe, Sylvie Marchand, and Yann Tristant's article concerns the trade and cultural relations between 1st Dynasty Egypt and the Levant. The authors ana-

Artikel ist ein willkommener Beitrag zur Chronologiediskussion des Alten Reiches.

In den Bereich der Kultur- und Handelsbeziehungen Ägyptens mit den Ländern der Levante führt der Artikel von Karin Sowada, Mary Ownby, Jane Smythe, Sylvie Marchand und Yann Tristant, die den Handel zwischen dem Ägypten der 1. Dynastie und der frühbronzezeitlichen Levante anhand von Keramikfunden aus dem Elite-Friedhof von Abu Rowash behandeln. Petrographische Dünnschliffanalysen bestätigen, dass die Behälter zunächst aus dem zentralen Jordan-Tal bzw. Nordkanaan stammten, nach einer völligen Neuorganisation des Handels mit Beginn des Alten Reichs jedoch aus der Region des nördlichen Libanon um Byblos importiert wurden.

Von Pierre Montet und Maurice Dunand wurden in Byblos in Kontexten der späten Frühen und Mittleren Bronzezeit ca. 150 Figurinen gefunden, die aus dünnem Blech aus Kupfer, Silber oder Gold geschnitten waren. Gianluca Miniaci und Camilla Saler zeigen auf, dass diese menschengestaltigen Figurinen nicht ursprünglich lokale Produkte waren, sondern wohl auf einen aus Ägypten importierten Prototyp zurückgehen, der in den Gründungsdepots der Grabanlage des Mentuhotep II. in Deir el-Bahari belegt ist.

Nadav Na'aman analysiert die 11 Briefe des Abimilki, Herrschers von Tyrus, aus dem Amarna Archiv. Die Briefe werden chronologisch neu geordnet, und die Geschichte von Tyrus in der Armarnazeit sowie des Abimilki, der seine Jugend wohl als Geisel in Ägypten verbrachte, rekonstruiert.

Ein Autorenkollektiv (Shlomit Bechar, Amnon Ben-Tor, Ido Wachtel, Daphna Ben-Tor, Elisabetta Boaretto und Philipp Stockhammer) untersucht die komplexen archäologischen Befunde zum Ende von Hazor in der Späten Bronzezeit.

David Ussishkin reagiert auf mehrere Studien von Finkelstein, Martin, Arie, Piasetzky und einiger weiterer Autoren zum Ende der Spätbronzezeit in Megiddo.[1] In fünf Kommentaren äußert der Autor u.a. alternative Interpretationen zu den Grabungsergebnissen von Gordon Loud aus den 1930er Jahren, die den Palast Stratum VIII–VIIA betreffen, wobei er die Neudatierung der Zerstörung des

[1] Siehe u.a. Finkelstein, I., Arie, E., Martin, M.A.S. and Piasetzky, E., New Evidence on the Late Bronze/Iron I Transition at Megiddo: Implications for the end of the Egyptian Rule and the Appearance of Philistine Pottery, *Ägypten und Levante* 27, 261-280.

lyse pottery samples from an elite-cemetery at Abu Rowash that were identified, by thin-section petrography, as originating in the Central Levant and the Central Jordan Valley/northern Canaan. However, by the early Old Kingdom, a major transition had occurred in Egyptian trade routes, which were predominantly concentrated in northern Lebanon.

When Pierre Montet and Maurice Dunand excavated the city of Byblos, they found about 150 figurines cut from tiny, thin sheets of metal (copper alloy, silver, or gold). Gianluca Miniaci and Camilla Saler argue that these human figurines were not originally Byblite productions, but imitations of an imported Egyptian prototype discovered in a foundation-deposit at Mentuhotep II's mortuary complex in Deir el-Bahari.

Nadav Na'aman analyses eleven letters from the Amarna archive, dispatched by Abimilki, ruler of Tyre. He revises the chronology of the letters and offers new insights into Abimilki, who most likely spent his youth as a hostage at the Egyptian court, and Tyre's history during the Amarna period.

Shlomit Bechar, Amnon Ben-Tor, Ido Wachtel, Daphna Ben-Tor, Elisabetta Boaretto, and Philipp Stockhammer investigate the complex archaeological evidence associated with the destruction of Late Bronze Age Hazor.

David Ussishkin contributes a rejoinder to several studies dealing with the end of the Late Bronze Age at Megiddo[1] by Finkelstein, Martin, Arie, Piasetzky, and others. In five commentaries, he suggests alternative interpretations of Gordon Loud's 1930s excavation results with a focus on the palace, from str. VIII to str. VIIA as well as the dating of the Akkadian Gilgamesh tablet found nearby. Ussishkin also questions the re-dating of the palace's destruction, as proposed by the cited authors.

Mattias Karlsson summarises and comments upon mentions of Egypt and Kush in Mesopotamian chronicles.

Three more papers deal with archaeology in Cyprus. Peter Fischer and Teresa Bürge give a detailed report on the 2020 Swedish excavations (Söderberg Expedition) in the late Bronze Age cemetery of Hala Sultan Tekke.

[1] See, i.a., Finkelstein, I., Arie, E., Martin, M.A.S. and Piasetzky, E., New Evidence on the Late Bronze/Iron I Transition at Megiddo: Implications for the end of the Egyptian Rule and the Appearance of Philistine Pottery, *Ägypten und Levante* 27, 261-280.

Palastes Stratum VIIA durch die genannten Autoren kritisch unter die Lupe nimmt. Ebenso wird die Datierung der in der Nähe des Palastes gefundenen akkadischen Gilgamesch Tafel neu behandelt.

Mattias Karlsson gibt einen Überblick über die Erwähnungen von Ägypten und Kusch in mesopotamischen Chroniken.

Drei Beiträge schließlich sind der zyprischen Archäologie gewidmet. Peter Fischer und Teresa Bürge stellen in einem ausführlichen Bericht die Ergebnisse der schwedischen Ausgrabungen im spätbronzezeitlichen Friedhof von Hala Sultan Tekke (Söderberg Expedition) im Jahr 2020 vor.

Der spätbronzezeitliche Grabungsplatz von Pyla-Kokkinokremos hingegen wird in zwei Artikeln berührt. Den Untersuchungsgegenstand von Audrey Crabbé und Joachim Bretschneider bildet ein ägyptisches Gefäß (drop jar) aus Kalzit-Alabaster, das 2019 im Residenzbezirk gefunden wurde. Dieser dekorierte Luxusgegenstand wird im Kontext weiterer im Nahen Osten gefundener Vergleichsstücke analysiert.

Joanna Kostopoulou untersucht die chronologischen und stilgeschichtlichen Beziehungen von Krateren der „Pastoral Style“ Keramik aus Pyla-Kokkinokremos zu importierter Mykenischer (Pictorial Style) Keramik.

Ein Beitrag schließlich greift nach West-Anatolien aus. Hans Mommsen und Penelope Mountjoy, zusammen mit Peter Pavúk, setzten ihre Serie von Keramikuntersuchungen anhand von NAA Analysen fort. 172 Messungen wurden an Keramik aus Bademgediği Tepe (20 km südöstlich von Izmir) durchgeführt, von denen sich 45 Gefäße als Importe erwiesen, die gleichermaßen bemalte wie undekorierte Keramik umfassten und ein erstaunlich weit gespanntes Handelsnetz dieser nicht großen Stadt erkennen ließen.

So liegt ein Schwerpunk des vorliegenden Bandes auf dem Gebiet der Archäologie Ägyptens und der Levante im Alten und Neuen Reich beziehungsweise der frühen und späten Bronzezeit. Dieses Angebot wird durch ägyptologische Studien und weitere Untersuchungen zum Themenkreis von Ä&L ergänzt. Die Herausgeber hoffen auf das Interesse der Leserschaft.

Manfred Bietak und Ernst Czerny
Für das Herausgebergremium

Finds from the Late Bronze Age site of Pyla-Kokkinokrimos are dealt with twice. First, Audrey Crabbé and Joachim Bretschneider examine an Egyptian calcite-alabaster drop jar, found in 2019 in the site’s residential section, and place this ornate New Kingdom luxury vessel in the context of several other similar objects discovered in the Near East. Second, Joanna Kostopoulou analyses the chronological and stylistic relationships between the kraters of the so-called “Pastoral Style Ware” from Pyla-Kokkinokrimos and Mycenaean “Pictorial Style Ware.”

Finally, there is one paper addressing a West-Anatolian site. Hans Mommsen, Penelope Mountjoy and Peter Pavúk, continue their well-established series of ceramic NAA-analyses. 172 measurements of samples from Bademgediği Tepe (20 km south-east of Izmir) proved that 45 vessels were imported, revealing a surprisingly wide trading network for such a medium sized site.

Thus, the focus of this volume is on the Egyptian and Levantine archaeology of the Old and New Kingdoms, or, respectively, the Early and Late Bronze Ages, augmented by Egyptological studies and themes that fall within the scope of *Egypt & the Levant*.

The editors hope that this collection piques our readers’ interest and meets their expectations.

Manfred Bietak, Ernst Czerny
For the Editorial Committee

THE COPENHAGEN WOODEN STELA AAD6 FROM THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF DENMARK: AN UNUSUAL TESTIMONY OF THE 22ND DYNASTY

Annik Wüthrich (with a contribution by Charlotte Dietrich)[1]

Abstract: *The subject of this article is a wooden stela (AAd6) kept in the National Museum of Denmark in Copenhagen. By iconographical and typological criteria, this object is datable to the 22nd Dynasty and probably comes from the Theban area. The stela displays several particularities, among others, one of the longest genealogies preserved on this object type. Alongside a careful investigation of the different iconographical elements and a new translation of the text, this contribution looks into the onomastic and the prosopographical material, examining different titles such as "*ḫnk-nw.w-*priest in southern Heliopolis" or "wab-priest in chief of the estate of Mut, the great one, the mistress of Isheru." This study not only reconstitutes the family tree but also connects this object with three others, that are datable to a timeframe from the 21st Dynasty to the beginning of the 26th Dynasty. An excursus focusing on the painting sequence of the text and depictions contributes to a better understanding of the creation of wooden stelae in the Third intermediate Period.*

Keywords: *wooden stela; Third intermediate Period; long genealogy; Copenhagen AAd6; Copenhagen AAd7; Leiden AH 2; Manchester 10939; prosopography: onomastic; painting sequence*

Modern history of the stela

The collection of Egyptian antiquities in the National Museum of Denmark was initially formed in the first part of the 19th century. It was driven by the then Danish vice-consul, and future consul of Denmark in Alexandria, Daniel Dumreicher,[2] who gave various objects to the National Museum in Copenhagen between 1821 and 1824. The stela AAd6 (fig. 1a–b) discussed in this article entered the collection in 1821.[3] It was brought to the museum with three other wooden funerary stelae.[4] Unfortunately, neither the provenience nor the circumstances of their discovery were documented. Dumreicher never provided information about the origin of the objects he acquired, and he probably never even knew how and where they were found. He indicated, for instance, in a letter he wrote to his friend Friedrich Münter, that he bought eleven boards with hieroglyphs and figures[5] with the help of a friend, but without any other precise details. In the same letter, he complained about the rise in the price of antiquities because of "English travellers who paid for the smallest objects too high a price."[6] Other than this financial consideration, his correspondence does not provide any substantial information.[7]

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[1] Postdoc Researcher and Praedoc respectively in the ERC Starting Grant "Challenging Time(s): A New Approach to Written Sources for Ancient Egyptian Chronology". This contribution results from the said ERC Starting Grant, which has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (Grant Agreement № 757951). The results published here are solely within the author's responsibility and do not necessarily reflect the opinion of the funding agency or the host institution (Austrian Archaeological Institute, Department of Classical Studies, at the Austrian Academy of Sciences), which must not be held responsible for either contents or their further use.

I would like to thank Carlo Salzani and David Aston for editing my text and Charlotte Dietrich, Roman Gundacker, Johannes Jüngling, Julian Posch for prolific discussions, valuable suggestions, and comments.

[2] On the constitution of the collection of the museum, see Hansen 2008, 90-99 and for D. Dumreicher, Pelz 2017, 267-318.

[3] According to the website of the museum <https://samlinger.natmus.dk/AS/asset/9653> and confirmed by Anne Haslund Hansen, senior researcher at the National Museum, whom I would like to thank warmly for all the help and information she provided me for this article.

[4] AAd5 published by Mogensen 1918, 52, pl. XXI, fig. 35 and Munro 1973, 213; AAd7 ead., 48-49 and Saleh 2007, 254; AAd16, ead., 51, pl. XX, fig. 33 and Munro 1973, 188.

[5] "Tafeln mit Hieroglyphen und Figuren": Pelz, 2017, 299.

[6] "(…) die "Englische Reisenden (…) die kleinste Gegenstände zu hohen Preisen bezahlten, so daß wer nur über beschränkte Mittel verfügen kann, bey allem guten Willen zurückstehen mus": Pelz, 2017, 299.

[7] Pelz 2017, 293-301.

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Fig. 1a: Stela Copenhagen AAd6 from the National Museum of Denmark (photo John Lee)



Fig. 1b: Facsimile stela Copenhagen AAd6 from the National Museum of Denmark (C. Dietrich)

However, through research on different stylistic, typological, and prosopographic elements, we are able to shed new light on this object.

State of the research

The stela was first published in 1918 by Maria Mogensen in her catalogue of the inscriptions on artefacts kept in the National Museum of Denmark.[8] After a succinct description of the object, Mogensen partially transcribed the text, noting its bad state of conservation and the difficulties in reading the inscription.

Since then, the stela has appeared in some publications dedicated to the wooden stelae of the Third Intermediate Period, however, without any real improvement in the reading of the inscription. Heidi Saleh, in her publication on the ethnicity of the owners of wooden funerary stelae from the Libyan Period, published a photo of the stela and proposed a translation for some of the titles of the owner and his family.[9] Her translation is partly incorrect due to the bad quality of the photograph she had to work with. The aim of her research on this type of stelae was basically to find out whether they could be used to determinate the ethnic origin of their owners and whether there was an explicit intention on their part, for instance, to use some specific features (among others physical) to reflect their ethnic identity. She noted that several stelae from the 21st to the 24th Dynasty–including the one this article is concerned with–show, in the representation of the owner's face, some typical Ramesside traits ("elongated Ramesside heads") or even influences of Old Kingdom costumes and body proportions, especially for the stelae from the late 8th century BCE, at the "*transition phase between Dynasties 24/25.*"[10]

In his three articles dedicated to the stelae of the Third Intermediate Period,[11] Marc Loth presented an extensive overview of the different distinctive features of these objects, which allows one to establish more precise dating criteria. The Copenhagen stela was cursorily evoked for its distinctive iconographic and stylistic particularities, with Loth noting its connection to stela AAd7 that belonged to a member of the same family.[12]

Dating and provenience

According to the criteria established by Loth, the stela belongs to an intermediate style between his groups 2 and 3 that have been dated from the end of 9th to the 8th century BCE.[13] The god represented is no longer Osiris, but Ra-Horakhty (in group 2 seated on a throne and mummified, in group 3 standing and often not mummified) and the deceased is mostly praying. The lunette has a representation of the sun disc accompanied by different symbols and the frame is decorated with the signs for west and east or wꜣs-sceptres (absent in the intermediate type). Lines representing the land are shown at the bottom of the stela. This last characteristic is particularly present in the stelae of the latter group.

In David Aston's classification, this stela belongs to the first type he defined (group I), the unframed stelae.[14] More precisely, however, it belongs to subgroup Ic with a standing Ra-Horakhty carrying the wꜣs-sceptre and the ꜥnḫ-sign in his hands. It also seems that, chronologically, group I is the longest attested, but with a certain development indicated, among other things, by a change in the position of the god, i.e., type Ic probably appears at the end of the development of this type of stelae. Type Ic is scarcely attested[15] and Aston remarked that this rarity does not allow conclusions to be drawn about its precise dating. He even hypothesised: "*The rare stelae of type Ic may thus be somewhat illusory as they fall outside the general line of development. One wonders, therefore, whether those of type Ic are poorly executed examples of types II or III in which the artist did not leave enough space to paint the framing symbols.*"[16] This means that a precise dating of the Copenhagen stela is quite difficult to establish on stylistic criteria, the more so, since not even one example of this type of stela has a documented archaeological context.

As already noted, the provenience of the stela was not documented, but a Theban origin is

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8 Mogensen 1918, 50, pl. XXII, fig. 38. See also Jansen-Winkeln 2007b, 468-469 (45.142).

9 Saleh 2007, 263.

10 Saleh 2007, 16. For the stylistic evolution of Third Intermediate Period stelae see also Munro 1973, 11-14 and for the coffins Taylor 2003, esp. 9-10.

11 Loth 2008, 2009 and 2012.

12 Loth 2008, 19 and id. 2009, 228-230, for the Copenhagen stela see 228, note 47.

13 Loth 2008, 19.

14 Aston 2009, 349.

15 Aston 2009, 353.

16 Aston 2009, 353-354.

17 For the Abydene stelae see Leahy 2009.

almost certain. Wooden stelae of the Third Intermediate Period have rarely been found in context, but by means of a comparison with all extant examples, it is possible to offer a typology of these objects. Furthermore, the onomastics and the prosopography present good indicators for the establishment of provenience. Third Intermediate Period stelae come principally from Abydos[17] or Thebes[18], but, as we will see, the prosopographic information as well as the personal names[19] present on the Copenhagen stela leave no doubt about an origin in the Thebaid.

Dimensions and general description of the stela

The stela is 31.9 cm high with a maximum width of 22 cm, which is within the usual size range for these kinds of objects in the Libyan Period (21st-22nd Dyn.).[20] It is made of wood, probably sycamore, like the majority of other similar objects.[21] It is entirely plastered in white.[22] The inscriptions, as well as the colourful illustrations and the bands below, were painted on this surface. The stela is rectangular with a vaulted arch, also known as a round-topped stela.[23] According to Saleh, the back of the stela is *"covered with a coat of yellow plaster."*[24]

The stela is divided into three parts: the lunette, clearly separated from the central part and the socle, the main scene and the bottom.

The lunette is decorated with the usual elements found on this type of object:[25] the central element is a red sun disc flanked by two golden-bodied uraei, whose details are enhanced by a black line with red eyes and a black head. On each side of it, there is a wedjat-eye. The eyes are also finely painted against a golden background. The eyebrow and the outline of the eye are blue, while the pupil is black. The eyelid is painted in red. Under these images runs a hieroglyphic inscription giving the usual name of the sun disc  "the Behedetite", also qualified as "the great god, lord of the sky."[26] The hieroglyphs are painted in blue.[27] The curve of the lunette is stressed by a thick blue line symbolising the heavenly vault and separated in the lower part from the rest of the stela by a thin black line, which also marks out the upper part of the hieroglyphic inscription.

The central scene showing the deceased adoring Ra-Horakhty occupies the main space of the tableau, which is a characteristic of the stelae from the beginning of the Third Intermediate Period; from the 25th Dynasty, the place reserved for the text becomes more important and the number of registers increases.[28]

The god is represented on the left, standing and facing the deceased, with a falcon head, on which a sun disc is placed and from which an uraeus emerges. The face of the falcon and that of the snake are brilliantly executed and enhanced with many colours. The headdress-wig is painted in blue. The god wears a broad collar on his neck and is clothed in a short dress with braces that leave his arms and chest free. The upper part of the dress is green, while the lower part–the kilt–is two-coloured (beige and white). An ochre belt is tied around his waistline and then falls down at the back with a dangling bull's tail. On his wrists and biceps, he wears bracelets of the same green as the dress. The god is represented walking, barefoot. In his right dangling hand, he holds an ʿnḫ-sign and his left one holds a wȝs-sceptre painted in blue. His skin is reddish brown. The portrayal of bulging muscles endow this divinity with an aura of power.

In front of him stands the owner of the stela, his two hands raised in a gesture of adoration. The face of the deceased is slightly eroded. We can

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18 For a general approach to the Theban funerary stelae of the Late Period (including the Third Intermediate Period), see Munro 1973, 10-67. For 21st–22nd Dynasty wooden stelae with a Theban origin, see Saleh 2007, 32-44.

19 See below 521-531.

20 Loth 2009, 221-222.

21 List of the other material by Loth 2012, 229.

22 Saleh 2007, 17 note 36 for further bibliography. It is probable that the use of a white background on wooden stelae is connected to the change in the background colour (from yellow to a lighter colour between light grey and white) of coffins from the same period. This change occurred after the reign of Osorkon II, even if examples of stelae with a white background are already known from the end of the 21st Dynasty.

23 Hölzl 1992, 285-289.

24 Saleh 2007, 17.

25 Hölzl 1992.

26 Bḥd.tj nṯr ʿȝ nb p.t The sign for "great" is opportunely placed in the middle of the inscription, suggesting that this is the most important part of the epithet of the god.

27 They are preliminarily drawn in black and then painted in blue. On the details about the process of the painting see below the contribution of Charlotte Dietrich.

28 Munro 1973, 175-178; Loth 2008, 17.

nevertheless recognise a very thick eyebrow, which extends to the ear. He is represented as bald,[29] his skull slightly prominent without a hair line. He wears a loose, long transparent cloak or over-kilt of priests that leaves his right shoulder visible. Unlike other representations of the male over-kilt, this one does not mark the waist, thereby emphasising the effect of transparency.[30] This type of clothing is– it seems–more often attested for women[31] and obviously rare on wooden stelae belonging to men.[32] From the entire corpus of the 117 stelae collected by Saleh, only three (Boston MFA 72.4274,[33] Cairo JE 3390[34] and Cairo JE 25229[35]) show some similarities,[36] but the gown from our stela remains quite unique for the period. A brief look at the representation of the deceased in the corpus of the Book of the Dead confirms the impression that this kind of clothing is not well attested.[37] The left shoulder of the owner of the stela is suggested by an interplay of transparency. The rest of his body is covered, only his ankles and feet emerge from beneath his clothes. He wears a pair of light sandals. One can observe that each foot is differentiated, the arch of his left foot is clearly visible (the same is observable for the god), while his right foot is shown as flat.[38] In this way, the stance of both actors in the scene is displayed, depicting them with opposite feet put forward. Wearing sandals is apparently uncommon on wooden funerary stelae. It is also unusual to find such sandals worn by the deceased in Books of the Dead or other funerary papyri from this period. Sandals are attested, especially in the etiquette of the so-called *abrégé* of the Books of the Dead showing the deceased adoring the god and very rarely during the lustration, i.e., acting as a priest.[39] The colour of his skin is very close to that of Ra-Horakhty.

Between the two figures, there is a richly provisioned offering table bearing lotus flowers and buds, pieces of meat, several kinds of vegetables and bread. The offering table itself is composed of two parts, the stand and the table-board, both painted in a light brown. On either side are tall, stoppered jars entwined with a garland of lotus buds.

The third part of the stela contains five colourful bands (blue-yellow-blue-red-blue) symbolising the different parts of the world: dark blue for the Nile, light brown-yellow for sand and red for desert terrain.[40]

Eight short columns of text are inscribed between the line demarking the lunette and the representation of the deceased: the first two are oriented towards the god, the six others towards the owner of the stela. They are written in black

[29] Tassie 2009, 456 remarked that a majority of men are represented as bald from the Ramesside Period and later. He explained this fact in connection with the intention to show themselves in their sacerdotal functions.

[30] Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993, 161-163.

[31] Taylor 2003, 99-101; See for instance the stela London BM EA 22918 (Munro 1973, pl. 11, 42).

[32] Taylor 1985, 32-36 gives an overview of the usual costumes borne by the male owners of coffins in the Third Intermediate Period.

[33] Saleh 2007, 156, n° 2. The left shoulder is bare and here it is clearer that the deceased wears a short kilt under the tunic. The state of preservation of the Copenhagen stela does not allow one to be sure that this is also the case on this object.

[34] Saleh 2007, 205, n° 51. Published by Abdelrahiem 2011, 1-8. This stela is clearly older than the one from Copenhagen: the god Ra-Horakhty is seated on a throne and holds the Osirian attributes (ḥqȝ-scepter, wȝs-scepter and flagellum). It belongs to Aston's type Ib and is probably to be dated to the transition phase between the 21st and 22nd Dynasty.

[35] Saleh 2007, 208, n° 54. The stela fits the dating criteria of the transition phase between the 21st and 22nd Dynasty. The owner's left shoulder and a part of his torso are free. A more elaborate gown than that on the Copenhagen stela marks his waistline.

[36] A similar gown is attested e.g., on the stela London BM EA 8484 (Bierbrier 1987, pl. 2; Saleh 2007, 164, n° 10). However, as underlined by Taylor 1985, 36, this kind of clothing is quite rare and is usually only composed of a long transparent gown under which there is a short kilt, and the upper body is usually bare except for a shoulder band. On this stela the deceased wears a leopard skin on the top. A similar example can be found on the stela London BM EA 66421 (Bierbrier 1987, pl. 6-7; Saleh 2007, 166, n° 12) and becomes more usual during to the 25th Dynasty (see examples by Munro 1973, 22, 23, 27, 36).

[37] On the P. Berlin P 3013 (unpublished) the deceased is in adoring posture and wears a feline hide on similar clothing to that in the Copenhagen stela. The same combination is also found on the P. Cairo JE 95716.

[38] I would like to thank Charlotte Dietrich who drew my attention to this detail and Marianne Eaton-Krauss for the following reference. See Russman 1980. A quick overview of the stelae from the corpus of Saleh shows that the differentiation of the feet is used regularly but not systematically.

[39] See e.g., P. Cairo JE 95879 (unpublished: Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 134453, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134453>). About the meaning of the sandals in the context of the clergy, see Schwarz 1996.

[40] Saleh 2007, 19.

ink on a golden background, each of them delimited by a thick blue vertical line.[41] Each column contains around four quadrants of text. This space was obviously not sufficient to write the long genealogy of its owner.[42] Therefore, the text continues behind the deceased on the entire length of the stela. However, since there was still not enough space, the scribe was forced to use every available space on the stela. Thus, the genealogy fills most of the blank space.

The hieroglyphs are well executed and seem to have been drawn by the same hand. The signs can be described as a mixture of hieroglyphic script and cursive hieroglyphs. For example, the falcon (G5) in the name of the god Ra-Horakhty  also contains, besides his outline, an inner drawing, qualifying it as a hieroglyph. However, many signs simply have an outline and are filled in black, matching Henry George Fischer's type 2[43] (e. g., for the game board sign  [Y5]). Other signs only have an outline and no inner drawing, but are not filled in black, therefore not matching type 2 exactly, but they also lack the details which would make them proper "monumental" hieroglyphs (e. g., for the owl  [G17]).

The text (fig. 2)

The eight columns of text begin with an offering formula:

ḥtp-dj-nswt Rʿ-Ḥr.w-ɜḫ.tj ḥr.j nṯr.w	A king-given-offering made for Ra-Horakhty, the superior of the gods[44]:
dj=f pr.t-ḫrw snṯr qbḥ.w <n>	May he give an invocation offering, incense and libation water <to>

The rest of the text consists of the titles and name of the owner of the stela followed by his long genealogy.

jtj-nṯr n(.j) Jmn ʿɜ-(n.j)-wʿb (n.j) pr Mw.t ḥr zɜ-tp.j zɜ-3.nw N(.j)-sw-Ḫns.w-pɜ-ḫrd mɜʿ-ḫrw	the god's father of Amun, wab-priest in chief in the estate of Mut in the first phyle and in the third phyle Nesikhonsupakhered justified:
<zɜ n.j> jtj-nṯr n(.j) Jmn ḥnk-nw.w Jwn.w-šmʿ.w ʿɜ-(n.j)-<wɜb> (n.j) pr Mw.t {wʿb} wr(.t) nb(.t) Jšr.w ɜbd(.w) ḫpr=f Nḫt=f-Mw.t mɜʿ-ḫrw	<Son of> the god's father of Amun, ḥnk-nw.w-priest (in) southern Heliopolis, wab-priest in chief of the estate of Mut, the great one, the mistress of Isheru, the month-priest when it happens, Nakhtefmut justified
zɜ n(.j) jtj-nṯr n(.j) Jmn ḥnk-nw.w Jwn.w-šmʿ.w ʿɜ-(n.j)- <wɜb> (n.j) pr Mw.t wr(.t) nb(.t) Jšr.w ɜbd(.w) ḫpr=f Jmn-m-zɜ=f	– son of the god's father of Amun, ḥnk-nw.w-priest in southern Heliopolis, <wab-priest> in chief of the estate of Mut, the great one, the mistress of Isheru, the month-priest when it happens, Amunemsaef (ii),
zɜ mj nn N(.j)-sw-pɜ-ḥr-ʿn mɜʿ-ḫrw	son of the similarly titled Nespaheran justified
zɜ n(.j) mj nn Ḫns.w-msj(.w) mɜʿ-ḫrw	son of the similarly titled Khonsumes justified
zɜ mj nn Jmn-m-zɜ=f mɜʿ-ḫrw	son of the similarly titled Amunemsaef (i) justified –
zɜ=f jtj-nṯr n(.j) Jmn N(.j)-sw-Ḫns.w-pɜ-ḫrd mɜʿ-ḫrw	his son is the god's father of Amun Nesikhonsupakhererd justified.[45]

In many aspects, the Copenhagen stela constitutes an exception to the normal corpus of Third Intermediate Period wooden stelae. Besides the iconographical features already mentioned, this object records the genealogy of its owner spanning five generations. The phenomenon of extensive genealogies is already known–although marginally–from the Ramesside Period and more frequently from the 21st Dynasty onwards, before distinctly peaking during the 22nd Dynasty.[46] However, the extent of this phenomenon depends on the respective medium of the text. Extensive genealogical information is found primarily on objects set up in

41 Saleh 2007, 18.

42 See as well below 522, note 58 the remarks concerning the lack of determinatives and the abbreviated written forms.

43 Fischer 1976, 41.

44 LGG V, 368a-370a.

45 For a discussion of this passage, see below 9-12.

46 Jansen-Winkeln 2005; Payraudeau 2014, 108-111.

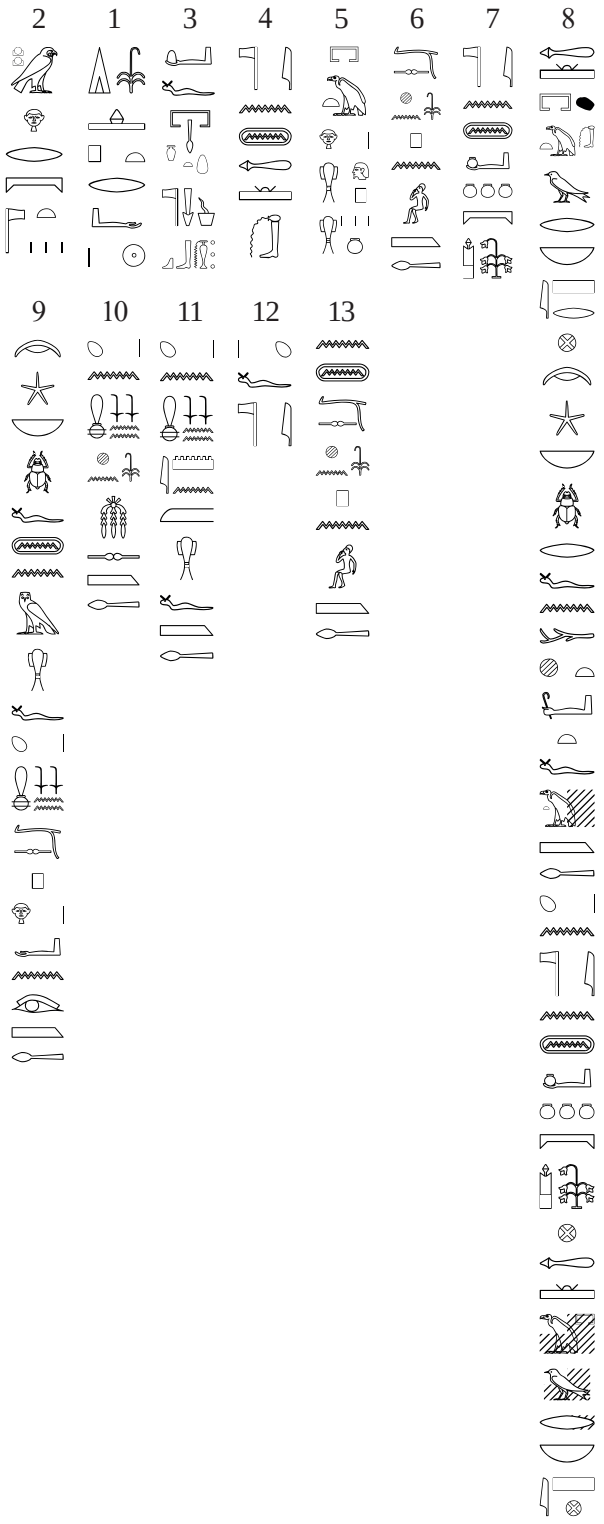


Fig. 2: hieroglyphic transcription of the stela's inscription

temples, such as cuboid temple statues. On the other hand, funerary material confined to the grave seems to often bear only the name of the deceased and a selection of his/her titles.[47] Genealogical information is, for instance, almost absent in 22nd Dynasty Books of the Dead, although 21st Dynasty copies frequently, but not systematically, contain the name of one ancestor. Long genealogies in this corpus remain very exceptional.[48] Surprisingly, some of the Amduat papyri and of the so-called mythological papyri offer genealogical information spanning several generations.[49]

Wooden funerary stelae, regularly, but not always, contain the lineage of their owner.[50] In the corpus of the wooden stelae collected by Saleh, only five bear a multigenerational lineage like the Copenhagen stela.[51] They are all datable to the 22nd Dynasty or, in the case of the New York MMA 22.3.32 stela, more precisely to the late 22nd Dynasty.[52]

47 Coffins remain a privileged medium to conserve the name and the genealogy of the deceased. A comprehensive study of coffins with a focus on genealogical information is still eagerly awaited. See Payraudeau 2014, 381.

48 See Wüthrich (2021).

49 See for instance the 21st Dynasty papyrus Avignon A 68a-b (Herbin 2011, 72-75), which records the genealogy of its owner, Amenhotep, for six generations. Amenhotep is also the owner of an unpublished Book of the Dead (Louvre N3095 Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 134573, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134573>); there is no genealogical indication in this second document, only his titles and name. On his coffin's ensemble (Leiden AMM 2a-b https://www.rmo.nl/collectie/collectiezoeker/collectiestuk/?object=22041 [last consulted on the 22.07.2020]) name, titles and genealogy are present.

50 See the information collected by Saleh 2007, 62-63 about her corpus. The most common expression used to indicate the genealogical relationship is z3.t "son" or "daughter of" followed by the name of the father.

51 Besides the usual unidirectional genealogical string (son to father to grandfather etc.), Saleh 2007, 63 remarks the existence of the Chicago OIM 1352 stela that contains the description of the owner's family: she is the daughter of an Amun priest, (Horsiese) son of Merykhonsu and ḥbs.yt of a deputy (jdn.w) in the domain of Amun Serdjehouty, son of Horemhebet. Her name – K3-r'-ʿ3 – has clearly a foreign origin, which, however, does not allow us to draw any conclusion regarding an ethnically focused use of long genealogies.

52 https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/557155?searchField=All&sortBy=Relevance&ft=22.3.32&offset=0&rpp=20&pos=1 (last consulted 22.07.2020) for the dating see Aston 2009, 218.

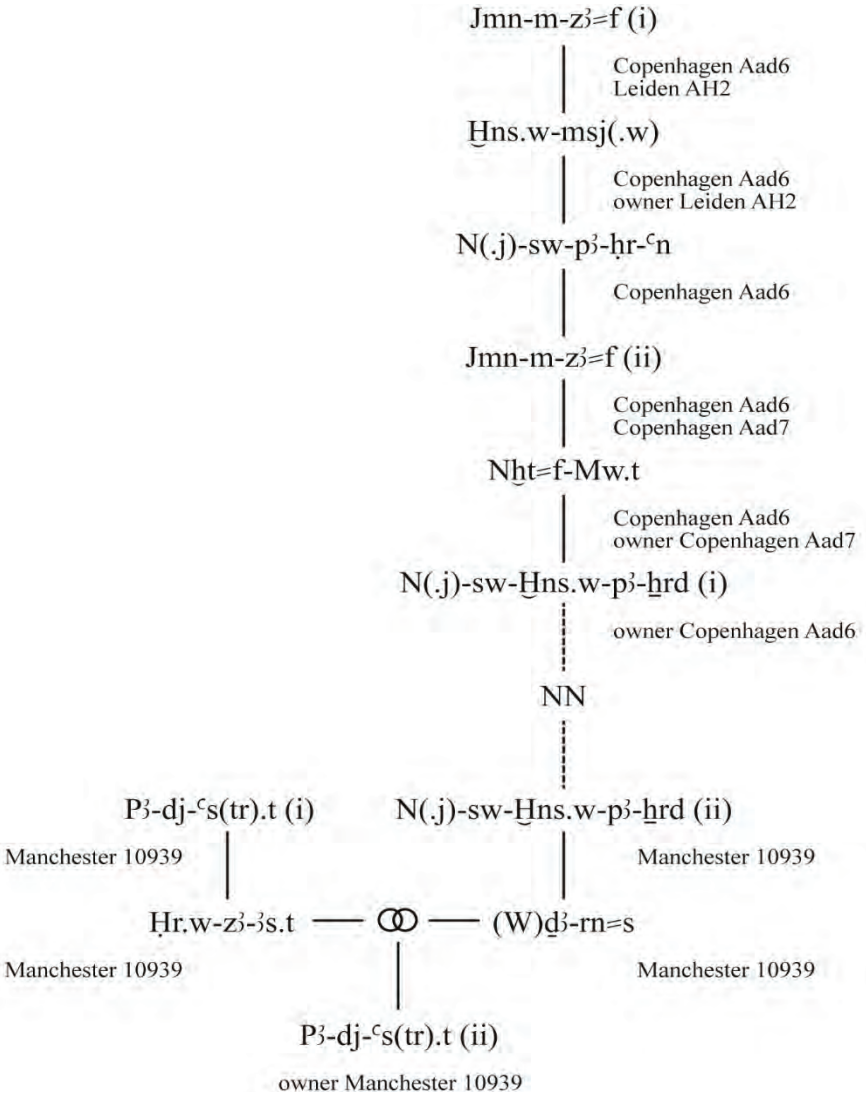


Fig. 3: Hypothetical reconstruction of Nesikhonsupakhered's genealogy

Filiation, Onomastics and Prosopography (fig. 3)

Filiation

The owner of the stela is named Nesikhonsupakhered (N(.j)-sw-Ḫns.w-pȝ-ḫrd).[53] He is jtj-nṯr n(.j) Jmn "god's father of Amun"[54] and ʿȝ-(n.j)-wʿb (n.j) pr Mw.t ḥr zȝ-tp.j zȝ-3.nw "wab-priest in chief in the estate of Mut in the first phyle and in the third phyle." He is probably the son of Nakhtefmut (Nḫt=f-Mw.t).[55] The first peculiarity of this stela is the absence of an expression of filiation between the two names in this part of the inscription, so that we have to reconstruct this relationship.[56] His

[53] PN I, 178, 22 (with a reference to the Copenhagen stela). Actually, for this name, the article pȝ is spelled pn. To my knowledge, such orthography is not attested for the writing of the god's name Ḫns.w-pȝ-ḫrd. It is probably a redundant sign or a mistake of the scribe. However, datable to the same period, the oracle papyrus P. London BM EA 10251, r° 2 contains the name of the god Ḥr.w-pȝ-ḫrd, written with a n-sign under the child-sign (A17) (Edwards 1960, 13. Note 6, pl. 4). Sandra Sandri (Sandri 2006, 17-18) does not rule out that the name could be read Ḥr.w-pȝ-nḫn, even if the n-sign could be here as well redundant. A parallel reading of the god's name at hand (Ḫns.w-pȝ-nḫn) can therefore not be excluded.

[54] Note the cryptographic form of the name of Amun showing a wavelet inserted into an oval (N102). This written form seems to appear during the 21st Dynasty to see a great expansion in its use in the following periods. For the bibliography, see among others Broze and Preys 2012, 184, note 3.

[55] PN I, 212, 17.

father Nakhtefmut and his grandfather Amunemsaef ii[57] share the same titles: they are both "god's father of Amun", and ꜥ3-(n.j)-wꜥb[58] (n.j) pr Mw.t[59] wr(.t) nb(.t) Jšr.w "wab-priest in chief in the estate of Mut, the great one, the mistress of Isheru." Additionally, they bear the titles of ḫnk-nw.w Jwn.w-šmꜥ.w "ḫnk-nw.w-priest" (in) southern Heliopolis" and 3bd(.w) ḫpr=f "the month-priest when it (the month) happens."

With regard to the following genealogical network, the filiation is expressed with the usual expression z3 n(.j) "son of." The ancestors of Nesikhonsupakhered are thereafter only mentioned by name, without their title, which is actually indicated implicitly through the expression mj nn "from the same rank, similarly titled."[60] His great-grandfather is Nespaheran (N(.j)-sw-p3-ḥr-ꜥn),[61] son of Khonsumes (Ḫns.w-msj(.w)),[62] son of Amunemsaef i (Jmn-m-z3=f).

The genealogical string ends with z3=f jtj-nṯr n(.j) Jmn N(.j)-sw-Ḫns.w-p3-ḫrd "his son, the god's father of Amun Nesikhonsupakhered."[63] This last name and part of the titles are the same as those of the owner of the stela, Nesikhonsupakhered. However, the use of the expression z3=f followed by the title and name remains problematic. One would expect the name of the last and perhaps most prestigious ancestor of the owner of the stela to conclude this long string of names.

Four different hypotheses can be formulated to resolve this problem.[64]

First, an emendation can resolve this inaccuracy, that is, by considering that the scribe made a mistake and inadvertently wrote the sign of the viper =f (I9) instead of the nisbe n(.j) (N35). This explanation is nevertheless not very satisfactory, especially in view of yet another peculiarity of the text: the inversion of the signs in the expression z3=f. The sign of the egg (H8) is–apparently on purpose–placed after the stroke sign (Z1), suggesting that the word has to be read from right to left, despite the fact that the sign of the egg (H8) and the rest of the inscription is oriented in the other direction (facing the deceased).[65] This disposition of the signs supposedly marks the separation of two texts. This implies that the name does not refer to the first known ancestor of the owner of the stela, but to the owner himself.

The second hypothesis requires a restructuring of the text by dividing it up. The inscription con-

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[56] An overview of the 22nd Dynasty sources shows that the usual way to express the paternal filiation is through the expression z3/.t (n.j/.t) "son/daughter of," usually rendered by the sign of the duck (G29) or the egg (H8). During the first part of the 22nd Dynasty, the word z3 is sometimes written with the sign of the jackal (E17) (Walsem 1984) or later with the pustule (Aa2) (e. g., Louvre IM 3441: Jansen-Winkeln 2007b, 265-266) or p(3) n(.j) (e. g., Cairo CG 42222: Jansen-Winkeln [2007b], 304 l. 1. On this subject see Vernus 1981, 436-437). Already in the 21st Dynasty, the absence of any lexeme between the two names, a construction linked to the direct genitive, is rare (e. g., in the P. Cleveland 1914.882, I, 1 the name of the father of the owner is directly written after that of his son [Wüthrich 2010, pl. 14]). In the sources of the 22nd Dynasty, I was not able to find an intentional example of a direct apposition of the parent's name. The only exception was found in the Copenhagen AAd7 stela on which the filiation between son and father is not expressed. It is to be noted that this object belongs very probably to the grandfather of the owner of the Copenhagen AAd6 stela, since the filiation string, although reduced to two generations, is the same. See below 525.

[57] PN I, 28, 20.

[58] The text has to be corrected: ꜥ3-(n.j)-<wꜥb> (n.j) pr Mw.t {wꜥb}. The stela is damaged here, and the reading of the hieroglyphs is unsure. It seems that the scribe forgot to write wꜥb in the right place and inserted, therefore, the sign in the tiny space next to the vulture (G14). The sign for wꜥb (D60) is smaller and placed at higher level than the vulture, while every other sign is correctly positioned in the quadrant. The state of the stela does not allow us to be sure that this reading is correct. It could also be a seated woman (B7C) as determinative of the goddess Mut. However, beside the sign used to determine the city (O49), the majority of the lexemes on this stela are not determined and we can describe the writing style as concise.

[59] As for the written form of the title of Amunemsaf ii, the text is here in lacuna. This reconstruction is therefore hypothetical but based on the two other titles borne by the owner of the stela and his father.

[60] Gee 2002, 55-58.

[61] PN I, 175, 10.

[62] PN I, 271, 7.

[63] See below 524.

[64] I wish to express my gratitude to the anonymous reviewers who contributed to the improvement of this passage.

[65] On this phenomenon, see Winand 2006, 152-155 and Lincke and Kutscher 2012, esp. 126, note 24. S. Kutscher is currently writing an article on this topic. In a personal communication, she affirms that the change of the sign's orientation implies diagrammatically-iconographically a grammatical or semantical relation between the reversed sign and the adjoining sign. In the case of the Copenhagen stela, the reversed sign order could mark an intention of the scribe to differentiate and separate this last element of the filiation from the long genealogical string.

tains first a ḥtp-dj-nswt formula invoking Ra-Horakhty and naming the owner of the stela, Nesikhonsupakhered, as the beneficiary. His filiation and further genealogy are expressed through an independent nominal sentence with a topicalised nominal phrase (which is later referred to by =f in the nominal subject z3=f) that consists of the name of Nesikhonsupakhered's father, Nakhtefmut, and his extensive genealogy. It constitutes a parenthetic apposition ending with the name of the first known ancestor Amenemsaef i. Then, there follows the nominal clause: z3=f jtj-nṯr n(.j) Jmn N(.j)-sw-Ḫns.w-p3-ḫrd. Therefore, the entire sentence should be understood as "Nakhtefmut – genealogy –, his son is the god's father of Amun Nesikhonsupakhered."

This solution has the merits of avoiding any emendation at the beginning of the text and resolving the absence of a direct expression of filiation (z3 n(.j)) between the son's and father's names, which is used for the other relationship links in the genealogy. Moreover, it can explain the position of the second occurrence of Nesikhonsupakhered's name directly after the name of his first known– and, therefore, in the genealogy last mentioned– ancestor Amenemsaef i. By this artifice, Nesikhonsupakhered placed his name in close proximity to one of his ancestors, who was probably considered the founder of the family dynasty. If one accepts this hypothesis, the emphasis on the link between Nesikhonsupakhered and his last ancestor Amunemsaef i could be explained by a strong desire to stress the familial ties of the former to the latter, maybe for reasons of prestige or more probably to justify his right to hold the same offices as his ancestor(s).[66] As we will see, the main duty of Nesikhonsupakhered, "wab-priest in chief in the estate of Mut", seems to be specific to this family. Unfortunately, the impact of this function in the religious hierarchy, as well as its meaning in terms of social rank, is impossible to define, thereby making the prestigious aspect hard to measure.

However, although the explanation presented above is grammatically correct (as far as I know), focusing a genealogy on a different family member than the owner of the object is not attested in the documentation of the Third Intermediate Period, so this hypothesis should be taken with due restraint. One could suggest that it shows a reminiscence of an ancient practice of centring genealogies around a prestigious ancestor. During the Old Kingdom, for instance, the genealogy on the architrave of the false door of Prince Nefermaat II uses his maternal grandfather, King Snofru (the father of his mother), as the point of reference.[67] As observed by Claus Jurman,[68] a certain tendency to archaism is already discernible during the Libyan Period. One should nevertheless remain very cautious with this hypothesis, as it is without parallel for the period and very rarely attested before. It, therefore, could be an overinterpretation of the text.[69] The third hypothesis necessitates a revising of the meaning of the lexeme z3 "son": indeed, z3 does not always refer to a direct filiation between father and son, but could also have a broader sense and mean "descendant."[70] In this case, it would suggest that Nesikhonsupakhered is the descendant of Amunemsaef i. Moreover, as in the ḥtp-dj-nswt formulas, in which a list of multiple divinities is invoked followed by the verb dj constructed with the singular suffix pronoun instead of the expected plural, the =f suffix could be understood as =sn. The last two columns should, therefore, be translated as "Nesikhonsupakhered is their descendant."[71]

In the fourth hypothesis, we consider that the last name could be that of the grandson of the

66 See Jansen-Winkeln 2016, 405-406: one of the main functions of the long genealogies on temple statues seems to be that of documenting the right of a family to have a certain office according to the fact that most of the offices are hereditary: "(…) *die Statue (ist) eine monumentale Dokumentation des Anspruchs der Familie auf bestimmte (Priester)Ämter.*" (405).

67 Mastaba G 7060 in Giza: PM III, 183 for a drawing of the inscription see <giza.fas.harvard.edu/drawings/49314/full/> (last consulted 09.12.2020). The text gives the following genealogical string: "Of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt his oldest daughter of his body Neferetkau, as son she has the holder of the royal seal of Lower Egypt Nefermaat." Gundacker 2006, 304. I would like to thank Roman Gundacker for this reference. In most of the Old Kingdom private tombs, when the parents are mentioned, the father is not identified as such, but the tomb owner is described as z3=f that is to say, the genealogical reference shifts toward the father (Baud 1999, 152).

68 Jurman 2015.

69 More prosaically, one could suggest that the scribe noticed the absence of the expression of filiation after the name of the owner of the stela. He would have adjusted the text using this subterfuge of the nominal sentence.

70 Wüthrich 2021 for further bibliographic references, 114, note 1.

71 However, no direct parallels to this practice have been identified in the documentation of the Libyan Period.

owner of the stela.[72] As already mentioned, the inversion of the egg sign and the stroke indicate a partition of the text. The last two columns are not necessarily a caption of the representation, and the inversion of the signs could have been used to interrupt the genealogical string. The dedication of a statue by a son or grandson for his (grand)father, the owner of the statue, is well attested in the context of contemporary temple statues. In this case, the dedication is clearly formulated by the expression jrỉ.n zȝ=f + name r sʿnḫ rn n(.j) jtj=f name, which is obviously not the case on the Copenhagen stela. However, even if not attested as such on wooden stelae, some temple statues and several stelae from the Serapeum[73] show that names of family members can be mentioned, without them necessarily being represented on the object. It should be noticed, however, that, in this case, the name is placed on a particular part of the object or with a different layout, making it optically noticeable. Usually the name of the (grand)son is then followed by his genealogy, linking him to the owner of the object[74] or giving information about his matrilineal lineage[75]. On the stelae from the Serapeum, several members of the family can be mentioned, among others, at the bottom of the object.[76] In this way, the last columns should be read as "his grandson Nesikhonsupakhered." This could be a unique and abbreviated attestation of this practice on a wooden stela.[77]

Onomastics

The name of the owner of the stela, Nesikhonsupakhered, is frequently attested in the Third Intermediate Period, although mainly for women.[78] Its first attestation for a man was apparently found on a 21st Dynasty coffin.[79] A scarab datable to the 21st-22nd Dynasty also belongs to a man named Nesikhonsupakhered not bearing any title.[80] During the 22nd Dynasty, the name appears in its male variant on an ensemble of coffin-cartonnage dated to the first part of the 9th century BCE,[81] while a hieratic inscription on the roof of the temple of Khonsu at Karnak left by a family of wab-priests of Khonsu includes it in a genealogical string.[82] Solely on an onomatological basis, no other document can be assigned to the owner of the Copenhagen stela.

The name of Nesikhonsupakhered's father – Nakhtefmut – is very common in the 22nd Dynasty,[83] however none of the already well-attested Nakhtefmuts can be identified with the one of the Copenhagen stela. The names of the grandfather (and great-great-great-grandfather) Jmn-m-zȝ=f[84] ("Amun is his protection") as well as of his great-grandfather N(.j)-sw-pȝ-ḫr-ʿn[85] ("The one who

[72] Since the tradition in the 22nd Dynasty was to give the name to a child according to the principle of the papponymic, it could only be the grandson and not the son of the owner. See Payraudeau 2014, 376, note 37.

[73] See Jurman 2020, 1188-1189.

[74] E.g. Cairo JE 37884 on the side of the statue (Jansen-Winkeln 2008).

[75] E.g. Cairo CG 42213 on the base [Jansen-Winkeln, 2007b, 134 (18.74).

[76] E.g. Louvre IM 4205 (Malinine & Posener & Vercoutter, 1968, 24, pl. 9).

[77] This hypothesis could be supported by associating the Manchester 10939 stela to this family (see below 527). This second Nesikhonsupakhered of the Copenhagen stela would then be the same as the grandfather of the owner of the Manchester stela.

[78] See the references collected in the database of Münster University https://www1.ivv1.uni-muenster.de/prosoaeg/index0pg.htm (last consulted 17.08.2020) that registers 15 women and one man (the owner of the Copenhagen stela as in PN). The index of Jansen-Winkeln 2007b, 520 mentioning two men bearing this name is incorrect. Of the five entries "Nesikhonsupakhered" listed (three masculine and two feminine), the first two are actually two attestations of the mothers of the owners of the monuments mentioned by Jansen-Winkeln.

[79] Coffin Vatican D2067.5.1.1-5. The owner's grandfather is named N(.j)-sw-Ḫns.w- pȝ-ḫrd (Gasse 1996, 138).
Several shabtis dating to the 21st Dynasty bear the same name, among others, Vienna ÄS 1686a/25 (published by Reiser-Haslauer 1992, 8.8) or in the National Museum of Denmark AAa.111 (published by Mogensen 1918, 66). For a list of these shabtis, see Malgora 2017, 216-217. However, the gender of the owner of those statuettes is impossible to establish with certainty, because of the absence of a title and because the name of the owner is not gender determined.

[80] Hornung and Staehelin 1976, 367, pl. 102 (910).

[81] Cairo TN 21/11/16/3 published by Payraudeau 2016. The father of the owner is named Nesikhonsupakhered and has no title except the mention of mj nn "from the same rank." The title of his son Nespautytauy, "superior of the doorkeepers", does not allow one to see a connection between this object and the Copenhagen stela.

[82] Graffito n° 126 published by Jaquet-Gordon 2003, 49. I would like to thank Frédéric Payraudeau for this reference.

[83] PN I, 212, 17.

[84] PN I, 28, 20.

[85] PN I, 175, 10. The name is also attested in Demotic on the P. Louvre E9294 published by Malinine 1953, 113-116 and Malinine 1983, 52-53 and DN I, 669. This last reference was communicated by the reviewer of this article.

belongs to the pleasant face")[86] and great-great-grandfather Ḫns.w-msj(.w)[87] are all known from several sources, especially during the 22nd Dynasty, and cannot be linked with one of the known Theban families.

Nevertheless, as already mentioned, another stela kept in the collection of the National Museum of Denmark probably belongs to another member of this family. The owner of the stela AAd7 is a god's father of Amun named Nakhtefmut (jtj-nṯr n(.j) Jmn Nḫt=f-Mw.t). He is the son of a certain Amunemsaef described as "from the same rank" (mj nn Jmn-m-zȝ=f). The two stelae, Copenhagen AAd6 and AAd7, were bought and brought to the museum by Dumreicher at the same time in 1821,[88] however, without further indication regarding the provenience and the circumstances of their discovery. The latter shows Ra-Horakhty-Atum mummified and seated on a throne, holding in his hands the ḥqȝ-sceptre and the flagellum. The other iconographical peculiarities of this wooden stela (winged solar disc, symbols of the East and West in the frame and plain ground) situate it in group IIa of Aston's classification. This group dates from 950/925-850/825 BCE, between the end of the 21st and the beginning of the 22nd Dynasties.[89] According to Loth, the two stelae follow each other chronologically.[90] The most specific feature of the text of this object is that, just like on the Copenhagen stela AAd6, the expression of filiation is missing, both names are juxtaposed.

The corroborative evidence (names, genealogical string, absence of the expression of filiation), even if tenuous, makes it likely that these two objects belong to the members of one and the same family. The owner of the Copenhagen AAd7 stela is, therefore, to be identified with the father of Nesikhonsupakhered from the Copenhagen AAd6 stela. The absence of a discriminating title[91] can be explained by the text's medium and its function. If temple statues held the (auto)biography of their owners in order to justify the existence of certain rituals that had to be undertaken in connection with this object, then wooden stelae had to have, above all, a funerary function. However, that does not imply that they must necessarily contain an account of all the accomplishments of their owner. The owners of wooden stelae indicate almost exclusively their religious title (mostly ḥm/jtj-nṯr n(.j) Jmn)[92], even if these titles are not distinctive, in order to both show their personal piety and their direct filiation thereby asserting their identity. As already stressed, the Copenhagen AAd6 stela is very unusual in this way. Most of the other wooden stelae contain only a restricted sample of the titles borne by their owners and, when they indicate their genealogy, they provide information only on two generations.

Prosopography

Except for the "god's father," the titles of the members of this family are uncommon for the 22nd Dynasty. Nesikhonsupakhered's specific title (ʿȝ-(n.j)-wʿb (n.j) pr Mw.t ḥr zȝ-tp.j zȝ-3.nw) – as well as the similar variants of his father and grandfather – is connected to the clergy of the temple of Mut. The organisation of the clergy of Mut's temple is still rather difficult to define.[93] Third Intermediate Period sources reveal several titles linked to the estate (pr) and temple (ḫw.t-nṯr) of Mut in Thebes.[94] However, the organisation of the cult of the goddess remains a conundrum,[95] even though we are able to identify some of the

[86] Pȝ-ḥr-ʿn is obviously a divine epithet, but the identity of the god is not certain. LGG IV 300b translates to "Das schöne Gesicht." In the context of the Theban theology and since all the members of this family bear a theophoric name, we could consider an identification with Amun or his son Khonsu. Amun is sometimes described as nfr-ḥr (LGG III, 214c-217a) "the one with a beautiful face," so an Amunian epithet should probably be preferred.

[87] PN I, 271, 7.

[88] It is, therefore, tempting to suggest that both stelae come from the same (unidentified) necropolis, maybe a common grave.

[89] Aston 2009, 353-354.

[90] Loth 2008, 19.

[91] To be certain that these two objects belong to the same family, one would expect to find a title (here ʿȝ-(n.j)-wʿb n.j pr Mw.t) that is a discriminating element of the individual.

[92] Saleh 2007, 65-66.

[93] Payraudeau 2014, 266-268.

[94] An extensive study of these titles would exceed largely the scope of this article. A quick overview of the sources shows however that the predominantly attested titles are in connection with the administration of the temple, such as scribe of the domain of Mut (e.g. on statue Cairo CG 42221: Jansen-Winkeln 2007b, 244 right side, 6) but are too imprecise to provide a functional picture of the organisation of the domain. See the remarks from Payraudeau 2014, 268 who speaks of "*subordination du domaine de Mout à celui d'Amon dans la répartition des titres*."

[95] See for the New Kingdom Luiselli 2017, 119-121 and for the Third Intermediate Period Broekman 2011.

highest-ranking members of her clergy, such as Djedkhonsuiuefankh A, who was, amongst other things, the Second Prophet of Mut.[96] It should be noted that the title of High Priest of Mut is not attested in the Third Intermediate Period, and the title of Second/Third/Fourth Prophet of Mut is borne only occasionally by the women of the High Priest's family in the 21st Dynasty.[97]

The title ꜥ3-n(.j)-wꜥb can be traced, at least, back to the 19th Dynasty in the temple of Ramses II in Abydos. In this case, however, it was not connected to a specific divinity. Kenneth A. Kitchen translated it as "chief of the refectory(?),"[98] but Ben Haring preferred the translation "superior of the wab-priests."[99] According to Haring, the man associated with this title was represented as a porter of the royal statue.[100] The exact function of this priest is impossible to define based on this document.

The title of "wab-priest in chief of the estate of (name of a god)"[101] is attested for several divinities, among others Amun, for instance, on the Ptolemaic Cairo JE 37017 cuboid statue found in the Cachette of the temple of Karnak.[102] The owner of this cuboid statue, Nesmin, is a god's father (jtj-nṯr), ḫpt-wḏ3.t-priest, ḫnk-nw.w-priest and rd.wj-nṯr n(.j) Jmn.[103] Besides the titles of god's father, ḫpt-wḏ3.t and ḫnk-nw.w-priest, his father bears the title of "wab-priest in chief of Amun" (ꜥ3 (n.j) wꜥb n(.j) Jmn). According to Herman de Meulenaere, the title of ꜥ3 (n.j) wꜥb is used mostly in connection with the Theban pantheon.[104] He also stressed that the actual place in the hierarchy of these priests is not easily defined.

The specific title of ꜥ3-(n.j)-wꜥb n(.j) pr Mw.t "wab-priest in chief in the estate of Mut" (and variants) is known from at least two other sources. As we will see, these two objects probably belong to other members of Nesikhonsupakhered's family.

The first of these attestations can be traced to the 21st Dynasty and was found on a shabti box kept in Leiden. The provenience of this object is very probably Thebes, even though its archaeological context was not documented.[105] Its owner, Khonsumes, was a wab-priest of Amun (wꜥb (n.j) Jmn), god's father of Amun in Thebes (jtj-nṯr n(.j) Jmn m W3s.t), scribe of the god's offering in the estate of Amun (zḫ3.w ḥtp.w-nṯr n(.j) pr Jmn). Like his father, Amunemsaef, whose first function was "god's father of Mut" (jtj-nṯr n(.j) Mw.t), he bears the title of wab-priest in chief of the estate of Mut (ꜥ3-(n.j)-wꜥb (n.j) pr Mw.t). On stylistic criteria, Aston dated this object to the second half of the 21st Dynasty.[106]

Although the link between this object and the Copenhagen stela is not strong, especially because of the absence of titles for Khonsumes and Amunemsaef on the Copenhagen stela and the question of dating for both objects, there are some elements which consistently suggest an affiliation to the same family. While both names from the Leiden shabti box are known from several sources in the 21st and 22nd Dynasties, their association with the title ꜥ3-(n.j)-wꜥb (n.j) pr Mw.t is singular to this object. The title seems to be attested here for the first time. In addition, the genealogical link Amunemsaef-Khonsumes is unknown elsewhere, apart from these two objects. Regarding the Copenhagen stela, even if the vagueness of the indication mj nn does not ensure that Khonsumes and Amunemsaf bore the same title as their descendants, it indicates at least that they were considered of the same rank.

The precise dating of both objects is based on iconographical and typological features in the

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96 For this title see e. g., Cairo CG 42207 (Jansen-Winkeln 1985, 37).

97 Naguib 1990, 53-54; 240. E.g., Heritubekhet, Menkheperre's granddaughter, was a Third Prophet of Mut, the great, the mistress of Isheru (ḫm(.t)-nṯr 3.nw Mw.t wr.t Jšr.w) and Second Prophet of Mut from the birth house (ḫm(.t)-nṯr n.t Mw.t n(.t) pr-ms.w) Jansen-Winkeln 2007a, 149 (9.42). See Broekman 2011, 106.

98 KRI II, 534, 6; RITA II, 344.

99 Haring 1997, 108.

100 Mariette 1880, pl. 8f. Haring 1997, 112.

101 See Quaegebeur 1994a, 242-244 and id. 1994b, 168-169 for the previous bibliography on the reading of this title. For another example of the title of ꜥ3-(n.j)-wꜥb n(.j) Jmn in the Late Period, see Cairo JE 37134 published by Coulon 2001, 140-141 or Cairo JE 37861 with an indication of the phyle (Jansen-Winkeln 2001, 95; 372).

102 De Meulenaere 1994. See also https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/ck119 (last consulted 04.09.2020).

103 On the meaning of this title, see Jansen-Winkeln 2001, 91-92.

104 De Meulenaere 1994, 218 for the reference to other Theban divinities.

105 Leiden AH 2 https://www.rmo.nl/collectie/collectiezoeker/collectiestuk/?object=1559 (last consulted 23.07.2020). The museum bought it from the collection of d'Anastasi in 1828. I would like to thank Lara Weiss for the information she gave me about this object.

106 Aston 1994, 29.

absence of information regarding the archaeological context. Concerning the shabti box, Aston placed it in his group Vb and dated it to the period ranging from the beginning of the pontificate of Pinedjem II (1001-992 BCE), the High Priest of Amun, to the end of the 21st Dynasty (976-944 BCE) based on iconographical details.[107] I will not discuss the delicate question of the length of the generation gap here,[108] but it seems to me that the chronological interval of three generations between the two objects (which according to Loth's dating of the Copenhagen stela is the transition phase between the 9th and the 8th centuries BCE) is plausible.

The second attestation of the title ꜥ3-(n.j)-wꜥb (n.j) pr Mw.t is to be found on the Manchester 10939 stela, dated to the 26th Dynasty.[109] Even though the archaeological context was not documented, the stela probably came from Thebes.[110] This object belonged to a god's father of Amun-Ra, king of the gods (jtj-nṯr (n.j) Jmn-Rꜥ nswt nṯr.w), ḥnk-nw.w-priest in southern Heliopolis[111] Padias(tar)te (P3-dj-ꜥz.t).[112] A detailed genealogy covering three paternal (father-grandfather-great-grandfather) and two maternal (mother-grandfather) generations is given on this stela. The maternal grandfather of the owner of this object is a god's father of Amun-Ra, king of the gods (ḥm-nṯr n(j) Jmn-Rꜥ). Besides this title, he is ꜥ3-(n.j)-wꜥb (n.j) pr Mw.t and his name is Nesikhonsupakhered. In the absence of a recorded archaeological context, other criteria must be used to date this object. Other stelae, iconographically close to the Manchester stela, do not leave much opportunity for a dating earlier than the beginning of the 26th Dynasty.[113] It is, therefore, impossible to establish a direct chronological connection between the Copenhagen and the Manchester stelae. However, the onomastics and prosopographical coincidences allow me to conclude that the owners of both stelae could belong to the same family: following the rules of papponymy, one could tentatively introduce a genealogical gap between the owner of the Copenhagen stela and the grandfather of the owner of the Manchester stela.

The second title, borne by the father and the grandfather of the owner of the Copenhagen AAd6 stela, ḥnk-nw.w m Jwn.w-šmꜥ.j, is well attested from the 25th Dynasty.[114] This title is already documented in the 22nd Dynasty, although it remains rare. Besides the Copenhagen stela, one can find it in four other documents from this period.[115] The first one is a cartonnage case kept in the Brooklyn Museum.[116] The owner of this object, Nisupanetjerenpara (N(.j)-sw-(p3)-nṯr-n(.j)-p3-Rꜥ),[117] belongs to the highest Theban elite. He was Fourth Priest of Amenemope (ḥm-nṯr 4.nw n(.j) Jmn-(m)-Jp.t), true guardian (?) of the estate of Amun in his fourth phyle (jr.j mȝꜥ pr Jmn ḫr z3-4.nw), god's father, wab-priest who has access (to the temple) (wꜥb ꜥq) and ḥnk-nw.w Jwn.w šmꜥ.j . He is, it seems, the sole attested Fourth Priest of Amenemope for the 22nd Dynasty and no other document can be linked to him.[118] This tells us, however, that, contrary to the idea that this title was borne by people of the lower elite or is insignificant, a person of the highest elite could be ḥnk-nw.w.

The second and third objects are the two Cairo JE 36971[119] and JE 36998,[120] cuboid statues of the

107 Aston 2009, 366-367.

108 See the summary by Payraudeau 2014, 112-115.

109 A photograph of the stela is provided by David 1982, pl. 15. I am currently preparing a publication of this object.

110 The stela was offered to the museum from a private collection in 1953. A possible provenience could be the Rameseum. I would like to thank Campbell Price for all the information he gave me about this object.

111 See below 527-529.

112 Probably for P3-dj-ꜥs(tr).t (Thirion 2001, 270). The name is also attested on a libation vase kept in the Louvre N 908 C (Pierret 1878, 121) and on some of the materials found in the TT 414 that belong to the secondary burial in this tomb. See Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer 1982, 276 (G78) and (G79). None of these objects however has a connection to the Manchester stela.

113 One of the older examples of this type of stelae is probably Cairo A 9900 (Munro 1973, 201) belonging to N(.j)-sw-Jmn ii whose brother Bs-n(.j)-mw.t ii signed the oracular decree dated to year 14 of Psammetik I (Parker 1962, pl. 12-13, l.38).

114 See most recently and for the older bibliography Birk 2020, 214-227.

115 For the later attestations, see Wüthrich (in preparation).

116 Inv. Brooklyn 35.1265. For the bibliography, see Payraudeau 2014, 515 (160). Photographs of the coffin: https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3357 (last consulted 01.09.2020).

117 PN I, 422, 25.

118 Payraudeau 2014, 273.

119 Goyon and Cardin 2004, 60-62 and Jansen-Winkeln 2007b, 401-402.

120 Goyon and Cardin 2004, 63-65 and Jansen-Winkeln 2007b, 403-405.

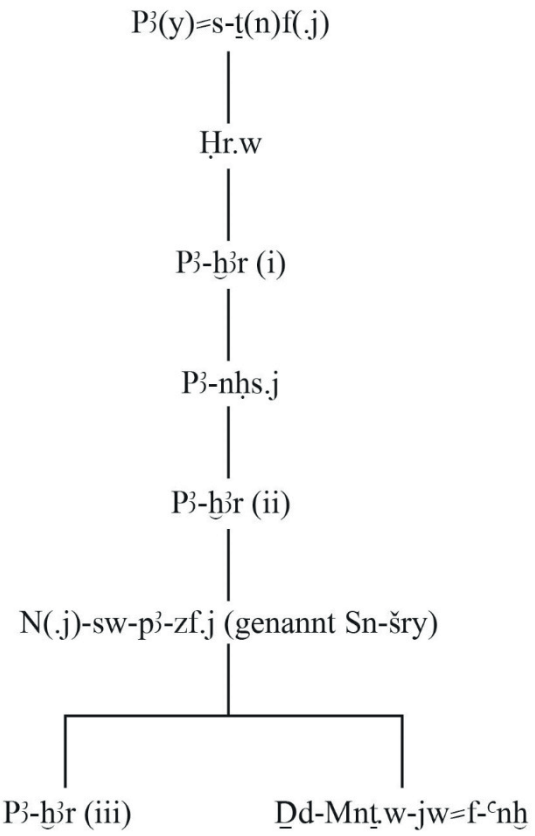


Fig. 4: Genealogy of Nisupasefy's family

craftsman of the estate of Amun (ḥmw.w pr Jmn)[121], Nisupasefy (N(.j)-sw-pꜣ-zf.j), which were made by his two sons (see fig. 4 for the genealogy). The whole family belonged to a lower rank within the hierarchy of the temple of Karnak. On both statues, Nisupasefy's grandfather, the god's beloved Pꜣ-nḫs.j, bears the title of ḥnk-nw.w (m) Jwn.w-šmˁ.j (Cairo JE 36971: , Cairo JE 36998: ). Besides his title of craftsman, the owner of the statues Nisupasefy is a wab-priest in Karnak (wˁb m Jp.t-s.wt) and "one who is in his month (in) the estate of Amun (in) the Akhmenu in the fourth phyle (jm.j-ꜣbd=f pr Jmn ꜣḫ-mnw ḥr zꜣ-4.nw), while his father Pakhel (Pꜣ-ḫꜣr)[122] is a prophet of Montu, lord of Armant (ḥm-nṯr Mnṯ.w nb Jwn.w-šmˁ.j). The first-born son of Nisupasefy (occurring on Cairo JE 36971) bears the same title as his father, while his other son (occurring on Cairo JE 36988) is a god's father of Amun (jtj-nṯr Jmn), wab-priest and one who has access to the domain of Amun in Jwi̯-ꜣḫ=s (ˁq(.w) pr Jmn Jwi̯-ꜣḫ=s).[123]

The fourth object is the coffin belonging to Ankhpayefher (ˁnḫ-p(ꜣy)=f-ḥr)[124], Boston MFA 72.4387, dated to the beginning of the 22nd Dynasty based on iconographical criteria[125]. The owner only bears the title of ḥnk-nw.w n(.j) Jwn.w-šmˁ.j ()[126]. The origin of this coffin is unknown: according to John Taylor, the analysis of its iconography and especially the use of a dark blue background could be an indication of a northern origin[127]. However, as remarked by this author, a (unknown) Theban burial place should probably be preferred, when considering the title of the owner. Taylor did not exclude the possibility that the coffin was manufactured outside Thebes and then transported there to be used as burial equipment for Ankhpayefher.

The meaning and translation of this title are still disputed[128]. Most of its attestations are written in an abbreviated form with the arm holding the nw-pot (D42) with three nw-pots below, so that at first sight it is difficult to decide whether the three nw-pots have to be read as a logogram (ḥnk-nw.w or ḥnk-Nwn) or as a simple phonetical complement of the first sign (ḥnk).[129] Without going into detail about the analysis of the title–which will be the subject of a future publication–one can observe that, already in one of its first attestations on the Copenhagen stela, the title is completed by the sign for the sky (N1). As far as I can judge, this classifier never occurs in the orthography of the

[121] On this title see the remark in Goyon and Cardin 2004, 61.

[122] PN I, 116,17.

[123] Jansen-Winkeln 2001, 25-26. For the title, see Jansen-Winkeln 2001, 32 note 10.

[124] PN I, 63,18.

[125] Boston MFA 72.4837: Taylor 1988, 170-171. I would like to thank John Taylor and Denise Doxey for their help regarding this object.

[126] The title is inscribed twice on the right and left side of the lid of the mummy case. The owner's genealogy is not mentioned.

[127] Taylor 2009, 398 and note 160.

[128] See Birk 2020, 214-216 and Wüthrich (in preparation).

[129] According to TLA (DZA 26.990.860) the written form of ḥnk.t "offerings, donation" (Wb III, 118, 9-15) shows an identical form (arm with pot in the hand upon the three nw-pots) at least since the Middle Kingdom. In this case, the reading ḥnk.t is beyond any doubt. It does not mean however that the later use of this written form during the Third Intermediate Period could have been subject to a new interpretation.

words of the same family. Other determinatives, even if rare, show up over time. The sign for water does not appear before the end of the 26th Dynasty and remains unusual.[130] One of the latest attestations shows a different spelling of the title  var. [131], which clearly attested that the title, at least in this period, was understood as ḫnk(.w)-Nwn "the one who offers the Nun." Even if we cannot exclude a late reinterpretation of the title, there are enough elements to conclude that the title should be read ḫnk-nw.w. The meaning of the title, however, needs more research. From the known elements, we can cautiously conclude that this title has to do with some offering rituals or libations, probably in connection with the Nun.

The second question raised by this title is the identification of the toponym Jwn.w-šmʿ.j, "the southern Heliopolis," which is almost always associated with this title.[132] In its first attestation, probably during the New Kingdom, this toponym was identified with Thebes as well as with Hermonthis/Armant.[133] The confusion seems to be maintained during the Third Intermediate Period. In a recent study, Ralph Birk showed that the toponym can be used for both cities. He, therefore, suggested that only a closer look at the other titles in connection with it might allow one to distinguish them. However, this reasoning presupposes that a priest could not have had several functions in various temples or places, which, of course, is incorrect, so that Birk's methodology cannot be approved. In the case of the 22nd Dynasty sources, only the Copenhagen stela and the two cuboid statues of Nisupasefy provide some additional information, since the two other sources do not contain any other titles. All the prosopographic and onomastic elements of the Copenhagen stela are consistent with a Theban environment, and there is no connection with Armant. As for the two statues of Nisupasefy, the owner's father is a priest of the main deity of Armant, Montu (ḥm-nṯr Mnṯ.w nb Jwn.w-šmʿ.j). Since Montu's epithet nb Jwn.w-šmʿ.j is only attested in connection with his cult in Armant,[134] Payraudeau concluded: "*Les prêtres thébains ne dédaignaient alors pas exercer quelques sacerdoces à Hermonthis.*"[135] However, except for this title, all the prosopographical information places this family in a Theban environment.[136] Based on the information collected from the 22nd Dynasty, it remains impossible to define with absolute certainty whether this title commonly refers to an office in Thebes or in Armant.

ȝbd(.w) ḫpr=f is the third title borne by the father and grandfather of Nesikhonsupakhered, the owner of the Copenhagen stela. The first lexeme is written with a combination of the crescent moon (N12), the star (N14) and what seems to be a basket, filled in with black ink. This last sign should be identified as the alabaster vessel (W3) rather than as the basket (V30), since it is one of the usual determinatives of the word ȝbd "month," especially in late periods.[137] ȝbd(.w)[138] is, therefore, a nisbe derived from the substantive ȝbd "month," so that, instead of presuming a mistake on the part of the scribe by correcting the text in <jm.j> ȝbd<=f>, we can affirm that it is a rare variant of the usual jm.j ȝbd=f[139] which is attested particularly often in the 22nd Dynasty.

The combination with the verb ḫpr is also very uncommon. In a list carrying the description of the celebration of the monthly feasts in Medinet Habu, the title of the tenth list mentions: hrw (n.j) ȝbd.w nb ḫpr.tj=fj "on the day of every month that shall occur."[140] This inscription indicates that the seasonality or the repetition of a festival on a monthly basis was expressed through the association between the name of the feast and the verb ḫpr.[141]

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130 E.g., Stela London BM EA 8459  (Bierbrier 1987, pls. 50-51). The sign of the heron reinforces the idea that what is meant has something to do with the inundation: the logogram has the phonetic value of bʿḥ which is also the root of bʿḥ.w "inundation" (Wb I, 488, 1-8).

131 Book of Breathing: P. Berlin P 3135 (Herbin 2008, 200).

132 One of the older attestations of the title on the Cairo CG 42224 cuboid statue mentions a ḫnk-nw.w-priest of the domain of a form of Khonsu. However, the orthography of the title diverges from the other attestations. See Jansen-Winkeln 2007b, 308 text n, line 4.

133 Klotz 2012, 149-150.

134 Klotz 2012, 149-150.

135 Payraudeau 2014, 369.

136 See above 525-527.

137 Wb I, 8, 22; 65, 5-9. At least since the New Kingdom, probably by contamination with ȝbd.w "Abedu-Festival" (Wb I, 65, 10).

138 Wb I, 65, 12. Osing 1976, 314.

139 Wb I, 65, 6 and 72, 21; Jones 2000, n° 228.

140 Medinet Habu III, pl. 148 (KRI V, 133, 8). See Dümichen 1881 and most recently el-Sabban 2000, 76-77.

141 On the other lists in Medinet Habu (7-14), the calendar adopts the same structure with the name of the festival, sometimes the adjective nb and the verb ḫpr in a sḏm.tj=fj form.

Therefore, it would be unsurprising to find a similar expression in connection with the monthly system of sacerdotal duty. However, an exact parallel to the expression of the Copenhagen stela remains unattested so far. A quite similar formulation can be found in an Appeal to the Living on a cuboid statue dating to the reign of Thotemhat:[142] "O you prophets (ḥm.w-nṯr), the lector-priests who are entering the temple of Hermopolis (ḫr.jw-ḥ3b ʿq(.w) r ḥw.t-nṯr n.t Ḫmn.w), all those who are in the(ir) month when it happens (or it will happen)[143] (jm.j-3bd=f nb ḫpr=f), whose hearts are satisfied by the words of the gods, the wab-priests (…)."[144] The meaning of the title is connected to the system of the phyle: it describes the monthly sacerdotal service that the priest has to fulfil on a regular basis. It is probably the equivalent of other titles (e. g., ḥm-nṯr) followed by the expression ḥr z3 and the ordinal indication of the phyle,[145] however, in a more imprecise way than the usual expression with mention of the specific phyle.[146] A later example of this expression 3bd nb ḫpr(.w) is also found on the Ptolemaic Cairo JE 37169 cuboid statue. It contains as part of the introduction of the Appeal to the Living "O you prophets of Amun, the god's fathers of the one who creates himself, everyone who has access to the temple of Karnak when the service of every month happens" (jw wnw.t (n.t) 3bd nb ḫpr(.t)).[147]

A second variant of the title of the monthly priest appears probably during the 22nd Dynasty, for instance, on the Cairo CG 42224 cuboid statue from the Karnak cache and dating to the reign of Osorkon III.[148] On the left-hand side of the statue, the owner Ḏd-B3st.t-jw=f-ʿnḫ is defined as  n(.j) pr Jmn (ḥ)r z3-tp.j "monthly priest in the domain of Amun in (his) first phyle" and on the back side  n(.j) pr Jmn ḥr z3-tp.j.[149] On the Cairo CG 42221 cuboid statue, also found in the cache of Karnak and dated to the mid-22nd Dynasty,[150] N(.j)-sw-{r}-Jmn ii is titled jm.j-3bd=f pr Jmn ḥr z3-tp.j in most of the other occurrences. However, on the right-hand side of the statue, the title seems to have been shortened to Jmn-Rʿ ḥr z3-tp.j.[151] The question of the reading of this title is debated: at first Jansen-Winkeln[152] explained the presence of the nw-vase (W24) as a very unusual mark of a nisbe form, comparing this formation with jm.j-jb and its variant nj-jb. However, he already stressed the so-far not attested use of the sign W24 for jm.j or nj. In a second article, he recanted his own reading and preferred the reading "wb3-3bd" or "wdpw-3bd."[153] The latter reading seems to fit better, because the nw-pot can have the phonetic value wdp.[154] Furthermore, on the graffito from Karnak, which Jansen-Winkeln added to the dossier in his second article, the first hieratic sign of the title  is clearly the wdp sign (W22).[155]

The title 3bd.w is also used more generically to define a certain category of priests.[156] The majority of the attestations come from the category of the

142 On this king, see most recently Meffre 2015, 141-142; 334-336; 352-353 and Sagrillo 2017.

143 It also could be a very rare example of a sḏm.tj=(fj) form (Jansen-Winkeln 1996, 128). I would like to thank Johannes Jüngling for this suggestion.

144 CG 42212: Jansen-Winkeln 2007b, 368.

145 On the organisation in phyles, see Kees 1953, 300-308.

146 It is possible that the use of the verb ḫpr refers to the fact that the precise beginning of the monthly service was variable, because it was based on the lunar cycle. See the remarks about this subject by Lippert 2009, 184-186.

147 Jansen-Winkeln 2001, 248 and note 16; 434 pl. 83 (https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/ck356 [last consulted 16.09.2020]).

148 For the bibliography see https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/ck652 (last consulted 28.08.2020).

149 Jansen-Winkeln 2007b, 308 (n,2), 309 (q,4).

150 Osorkon II-Takelot II see https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/ck98 (last consulted 28.08.2020).

151 About this title and especially about its reading see Jansen-Winkeln 1985, 187-188 note 4, id. 1992, 247. Another example of this title appears in an Appeal to the Living on a Late Period statue Cairo RT 8/12/24/5 (Jansen-Winkeln 2001, 373 pl. 39 and https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/ck641 [last consulted 16.09.2020]). The text is unfortunately broken, but the half-moon disc and the vase are clearly identifiable.

152 Jansen-Winkeln 1985, 188.

153 Jansen-Winkeln 1992, 247. Vittmann 2002, 355, note n retains the first of the two readings.

154 Daumas 1988, 805 (515).

155 See https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu/id/e7394b68-ab24-4e8f-828f-12a7aab83010 (last consulted 31.08.2020).

156 E.g., Cairo CG 42208 text C, 8 mj ntt m jm.j-r-n'.wt sn.wj ḥnʿ 3bd.w (published by El-Sayed 1985, sp. 328. See also Jansen-Winkeln 1985, 48) or Cairo CG 42206 text f, 2 wr-wy jb=f ḫnm(.w) 3bd.w (published by El-Sayed 1983, 228-229. See also Jansen-Winkeln 1985, 28-30). On an offering scene on the external wall of the naos in Edfu, Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II is qualified as wʿb and 3bd.w n(.j) Ḥr.w-3ḫ.tj (E. IV, 220,12).

so-called Appeal to the Living.[157] On the Cairo CG 42254 cuboid statue, dated to the reign of Harsiese, the introduction contains an appeal to "the prophets (ḥm.w-nṯr), the god's fathers, the ones who are in Karnak, the wab-priests and the monthly-priests (wdp.(w)w-ȝbd ), the ones who have access to the god (ʿq.w ḥr nṯr), the ones who get in and get out every month to practise their rituals, every lector-priest (…)."[158] On the Cairo JE 37399 statue from the 25th-26th Dynasty,[159] the same appeal is addressed to the "prophets, the god's fathers, the lector-priests, the wab-priests and the monthly-priests (ȝbd.w )."[160] These two lists have in common, besides the example quoted above, the fact of placing the ȝbd.w-priests at the end of the string of sacerdotal functions. Should we, therefore, conclude that this kind of priesthood is hierarchically inferior to the others? From the New Kingdom, a kind of system seems to be instituted in the Appeal to the Living, especially when the list is addressed exclusively to priests. A cursory examination of the sources containing (auto)biographical texts during the Third Intermediate Period shows a certain constancy in the structure of these addresses. The following string is mostly attested, with a minimal amount of variants: prophet (ḥm-nṯr) – god's father (jtj-nṯr) – wʿb-priest – lector-priest (ḫr.j-ḥȝb). To this list of sacerdotal titles, other titles are added, though not systematically, such as wnw.t ḥw.t-nṯr mj-qd=s that designates the whole priesthood. It is, however, tricky to decide whether this string of titles is intended to illustrate a hierarchical organisation.

[157] I would like to thank Vanessa Desclaux for access to some results from her unpublished PhD thesis "Les Appels aux passants dans les textes Égyptiens du Nouvel Empire" (Lyon 2014).

[158] Jansen-Winkeln 2004, 54.

[159] https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/ck428 (last consulted 28.08.2020).

[160] Jansen-Winkeln 2014, 1075 (594).

Excursus: The Process of Production of AAd6 (Charlotte Dietrich)

The production of wooden stelae in the 22nd Dynasty probably took place in the same workshops, which also manufactured other parts of burial equipment like coffins and funerary papyri.[161] Rather than producing these items only on demand, many were instead prepared in advance and only later fashioned to fit an individual client, primarily by adding the name, titulary, and filiation of the beneficiary.[162]

In a first step of manufacturing a stela, the outline of the stela was cut from a piece of wood of adequate size, or, if such was not available, constructed by joining several pieces of wood together using pegs.[163] It was then covered in plaster to even the surface, always on the recto, but sometimes even on the verso. This coat could be painted over to alter the background colour, but remained white on the stela at hand, although it is not clear if it is the original white of the plaster or if it received a coat of whitewash.[164]

After the plaster dried, preparatory lines were painted on the surface in black to serve as guidelines for the decoration. One can still make out a line separating the lunette and lower register, a ground line, and the partitioning lines between the columns of text. Except for the line separating the lunette from the centre, all other preliminary lines were painted over at a later stage of production, but can still be made out in some places (e.g., the ground line on the far right) where they have not been entirely covered.

Then a draft of the offering scene was made using black ink, which was the norm in the 22nd Dynasty, in contrast to the use of red ink in the 21st Dynasty.[165] The lines of the sketch can still be seen in various places (e.g., Ra-Horakhty's uraeus, collar, and leg, Nesikhonsupakhered's elbow) and were drawn into the facsimile in dark grey (see fig. 1b). The sketch is barely visible since the ink itself is very faint. It is possible that such a thin ink was chosen on purpose to facilitate the covering of the sketch and to avoid any visual disturbance in the final product. It is also possible that a technique generally used in tomb decoration was applied here, too: a layer of see-through whitewash was added after the sketching, leaving the outlines just visible for the colouring process afterwards.[166]

After the sketch was deemed satisfactory and had dried, the scene was painted on using black, blue,[167] green, reddish-brown, a strong almost orange shade of yellow, and white colour. The colour scheme of the stela conforms to general convention: yellow for the god's kilt and collar, the offering table, the uraei, and underneath the lower lid of the wedjat-eyes, reddish brown for sun discs, skin, meat, pottery vessels, and underneath the eyebrows of the wedjat-eyes, green for the god's vest and flowers, blue for the curved sky-sign, the god's wig and insignia (w3s-sceptre, bull's tail), and offerings, and black for the outlines and hieroglyphs.

However, a close look at the stela reveals some peculiarities. There are traces of yellow paint visible on the central sun disc in the lunette and underneath the eyebrow of the left wedjat-eye. Both areas were repainted in red, suggesting that the choice of colour was reconsidered and altered in a second step. Another oddity is the ankh-sign in Ra-Horakhty's hand, which one would expect to be painted blue like his w3s-sceptre,[168] but which remained in black outline and otherwise uncoloured. The same is the case for the tail of the

161 Taylor 1985, 54; Swart 2004, 29; Saleh 2007, 17, note 36.

162 Swart 2004, 51; Loth 2012, 222. An especially well-preserved example of an unfinished, not yet individualised stela can be found in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (MMA O.C.81, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/553249, [last consulted 30.05.2020]).

163 Swart 2004, 53-54; Saleh 2007, 16-17; Loth 2012, 220.

164 Saleh 2007, 17; Loth 2012, 221.

165 Loth 2012, 221.

166 Hartwig and Leterme 2013, 133. Laboury and Tavier 2016, 66.

167 The blue colour has, as is quite often the case, changed into a dark greenish hue, whereas the green colour has remained stable and vibrant. Green 2001, 44-45; Daniels 2004, passim.

168 Blue ankh-signs held by Horakhty can be found on several other 22nd Dynasty funerary stelae (e.g. stela of Saiah [MMA 22.3.31], Saleh 2007, 257. For a colour photo, see https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/550806 [last consulted 30.05.2020]; stela of Taperet, Louvre E 52, Andreu 1997, 171-174; stela of Thenet [Brooklyn Museum 37.1385E] Saleh 2007, 256 and for a colour photo see https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/4146 [last consulted 30.05.2020]).

uraeus of Ra-Horakhty's sun disc, which should be the same orange-yellow shade as the serpent's body at the front.[169]

Although by no means an irrefutable rule, the preferred succession of colours applied was from bright to dark.[170] Determining the exact succession in which colours were applied is used to differentiate individual artists or groups of such, and one would assume that, no matter the eventual order of application practiced, the same artist would usually stick to the same routine unless forced to alter it due to special circumstances.[171]

Looking closely at the figures of Ra-Horakhty and Nesikhonsupakhered, one notices differences in the application of colours, specifically concerning the black outlines. In the case of Ra-Horakhty, the reddish-brown colour of his skin overlaps and obscures the black of the outlines, as can be seen clearly at his left hand around the wꜣs-sceptre, where the black is only faintly visible underneath the red. It can also be observed on his left lower arm, left shoulder, right side of his breast, and both of his feet.[172] For Nesikhonsupakhered, the opposite is the case: his black outlines are clear and dark and unclouded by red even where the red colour is also visible outside the outline, for example his right elbow, left hand and both of his feet. Therefore, the relative order of the red of the skin and the black of the outline is reversed: for Nesikhonsupakhered, the outline was drawn onto the body already coloured in red, for Ra-Horakhty, the outline was drawn first and then filled in. This can be explained by only two possibilities: either two artists with different techniques worked on these figures or the same artist changed his order of application, although there is no reason discernible for the latter.

The technique of first painting the black outlines and then filling them in with colours can also be observed at the offering table: especially the green of the lotus and the red of the ḫpš-foreleg of an ox overlap their outlines. The colours themselves seem to comply with the rule of thumb explained above: red was applied after yellow and green overlaps red, proving that lighter colours were added before darker ones.

A breach of this convention can be seen in the colourful bands at the very bottom of the stela.[173] The yellow band was applied only after the two blue bands above and below had been painted on, shown by the overlapping of the yellow on the left side.

After the application of colour was finished and the stela was purchased, the text was written on. This follows a conventional workflow in the funerary workshops mentioned above and is proven by the signs clearly overlapping Nesikhonsupakhered's gown. Some of the signs seem to have been written twice:

			
N1, line 2	I9, line 3	M23, line 10	N37, line 10

It is, however, not conclusive if the text was first drafted and then traced once more for the final outcome, or if only singular signs were repainted because they were deemed too faint. The rather small number of signs with visible rewriting might point to the latter. A likely scenario would be that, every time the ink ran thin, and the scribe had to re-dip his brush,[174] he immediately painted over the last sign if he considered it to be too faint.

Lastly, a layer of varnish was applied. In most cases, not the entire surface of the stela was covered, but only the main components of its composition.[175] Varnish can be seen on the bodies of Nesikhonsupakhered, Ra-Horakhty, the offering table, the text on the yellow background, the central sun disc, and the wedjat-eyes in the lunette.

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169 For comparison, see e. g. the stela of Djedkhonsuiuesankh (Chicago OIM E1351), Saleh 2007, 176. For a colour photo see https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu/id/9cb5f06c-b20a-4b57-9a29-199e65819227 (last consulted 02.06.2020).

170 Blom-Böer 1994, 69; Loth 2012, 221; Hartwig and Leterme 2013, 141. For an example of a deviation from this rule of thumb, see Singleton 2003, passim.

171 Hartwig and Leterme 2013, 141; Laboury and Tavier 2016, 68-69.

172 The colour of Ra-Horakhty's arm and wrist bands, however, was painted on last, overlapping both the red of the skin and the black outlines.

173 For more information concerning these, see Saleh 2007, 19.

174 In the text on the stela some dippings can be observed, e. g. in line 10 mj nn (dipping) Ḫns.w-msj(.w). But due to extensive damage, possibly by water, on the right side of the stela, obscuring the columns of text on yellow ground and the gown worn by Nesikhonsupakhered, it is not possible to do so for the entire text.

175 Saleh 2007, 17; Loth 2012, 222.

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