

ABUSIR AND SAQQARA

IN THE YEAR 2010 /2

Miroslav Bárta, Filip Coppens
and Jaromír Krejčí
(editors)



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INTRODUCTION AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010: Volume I

LATE PERIOD AND GRAECO-ROMAN PERIOD

Ladislav Bareš

The shaft tomb of Menekhibnekau at Abusir

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Abstract: The tomb of Menekhibnekau is the third largest Late Period shaft tomb excavated at the necropolis at Abusir so far. Although it seems to be contemporary with the neighbouring structures of Udjahorresnet and Iufaa, it shows some differences in its orientation, arrangement of its subterranean layout and its decoration and texts. Judging from the tiny remnants of its superstructure (for the most part destroyed by later stone-cutting), the tomb of Menekhibnekau might have been the most magnificent structure of its kind within the entire cemetery; that corresponds to the number and importance of his titles and offices. In spite of the fact that its burial chamber had already been robbed in antiquity, several items of the original burial equipment and other artefacts have been found here.

Keywords: Abusir – Late Period – Shaft Tomb – Menekhibnekau.

Louis Chaix

Cattle skulls (bucrania): A universal symbol all around the world. The case of Kerma (Sudan)

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Abstract: Skulls of cattle or *bucrania* are widely represented in various contexts all around the world. In different modern populations, bucrania are often linked to the funeral world as a symbol of the power of death. In the past, bucrania were used since Neolithic times in funerary or religious/symbolic contexts. In Africa, since the Early Neolithic period, bucrania are attested in high numbers from Kerma culture cemeteries, a fact which indicates the economic and religious importance of the cattle. In some particular tombs more than 5,000 bucrania were found. Their importance is also known from Ancient Egypt and from some Saqqara tombs. Some bucrania are artificially deformed, with parallel horns, similar to some pictures found in the Saharan rock-art. This artificial modification of horns continues to be practiced by modern tribes from the southern Sudan, testifying to a long and living tradition.

Keywords: Asia – Africa – Madagascar – Sudan – cattle – bucrania – horns – symbolism – deformation.

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Mary Hartley, Alanah Buck, Susanne Binder

Canine Interments in the Teti Cemetery North at Saqqara during the Graeco-Roman period 17

Abstract: This contribution presents and discusses the large quantity of canine remains uncovered in four seasons of work in the Teti Cemetery North (2007–2010) by a team from Macquarie University, Sydney. Two different types of burials were observed, and while one of these can be classified as the known type of votive animal mummy, the second does not fit into any of the four categories commonly described in the relevant literature. Based on the archaeological findings at this site where some canines are buried in close association with humans, a hypothesis is formulated for a further type, an amuletic animal mummy.

Keywords: Amuletic animal mummies – Anubis – association of human and animal remains – canines – Graeco-Roman period – metric analysis of dog crania – re-use of New Kingdom structures – Teti Cemetery.

Jiří Janák – Renata Landgráfová

New Evidence on the Mummification Process in the Late Period. Hieratic Texts from the Embalmers' Cache in the Shaft Tomb of Menekhibnekau at Abusir 30

Abstract: In one of the shafts (marked as S1) of the tomb of Menekhibnekau an embalmer's cache with a large deposit was discovered. Among other excavated material, 33 vessels with hieratic or demotic texts were found. All inscriptions are written in black ink and in a bold, sure hand. It is, however, clear that they are the work of more than one scribe. Both hieratic and demotic inscriptions mention materials used during mummification but some of them even specify the day of the process of mummification. Nine different day numbers were attested so far, thus, we can presume that once the exploration of the embalmer's cache of Menekhibnekau is completed and all inscriptions on the jars evaluated, we will possess highly valuable evidence concerning the mummification process in Late Period Egypt.

Keywords: Late Period – shaft tombs – embalmers' cache – mummification – burial rites – Menekhibnekau – Abusir.

Zdeňka Šůvová

Animal remains from Abusir-South: the shaft filling and adjacent structures of mastaba AS 51 46

Abstract: Recent information about Ancient Egyptian animal husbandry has been derived mainly from representations at cultic places such as temples and tombs. Despite the fact that these illustrations can be oddly interpreted, they can be misleading, for they reflect not real life, but an ideal conception. Osteological material excavated during the seasons 2005–09 in the site explored by the Czech Institute of Egyptology were analyzed. Thousands of animal

bones and other zoological material such as teeth, horns etc. came from different archaeological situations (burial chambers, shafts, secondary burials, and other funeral objects) and were dated back mainly to the Old Kingdom and to the Late Period. The results of these analyses contributed to our knowledge of animal husbandry, abuse of domestic animals, burial habits and other aspects of Ancient Egyptian life, as well as to e.g. palaeoenvironmental reconstruction. The main interest of the following paper is focused on the Late Period/Greek-Roman Period burial shaft filling.

Keywords: Abusir – animal remains – burial chambers and shafts – Old Kingdom – Late Period – Greek-Roman Period.

Christiane Ziegler

New Discoveries at Saqqara: Two undisturbed Late Period tombs (q3 and n1) 67

Abstract: Two more undisturbed Late Period tombs were discovered in 2006–2007 by the *Mission archéologique du Louvre à Saqqara* under the directorship of Ch. Ziegler. They are situated in the area of the Akhetetep mastaba, to the north of the Unas causeway, and can be reached by shafts cutting through mastaba cores. One of these shafts reused an unknown Old Kingdom tomb belonging to a ‘Director of the crew of tomb builders’ whose name is Sabef. The Late Period Tombs are collective burials. They contain few loculi and stone sarcophagi and many wooden coffins and mummies covered by beautiful cartonnages. Other funerary items consist of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statuettes and wooden chests found intact.

Keywords: Saqqara – the Unas Causeway – Late Period burial – coffin – mummy – cartonnage – Ptah-Sokar-Osiris – funerary chest – mastaba – Akhetetep – Nectanebo II.

NEW KINGDOM

Harold M. Hays

On the Architectural Development of Monumental Tombs South of the Unas Causeway at Saqqara from the Reigns of Akhenaten to Ramses II 84

Abstract: Originating from the discovery of an anepigraphic monumental tomb in the 2010 excavation season of the Leiden Excavations at Saqqara, the problem tackled by this paper is the dating of tombs according to architectural features. As previous studies of New Kingdom monumental architecture at Saqqara have been purely synchronic, ignoring developments over time, the present contribution seeks to initiate a discourse about change. The significance of the discussion can be found along two avenues: first, the inauguration of a genuine architectural history of the period; second, the articulation of a practical set of criteria that can serve as a starting point from which to date other anepigraphic Saqqara tombs of this period.

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Keywords: Leiden Excavations at Saqqara – dating of tombs – New Kingdom – monumental architecture – diachrony – history.

Hana Navrátilová

Additions to the Maidum visitors' graffiti

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Abstract: The corpus of visitors' graffiti in the pyramid temple of Maidum was first published by W. M. F. Petrie and F. L. Griffith in 1892. The graffiti in the entrance passage of the Maidum pyramid were studied by G. Maspero and P. E. Newberry among others. These published Maidum graffiti were analysed in the context of the history of pyramid complex destruction, as well as that of the chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty. There are, however, several shorter graffiti, which remain unpublished. These graffiti were recorded by G. B. Gunn in cooperation with the expedition led by A. J. Rowe and the inscriptions were analysed later by J. Černý. This addition to the Maidum corpus is relatively small and consists of short texts, but it is a contribution to the corpus of the visitors' graffiti in the pyramid fields. This paper aims at presenting the unpublished graffiti.

Keywords: Maidum graffiti – New Kingdom – research, J. Černý – B. G. Gunn – W. M. F. Petrie.

Boyo G. Ockinga

In search of the New Kingdom tombs in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery North: Preliminary results of the 2009 and 2010 seasons conducted by Macquarie University

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Abstract: This paper provides an overview of the results of Macquarie University's excavations conducted in 2009 and 2010 within the middle section of the Teti Cemetery North (TNM) at Saqqara. Evidence was recovered indicating that the area was used for tombs and individual burials from the Old Kingdom through to the Roman Period. Remains of seven tomb structures were found (two Old Kingdom, three New Kingdom, one Late Period and one Roman period) as well as numerous individual burials ranging from the First Intermediate Period to the Roman Period. Indications point to the New Kingdom tomb chapels already having been stripped of their stone architectural elements by the time of the Roman Period.

Keywords: Teti Cemetery – Saqqara – New Kingdom – tomb chapels.

Maarten J. Raven

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Abstract: The tomb of the steward and later high-priest of the Aten, Meryneith, at Saqqara was found in 2001. This monument can be analysed as a message in a cultural language, constrained by social expectations, modified by individual agency, and contaminated by physical impediments or the interventions of later

generations. As such, it can be compared to the notion of pragmatics in linguistic theory. Such an analysis can be a useful tool to increase our awareness of the difference between the tomb-owner's original ideal and present-day archaeological reality.

Keywords: Saqqara – Meryneith – Ancient Egypt – cemetery – archaeology – pragmatics.

Eugen Strouhal

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Abstract: This study deals with anthropological remains found in the New Kingdom necropolis excavated by the Leiden University in Saqqara. Comparison of two different groups dating to the New Kingdom and to the Ptolemaic Period revealed valuable data on the low mean age at death, based on the socioeconomic status of the buried population groups. The difference between the ones from the poor New Kingdom cemetery, who were not mummified, and the mummies of the wealthier ones from the Ptolemaic vault, amounted to a low mean age difference of nearly five years. Cranial morphology revealed the stability of the local population type of the Memphite area. In both groups, morphological resemblance of pair individuals and increased frequency of some variations or anomalies revealed the blood relationship of the dead.

Keywords: Saqqara – New Kingdom – Ptolemaic period – anthropology – stability of the Memphite population.

MIDDLE KINGDOM

Masahiro Baba, Sakuji Yoshimura

Ritual Activities in Middle Kingdom Egypt: A View from Intact Tombs Discovered at Dahshur North **158**

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Keywords: Dahshur North – Middle Kingdom – shaft-tomb – coffin – burial customs – funerary ritual.

Adela Oppenheim

The Early Life of Pharaoh: Divine Birth and Adolescence Scenes in the Causeway of Senwosret III at Dahshur **171**

Abstract: During fall 2008 and 2009 seasons, the Egyptian Expedition of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York excavated the western (upper) section of the causeway of Senwosret III's pyramid complex at Dahshur (Twelfth Dynasty). Previous excavation work did not provide a definitive answer to the question as to whether or not the causeway was decorated. A number of blocks contain depictions of human activities, including stick-jousting and bee-keeping, and landscapes with wild and domesticated animals, fish, birds and a turtle. Inscriptions imply that at least some of the scenes probably belonged to representations of the seasons. Other fragments suggest scenes involving foreigners and perhaps military conflict. Portions of processions of deities, nomes, estates, fecundity figures and offering bearers were recovered. Another group of fragments preserves parts of ships, some laden with cargo. The vessels appear to be transporting materials for the pyramid complex, particularly as one includes part of the explicit inscription 'bringing granite from Elephantine'. The depiction of Bedouins has been connected with the transport of the pyramidion, and a few recovered fragments hint at the possibility that Senwosret III's causeway had such a scene. The newly discovered relief fragments from the Senwosret III causeway show that the continuity and tradition in the decorative programs of these structures stretched from the early Fifth Dynasty until at least the latter part of the Twelfth Dynasty.

Keywords: Dahshur – Middle Kingdom – Senwosret III – causeway – decoration – origin of the motifs – continuity and tradition.

ARCHAIC PERIOD AND OLD KINGDOM

Tarek El Awady

A Problematic Scene from Sahure's Causeway **189**

Abstract: This article deals with a new bas-relief scene from the causeway of Sahure at Abusir. The scene depicts high officials and groups of other officials with different titles in front of what has been suggested to be a large figure of Sahura. Depicted officials are known men who served King Sahure. Among them are named the king's sons, *khentiu-she* officials and, last but not least, Seshemnefer I, who served Sahura as a vizier.

Keywords: Abusir – Old Kingdom – Sahura – pyramid complex – decoration – high officials – royal family – Seshemnefer I.

Katarína Arias Kytnarová

Fine versus rough wares – the chronological relevance of bread forms **200**

Abstract: In the pottery studies of the Old Kingdom period, the question of the chronological sensitivity and reliability of fine versus rough wares has been raised recently. With fine wares, the time span between their production and their deposition can reach up to several generations. Contrarily, rough wares were entirely practical and were disposed of after several episodes of usage. The most abundant and most easily recognizable rough wares are, without doubt, beer jars and bread forms. Their high numbers and considerable variations in form make a detailed typological study essential, albeit difficult, as often three or more forms appear in one context. On the other hand, their typological variability makes them significant for chronological studies. In this paper, the morphological development and chronological relevance of bread forms from the recent excavations in the cemeteries of Abusir South shall be compared with the known assemblages from the Memphite necropolis and the wider provincial production.

Keywords: Abusir – Old Kingdom – pottery – rough and fine ware – social and archaeological context – bread moulds.

Nathalie Beaux

The decoration of the portico from Ti's mastaba at Saqqara. An innovating introduction to the tomb **223**

Abstract: Careful analysis of the very eroded bas-reliefs from Ti's mastaba portico has revealed unknown details and even three unpublished scenes, rare or first attested scenes. The presentation of these new elements will provide new ground for an analysis of the portico's scene composition and its role as an introduction to the monument. Ti's tomb stands out as an example of balance between tradition and innovation, a source of inspiration for later monuments.

Keywords: portico – innovation – serdab – scenes first attested / unpublished – Ti – Kagemni – decoration.

John Burn

An ecological approach to determine the potential influence that the Pyramid Texts have had upon Sixth Dynasty tomb decorations **233**

Abstract: If the Pyramid Texts had any influence at all upon Sixth Dynasty tomb decorations, then it should be feasible to identify a correlation between tomb decoration programmes and the sequences of the Pyramid Texts. It would be expected that the distribution of the decorations should be observably different before and after the appearance of the Pyramid Texts. Two 'marker' scenes were identified and a distribution analysis was applied to the position of these scenes in tombs with dates ranging from the mid Fifth

to the early Sixth Dynasty. The pattern that emerged suggests decorations changed in response to some influence other than the Pyramid Texts and suggests a new time frame for this inspiration.

Keywords: Old Kingdom – Pyramid Texts – distribution – tomb decoration.

Vivienne Gae Callender

Queen Neit-ikrety/Nitokris

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Abstract: The presence of the name of Neit-ikrety in the Turin Canon has generated a number of important discussions in the past but, in a recent re-examination of the Turin Papyrus, K. Ryholt (Ryholt 2000, 87–100) has demonstrated that Fragment 43 – which contains the name of Neit-ikrety – must be raised to a higher position than it occupies at present in Gardiner’s publication of the Canon. Ryholt’s repositioning has meant that the number of names on the Abydos list for the Sixth Dynasty now coincides exactly with the number of names in the Turin Canon. As a result of this move, it was possible for Ryholt to add yet another isolated fragment of the papyrus next to Fragment 43; this piece contains the phrase, *S3-Pth*, the ‘son of Ptah’ (Ryholt 2000, 88). This result has brought Ryholt to two significant conclusions: that the names of Neit-ikrety should now be seen as *Neit-ikrety-Netjerykara-Sa-Ptah*, and that Neit-ikrety was a male king. This article revisits the various arguments, old and new, relating to this controversial identity and offers an independent assessment of the evidence.

Keywords: 6th Dynasty – Neit-ikrety – Neby – Ibi’s pyramid – Abydos King List – Turin Canon – Herodotos – Old Kingdom history.

Violaine Chauvet

Entrance-porticoes and Portico-chapels: The Creation of an Outside Ritual Stage in Private Tombs of the Old Kingdom

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Abstract: Porticoes – monumental entrances supported by columns or pillars – are among the structural innovations which mark the transformation of private tombs into elaborate multi-functional monuments from the mid-Fifth Dynasty onwards. Originating in the necropolis of Abusir, this architectural feature is selectively adopted and adapted in the Memphite area with at least eight examples at Saqqara and ten at Giza. The paper will focus on the analysis of the portico decoration, and consider the adaptation of the decorative programme within the structural setting, and the function of this architectural feature. The first theme to be discussed is public display: Which are the *icons* selected to be transferred to the outside of the tomb, and how are they adapted to external public display? Which new themes emerge in relation to porticoes, and how do they relate to the developing concept of the biographical self? The second focal point in this presentation is the analysis of the portico as a liminal space, a point of interaction between the deceased tomb owner and the living. In many

respects, the design of the portico is an embodiment of the inherent tension which existed in funerary context between restriction (the need for a protective pure environment) and accessibility (visitors). In conclusion we will see that porticoes had the potential to encapsulate all the essential conceptual aspects of the tomb superstructure as illustrated by the development of a 'portico-chapel' mastaba-type (Reisner Type 11), possibly as early as the reign of Izezi.

Keywords: Porticos – monumental tombs – Memphite necropoleis – social display – Izezi.

Václav Cílek, Lenka Lisá, Miroslav Bárta

The Holocene of the Abusir area

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Abstract: The study presents results of a long-term project aimed at the reconstruction of the Lake of Abusir development during the Holocene. The archaeological and geological assessment of the lake deposits attests to its existence during the Old Kingdom when it was used as a major entryway to the entire Abusir and Saqqara necropolis areas.

Keywords: Abusir – Lake of Abusir – cemetery entrance – geology and sedimentology.

Veronika Dulíková

Some notes on the title of 'Vizier' during the Old Kingdom, especially on the hieroglyphic phallus-sign in the vizier's title

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Abstract: The Old Kingdom viziers bore the composite title *t3yty t3ty (n) z3b*. Further hieroglyphic signs, such as the phallus-sign and the addition *m3c*, were appended in some cases to this title. The form of the vizier's title with the phallus-sign occurred frequently within a limited time span. For the understanding of the usage of the phallus-sign in the vizier's title, contextualization is crucial. Analysis and comparison of the title sequences of both those viziers using the phallus-sign and those who did not have brought evidence of a clear distinction between the structure of the titles of these two groups: this indicates that the occurrence of the phallus-sign within the highest administrative title coincides with social change regarding the state administration and the royal family.

Keywords: Old Kingdom – vizier – administration – administrative title – king's son – phallus-sign – Giza.

Laurel Flentye

The Development of the Giza Necropolis in the Early Fourth Dynasty

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Abstract: Study of the 'Giza Style' suggests that it was a complex period, in which diverse influences impacted the architecture and its decorative programs, including the incorporation of elements from the cemeteries at Meidum, Dahshur, and Saqqara under Snefru. In the royal sphere, the iconography of

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Khufu's reliefs and the fragments from the queens' pyramids suggest some continuity with Snefru's decorative programs at Dahshur. Stylistically, Khufu's reliefs are characterized by the height of their low relief with rounded edges as opposed to the higher, bold style of Snefru's reliefs with edges perpendicular to the background surface. In the non-royal sphere, the use of slab stelae in the early tombs of the Western Cemetery is given as an example of Khufu's 'reductionist' policy, in which the stelae and possibly a reserve head were the only decoration. From a study of the iconographical features on the slab stelae, it is apparent that they evolved over time, with influences from Meidum, Dahshur, and Saqqara persisting as new elements in the 'Giza Style' were added.

A reassessment of royal and non-royal iconography and style during Khufu's reign indicates that certain iconography from Meidum, Dahshur, and Saqqara was assimilated by the artisans at Giza, but, stylistically, there was a distinct change from Snefru's high, bold relief to a lower relief style at Giza.

Keywords: Giza – Khufu – Iconography – Style – Slab Stelae – Reliefs – Statuary – Royal – Non-royal.

Hans Goedicke

Egyptological Cannibalism. Comments on Pyramid Spells 273–274 **362**

Abstract: The paper provides a lengthy and detailed discussion of the numerous philological particulars of Pyramid Spells 273–274, which include grammatical, syntactic and semantic aspects; the article reviews the text as an integrated entity.

Keywords: Cannibalism – Pyramid Texts – Old Kingdom.

Yannis Gourdon

The AGÉA database project: Persons and names of the Old Kingdom **420**

Abstract: Since the 1930s, our understanding of ancient Egyptian personal names relies on Ranke's *PN*. But, because its philological and sociological data and analysis are based on the knowledge of the first half of the 20th century, the *PN* requires a complete revision. Launched in 2008 at the IFAO, the online *AGÉA* database project aims, eventually, the creation of a systematic directory of personal names for every period of the Pharaonic history, completing and modernizing Ranke's work. As a tool allowing an easier analysis and a better data interpretation, *AGÉA* will focus, in its first development, on the Old Kingdom, for which an example (Tepiemankh's family) is discussed here.

Keywords: *AGÉA* database – Ranke's *PN* – Egyptian personal names – Old Kingdom – Tepiemankh (Saqqara – D11) – family.

Jiří Janák, Hana Vymazalová, Filip Coppens

The Fifth Dynasty 'sun temples' in a broader context

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Abstract: This article aims to provide new insights into the function and role of the sun temples and the religious landscape in which they were set by taking a closer look at the onomastic, topographical, architectural, economic and administrative connections between the sun temple and the pyramid complexes. At the same time the sun temple is placed in a much broader historical context.

Keywords: Old Kingdom – Fifth Dynasty – sun temples – rites of renewal – kingship.

Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010: Volume II

Lucie Jirásková

Stone vessels of AS54 at Abusir South. Preliminary report

447

Abstract: The 2010 spring expedition of the Czech Institute of Egyptology brought to light an assemblage of stone vessel fragments from Abusir South. All were found within or in the immediate vicinity of the northern shaft (shaft 1) of the mastaba AS 54 situated on a prominent place at Abusir South. After the fragments were glued together and examined, several classes and types of stone vessels appeared. The paper presents the collection in its archaeological context, describes its special features, deals with the classification and typology of particular shapes, and last but not least, attempts to reach a dating for the entire assemblage.

Keywords: Saqqara – Old Kingdom – Third Dynasty – Huni – AS 54 – stone vessels.

Andrea Kahlbacher – Lubica Zelenková

The MeKeTRE Project & An Example of a Theme Type in the Old and Middle Kingdom: Manufacture of Nets

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Abstract: The MeKeTRE Project, funded by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF) and conducted at the Institute of Egyptology (Vienna), seeks to systematically collect, research, and study the reliefs and paintings from the Middle Kingdom tombs of officials. One of the main aims is to map and elaborate the development of the scenes and their content in comparison to those from the Old Kingdom. By the time of the Middle Kingdom, many scene details based on Old Kingdom models and prototypes had changed considerably; a number of characteristic scenes disappear, while others occur which are completely new or carried on under modified versions. These changes will be demonstrated in this article, using a corpus of images that deal with the manufacture of fowling and fishing nets.

Keywords: Decoration – Middle Kingdom – net – net-maker – spinning – spindle – netting – netting needle – netting table.

Naguib Kanawati

Art and Gridlines: The copying of Old Kingdom scenes in later periods 483

Abstract: Works of top Old Kingdom artists were considered as examples to emulate by contemporaries and by later generations. The magnificently decorated tombs of Ptahhotep I, Akhethotep and Ptahhotep II probably remained accessible for a long time. Two observations may be made on their scenes: a) certain parts were left in different states of incompleteness. Did it aim at demonstrating their techniques?; b) square gridlines were added above sections of completed reliefs, and the same is found e.g. in the tombs of Iymery at Giza and Pepyankh-henykem at Meir. The last case suggests that the gridlines were used by Middle Kingdom artists to copy some Old Kingdom masterpieces in Middle Kingdom tombs, or for teaching purposes in the newly established schools.

Keywords: Old Kingdom – Saqqara – Giza – Meir – tombs – reliefs – Middle Kingdom copies.

Nozomu Kawai

The Tomb of Isisnofret at Northwest Saqqara 497

Abstract: Waseda University Egyptian Expedition has excavated the previously unknown New Kingdom tomb chapel and burial chamber containing the sarcophagus of a certain ‘noble woman, Isisnofret’ on the summit of the rocky outcrop at Northwest Saqqara. Architectural features of the tomb chapel suggest that it dates to the Nineteenth Dynasty. The location of the tomb chapel, at right angles to the central axis line of the monument of Prince Khaemwaset (probably his *ka*-chapel) and the archaizing style of Isisnofret’s sarcophagus which reflects the same archaizing style of Khaemwaset’s own monuments, suggest that this Isisnofret is a daughter of Khaemwaset.

Keywords: Northwest Saqqara – New Kingdom – Ramesside Period – Isisnofret – Khaemwaset – tomb chapel – sarcophagus – archaism.

Mohamed Ismail Khaled

A Visitor at the Causeway of Sahura at Abusir 512

Abstract: This paper deals with an ancient visitor graffito carved on a scene representing a procession of funerary domains in the causeway of Sahura. The carved graffito indicates that the temple and the causeway of Sahura still functioned and were visible until the Late Period. Interestingly, the visitor’s name reflects one of Sahura’s domain names.

Keywords: Sahura – Sekhmet Sahura – funerary domains – causeway – graffito.

Jaromír Krejčí

Nyuserra Revisited

518

Abstract: The Archaeological Expedition of the Charles University made an archaeological sounding work in the close vicinity of Nyuserra's valley temple during the autumn of the 2009 season. A small portion of an embankment wall was revealed which has made possible discussion on the appearance of the valley temple and its "port". Another archaeological test pit was made in close vicinity of Nyuserra's causeway.

Keywords: Abusir – Nyuserra – royal necropolis – pyramid complex – valley temple – causeway – archaeology – architecture – Old Kingdom – Fifth Dynasty – Nile valley – floodplain – geophysics.

Kamil O. Kuraszkiwicz

The Practicalities behind the Ritual: Observations on Sixth Dynasty funerary architecture

530

Abstract: The subject of the present paper involves certain aspects of the development of the necropolis situated west of the Step Pyramid. It is evident that tomb builders had to cope with various problems resulting from the topography of the area, in particular, its geological structure as well as climatic conditions. Some developments may be seen as evidence of tomb builders' efforts to preserve tombs and their contents from being destroyed or desecrated by natural factors or by human activity.

Keywords: Saqqara – Old Kingdom – funerary architecture.

Claudia M. Lacher-Raschdorff

The tomb of king Ninetjer and its reuse in later periods

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Abstract: The tomb of Ninetjer could best be described as a subterranean path or corridor tomb. It extends over an area of about 77 m by 50 m and is divided into 192 rooms, running through the rock in a maze of winding paths. The different architectural elements will be discussed and compared with contemporary tombs at Saqqara. The substructure could be interpreted as magazines, a model-palace, three model cult places and a model-residence. Over the course of time, from Old Kingdom even up to Late Antiquity, many intrusions have hit the Second Dynasty galleries. In addition, and in the light of the development direction of a burial place and of its cultic traditions, the reuse of this tomb is also discussed.

Keywords: Saqqara – Second Dynasty – royal tomb – Ninetjer.

Jason Livingstone-Thomas

The Old Kingdom market-place scenes revisited: with special reference to Tepemankh II (tp-m-ꜥnh) 551

Abstract: In this contribution, the interpretations of the market-place scenes of the Old Kingdom period are reconsidered. A quantitative based approach is adopted in the analysis of the entire collection of scenes. Primary importance is placed on the artistic and inscriptional evidence to define the relationships between the market seller and the customer, and the commodities offered in exchange. The significance of attire is also analyzed with respect to defining functional roles. The results of this analysis are then incorporated into a case study concerning a relief fragment from the Tokyo Bridgestone Museum of Art, and its possible relationship with the market-place scene from the mastaba of Tep-em-ankh II. It is claimed that the market-place scenes are primarily concerned with the economic interests of the elite tomb owner, and not an illustration of the economic activities of the local peasantry.

Keywords: Economy – elites – market-place – Old Kingdom – peasantry – Tep-em-ankh.

Michele Marcolin, Andrés Diego Espinel

The Sixth Dynasty Biographic Inscriptions of Iny: More Pieces to the Puzzle 570

Abstract: The present paper addresses three newly identified and heretofore undocumented relief fragments belonging to biographic inscriptions of the sealbearer **Iny**, a recently rediscovered Egyptian officer, who lived and acted as **commander of expeditionary activities toward the Levant, during the reign of Pepy I, Merenre and Pepy II**. Two of these new limestone fragments join virtually break-to-break with each other and fit on top of the previously known 'large' fragment, completing it in its upper part. The third piece, an inscribed panel bearing also a representation of the owner, fits with the so-called 'minor' fragment as its lower part. The importance of the reliefs evidently lies in their inscriptional content, as they not only provide the missing parts of the previous inscriptions with new and relevant information concerning the objectives of Egyptian expeditionary activities to Byblos and the Levant during the Sixth Dynasty, but also introduce a series of new and valuable toponyms. However, by revealing further startling details on the vicissitudes of the owner, they also confirm the previously attempted interpretations of their significance.

Keywords: Old Kingdom – Sixth Dynasty – Levant – Byblos – expeditions abroad – commercial relations – Early Bronze Age.

Mohamed Megahed

The Pyramid Complex of 'Djedkare's Queen' in South Saqqara. Preliminary Report 2010 **616**

Abstract: The paper provides an introduction and the preliminary results of a project that started in 2009. The project aims to gather and publish the material from the archaeological excavations of the pyramid complex of the Fifth Dynasty King Djedkare in South Saqqara. The site was explored by several Egyptian teams between the 1940s and 1980s (under the direction of Hussain, Fakhry, Razek), but the results of these excavations have never been fully published. The finds have now been recollected in several storerooms of the Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA) and are in the process of being documented. The material will be described, analyzed and published in detail and allow for a study of the architectural layout and decoration program of Djedkare's funerary complex. In addition to that, the paper provides a preliminary report on the fieldwork, which was undertaken recently in the anonymous pyramid complex northeast of Djedkare's pyramid complex. The archaeological results, together with several finds from the previous and current excavations are presented.

Keywords: Pyramid complex – Djedkare – Saqqara – Anonymous complex – Fifth Dynasty.

Radek Mikuláš, Václav Cílek

Insect burrows (dwelling/breeding chambers and tunnels) in the archaeological context of Abusir **635**

Abstract: Several different forms of hymenopteran nesting chambers, probable beetle galleries and mammal burrows were found in masonry, plasters and surrounding (both natural and man-made) deposits in the ancient Abusir necropolis. Recognition of the makers of these structures has enabled a useful interpretation through dating (radiometric dating is possible if the tunnels are lined with organic matter) and specification of depth of burrowing/bioerosion (some insect structures show a highly specific depth below the substrate surface). Three basic colonization times were recognized: first, 2760 ± 35 BP = ca 750 B.C.; second, 645 ± 30 BP. i.e. ca 1350 A.D.; third, 225 ± 30 B.P., i.e. ca 1775 A.D.

Keywords: Insect burrows – Hymenoptera – ichnology – Abusir – bioerosion – bioturbation.

Karol Myśliwiec

Dating the tombs of Merefnebef and Nyankhnefertem in Saqqara **651**

Abstract: Two Old Kingdom tombs recently discovered and published by the Polish-Egyptian mission in Saqqara became a subject of controversy concerning their date. A detailed analysis of their diagnostic features resulted

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in a general review of dating criteria, leading to the conclusion that none of these criteria is self-sufficient.

Keywords: Merefnebef – Nyankhneferem – Userkara – Saqqara – vizier – Sixth Dynasty – dating – chronology.

Massimiliano Nuzzolo, Rosanna Pirelli

New archaeological investigation in the sun temple of Niuserra in Abu Ghurab 664

Abstract: The sed festival depiction in Niuserra's sun temple represents the oldest known example of this kind of ritual celebration of kingship in Ancient Egypt. Although generally accepted by scholars, the reconstruction made by Kaiser in the seventies (the only one existing in this sense) is nonetheless not entirely sound and presents many doubts. Moreover, the German scholar assumed a narrative approach to the issue, emphasizing a descriptive level, where the development of the ritual was put in the focus. In this paper, on the contrary, I will not only draw attention to the depiction of the scenes and the placement in their architectural setting (trying to suggest a new 'unrolling' of the festival along the walls of the so-called chapel), but I will also stress the different readings and semantic values of the festival which, above all, seems to refer to the complex defining process of kingship during the Fifth Dynasty and, as a whole, during the Old Kingdom.

Keywords: Sun Temple – Fifth Dynasty – Kingship – Niuserra

Joanna Popielska-Grzybowska

Religious Reality Creation through Language in the Old Kingdom Religious Texts 680

Abstract: The Pyramid Texts are very often perceived by scholars as being incoherent. The present author has been attempting to show, with reference to the contextual arguments, cohesion of these texts. In this article, the phenomenon of the performative role of language in the Egyptian religious texts as exemplified by the Pyramid Texts is scrutinised. Emphasis is laid on causative power of religious utterances and reality creation through language, through words – acts of speaking and writing. Furthermore, literary, stylistic and linguistic means of expression used by the ancient Egyptians are analysed and what appears to be an effect of using such expressions in religious discourse. Consequently, the religious style is examined.

As far as religious language is concerned it is expressing the Inexpressible. The ancient Egyptian stylisation phenomenon was very often based on the Pyramid Texts as a model. Thus, it is not perceived by the senses but within the faith. The sensibility of any language being understood in such a way might be questioned. It is easy to prove the sensibility, the deep meaning, veracity and verity of the religious utterances – ancient ones in particular – and, in contrast, also the senseless character of the texts – especially as they appear to us today. Regarding religious truths, a deeper meaning is intrinsically hidden in

apparently senseless verses. Leszek Kołakowski stated that the sensibility of a language is conditioned by the cult context and the engagement of the believers (e.g. Kołakowski 1991, 53–64). According to L. Kołakowski, religious language, namely its real meaning, is untranslatable into any other language, although words, phrases and actions necessary to be undertaken or performed may be translated. It is profoundly embodied in the language itself.

The language of the Old Kingdom religious texts is scrutinised based on inferences drawn by Teresa Dobrzyńska (Dobrzyńska 1973; 1974) and methods created by the scholarly circle of Polish ethnolinguists: Jerzy Bartmiński, Anna Pajdzińska and Ryszard Tokarski (e.g. Bartmiński 2009). Hence, the author is presenting, *via* contextual arguments, stylistic and grammatical structures, a picture of the Egyptian Beyond for the Egyptian pharaoh as expressed through language in the Old Kingdom religious texts.

Keywords: Ancient Egypt – religion – creation – religious reality – ethnolinguistics.

Ilona Regulski

Reinvestigating the Second Dynasty at Saqqara

694

Abstract: During the excavations of the New Kingdom tombs of Maya and Meryneith to the south of the Unas causeway, the Dutch expedition at Saqqara discovered much older complexes underneath these tombs. An initial assessment of the material culture and the proximity of the royal necropolis of the early Second Dynasty just to the north, suggested an Early Dynastic date. More detailed investigations of these underground structures have recently been carried out by the Netherlands-Flemish Institute in Cairo. Two short field seasons (2007 and 2008) considerably increased our knowledge of the early phases of Saqqara's long history. Architectural peculiarities and a thorough study of the material culture showed that these subterranean complexes can be identified as the burial places of high officials or even members of the royal family of the late Second Dynasty. The present article is a follow-up on these preliminary conclusions. After an introduction to the *raison-d'être* of such an early necropolis in this area, two ink inscriptions, discovered underneath the tomb of Maya, will be discussed. The latter are of paramount importance in gaining a better understanding of the social status of the people buried in this necropolis.

Keywords: Saqqara – New Kingdom necropolis – tomb of Maya and Meryneith – Second Dynasty – royal tombs.

Teodozja Rzeuska

Meidum revisited. Remarks on the late Old Kingdom Topography of the Site

709

Abstract: Meidum, the southernmost end of the Memphite necropolis, is generally identified as a burial ground of early Fourth Dynasty date. Almost

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nothing is known about later periods at this important archaeological site. An analysis of archaeological material (mainly pottery from the cemetery), and the comparison of the latter with finds of pottery from other parts of the Memphite necropolis, notably West Saqqara, reveal an unknown page in the history of the late Old Kingdom.

Keywords: Meidum - late Old Kingdom necropolis – pyramid town – pottery.

Anthony Spalinger

The Beginning of the Civil Calendar

723

Abstract: The present article features a discussion of the ambiguous Esna date for the celebration of *Wp rnpt* on day nine of the first Civil Month. This is seen to be the primordial one, the one of „the ancestors,“ as Esna designates the event. Hence, we can reconstruct the first use of the Civil Calendar to its inauguration on day one of the then first month, which had to be a lunar one. Esna also indicates that this *Wp rnpt* occurred in the month of *ḥr-3ḥtj*. Hence, it had to have taken place during the original first lunar month, which was called *Wp rnpt*. From this analysis, the reason for the décalage of the month names (from the early lunar calendar to the later civil one) is easily seen.

Keywords: Ancient Egyptian calendar – civil year – beginning of the year – Esna.

Rainer Stadelmann

The heb-sed Temple of Senefru at Dahshur

736

Abstract: This article examines the archaeological – iconographic and epigraphic remains from the so-called valley temple of Senefru at Dahshur. The analysis indicates that the temple could well have been constructed in the year of Senefru’s heb-sed and functioned as a heb-sed temple.

Keywords: Dahshur – Meidum – heb-sed – Senefru – 15th year of counting.

Julie Stauder Porchet

Les autobiographies événementielles de la Ve dynastie: premier ensemble de textes continus en Egypte

747

Abstract: As a part of a broader study of the emergence of continuous texts in ancient Egypt, the present paper discusses Fifth Dynasty non-royal funerary inscriptions, conventionally labelled ‘autobiographies’. I first review some features of the Western genre that have been sometimes associated with these texts. Following a brief description of the Fifth Dynasty texts, I examine innovations in the form and content of the texts. I consider the *raison d’être* of these texts – which, it is argued, lie in presenting the relationship of the owner of the inscription to the king – as well the various modes of such presentation.

Keywords: Autobiography – Private texts – Continuous texts – King – Fifth Dynasty.

Břetislav Vachala

„Das Vorfeld der Literatur‘ in den Privatgräbern des AR: ein Fall aus Abusir 767

Abstract: Only a limited number of literary texts have survived from private tombs of the Old Kingdom. Nevertheless, even these rare examples enable us to identify several literary genres, trace their development and above all gain insight into the world image of the time. Whereas biography (being ‘real’ or ‘idealised’) deals with the earthly doings of man (stressing the ethical principles of *maat*), other literary forms, namely the shepherd’s song, the song of the litter bearers and the harper’s song, refer to the deceased, whose spirit dwells in the netherworld. Very interesting is the beginning of a possible love song from Abusir (the tomb of Inti). A new reconstruction of the biography of the famous official, Kaaper, from Abusir, is also included.

Keywords: Old Kingdom – Abusir – private tombs – literary texts – biographies – *maat* – songs – Kaaper.

Miroslav Verner

The ‘Khentkaus-Problem’ Reconsidered 778

Abstract: The paper addresses a new, theoretically possible meaning of the unusual title „Mother of Two Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt“ of Khentkaus I and Khentkaus II, and a new interpretation of historical events at the turn of the Fourth to the Fifth Dynasty.

Keywords: Khentkaus I – Khentkaus II – Giza – Abusir.

Hana Vymazalová, Filip Coppens

Statues and Rituals for Khentkaus II. A reconsideration of some papyrus fragments from the Queen’s funerary complex 785

Abstract: In the pyramid temple of Khentkaus II in Abusir an interesting inventory list came to light in the late 1970s, which was subsequently published by P. Posener-Kriéger. This fragmentary papyrus shows drawings of the cultic statues of the queen, which were kept in her pyramid temple, and the descriptions of their appearance and materials in hieratic script. The present paper wishes to take Posener-Kriéger’s research a step further and offer suggestions and clues for a new interpretation of the document – despite its fragmentary state – on the basis of information contained in the contemporary papyrus archives of Abusir and its confrontation with later evidence from both royal and divine temples, which provide useful analogies that might help us to better understand Old Kingdom practices.

Keywords: Old Kingdom – Abusir – Khentkaus II – temple rituals – papyrus archives – cultic statues.

Leslie Anne Warden

The Organization and Oversight of Potters in the Old Kingdom **800**

Abstract: While the archaeological record abounds in pottery, we know very little about the actual potters themselves. It is unclear if the potters making utilitarian wares were specialists or non-specialists, controlled by the state or were operating independently. Craft production theory often distinguishes utilitarian wares as produced by independent, non-specialist potters. However, metric analysis of beer jars and bread moulds, as well as evidence from the artistic and archaeological record, suggests that utilitarian wares could be manufactured by skilled individuals, likely specialists, operating under a wide range of authorities. The industry was less monolithic than it was quite diverse.

Keywords: Ceramics – Old Kingdom Egypt – economy – specialization – standardization – beer jars – bread moulds – potters.

Mohammad Youssef

New scenes of hunting a hippopotamus from the burial chamber of Unas **820**

Abstract: The paper present a new discovery which has been made during the restoration works in the burial chamber of Unas in Saqqara. The side walls of his burial chamber were built of reused alabaster blocks which originally featured unique decoration with the king as a central motif. In all probability, these reliefs originate from an earlier pyramid complex of a Fifth Dynasty king.

Keywords: Saqqara – Fifth Dynasty – Unas – pyramid – burial chamber – decoration – hippopotamus hunt.

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**ABUSIR AND SAQQARA
IN THE YEAR 2010**

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ABUSIR AND SAQQARA IN THE YEAR 2010 /1

Miroslav Bárta, Filip Coppens and Jaromír Krejčí
editors

**Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts,
Charles University in Prague
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Contributors

Katarína Arias Kytnarová, Tarek El Awady, Masahiro Baba, Ladislav Bareš, Miroslav Bárta, Nathalie Beaux, Susane Binder, Alanah Buck, John Burn, Vivienne Gae Callender, Louis Chaix, Violaine Chauvet, Václav Cílek, Filip Coppens, Veronika Dulíková, Andrés Diego Espinel, Laurel Flentye, Hans Goedicke, Yannis Gourdon, Mary Hartley, Harold M. Hays, Jiří Janák, Lucie Jirásková, Andrea Kahlbacher, Naguib Kanawati, Nozomu Kawai, Mohamed Ismail Khaled, Jaromír Krejčí, Kamil O. Kuraszkiewicz, Claudia M. Lacher-Raschdorff, Renata Landgráfová, Lenka Lisá, Jason Livingstone-Thomas, Michele Marcolin, Mohamed Megahed, Radek Mikuláš, Karol Myśliwiec, Hana Navrátilová, Massimiliano Nuzzolo, Boyo G. Ockinga, Adela Oppenheim, Rosanna Pirelli, Joanna Popielska-Grzybowka, Maarten J. Raven, Ilona Regulski, Teodozja Rzeuska, Anthony Spalinger, Rainer Stadelmann, Julie Stauder Porchet, Eugen Strouhal, Zdeňka Šůvová, Břetislav Vachala, Miroslav Verner, Hana Vymazalová, Leslie Anne Warden, Sakuji Yoshimura, Mohammad Youssef, Lubica Zelenková, Christiane Ziegler

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Dear Gae
On the occasion of your jubilee
We would like to wish you good health and happiness in life!



Your friends and colleagues from the Czech Institute of Egyptology

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<i>Karel</i>	<i>Brana Křížková</i>	<i>Štěpán</i>
<i>Miroslav Vachek</i>	<i>Hana Křmářová</i>	<i>Lucie Šubm'</i>
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<i>Jana</i>	<i>Jiří Jiráček</i>	<i>Jiřina Pivková</i>
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<i>Lucie Bárt</i>	<i>Božena</i>	<i>Kašp. J. Osekl</i>
<i>Kateřina Anas</i>	<i>Božena Dulebová</i>	<i>Martin Čelák</i>
<i>Mohamed Mohamed</i>	<i>Jaroslav Jiráček</i>	<i>Jana Jiráková</i>
	<i>Filip Coppens</i>	

The Sixth Dynasty Biographic Inscriptions of Iny: More Pieces to the Puzzle

Michele Marcolin, Andrés Diego Espinel

Introduction

The biographic inscriptions of Iny represent today the only epigraphic source known for the Old Kingdom to provide a relatively wide and explicit informative window on the geographic horizons and the objectives of the Egyptian frequentations of the Syro-Palestinian coasts during the Sixth Dynasty.

The inscriptions, which were identified in Japan about ten years ago by one of the authors, are preserved incomplete on two fragments of decoration from the yet unidentified tomb of the owner, a not otherwise known “sealbearer of the god in the two big ships” named Iny. Presented officially for the first time at the past edition of the *Abusir and Saqqara* symposium (Marcolin 2006, 283–310), the fragments soon turned out to be just the starting tiles of an epigraphic puzzle destined to grow in time through the periodical identification of further undocumented parts of it, in a process that seems still far from exhaustion.

Before summer 2009 the amount of the identified fragments was of twelve, for a total of six decorative units. It was possible to identify two main groups. The first of them, discovered in Japan between 1999 and 2000, was composed by seven relief fragments, corresponding to a ‘large’ biographic fragment;¹ a ‘minor’ biographic fragment;² and a composite architrave decorated with figures and text.³ The second group, identified in Spain in March 2005,⁴ shortly before the presentation of the Japanese fragments, was composed by five pieces, corresponding to a small false-door decorated with text and figures;⁵ and two portions of two different decorated walls, with figures and text mentioning titles.⁶ No relevant biographic text was comprised.

¹ Former Tokyo, Mitaka-city, *The Middle Eastern Culture Centre in Japan* (hereafter MECC), no. 11068. The fragment is currently part of the collection of the *Tokyo National Museum* of Tokyo, with reg. no. TJ-5799. Marcolin 2006, 289–299, fig. 3, tav. 2. For the only published colour reproduction, see Yamahana & Uchida 2005, 48 and 154 (no. 5).

² Tokyo, MECC, no. 11581. Marcolin 2006, 299–304, fig. 4, tav. 3.

³ Tokyo, MECC, no. 10617(1–5). Marcolin 2006, 283–89, figs. 1–2, tav. 1. For the only published colour reproduction, see Yamahana & Uchida 2005, 47 and 153–4 (no. 4).

⁴ The fragments are part of the collection of the *Museu Egipci de Barcelona – Fundació Arqueològica Clos*, Barcelona (hereafter Museu Egipci), and are briefly addressed in Marcolin 2005, 309–310.

⁵ Barcelona, Museu Egipci E-261 = Sotheby’s (London) 1991b, 22–23, no. 46

⁶ Respectively Barcelona, Museu Egipci E-445 = Delavenne-Lafarge 1990, 29–31 (no. 49); Barcelona; Museu Egipci E-561 = Christie’s (New York) 2000, no. 310.

Origin and previous whereabouts of all these fragments were undetermined as it was and still remains the location of the tomb of the owner. The pieces appeared on the antiquities market at the beginning of the '90s and, if we exclude the general information provided by the auction houses that handled them, no record or detail whatsoever, present or past, existed of them. The attribution to Saqqara, which was proposed in 2005, was and still has to be considered provisional, based as it is on analogies and theoretical considerations.

Nonetheless, the surviving part of the account on the two biographic fragments was of unprecedented interest: together with details on the vicissitudes of the owner, it contained the first extended description of a series of expeditions carried out by the owner to the Levant at the time of the kings Pepy I, Merenre and Pepy II. Toponyms and geographic references were missing, but the nature of the products the official said to have brought back to Egypt – i.e. lapis lazuli, lead, silver, 'Asiatic' people and Byblos-ships – did not leave room for doubts: the destination had certainly to be on the Syro-Palestinian coasts.

To this fragmentary, yet unique epigraphic puzzle, we can now add three more tiles; three new biographical fragments that, thanks to a fortunate series of circumstances, the authors had the occasion to retrieve during summer 2009. Two of them, two quadrangular limestone slabs entirely covered with text, join virtually break-to-break with each other and fit on the top of the 'large' fragment, completing it in its upper part. The third piece, an inscribed limestone panel bearing also a representation of the owner, fits with the so-called 'minor' fragment, completing it in its lower part.

The fragments are again completely undocumented. They are currently part of three distinct private collections located one in Japan and two in the United States, where they have arrived during the past decade following the dynamics of the antiquities market. Details on their provenance and previous whereabouts are again missing. Despite not all of them are currently accessible, mediated contacts with the relative owners confirmed their locations and the data provided by the auction houses of provenance, where the case applies.

What they offer is once again unique: as in a pre-ordered puzzle, these new fragments restore the inscriptions to almost their pristine integrity, returning the toponyms previously in *lacuna* as well as other details on the journeys and vicissitudes of the owner, while confirming the interpretation, based on fragmentary evidence, previously attempted.

The fragments were briefly disclosed at the Dec. 2009 meeting of the members of the *Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, Turin, with a short propaedeutic addressing of their main points of interest and of the further lines of research (Marcolin 2010). Officially presented at the 2010 edition of *Abusir and Saqqara* Symposium, they are here discussed in full for the first time.

The authors wish to express their gratitude to T. Kikugawa, owner of the *Ancient Egyptian Museum*, Shibuya, Tokyo, for granting access to the first of the

fragments here presented and for the permission of publishing it. Thanks are also due to *Christie's* New York and *Royal Athena Gallery* for the photographic material and the cooperation provided.

A number of colleagues and friends, who were consulted in various occasions during the study of this new epigraphic material, have contributed invaluable observations, ideas and bibliographic support. They are: A. Roccati, J. Malek, J. P. Allen, A. J. Spalinger, Ph. Collombert, P. Fronzaroli, F. Pennacchietti, K. O. Kuraszkiewicz, J. Baines, E. Frood, D. Meeks, H. Doranlo, C. Ward, I. Bogdanov. To them goes the personal gratitude of the authors. Last but not least, the authors thank the colleagues of the Czech Institute of Egyptology that most kindly continue offering their interest as well as space in their Symposium and on its proceedings to make these contents available to the many.

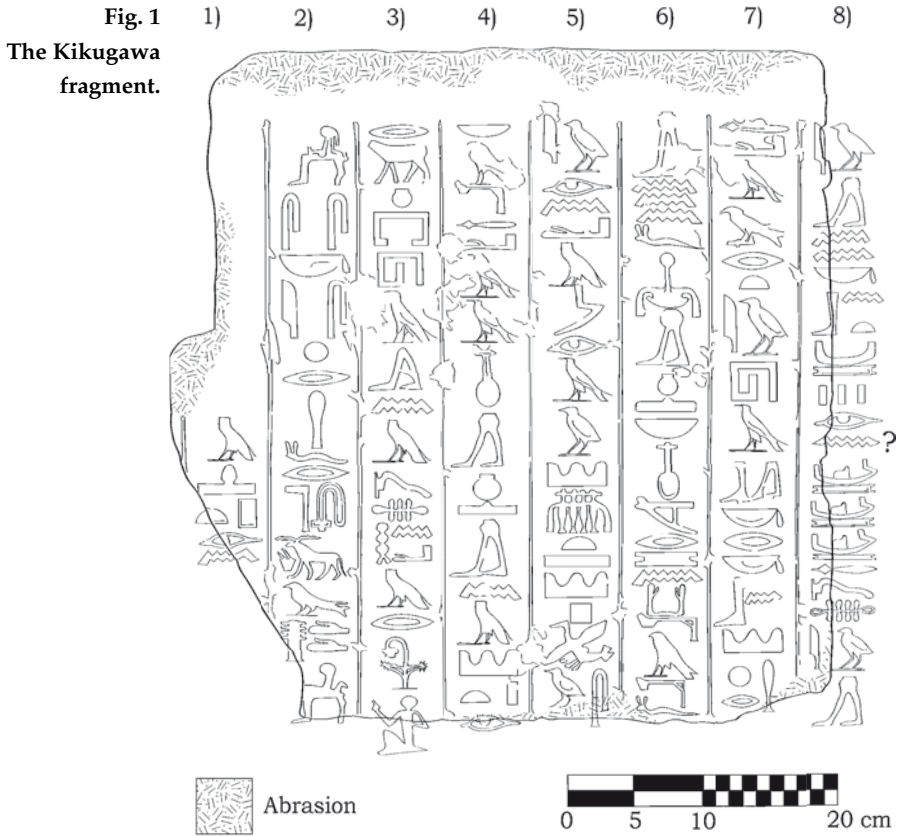
The Kikugawa fragment (fig. 1; pl. 36)

Data

- Location: *The Ancient Egyptian Museum, Shibuya, Tokyo*
- Cat. no. AEM 3-010
- Material: limestone
- Dimensions: H. 48.8 cm × W. 49 cm × D. 4.2 cm
- Provenance: unrecorded

Description

The piece consists of a quadrangular limestone slab decorated with eight columns of hieroglyphic text in sunk relief oriented from left to right. The block is fragmentary on all its four sides, but on account of the preservation of the beginning of the vertical registers of the columns of text, the inscription can be considered complete at least in its upper part. Its lower part is missing and also on the right hand-side only a vertical half of the last columns is preserved along the border of the piece. On the left hand-side, the situation is doubtful. In correspondence of the upper half of the first column, a vertical cut, approximately 20 cm long and 3 cm wide, replaces the upper corner of the slab. The cut does not compromise the integrity of the text, as confirmed by the beginning of the short first vertical register right beneath it. It would appear instead an intentional feature, suggesting a likely appurtenance of the fragment to a larger decorative unit such as those frequently located in proximity of accesses or intersections of volumes inside the tomb. The cut may indeed have received the joining dowel of a block forming with it a corner or a more complex decorative/architectural structure. The dowel must have belonged to a different decorative unit not extending much further the current surface, otherwise we may expect the vertical register as well as the text inside the column to have continued upward without interruption.



Accordingly, the lacuna preceding it could have contained one or two column of text, or simply a blank margin running along the corner.

On the front surface a series of accidental abrasions resulted in a number of localized damages to the lithic support and to the decoration. Notwithstanding, the legibility of the inscription is not affected and the status of preservation of the piece can be considered fairly good. The text itself is carefully executed, with relatively precise carvings and a noticeable care in the rendering of the signs. Yet, the detail is reduced to the essential and the inhomogeneous distribution of spaces within the text, as well as the variable size of the signs closely recalls the features of the 'large' biographical fragment of Iny. No relevant palaeographic detail stands out for consideration at first sight, the general dating to the second half of the Sixth Dynasty being provided by the evident physical connection with the already known 'large' fragment of Iny and by its epigraphic content.

The fragment was purchased on the Japanese antiquities market during spring 2009 without specific reference to its origin or previous whereabouts.

It results completely undocumented. It is currently accessible to the public by *The Ancient Egyptian Museum, Shibuya, Tokyo*.

Text. Transliteration and translation

- (1) [...] *m ḥtp ir.n(.i)* [...]
- (2) *špss.k(i) is ḥr ḥm.f r ḥtmty-nṯr Wr-ḏdd-b3* [...]
- (3) *r ḥnw h3.n(.i) m stp-z3 ḥn^c imy-r šm^cw* [...]
- (4) *nb(.i) ʿ33 nfr inw in.n(.i) m ḥ3st* [...]
- (5) *iw ir.n(.i) ʿm33w ḥnt-š p3ws*[...] [...]
- (6) *in.n(.i) n.f ḥd inw nb nfr mr.n k3.f*[...] [...]
- (7) ʿ3 wrt iw(.i) h3b.k(i) r kbn ḥr ḥm [...]
- (8) *iw in.n(.i) kbnt 3 (?) ir*[...] (.i) *wi3w ʿ3(w) stp-z3 iw* [...]

- (1) [...] safely. [I] did [...]
- (2) because I was more valuable in the sight of his majesty than the sealbearer of the god Werdjedeba [...]
- (3) to the residence. I went down to the court together with the overseer of Upper Egypt [...]
- (4) the Majesty of my lord that the produce I brought from the foreign country was great and beautiful [...]
- (5) I did Amaaw, Khenty-She and Pawes[...] [...]
- (6) I brought him silver and every good produce his ka desired [...]
- (7) very greatly. I was sent to Byblos under the majesty of [...]
- (8) I brought (back) three (?) Byblos-ships and [I made (?)] the great ships of the court [...]

The Christie's fragment (fig. 2; pl. 37)

Data

- Location: private collection, New York
- Cat. no. (—)
- Material: limestone
- Dimensions: H. 50.2 cm × W. 36.4 cm (D. unknown)
- Provenance: unrecorded

Description

The piece consists again of a quadrangular limestone slab decorated on its main surface with six incomplete columns of text in sunk relief with reading orientation from left to right. It is fragmentary on all its four sides, but, as for the *Kikugawa's* fragment, the preservation of the upper beginning of all the dividing registers of text indicates the completeness of the inscription at least at its top. At the bottom, a considerable portion of text is clearly missing, as

Fig. 2 1) 2) 3) 4) 5) 6)
The Christie's fragment.



well as on the left and the right hand-side of the fragment, where the first and the last columns of the inscription are preserved for about half of their width along the vertical borders of the piece. The first column in particular strikes the attention, for it perfectly matches the half column surviving along the right hand-side border of the *Kikugawa's* fragment, clearly indicating that these two fragments once were joined into a single decorated surface.

Also this block is marked by a series of accidental abrasions. They concentrate particularly in the upper left portion of its surface, where they have compromised the integrity of a few signs, but no relevant influence to the legibility of the text is implied and the overall status of preservation of the piece can be said also in this case fairly good.

The text evidently displays the same features of the *Kikugawa's* fragment: relatively precise carving of the signs; minimal rendering of details; inhomogeneous spacing and size of the hieroglyphs. No specific palaeographic

detail is offered to the attention for a comparison with the text of the other fragment, despite the identical repetition of a number of expressions and terms could be pointed out. The presence of a brown/red filling, localized inside the carved lines of a number of signs and parts of the vertical registers, reminds of the filling previously observed in the 'large' fragment of Iny (Marcolin 2006, 291) and may represent the remains of a layer of paint previously applied to the surface. It must be stressed, however, that direct examination of the fragment is currently precluded and all the observations here referred originate from the analysis of the photographic material provided to the authors by the auction house wherefrom the piece originated. They have therefore the limitations of the case and have to be considered provisional.

The fragment was sold by *Christie's New York* in December 2007. It results documented only in the relative sale catalog,⁷ where it is described as former property of an indeterminate Swiss private collection of the '70s and it is improperly attributed to a not otherwise attested official named Rudji[...]. Indirect contacts with the owner confirm its current location in New York.

Text. Transliteration and translation

(1) [i]w in.n(i) k[b]nt 3 (?) ir[...] (i) wi3w ʕ3(w) stp-z3 [i]w [...]

(2) ḥd zft inw nb nfr mr.n k3.f [...]

(3) rdī.t n(i) nbw iw(i) h3.k(i) r kbn m [...]

(4) im m ḥtp n zp ir.t mrt(y)t in imy-r mšc nb h3[...] [...]

(5) im3ḥw ḥr ntr ʕ3 nb imnt smr wʕt(y) ḥr(y)-[ḥb] [...]

(6) [in]n ḥrt h3swt n ntr.f [...]

(1) I brought (back) three (?) Byblos-ships and [I made (?)] the great ships of the court [...]

(2) silver, *sefetj*-oil and every good product his ka desired [...]

(3) and gold rewards were given to me. **I went down to Byblos** from [...]

(4) safely. Never was the like done by any expedition leader [...]

(5) Honoured before the great god lord of the West, sole friend, lector priest [...]

(6) who brings the products of the foreign lands to his god [...]

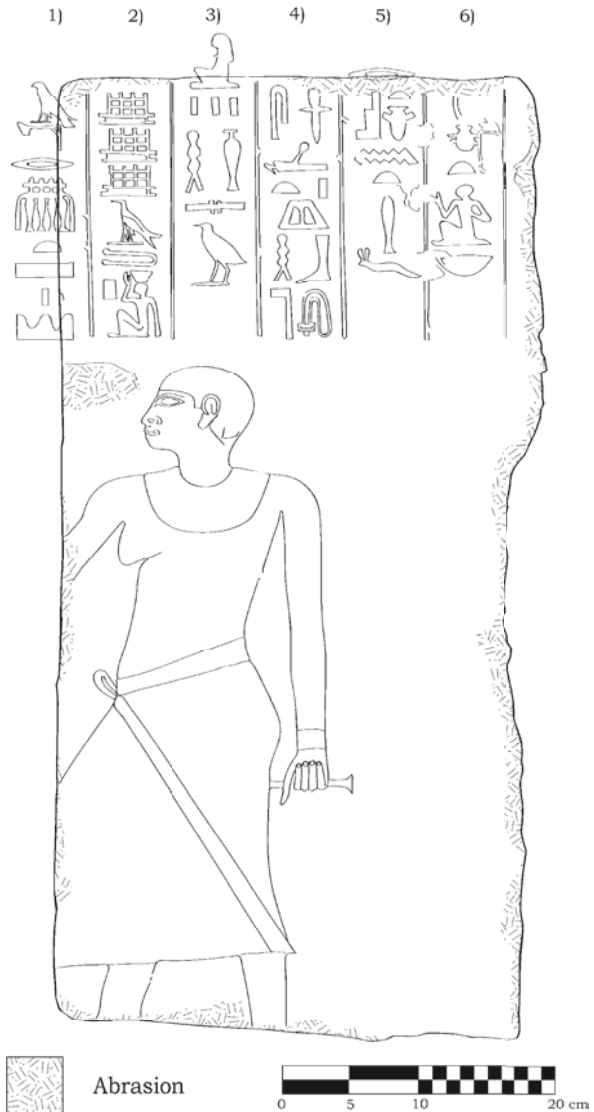
The Royal-Athena fragment (fig. 3; pl. 38)

Data

- Location: private collection, **Los Angeles** (USA)
- Cat. no. (—)
- Material: limestone

⁷ Christie's (New York) 2007, 11, no. 6.

Fig. 3 The Royal-Athena fragment.



- Dimensions: H. 73.5 cm × W. 36.5 cm (D. unknown)
- Provenance: unrecorded

Description

The piece is a tall rectangular limestone slab decorated with a representation of a standing man surmounted by the remains of six columns of biographic text. Both figurative and textual decorations are in sunk relief and their orientation is to the left. The block appears fragmentary on all its four sides, so

that text and representation are incomplete. The entity of the loss in the upper part of the fragment is not quantifiable at first glance. On the left hand-side, instead, the lack of the forearm of the figure provides a clue to the approximate entity of the missing part, which is clearly equivalent to at least the two columns of text above it. On the right hand-side, the lack of any remains of decoration in the wide space behind the figure as well as the untouched blank following the last vertical register of the inscription seem to indicate the end of the decoration, confirming that the overall width of the piece coincides with that of the known 'minor' fragment of Iny.

The figure is portrayed in standing attitude, facing left, as a corpulent man with pendulous breast. He is bare headed and dressed in a long kilt, with broad collar, bracelets and sceptre in his left hand. His right forearm is missing, but we may expect him to have been holding a staff, as usually attested in this kind of iconography (Harpur 1987, 131–2). The representation is certainly reminiscent of that of Iny on the 'large' biographic fragment. Yet the technique of execution here is sunk and not raised relief, and the figure, far from the canonical rigidity of the former, shows a more flexuous rendering of the volumes, inclining more toward the so-called second style (Brovarsky 2008, 49–89).

The text, located above the representation, is arranged in six columns. It reads from left to right. The first column survives for less than half of its width, but its integration does not pose particular problems. Once again, the existence of the 'minor' fragment, as well as the missing forearm of the representation, helps establishing that a further column of text preceded. The *ductus* of the text is again similar to that of *Kikugawa* and *Christie's* fragments in carving technique, minimal detail and absence of homogeneity in the size of the signs and the usage of space, particularly at the end of the columns. Yet, in general, the impression of a work of slightly lower quality, such as that possibly resulting from an execution in a later date or by workmanship of different skills or resources, clearly relates it with that of the 'minor' fragment of Iny. Again, remains of a brown/red filling, that could indicate a layer of paint originally applied to the surface, can be observed inside the carved lines of a number of signs and parts of the vertical registers (Marcolin 2006, 291). To note, however, that also in this case the fragment is not accessible and any observation concerning its physical appearance relies on the photographic material provided to the authors by the auction house wherefrom the fragment originates.

The block was sold to privates by *Royal-Athena Gallery* in January 1997. It is documented only in the relative sale catalogue,⁸ where it is described as former property of the George Halphen collection, Paris, France. Direct contacts with the owner confirm its current location in Los Angeles.

⁸ Royal-Athena Galleries 1997, 36, no. 154.

Text. Transliteration and translation

- (1) [...] [nb](.i) r ḥ[nt-ḥ]
- (2) [...] (imw)w ʒtp
- (3) [...] ḥz w(i)
- (4) [...] smr wʕt(y) ḥr(y)-ḥb ḥtmty-nṯr
- (5) [...] st-ib nt ḥm.f
- (6) [...] [r] mrt(y.i) nb

- (1) [...] [my lord] to Kh[enty-She]
- (3) [...] [cargo sh]lips loaded
- (4) [...] praised me
- (5) [...] sole companion, lector priest and sealbearer of the god
- (6) [...] the preference of his majesty
- (7) [...] [than] for any other like me

First recomposition: the 'large' biography of Iny (fig. 4; pl. 39)

The 'large' biographical fragment of Iny, former property of the *Middle Eastern Culture Centre in Japan*, and the newly identified *Kikugawa* and *Christie's* fragments form the first recomposition here presented. They correspond respectively to the lower half and the two upper left and upper right quarters of the assemblage.

The fragments fit with each other break to break, restoring the lithic support and its inscriptional content to almost their pristine integrity.⁹ The loss of information is minimal. The extent of the lacuna caused by the fractures is indeed of such a small amount that, in a number of instances, the upper part of a surviving sign at the extremity of one block finds correspondence in its remaining part on the extremity of the joining fragment. In so doing, these matches allow to quantify with relative certainty the extent of the loss and, consequently, to minimize the variables of integration.

Only three instances of doubtful restoration are given: on columns (x+4), (x+5) and (x+8). With the exception of column (x+5), where a previously unattested toponym survives only partially, for the other two instances the coherence of the narration as well as the surrounding context seem to allow a relatively univocal integration.

As noted in relation to the *Kikugawa's* fragment, the vertical cut in the upper left corner of the fragment does not compromise the integrity of the

⁹ As already stated (Marcolin 2006, 291), the 'large' biographic fragment, composed by three different blocks, has suffered some restoring interventions prior to its acquisition by MECC. As a result of them, the missing text of the lower section of the first two columns has been restored with an addition of an unepigraphic filling.



Fig. 4 Recomposition 1: The large biographic inscription.

inscription¹⁰ and it could therefore be interpreted as an intentional feature of the assemblage. Its purpose, most likely structural, could be that of receiving a dowel from a joining and intersecting slab, which possibly formed part of a different architectural feature (e.g. a lintel; an architrave; etc). Accordingly, a position of the assemblage in proximity to an access inside the tomb chapel would seem likely.

From a physical point of view, the complex resulting by the fitting of these three fragments corresponds to a decorative unit measuring approximately 160–165 cm of height and 85–87 cm of width. To these numbers at least another 20–25 cm have to be accounted, at the bottom, to fit the missing feet of the representation, while on the right hand-side at least 6–7 cm need to be accounted in order to complete the arm of the figure and the column of text above it. Further, considering that it appears unlikely that the inscription may have begun with the *m htp* expression of the first column of text and that the decorative unit was most likely located close to an entrance, it appears proper considering the presence of a further space on the left side of the assemblage, corresponding at least to the width of one column of text plus the vertical cornice marking the corner. Accordingly, the hypothetical minimum dimensions of the resulting complex could correspond to 180–185 cm for the height and 96–100 (+/- 6.5) cm for the width.

Text. Transliteration, translation and commentary

(x+1) [...] *m htp ir.n*[.i] [...] (x+2) *špss.k(i) is hr hm.f r htmty-ntr Wr-ddd-b3 m rk Tzzi rđi hm.f iwt n(i) imy-r* [...] *pr-ʕ3* [...] (x+3) *r hnw h3.n(i) m stp-z3 hnʕ imy-r šmʕw* [r]đi.n n(i) *hm n nb(i) nbw m-h3t.f iw šd*[.n] [...] (x+4) *nb(i) ʕ3 nfr inw in.n(i) m h3st* [ir.n] *hm n nb(i) rn(i) m in-df3w n ʕ3t nt hz.t(i) in hm.f r mrt(y.i) nb* (x+5) *iw ir.n(i) ʕm33w hnt-š p3ws*[?] [...] *zp 4 sk w(i) m htmty-ntr hr hm n Ppy nb(i)* (x+6) *in.n(i) n.f hđ inw nb nfr mr.n k3.f hz w(i) hm.f hr.s* (x+7) *ʕ3 wrt iw(i) h3b.k(i) r kbn hr hm* [n] *Mr-n-rʕ nb(i)* (x+8) *iw in.n(i) kbnt 3 (?) ir*[...] (i) *wi3w ʕ3(w) stp-z3 iw* [i]n.n(i) *hsbd dht(i)* (x+9) *hđ zft inw nb nfr mr.n k3.f hz.t(i) hr.s m stp-z3* (x+10) *rđi.t n(i) nbw iw(i) h3.k(i) r kbn m r(3)-h3t iw(i) ii.k(i)* (x+11) *im m htp n zp ir.t mrt(y)t in imy-r mšʕ nb h3b.n ntr nb dr-b3h* (x+12) *im3hw hr ntr ʕ3 nb imnt smr wʕt(y) hr(y)-hb xtmty-nTr m wi3wy ʕ3(wy)* (x+13) [in]n *hrt h3swt n ntr.f Iny*

(x+1) [...] safely. I did [...] (x+2) because I was more valuable in the sight of his majesty than the sealbearer of the god Werdjededba in the time of Isesi. His Majesty had the overseer of the [...] of the palace come for me [...] (x+3) [to] the

¹⁰ Direct observation of *Kikugawa* block has not revealed traces of text inscribed above the first legible signs in this column. Despite some scratches in that area, there is no evidence of an abraded, lowered or altered surface that could suggest a previous existence of text there.

residence. I went down to the court together with the overseer of Upper Egypt and the Majesty of my lord gave me gold rewards in front of him. Recited (?) [...] (x+4) [the Majesty] of my lord that the produce I brought from the foreign country was great and beautiful, the Majesty of (my) lord [made] my name as Ini-djefau because of how much more was my praising by his Majesty than any one like (me). (x+5) I did Amaaw, Khenty-She and Pawes[...] four times, while I was sealbearer of the god under the Majesty of Pepy (I), my lord. (x+6) I brought him silver and every good produce his ka desired and his Majesty praised me for it (x+7) very greatly. I was sent to Byblos under the majesty of Merenre, my lord. (x+8) I brought (back) three (?) Byblos-ships and [I made (?)] the great ships of the court. I brought (back) lapis lazuli, lead/tin (x+9) silver, *sefetj*-oil and every good product his ka desired. I was praised for it into the court (x+10) and gold rewards were given to me. I went down to Byblos from Ra-Hat (and) I came back (x+11) safely. Never was the like done by any expedition leader that any god sent formerly. (x+12) Honoured before the great god lord of the West, sole friend, lector priest, sealbearer of the god in the two big ships, (x+13) who brings the products of the foreign lands to his god, Iny.

(x+1) [...] *m htp ir.n[i]* [...]

a) *m htp* The adverbial phrase that opens the column can reasonably be believed not have been the beginning of the inscription. A further column of text now in lacuna should have preceded it, or it could have been applied to a different surface in its proximity, on another part of the decoration. The similitude with the expression on column (x+10) and with other similar occurrences in coeval texts,¹¹ could suggest an analogy: the successful conclusion of a very demanding task or a risky journey to distant lands. The remains of a *ir.n[...]* expression that follows are not introduced by a proclitic *iw* and could allude to further details concerning its nature.



(x+2) *špss.k(i) is hr hm.f r htmty-ntr Wr-ddd-b3 m rk Izzi rdi hm.f iwt n(i) imy-r [...]*
pr-ʿ3 [...]

a) *špss.k(i) is hr hm.f* The passage opens the second column after a lacuna in an imprecise context. As syntactic marker of subordination introducing complement clauses, the clitic particle *is* would be usually expected inside a sentence after the first word or phrase (Loprieno 1991, 214–215; *id.* 1995, 153–5; 200). Accordingly, here we could understand the stative *špss.k(i)* as the first term of a verbal clause, which was embedded into a preceding segment of discourse. The stative of an intransitive verb such as *špss* itself indicates a circumstantial description (Edel 1955–64, 287–8, § 569; Doret 1986, 34, 66). The

¹¹ See, e.g., Weni (Urk. I 103, 7–17; 104, 2; 108, 9), Harkhuf (Urk. I 128, 8), Khnumhotep (Urk. I 141, 2).

comparison that Iny proposes of himself with Werdjedeba must indeed have been related to a statement that preceded it and to which it could reasonably have provided informative background necessary for its full understanding. Yet, no specific coeval examples including the expression *šps.k(i) is* comes to the attention for analogies. Nor the construction *stative + is* seems to be object of mention, specific or coincidental, in the literature addressing the use and meanings of the enclitic *is* or of the stative verb form. In relation to a stative, only Loprieno's quoting of CT VII 475i-j comes to mind, where, however, *is* precedes the stative verb form and is analysed as a converter of pseudoverbal sentences into a dependent clause (Loprieno 1995, 155). In general the particle is known to subordinate nominal, adverbial as well as verbal clauses (Loprieno 1995, 154), but according to the more recent Uljas (2007, 278), after verbs the particle is hardly found beyond object clauses of *rh* "know", and even there it usually combines with nominal, adjectival and cleft sentences,¹² its function being related to the presence of second tenses in the subordinate clause (Uljas 2007, 279). Here, the lack of the preceding context clearly precludes a comprehensive understanding of the situation, but the nature of dependent clause providing a concomitant/explicative adjunct focus would seem likely (Uljas 2007, 281; Loprieno 1995, 153). A value similar to that provided by the proclitic *sk* (Loprieno 1995, 100–1) in similar passages from the inscription of Khentikau-Pepy (Osing *et al.* 1982, pl. 60, col. 4.) and also, for an earlier period, from those of Senedjemib-Inti (Urk. I, 59, 13; Brovarski 2001, 90–91, fig. 1, A1, col. 7, n. f.), which use the same verb, is tentatively employed here.

b) *Wr-ddd-b3* The fragmentary quotation of Isesi at the beginning of the 'large' biographic fragment, is now complete. It is not only confirmed to belong to a quotation of events not pertaining the vicissitudes of Iny himself, but, by including a new attestation of the sealbearer of the god Werdjedeba, it results almost identical to the ones in the letter of young Pepy II to Harkhuf that prompted a comparison with it previously (Marcolin 2006, 293; Urk. I 128, 17– 129, 1; 131, 2; Edel 2008, 654, fig. 8.). Despite minor changes in its spelling

( instead of ) , this is certainly a new attestation of the famous and elusive sealbearer of the god who, according to the letter of Pepy II, brought a *dng*-dwarf from the land of Punt during the reign of Isesi. Ranke translated the name as *wr-dd-b3(?)*, with a later correction *wr-ddd-b3(?)*.¹³ On account of the *3ae inf.* verb by which the name is composed, the full marking of the consonants has been preferred here.

¹² To note to this regard that Edel (Edel 1955–64, 413, § 822) suggested that «In Sätzen mit pseudopartizipialen Prädikat oder mit vorangestelltem adjectivischem Prädikat ist es nicht anzutreffen».

¹³ Ranke 1935, I 82, no. 6; *id.* 1952, 349 (82, 6), mentioning a remark by Firth and Gunn 1926, 157, note 3. See also Edel 2008, 627–8 and 645 that follows Ranke's initial reading.

The historicity of this individual and the nature of the memories related to him are difficult to investigate, because all the known evidence about him appears to be restricted to the two attestations here considered. In recent years a series of hieratic ostraca from Mersa Gawasis were thought to be mentioning his name in relation to the possible appellation of a ship.¹⁴ However a subsequent re-examination by Mahfouz¹⁵ resulted in a reassessment, with the supposed *wr-ddd-b3w* read as *dd-b3w*, in an indication of a department/storehouse related to foreign expeditions materials.

The context and the reasons for his appearance in the inscription of Iny are missing, but it is evident that also here the memory of the sealbearer was called into play as a role model for the dedication to his master and the well-deserved esteem for the skillfulness of the official. What may have been the nature of the activity that prompted it, is left to speculation.¹⁶ The similitude of the fragmentary [...] *m htp* of column (x+1) with that of the description of the return of Iny from Byblos on column (x+11), is tantalizing in suggesting an analogy of themes and horizons. In this sense a scenario of expeditions to distant lands such as the Levant, could be alluded not only by the reference to the “great and beautiful” products of the foreign land of column (x+4), but also by the episode of the attribution to the owner of the nick-name of *in-df3w* “He-who-brings-the-provisions” on column (x+3) – that clearly refers to something having been brought. To note also that, despite the lower part of columns (x+1) and (x+2) is missing – hiding perhaps other relevant details – it would seem difficult associating the two above mentioned episodes with anything different from the happening that originated Werdjededba’s quote. Notwithstanding, as it will be stated in other notes below, the appearance on column (x+3) of an overseer of Upper Egypt escorting the owner to the palace, may fit more the picture of an expedition returning from southern lands.

One element of interest that differentiates this quote from those of Pepy II’s letter, is the fact that it does not belong to a missive of the king or his chancellery to Iny, nor to a promise of praises and retributions conveyed to him in a related context. The mention seems, instead, to originate from Iny’s own mouth in an attempt to outshine not simply the usual “any one like him”, but even the legendary Werdjededba himself. We may certainly expect that this *exploit* of self-confidence was not born out from Iny’s bold vanity. It rather must have corresponded to an act of praise by the king that, similarly to Harkhuf, was probably conveyed to him in a form not very far from that committed to the stone. It should reconnect with the praxis of deliberately ‘imposing’ the

¹⁴ Meeks 2002, 313–314; the ostraca were published by Sayed 1983, 23–34.

¹⁵ Mahfouz 2008, 282–284. A similar possibility was suggested already by Vernus 1986, 139–147.

¹⁶ For further remarks on Werdjededba’s mentions in Harkhuf’s biography, see Baines 1999, 29.

record of certain happenings on tomb inscriptions as a sort of ideological propaganda.¹⁷ The mention of Werdjededba in Iny's account seems clearly related to the narrative *philum* of the travels in far regions (and also inside Egypt) as one of the defining elements of the self-presentation of élite members, as recently indicated by Baines (2007, 10–15). In this sense, the temptation to see a relation between Iny and Harkhuf on the basis of this passage, perhaps in foreground to the picture of the social competition and 'funerary' propaganda just alluded, could be legitimate. Yet, for now it would seem difficult going farther than pointing out the likely anteriority of Iny's quote over that of Harkhuf: judging from the chronologically organized narration, the first seems indeed to belong to Pepy I; the second, certainly to the first years of Pepy II.

Out of speculation, what this new attestation really offers, is the confirmation of the existence in Egypt, already at this point in time, of an *imaginarium* of literary figures and historical *topoi*, echoing specific events of the time of Isesi that we may not yet be familiar with, but that were evidently known by specific sectors of the society as a result of naturally shared memories or, more likely, as excerpts of a restricted knowledge that was filtered down to them by an elite that detained it.¹⁸

(x+3) *r hnw h3.n(.i) m stp-z3 hn^c imy-r sm^cw [r]di.n n(.i) hm n nb(.i) nbw m-h3t.f iw šd.[n] [...]*

a) *r hnw h3.n(.i) m stp-z3 hn^c imy-r sm^cw* The mention of a visit of Iny to the royal palace, which is provided by the new fragment, offers again relevant data to complement the previously known situation. Why his presence was requested there, can now be grasped in the fragmentary reference to the dispatching of a palace attendant to him in the preceding column: it is most likely the mentioning of an anticipatory reception of Iny returning from a mission accomplished *m htp* (col. x+1) to somewhere. We find, indeed, a very similar reference in the account of Harkhuf: a court official was sent by Merenre to receive him with food and supplies on his way back from his third journey to Yam (Urk. I, 127, 13–15.). In the case of Iny it must have been a rather relevant mission since, after the meeting with the attendant, we find him heading to the palace in the company of an *imy-r sm^cw* "overseer of Upper Egypt".¹⁹ As mentioned above, the presence of the latter, along with the quote

¹⁷ Examples can be found in the inscriptions of Kaemtjenenet (Schott 1977, 458–461, 461c, fragment C, lines 13–14; Urk. I 184, 1–4), Rawer (Allen 1992, 14–15; Urk. I 232, 12–16), Washptah (Kloth 2002, 331; Roccati 1982, 110, §79; Urk. I 42, 15–16; 43, 1–10) and also in Harkhuf's letter (Edel 2008, 627–8, 645; Urk. I 128, 17; 131, 2).

¹⁸ On restricted knowledge and the dynamics of its employment, see Baines 1990.

¹⁹ Jones 2000, 246–7, no. 896. For a more recent reassessment of several aspects of the duty within the evolution of Old Kingdom administration, see Andrassy 2008, 109–112; 133–40.

of Werdjededba and the foreign products of column (x+3), could allude rather plausibly to his return from an expedition to a foreign country to be located perhaps to the South. And also the use of the verb *h3i* could include here the nuance of a 'descending' from upper lands, as those located to the South.²⁰

The two-steps reception that the narration describes, with Iny first received on his way to the residence by an attendant of the palace and then escorted by an overseer of Upper Egypt to the court, could correspond to a take over of his escort by the overseer once Iny approached Abydos, in the case the office had him already stationing there at this time,²¹ or closer to the palace, if he was still based there.²² Iny makes no mention of the name of the overseer in question. Lacking any vaguely useful hints about the chronology of the episode, attempting to relate the title to any of the several holder of the office that are known for this period appears not worth-pursuing at this stage.²³ Yet, despite the silence on the identity could certainly be accidental, other expedition leaders contemporaries of Iny, such as the mentioned Harkhuf or Sabni (Urk. I 137, 14–138, 1; Seyfried 2005, 314, fig. 1, col. 8.), included in their accounts the names of the officials who met them in anticipatory receptions.²⁴ In this sense, one can not avoid speculating on the possibility of an intentional reticence on the identity of an individual whose memory may have not been welcome in connection with Pepy I, such as could have possibly been the case for the disgraced Rawer, who certainly detained the title of overseer of Upper Egypt.²⁵

²⁰ Hannig 2003, 743–744 [18682]. The uses of the verb are not absolutely univocal, but the nuance of a downward movement from physically higher to lower places seems frequently present in narrative accounts of expeditions from southern regions, see e.g. Urk. I 108, 1; 125, 2, 5; 137, 7. In this sense the use of *iw(i) ii.k(i)* for the return from the Byblos's journey in column (x+10) would also be consistent, being the city farther North, i.e. lower than the Nile Delta.

²¹ The office appears to have been steadily transferred to the provinces approximately by the reign of Merenre (Andrássy 2008, 136; Fischer 1968, 94), but the likelihood of overseers already operating from the South during the reign of Pepy I is also possible (Kanawati 2003, 176).

²² Funerary attestations of overseers of Upper Egypt appear to be concentrated around the capital until the first part of Pepy I's reign (Kanawati 2003, 176).

²³ During the reigns of Teti – Pepy I see, e.g., Kanawati 2003, 25–27 [1] (Hemi); 57–63 [15] (Hezi); 66–71 [17] (Inumin); 86–87 [23] (Kagemni); 90–93 [25] (Khui); 114–115 [35] (Nikauisesi); 115–116 [36] (Ra-wer); 126 [40] 139 (Hesy/Tetiankh). Also, e.g., Kanawati 1980, 34 (1) (Mehu); 34 (2) (Mereri); 35 (6) (Ra-wer = previous Ra-wer).

²⁴ In the case of Sabni, the contacts with Iry, the official who received him (Urk. I 137, 16–17), are less representative of a reception, since Sabni's travels are moved by a personal need to recover the body of his dead father and in the course of the preparation and execution of the mission, he is clearly keeping informed the palace on his movements by frequent dispatching of communications.

²⁵ Kanawati 2003, 177–81. The dating of the conspiracy in which Rawer seems to have been implied, namely the 21st cattle count of Pepy I, would then become a *terminus post*

b) [r]d*i.n* n*(i)* hm n nb*(i)* nbw m-h3t.f iw šd.[n] [...] The passage was already addressed previously (Marcolin 2006, 294), but the new data prompts a few more remarks. The fragmentary context of the rewarding of Iny is now clearer: led to the court by the overseer of Upper Egypt, Iny is given right there – in front of the official himself and by the king in person – the so-called gold of honour²⁶ for the successful accomplishment of his mission. The difference with the coeval description of the rewarding of Nekhebu is evident:²⁷ the bestowing takes place at court and is evidently carried out by Pepi I himself. The space given to the description speaks for the importance attributed by Iny to the event and reminds of similar episodes witnessed by more high ranking officials of the past, such as Akhethotep with Niuserre/Isesi²⁸ or Senedjemib-Inti with Isesi (Urk. I 60, 4–5; Brovarski 2001, 90–91, fig. 1, A1, cols. 9–11). It is a detail that we fail to acknowledge in the new attestation of a second rewarding of Iny on column (x+9), brought by the *Christie's* fragment. There we find again *nbw* as a reward for a successful mission to Byblos, but in that occasion the emphatic *rdi.n n.i hm n nb.(i)* of Pepy I's description has left its place to a more impersonal nominal passive *rdi.t*. The lack of details concerning who bestowed the reward and who attended the event is absolute and the prominence of a direct contact with the king is completely sacrificed to the description of the goods acquired and of Iny's ability to overcome the peril of the task. The choice of themes, again, could be coincidental, but the allusion to some sort of change concerning these practices or the relations of officials with the king may also be implied.²⁹

quem, for the episode here described. The fact that more than one conspiracy occurred under Pepy I's reign and that other acts of *damnatio memoriae* are documented (Kanawati 2003, 169–82), can invite to the consideration of also other candidates, despite their chronological placing toward the beginning of his reign would result in a considerably long life's span for Iny's vicissitudes.

²⁶ On this practice, see Binder 2008. For references omitted in this work see Kuraszkiewicz 2002, 133–137; and, possibly, Hassan 1943, 168, fig. 118, col. 7; for a different reading of this passage see, however, Maystre 1992, 223–224, doc. 1.

²⁷ Nekhebu mentions three episodes of *gold of honor* in his inscription (Boston MFA 13.4331; Urk. I 220, 10; 221, 3; 10; Dunham 1938, 1–8). Only the first of them mentions clearly the king as the proposer of the action, but as already pointed out (Marcolin 2006, 294), despite the explicit reference to a reward in front of the officials, he himself specifies later on that a troop of the palace brought the gifts to his place. The two following episodes are treated without particular emphasis, as if the thing had become more customary and did not require the same amount of space and prominence.

²⁸ Louvre E10958; Zivie 2007, 89–90, fig. 34; on the date of the mastaba, see *ibid.*, 13.

²⁹ The frequency as well as the 'economically accounting' relevance of the practice seem to grow in time to the point that since the Middle Kingdom, it achieves status of official record in the royal annals, as clearly indicated by the Mit Rahina inscriptions of Amenemhat II (Altenmüller & Moussa 1991, 18, M25–26).

c) *iw šd.[n]* [...] The multiplicity of translations offered for the verb *šdi* depending on the context and the lack of a clearly identifiable determinative, makes difficult speculating about the most suitable rendering for the verb.³⁰ A meaning as “to procure” or “to bring” could be suggested on account of the following mention of products that were most likely acknowledged by the king at some point.³¹ However, “to recite”, as stated previously, could also be expected here – as it has been reflected in the translation – since the sentence may have introduced some sort of statement or proclamation by the king after the reward to Iny.³²

(x+4) *nb(.i) ʕ33 nfr inw in.n(i) m ḥ3st [ir.n] ḥm n nb(.i) rn(.i) m in-df3w n ʕ3t nt ḥz.t(i) in ḥm.f r mrt(y.i) nb*

a) *nb(.i) ʕ33 nfr inw in.n(i) m ḥ3st* With the expression *inw in.n(i) m ḥ3st* being clearly the subject of the preceding *ʕ33 nfr* (Edel 1955–64, 227–506, §§ 491–506), the passage seems to describe a situation where a subject – most likely the king – evaluates or acknowledges the quality and the quantity of the goods acquired by Iny, and, in consideration of them, immediately after bestows him the nick-name of “He-who-brings-the-provisions”. The sentence may have been dependent on the preceding *šdi*, but as an object clause, an introduction by an epistemic verb such as a form of *m33*, as for a similar passage in Harkhuf (Urk. I, 127, 4–11), could seem appropriate.

b) *m ḥ3st* The size of the *lacuna* following the expression in question does not seem to allow the integration of a demonstrative adjective *m* as often attested in this sort of indication. The absence would not be puzzling, particularly if the provenance of Iny had been mentioned earlier in the narration and the context was still clear. Examples of the term without expected demonstratives with the meaning of either “foreign country” or “desert”, are known in singular, dual, and plural forms from other coeval contexts.³³



c) *[ir.n] ḥm n nb(.i) rn(.i) m in-df3w* The verb that introduced the episode of the nickname attribution of Iny remains in *lacuna*. The content and the arrangement of the text on both sides of the fracture on column (x+7) and (x+9) and particularly on column (x+11) and (x+12) seem to indicate that the verb form employed must have corresponded to not much more than a square


³⁰ Hannig 2003, 1322–1325 {33726} – {33786}.

³¹ Hannig 2003, 1323 {33745}; see, e.g., the employment of the verb in such a context in Goedicke 1959, 8–11, col. 1.

³² Marcolin 2006, 293. On the verb, see Hannig 2003, 1324–1325 {33780}.

³³ For singular, see, e.g., Moussa and Altenmüller 1977, fig. 15; Vandekerckhove and Müller Wollermann 2001, 89–91, N 118, line 4; 183–185, O74, line 1; Urk. I 110, 14; 111, 8. For dual, see, e.g., *Pap. Berlin* 8869, rto. col. 6; Manassa 2006, pls. 34; 36, col. 6. For plural, see, e.g., Urk. I 136, 6; Seyfried 2005, 314, fig. 1, col. 2.

of space. Considering also the space necessary to fit the logogram  *hm* that must have preceded the expression  *n nb(.i)*, it becomes evident that the two initially suggested possibilities, *dmi* or *rdi*,³⁴ can no longer be sustained.

A less space-consuming  *ir.n* would then seem the only likely solution, which is indeed attested in both Pyramid Texts (PT 1693c; 1983c; 1783c) and from a further context dating to the Old Kingdom/First Intermediate Period (Urk. I 294, 4).

The practice of attributing nicknames, or changing the real name, is extensively attested throughout the Old Kingdom and later ages, but a comprehensive and up-dated reconsideration of the situation for the period in question is still felt. Beside the reference to Ranke and Vernus,³⁵ it appears worth-pointing out to this regard the considerations of Berlev concerning a supposed quadri- or multistructured name identity for ancient Egyptians (*rn nds* "little (or junior) name"; *rn wr* "great name"; *rn ʕ* "elder name"; *rn nfr* "junior name") (Berlev 2003, 1–18). The issue certainly deserves further development, but in consideration also of Roccati's remarks (1991, 171–4), the already mentioned existence of a fragmentary offering table from Tety Pyramid Cemetery with remains of text mentioning [...] *rn nfr Iny* may be believed to belong to the individual in question (Firth and Gunn 1926, 226; Marcolin 2006, 305).

Concerning the meaning and implications of the food and offerings in the nickname's compound *df3/df3w*, two brief updated treatments are to be found respectively in Andrassy (2008, 75–81) and Ragazzoli (2008, 171, n. 21). Andrassy, in particular, mentions two officials involved with the *st-df3w* institution, one of which bore the name of *df3wi*, that appears too intriguing not to having been a further example of a name/nickname related to an activity.³⁶

As for the nature of the pun represented by the nickname of the owner, a classification as *paronomasia* (alternatively also *polysemy* or *anacalasis*) can be indicated with reference to the recent treatment of this topic by Noegel and Szpakowska.³⁷


(x+5) *iw ir.n(i) ʕm33w hnt-š p3ws[?] [...] zp 4 sk w(i) m hntmy-ntr hr hm n Ppy nb.(i)*

³⁴ For *dmi rn*, see Gardiner 1916, 92, no. 246; for *rdi rn* to note the necessary amend with the current *iri rn* (Wb II 425, 19–21; Hannig 2006, 1486 (17934)).

³⁵ Ranke 1935; LdÄ IV 320–326 [Name], 326–333 [Namengebung], 333–337 [Namensbildung].


³⁶ To this regard, see also Ranke 1935, 11, no. 4.


³⁷ Noegel and Szpakowska 2006, 193–212. See also Marcolin 2006, 294.


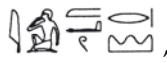
a) *iw ir.n(i)* The pattern *ir.n(i)* + *toponyms* as an expression for “making places = to visit, to go to ...”³⁸ is relatively rare in coeval sources. The *ir.n(i) ḥ3s.wt (i)ptn* of Khnumhotep, in the tomb of Khui at Qubbet el-Hawa, is probably the most natural analogy (Urk. I 141, 3), to which also the *ir im3* of Harkhuf’s account can be added for this period (Urk. I 129, 4). Interestingly, the verb appears to be related constantly to foreign – not Egyptian – toponyms during the Old Kingdom, with frequent occurrences of the same kind also during the Middle Kingdom.³⁹ Despite this latter interpretation seems the most appropriate here, in consideration of the unattested region *ʿm33w* coming first in the list of toponyms that follows it, the possibility of an *ir.n(i) ʿ m m3w/j3m* with  as taken as *ʿ* “Spur, Fahrte, Fussspur”⁴⁰ with a meaning of “I made an expedition in *m3w/j3m* ...” could also be suggested. However, attestations of this kind appear to indicate the activities carried out in the places mentioned rather than the fact that those places were touched/visited, and they are dating not earlier than the Middle Kingdom.

b) *ʿm33w* This is the **first of the three toponyms** provided by the new fragment. As the third and last of them, *p3ws[...]*, it does not result attested so far. Their connection to Khenty-she, or “Lebanon” (see below), and their association to the subsequent mention of silver import in column (x+6) seem to suggest a location in the Levantine geographic sphere. According to the

phonetic values defined by Hoch,  *ʿm33w/ʿm3w* could

render different readings such as *a-mal-w*, *i-mal-w*, *a-man-w*, *i-man-w*.  as a writing for *man* in foreign words is rare before the Ramesside Period

(Hoch 1994, 508, *man*₂), being  better attested during the Middle Kingdom (*Ibid.* 493, E1). A reading *mal* for this last sign-group could be also taken into account on some Old Kingdom Nubian anthroponyms (*Ibid.* 496, nos. 10, 21). As a result of these possibilities, there are **several alternatives** for interpreting – always inconclusively – this toponym.

1) It could be an early attestation of **Amurru**, documented in later Egyptian sources as , , or with different spellings (Kitchen 1975–1991, I 24, 14; II 148, 12).

2) Ebla archives, roughly coeval to Iny’s text, mention in one occasion the toponym *ʿā-man-an^{ki}* which could be tentatively identified with the **Amanus mountains** running along the southwestern Turkish coast and the western


³⁸ Wb I 111 = Hannig 2003, 188 {3391}. For the likewise rare expression *ir w3t* “Weg bereiten”, see Hannig 2003, 188 {3398}.


³⁹ Hannig 2006, 373 {3390}; {3391}

⁴⁰ Hannig 2006, 469 {4584}; Wb I 159, 4.

Syrian coast.⁴¹ This area was a provider of silver and wood in ancient times (Sowada 2009, 189).

3) If, as in later times, the 𓆎-phonogram was equivalent to Semitic *h* (Hoch 1994, 189), the toponym could be also identified with toponyms 'a-ma^{ki} or 'à-ma-ad^{ki} (var. 'à-ma-du^{ki}, 'à-ma-tim^{ki}) connected to the Western Semitic stem **hmy*, "to protect", and which can be identified respectively as a settlement north of Ebla, and, possibly, also as the Syrian city of **Hama in the Orontes' valley** (Bonechi 1993, 35–7). However, the rendering as -*33w* of the ending of Hama in Old Egyptian cannot be explained satisfactorily.⁴²

4) An African location of the word cannot be totally discarded. First, it is similar to the coeval toponyms  *im3* (Zibelius 1972, 78–80),

 *im33w* (*Ibid.* 81), and, above all, to the Punt-related

place  *smw*, documented from the New Kingdom (*Ibid.* 99).

Second, it could be connected to the aforementioned mentions to Werdjededba and to the reception of Iny by an overseer of Upper Egypt.⁴³ A joint reference to toponyms of different geographic spheres in the same expression would not be surprising in this period. Not only Weni's biography includes a sentence referring jointly to different expeditions to two regions as far apart as Elephatine (*3bw*) and the Wadi Hammamat (*ibh3t*),⁴⁴ but also Khnumhotep's inscription associates Byblos with Punt.⁴⁵

c) **hnt-š** The apparent consensus of scholars in extending also to periods earlier than the Middle Kingdom the indication of **Lebanon**, or, more likely, a region including it and its correspondent coastal area, of the toponym in question,⁴⁶ seems to find in this occurrence its first epigraphic confirmation. Despite the evident cumulative character of the list of locations and the lesser amount of

⁴¹ Bonechi 1993, 38. For similar toponyms, referring to lesser geographical entities, in the Ebla archives, see *ibid.* 37–38.

⁴² Another possible option, which has to be considered cautiously, could be the Asiatic (Amorite?) toponym *iimw^crw* mentioned both on the Middle Kingdom Berlin and Mirgissa execration texts, see Posener 1966, 286, e5; Koenig 1990, 111–112, F5, G6.

⁴³ To note that *im33w* (Zibelius 1972, 81) corresponds to the toponym of the expression 'Hathor of Imaaw' specifically mentioned by Pepi I on the occasion of Harkhuf's return from Yam (Urk. I 128, 12). For the likely cult of a 'Hator of Imaw' at at Kom el-Hisn attested on a late Middle Kingdom statuette, see Fisher 1996, 108 with further references.

⁴⁴ Urk. I 107, 10. On the identification of *ibh3t* as Wadi Hammamat, see Wissa 1994.

⁴⁵ Urk. I 140, 17. On recent readings of the inscription, see Espinel 2004, 7–20; Edel 2008, 466–468, fig. 1a.


⁴⁶ On the toponym in question and on the interpretative trends and results of its indication, see Andrásy 2001, 3–8; Marcus 2007, 143–145. For *rmnn* as the first attestation of the toponym for Lebanon in the inscription of Khnumhotep at Dahshur, see Allen 2008, 35.


detail of the description, it is noteworthy the similitude of the list of goods brought back by Iny with those of the missions to Lebanon and other Levantine regions documented in Amenemhat II's royal annals inscription (Altenmüller and Moussa 1991; Quirke and Malek 1992; Marcus 2007). Both include, indeed, the same silver, lapis lazuli, *sft*-oil, lead/tin, as well as 'Asiatic' people. It seems to demonstrate rather clearly how Middle Kingdom patterns of frequentations of the Levantine coasts followed those of earlier periods, not only for what relates to their geography and seaborne routes, but also concerning commercial and diplomatic targets and objectives that motivated them.


Yet, continuity does not imply absolute identity, as it is clearly demonstrated by the inscriptional evidence from the tomb of Khnumhotep at Dahshur, of the time of Senwoseret III (Allen 2008, 29–39), where, as an example, the city of Ullaza appears to have superseded – temporarily or not – Byblos as partner for the acquisition of wood. And the same can be noted for Iny: explicit references to the acquisition of timber are absent here, as well as in any of his five other references to voyages to the Levant. It is a detail that, far from indicating the lack of its import, certainly has to be attributed to a variety of different factors, among which first and foremost, perhaps, was a different conception of what was deemed prestigious and worth mentioning in funerary records. The reference to the import of Byblos-ships itself could, indeed, have fulfilled the need of conveying the message of the obtainment of the highly valued raw material without clearly mentioning it. Significantly Byblos-ships rank constantly first in the lists of goods brought back from the Levant in Iny's inscriptions. In this sense, the apparently changed political situation of Levant that Khnumhotep account seems to depict for later periods, could also allude to a modification of the dynamics of the access to this specific resource. A diminished ascendancy of Egypt on Byblos and its hinterland may have prompted more diplomatic effort for the acquisition of a product whose reach may have been given for granted previously, moving it on the list of the resources worthy to be mentioned in the following times.⁴⁷ References in the later *Dialogue of Ipuwer* to the fact that the highly valued *š*-wood and *sft*-oil were not available anymore as they used to be in the past,⁴⁸ denotes clearly a disruption of consuetudes and, consequently, of the necessary commercial contacts that, far from being exceptional events, seem to find confirmation in Iny's description of his missions as a relatively routinary activity.

⁴⁷ In this sense, references to the felling or cutting of 'proprietary' wood, as well as to its obtainment as a tribute from other friendly – yet not as advanced as Byblos – partners, for ships-building and barges of size and technology even more demanding than the Byblos-ship, are not unknown in this period. See, e.g., Nekhebu (Urk. I 220, 6), Weni (Urk. I 108, 4; 109, 2), Sabni (Habachi 1981, fig. 5, l. 1, 3), Nemtyu (Anthes 1928, pl. 310, fig. 3), Neferhas (Anthes 1928, pl. 10, fig 4).

⁴⁸ *Pap. Leiden* 344r, 3, 8. See also Enmarch 2004, 27; *id.* 2008, 87–89.

d) *p3ws[...]* Also **this toponym is not attested elsewhere**. The fracture could contain another hieroglyph below the *w*-phonogram, which seems to be slightly lifted up, and, perhaps, even another flat one just above the determinative for foreign country. Accordingly any proposal of restoration is inconclusive. The toponym could be read as *pa-u-s-[...]*; *pal-u-s-[...]*; *ba-u-s-[...]*; *bal-u-s-[...]*; among other possibilities, being  attested during the Middle

Kingdom as *pal* (Hoch 1994, 503). The writing  for *p3* is common during the Old and Middle Kingdoms and, therefore a reading **pp3* for the initial part of the text can be discarded (Edel 1955–1964, 87, 195). Again, any identification of the region is just tentative. As for *ʿm33w*, the context suggests an Asian location, which seems to be reinforced by the almost complete absence so far of the phonetic *p3*-sequence in African toponyms.⁴⁹ On the

contrary, it is present in the coeval Asiatic place name , *tp3* (Bárta 2001, 179–80, no. 13), and in later examples.⁵⁰ There are no clear hints for its location. A further candidate could also be the Assyrian toponym *Ba-'li/Ba-'lu* attested in the eighth century BC. It seems to refer to Northern Palestine or Southern Phoenician Coast and could be an abbreviation of *Ba-'a-li-ra-a-si* which has been **tentatively identified with different mountains in the area (Nahr el-Kelb, Mount Carmel, Ras an-Naqura, Reshbaal, etc.)** (Lipinsky 2004, 1–15).

(x+6) *in.n(i) n.f ḥd inw nb nfr mr.n k3.f ḥz w(i) ḥm.f ḥr.s*

a) *ḥd* See comment (x+9) a).

b) *mr.n k3.f* The expression seems to support the recent remarks of Shalomi-Hen on the identity of the king with the king's *ka* (Shalomi-Hen 2006, 33–4), exactly as in a similar passage of the coeval inscription of Weni (Urk. I 109, 11). Nonetheless, the connection of the king's *ka* with the verb *mri* in this kind of sentences appears unattested.⁵¹ Peculiar seems the employment of the perfect relative *mr.n.f*, because, by marking an accomplished action, it could intentionally allude to the fact that not only Pepy I, but also Merenre, which is referred to with the same expression in column (x+9), may have been dead by the time the text was composed.⁵²

⁴⁹ Some exceptions in Zibelius 1972, 92, *isp3/isp3w*; 137, *np3w*.

⁵⁰ See, e.g., *imp3w*, Altenmüller and Moussa 1991, 12, during the Middle Kingdom. For some Asiatic toponyms of the Eighteenth Dynasty including this phonogram, see Simmons 1937, 111, nos. 33a–c (*p(3)ḥr*); 113, no. 127 (26) (*twnp(3)*); no. 154 (65) (*p(3)ḥ3rw*); 196 (107) (*nys3p(3)*); 114, nos. 253 (164) (*p(3)p(3)l*) and 296 (207) (*p(3)p(3)b3*); 115, no. 338 (249) (*ḥtwp3*); 134, no. 7 (*p3bwh*).

⁵¹ Nor Goedicke 1960, 37–40, neither Windus-Staginsky 2006, 208–209, record any example.

⁵² No similar attestations are recorded by Windus-Staginsky 2006, 225–226.

(x+7) ʕ3 wrt iw(.i) h3b.k(i) r kbn hr hm [n] Mr-n-rʕ nb(.i)

a) iw(.i) h3b.k(i) r kbn The passage represents the first dated epigraphic attestation of the Old Kingdom to document with a relative detail direct commercial contacts between Egypt and Byblos. As a matter of fact, despite these contacts have long been assumed by scholars on the basis of the Egyptian material evidence discovered in the Lebanese harbour as well as in Egypt,⁵³ the only explicit reference known so far of a journey to Byblos is that recorded by Khnumhotep in the tomb of Khui, at Qubbet el-Hawa.⁵⁴ Significantly, the writing of Iny coincides with that of the inscription of the latter and with other coeval occurrences on minor epigraphic evidence, originating from Egypt and Byblos itself.⁵⁵

As mentioned below, we find associated to the city, together with the traditional Byblos-ships and a further typology of vessels, lapis lazuli, lead/tin, silver and zff̄-oil. The direct connection of these products with the city makes possible not only acknowledging to Byblos the role of hub for their distribution to Egypt as well as to other Eastern Mediterranean cultures in this period,⁵⁶ but permits also to substantiate once and for all the nature of the archaeological evidence of the Egyptian presence and influence in the city as a result of direct contacts.⁵⁷

The mission is here expressed by the compound verb-form iw(.i) h3b.k(i) instead of the more usual h3b wi hm n nb.f (Doret 1986, 24–27, ex. 5–7) or iw h3b.n wi hm n nb.f (Doret 1986, 108–111, ex. 199–203). An example of the latter is indeed to be found also in the reference to another mission of Iny, in the second recomposition. The stative in question conforms to the practice for transitive verbs with pronominal subject to replace an initial passive iw sdm.n.f⁵⁸ to express the continuity of a state resulting from an action, i.e.

⁵³ Old Kingdom relationships of Egypt with the Levantine region, including Byblos, are carefully studied in archaeological perspective by Sowada 2009 (particularly 128–141). On Egyptian stone vessels in Byblos non included in Sowada, see also Bevan 2007, 76–78; Sparks 2008, 249–251.

⁵⁴ Urk. I 140, 17 – 141, 3. The date of this inscription seems to be approximately coeval to Iny's text, see Edel 2008, 503, n. 173.

⁵⁵ For references to the name of the city not in compound names or derivatives, see, e.g., Montet 1928–29, 35–37, no. 11, fig. 6, pl. 28; Dunand 1939, no. 3233, pl. 37; Fischer 1968, 38–39; Fischer 1991, 63.

⁵⁶ From the Middle Kingdom onward, the products in question are known to originate also from a variety of locations different from Byblos (Marcus 2007, 148–54, 158–64). For a general description of the role of Byblos in the commercial networks during this period and the Middle Bronze Age, see also Lafont 2009.

⁵⁷ The nature of part of the material evidence as well as of some related socio-ideological aspects originating directly from the city of Byblos have occasionally been questioned, despite their general reference to an Egyptian provenance. See, e.g., Sowada 2009, 129, 137, 219 contra Espinel 2002, 103–6.

⁵⁸ Doret 1986, 129, ex. 222. See also Edel 1955–64, 283–4, §§ 587–9.

a passive meaning. However, the verb *h3b* is not attested frequently in this construction in contemporary sources. Doret refers it preferentially to the First Intermediate period or in inscriptions belonging to the so-called *memoranda* (Doret 1986, 107–8, ex. 197).

(x+8) *iw in.n(i) kbnt 3 ir.n(i) wi3w ʕ3(w) stp-z3 iw(i) [i]n.n(i) hsbq dht(i)*

a) *kbnt 3* (?) The new fragment provides a further attestation of the Byblite vessels (Jones 1988, 148–149, no. 79), but in a context that – at this time – relates them for the first time unquestionably to the city wherefrom their appellation originates. The writing of the term is identical to that of the ‘minor’ fragment as for spelling and determinative (cf. second recomposition, column 3) and the precedence that it is given also here over any other product listed, speaks for itself concerning the value that they must have represented. Contrarily to that reference, however, it is not possible to discern clearly if here the plural strokes referred to a precise number of ships (three), or to an undetermined quantity.⁵⁹

Despite details concerning their nature and characters are still missing, Byblos-ships are known to have indicated seagoing ships for long commercial voyages rather than vessels strictly connected with the Levantine city.⁶⁰ Indeed, during the Old Kingdom we find them attested also in relation to Punt (Urk. I 134, 15) and Sinai (Tallet 2010, 20–1), while in later periods the spectrum of their destinations widened further (Darnell 1992).



Here, relevant appear the implications of their relation with the city, since we are clearly presented with a picture where Byblos-ships are being brought back from the Levantine city in the exact same manner as any other products acquired by Iny. No reference is made to whether they travelled from Egypt or they were built there, as often happens in coeval references to ships-related activities and transport descriptions.⁶¹ Nor specific reference is present to their load despite they certainly came back with the goods described in the following column. A detail that, interestingly, we also meet in their mention in the second recomposition. There is hardly any comparison available for an analogous employment of the verb *ini* in connection with any kind of ship sailing on the Nile. It would appear, therefore, that the departure city of Byblos was their place of acquisition, i.e. their construction site. An assumption that is apparently supported also by the following text, where, despite the lacuna, the manufacture of another typology of vessels would also appear to have taken place in Byblos. In this sense, the attribution to Merenne of naval expeditions in the region may call the attention also on a fragmentary

⁵⁹ See comment (2) a) of the second recomposition.

⁶⁰ For the relative discussion and references, see Marcolin 2006, 301–2.

⁶¹ See, e.g., Urk. I 108, 4; 109, 2; Habachi 1981, fig. 5, l. 1, 3; Anthes 1928, pl. 310, fig. 3; pl. 10, fig 4.

reference in the Saqqara stone – tentatively attributed to the end of Merenre’s reign – mentioning the arrival a group of people in relation with a ship and possibly with “the bringing of *mrw*-wood (?)”.⁶²

b) *ir*.[...](.i) *wi3w* ʕ(w) *stp-z3* The vertical fracture between the pieces has compromised the reading of the phonetic complement following the eye-sign D4 in such a way that it could be interpreted both as  *n* (N35) or  *r* (D21). Since *Christie’s* fragment, which contains the decisive remains of the hieroglyph, is beyond reach for a direct observation, it seems impossible favouring decisively any of the alternatives resulting. Nonetheless, some possibilities can be considered.

1a) *ir*.[.n](.i) could be either a common circumstantial *sdm.n.f* not in relation to an initial nominal form: “...Byblos ships, I having made (*ir*.[.n](.i)) the great ships of the court” (Doret 1986, 91, ex. 157), placing the action before bringing back the Byblos-ships.

1b) (*iw*) *sdm.n.f* form with omitted proclitic in a paratactic construction with the meaning of: “...Byblos ships, (and) I made ((*iw*) *ir*.[.n](.i)) the great ships of the court” continuing the action opened by the first *iw sdm.n.f*⁶³ and possibly placing the action also after the return.

2a) *ir*[*r*] as a participle imperfective active of the verb *ir* “to act”, “to hold /to do (an office)”⁶⁴ in its use without the *m* of predication “...Byblos-ships that were representing (*ir*[*r*](yw)) the great ships of the court”.

2b) *ir*[*r*](w) a participle imperfective passive of the same verb: “... Byblos-ships that were made/built (as) the great ships of the court”. In this last case, the lack of the *m* of predication could appear more problematic on the account of being them the passive subject.

Any of the alternative readings offers important information on the Egyptian activities in the Levant, since they mention implicitly the bringing of wood from that area as ships. Yet, whether the two typologies of ships here attested were the same or not, and, if not, where their construction took place, are also relevant questions raised by these readings that will deserve further investigation. A construction of “great ships of the court” in/from Byblos recalls indeed the great vessel made in cedar wood found in a pit close to the Khufu pyramid, which possibly was conceived as a Nile boat.⁶⁵ The appellation of “ships of the court” and the available evidence for them seems to indicate that this kind of

⁶² Baud and Dobrev 1997, 36–37 (zone A2); 40, fig. 3; 41–42, photos 2–3. For the relation of the *mrw*-wood with the Levant, see discussion in Sowada 2009, 194–5.

⁶³ Doret 1986, 134–135; 138–139 despite the appearance of this construction is attributed to the First Intermediate Period. On this possibility see also Loprieno 1995, 186–187; 190.

⁶⁴ Hannig 2003, 187–188 {3336}

⁶⁵ On these boats see, e.g., Ward 2000, 45–68; Sowada 2009, 75 [65]. On a state of art insight on the actual use of the ship, see Ward 2000, 58–60. Interesting also the new considerations of Mark 2010, 18–38.

ship was aimed preeminently at a river sailing,⁶⁶ possibly for the movements of the king or his entourage on the Nile. Consequently they may appear unfit for long journeys on the open sea to sail them to Egypt.⁶⁷ The adaptation of Byblos-ships for river sailing could certainly be conceived and would appear the most logical solution for that, but evidence supporting it is still missing. On the other hand, setting up different ships to transport disassembled or semi-worked parts of another typology of ships would also seem logistically not very practical. To note also, that 1) the available evidence of later date concerning Egypt-Byblos relationships in connection with wood speaks in favour of its import as raw, or semi-worked, material rather than as finished products;⁶⁸ 2) the only epigraphic attestation of the building of a Byblos-ship is referred by Pepynakht to having taken place “in the land of the *ʿmw*-people” and the ship was aimed at reaching Punt (Urk. I, 134, 13–16).

A passage in the First Intermediate Period account of Shemai by Qift may also be relevant to this regard, since it mentions the transport of a mast of *ʿš*-wood from the storerooms of *sdr*, a location likely situated in the Eastern Delta (Zibelius 1978, 226), to Qift (Farid Mostafa 2005, 183–4; Urk. IV 535, 8; Eichler 1998). This reference seems to suggest the presence of Levantine raw or semi-worked wood in Egypt and the preminent role of the eastern Delta in relation to its processing and storage. A location that would be particularly consistent also with the existence of port facilities dating to the time of Isesi and possibly involving Byblos-ships for expeditions to Punt, that have recently been discovered by a joint mission of IFAO and Sorbonne University at Ain Soukhna, on the Red Sea (Tallet 2010). An area that, among other things, could perhaps also be put in relation with the mentioned reference of Pepynakht.

c) *wiʿw ʿ(w) stp-zʿ* Despite their typology and nature remain ambiguous, the ships here referred deserve considerations since, as mentioned above, the documents known so far do not suggest these vessels were intended for sailing on the sea. The attestation of a similar expression occurs, indeed, in the biographic inscription of the funerary chapel of Hezi, in Saqqara: *wn rd hm.f hʿ(i) r wiʿ ʿ stp-zʿ mi/m hry-tp ny-swt iwt(i) r wʿwt mi/m hry-tp ny-swt* “His person let that I descend in the great boat of the protection (Palace) like a royal chamberlain, that I come in the ways like/as a royal chamberlain ...”.⁶⁹ The context is that of the benefits and the proof of esteem of the king received by

⁶⁶ Landström 1970, 20; 28–29; 47; 146. See also Ward 2000, 141–143, who stresses the similitudes between Egyptian hull-building and the Uluburun ships, with edge-joined planks, lack of keel and presence of central strake, but also the strongest structure of the latter.

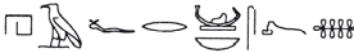
⁶⁷ See below (x+8) c).


⁶⁸ Marcus 2007, 152–154; 173–175. See also Sowada 2009, 194–196; Pulak 2001, 24–36; Loffet 2001, 38–40.

⁶⁹ Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 1999, pls. 33b; 59b; trans. after Roccati 2007, 139.

the official. Among them, the being allowed to embark and follow the king on his boat has certainly to be understood as in his sailing on the Nile. The expression *wi3 ʕ3 stp-z3* is translated by Kanawati and Abder-Raziq as "... great boat of the palace ..." (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 1999, 38), while Roccati prefers privileging the lead of Goelet by rendering it as "... the great boat of the protection (Palace) ...".⁷⁰

An interpretation of "great ships of the court" as units belonging to a royal fleet of vessels for court displacements along the Nile, as Hezi inscription shows, seems rather likely in Iny's inscription. Together with a multiplicity of other indirect sources,⁷¹ the biographic inscription of Ka-em-tjenenet is certainly the most explicit and univocal source to document the existence of this category of vessels.⁷² The officer, that lived under king Isesi, reports episodes of sailing on the Nile in an *wi3 ʕ3*-ship with the king and describes quite vividly how his skipper abilities saved the day – and the king himself – when a surprise storm caught their vessel during a sail on the river. Set aside the problem of the typology of these vessels and the similitude of the *wi3 ʕ3*-ship with the expression in the title of *htmty-ntr m wi3wy ʕ3(wy)*, that both Ka-em-tjenenet and Iny hold,⁷³ Hezi's passage in question is interesting for it can provide a renewed interpretation for a series of expressions currently acknowledged with other readings. In the inscription of Ptahshepses, as well as in that of Sabu Ibebi,⁷⁴ we find a passage very similar to that of Hezi: *šps(i) hr nzwt r b3k nb h3f r dpt nb stp(i) z3 ʕk.f hr w3wt*. It is generally rendered by

splitting the expression  in a locative complement *r dpt nb* and a verbal form *stp(i) z3*, with a resulting "... one more valuable in the sight of the king than any servant, he embarked on every boat, he did guard duty, he entered upon the ways ...".⁷⁵ However, if we maintain

the unity of the writing,  we obtain a *h3f r wi3 nb stp-z3* with a rather more fitting meaning of "... he embarked on every boat of the court when he ...". The change is slight, but we may reasonably expect to see an official valuing more his being privileged by the king on board every boat of the court where the king was embarked with him, rather than hid being embarked on generic vessels, while providing a not otherwise specified protection to an

⁷⁰ Roccati 2007, 137; 139; see also Goelet 1986, 85–98.

⁷¹ On other Old Kingdom court vessels see, e.g., Daoud 2008, 65–66 (*k3k3w*-boats); Galán 2000, 145–146 (*kz*-ships).

⁷² Urk. I 184, 1, 12; Schott 1977, 449–451; 461c, fig. 5; Serrano Delgado 2005.

⁷³ See also the title of *imy-r ʔw-ʕ n wi3 ʕ3* (Jones, 274, no. 987). For a further attestation of the title not listed by Jones, see Bresciani 1995, 19–21.

⁷⁴ Respectively, Urk. I, 52, 5–8; and Urk. I 81, 5–10; 83, 8–11 ("... entering (lit. descending) into every sacred bark, escorting the king ...", transl. after Doret 1986, 33, ex. 26, n. 243).

unexpressed addressee only on the occasion of the entering of the king in the southern Palace at the festivals of appearances. In this sense, the expression *wi3 nb stp-z3* could be understood as an earlier version, or a variant, of the construct state *wi3 3 stp-z3*, with the invariable adjective *nb* in place of the qualitative 3 (Edel 1955–1964, 135–136, §321).

Further support to such an interpretation could be seen also in the title of “overseer of the bark Neb-setep-sa” reported by Jones in the protocol of Akhi (G7819) from Giza (Jones 2000, 83–84, no. 359). Jones apparently splits the title, translating it as the name of a boat. However its correct reading would appear more properly rendered as *wi3 nb stp-z3* “every ship of the court”. The expression occurs indeed as part of the longer title *imy-r w3bw n tpw wi3 nbw m wi3 nb stp-z3* “overseer of the priests of the foremost bark(s) of gold (?) amongst all the bark(s) of the *stp-z3*”;⁷⁶ where *wi3 nb stp-z3* would be the group of ships to which the *tpw wi3 nbw* “foremost bark(s) of gold” belonged.

d) *hsbd* The term was already briefly addressed previously.⁷⁷ As for the following items and the aforementioned silver in column (x+6), the evidence provided by the new fragments makes of this attestation the oldest instance where a precise Levantine provenance for lapis lazuli is stated explicitly. As pointed out, Byblos appears here to be officially a seaport where different materials were conveyed to Egypt together with it. Old Kingdom occurrences of the term indicating lapis lazuli are relatively frequent, being found both in the royal and in the private spheres.⁷⁸ Iny’s mention strengthens the supposition that the Lebanese port served as hub between Egypt and the Near Eastern commercial networks that reached regions as far as Afghanistan. Actually, this mention could also reinforce the assumption of direct contacts among Byblos and some Syrian cities such as Ebla or Mari which apparently concentrated the trade of this semi-precious stone as well as that of silver.⁷⁹

e) *dht(i)* As previously pointed out (Marcolin 2006, 296–7), identification of the word either as tin and/or lead is unresolved. A Levantine provenance for

⁷⁵ Trans. after Strudwick 2005, 304 (to note the improper rendering “he did guard duty” for *stp(.i)* vs. Goelet 1986, 88: “... I selected a protection when he (scil. the king) entered upon the roads ...”).

⁷⁶ Jones 2000, 86–87, no. 369. A picture of the inscription can be seen in the data related to tomb G7819 at <http://www.gizapyramids.org> (accessed at 22/02/2011).

⁷⁷ Marcolin 2006, 296. On the lexicography, cf. Harris 1961, 124–129; 148; 232. See also Casanova 2000, 169–90; Moorey 1999, 175–88; Casanova 1999, 175–88.

⁷⁸ Hannig 2003, 979 {24336}

⁷⁹ Sowada 2009, 183–185, with further bibliography. Concerning the trade routes of lapis lazuli that could have put in relation – most likely indirect – Egypt and Ebla, see also the Biga 2010, 33–7. To this regard, worth-mentioning is the presence at Tell Afis of fragments of an Egyptian Old Kingdom gneiss anorthositic vase found in EBA IV context, but neglected by many researchers; see Scandone Matthiae 1995, 257–258, pl. 13, fig. 13.

both materials is, in any case, plausible. Tin could be here a better candidate since, despite of some possible tin sources in the Egyptian Eastern Desert (Ogden 2000, 170–1), quantities of this metal came surely from Anatolia (Moorey 1994, 299–300) as some Middle Kingdom references to *dhty*-imports from Levant suggest.⁸⁰ On the contrary, lead, also with known sources in Anatolia (Moorey 1994, 293) may have been easily obtainable from the Eastern Desert deposits of related minerals (Ogden 2000, 168–9).

(x+9) *hḏ zft inw nb nfr mr.n k3.f hz.t.(i) hr.s m stp-z3*

a) *hḏ* The reference to silver in connection with Byblos – here and in column (x+6) – provides decisive epigraphic evidence for solving the debated issue of the origin of this metal in this period. It represents an important confirmation of the validity of the results of the analysis of Middle Kingdom silver objects from the ‘Tod treasure’ (Menu 1994), establishing not only a likely foreign nature of the silver employed in their manufacture, but also its likely provenance from Greek or south Anatolian mining facilities.⁸¹ The extension of this picture also to the Sixth Dynasty – and most likely to even earlier dates, since, as said, the expeditions of Iny do not appear to be occasional events – is not properly unexpected. Anatolian and northern Syrian regions, rich in metalliferous deposits, are long known to have been at the forefront of the development of metal technologies and of the exploitation of the resources connected with them, including those of silver (Weeks 2004, 166–9). On the other hand, silver is known to have been comparatively rare in Egypt until relatively advanced age, where it figures frequently in lists of tributes from ‘Asia’ (Harris 1961, 42). To the epigraphic silence registered for this period contributes perhaps also the fact that the word indicating it, *hḏ*,⁸² differently from lapis lazuli or other materials, is known only from the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty, from which, in the course of the Fifth Dynasty, it further differentiates, achieving the current canonical form (Harris 1961, 41). In consideration of this situation, the presence of significant amounts of silver objects in the early archaeological contexts of Byblos, has already led scholars to conceive the possibility of a Levantine provenance for part of the silver employed in this period in Egypt (Prag 1978, 36–45; *id.* 1986; Gale and Stoss-Gale 1981, 113–4). Nonetheless, on account also of a limited number of isotopic analysis from the few objects available (*Ibid.*, 113–4), the

⁸⁰ Moorey 1994, 297, n. 83; see also Sowada 2009, 187–188. To the data on *dhty* provided in Marcolin 2006, 296–297 it is necessary to add the Middle Kingdom block Cairo CG 57187 (Müller 1906, pl. 1) depicting men (foreigners?) carrying several items that includes also some *dhty*-ingots.

⁸¹ On the likely origin of the treasure from Syria as a gift from a local leader, see Maxwell-Hyslop 1995.

⁸² Hannig 2003, 916 {22438}.

leading tendency has been that of seeing also Old Kingdom silver – as already earlier Egypt's attestations – as originating from the auriferous silver deposits of Egyptian and Lower Nubia gold mines or, in the case of consistent residual percentages of lead, from the cerussite and galena ores of the Egyptians and Eastern Desert deposits.⁸³

Iny's mention, as stated above, appears therefore, particularly important not only in relation to the origin of one of the most valued resources during the whole Egyptian history, but also in the broader context of the connections of Egypt with Anatolia, Afghanistan and North Syrian inland regions.

c) *zft* The writing here attested presents as initial phoneme a sibilant fricative voiced *z* instead of the usual fricative voiceless *s*. Instances of exchanges of the two phonemes are reported by Edel to originate comparatively early, while Loprieno tends to attribute the equation */z/ = /s/* closer to the beginning of the First Intermediate Period (Edel 1955–64, 51, § 116; Loprieno 1995, 34).

Of the oils and resins that in ancient Egypt were employed for mummification, ritual offering, and ointment, *zft*-oil, together with *ʕs*-oil, appears to have been one of the most valued.⁸⁴ It figures constantly listed among the so-called seven sacred oils and it is extensively mentioned in Old Kingdom offering lists as well as in tomb and object decorations (Barta 1963, 48,55–6, 73). The nature of the oil, as a product obtained by the resins of coniferous trees growing on the Levantine coasts, has been sufficiently addressed by different scholars, despite complete agreement on the typology of the three employed and on the chemistry of the resinous substances constituting it, has not yet been reached.⁸⁵ Its connection with the Levantine region – with Byblos in particular – has so far been provided fundamentally by its quoting in the mentioned *Dialogue of Ipuwer*.⁸⁶ Also the roughly coeval inscription of Djaw from Deir el-Gebrawi appears to relate it – even if less directly – to the Levant by associating it with the “wood from Khenty-she” of his coffin and other products for his burial. Relevant in Djaw's text is the fact that the oil originates from the treasury of the Palace, revealing its character of royal monopoly and, consequently, its high symbolic and economic value (Urk. I, 146, 11). Also a further and quite late mention of *zft*-oil coming from Byblos is

⁸³ Ogden 2000, 170–1. See also Sowada 2009, 188–90.

⁸⁴ Koura 1999, 177–180. See also Sowada 2009, 198–200.

⁸⁵ Lucas & Harris 1989, 319–20; Serpico 2000, 430–74; on a recent approach, with further bibliography, to the *ʕs*-oil and wood, with references to *sft*-oil, see Bardinot 2008, 23–57; 62, n. 296.

⁸⁶ *Pap. Leiden* 344r, 3, 8. See also Enmarch 2004, 27; *id.* 2008, 87–89. To note that Sowada (Sowada 2008, 199) quotes *Pap. Leiden* 344r, 3, 8 mentioning *ʕs*-oil in connection with Byblos, while it is *sft*-oil. To the attribution to Byblos of jars containing what was believed to be the remains of *ʕs*-oil or *zft*-oil, see also Esse and Hopke 1986, 334, ch. 6; Sowada 2009, 199.

reported in the *Balsamierungsritual*: "(...) to you will come the *sfy*-resinous substance which has come forth from Djahi, the beautiful resin which has come forth from Byblos. They will make your mummification perfect in the god's domain (...)"⁸⁷

The attestation provided by Iny's inscription, far from belonging to an ideologically charged literary text or to an epigraphic context not contemporary with the content referred – and therefore susceptible of doubts – appears to perfectly epitomize the nature of *sft/zft*-oil as a product of royal trade monopoly whose supply to Egypt in this period was guaranteed for sure by the city of Byblos.

(x+10) *rđi.t n(i) nbw iw(i) h3.k(i) r kbn m r(3)-h3t iw(i) ii.k(i)*

a) *iw(i) h3.k(i) r kbn m r(3)-h3t iw(i) ii.k(i)* The structure of the passage recalls the inscription of Khnumhotep at Qubbet el-Hawa. There, however, *pr(i)* replaces *h3(i)* with no indication of the point of departure (Urk. 140, 17–141, 2).

b) *r(3)-h3t* The recomposition confirms this toponym as a settlement in Egypt (Marcolin 2006, 298). It can now be assumed that this unattested city was located close to the Egyptian coast or, more precisely, in the Nile Delta, since it evidently served as point of departure/re-entry for the expedition dispatched by Merenre to Byblos. The toponym *r(3)-h3wt* "mouth of a river" is the singular form of the expression *r(3)w-h3wt*.⁸⁸ It comprises two significant references to the Nile estuary: *r(3)* "river mouth";⁸⁹ and *h3t* "(river) branch",⁹⁰ being translated as "the mouth of the river branch". Having in mind other subsequent harbours placed on the Nile branches such as Tell ed-Daba (Avaris)⁹¹ or, much later, Naukratis,⁹² a location of this city in other inland regions of the Delta seem plausible. In this sense, several alternatives come to mind, such as the region of Athribis⁹³ or Mendes.⁹⁴ An eastern location, possibly in the Delta, would certainly appear the most suited candidate. Considering later developments, the

⁸⁷ *Pap. Boulaq* 3, 3/1–2; Sauneron 1952, pl. 6; trans., with minor changes, after Smith 2009, 228.

⁸⁸ Wb. II 398, 2. The expression is just attested from the New Kingdom.

⁸⁹ Wb. II 391, 1; Hannig 2003, 695 {17397}, {17399}. Zibelius 1978, 135–144 records at least ten Old Kingdom toponyms including this term where the meaning 'entrance' or 'mouth' is clear.

⁹⁰ Wb. III 24, 15; there are no attestations during the Old Kingdom. For a Middle Kingdom example, see Gallo and Abd el-Fattah 2002, 15–16.

⁹¹ On the identification of Tell ed-Daba with Perw Nefer, see Bietak 2009, 16–17, with further bibliography.

⁹² On Naukratis see, e.g., Möller 2001, with further bibliography.

⁹³ Scandone-Matthiae 1990, who suggests a possible connection between the city and Byblos in the Middle Kingdom.

⁹⁴ Redford 2010, 173, stresses the important role of Mendes harbour during the Late Period.

area surrounding Avaris could have been a good departure place for Iny's expedition. Not incidentally, Bietak has recently suggested that the neighbouring site of Tell Ibrahim Awad could have played during the Old Kingdom the same role as later Avaris (Bietak 2010, 67–8).

(x+11) *im m ḥtp n zp ir.t mrt(y)t in imy-r mš^c nb h3b.n ntr nb ḏr-b3ḥ*

a) *n zp ir.t mrt(y)t in imy-r mš^c* Curiously, there is a discrepancy between the title *imy-r mš^c*, “commander” or “expedition leader” mentioned here (Jones 2000, 142, no. 551), and the lesser rank offices held by Iny. In fact, none of the blocks coming from his tomb mentions that title. Despite it is not possible to ascertain his rank or function in relation to this specific expedition⁹⁵ as well as it can not be denied that further fragments will provide attestations of it, it would appear here that also Iny, on the similitude with Weni,⁹⁶ tried to stress his own value by claiming he was as skilled and able as any other officials holding the title of commander. We could certainly accept the idea that he could have led some of his expeditions as a sealbearer of the god, as is suggested in column (x+5). However, according to the evidence compiled by Kuraszkiewicz (2006, 200, n. 23), there are just three attestations dating to the Middle Kingdom of individuals holding this title and commanding royal missions. In this respect, therefore, the comparison in col. (x+2) with the esteemed figure of Werdjedeba, possibly a role model of successful sealbearer – supposedly more skilled than any other commander – would seem to support this claim.⁹⁷

b) *h3b.n ntr nb ḏr-b3ḥ* The fragmentary verb at the beginning of the column is now confirmed as a form of *h3b* (Marcolin 2006, 298). The allusion to the king as *ntr* “god” in this expression reconnects probably with the same *ntr.f* in the epithet *inn ḥrt h3swt n ntr.f* that we find in the following column. The expression *ntr* itself, originally thought to represent the dead king (Goedicke 1960, 42; 57–62; *id.* 1986, 57–62), has recently been reconsidered by Windus-Staginsky (2006, 81– 124) in the broader frame of the royal terminology and is now believed to have indicated both the divine aspect of the living as well as that of the dead king, depending on the nature of the narrative context.⁹⁸ Yet, rather than Windus-Staginsky’s analysis, it is now the recomposed inscription itself that reveals the inadequacy of the previous suggestion of “dead and deified kings” for the *ntr nb* in question. Indeed, whether the intention of Iny was that of referring simply to the missions that Merenre sent to Byblos – while the latter evidently was alive – or to all the expeditions that even past kings sent,

⁹⁵ See comment (5) b) of the second recomposition.

⁹⁶ This official underlined several times his lower status in his biography, see Urk. I 101, 3–4; 102, 9–10.

⁹⁷ On the possibility of an attempt of making up the high status of the owner, by pointing out an humble origin, see Kanawati 2009 about Weni.

⁹⁸ On the perched falcon as determinative of *ntr*, see also Shalomi-Hen 2006, 18–23.

the effect he obtained was again paramount: his virtues transcended the living and the dead.

(x+12) *im3hw hr ntr ʕ3 nb imnt smr wʕt(y) hr(y)-hb htmty-ntr m wi3wy ʕ3(wy)*

a) *im3hw hr ntr ʕ3 nb imnt smr wʕt(y)* The new fragment supplements an epithet and a further attestation of the title of “sole friend” for the incomplete protocol of the ‘large’ fragment. The title of *smr wʕt(y)* does not surprise, since together with those of *hr(y)-hb* and *htmty-ntr [m wi3wy ʕ3(wy)]*, is one of the most repeated ones in Iny’s decorations. The occurrence of the epithet *im3hw hr ntr ʕ3 nb imnt* (Jones 2000, 31 no. 145) is instead interesting because it also appears on the decorated architrave of Iny⁹⁹. Fragmentary and inconclusive as it can be as evidence, it is certainly a further detail that could allude to a contemporaneous realization of the two texts during the services of Iny under Pepy II.

(x+13) [*in*]n *hrt h3swt n ntr.f Iny*

a) [*in*]n *hrt h3swt n ntr.f* Despite the abrasions around the upper right corner of the block and all along its right hand-side, the restoration of the texts is relatively sure. It returns a variation of a series of known epithets based on the expression *inn hrt h3swt*, which are met by other Sixth Dynasty expedition leaders such as Harkhuf.¹⁰⁰ It clearly relates Iny to activities abroad and more precisely to the bringing of foreign products to the court. The expression *ntr.f* does not occur often within epithets¹⁰¹ and here in particular it represents a complete novelty, since previously known instances display preferentially the compound *nb.f* or *nzwf* as an indication for the king (Jones 2000, 306–7, no. 1116). As noted above, the expression *ntr* may have referred to both the divine manifestations of the living or the dead king (Windus–Staginsky 2006, 81–124). Which of the two was implied here, is difficult to say; but that Iny brought his three masters their desired products while they were alive, is unquestionable.

On account of the compound *inn hrt*, the epithet appears also in relation with another one held by Iny and recorded in relief Barcelona E-445: [*inn*] *hkrf [n]zwt m h3st nb mrr nb.f*, “who brings king’s precious things which his lord desires from all the foreign lands”.¹⁰²

As in the final columns of the second recomposition, it appears evident also here that the lapicide tried to distribute the relatively short text on the surface, in order to occupy as much space as possible. This fact is visible

⁹⁹ Tokyo, MECC, no. 10617–(1) = Marcolin 2006, 284, 285–9.

¹⁰⁰ Jones 2000, 306, no. 1116; see also Fischer 1996, 21, n. 53; Edel 2008, 1509; 1532, fig. 7; for similar epitheta see *ibid.*, 306–307, nos. 1115, 1117–1118.

¹⁰¹ For another attestation in the title *hry-sš3 n ntr.f*, held by different individuals during the Old Kingdom, see Jones 2000, 632–633, no. 2316.

¹⁰² For several variants carried by some Sixth Dynasty officials, see Jones 2000, 306–307, nos. 1115, 1117–1118.

particularly in the greater size of the signs corresponding to Iny's name and in the blank at the end of the column.

Second recomposition: the 'minor' biography of Iny (fig. 5; pl. 40)

The second recomposition comprises the above-introduced *Royal-Athena* fragment and the 'minor' fragment of Iny, representing respectively the lower and the upper part of the assembly. Also in this case the pieces join with each other almost perfectly, without any relevant loss of information. Only one instance of doubtful integration is given on column (7), where the loss of part of the lithic support casts some doubts on the number and entity of the signs originally used in the spelling of an expression, which in any case remains understandable. On the left hand-side, the entity of the missing part of the *Royal-Athena* fragment is certain: it can not be larger than the width of the upper fragment. The lacuna corresponds indeed to a space apt to contain the lower half of column (1) and the missing part of the standing representation of the owner. The figure belongs to a well-known iconography and poses no problem for the integration; the missing text, instead, belongs to the realm of speculation.

Despite the assemblage remains fragmentary, the structure of its decoration can be considered complete. It clearly falls within the patterns frequently found on walls in correspondence of entrances, passages, thicknesses, and pillars, in which the owner is depicted as a corpulent man standing, being often surmounted by columns of text that describe his status or part of his deeds. A distinctive feature of this iconography seems to be its relation with accesses or interfaces between rooms or volumes in the tomb. And that seems to be the case also for the decorative unit in question. The already pointed out remains of the terminal part of an offering list on the short left hand-side surface of the 'minor' fragment of Iny (Marcolin 2006, 299–304), clearly testify to its belonging to a larger decorated surface that formed an angle with that of this recomposition. What was the nature of the space this surface was facing, is not yet easy to grasp, but the relation of the surface itself with other parts of the decorations of Iny's tomb chapel has now become clearer. Remains of an offering list with *ductus* analogous to that of the 'minor' fragment are indeed to be found on the relief fragment E561 of the *Museu Egipci de Barcelona*, which was already attributed to Iny (*Ibid.* 309–10). And another fragment of offering list with same *ductus* and remains of representations of food offerings, which perfectly match those on E561, has recently also been discovered by the authors on another relief fragment sold by *Sotheby's* in 1991.¹⁰³ The current whereabouts and details of this block are still unknown and confirmations are

¹⁰³ Sotheby's (London) 1991, 81–82, no. 156 = Sotheby's (London) 1990, 230–231, no. 407 (no precise provenance stated in both cases).



Fig. 5 Recomposition 2: The minor biographic inscription.

awaiting, but it would appear that its partial offering list not only fits that of fragment E561, but it fits also that on the side of the ‘minor’ fragment in Tokyo, revealing that the latter was indeed part of E561’s decoration and making at all effects of this new piece the missing physical link between the Spanish and Japanese relief fragments of Iny.

In general, the complex resulting by the assembly of these blocks corresponds to a decorative unit measuring approximately 106–7 cm of height and 48–50 cm of width. To these numbers at least another 10–12 cm have to be accounted for, at the bottom, to fit the missing feet of the representation of the owner. Accordingly, the hypothetical minimum dimensions of the resulting decorative unit – which certainly did not represent the full height of the wall – would correspond to 113–115 cm for the height and 49–50 (+/– 6.5) cm for the width.

Text. Transliteration, translation and commentary:

(1) [s]mr w^cty hry-hb htmty-ntr m wi3wy ʕ3(wy) i[ny] [...] (2) iw h3b.n w(i) hm n Nfr-k3-r^c nb(.i) r h[nt-š] (3) iw in.n(.i) kbnt 1 imww 3tp (4) hr hq ʕmw ʕmwt hz w(i) (5) hm n nb(.i) st3.t(.i) r hnw-^c nd.t n(.i) smr w^ct(y) hr(y)-hb htmty-ntr (6) [w]n(.i) hms(.i) r wnm m stp-z3 sk wr st-ib nt hm.f (7) [r] m33 wnm[(.i) ? r] mrt(y.i) nb

(1) [S]ole friend, lector priest, sealbearer of the god in the two big ships, T[ny] [...] (2) The majesty of Neferkare, my lord, sent me to Khenty-She. (3) I brought (back) one Byblos-ship and several cargo-ships loaded (4) with silver, Aamu-men and Aamu-women. Praised me (5) the majesty of my lord. I was ushered to the inner residence and (the title of) sole friend, lector priest and sealbearer of the god were conferred on me. (6) I used to sit for eating the meal at court, being the preference of his majesty (7) [for] watching me eating [...] bigger [than] for any other like me.

(1) [s]mr w^cty hry-hb htmty-ntr m wi3wy ʕ3(wy) i[n] [...]]

a) htmty-ntr m wi3wy ʕ3(wy) i[ny] [...] The first column of text remains fragmentary and the relative integration can be proposed only on a speculative basis. The initial chain of the three most frequently repeated titles of Iny, together with the iw sdm.f sentence occupying column (2), suggest the presence of the name of the owner in between, in an expression that should have included a *ddf*.¹⁰⁴




(2) iw h3b.n w(i) hm n Nfr-k3-r^c nb(.i) r h[nt-š]

a) Nfr-k3-r^c nb(.i) The restoration of *nb(.i)* is certain: on the ‘minor’ fragment, at the bottom of column (2), the upper horizontal line of a *nb* sign is still preserved. Analogously, on the *Royal-Athena* fragment, in the upper right



¹⁰⁴ Marcolin 2006, 302. On the introductory *ddf*, see Kloth 2002, 52–54.


corner of column (1), the remains of the tail of the perched royal falcon can still be detected. To this, it could be added that the passage repeats the same grouping pattern *hm n + royal cartuche + nb(.i)* attested in the first recomposition in reference to Pepy I and Merenre.¹⁰⁵

b) *hnt-š* The missing destination of the Levantine expedition commissioned to Iny by Pepy II on the ‘minor’ fragment, is now finally visible: a further attestation of the toponym for Lebanon. There can be little doubt about the identification of the remains of the signs on the right side of the column with



the phonograms  *hnt* (W18) and  *š* (N37) of the term in question. A space of about a half-square size is discernible between the phonogram *š* and the determinative for foreign countries  (N25), but no trace of other sign is left. Integrating the presence of an ideogrammatic stroke (Z1), seems appropriate:¹⁰⁶ not only the toponym occurs with the same writing in the first reconstruction, but the same kind products are brought back to Egypt from there.

(3) *iw in.n(.i) kbnt 1 imww 3tp*

a) *kbnt 1 imww*. As previously pointed out (Marcolin 2006, 301–2), two different naval units appear to have been employed in this expedition, *kbnt*-ships and *imw*-ships. The mention of the latter, in particular, would be the oldest attestation documented so far.¹⁰⁷ The distinction evidently marked a significant functional or structural difference between the vessels that were conveyed not only by two different designations, but most likely also by two distinct determinatives, of which one was missing. And the new fragment precisely confirms that. Yet, we are faced with a novelty: the semagram employed to specify the *imw*-ships is not the traditional  (P1) or 

(P30), but the not otherwise known barge-like representation . Peculiar feature in it is the apparent lack of the hull. Directly atop of what in standard ship determinatives represents the body of water of the river or the sea, we find a representation of a container-like structure. On its surface, a grid of vertical and horizontal lines, perhaps in guise of poles and securing ropes, is depicted. No known contemporary pictograph or representation seems to be offered for a reliable comparison as a whole. Parts of the grid certainly recall single details of the superstructure of later small transport river boats, but the nature of the depiction as well as the generic indication often implied by the

¹⁰⁵ On this kind of formula, see Windus-Staginsky 2006, 202–203.

¹⁰⁶ See, e.g., Fischer 1968, 226. The other known possibility, Z1 + N21/N23 (|  / | ), is attested only from later times (Kanawati 1987, 7–8, fig. 1b).

¹⁰⁷ Jones 1988, 129, no. 1. His attestation in Urk. I 130, 8 seems to be a misreading of *gs.wy (wi3/dpt)*.

term *imw* suggest caution concerning speculations based on them. At any rate, the involvement of these vessels in a context of cargo or transport of goods in large quantities seems to be clearly expressed not only by the precedence they give in the writing to the Byblos-ship, but particularly their plural number, certainly required for the conveyance of people and goods. To this regard, it must be noted that there is no way to ascertain whether the triple repetition of the determinative that accompanies the *-w* suffix of the plural was meant to represent multiple ships or simply the numeral “3”. The quantity of Byblos-ships appears to be precisely specified: one single numeral stroke. We may expect that, if precision was required also for the *imw*-ships, a repetition of three or more strokes would have been employed.

The presence of Byblos-ships in relation with Lebanon and not directly with Byblos is certainly not surprising. As mentioned above, the goods imported were not exclusive of that city, and more importantly, Byblos-ships were not exclusively connected to expeditions to that Lebanese port. In any case, it can not be ruled out the possibility that a stop-over in Byblos may indeed have been implied here, since the term *hnt-š* itself could well have represented a geographic hyperonym containing in its indication of the Levantine region also more specific realities such as Byblos and other individual cities and their hinterlands. That could be particularly consistent with the picture of a generalized ‘Levantine’ provenance of the typically ‘oriental’ goods often attested in Old Kingdom and later textual sources and archaeological records (Sowada 2009, 179–182; 183–207).

(4) *hr hđ ʕmw ʕmwt hz w(i)*

a) *hr hđ ʕmw ʕmwt*. The intuition of a relation of the ships of column (3) with the goods of column (4) by means of a preposition *ʕtp* is now confirmed (Marcolin 2006, 302). *hr* instead of *m* introduces here to the goods the ships were loaded with (*Ibid.*, 302, note 108; Labrousse and Moussa 2002, 140–141, figs. 28–30). Also the nature of the mission and of the presence of the *ʕmw*-people on board Egyptian ships appears now clearer. The conveyance to Egypt of people from *hnty-š* takes place in what appears to be a full-fledged commercial expedition. No reference whatsoever exists to retaliations or military campaigns, as the result of which the ‘Asiatics’ on board may have to be intended as prisoners. This is a fact that undoubtedly adds up detail on the dynamics of relations of Sixth Dynasty Egypt with the so-called *ʕmw*-people. Indeed, whether as dwellers of the sands or sedentarily organized, contemporary sources tend to portray them constantly as a perturbing element; a menace to Egyptian activities in Sinai or Palestine.¹⁰⁸ And consequently a target of military campaigns and securing actions, as result of which those of them not

¹⁰⁸ Urk. I 101, 9–16; 134, 13–17, 4. See also Schulman 1979, 88–101; Schneider 1998, 5–7.

slain or repelled ended up as captives in Egypt (Urk. I 104, 3–4). Yet, the picture was certainly more articulated. Together with the earlier representations of the reliefs from the funerary complexes of Sahure and Unis previously mentioned (Marcolin 2006, 302–3), a number of other iconographic and textual sources also attest the arrival, presence and integration of foreigners in Egypt: 70 women are indirectly reported to have arrived during the time of Userkaf (Altenmüller 1995; Baud and Dobrev 1995, 33, note f; 83, fig. 20); during the Sixth Dynasty, together with Nubians, also Libyans are said to be present at court (Hassan 1975, 60–61, 2b, pl. 51; Fischer 1979, 179); while at Giza, courtiers most likely native of Byblos and the land of Tapa were buried in mastabas.¹⁰⁹

It can not be denied that this attestation may represent a single tile of a political puzzle characterized by an increasing violence and instability that regarded particularly the ‘Asiatic’ area. The biographies of Weni and Pepynakht, as well as the possible account of the Saqqara stone (Baud and Dobrev, 1997, 36–38, 40, fig. 3; 41, photo 2), are certainly explicit about it. Archaeological evidence from the Egyptian fortress at Tell Ras Budran, in Sinai, may also confirm these unstable conditions during the end of the Sixth Dynasty (Mumford 2006, 59; Parcak 2010, 364). But these conflicts could also have been located in well determined and limited regions (i.e. eastern Sinai), allowing usual commercial expeditions to pass through or to simply by-pass them. Byblos in this period appears to be a rather firm partner of Egypt. And yet its name does not figure as a destination of Iny’s voyage. In the first recomposition, Iny’s stress on the fact he “...came back safely. Never was the like done by any expedition leader that any god sent formerly...” could certainly belong to the literary *topoi* repertoire, but it could also reflect rising risks in approaching far and troubled regions. Be that as it may, the passage in question seems to qualify as a forerunner of the later explicit mentions of the conveyance to Egypt of ‘Asiatic’ foreigners (Larkman 2007) or, perhaps, as the missing link in a tradition of interrelation that goes back to the time of Sahure or earlier.

(5) *ḥm n nb(.i) st̄3.t(.i) r ḥnw-^c nd.t n(.i) smr w^ct(y) ḥr(y)-ḥb ḥtmty-ntr*

a) *ḥnw-^c* Interesting is the reference here to the introduction at the court with the expression *ḥnw-^c* rather than *ḥnw*, as in the first recomposition, since the former appears to represent the innermost and intimate part of the royal residence (Kloth 2002, 158; Dorman 2002, 101; Andrassy 2008, 26–32). It is a location that rather evidently placed the owner close enough to the king to make for him possible attending court meals on what appears to have been a regular basis.

b) *nd.t n(.i) smr w^ct(y) ḥr(y)-ḥb ḥtmty-ntr* As expected (Marcolin 2006, 303), after the *nd.t n(.i)* at the end of column (5) of the ‘minor’ fragment, we now find a list

¹⁰⁹ Fischer 1991: 63, n. 15. For further references, see also Sowada 2009, 200–202.

of the titles that were bestowed to Iny on the occasion of his introduction at court. The episode is opened by an indicative passive *nd.t n(.i)* which can be paralleled with an example attested *à la lettre* in the roughly coeval biographic text of Tjetji from el-Hawawish (McFarlane 1987; Ziegler 1999). Texts reporting promotions and episodes of attribution of titles seem to be exclusive to the Sixth Dynasty (Kloth 2002, 136–7) including a curious example of posthumous appointment (*Urk.* I 137, 17–138, 1). The titles conferred to Iny coincide with those most frequently found in his inscriptions: “sole friend”, “lector priest”, and “sealbearer of the god”.¹¹⁰ They are all well known and do not need further addressing.

The appearance of the title of *hmty-ntr m* among those bestowed to Iny upon his introduction comes as a confirmation of the complexity of the dynamics involving attribution, social value and real meaning of titles in this period. As a matter of fact, we know for certain that Iny held this office already at the time of Pepy I, when he took part to the four missions to the Levant. But evidently something happened in-between. Had he been still in possession of the duty, he would not have mentioned it here as received anew; likewise, he would not have mentioned it, if he did not hold it anymore. Accordingly, what the passage seems to suggest here is that the title of *hmty-ntr* did not indicate a position achieved once-and-forever, but it rather indicated an office that was time – or, possibly, task-limited; most likely authority-linked, i.e. strictly depending on the assumption of responsibility in front of a specific emitting authority. Such an interpretation would be particularly consistent with the nature and characteristics pointed out for the title by Kuraszkiewicz (2004, 201–2). As a commissioner and deputy of the king – or of the temple for him – the ‘bearer of the seal’ would have been in charge of it, conveying the authority it represented, only as long as the *contract* between him and the authority itself was active. Once the *contractor*, i.e. the king, left his place to his successor, or the related duties were considered over, the old *contractee*, i.e. the officer holding the title, would have been dismissed or reinstalled.¹¹¹ A new contract of legitimation – the bestowing of the title anew – may indeed have been the form of this reinstallation. In the specific case of Iny, his possession of the duty under Pepy I may have been restricted to the reign of that king, or to the mission (or missions) he described in the account. There is no way to understand the position of Iny under Merenre, but it is evident that during the mission in Lebanon of Pepy II, he was not in possession of that title.

In this sense, that something changed for Iny between the time of Pepy I and Merenre could perhaps be alluded also by the fact that, exactly starting

¹¹⁰ Respectively, Jones 2000, II 892 no. 3268; 781 no. 2848; 767 no. 2791; Kuraszkiewicz 2004, 193–202.

¹¹¹ Concerning the direct connection of the authority of officials with the king, see Baines 1990, 19.

from Merenre's expedition, the description of his missions are introduced by the form *iw h3b.n w(i)*, that, on account of a specific and personal addressing by the king to him, seems to convey a rather more personal and leading responsibility than the *ir.n(i)* of Pepy's mission. The roughly coeval and well-known example of *ir.n(i) + foreign countries* of Khnumhotep (Urk. I 141, 3), who was indeed not the leader of the reported mission, but a follower of his master, would seem to support that.

(6) [w]n(i) ḥms(i) r wnm̄t m stp-z3 sk wr st-ib nt ḥm.f

a) [w]n(i) ḥms(i) The restored compound verb form *wn.f sdm.f* (Doret 1986, 111–12) is confirmed by the information provided by the new fragment. A generic translation for *ḥms(i) r wnm̄t* as “to sit for eating the meal” has been preferred here to the initially suggested “sit at the meal” on the account of the implicit meaning of compounds forms of *ḥms* of “attending an activity sitting”.¹¹²

As previously pointed out, the thematic of attending meals at court or in the presence of the king, as well as the variation of ‘watching’ and ‘being watched’ is rather peculiar. It seems to involve particularly the concept of the foods of the court as expression of status and gratitude by the king, or as the privilege of a life under royal patronage.¹¹³ Examples for comparisons are virtually absent during the Old Kingdom, while sources of later date appear more eloquent.¹¹⁴ Among roughly coeval sources only one further likely instance from the fragmentary account of Neferirkare's vizier, Ptahwash seems useful for consideration. In a context otherwise difficult to specify, due to the fragmentary status of the inscription, we can glimpse that “... he (i.e. his majesty) sat down to eat [...] and he had given to him foodstuffs from everything which had been brought in the majesty of the court ...”.¹¹⁵ To note

¹¹² Marcolin 2005, 300; 304. See, e.g., *The Instruction Addressed to Kagemni* (Gardiner 1946, 73, pl. 14, 3, 8); *The Teaching of Ptahhetep* (*Pap. Prisse*, 6, 11 – 7, 3); the stela Cairo CG 20571 (Lange and Schäfer 1908, 209–211), which mentions the expression “...who issues instructions to the companions concerning the condition of being standing and sitting...”; *The Dramatic Ramesseum Papyrus* (Sethe 1928, 131, 248), where in contrast to “eating sitting” is mentioned “eating standing (*wmm ḥʿ*)”.

¹¹³ For a consideration of this thematic within a later date context, see Green 2004. For other references see, e.g., Frood 2007, 127, 208.

¹¹⁴ Marcolin 2006, 304; Green 2004 with further bibliography. To note, however, the possible iconographic antecedent kindly suggested to the authors by J. Baines in the new blocks from Sahure's causeway at Abusir, where some chiefs of artisans are depicted eating and drinking in the presence of the king, while he is attending the plantation of the ḥndw-trees brought from Punt in front of the royal family and the high officials, with musicians and singers accompanying the event. On the scene see el-Awady 2009, 176–177.

¹¹⁵ Borchardt 1964, pl. 70; Kloth 2002, 333, fig. 4d; Roccati 1982, 111, §81, line 7; transl. after Strudwick 2005, 320. For the action of sitting and eating during the Old Kingdom, see also Gardiner and Sethe 1928, 4, pls. 3–3a (no. 2, line 3).

that Ptahwash was brought to the palace and cured by explicit order of the king after suffering an injury during the building works of the king's funerary complex (Picardo 2010). The verb employed to express the sitting action is *hms*, while the notion of 'eating' is conveyed by a form of *wmm* with the round loaf of bread 𓄏 (X6) in place of the flower sign.

Some coeval biographic texts offer further references, although rather than involving descriptions of meals at court they deal with foods of the court granted as benefits or *status's* privileges. Hezi's biography records: "... (his majesty) had gifts prepared for me as is normally done for a chamberlain..." (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, 1999, pls. 52, 59; transl. after Strudwick 2005, 277). The term *3wt* "gifts" is clearly determined with a bread loaf and a beer vase and it seems better translated after Roccati as "meal" (Roccati 2007, 137). No presence of the king is alluded here, as may be expected in this kind of circumstance. Also Nekhebu's words are quite revealing: "... his majesty gave me *nub-ankh* amulets/items and bread and beer in large amount" (Urk. I 220, 9; 221, 3; transl. after Strudwick 2005, 266), specifying: "...his majesty had one of the division of the Residence come to me with it until they reached my gate...".

b) *sk wr st-ib nt hm.f* The new fragment provides now the reasons for Iny's special regard. The construction *sk + sdm.f* gives usually the clause a meaning of complementary information, which is considered relevant, if not, fundamental to the understanding of the main sentence (Doret 1986, 25, n. 105; 34, n. 260; Loprieno 1995, 100–1). Accordingly, it is usually translated as a gerund verb form. Here, however, the evident preference and regard bestowed to Iny, are certainly to be attributed to the desire of the king for him to be there in order to partake in the meal. Therefore a stronger causative meaning than that provided by the usual nuance of the gerund could be proposed for the construction: "...because the preference of his majesty (7) for watching me eating [...] was bigger ...". The expression *st-ib nt hm.f r m33* recalls the almost identical and contemporary words of Pepy's II concerning his desire to see the *dng*-dwarf brought back by Harkhuf from Yam: "... all because of the joy in the heart of my majesty at the sight (*hft st-ib nt hm(.i) r m33*) of this *dng*-dwarf" (Urk. I 131, 3; transl. Strudwick 2005, 333).

(7) *[r] m33 wmm(.i) ? r] mrt(y.i) nb*

a) *[r] m33* The restoration of the initial lacuna with the preposition *r* follows the aforementioned example of Harkhuf's biography. Both in Iny and Harkhuf's examples *st-ib* is connected with the cause of joy or satisfaction (to watch something) by means of that preposition.¹¹⁶

b) *wmm(.i) ? r] mrt(y.i) nb* A reliable restoration of the missing text is problematic. The fracture and the consequent erosion of the lower right corner

¹¹⁶ See also Urk. I 59, 16; 60, 11.

of the 'minor' fragment have left a blank that clearly corresponds to more than one character. The passage is evidently related with the previous circumstantial sentence, of which indeed it represents the final clause of a comparison. Yet nothing more than the preposition *r* introducing the term of comparison can be restored with certainty before *mrt(y.i) nb*. At the end of the 'minor' fragment a bread semagram Θ / \emptyset (X2/X3) would appear the likely completion for the fragmentary *wmm.(i)*, on account of the analogous attestation on column (6). Nonetheless, the irregular usage of the space in the text could also fit different solutions. To note also that a magnification of the upper left area of the *Royal-Athena* fragment would seem to reveal also the possibility of an error and a relative correction by the lapicide involving the *mrt(y.i)* sign at the beginning of the column.¹¹⁷ But unless a visual exam of the fragment becomes possible, no conclusion can be drawn concerning that.

Conclusion

Reasons of space and time, together with the desire to provide as quickly as possible a reliable working copy of this new epigraphic sources, have suggested the authors to privilege in this paper the addressing of only the major linguistic and interpretative issues connected with the texts. No reference to stylistic or artistic details has been proposed as well as no systematic interpretation of the new acquired data in relation to the overall amount of information offered by the published and the yet unpublished evidence of Iny, has been attempted here. The puzzle is still *in fieri* and future occasions for that and for the detailed consideration of the various implication brought by these new documents, will hopefully be given in the near future.

What can be said here as a 'temporary' conclusion is that, as a whole, the recomposition of the biographic inscriptions of Iny provides a new and extremely illustrative example of self presentation by an élite member, underlining his experiences in foreign lands and in the dynamics of the relation with the inner spheres of the royal court. More importantly, these texts provide precious information on the contacts between Egypt and the Levant during the Sixth Dynasty, confirming many aspects of the Egyptian activities in the area that were previously known or theorized mostly on the basis of iconographic and archaeological evidence only (Sowada 2009). In this sense Iny's inscriptions form part of a series of ever-increasing and illuminating Old and Middle Kingdom data on the Egyptian involvements in foreign contexts, which have been coming to light anew in recent years.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ The discernible remaining signs would seem to correspond to a perched falcon (G7).

¹¹⁸ The list of discoveries is substantial; see, e.g., Edel 2008, 1743–1758; Allen 2008; Awady 2009; Tallet 2006; *id.* 2010; Bard and Fattovich 2007.

Iny's texts, yet to be completed, provide an important amount of information and answers. They, conversely, raise new questions that will hopefully be addressed and answered by scholars' contributions as well as new discoveries in the next years.

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Plate 1 Mask of Senu after conservation.



Plate 2 Small mound on the entrance of Shaft 65, after partly removed.

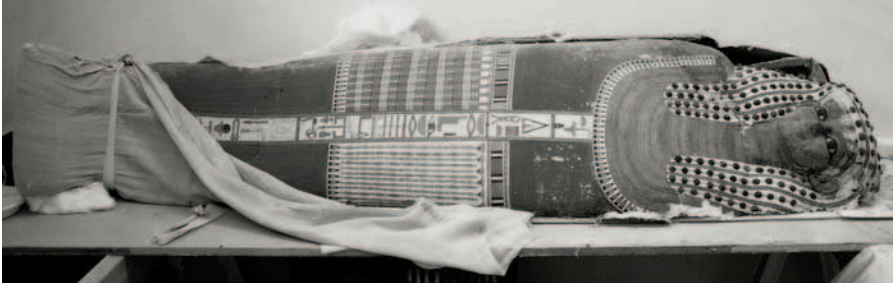


Plate 3 Inner coffin of Sobekhat.



Plate 4 General view of the relief depicted on (SC/north/2004/12), and (SC/north/2004/12/A1). (M. Frouz)



Plate 5 Details from the scene depicted on (SC/north/2004/12). (M. Frouz)



Plate 6 Groups of King Sahure's officials depicted on (SC/north/2004/12), and (SC/north/2004/12/A1). (M. Frouz)



**Plate 7 Hesi false-door
in the right side-wall of the
entrance-portico. (V. Chauvet)**



**Plate 8 Senedjemi Inti right side-wall
of the entrance-portico. (V. Chauvet)**



Plate 9 Hesi entrance-portico. (V. Chauvet)

**Plate 10 Hesi Appeal to Visitors,
entrance-doorway,
left thickness. (V. Chauvet)**





**Plate 11 Akhetmehu (G 2375)
portico-chapel.
(V. Chauvet)**



**Plate 12 Akhetmehu (G 2375)
back-wall, right side.
(V. Chauvet)**



Plate 13 Tjetu Kanesut (G 2001) portico-chapel.

Plate 14 Tjetu Kanesut (G 2001)
right side-wall.





Plate 15 Lake of Abusir, location of Trench A. (M. Bárta)



Plate 16 Mudbrick platform in Trench A, dated to the Third Dynasty. (M. Bárta)



Plate 17 Mudbrick plaform in Trench A, detail of the steps (?). (M. Bárta)



Plate 18 Trench C, late Old Kingdom tomb with a standing false door of Sankhuptah. (M. Bárta)



Plate 19 Stela of Wepemnefret. Photograph © [2012] Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Plate 20 Hemiunu standing on the north section of the embrasure in mastaba G 4000. (Vienna)



Plate 21 Relief depicting the tomb owner of G 4260 (Junker's mastaba II_n) wearing a panther skin. (Vienna)



Plate 22 Relief depicting the torso of the tomb owner of G 4260 (Junker's mastaba II_n). (Vienna)



**Plate 23 Bust
of Ankh-haf (reign of
Khafre). Photograph
© [2012] Museum
of Fine Arts, Boston.**



Plate 24 The magnezite bowl bearing the name of king Huni.



Plate 25 The detail of the royal name showing the technique of a pointed tool pressed in the soft material.



Plate 26 Chapel of Isisnofret.



Plate 27 Chapel of Isisnofret.



Plate 28 Shaft leading to the burial chamber of Isisnofret.



Plate 29 Skulls of a child and of an adult woman with black coloring on the orbits and forehead.



Plate 30 Sarcophagus of Isisnofret.



Plate 31 Sarcophagus lid.

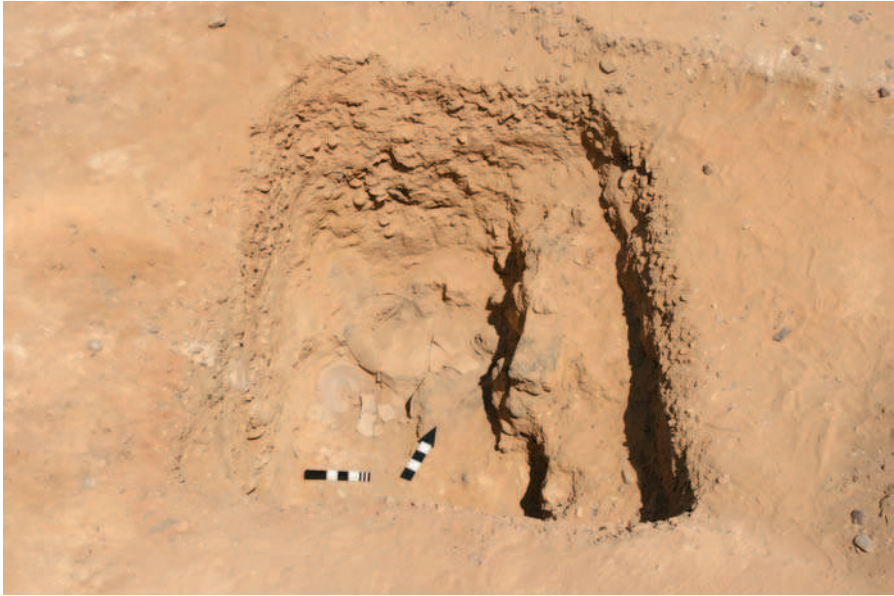
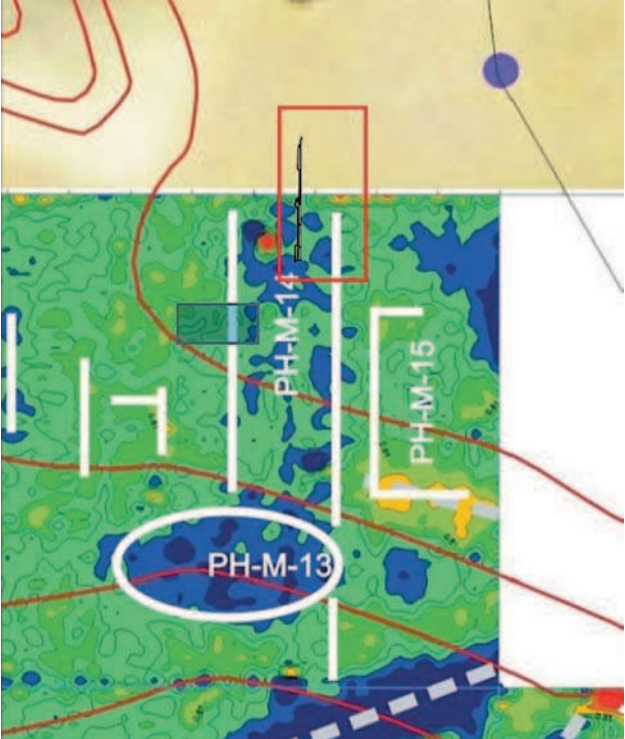


Plate 32 Funerary cache of Isisnofret.

Plate 33 Results of the geophysical survey at the valley temple of Nyusera. (Archive of the Czech Institute of Egyptology)



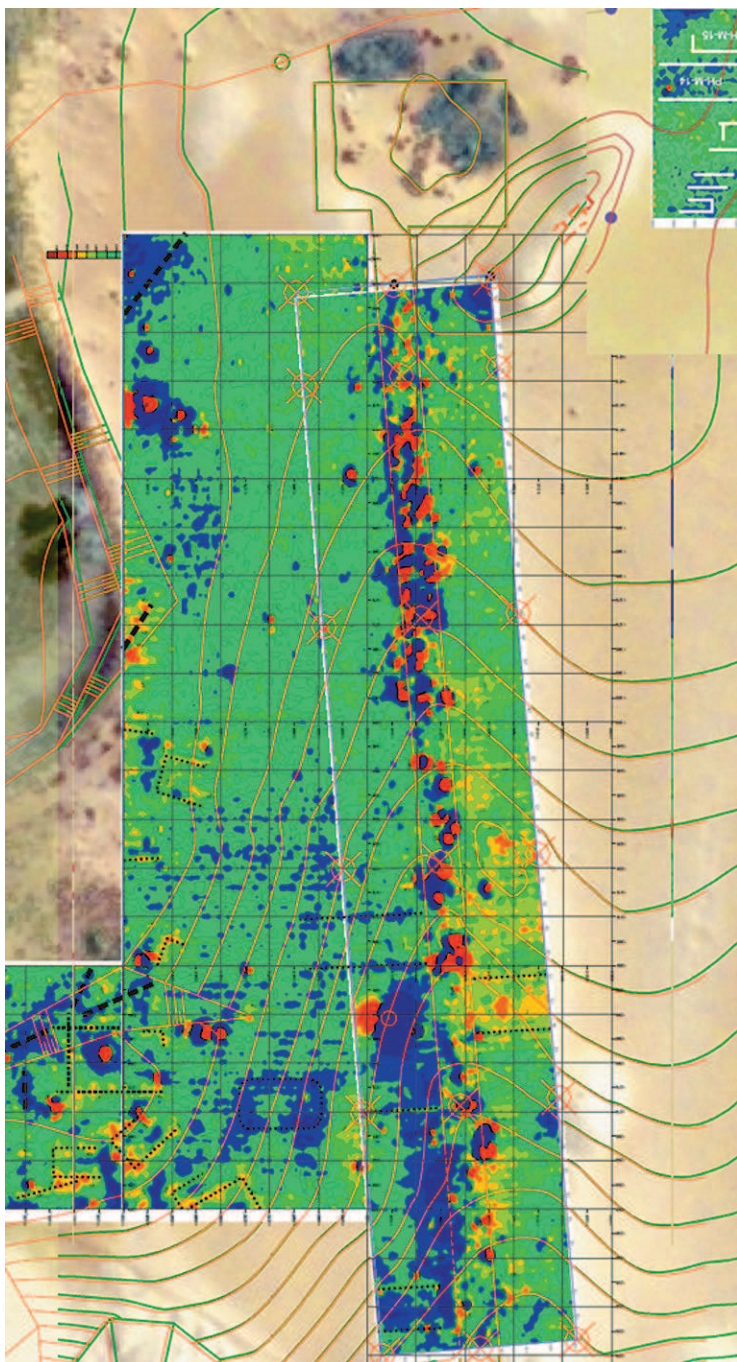


Plate 34 Results of the geophysical survey at the causeway of Nyuserra.
(Archive of the Czech Institute of Egyptology)



**Plate 35 Photographic Image of Limestone Relief Fragment – Tokyo Bridgestone Museum of Art (Inventory Number: Gaichō 2; 29.5 × 91.0 cm).
Special thanks to the Tokyo Bridgestone Museum of Art for permission to reproduce this image.**



Plate 36 The Kikugawa fragment.



Plate 37 The Christie's fragment.



Plate 38 The Royal-Athena fragment.



Plate 39 Recomposition 1: the large biographic inscription.



Plate 40 Recomposition 2: the minor biographic inscription.



Plate 41 General plan of the sun temple based on the laser scanner survey.
 (processing by G. Iannone, M. Nuzzolo, P. Zanfagna)

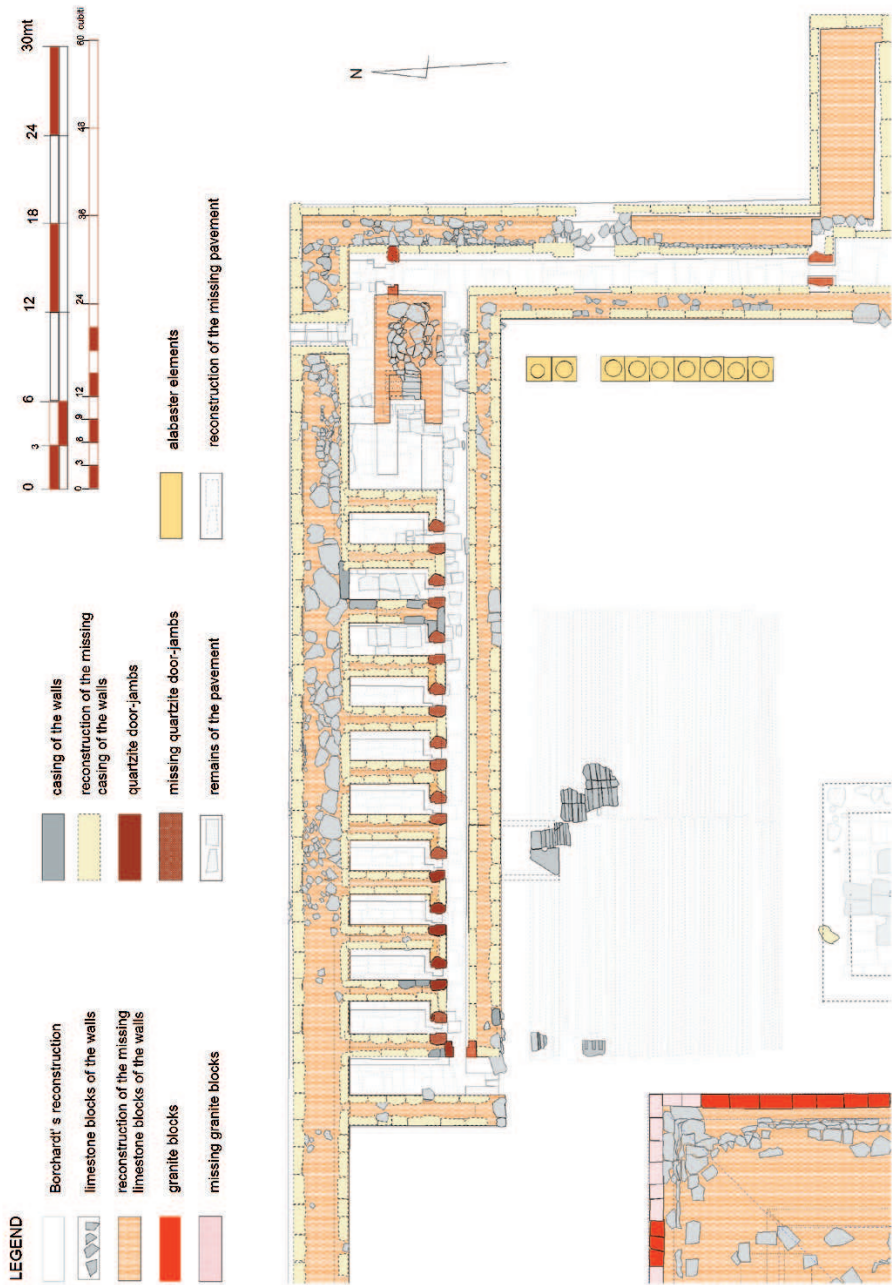


Plate 42 Reconstruction of the general plan of the “magazines” based on the laser scanner survey. (processing by M. Nuzzolo, R. Pirelli, P. Zanfagna)



Plate 43 Burial chamber of Unas, wall section to the north of the sarcophagus.
(S. Vannini)



Plate 44 Burial chamber of Unas, wall section to the south of the sarcophagus. (S. Vannini)



Plate 45 Burial chamber of Unas, detail of the north wall. (S. Vannini)

ABUSIR AND SAQQARA IN THE YEAR 2010 /2

Miroslav Bárta, Filip Coppens a Jaromír Krejčí
(editoři)

Autoři příspěvků

Katarína Arias Kytnarová, Tarek El Awady, Masahiro Baba, Ladislav Bareš, Miroslav Bárta, Nathalie Beaux, Susanne Binder, Alanah Buck, John Burn, Vivienne Gae Callender, Louis Chaix, Violaine Chauvet, Václav Cílek, Filip Coppens, Veronika Dulíková, Andrés Diego Espinel, Laurel Flentye, Hans Goedicke, Yannis Gourdon, Mary Hartley, Harold M. Hays, Jiří Janák, Lucie Jirásková, Andrea Kahlbacher, Naguib Kanawati, Nozomu Kawai, Mohamed Ismail Khaled, Jaromír Krejčí, Kamil O. Kuraszkiewicz, Claudia M. Lacher-Raschdorff, Renata Landgráfová, Lenka Lisá, Jason Livingstone-Thomas, Michele Marcolin, Mohamed Megahed, Radek Mikuláš, Karol Myśliwiec, Hana Navrátilová, Massimiliano Nuzzolo, Boyo G. Ockinga, Adela Oppenheim, Rosanna Pirelli, Joanna Popielska-Grzybowska, Maarten J. Raven, Ilona Regulski, Teodozja Rzeuska, Anthony Spalinger, Rainer Stadelmann, Julie Stauder Porchet, Eugen Strouhal, Zdeňka Šůvová, Břetislav Vachala, Miroslav Verner, Hana Vymazalová, Leslie Anne Warden, Sakuji Yoshimura, Mohammad Youssef, Lubica Zelenková, Christiane Ziegler

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