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**THEBAN DESERT ROAD SURVEY  
IN THE  
EGYPTIAN WESTERN DESERT  
VOLUME 1  
GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTIONS 1–45  
AND  
WADI EL-ḤÔL ROCK INSCRIPTIONS 1–45**

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## LIST OF GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS, SYMBOLS, AND BIBLIOGRAPHIC ABBREVIATIONS

### GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

BM	prefix for object number in the British Museum, London
ca.	<i>circa</i> , about, approximately
cf.	<i>confer</i> , compare
CGC	prefix for object number in the Cairo Museum
cm	centimeter(s)
col(s).	column(s)
e.g.	<i>exempli gratia</i> , for example
esp.	especially
et al.	<i>et alii</i> , and others
fig(s).	figure(s)
GTI	Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription
i.e.	<i>id est</i> , that is
incl.	including
km	kilometer(s)
MMA	prefix for object number in the Metropolitan Museum of Art
n(n).	note(s)
NA	not available
no(s).	number(s)
n.p.	no publisher
n.s.	new series
nyp	not yet published, forthcoming, in press
O.	ostrakon, ostraca
OIM	prefix for object number in the Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago
P.	papyrus, papyri
p(p).	page(s)
pers. comm.	personal communication
pl(s).	plate(s)
PN	personal name
PT	prefix for Pyramid Text number
RN	royal name
s.v.	<i>sub verbo</i> , <i>sub voce</i> , under the word
TT	prefix for Theban Tomb number
viz.	<i>videlicet</i> , namely
WHI	Wadi el-Ḥôl Rock Inscription
<>	encloses omitted text
┌┐	encloses partly broken text
[ ]	encloses text lost in break
{ }	encloses text to be omitted in reading
*	indicates hypothetical form

## BIBLIOGRAPHIC ABBREVIATIONS

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## PREFACE

In many ways the Western Desert may be said to be the final frontier of Egyptology. Writing in 1935, Major Ralph Bagnold, later to become the founder of the legendary Long Range Desert Group of World War II, marveled that in the Egypt of his day “the unknown lay at one’s very door, ... it was within one’s power at any time to step right off the map.”<sup>1</sup> Even after the explorations of Bagnold and others deep into the heart of the Great Sand Sea, and the subsequent photography and remote sensing of all of Egypt from spacecraft and satellites in earth orbit, one may still — Egyptologically speaking—walk to the edge of the desert and step off the archaeological map. Vast, Egyptologically unexplored areas lie just beyond some of Egypt’s most famous and frequented tourist sites.

Preliminary reports of our work have appeared in the annual reports of the Oriental Institute, and in the bulletins of the Groupe international d’étude de la céramique égyptienne (please see the bibliography). The present publication is the first of a series of monographs recording the discoveries of the Theban Desert Road Survey. In pursuing this project we have often stepped off the Egyptological map — at times within audible range of the horns of tour buses, on other occasions, far from any sign of life, treading ground untouched for thousands of years.

We have provided facsimile drawings and photographs for all of the scenes and inscriptions. The photographs are the best possible, considering the difficult field conditions under which they were made. The drawings are based on tracings made at the rock face. The initial tracings were reduced and inked, and these resulting drawings were taken back to the rock face and checked. We have collated and corrected all of the drawings after the initial tracing was made, and we have collated several of the inscriptions several times. This volume includes a glossary to all of the texts; the second publication of depictions and inscriptions from Gebel Tjauti will include a glossary for the texts in that second volume, as well as a palaeography for the inscriptions in volumes 1 and 2. The second volume will also incorporate a subject index for the first two volumes.

The site map included in this volume is schematic, although it should be sufficient for understanding the locations and geopolitical significance of the sites discussed here. Detailed maps showing the specific locations of the inscription sites, and all associated archaeological features, will appear in the archaeological reports on these sites and the surrounding desert. These reports will follow the publication of the epigraphic material at these and associated rock inscription and rock art sites. The reasons for this are unfortunate but not to be ignored. Vandalism may follow rapidly on the heels of a publication (cf. the scene in Brack and Brack 1980, pl. 24b [scene 16.3], vandalized after the appearance of that excellent publication, apparently ordered by some unscrupulous collector), and there are those masquerading amongst the archaeological community who are not above jumping the concession of another. In order to preserve the sites and the proper integrated interpretation of all of the information they provide, we must be less than specific, and we ask all who use this volume to avoid visiting these sites (of course we are happy to have interested parties visit them when possible while we are working on them). Desert sites are extremely difficult to protect, and those who work in Egypt are aware of the small budget and meager salaries on which a few attempt to protect so much.

As our work continues, the amount of material and resulting information increases, allowing and often requiring reconsiderations of many of our earlier interpretations of various scenes and inscriptions. This publication must thus be considered a stage in a continuing process of Egyptological interpretation. A preliminary publication of Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 6 and 7 has appeared in the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 56 (1997): 241–58, and we hope in the near future to publish expanded commentaries on Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 2 and 11, based on the present publication, digressing further on the historical context of those inscriptions. An initial publication of Wadi el-Ḥôl Inscription 8 appeared in the *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 34 (1997): 85–100. In the present publication we have attempted to interpret the significance of each scene and inscription as fully as the content of the scene and inscription and parallel material from other sources allow. This seems preferable to a simple presentation of the material, especially as the process of collation of each scene and each inscription has involved the search for parallels and the interpretive processes of translation.

The manuscript for the rock inscriptions and rock art from Gebel Tjauti in the present volume was submitted for publication in June 1997, intended as a separate monograph. Since that time, certain revisions and changes have been made to portions of the Gebel Tjauti section, but any omissions in bibliography are due to the length of time the manuscript has been in press. The delay in publication of the first manuscript allowed for the addition of what would have been a second, separate monograph on inscriptions and depictions from Wadi el-Ḥôl, resulting in the present bi-

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1. R. A. Bagnold, *Libyan Sands: Travel in a Dead World* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1935), p. 137.

partite publication. The manuscript for the epigraphic material from Wadi el-Ḥôl included in this volume was submitted in spring 2000; most of the work on that manuscript had been completed by summer 1999, although select revisions have continued until late in the publication process.

The wealth of material from all periods of human occupation of the desert west of the Nile Valley is at times staggering, and threatens to engulf us. We dare not slacken our pace of exploration, however, for all of these sites are in great danger. At the Wadi el-Ḥôl rock inscription and rock art site deep in the desert that fills the Qena Bend, we have on two occasions chased away vandals, and many texts and depictions at that site have vanished, some literally before our eyes, others having been destroyed by these vandals before the Theban Desert Road Survey began to record the site. Considering the pace of development in Egypt, the growing population, the spread of cultivation, and the criminal element always ready to meet the demands of unscrupulous collectors, all archaeological sites in Egypt must be considered threatened, and all work in Egypt must now be considered a form of salvage archaeology. The most horrible feature of the vandalism of distant desert sites is that they may disappear without their existence ever having been suspected; when one sees the open wound of a vandal's hacking across the face of a graffiti site, one feels the horror of an eternal amnesia, the loss of something which one will never learn was once there, which was torn away before it could deliver its message to the modern world. A thin ribbon of potsherds marking the beginning of an ancient road leading to a far away and perhaps unexpected destination can disappear beneath the treads of a bulldozer and the teeth of a plow within a few minutes, and another signpost from the past vanishes.

John Coleman Darnell and Deborah Darnell  
Luxor, Upper Egypt  
February 1997 and December 2000

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Both the horizons of our work and our funding broadened with our move to Yale University (where at the time of the latest revisions of these acknowledgments John Darnell is Assistant Professor of Egyptology). Although the initial manuscript for this publication was submitted in 1997, the delay in its publication allowed us to make additional checks of the drawings and take supplementary photographs during recent field seasons, during which time the expedition has been funded by the Egyptology Fund of the Department of Near Eastern Languages of Yale University and a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities (an independent federal agency).

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# ROCK INSCRIPTIONS AT GEBEL TJAUTI

## INTRODUCTION

Egyptian and Roman itineraries in the Eastern Desert have received much deserved attention,<sup>1</sup> but most of those in the Western Desert remain obscure;<sup>2</sup> this volume presents forty-five rock inscriptions from Gebel Tjauti and forty-five rock inscriptions from Wadi el-Hôl as the first monograph on the findings of the Theban Desert Road Survey that should begin to lift the veil of obscurity from the Western Desert.

Much of the reason for the obscurity may lie in the differences between the Eastern and Western Deserts. Because while the first is colorful, scenic, reasonably well watered, and teeming — as deserts go — with men and animals,<sup>3</sup> the Western Desert is a stark, dry, and inhospitable realm of rocky plateaus and chains of dunes, where the silence is broken only by the moaning of the shifting sands. Whereas the roads into the Eastern Desert travel through wadis that lead from the Nile Valley into passes through the wild mountainous landscape of the Red Sea hills, the roads into the Western Desert often ascend steep cliffs, and lead onto the seemingly endless plateau of the high desert.<sup>4</sup>

Travel by water not infrequently appears to be more pleasant and less demanding than travel by land.<sup>5</sup> As a consequence, the Nile is often considered to be the best road through Egypt, and the only connection between central Africa and the Mediterranean world.<sup>6</sup> Herodotus, however (Book IV, 181), already recognized another desert route connecting Thebes to the Pillars of Hercules — a road through a sea of sand, made navigable to man by the oases that sporadically graced the way.<sup>7</sup> Even for travel between points in or near the Nile Valley, the Nile might not always have been the ideal artery for travel. During the inundation, the Nile would have seemed an extension of the sea,<sup>8</sup> with the deep channel of the river obscured, a fact that may have discouraged some river traffic.<sup>9</sup> During the low Nile, sandbanks were prevalent,<sup>10</sup> and all but the smallest vessels were stopped.<sup>11</sup> Some stretches of the

1. A sampling of the many possible references includes: Schleiden 1858, pp. 91–102; Clédat 1923b and 1924; Couyat 1910, pp. 525–39; Floyer 1893; Legrain 1900; Reddé and Golvin 1987. However, the remark of Colin (1988, p. 33) to the effect that the Eastern Desert has been so well explored that “il n’y a pas lieu de supposer qu’il s’en trouve encore une de quelque importance qui soit restée inexplorée” is likely to be proven incorrect.
2. With some notable exceptions, such as Leclant 1950; Vercoutter 1970, pp. 161–63.
3. And even more so in antiquity; compare Roquet 1985, pp. 308–09.
4. Compare the characterization of the desert roads in Legrain 1900, p. 2. Winkler (1939, p. 35) also notes the differences between the Eastern and Western Deserts.
5. Compare the remarks of Braudel 1972, pp. 289–90.
6. Compare the remarks of Goedicke 1981, p. 4, who states that “the main mode of travel for ancient Egyptians was by boat and not by road.” The importance of donkey transport between Egypt and Nubia has been recognized (Säve-Söderbergh 1941, pp. 19–20; W. Adams 1981, p. 8; Morkot 1995, p. 180). Curiously, Säve-Söderbergh (1970, p. 20) later states that “before the era of camel caravans the only way of passing through the desert belt was along the Nile.” This statement is made in the context of explaining the decline of Christian Nubia due to trade leaving the Nile and going through the surrounding desert. Similarly, Bagnall (1993, p. 34) makes the sweeping statement that “from any given point in the country, only the most local of destinations was reachable by land more directly, quickly, or conveniently than by water” (followed by Bulliet 1990, pp. x–xi [new preface to the “Morningside Edition”]).

These statements ignore the enormous difficulties the cataracts of the Nile cause for riverine transport (see Vandersleyen 1971) and show a profound lack of familiarity with the geographical characteristics of Egypt and the problems of the now nonexistent low Nile. Although J. Wilson (1955, p. 225) assumes that “within the Nile Valley, including the Delta, travel and communications and commerce were of course by water,” he does mention desert routes (ibid., pp. 226–28).

7. Casson (1974, p. 22) concludes that “the Nile and its tributaries and canals always offered the Egyptians the easiest and quickest way to go anywhere, and in certain areas, such as the marshes of the delta, just about the only way.” He makes this statement after quoting Herodotus on the conditions that prevailed in the country during the annual inundation but fails to note the conditions which followed the low Nile.
8. On the comparison of the inundation with the sea, see Bonneau 1964, pp. 94–96. One should note that this annual sea-like Nile is most likely the origin of the use of the term *wꜥd-wr* “sea” for the Nile and related areas; the exploration of this aspect of the inundation and its influence on terminology should clarify what has become an often heated discussion (as a sample of the many articles and extended footnotes, see Favard-Meeks 1989, pp. 39–63; Vandersleyen 1990, p. 1023; Goelet 1992, pp. 205–14).
9. See the remarks of Thompson 1983, pp. 73–74.
10. Compare *Urk.* 1.108, lines 6–8: Weni audaciously (and ultimately successfully) completed a large barge *m ꜥbd 3 ꜥmw st n(n) wn mw hr ꜥ(ꜥ)s.w* “during the third month of the Shemu season, when there was no water upon the sandbanks.”
11. See the remarks of Le Père 1822, pp. 240–41; Bonneau 1964, pp. 96–101, 418–19; Damell 1992, pp. 70–71.

river were difficult to navigate, one particularly treacherous area being the northern part of the Qena Bend,<sup>12</sup> and in Nubia the cataracts were formidable obstacles to riverine travel.<sup>13</sup> The area of cultivable land was crisscrossed with canals, and only travel atop dikes would be practical. The relative monotony of the desert landscape, though dry and denuded, is in fact a blessing of a sort for travelers. In many areas one may travel for hundreds of miles on a firm surface without encountering more than minor undulations in the land.<sup>14</sup>

The Western or Libyan Desert, one of the most barren, lifeless areas on earth, appears on many maps as a blank expanse. Yet this hyperarid region is crisscrossed by a network of caravan routes, concentrated most heavily in the area immediately west of the Nile. Some of these paths could have existed even before the Sahara was a true desert.<sup>15</sup> Certainly by the time of the Old Kingdom, the ancient Egyptians were making use of many routes to traverse the desert regions bordering their Nile Valley home, as is evidenced by the substantial Old Kingdom material at Dakhla Oasis<sup>16</sup> and the accounts of expedition leaders such as Harkhuf.<sup>17</sup> Some isolated finds in very remote areas hint at a far-reaching command of the Western Desert in the Old Kingdom. As examples one can cite the so-called Chephren diorite quarries discovered in the 1930s west of Toshka,<sup>18</sup> as well as the apparent “Old Kingdom installations” identified at Bir Sahara and Bir Terfawi,<sup>19</sup> and the fragment of a Meidum bowl from Wadi Shaw (Kuper 1995, p. 135). Later textual references to the administration of the oases, and more monumental remains in the oases themselves, prove that contact continued (Valloggia 1981, pp. 185–90; Giddy 1987, pp. 53–93). Yet surprisingly little systematic field research has been carried out to collect and examine physical traces of pharaonic activity outside of the oases in the Western Desert.<sup>20</sup> This lack of fieldwork has prevented a full understanding of the manner in which desert travel was undertaken in ancient times, especially before the extensive use of the camel,<sup>21</sup> and how this compares with more recent caravan travel.<sup>22</sup> The degree to which the ancient Egyptians controlled the

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12. Compare the remarks of Sonnini 1800, pp. 586, 588, 610, 669; Prokesch von Osten 1874, pp. 329–30; and A. Edwards 1888, pp. 169, 172–73. For the problems of navigating some bends in the Nile in antiquity, particularly those of Achmim, Hou, and Qamûla, see Degas 1994, pp. 141–52. See also Lane 2000, p. 277, concerning the Nile above Hou: “Just above this place, the river flowing nearly from north to south, for the space of a few miles, and the wind being nearly in the same direction, we with difficulty advanced three miles in as many hours, making short and frequent tacks.”
13. As Kadish (1964, p. 10) recognized. For an ancient Egyptian slipway at Mirgissa, avoiding the rapids of the Second Cataract, see Vercoutter 1970, pp. 13–15, 173–80, 204–14.
14. Compare the remarks of Fairservis 1975, pp. 18–19.
15. Maps in Vercoutter 1988, pp. 11, 13, show suggested predynastic and earlier routes; not included are the various paths crossing the Qena Bend, logical “shortcuts,” some of which are very old (as recognized by Winkler [1938, p. 17]).
16. For a summary of the results of ongoing excavations, see Giddy 1987, pp. 166–212, 239–57; Valloggia 1986; Minault-Gout 1992; Soukiassian et al. 1990; and reports in the *Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale*, inter alia Soukiassian, Wuttman, and Schaad 1990, pp. 347–58, pls. 24–27; Aufrère and Ballet 1990, pp. 1–28; for a continuing pharaonic presence in the oasis, see Mills 1981, pp. 175–92; Frey 1986, pp. 92–102; Edwards, Hope, and Segnit 1987.
17. For a selection of the numerous discussions of this ancient explorer’s journeys, see the references in Helck 1977a, col. 1129, to which add Spalinger 1979, pp. 144–57; Goedicke 1981, pp. 1–20; Vercoutter 1982, pp. 283–88; Smith and Giddy 1985, pp. 322–24; O’Connor 1986, pp. 27–50; Goedicke 1988b, pp. 35–42; see also Obsomer 1995, pp. 332–34 (esp. n. 89).
18. Engelbach 1933, pp. 65–74; Little 1933, pp. 75–80; Weill 1934, pp. 127–28; Engelbach 1938a, pp. 369–90; Rowe 1938, pp. 391–96; Murray 1939, pp. 97–114; Harrell and Brown 1994, pp. 44–57; Shaw and Bloxam 1999, pp. 13–20.
19. Mentioned in Giddy 1987, p. 212, n. 264, citing Vercoutter 1979, p. 21, and idem 1982, p. 285; see also Vercoutter 1988, p. 16. But note that the references to the actual discoveries in Wendorf et al. 1976 (p. 106), idem 1977 (p. 217), and Banks 1980 (pp. 313–14) are imprecise in characterizing the nature of the “Old Kingdom sites,” stating only that “sites of that age ... display clear occupational patterning.” This material may be Libyan, contemporary with the Egyptian Old Kingdom. It is truly regrettable that “sherds dating to ... Pharaonic and Graeco-Roman ... periods have been observed but not collected in the Bir Sahara and Bir Tarfawi regions” (Banks 1980, p. 299). Note also the “iron ax head, attributed to the 19th Dynasty” reported from Sayal Totah; see Hinkel 1982, p. 112; Hinkel 1979, pp. 120–21; Wainwright 1947, pp. 23–24.
20. For the Eastern Desert, see Bell, Johnson, and Whitcomb 1984, pp. 27–46. As Isaac (1992, pp. 131–33) has pointed out, the good preservation of Roman remains in the eastern deserts of the empire may have contributed to an overemphasis of the importance of desert policy in the Roman Empire.
21. On the rarity of the camel during the pharaonic period, see Midant-Reynes and Braunstein-Silvestre 1978, cols. 304–05; Rowley-Conwy 1988, pp. 245–48, and the references cited there; see also Bulliet 1990, pp. 116–17. For the oldest certain pharaonic representation of a dromedary, see Pusch 1996, pp. 107–18.
22. See Seligman 1934, pp. 67–78, for modern examples of the tremendous waterless distances that can be covered by caravans with donkeys as the only pack animal; see also the remarks of Wainwright 1935, pp. 260–61. Engels (1978, pp. 14–15) notes that the camel never replaced mules and horses in ancient armies (thus the remarks of Redford and Redford 1989, p. 6, n. 28, correctly pointing out the unimportance of the camel for desert travel during the pharaonic period but accepting a statement regarding the superiority of the camel over the donkey for desert travel, are in need of modification).

Western Desert has never been fully explored,<sup>23</sup> and the impact of the Saharan peoples on Egypt is not fully understood, especially during its formative period.<sup>24</sup> Much of the more detailed information that is known on ancient desert travel in Egypt concerns the Eastern Desert, particularly in Roman times. The roads of the Western Desert, and their accompanying monuments and other artifacts of ancient activity, remain more mysterious. Though the Romans also maintained control of parts of the Western Desert, the textual and material documentation for this area is sparser.<sup>25</sup>

The oft-repeated belief that the Egyptians feared the desert as a rule has perhaps had the greatest effect in discouraging explorations in many areas of the Western Desert. Some ancient Egyptians were probably somewhat uncomfortable in the desert lands surrounding the Nile Valley,<sup>26</sup> but many were not, or at least were not so uncomfortable that they never ventured into these areas. The evidence presented below, and in subsequent publications, should make this abundantly clear. In fact, some of the desert roads of the ancient Egyptians have been known for some time.<sup>27</sup>

Sadly, much of the evidence recorded anecdotally or even in a more formal, but from a scholarly standpoint incomplete, fashion has been destroyed in fairly recent times. Modern quarrying and desert reclamation projects can obliterate all evidence of ancient activity left on the desert surface. The very conditions that isolate ancient artifacts from disturbance in the desert also take their toll on the physical state of the remains: inscribed stone monuments can be sandblasted into nearly smooth surfaces; pottery, too, can be worn and pitted by the action of wind and dust. Though access to desert sites is difficult, it is critical that Egyptologists begin to focus attention on reclaiming these subtle clues of the past from their harsh Saharan home.

With this in mind, the Theban Desert Road Survey has undertaken an investigation of ancient Egyptian roads in the Western Desert. Initially, the work has been concentrated on the desert tracks across the portion of the Libyan plateau that fills the bend of the Nile between Rizeiqat and Farshût. The Nile angles off to the northeast below Rizeiqat, turns sharply to the west at Qena, and actually flows southwesterly towards Hou before turning again towards the northwest.<sup>28</sup> A tongue of the Darb el-Arbain Desert fills this Qena Bend of the Nile; the Survey has termed this peninsula of escarpment and wadis the Theban Desert. It is hoped that a number of the inscriptions included in this volume, relating important information on the northern expansion of the Theban rulers of the early Eleventh Dynasty and fitting nicely with the information on Theban desert strategy during the Second Intermediate Period recorded at Wadi el-Ḥôl, may somewhat justify this annexation of the gebel to the ancient city of Thebes. At the very least, the “assault troops of the Son of Re Antef” (Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 7) would most likely approve.

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23. For some discussion, see Valloggia 1989b, pp. 165–71.

24. Compare overviews of the problem, for example, that of el-Yahky 1985, pp. 81–85. For summaries of the relevant new data that have emerged during the first nine seasons of the Theban Desert Road Survey, see D. Darnell, in press; J. C. Darnell, in press.

25. See, for example, Wagner 1987, esp. pp. 140–54; Hester, Hobler, and Russell 1970, pp. 385–89; Gascou, Wagner, and Grossman 1979, pp. 4–7; and Gascou et al. 1980, pp. 291–93.

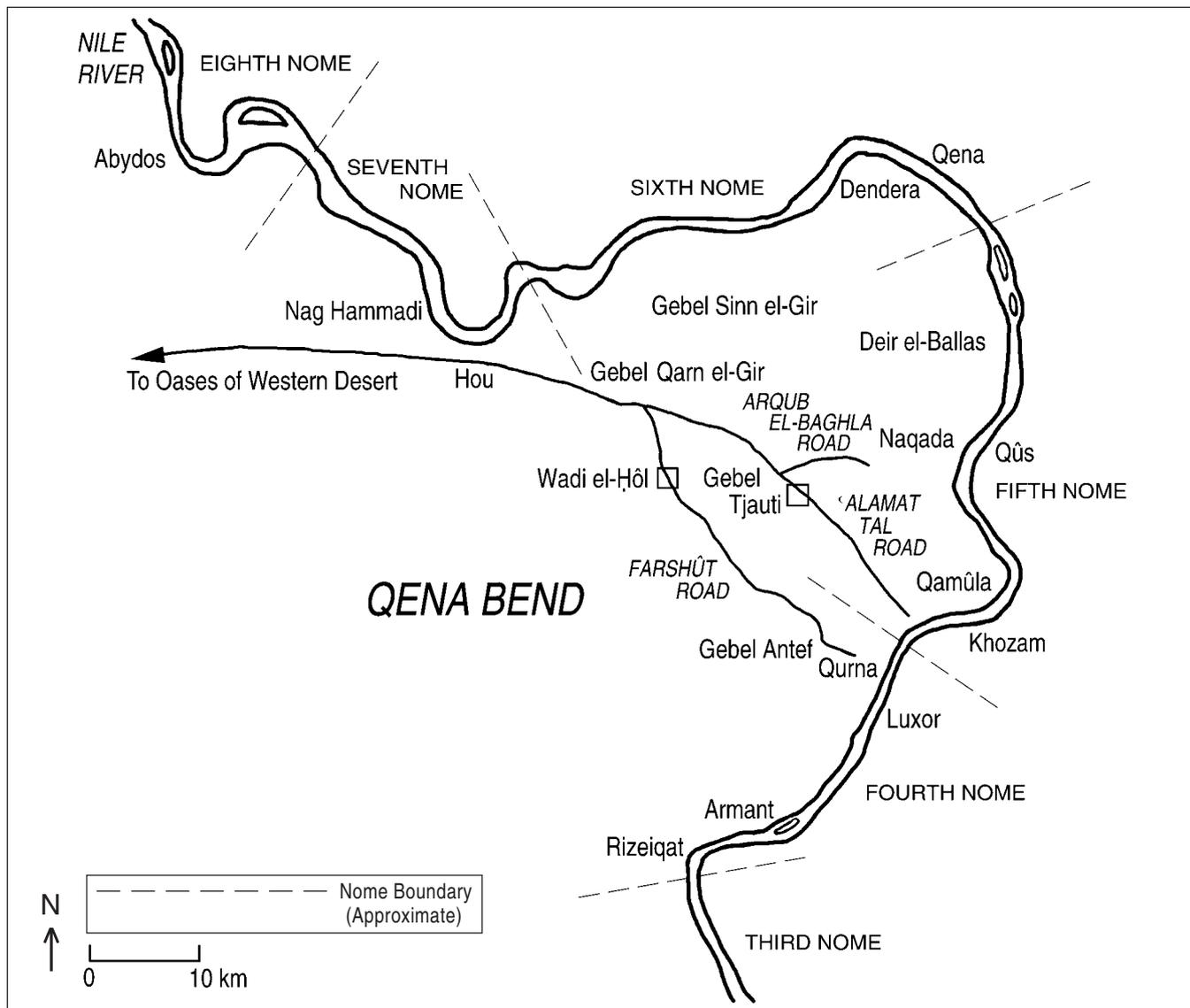
26. See Keimer 1944, pp. 135–47. The Beni Hasan beasts may suggest a certain fear, or they may simply stand for the mythic beasts at the far edges of the deserts, the creatures near the horizons of the south. In a hymn to Hathor at Medamûd describing the return of the goddess to Egypt, mythic creatures such as

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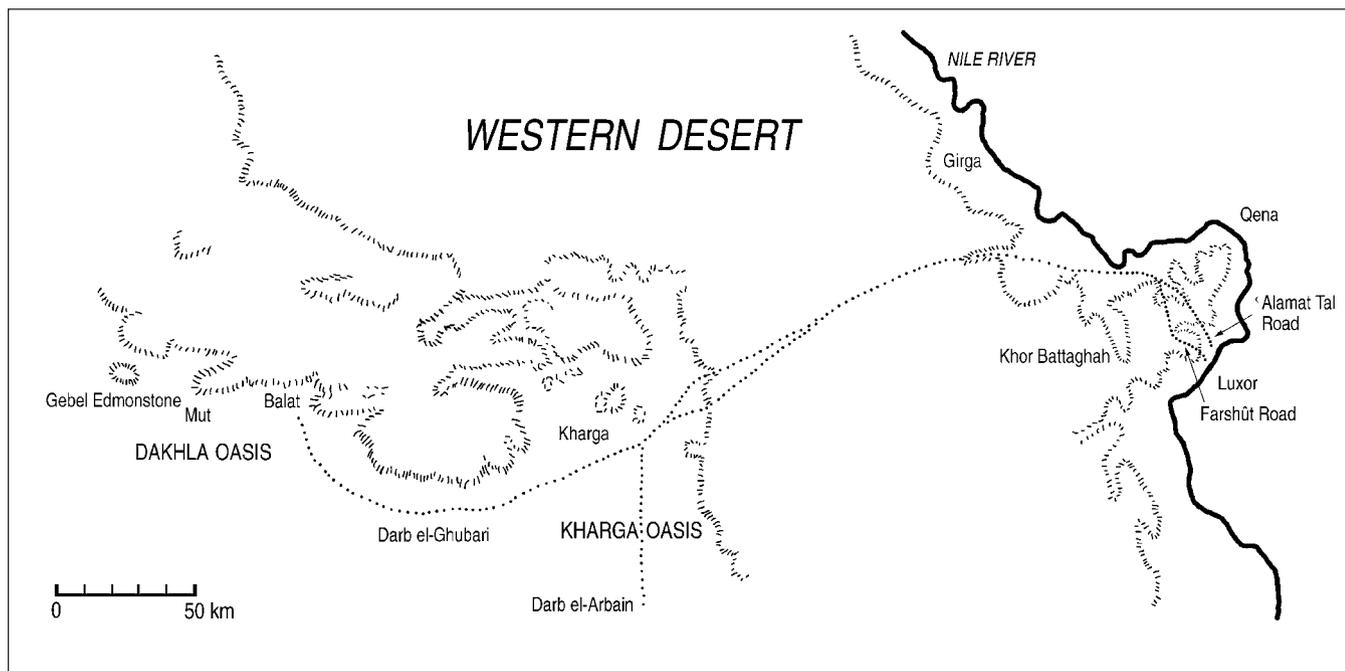
griffons accompany the goddess in an entourage composed of people and animals of the far south (Darnell 1995b). Rather than suggesting fear of the desert (as interpreted in Dumas 1968, pp. 46–48), the presence of the mythic beasts at the corner of the hunting scene may be a discreet boast about having hunted to the edges of the earth. The remark by Gosline 1990, p. 6, that knowledge of the existence of the oasis dwellers violated Egyptian religious beliefs is not to be taken seriously. For the fears of some modern Egyptians as to what may roam the desert heights, see Johannes 1991, pp. 187–89.

27. Compare the overview of some of the better known routes in Habachi 1974, pp. 323–25.

28. For a brief account of the history of eighteenth century and early nineteenth century cartography of the Qena Bend of the Nile, see Ball 1932, pp. 127–39.



a



b

Figure 1. (a) Map of Qena Bend of the Nile River and (b) Map of Qena Bend with Road to Oases of the Western Desert. Scales Approximate

## CARAVAN TRACKS OF THE ʿALAMAT TAL

North of Qurna is an ancient caravan route in use from predynastic times through the Middle Ages, on which traffic appears to have flowed most heavily from the late Sixth Dynasty through the Ramesside period. The track, leading from western Thebes towards Hou on the other side of the great Qena Bend of the Nile, was discovered by the Theban Desert Road Survey in 1993 and does not appear on any published map. Our name for the ancient route, the ʿAlamat Tal Road, derives from a nearby toponym on Schweinfurth's 1909 map of western Thebes. The following description of the main track and a few of its tributaries is provisional, as are the accompanying maps (fig. 1; pl. 1); a more complete treatment of the road and its physical remains, along with detailed maps, will appear under separate cover.

The tracks are grooves worn into the surface of the limestone (pl. 8b).<sup>29</sup> On the low desert the tracks fan out in a swath several meters wide; where they ascend the gebel the tracks converge, often into one narrow ribbon. For the general appearance of this sort of desert route one may compare General Patton's description of north African roads:

Viewed from the air, the Arab road is a gently meandering tracery of individual footpaths. Where the going is good, the collection of paths may spread to a width of twenty to forty yards, while, where rocky outcroppings must be circumvented or defiles pass through the wandering tendrils, they come into focus and form a single path, only again to spread out when the going improves" (Patton 1947, p. 46).

The caravan tracks of the ʿAlamat Tal Road converge on the wadi immediately south of a swept and built road, leading to a pair of dry stone and mudbrick structures. Other tracks leave Thebes, as do those of the main Farshût Road, from behind Elwat ed-Duban<sup>30</sup> and join the main caravan tracks just beyond the watchtowers. There are no pharaonic tracks heading directly into the desert to the west of southern Qamûla, those tracks yielding essentially Roman through Islamic period remains. From slightly farther north a road yielding considerable evidence of predynastic and protodynastic use joins the main ʿAlamat Tal Road and tracks back within the Wadi Imran. This subsidiary track also provides evidence of having been the access road for a number of dry stone hut outposts guarding the northern, Coptite edge of the Wadi Imran. The ancient caravan tracks lead into the mouth of Wadi Nagʿ el-Birka. At several points along the way towards the gebel, the road passes by concentrations of dry stone huts, wind-breaks, and probable tent bases; most of these are associated with a standard pottery "kit" and might have been temporary bivouacs for perambulating desert patrols.

Farther back, the caravan tracks disappear intermittently when crossing the head of Wadi el-Fayid. The floor of this wadi drops considerably below the level of the desert surface the road has followed to the northwest and must often have been washed out in antiquity.<sup>31</sup> The tracks do reappear at intervals, however, and the ascent on the other side of the wadi is marked by two small cairns. Interestingly, the hill has at this point a reddish tinge, perhaps a natural marker chosen as the spot for the continuation of the road. Although not as visible as the Farshût Road where it climbs the plateau, the polished limestone of that track being much whiter than the normal desert patina of the hills, the ruts of the ʿAlamat Tal tracks are nevertheless visible in the slanting rays of the early morning or late afternoon sun.

At all times of the day, however, and even in washed out areas where the actual ruts have long since been worn away by wind and rain, masses of pottery remain. The often astonishingly thick pottery carpet of the road and its branches reflects a portion of the Metternich Stela, specifically a prayer that the lions of the desert, the crocodiles of the water, and snakes in their holes be driven away and made like "gravel" (ʿr) of the desert and "broken pots" (*sd qrh.t*) in the road (Sander-Hansen 1956, p. 52, nos. 117–19). Many of these concentrations of pottery appear to be the remains of water dumps, similar to those the Theban Desert Road Survey discovered on all the pharaonic roads of the Theban Western Desert.<sup>32</sup>

29. For the appearance of the apparent donkey tracks in the ʿAlamat Tal, one may compare the tracks visible in the photograph of a cairn with internal recess in Engelbach 1938b, p. 525, and those in Gascou et al. 1980, pl. 76b.

30. Compare Schweinfurth 1909; Blanckenhorn 1921, p. 166.

31. For an Egyptian reference to washed-out roads, see Gardiner 1946, pl. 6, line 20, and pp. 51–52: *wꜣ.wt snm* "storm-washed roads."

32. Gasse (1994, p. 174) states that the ancient Egyptians utilized pot depots only at Abu Ballas, southwest of Dakhla Oasis, and "au plus tôt à l'époque ptolémaïque," so the Egyptians used only pits and cisterns for the water provisioning of desert travelers. These statements are inaccurate; the Theban Desert Road Survey has discovered many certain pot depots in the Theban Western Desert, and there is evidence for much earlier pottery at Abu Ballas (pers. comm. from Dr. Dorothea Arnold). Intact vessels likely to be of pharaonic date are even visible in

At the point where the hills begin to close in at the head of Wadi Imran, and the road draws near to a low hill on the south, there is a large cairn, now pillaged and dug through, around which there are large numbers of sherds of pharaonic pottery, with vessels of Seventeenth Dynasty/early Eighteenth Dynasty predominating. Ceramics of that period are also most abundant in association with a nearby group of dry stone huts. These structures were apparently built at a much earlier date, however, as the associated pottery from the late predynastic and early dynastic periods suggests (pottery from the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom is also present). At the foot of the gebel, which the road ascends, there is a large concentration of pottery, with all periods from predynastic through the mid-New Kingdom represented. As the road turns left to the south before the Gebel Tjauti inscription shelf (pls. 2, 8a), to the right (north and east) are several dry stone shelters, perhaps watchposts and bivouacs for desert policemen.<sup>33</sup> Where the road reaches the top of the plateau there are a number of stone hut bases with shared side walls, similar to a group of probable Middle Kingdom origin (with later reuse) behind the temple site on Gebel Antef. As discussed below, the road is now somewhat washed out where it climbs over the inscription shelf at the right end of that shelf. A number of facts suggest that this might have been the situation at various times during the pharaonic period as well, and a subsidiary track ascends the gebel a short distance to the northwest of the main track.<sup>34</sup> Approximately one-half kilometer back (to the northwest) on the plateau there is an enormous cairn, measuring approximately forty feet in diameter, formed of stones and potsherds piled over and around some construction of almost completely melted mudbricks. All along the route are flint workshops of various ages, including — perhaps most interestingly considering our generally poor understanding of pharaonic flint working — a number of apparent pharaonic age.

The road across the high desert is relatively short (approximately three miles); one may follow it easily due to the great concentrations of pharaonic pottery and the frequent small cairns marking the track. A brisk walk — one that would cover four miles an hour on a relatively smooth and level surface — carries one across the high desert portion of the road in just over an hour, the rocky surface and one significantly sandy area adding somewhat to one's walking time. The tracks are somewhat less distinct on this high road than on the main Farshût Road, apparently due to the greater amount of sand on the high portions of the 'Alamat Tal Road, which appears to explain the greater number of small, closely spaced cairns on the 'Alamat Tal Road. The road is joined by a track coming up from the Darb Arqub el-Baghla behind Naqada, on which subsidiary track there is predynastic pottery, A-Group Nubian sherds, and inscriptions near its ascent. At the point where the Darb Arqub el-Baghla track joins the 'Alamat Tal Road, the 'Alamat Tal Road splits into two parallel branches, one low in a short wadi, the other remaining high. As it approaches the Hou end of the plateau the track splits again, the first branch heading north/northeast, a second branch heading west and then north, a third branch leading southwest. Where the central branch reaches the edge of the escarpment there are two low conical hills, on the southeast sides of which are the remains of enormous pottery dumps. The stone of the gebel along the first two branches is quite poor, and there do not appear to be any rock inscriptions. The Theban Desert Road Survey must investigate these locations further, however, as well as the third, southwesterly descent.

The track, upon entering the low desert, heads towards the Gebel Qarn el-Gir caravan stop (Darnell and Darnell 1994a, p. 45; idem 1996b, pp. 40–41). At Gebel Qarn el-Gir, tracks from Hou, Abydos, and Kharga Oasis (most likely a branch of the Girga Road) converge with the major Farshût and 'Alamat Tal Roads. The presence of these roads cutting off the bend of the Nile demonstrates that the ancient Egyptians understood the geography of the area; they referred to the Qena Bend as *q3b-t3.wy* “the riverbend of the Two Lands” in Graeco-Roman texts from Dendera (*Wb.* 5.9:20–10:2; Meeks 1978, p. 386, no. 78.4242). The records of military exploits preserved on the face of Gebel Tjauti (Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 1, 6–7) show that they often made daring and successful use of this geographic understanding.

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some early photographs from that site, e.g., Hussein 1927, p. 598, fig. 256 (the authors have examined the original print at the Royal Geographic Society, London) and the Almsy image reproduced on p. 200 of Sers and Monod 1994. See also Kuper 2000; the recent discoveries mentioned are additional concentrations of apparently pharaonic pottery in the southwestern Egyptian desert.

33. Compare the remarks of Chartier-Raymond et al. 1994, pp. 61–64, concerning similar installations on the Rod el-Air path to Serabit el-Khadim.

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34. Lortet and Gaillard report encountering animal thieves apparently in the vicinity of the 'Alamat Tal Road, whom they assume to be selling their stolen beasts at Farshût (Lortet and Gaillard 1909, pp. 192, 194). Lortet and Gaillard might have been using the 'Alamat Tal Road via the more recent ascent (the Theban Desert Road Survey has in fact found cattle bones along this later ascent).

## ROCK INSCRIPTIONS OF THE NARROW DOOR

“Die Graffiti bilden eine Nachrichtenquelle, deren Informationswert oft im Gegensatz zu ihrer äusseren Form steht” (H.-J. Thissen 1976, col. 881).

Late in the afternoon of 12 February 1995, while surveying the main track of the ‘Alamat Tal Road as it ascends Gebel Tjauti far to the west of Qamûla, the Theban Desert Road Survey discovered a concentration of rock inscriptions and rock art, forty-five of which are published below.<sup>35</sup> The scenes and inscriptions range in date from prehistoric drawings of animals to the inscriptions of Coptic visitors from the Coptite Fifth Nome. Where the main track of the ‘Alamat Tal Road ascends to the top of Gebel Tjauti to the high desert, it crosses a natural shelf in the mountain, backed by a multi-faceted stratum of smooth limestone well suited to graffiti and inscriptions (pls. 2–8a). Below this shelf is a large deposit of pottery, filling and flowing down two runnels in the lower slope of the gebel.<sup>36</sup> Water from occasional storms, flowing down the slightly sloping shelf, has eaten into the side of the gebel; a vein of flint nodules approximately two and one-half meters above the shelf, with somewhat harder stone above, has limited the extent of this erosion. The result is a slight overhang of stone above the inscribed and carved stone in most areas (pl. 3a), providing shade after about 10:00 A.M. on most days of the year and making photography and epigraphy somewhat difficult during most of the day. The rock on which the texts and depictions were cut consists of many small, undulating surfaces, with a few larger, flatter areas; the entire area is broken by many roughly vertical fissures (pl. 3b). These physical features of the stone result in many small depictions and inscriptions, with only a few of a more “monumental” nature. There are many palimpsests.

The inscription of the Coptite nomarch Tjauti (Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 6) is a formal inscription, indicated by the relatively refined hieroglyphic palaeography and the sunk relief carving. Likewise the much earlier Scorpion tableau (Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 1), with its deeply incised figures and annotations placed high on the rock face, suggests official sponsorship and a desire for the scene to convey information to posterity. Other depictions and texts do not give evidence of such technical skill and time consuming artistry; a number of these might, nevertheless, have been intended as more than transitory jottings.<sup>37</sup>

In the following discussions of the scenes and inscriptions from Gebel Tjauti, there are but occasional references to patination, especially as it might bear on the date of a depiction or text. Based on the Theban Desert Road Survey’s experiences at Gebel Tjauti, the Wadi el-Ḥôl, and at many other graffiti sites in Upper Egypt, dates derived solely from a discussion of patination are untrustworthy. While the relative degrees of patination of various lines on a single facet of rock at a certain site may be helpful in sorting out a difficult palimpsest, one should remember that location has a greater effect on the patination of an inscription than does age. A graphic illustration of this appears in Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 38 (pl. 57a), a *Normalschrift* Coptic inscription of John and Pamin, the sons of Charis. The inscription stretches across two planes of the rock face, divided by a slanting edge running through the *alpha* of  $\chi\alpha\pi\iota\varsigma$  in the second line. The patinas of the two sections of the inscription are entirely different. The bulk of the inscription, that on the larger plane of rock, is deeply patinated, possessed of a patina virtually identical to that of the Scorpion tableau. The last letters of the second line, however, located on another plane of the rock surface, slightly protected by the subtle recessed location of the new rock face, are much lighter, almost as white as many of the other Coptic inscriptions, or as a fresh scratch in the stone.<sup>38</sup>

In several areas the number of inscriptions cut one over another is bewildering. With difficulty one can recover a few signs or connected lines of an individual inscription, but in at least two of these areas nothing remains but a confused tangle of lines. At the time when a fresh inscription was cut in these areas, the whiteness of the freshly scratched limestone would have caused that scene or inscription to stand out from the palimpsest background, even if the cuts of the latest inscription were not nearly so deep as those of an already ancient scene. As the brilliant whiteness of the stone faded, even slightly, the latest text joined the jumbled mass of tangled lines over which it had been carved.

35. For brief accounts of our work on this road, see Darnell and Darnell 1994a, p. 46; idem 1995, pp. 47–50; idem 1996a, pp. 58–66; idem 1996b, pp. 42–45.

36. Compare the sacred area of Gebel Antef on the main Farshût Road (see Darnell and Darnell 1993, 1994a, 1994b, 1995, 1996a, 1996b) and the rock shrine of Gebel Agg in Nubia

(Simpson 1963, pp. 36–44; see also the commentary to Wadi el-Ḥôl Rock Inscription 17, below).

37. Compare the relatively crude stelae in Reisner 1932, pp. 160–61, pl. 45, certainly intended as permanent memorials.

38. Nevertheless the Theban Desert Road Survey does hope in the near future to examine the patination of several key inscriptions more closely and scientifically.

Žába (1974, p. 261) speaks of a higher degree of literacy during the Middle Kingdom, “undoubtedly due to the great efforts of Amenemḥet I to reorganize the Egyptian administration.” As Žába recognized, the appearance of hieratic forms in inscriptions shows evidence of training in using the pen on papyrus, “whereas the immixture of hieroglyphic forms due to practical considerations when stone occasionally became the writing material reflects a superior knowledge — the ability not only to sign one’s name with a rush-‘pen’, but also to read hieroglyphic texts.”<sup>39</sup> Though signs might be reversed, attempts at hieroglyphic sign forms may show a higher knowledge of Egyptian writing than the neatest hieratic inscription. When an ancient author introduced hieroglyphic forms into a rock inscription, he or she indicated an appreciation for the monumental forms suitable for carving.<sup>40</sup> Winlock (1941, p. 146) notes, concerning the authors of Theban graffiti of the Middle Kingdom, that “they affected a minute, cramped, practically hieroglyphic hand which is far less likely to attract attention than the flowing hieratic of Ramesside scribes.” Interestingly, when the police officer ‘Aam writes his title and name, he uses “hieroglyphic” sign forms for his title, including the owl-*m* of *imy-ht*, but writes his name in purely hieratic forms (that is to say the *m* is hieratic, as the appearance of the throw stick does not differ greatly between hieroglyphic and hieratic writing; Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 14 and 15; pl. 32). Some of the signatures are somewhat messy, and this may most often result from people writing on an unfamiliar surface. In fact, some of the signatures of “scribes” cause one to doubt the writers’ scribal abilities. This is explained, however, when one remembers that most will have written on papyrus routinely, but rarely if ever on stone. Some of those who designated themselves as scribes might also have meant no more than that they were literate to a greater or lesser degree.<sup>41</sup>

Although one cannot say with absolute certainty, the ancient authors and artists who left their texts and depictions at Gebel Tjauti appear to have used flint for carving the limestone. The smooth and nicely faceted rocks on which the inscriptions and depictions at Gebel Tjauti are located lie just beneath a stratum of hard calcite. Imbedded near the bottom of this layer, just above the good stone, is a strip of large flint nodules. Most of these nodules are broken and several show unmistakable signs of having been intentionally fractured. In the spill beneath the inscription shelf are a number of flint chips and several worked tools, including a rough but particularly sharp knife. On the ledge itself, just below the inscribed surfaces, are a number of crescent-shaped tools, the outer, convex side preserving the cortex of a flint nodule. The inner half consists of two faces of worked flint that meet at a ridge forming the inner, concave portion of the crescent when viewed from the side. These tools have a sharp point at the upper tip of the crescent and fit nicely in the hand — the lower point of the crescent held between the thumb and middle finger, with the index finger resting on the concave back and the tip of that finger near the carved, upper point of the crescent. These simple tools easily cut into the soft limestone.

In copying these inscriptions the Theban Desert Road Survey made tracings with Staedtler “lumicolor” pens and Sanford “Sharpie” permanent markers, in various line widths and ink colors, on locally available polyurethane. Considering the many angles and curves of the rock surface and the often faint and shallow lines of the scenes and inscriptions, a flexible and completely transparent copying surface was necessary. The Survey then reduced the resulting copies, inked the reductions onto tracing vellum, and collated these at the rock face. For the inscription of the Coptite nomarch Tjauti (Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 6), the Survey inked on a photograph at the gebel, produced a traced copy of the surviving elements of the inscription, and repeatedly collated this at Gebel Tjauti.

The depictions and inscriptions from Gebel Tjauti presented herein are arranged roughly chronologically from the predynastic to the Coptic period. Purely figural inscriptions follow those containing writing, as it is somewhat easier to propose a general date for the latter. The location plans should serve to show the interrelationships between the various inscriptions, as well as their height above the present level of the shelf (pls. 2, 4–7). The section numbers given in the various plans refer to divisions of the inscribed rock face.

39. For scribes able to read and write hieratic, but confused by monumental signs, see Norman Davies 1920, pp. 8, 27–28 (discussing pls. 35–35A, nos. 2–3).

40. Compare the comments of H. Smith 1972, p. 51.

41. See the remarks of Jac J. Janssen 1992, p. 91.

## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTIONS 1–45

The inscriptions at Gebel Tjauti record a wide range of activities on the ‘Alamat Tal Road, over a span of time ranging from the predynastic through the Coptic periods. The great protodynastic Scorpion tableau (Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 1) — perhaps a document from the reign of Horus Scorpion of tomb U-j at Abydos — with its symbolically annotated depictions, appears to be the earliest record of an identifiable, historic event from the dawn of pharaonic history. The Scorpion tableau, the road construction inscription of the nomarch Tjauti (Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 6), and the inscription of the “assault troops of the son of Re Antef” (Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 7) speak of the military importance of the ‘Alamat Tal Road and provide insight into the mechanics of the extension of Theban control northward during the early phases of the re-unification of Egypt at the end of the First Intermediate Period. Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 8 records the name and title of a(nother?) General An<tef>. Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 9 and 10 record the names of an untitled individual and a herdsman. The serekhs of the protodynastic period (Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 2), the ornithoform boat (Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 3), two royal official inscriptions (Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 4–5), and the red ink inscription recording an unnamed ruler’s visit to Thebes (Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 12) suggest long continuing royal use of the ‘Alamat Tal Road. Another, very fragmentary, red ink inscription (Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 13) records the arrival of a scribe but breaks off before he is identified. The special nature of the track is further indicated by the inscriptions of policemen at Gebel Tjauti (Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 14–22) and by the Second Intermediate Period towers near the beginning of the road just north of western Thebes. Several inscriptions simply record names and titles (Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 24–30, 45); some are figural inscriptions (Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 31–35). Other inscriptions suggest religious observations at the site (Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 11, 23, 31–33). The inscription recording the observation of the heliacal rising of Sothis (Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 11) is a unique in situ record of ancient astronomy and provides welcome chronological information to aid our understanding of the obscure Seventeenth Dynasty.

Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 11 appears to mark the end of Gebel Tjauti’s popularity as a site for rock art and inscriptions. The ceramic evidence indicates a continued, heavy use of the road through the Eighteenth Dynasty and a certain amount of activity through the Ramesside period. There is a marked paucity of post-Ramesside pottery on the low desert portion of the ‘Alamat Tal Road. Several tracks from slightly farther north, originating behind the monasteries in the vicinity of Qamûla, converge on the ‘Alamat Tal Road at Gebel Tjauti and run parallel to the pharaonic road for several miles atop the gebel. The remains of Coptic pottery therefore increase in frequency on the high desert portion of the ‘Alamat Tal Road and at Gebel Tjauti itself. Many of the Coptic inscriptions (Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 36–44) could have been written by travelers whose point of departure or whose ultimate goal was one of the monasteries in the vicinity of Qamûla.

Several of the Coptic inscriptions at Gebel Tjauti are written in cryptography (Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 36–41). Cryptography is found at monastic sites in the Western Desert, and an unusual cryptographic experiment occurs in the inscriptions of the topos of Apa Tyrannos, near the base of the Darb Rayayna.<sup>42</sup> Although Coptic cryptography might at times have been no more than a learned exercise, it could also have a connection to the concepts of incarnation and resurrection.<sup>43</sup> The monastic association of the cryptography at the site along the Darb Rayayna suggests that John and Pamin, travelers on the ‘Alamat Tal Road, might have been clerics of some sort, although in none of their inscriptions does either associate himself explicitly with a monastery. All of the Coptic cryptography at Gebel Tjauti employs a system whereby each letter of the alphabet, set out in three columns of nine letters each, is equated with the letter resulting from the inversion of each column; because **ϵ**, **ϛ**, and **ϥ** have themselves as cryptograms, those letters are replaced by other symbols (most commonly **≡** for **ϵ** and **≡** for **ϛ**).<sup>44</sup>

The ceramic remains from this and other sites, and the rock inscriptions and rock art from other locations now being studied by the Theban Desert Road Survey team, augment and elaborate upon the image of desert activities

42. See Darnell and Darnell 1995, p. 53, fig. 11.

43. Compare Wisse 1979, pp. 101–20; see also Darnell 1995a, pp. 697–713, on the purpose of earlier Egyptian enigmatic (crypto-

graphic) treatises and the possible relation of enigmatic hieroglyphic script to Coptic cryptography.

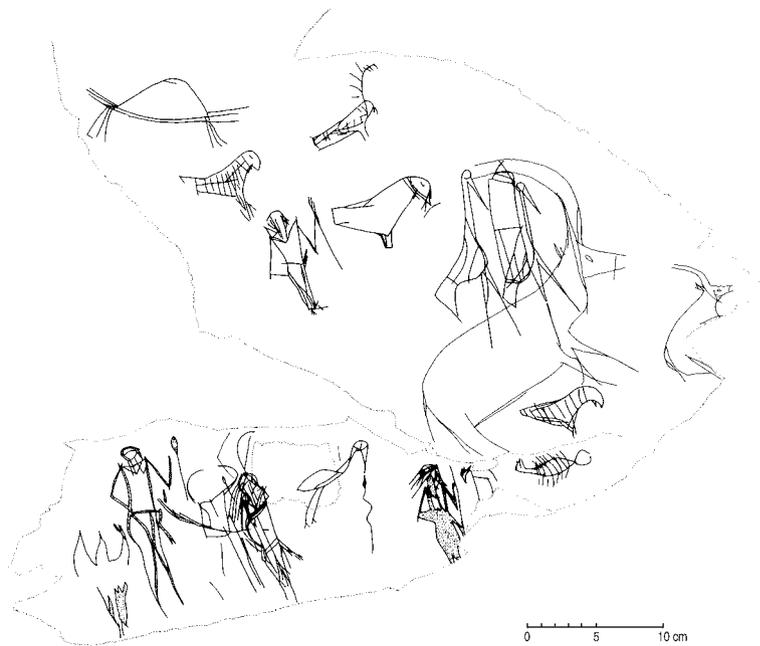
44. See the convenient summary in Doresse 1991, pp. 65–69.

formed by the scenes and inscriptions at Gebel Tjauti. The authors of this first group of scenes and inscriptions from Gebel Tjauti hope in future publications to present the remaining inscriptions from Gebel Tjauti, the archaeological material from the 'Alamat Tal Road, and all of the scenes, inscriptions, and other remains from the many pharaonic roads in the Western Desert. In the meantime, they hope that this first collection of inscriptions and depictions from Gebel Tjauti is of interest to Egyptologists, and that it shows the nature and importance of the remains of pharaonic activity which the Theban Desert Road Survey continues to discover in the awesome wastes west of the Nile.

## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTION 1

<i>Inscription:</i>	Protodynastic tableau	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 6c, 9–11
<i>Date of Inscription:</i>	Naqada IIIA1 (ca. 3200 B.C.)	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 48.75 × 43.50 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Section 15 of Gebel Tjauti inscription shelf		
<i>Note:</i>	Written by Renée Friedman and Stan Hendrickx with contributions by John C. Darnell		

### INSCRIPTION



### COMMENTARY

This large and deeply incised tableau is located in a dominant position high on the rock face. A fissure beginning near the middle of the scene and widening to the left has separated the space suitable for carving into two flat planes on which two registers of figures have been incised. The upper register angles up to the left following the available space. The rock face below the lower register has fallen away so that the plane on which the lower register was horizontally arranged juts out to form a small overhang; the underside of this overhang is also incised with inscriptions of various periods. Although the edge of this overhang — and thus the lower portion of the bottom register — has broken and fissured in the right lower half of the tableau and an unknown amount of suitable rock surface has fallen away at the right edge, on the basis of the present appearance of the rock face the entire composition seems to be present.

The right portion of the tableau is a palimpsest — a structure and a pair of storks belonging to the tableau proper overlie a large antelope/ibex. All of these elements are in turn carved over with a group of scratches forming a rough X-shape. A hieratic name was also added to the lower right, the seated man determinative partially carved over the beak of the falcon in the lower right. In addition, a deeply incised *nm*-knife and associated phonetic

complement<sup>45</sup> was subsequently carved (perhaps not inappropriately) between and partially over the man holding a staff and the bird with a serpent at its mouth.

The tableau proper is composed of two registers. All figures within face to the right. The upper register begins (from right to left) with a tall structure, flanked and partially overlain by a pair of storks; a falcon followed by a man holding a staff, above or behind which are two more falcons internally differentiated; and, finally, what we suggest is a carrying chair with short legs, gently bowed carrying poles, and an arched canopy. The lower register begins with a falcon, again internally differentiated from the birds in the upper register, above a scorpion. This is followed by a figure carrying a staff, before which is an image, partially lost, perhaps depicting a standard on a pole. A long-necked bird with a serpent at its beak comes next, followed by a bound captive with long, streaming hair, arms tied behind his back, held by a rope connected to a bearded male figure with close-cropped hair, who holds a mace. Between these two figures is a bucranium on a pole. Closing the lower register are enigmatic figures. The incision with three peaks may simply represent the terrain in which the action is taking place, that is the desert mountains (cf. Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 2), with vegetation represented below. The contemporaneity of these vertical incisions directly below is, however, uncertain. Perhaps part of an earlier or later carving, the lower, vertical element consists of broadly scraped lines, unlike the fine, deep incisions with which the rest of the tableau was carved.

Within the known corpus of rock art this tableau is unique — with the notable exception of the Gebel Sheikh Suleiman scene<sup>46</sup> — for the amount of early royal iconography it exhibits, paralleled in the art and inscriptions of the late predynastic period and Dynasty 0. As the following discussion demonstrates, the new finds from tomb U-j at Abydos in particular provide a number of close parallels and leave little doubt that the Gebel Tjauti tableau is contemporary, or nearly so, with that tomb and that it may even belong to the owner of that tomb (Dreyer 1998). Therefore, the Gebel Tjauti tableau probably dates to the Naqada IIIA1<sup>47</sup> period, at about 3200 B.C. or even a little earlier.

The two antelopes in the right portion of the scene are anterior to the major tableau in its final form, as the legs of the storks and the roof of the structure in the upper register are superimposed upon the larger antelope. The larger antelope and the smaller, but identical, version before it, are masterfully and deeply carved, much like the figures in the tableau. It seems unlikely, however, that these animals are part of the composition, due to the great difference in scale between the larger antelope and the comparatively small figures forming the tableau. They might, however, have been re-used and incorporated into the tableau in order to parallel desert fauna chaos and hunting with the warfare and victory imagery of the tableau itself. Such a juxtaposition occurs in the painted tomb of Hierakonpolis and survives throughout pharaonic art.<sup>48</sup>

In the upper register, the lines of the long rectangular structure are parallel to the necks of the storks, a feature suggesting that these elements are paired. However, their contemporaneity must be questioned. The body of the right stork of the identical pair overlies the structure, and the legs of both storks end well below the structure's baseline. What this structure represents, in an initial or later phase of the tableau, is unclear. The tall structure could represent an early, empty serekh,<sup>49</sup> except that the exceptionally long shape of the building would not suit the normal appearance of a serekh, early ones being broader than long. Indeed, the entire tableau probably antedates the earliest known serekhs. As the gable at the top of the structure is likely to be original to the depiction, a more likely interpretation is as a shrine, as attested on later documents such as the Narmer mace-head and the tablet of Hor Aha, notably in conjunction with long-necked birds identified as herons.<sup>50</sup> Considering the stork and building as a group, one may cite closer parallels on a black-topped beaker incised with a bird on a gable-topped structure from

45. This group appears again to the left of the great tableau. Both examples, perhaps early writings of "execution" or "executioner," appear in photographs and facsimiles in the forthcoming publication of additional inscriptions from Gebel Tjauti.

46. See Murnane 1987, pp. 282–85.

47. Dreyer (1998, pp. 17–18) dates tomb U-j to Stufe IIIa2, which corresponds partially to Naqada IIIA1 of Hendrickx's recent reassessment of Naqada Stufen dates; see Hendrickx 1996a, pp. 36–69. Tomb U-j is dated to Naqada IIIA1 by Hendrickx, and the dating systems proposed by Hendrickx are used throughout this commentary.

48. Compare the decoration on the backs (west faces) of the two towers of the first pylon of the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu; *MH* 2, pls. 67–68, 116–17.

49. Known from the Abydos tomb U-s (Naqada IIIA2; Dreyer 1990, p. 59, fig. 3) and tomb U-t (Naqada IIIB; idem 1993, p. 47, fig. 9). See also Dreyer 1998, p. 89, fig. 59d, e, g, h.

50. For the Narmer mace-head, see the recent redrawing in Friedman and Adams 1992, p. 298; W. M. F. Petrie 1901a, pl. 10, fig. 2. The heron has long been viewed as providing locational information, placing the shrine at Buto, but this must be re-examined; see Altenmüller 1975; Dreyer 1993, pp. 34–35, table 7j; Millet 1990, pp. 53–59; but see also Friedman 1996a, pp. 16–35 (especially p. 33).

Naqada tomb 1546 (dated Naqada IC)<sup>51</sup> and a bone label from tomb U-j at Abydos.<sup>52</sup> This label depicts a stork with similarities to the birds at Gebel Tjauti in the appearance of the tail and the treatment of the head and beak, standing before a structure with a peaked roof. Dreyer (1998, p. 139) reads the label from Abydos as *Bꜣ-s.t*, the toponym Bubastis, a reading which seems out of place for the group at Gebel Tjauti. Nevertheless, seeing the storks as the *bꜣ.w* or spirits of a sanctuary is not inappropriate. The presence of two storks instead of just one may provide information regarding the location of the depicted sanctuary. The Fifth Nome of Upper Egypt (see fig. 1), the Coptite nome in which Gebel Tjauti is situated (compare Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 7, below), is named *bꜣ.wy* “the two divine powers” and later *ntr.wy* “the two divinities.” The two birds and the peaked structure are perhaps an annotated representation of a shrine of some sort in the Coptite nome.<sup>53</sup>

The three falcons in the upper register, together with the standing male figure, can be read in a variety of ways. The shape of the Gebel Tjauti falcons, incorporating a “triangular” body, is not identical with the form of the typical Dynasty 0 falcon; this general type of the falcon is, however, represented from the end of the Naqada II period.<sup>54</sup> Each of the three falcons is distinguished by a different set of attributes and internal decoration; they appear to be representations of three different Horuses. The lower falcon appears to hold something in its beak, perhaps similar in conception to the stork with serpent in the lower register. Its body contains no internal markings.

The falcon with a hooked nose to the left of the human figure is further differentiated by a body that is filled with a series of vertical lines crossed by one horizontal line. A similarly decorated bird appears on a bone label from tomb U-j at Abydos; that bird stands on a scored rectangle which Dreyer reads as “garden” or “domain.”<sup>55</sup> The bird at Gebel Tjauti appears to be standing on something, if the four vertical lines are not meant to be its claws. Although not exactly identical, these lines can be compared with the triangle, particularly in an abbreviated form, on which a falcon stands on a series of bone labels from tomb U-j.<sup>56</sup> Reading these labels as a reference to the royal harem (Dreyer 1998, p. 142) is particularly relevant within the interpretation of this tableau, as is discussed below.

The remaining falcon wears a plant frond or feather on its head, and its body is decorated with three pairs of short vertical marks. Although its wing is indicated by incisions, the details of the legs have been omitted. One should note that this falcon is incised with a slightly lighter line than the other birds and that its beak is not of one piece with its head, as is the case with the other falcons. The body, too, is drawn differently. The fashioning of the falcon’s body with nearly parallel lines appears from the available evidence to be later than the Naqada IIIA1 period to which the rest of the tableau may be dated. However, it is unclear whether it should be considered a later addition or the work of a second hand in the carving of the tableau. The most likely identification of the object atop the falcon’s head, given the present state of our knowledge of protodynastic iconography, is as a feather.<sup>57</sup> Indeed, the feather on the heads of male figures on Naqada II decorated objects provides the closest parallel.<sup>58</sup> The connection between the feather and victory or power is already indicated by the victorious persons bedecked with feathers on a series of white cross-line beakers of the Naqada I period.<sup>59</sup>

51. Payne 1993, p. 40, fig. 25.174; but see also R. Wilkinson 1985, p. 98, where he interprets the decoration on the beaker as a falcon atop the Lower Egyptian *itr.t*-shrine.

52. Dreyer 1998, pp. 124–26, nn. 103–05. Dreyer considers the “building” to be a chair.

53. See Helck 1974, p. 83, citing the basalt false door of the nomarch User; for the reading *bꜣ.wy*, see Fischer 1964, pp. 45–46. We are grateful to John Darnell for providing this suggestion and information.

54. Falcons occur in various media (slate palettes, amulets, and statuettes) in this standardized form from the end of the Naqada IIC period. See, inter alia, Payne 1993, figs. 4.13, 4.17; 77.1889; Brunton and Caton-Thompson 1928, pls. LII.15, LVIII.6; W. M. F. Petrie 1914, pls. 1, 22.10d, l; Möller 1926, pl. 31.301–03; the ivory falcon with inlaid (rock-crystal) eyes in Scharff 1929, p. 53, pl. 17, no. 81.

55. Dreyer 1998, pp. 126–27, nos. 108–09, 122–25.

56. Ibid., pp. 126–28, nos. 111–25 (especially nos. 119, 121).

57. Although this object resembles the frond atop the bucrania in ink inscriptions on pottery from tomb U-j (ibid., pp. 65–67), it is unlikely to be the frond of a palm (and thus a ligature writing for “plantation of ...”; cf. ibid., p. 86) in either case.

58. For example, see the decorated jar from el-Amrah in Aksamit 1992, pl. 1; for an example in color, see Spencer 1993, fig. 22; compare also the hunter’s palette in ibid., fig. 37; idem 1980, p. 79, pl. 63. An example of an animal also bedecked with a feather is found in the figure of a recumbent cow on a tablet of Den; see W. M. F. Petrie 1901a, pls. 5 (fig. 1), 6a (fig. 2). As J. C. Darnell has pointed out, the object between the horns of the cow that sits above an *sh.t*-sign is not an example of a *rnp.t*-sign but is rather a feather plume. Parker (1950, p. 34, fig. 15) read the whole as “Sothis (the cow), the opener of the year; the inundation.” Thus it is a representation of the deity *Shꜣ.t-Hr*; see Godron, 1958, pp. 143–49; idem 1990, p. 77, n. 40; Spalinger 1994, pp. 55–56, n. 6, references cited there.

59. Dreyer et al. 1998, figs. 12.1, 13; W. M. F. Petrie 1921, pl. 25, no. C100m; Hendrickx 1996b, p. 60, and full bibliography cited there to which should be added Hendrickx 1998, pp. 203–30.

Closing the square is a male figure who, from the arrangement of the composition, appears to be equated with the falcons. Notably, the man holds some sort of staff from which three slanting lines project, an object with no clear parallels,<sup>60</sup> but not a mace. This staff serves to distinguish him from the male figures in similar pose in the lower register, who bear different gear. Another distinguishing feature of this male figure is the man's shoulders. Although all of the human figures in the tableau have peaked, triangular shoulders, his are quite high and include an additional feature on his left. The closest dated parallels for the man's pose, outfit, close-cropped hair, and apparently clean-shaven face come from small vignettes in the painted tomb at Hierakonpolis.

In the painted tomb at Hierakonpolis, in a vignette below one of the boats, a man holds an object often identified as a hide-covered shield, from the corners of which the legs of the animal appear to protrude, with its tail emerging from the top. A man to the right holds two staves, one longer than the other. This man has a similar skin over his thorax, with the belt of his penis sheath tied over it; a streamer, probably the tail of the hide, flies over his left shoulder. In the next vignette, the standing man wears the same costume.<sup>61</sup>

It has been suggested that these representations from the painted tomb depict an early example of body armor, a shield — perhaps with some modifications — worn as a breastplate. However, the bellicose nature of these scenes must be questioned given the atypical and asymmetrical use of weapons (staves rather than maces) and with it the combative use of the skin/shield. A more compelling interpretation of the two scenes is as one depicting the transfer and conference of power and status: the humble presentation of a skin to the person who holds the two staves or scepters results in the skin-wearing person's position of dominance.<sup>62</sup> The wearing of a skin as a symbol of power is next seen on the Narmer palette, where the figure designated as *tt* is so clad. The importance of the *tt*-figure is obvious. He is the only person other than the king who is identified by name and he is very probably the king's son in his function as a *sem*, a title which was not to receive a priestly function until the later Old Kingdom.<sup>63</sup> The *sem*, originally the royal son who was heir apparent, wore the leopard skin and acted as a medium between the royal and common spheres and, perhaps more importantly, officiated in the liminal area between the world of men and the world of divinities and spirits.<sup>64</sup>

If the figure in the Gebel Tjauti tableau were similarly attired, this might explain his high shoulders and the object over his left shoulder as the tail of the animal hide.<sup>65</sup> This interpretation is strengthened if the enigmatic object in the extreme upper left of the tableau has been correctly understood.

While this domed object bears a certain resemblance to much later schematic renderings of camels,<sup>66</sup> there is no reason to doubt that this image is contemporary with the tableau. An identification as a roofed sedan chair or mobile

60. A harpoon is a possibility or perhaps the staves held by men in the painted tomb of Hierakonpolis. Equally strange objects, probably throw sticks, are found in the hands of male figures on some decorated jars, for example, vessel BM EA49570, vessels MMA 20-2-10 and 12.182.41, and Petrie Museum UC 36233. J. C. Darnell has pointed out that this staff does not recall directly any of the multitude of surviving ancient Egyptian staves. He suggests that the top part of the object bears a similarity to leaves of the flowering reed (M17), especially when compared with the more detailed examples in Fischer 1979, pp. 9, 58. Indeed staves of reed, more often of imitation reed, are well attested. See Hassan 1976, pp. 33–36; Fischer 1978, p. 21.

61. Quibell and Green 1902, pl. 76. For the two men in detail, see Hendrickx 1998, pp. 220–22, figs. 17–18. Compare also the sign B9.9 from Gebel Tjauti (publication forthcoming). This drawing is almost exactly paralleled on a predynastic potmark from the U cemetery at Diospolis Parva; see Petrie and Mace 1901, pl. 21, no. 68. More elaborate representations also appear on a decorated ware vessel from Naqada tomb 454 (Payne 1993, fig. 42.865) and again on a cross-line ware vessel in W. M. F. Petrie 1920, pl. 23, no. 2, now thought to be from Abydos. For further examples and bibliography, see Hendrickx 1996, pp. 203–30, where such “shields” are considered to be hides on frames attached to poles, but not necessarily garments, although related.

62. Hendrickx 1996, pp. 203–30.

63. Hendrickx 1996, pp. 203–30; Staehelin 1966, pp. 64–68.

64. See Schmitz 1984. In this regard, the object held in his hand is perhaps related to the long staves carried by other skin-wearing men; see Staehelin 1966, pp. 154–57, pls. 10, 13, figs. 4a, 26. According to J. C. Darnell (pers. comm.), the proposed early representation of the *sem* said to hold a spear (Staehelin 1966, p. 67; Helck 1954, p. 17; idem 1987, p. 159 [identification as *sem*]) is probably a depiction of a divinity, perhaps the god Sopdu; see Godron 1990, pp. 58–60. One should note, however, that in his role during the mysteries of Osiris at Abydos, the *sem*-priest might actually have wielded a spear in combat with Seth and the forces of chaos; compare the descriptions of combat against the foes of Osiris on a stela of Rudjahau from Abydos (BM 159; Faulkner 1951, pp. 47–52 [particularly lines 5–7]); see also lines 18 and 21 of the stela of Iykhernofret (Schäfer 1904, pp. 68–69 [22–23], 76 [30]); in line 17 (ibid., p. 64 [18]) Iykhernofret in fact states that he functioned as a *sem*-priest.

65. See also the figure in the second register of a docket of Hor Aha (W. M. F. Petrie 1901a, pl. 10, fig. 2) clad in a robe emphasizing the tail of the animal skin flying over the shoulder, as in the Gebel Tjauti tableau.

66. See Červíček 1974, pp. 178–79, fig. 382, *passim*.

shrine known as a *rpi.t* seems to fit the representation best.<sup>67</sup> As such, the depiction in the Gebel Tjauti tableau would be the earliest datable depiction of this ancient and much discussed object,<sup>68</sup> and this fact might account for its shape being somewhat squatter and more elongated than that known from later representations of the *rpi.t*. Nevertheless, the Gebel Tjauti image appears to possess the necessary accoutrements: small legs, carrying handles, and a domed roof. Only its occupant is lacking, but this is not exceptional.<sup>69</sup>

The *rpi.t*-shrine, with or without its occupant, is associated with the female power behind the throne — be it that of a queen, princess, or goddess. The goddess and her shrine were early on associated with kingship, specifically the red crown.<sup>70</sup> In these early representations, it is apparently the goddess Bat in the shrine.<sup>71</sup> From the early dynastic period both three- and two-dimensional representations of the *rpi.t*-shrine are known,<sup>72</sup> mainly, but not exclusively, from Abydos. This is not surprising as Bat was the goddess and emblem of the neighboring nome of Hou (Seventh Nome), and this local coupling could have had relevance to the depiction at Gebel Tjauti.

As the feminine counterpart of the Horus king, the most notable characteristic of the *rpi.t* is her mobility. From her heretofore earliest representation on the Narmer mace-head to the palace of Apries at Memphis, figures in roofed sedan chairs occur in conjunction with processions to shrines and the viewing of ceremonies (see Kaiser 1983, figs. 1–2). Her role at Gebel Tjauti seems little different — she follows in procession to a shrine, perhaps in order to view or participate in the presentation of a captive, as depicted in the lower register of the tableau. This connection between the *rpi.t*-shrine in the upper register and the procession in the lower register is a further indication that the two registers of the Gebel Tjauti tableau belong together and should be interpreted as a coherent scene.

If the identification of the *rpi.t* and the *sem* are accepted, then it is possible to pair them with the falcons that precede them as identifiers. These figures in the upper register can then neatly be read in linear fashion as the son of the Horus god or “king” and the wife and member of the harem of the Horus god or “king.” Only the falcon with the feather on its head would not fit in this linear reading, but its contemporaneity with the tableau has already been questioned. Indeed the quadratic composition of the three falcons and the male figure seems highly unusual even at this early stage in the development of the Egyptian artistic canon. Nevertheless, whether contemporary or not, its reading as “victorious Horus,” emphasizing the power and importance of the falcon, is not out of place in this tableau.

The first portion of the lower register begins with a falcon atop a scorpion. Again, the falcon is similar in its rather triangular shape to those in the upper register, but is differentiated by vertical scoring without a crossing horizontal. Given their pride of place, dubious as it may be between the legs of the large antelope, they should contain an important message. Indeed, despite the fact that the designation of a king by a falcon alone is unattested until the reign of Iry-Hor, it may be possible to read these signs as the title and name of the Horus king Scorpion, perhaps the same king as the one who is buried in tomb U-j at Abydos, the tomb whence come so many parallels for imagery in this tableau at Gebel Tjauti. If not, the falcon and the scorpion could still be considered symbols of royalty without specific reference to the name of a king.<sup>73</sup> One must note, however, that the mouth of the falcon, although obscured

67. Other possibilities, that is, a pterocerus shell as on the Coptos colossi and in ink inscriptions from tomb U-j at Abydos, or a variant writing of the name Ka/Sekhen, do not quite suit the appearance of the image at Gebel Tjauti. For the pterocerus shell, see Dreyer 1995, pp. 49–56, figs. 1, 3b; idem 1998, pp. 59–62. For Ka/Sekhen, intriguing but ultimately unconvincing are depictions of the arms stretching downward with a second, often curved line connecting them; see, for example, Quibell and Petrie 1900, pls. 34 (no. 3), 15 (no. 6) (among many other examples); Dreyer 1998, p. 145, tablet nos. 70, 138, 164; for an overview, see also Kahl 1994, pp. 38–40.

There is also a resemblance to the ambiguous sign inscribed within the square above the sandal-bearer on the obverse of the Narmer palette. Menu (1998a, pp. 22–23; 1998b, p. 27) has recently commented on this sign, rejecting its identification as the *db*-float or a pair of bound sandals. Instead, she suggests that this object is a device for measuring and marking out territorial limits. The unequal proportions of the figure in the Tjauti tableau and its curved rather than angular peak make a similar identification unlikely.

68. On *rpi.t*, see Rössler-Köhler 1984, cols. 236–42, and the references cited there; Kaiser 1983.

69. Although the figure of a goddess occasionally appears within the shrine, early examples from Abydos more often show only the shrine, as in the Gebel Tjauti tableau; compare the three-dimensional representation of the sedan chair *rpi.t* in W. M. F. Petrie 1903, pl. 7, no. 132.

70. Compare Grdseloff 1943, p. 112; Kaplony 1963, pp. 339, 612; Helck 1987, p. 152; B. Adams 1990, pp. 1–9.

71. Only much later assimilated with the similarly bovine Hathor; Fischer 1962, pp. 7–24 (especially p. 12); idem 1975, col. 630–32; Rössler-Köhler 1884, col. 237; Haynes 1996, pp. 399–408.

72. For three-dimensional models, see W. M. F. Petrie 1903, pls. 7 (131–32), 10 (210); H. W. Müller 1964, fig. A29a–c; Schlögl 1978, p. 27, nos. 77–79; Kemp 1991, fig. 33; two-dimensional representations appear in Kaiser 1983, fig. 3.

73. An important parallel for the Tjauti falcon and scorpion may be the remarkable vase from Hierakonpolis on which a series of falcons perched on enigmatic crescents appear above a series

by a later inscription, is definitely open. The possibility remains that, much like the scene of the heron with the snake, this vignette in the tableau represents Horus vanquishing the scorpion. Neither interpretation is out of place in relation to the rest of the register, although the former — the royal symbols or the actual name of Horus Scorpion — is certainly more intriguing than the latter.<sup>74</sup>

Only partially preserved and with the lower half worn away, what is tentatively identified as the image of an animal atop a carrying pole follows the scorpion. The position of this possible standard strongly recalls the image of Wepwawet at the head of a procession, although oddly the animal atop the carrying pole at Gebel Tjauti would then seem to face back towards the human figures to the left. As the man immediately to the left is already holding a staff in his forward hand, it may be that the standard is freestanding. The image does bear a certain resemblance to the early depiction of the *imiut*-standard,<sup>75</sup> however, considering its position at the head of a procession, a more mobile standard is probably intended.

Further interpretation of this standard depends on how we view the figure behind it. Partially carved over with a later, deeper inscription, this figure is a bearded(?) man with shoulder-length hair and perhaps a sidelock or lappet falling over one or both shoulders. In his left hand he carries a staff. Although similar in pose to the other male figures in the tableau, this man is apparently dressed in a kilt held up by a strap over his right shoulder, as indicated by the deep — but certainly contemporary — scratches within the outline of his body. A second strap over his left shoulder may be indicated by the heavy incision along the right side of his torso, but this is uncertain. Over the kilt and at his waist is perhaps a wide girdle with ties or a penis sheath hanging down. The kilt (or an apron) appears to flare out above the knees and then become tight fitting. As the lower legs of the figure have been lost, it is unclear how long this kilt was meant to be. The division of the two legs is, however, clearly visible just above the break. Notably, there is no evidence of an animal's tail.

This garb calls to mind the Hierakonpolis ivories. Although most of those depict men wearing penis sheaths, some examples, unfortunately incomplete, show men wearing wide belts with thick ties and wraparound kilts that end just above the knees.<sup>76</sup> The heavy belt or girdle also recalls the sandal bearer on the Narmer palette and mace-head, as well as some of the minuscule persons bearing the standards in procession before the king.<sup>77</sup> This observation could have relevance for determining the nature of the enigmatic standard at Gebel Tjauti, but the scale and placement of the figure here would suggest that a more important personage within the retinue of the king was intended, whoever that might be.<sup>78</sup>

The next figure in the lower register is a long-necked bird holding a serpent at its beak, an image known from several ivories of the late predynastic (early Naqada III) period. The birds on the carved ivories have been generally identified as saddlebill storks. However, the bird in this register of the tableau is somewhat different from the storks flanking the shrine in the upper register, which — as later depictions of the *bꜣw*-birds suggest — are also to be identified as saddlebill storks.<sup>79</sup> Whether or not this difference is of significance for understanding the early meaning of these images remains to be explored.<sup>80</sup>

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of scorpions; see Quibell and Petrie 1900, pl. 19. For animals used as symbols of an unnamed king, see, for example, the lion of the battlefield palette (Friedman 1996b, pp. 64–65, references cited there).

74. It should also be noted that the legs of the scorpion here are drawn as viewed from above and not from the side, as in the scorpion ink inscription from tomb U-j; see Dreyer 1998, figs. 34–39; see also B. Adams 1974, pls. 13–14.

75. Compare the examples collected in H. Petrie 1927, pl. 11, nos. 257–60; W. M. F. Petrie 1901a, pl. 3, figs. 4, 6; see also Logan 1990, pp. 61–69. For the *imiut*-standard and its significance, see Köhler 1975; idem 1980, cols. 149–50.

76. Quibell and Petrie 1900, pls. 8 (no. 2), 10 (nos. 9–10). The available photographs render it impossible to determine what if any upper garment the men in these ivories wore.

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77. These details on the Narmer palette, often omitted in line drawings, are especially clear in the photograph in Málek and Forman 1986, pp. 14–15, despite the unfortunate placement of the staple.

78. Of note, although later, is the depiction of “Semty” (Den) on an ivory label from Abydos, with long hair, a beard, and a kilted garment that crosses over his shoulder, holding a staff as he walks behind a jackal standard (W. M. F. Petrie 1900, pls. 10 [no. 14], 14 [no. 9]).

79. See Churcher 1984, pp. 155–56, 167–68; for the appearance of the bird, see *ibid.*, pp. 148, 150 (no. 48), 198 (no. 47; a potmark on a Naqada III vessel from Abu Zaidan). On the identification of the saddlebill stork, see Houlihan 1986, pp. 23–25.

80. At Elkab, a bird holding a serpent incised on a rock has been identified as a secretary bird (*sagittarius serpentarius*) on purely morphological bases (Dirk Huyge, pers. comm.). Elsewhere an ibis or heron has been suggested.

On late predynastic carved ivory knife handles and combs, the bird holding a snake appears as the opening image for the second register. The group may thus be viewed as an opener for the register or, in the case of the Gebel Tjauti tableau, as an introduction, announcement, and label for the new scene that follows, the main content of which is the triumph of order over chaos or — more simply and less allegorically stated — victory.<sup>81</sup> Vultures are also involved in similar activity, notably on a painted bowl from Qustul, where two such birds with snake are depicted heading towards a structure or shrine, placing the action in a ritual sphere, as may be the case at Gebel Tjauti (Williams 1986, pl. 84).

One should note that the body of the bird at Gebel Tjauti is carved over a rectangular area that has been carefully scraped back, extending back to and below the face of the bound captive. Light scratches still visible beneath the bucranium behind the captive suggest that some earlier image was found already carved here and erased to accommodate the great tableau. This erasure suggests that the earlier antelopes were allowed to remain for incorporation into the tableau.

The mace-wielding man holding a trussed captive by a rope finds his closest parallel in the painted tomb at Hierakonpolis (Quibell and Green 1902, pl. 76); however, a white cross-line ware beaker recently found at Abydos shows this motif to be much older.<sup>82</sup> Prisoners with long, flowing hair and bound arms are also represented on this jar and on related cross-line ware jars in Brussels and the Petrie Museum, University College, London.<sup>83</sup> As in these earlier depictions of prisoners, the hair of the captive at Gebel Tjauti is disheveled, his hands are bound behind his back, and his penis is flaccid. His legs may also be shackled together. It is most likely a feather that protrudes from his head. The prisoner is bound by a rope to a large male figure who reaches for a mace with his forward hand. Bearded and with close-cropped hair, he wears a penis sheath.

Between the prisoner and his captor is a bucranium probably mounted on a pole. The presence in this area of the remnants of an earlier carving makes it unclear whether the vertical line immediately below the bull's head is indeed part of the completed tableau. If it is a support for the bucranium, then an almost exact parallel comes from tomb U-j at Abydos, where Dreyer suggests it is a royal name.<sup>84</sup> However the bucranium is the only symbol that is not accompanied by a separate tree, or domain, sign on the Abydos documents, nor does it appear on the Coptos colossi. Therefore one can question whether it is a royal name. Rather, it may represent a standard or symbol of power. The head of a bull on a pole may indeed signify the capture and slaughter of an extremely strong enemy (i.e., a bull) and the subsequent power now held over this enemy.<sup>85</sup> Therefore, it seems likely that the bucranium on the Gebel Tjauti tableau identifies the prisoner. Whether the bucranium on a pole is a general symbol or is related to a particular place, god, or temple remains unclear. Nevertheless, the ink drawings of bucrania on ceramic vessels from tomb U-j may indicate the provenance and/or the contents of the vessels on which they were drawn. In that case, the bucrania inscriptions on the jars from tomb U-j could be understood as a reference to captured booty with or without a specific reference to place.

The identity of the enigmatic object behind the armed man and his prisoner in the lower register remains obscure. However, the three triangular peaks are most likely locational information setting the origin of the procession in the desert mountains in which Gebel Tjauti is located. The object below the mountain peaks suggests vegetation and may represent the vegetation growing in the beds of the wadi arms before and to either side of Gebel Tjauti.

The large number of iconographic features in parallel with the recent finds within tomb U-j at Abydos leave little doubt as to the date of the tableau. Corroborating evidence from less well-dated finds elsewhere concurs with a date in Naqada IIIA/B. Dreyer (1998, pp. 17, 86, 173) identifies the owner of tomb U-j as an early king, Scorpion, the very name that may be read in the lower right portion of the Gebel Tjauti tableau, at the head of both registers. But this may not be the only early royal name associated with this tableau.

81. The bird does not hold the serpent in its beak, but at its beak, thus controlling but never devouring the serpent; see Hofman 1970, p. 620; Cialowicz 1992, pp. 249–51, and bibliography cited there. For this image in rock art, see Huyge, forthcoming, pl. 88, fig. 64.227–28.

82. Köhler 1975, figs. 12.1, 13.

83. See also Williams 1988a, pp. 46–51, 93, figs. 35–36. Note that the Gebel Tjauti parallel of the captive with long hair, depicted in the same manner as the long hair of the wig of the first man

in the lower register, suggests — contra *ibid.*, pp. 49–50 — that the captive on the Petrie Museum jar also has long hair and not streams of blood pouring from his head.

84. Dreyer 1995, p. 55, pl. 3d; Dreyer 1998, pp. 65–67, 85–86.

85. A class of predynastic amulets depicting bull's heads is an indication of the importance of the bull's head as an emblem of power. See Hendrickx, forthcoming; Payne 1993, pp. 317–18 (no. 250); Vassilika 1996, p. 63.

On the roof of the overhang created by the stone on which the lowest register of the Scorpion tableau is carved is the depiction of an elephant treading on mountains with its hind legs (see Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 28). Dreyer (1995; 1998, pp. 175–79) interprets similar depictions of elephants on the Coptos colossus in the Cairo Museum (JdE 30770) and from tomb U-j at Abydos as a royal name (for further discussion, see the commentary to Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 2, below). The placement of the mountain-trampling elephant at Gebel Tjauti in a much less prominent position than in the Scorpion tableau is explicable in two ways: First, the Gebel Tjauti tableau had already been carved and King Elephant wished to be associated with it; or second, earlier images of King Elephant had been present but were erased or incorporated into the tableau.

The presence of King Elephant's name in tomb U-j of King Scorpion indicates that Scorpion was his successor,<sup>86</sup> thus suggesting that the second option is the more likely. If we were to take the falcon as a label for the scorpion in the lower right portion of the tableau, then the Gebel Tjauti tableau would provide the oldest recognized evidence for the use of the Horus title. Yet, it must be noted that the King Scorpion of tomb U-j is nowhere provided with a Horus title in his tomb. Given the large number of documents from tomb U-j, it would be somewhat surprising if his Horus name occurred at Gebel Tjauti, but not in his tomb, despite the very disturbed state in which the latter was found.<sup>87</sup> If, however, the falcon and the scorpion are taken as royal symbols rather than a specific name, the possibility remains that the tableau in fact belongs to King Elephant himself. Although the number of iconographic parallels with tomb U-j could suggest that it is unlikely that an even earlier king was responsible for the tableau, it should be remembered that there is evidence of erasure of an earlier image in the second register, which could have referred to an earlier king.

In the great protodynastic tableau at Gebel Tjauti we appear to have a record of a military operation carried out by an Abydene ruler in the early part of the Naqada III period. The tableau appears to be concerned with that ruler's control over the 'Alamat Tal Road and a southern region most likely to be identified with the region of Naqada. The location at Gebel Tjauti of a "victory stela" of the Abydene ruler could suggest that the hosts of Abydos returned from their conquest traveling northwest on this road. The initial attack could have been made by an army that had journeyed from Abydos along the 'Alamat Tal Road, coming out of the desert just south of modern Qamûla. By seizing a portion of the Nile Valley and thus controlling the Nile itself at this point, an army could have successfully outflanked Ombos and Qûs, denied that pair of cities any assistance from their southern dependencies, and discouraged assistance from farther afield. It is possible that the Gebel Tjauti tableau shows the dedication of the conquest of this southern region by the victor to the deity, temple, or other locality designated by the building and storks at the right end of the upper register.

Several authors have suggested that during the early Naqada III period a number of regional kingdoms in Upper Egypt somehow turned into larger kingdoms, the most prominent of these being Hierakonpolis, Naqada, and Thinis/Abydos.<sup>88</sup> Of these, the two most important centers were Thinis/Abydos and Hierakonpolis. One may with reason suggest that Abydos' exertion of control over Naqada was a major event before the final settlement between Abydos and Hierakonpolis, an event of which we know virtually nothing. Considering the importance of Hierakonpolis and its patron deity during the early dynastic period, it is perhaps more reasonable to suggest that Hierakonpolis and Abydos formed a coalition than to suggest a confrontation between the two. In fact, the extension of Abydene authority to the region of Naqada and its southern dependencies might have been the event that led to the final chapter of the unification of Upper Egypt. An agreement between Hierakonpolis and Abydos would have ensured the safety of the southern flank of the Abydene army as it debouched through the Gebel Tjauti pass onto the low desert just south of Naqada. A chronological argument for the extension of Abydene rule over Naqada during the Naqada IIIA1 period appears reasonable, and from that moment on there is a spectacular increase in the dimensions of the tombs of the predynastic kings in cemetery U at Abydos. At the same time, there seems to be a decrease in the number of Naqada IIIA1–IIIB tombs in the elite cemetery T at Naqada.

As noted, various iconographic details in the Gebel Tjauti tableau find parallels in the Abydos tomb U-j of a King Scorpion. It is possible that the conquest or consolidation of southern Upper Egypt, which had already started quite some time previous, culminated early in this king's reign; if that were the case, the subjugation of Lower

86. For a discussion of Dynasty 0 succession, see Dreyer 1998, pp. 178–79.

87. One must also note that hardly any personal belongings of King Scorpion were recovered from his tomb and thus a lack of objects with the name Scorpion and his Horus title is to be ex-

pected. All of the inscriptions were found on goods that appear to have been brought in from outside of the palace.

88. Compare, inter alia, the remarks of Midant-Reynes 2000, pp. 232–50; Kemp 1991, pp. 31–35; T. Wilkinson 1999.

Egypt, or the “unification,” would be a more rapid and explosive event than hitherto envisioned. Items from tomb U-j suggest that substantial parts of Egypt were under Scorpion’s control; for example, ivory tags mention localities identified with Lower Egyptian towns and over seven-hundred vessels imported from Palestine suggest Scorpion’s control of important northern and eastern trade routes. While the exact author of the Gebel Tjauti tableau remains a matter of speculation, an attribution to King Elephant is certainly attractive on historical grounds as this would leave a longer period of time between the unification of the south and expanding control over the north. It is unlikely that this magnificent tableau refers simply to a minor skirmish. Instead it may commemorate an earlier, and indeed crucial, event in the formative history of the Egyptian state.

The great protodynastic tableau at Gebel Tjauti is no doubt one of the earliest historical records from the very dawn of pharaonic history. It may record a military use of the ‘Alamat Tal Road identical (though with the armies moving in the reverse direction) to that recorded in the later inscription of Tjauti (Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 6). If this is correct, events surrounding the unification of the two lands emerge somewhat from the protohistoric gloom.

#### EXCURSUS: ANSWERS IN THE DUST

Why would Scorpion launch his attack along the Tjauti Road, if he were to have done so at all? Discoveries by the Theban Desert Road Survey in December 2000 allow for an answer to this question. Scorpion returned along the ‘Alamat Tal Road, probably launching his attack along that road as well, because there was only one road leading directly to the desert behind Naqada from the north, and that road had its problems — specifically it led through a long and narrow pass and was apparently well patrolled and defended.

The cliffs behind Naqada form a steep-walled bay up which no routes may ascend. The Darb Naqadiya, leading from behind Tukh in the north, appears from the ceramic remains to have been relatively unimportant during the pharaonic period and to have been all but unused earlier. A route leading into the Western Desert from near the Wadi Maqar, more directly behind Naqada, shows evidence of only Roman and later use. A major route did lead west and north from near the Darb Arqub el-Baghla, however, along the southern fringe of Naqada. This ancient road, which yields a tremendous amount of predynastic and protodynastic ceramic material, approximates near Naqada the route of a more recently used track leading along the Sinn el-Gir prong of the Theban massif, becoming a route curiously labeled the Darb el-Baiyrat el-Sharqiy. Rather than traveling along this great prong of the gebel, however, the ancient route turns to the west upon ascending the plateau and joins the ‘Alamat Tal Road near the middle of the high plateau portion of that more extensively used route.

Graffiti near the point where this predynastic Naqadan route enters a relatively narrow, long, winding defile show an important late Naqada II presence in the area. Similar graffiti behind the actual ancient site of Naqada correspond to a route linking the northern part of Naqada with this southern road. Ceramic and epigraphic evidence both agree and show that at the time of Scorpion’s attack Naqada maintained one major route into its desert hinterland, originating near its southern border and being in fact what one may term a northern branch or feeder of the ‘Alamat Tal Road.

This southern route passed through an easily defended defile, long and twisting, ideal for defense by Naqadan forces. Upon ascending the plateau, the road did not travel along the Sinn el-Gir prong, as does a more recent route. The reasons for this are twofold. Before arriving at the “spine” of Sinn el-Gir, the road passes through a wadi within the high plateau, an unsafe area for caravans or patrols in unsettled times. Even if the road were more easily defended as it traversed to Sinn el-Gir, a road descending near the tip of Sinn el-Gir would access the desert opposite Dishna, not particularly convenient if the main goal of trade in the area was the region of Abydos, as one may reasonably suggest. One may thus say that the southern Naqadan route was ideal for giving desert access to the region of Naqada, avoided areas easily exploited by foes, and allowed for excellent defense at the Naqadan terminus.

The terminus of the road behind the southern portion of Naqada appears to have been manned in both the low and high desert portions. In the low desert, near the petroglyphs mentioned above, there is evidence for a number of campsites yielding punctate pottery of a Saharan tradition, apparently evidence of more distant travelers who may have managed certain aspects of the trade along Naqada’s road into the Western Desert. At the point where an alternate ascent reaches the high plateau, before heading towards the high desert portion of the ‘Alamat Tal Road, are the remains of over eighty stone huts or windbreaks. A number of these, for the most part those of a more rounded, high walled appearance, appear to have been constructed by Coptic travelers, many perhaps associated with the nearby monastery discovered by the Theban Desert Road Survey in December 2000. Other of the structures, though often reused and sometimes even swept out in Christian times, nevertheless provide abundant evidence for occupa-

tion during the late predynastic period. Naqada maintained a considerable and probably armed presence atop the high plateau terminus on its route towards the west and northwest.

Scorpion would almost certainly have been aware of this and would also have understood the risks he would take if he sought to surprise the Naqadan forces in an attack from Sinn el-Gir, as his forces could themselves have been surprised in the high plateau wadi between Sinn el-Gir and the Naqadan outpost (cf. Ludwig 1981, pp. 160–62). The most reasonable alternative to a direct attack on the guarded backdoor of Naqada would be an attack along the ‘Alamat Tal Road descending at Gebel Tjauti. This allowed for the Abydene forces to use the desert to attack Naqada directly and preserved as completely as possible indirectness of approach by avoiding the one pass Naqada appears to have guarded. The attackers who descended via Gebel Tjauti would attack Naqada along the desert edge, cutting her Nile Valley defenders off from their desert counterparts, away at the high plateau camp. One may suggest that this camp became Naqada’s Maginot Line. By effectively allowing those desert defenders to deter an attack along the direct route, Scorpion insured that they would be cut off from the other Naqadan forces when he delivered his attack out of the Wadi Omran.

## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTION 2

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Tableau depicting Horus King and Seth	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 6d, 12–15
<i>Date:</i>	Narmer(?) (ca. 3100 B.C.)	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 46 × 31 cm (back of niche); ca. 44.5 × 25.0 cm (left side of niche)
<i>Provenance:</i>	Section 16 of Gebel Tjauti inscription shelf		
<i>Note:</i>	Written by Renée Friedman with contributions by John C. Darnell		

The main portion of this tableau, which includes at least one falcon-topped serekh, is at the back of a natural niche in the rock face. At least three, and probably four, carving events can be distinguished in this area, although their sequential relationship is not entirely clear. Working in reverse chronological order, the latest and most imposing image appears to be that of a large falcon atop a serekh before which is a tree or plant. An early date for this inscription is suggested by the curved top of the serekh, a feature that disappears after the reign of Aha (Kaiser and Dreyer 1982, fig. 14; Dreyer 1999). The left portion of the tableau, wrapping around the side of the niche, was also carved on several occasions (cf. Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 10, below).

### INSCRIPTION ON BACK OF NICHE



### COMMENTARY

Although no name is clearly discernible within the name panel in the upper part of the serekh, it may not be empty. A wedge-shaped design created by a diagonal line, if intentional, cuts down to the right through the name panel. Within the space on the left are several short vertical scratches that are not accidental, although the triangu-

lar incisions on the right appear to belong to the elephant over part of which this serekh was carved. Such an orthography is without exact parallel; however, schematic and abbreviated writings of the name of Narmer and other possibly earlier “kings” are known.<sup>89</sup> Whether this serekh should be considered personal but illegible, anonymous, or even plain (composed of only vertical lines without name panel; terminology following van den Brink 1996, *passim*) is of relatively limited importance for dating. All three types of serekhs appear to remain in use into the time of Narmer, but serekhs topped by a single falcon do not occur on datable pottery prior to the reign of Ka (Kaiser and Dreyer 1982, fig. 14; Hendrickx 2001, pp. 91–96). A date toward the end of this time frame is suggested by the inscribed serekh of Narmer from Winkler’s site 18 in Wadi Gash, an inscription that presents many similarities to the Gebel Tjauti serekh in the general contours of the falcon, and also its placement adjacent to the anonymous falcon-topped serekh of a predecessor with whom Narmer wished to be associated (Winkler 1938/39, pp. 10, 25, pl. 11, fig. 1).<sup>90</sup> The internal markings of the Gebel Tjauti falcon indicating an eye, a small beak, wing, tail and body feathers, and leggings also recall the elaborate rendering of Horus on the Narmer palette (W. M. F. Petrie 1953, pl. J25; see also Kaiser and Dreyer 1982, fig. 14, no. 36 [potmark from Arad]).

In front of the serekh is an element apparently representing a tree or bushy plant with roots. Dreyer’s interpretation of this sign as “plantation,” “estate,” and by extension “domain,” is generally accepted and derives support from its presence on the ceramic cult stand from Abydos now in Boston (MFA 03.1959).<sup>91</sup> Attested in potmarks, on seals and sealings, on docketts from Abydos tomb U-j, on Coptos statues, and elsewhere, the tree symbol often precedes the name of a ruler and apparently indicated the origin of the goods so marked. The sign may have indicated the estates that were dedicated to providing provisions for a particular cult. However, the inscription at Gebel Tjauti is clearly of a different character and would seem to serve as a general mark of possession. The Horus king, Narmer or whoever he may be, is claiming Gebel Tjauti as part of his domain.

The smaller falcon directly below the tree sign may reinforce the message that this is the domain of Horus. Carved somewhat more schematically, it nevertheless retains enough of the stylistic features of the larger falcon (e.g., hooked beak, marked wing, feet) to suggest that the same artist carved both birds. While the tree and the smaller falcon appear to indicate “royal property,” the larger falcon atop the serekh — in apposition to the smaller falcon — describes the particular royal with whom the inscription is concerned.

The larger falcon and serekh partly overlie an elephant treading on triangular mountains, a group attested elsewhere and perhaps to be read as an early royal name (Dreyer 1995, p. 56; *idem* 1998, p. 173). The Gebel Tjauti elephant, with clearly delineated tusks and trunk and a schematic ear that does not project beyond the outlines of the animal, is essentially identical to other Dynasty 0 representations, such as the ivory tusk from the Hierakonpolis main deposit,<sup>92</sup> the Cairo Coptos colossus,<sup>93</sup> and the ivory docket from Abydos tombs U-i and U-j (where it appears in conjunction with a tree/domain sign).<sup>94</sup> Unlike all of the other elements in this tableau, the elephant faces to the right. Whether it is meant to confront the falcon to its right is both uncertain and unlikely. More probably the el-

89. See Kaiser and Dreyer 1982, fig. 14, nos. 41–43; van den Brink 1996, fig. 3.18, for another example of abbreviated spelling for Narmer, but also p. 144, table 1, nos. 7–10; and Kaiser and Dreyer 1982, pp. 264–68, where highly abbreviated signs are read as *Ny-Hr* and *H:t-Hr*, Horus names of possibly regional kings definitely preceding Narmer based on the date of the ceramic vessel onto which they were incised. This reading has been rejected by Hendrickx (2001, pp. 91, 94), who suggests the highly schematic symbols may be nothing more than an indication of the rolled up door curtain which is part of the door motif. See also Dreyer 1999, p. 5, concerning concave-topped serekhs as possibly derived from a combination of the peaked sign for mountains and the rectangular sign for cultivated land — imagery not out of place at Gebel Tjauti.

90. On a visit to Wadi Gash, site 18, in 2000 the author and Deborah Darnell were able to verify the reading of the Narmer serekh and that of another listed with query by Červíček (1986, p. 15, negative no. 174) but not published. The second Narmer serekh is carved into the horizontal surface of a boulder a short distance away from the published example. The rock is heavily patinated and the falcon on this second serekh is badly worn, but the catfish within the concave name panel is carved in great detail. The body, shown in profile, has internal scoring of

the body, distinct gills, dorsal fin, and whiskers. Both serekhs mark entrances to the cave-like overhang within which, as at Gebel Tjauti, a vast array of earlier, later, and contemporary drawings have been made; see Winkler 1938/9, *passim*, and Červíček 1986, pp. 12–16.

91. Dreyer 1993, p. 35, pl. 8a–c; *idem* 1995, p. 52, fig. 3; *idem* 1998, pp. 85 f.; Harvey 1996, pp. 373–78, figs. 1–4.

92. Quibell and Petrie 1900, pl. 16, fig. 4; B. Adams 1974, pp. 69–70, fig. 44.359; a similar elephant treading on mountains also occurs at Gebel Tjauti below the protodynastic tableau, near the inscriptions of Iif and Antef.

93. Dreyer 1995, p. 51; *idem* 1998, pp. 176–77, fig. 104; Williams 1988b, pp. 35–59. It is interesting to note, although probably fortuitous, that one of the pairs of elephants assumed to have been carved on the colossus was erased and replaced by the name of Narmer. If the Gebel Tjauti serekh is indeed that of Narmer, the superposition of that serekh upon — but not effacement of — the elephant may be a further indication of a desire of Narmer to associate himself with a distant predecessor, the Elephant King.

94. Dreyer 1995, fig. 3e; *idem* 1998, pp. 118–20, 140–01, fig. 76, nos. 59–60.

elephant was a freestanding element (similar to the elephant beneath the protodynastic tableau), although it may have had some connection with the register above. The falcon-shaped incisions beneath the mountains and the rectilinear lines directly under the elephant's trunk are unclear and lighter in patina than the carving of the elephant itself and could be anterior to the main period of the tableau.

The falcon which the elephant now faces is similar in style to the larger falcon in the upper left portion of the scene. In both, one sweeping stroke created the slightly pointed head and the long hooked beak; neither has an indication of an eye or feet. The larger bird rests on what may be an unfinished or effaced serekh without upper name panel. If it is a serekh, it cannot be securely dated before the reign of Ka (Kaiser and Dreyer 1982, fig. 14, no. 24). Its truncated dimension, however, also suggests that it may be the effaced remains of the sacred rectangular sign read as *š* (Gardiner N39) "cultivated land," and in conjunction with a falcon on the ivory docketts from Abydos tomb U-j with the extended meaning of "royal domain" (Dreyer 1998, pp. 143, 126–27, nos. 108–09).<sup>95</sup> If this is the case, then it could be an earlier pronunciation of the claim made below with the serekh and the tree, or more literally it may provide geographic information to be read in conjunction with the figures that follow.<sup>96</sup>

The falcon and the sign on which it stands appear to head a procession in the upper register made up of at least two additional figures, one of which is most remarkable. The first figure to the right of the falcon is a strange animal with short forelegs, hind legs with sharp claws, a long snout, high, straight, flat-topped ears, and a long, stiff tail. These features are the characteristics of the animal of the god Seth.

The depiction of Seth here is remarkably similar to a small figurine from Naqada grave 721 dated to Naqada IIc, whose identification as Seth has been suggested but can scarcely be questioned. Made of a fine grained pink limestone, this statuette shows a similarly crouching creature with limbs ending in three curling toes (now in Ashmolean Museum, no. 1895.138; see Payne 1993, p. 15, cat. no. 16, fig. 4; Petrie and Quibell 1896, p. 26, pl. 9:13; Baumgartel 1960, p. 75, pl. 66). It has a broad thin muzzle, which appears hooked and pointed in profile. Holes for the attachment of upright ears and tail are present, but the associated pieces were unfortunately not recovered. Because Baumgartel (1960, p. 75) considered it to be Early Dynastic, this figurine has generally received little sustained notice in discussions of the early Seth animal.<sup>97</sup> Its proper identification and date lends compelling support to Kahl's (2001) suggestion that the recumbent elephants on the ivory tags from tomb U-j (see Dreyer 1998, pp. 120–21, fig. 77, nos. 62–69) are in fact Seth animals. If this identification is accepted, then the Seth animal at Gebel Tjauti could perhaps be the next known representation and in it we can see the transition of this composite creature toward its more familiar canonical form, as first exemplified by the two examples on the Scorpion mace-head (McDonald 2000, fig. 2).

Behind the Seth animal is another creature of unclear identity, apparently possessing a long curving tail, suggestive of a large feline (lion/leopard) or member of the canidae (dog/hyena). The depth of carving and the light incision of internal details of these creatures is similar to the preceding falcon and strongly suggests that all were cut at the same time. In addition, the "M"-like signs and Min-signs scattered above and below the figures seem to frame the scene.

Similar to the triangular mountains under the feet of the elephant, the "M"-signs may represent mountainous landscape and serve to place the representations of chaos in the appropriate desert context. On the other hand, the upper register of the Scorpion mace-head suggests a certain confederacy of a very similar set of desert deities (Seth, Min, mountain sign, jackal) in the conquest of the *rhy.t*. However, whether this scene is specifically recording a procession to or through Gebel Tjauti itself led by a Horus king, who with the assistance of the power represented by the Seth animal and his companion extends his dominion along the 'Alamat Tal Road, must remain a speculation. Equally plausible, and not necessarily exclusive of the previous interpretation, it may represent the west bank of the Nile River, with its mountains as the home of Seth, the cultivated land of Horus, and around the left side of the

95. A similar combination of falcon on a *š*-sign may be seen on the early Dynasty 0 (Naqada IIIA2) Metropolitan slate palette (Fischer 1961, figs. 19–20; Asselberghs 1961, fig. 170), but it is unlikely that the Gebel Tjauti inscription refers to the same King Falcon I to which Dreyer (1998, pp. 178–79) refers.

96. The long-necked quadruped, probably an antelope or gerenuk (see Červíček 1987, pp. 271–81), rather than a giraffe, overlies the serekh, as does the design made up of four vertical lines

topped by a horizontal line above it. Carved with a much lighter line, their relation to the other elements making up this tableau is questionable, and they may be somewhat later in date.

97. The subsequent discovery of Petrie's notes on this tomb leave little doubt regarding its date in the Naqada II period; see Baumgartel 1970, p. xxviii. For a summary of the discussion on early representations of the animal of Seth, see te Velde 1967, pp. 7–12.

niche, the Nile and its denizens.<sup>98</sup> The Min-signs on both faces of the niche strongly suggest the two scenes should be read together.

On the back wall of the niche, intermingled with the mountains, are three occurrences of the Min-sign, depicted with double barbs on both ends and vertically oriented. Not uncommon as an incised potmark on pottery of the Naqada II period and well known atop standards on the boats represented on decorated pottery of the same period (cf. Petrie and Mace 1901, pl. 21, nos. 67, 73–79), their connection to Min is relatively secure on the basis of the appearance of similar symbols on the Coptos colossi.<sup>99</sup>

The connection of Min with the Eastern Desert, and with Wadi Hammamat in particular, is well attested throughout pharaonic history, but his presence in the Western Desert is less well known. Amun-Min is the protecting deity of desert roads and those who travel them.<sup>100</sup> Although Min is most commonly attested in connection with roads and expeditions through the Eastern Desert (Gundlach 1980, pp. 107–12), this is probably a result of the greater amount of material thus far discovered and published from that area. Min is connected with Kharga Oasis (Wagner 1987, p. 145), and a possible association with Perseus may suggest the Western Desert as an area of the god's activity.<sup>101</sup> At Gebel et-Teir, where a route connecting Kharga to the Thebaïd enters the oasis, there is an inscription of the ithyphallic Amun-Min.<sup>102</sup> The goddess of the eye of the sun whom Min fetches back from the south (Gauthier 1931, pp. 183–84) is associated with the southwest as well as with the southeast and may be accompanied by the denizens of both the Eastern and Western Deserts.<sup>103</sup> Min would also be appropriate in expressing control of the desert roads.<sup>104</sup> Coptos, the cult center of Min, is not far distant, however, and this may explain the Min-signs at Gebel Tjauti. One could explain Min's presence here simply as a reflection of his nature as a god of the desert, were it not for the scene on the left wall of the niche — a scene which, if connected with the tableau at the back of the niche, is the goal toward which the action in the main tableau is moving.

The left wall of the niche has also been inscribed on several occasions. A Thirteenth Dynasty inscription (Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 15) partially overlies the main depiction of a boat atop a crocodile. At the left end of the crocodile, apparently carved over the tip of the crocodile's tail, is an unfinished falcon of later date. Again, apparently framing the older composition, are five Min-signs identical to those on the back wall of the niche, although horizontally oriented here. They are arranged above, below, and to the right of the boat; on the left their place is taken by two fish and another crocodile. The bold carving of all of these images suggests that they are contemporary. While the vertical Min-signs were intermixed in the localizing background scenery of desert mountains in the tableau at the back of the niche, horizontal Min-signs take over from the “M”-signs — the mountains — in the aquatic environment appropriate to a boat scene on the left side of the niche.

98. Naqada tomb 721 whence the Seth figurine (4.0 cm in length) originates, also contained two further statuettes made out of the same pink limestone. One is a falcon of a somewhat larger size (5.5 cm), originally sheathed in lead; the other is a lion (3.3 cm in length). All three have holes on their underside presumably for attachment to a stand or possibly a base that supported the entire group (Payne 1993, pp. 14–16, cat. nos. 6, 15, 17; figs. 3–4; Baumgartel 1960, pl. 6.6–8). Thus there might have been a long association of these creatures in the Naqada region.

99. Although in later times the symbol of Min has rounded ends with a circular central element; compare McFarlane 1995, pp. 160–66.

100. Bernard 1977, passim; idem 1978, pp. 161–64; Yoyotte 1952b, pp. 125–37. The deity Min as a personal helper is attested in the epithet *‘dr* of the god Min in Zauzich 1985, p. 121.

101. For Min and Perseus, see Sauneron 1962, pp. 53–57; Morenz 1963, pp. 125–27; Bernard 1977, pp. 240–41 (and the literature cited there). The Gorgon whom Perseus killed could be said to have lived in the far west; see Catterall 1937, col. 984. The association of Min with Pan as a god of the desert (for Min-Pan in Nubia, see the two stelae of MIN ΠΑΝΟΣ found north of the

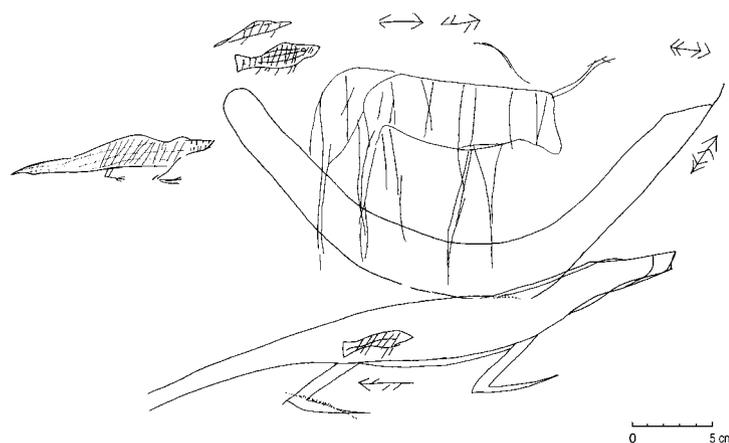
Wadi Allaqi, published in Monneret de Villard 1933, pp. 42–44) may explain the mention of “Pan who hears” (παν ἐπηκόω) at the small temple of Medinet Habu (Edgerton 1937, no. 404; see also Thissen 1984, p. 55), perhaps a reference to a deity of the desert roads leading out of western Thebes. On the prominence of Amun and the Theban triad at Kharga, the oasis of the Thebaïd, see Wagner 1987, pp. 329–35.

102. Devauchelle and Wagner 1984, pl. 26 II 11 (zone 2, Greek graffiti 10–11; the figure is misidentified as Osiris, *ibid.*, p. 33).

103. The southern *Mntyw* Libyans, who lived in an area west of the Upper Nile, dance for the returning goddess; see Darnell 1995b, pp. 66–70. Western roads as well as eastern roads are appropriate for the goddess' return; compare the graffito from Hagar el-Gharb, *ibid.*, p. 90 — the goddess Taweret, called the “eye of Re” [*ir.t R*] is carved on a rock at the mouth of a wadi through which the goddess is envisaged as returning to the Nile via a road leading west to Kurkur Oasis and farther south into Nubia; compare also Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 31–32, below.

104. Compare *MH* 4, pl. 203, line 32: *ink Min ‘h’ hr h̄:s.wt ī.t.n z̄f t̄:w nb.w* “I am Min, standing upon the mountains, having seized all the flat lands.”

## INSCRIPTION ON LEFT SIDE OF NICHE



## COMMENTARY

The boat with a sickle-shaped hull has one end rounded and the other squared (the stern?), an asymmetry not rare in boat depictions and models of the pre- and (especially) early dynastic periods.<sup>105</sup> The boat rests atop a crocodile's back; the line of the boat's hull breaks off at the point of intersection with the crocodile, which was apparently carved first and then recut after the boat was drawn, perhaps in order to correct the proportions and emphasize its presence. The only parallel for the composition of the boat atop the crocodile occurs on one side of the ceramic box from el-Amrah, although on that object the boat has elaborate prow and stern ornaments, and the crocodile is shown in top view, as is usual in the predynastic period (Payne 1993, cat. no. 600, fig. 32; Raphael 1947, pl. 15, fig. 10). The bovid in the boat is clearly a later addition, although not inappropriate to the Nilotic imagery.<sup>106</sup> The patina of the bovid's incision is much lighter than that in the back of the niche. There are several uncertain lines in the area of the boat and crocodile, making it impossible to determine what if any original features might once have been present within the boat.

The crocodile as a representation of the chaotic aspect of water, unlike the possibly juxtaposed Seth as the chaotic element of the desert here, has a long history in the art of early Egypt, particularly on pottery.<sup>107</sup> Crocodiles as the object of the hunt or as residents of the Nile banks also appear as an occasional theme on late decorated ware vessels.<sup>108</sup> In the Naqada III period, both their mode of depiction (from top view to side view) and their presence within the scene (from main character to filler or subsidiary) shifts.<sup>109</sup> The painted bowl from Qustul, depicting a crocodile with a crosshatched body and a snout full of vertical marks for teeth, and a representation on the Spiegelberg palette fragment provide the closest parallels for the smaller crocodile to the left of the boat and crocodile group. Those parallels serve to ensure that the carvings on the left side of the Gebel Tjauti niche are at least roughly contemporary with the representations and writings on the back of the niche.<sup>110</sup> In the image of the boat atop

105. Compare Landström 1970, passim; for a parallel in three dimensions, see Payne 1993, cat. no. 89.

106. For examples of bovids in boats, see Otto and Buschendorf-Otto 1993, pp. 125 (fig. 236), 140–41 (fig. 277); Hellström, Langballe, and Myers 1970/2, corpus V44; Basch and Gorbea 1968, p. 217 (fig. 211), p. 232 (fig. 229), and fig. 248 (opposite p. 246); Bresciani et al. 1962, p. 122 [68], no. 82; Dunbar 1941, pl. 9, fig. 38; Žába 1974, fig. 413; Bisson de la Roque 1931, pl. 3, particularly nos. 17, 20, pl. 20 (but note that the exact dating is somewhat called into question by an apparent rooster as one of the “Middle Kingdom” inscriptions [ibid., pl. 8, fig. 42], suggesting only, however, that the Second Intermediate Period and early New Kingdom should be included in the allowable range, which seems reasonable given the architectural history of the temple).

107. Several white cross-line bowls show crocodiles, often in relation to boats, hippopotami, and occasionally fish; compare

Payne 1993, cat. no. 388, fig. 27; W. M. F. Petrie 1921, C100e; idem 1920, pl. 23, no. 2; Lythgoe and Dunham 1965, fig. 30. For possible *Totenfahrt* associations, see Brunner-Traut 1975, pp. 44–55, noting especially the reference on page 55 to Cairo JdE 89377.

108. W. M. F. Petrie 1921, D78A, B; see also Payne 1993, cat. no. 90, fig. 18, for a model crocodile boat.

109. On the Qustul incense burner (or votive cylinder seal) a portion of a crocodile can be made out, there appearing not as the main subject, but rather as a filler along with a fish within the watery environment on which the main action takes place; see Williams 1986, p. 142, pl. 34.

110. Williams 1986, pp. 152–54, pl. 84; Scharff 1929, fig. 53; see also Dreyer 1992, pp. 259–63, for a parallel from a sealing of a King Crocodile, considered to have reigned at the same time as Horus Ka.

the crocodile there is at least a superficial resemblance to Horus in his boat atop the back of Seth.<sup>111</sup> The crocodile could also symbolize the waters of the inundation and may therefore serve to show the vessel as floating upon the flooding, life-bringing waters of the Nile (see Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 33, below).

Fish, though relatively rare, begin to appear in this period in similar contexts. The fish within the belly of the crocodile is unique, but the similar weight of the incised line and the identical patination leave little doubt that they are contemporary.<sup>112</sup> Together with the crocodile, the fish may reinforce the image of the inundating and life-sustaining Nile.

Although the connection between the two protodynastic scenes within the niche at Gebel Tjauti cannot be securely determined, a problem common to all rock art, it does seem likely that they do belong to the same composition. The procession (with the exception of the elephant) faces to the left, towards the Nile and the Theban end of the road. Most of the images — of apparent Abydene imagery — are drawn as though emerging from the desert, as though traveling the road descending Gebel Tjauti, on their way from Abydos. The boat, crocodiles, and fish — Nilotic images — on the left side of the niche, the portion of the composition nearest the Nile, are the goal of the procession passing through the cultivated land from the desert depicted on the back of the niche. The allegory of order versus chaos is obvious in much of this iconography but appears to be more of an undertone and not the main purpose of the composition. If the purpose of the whole composition is to stress the ruler's dominion in the desert area of Gebel Tjauti, and this seems a reasonable interpretation of the text in the left half of the back portion of the composition, then one could consider the royal and divine images depicted as those proceeding towards the riverine world of the Nile as part of the cycle of victory and return present on other earlier and contemporary documents (Williams and Logan 1987, pp. 245–85). In the early scenes and annotations within the natural niche at Gebel Tjauti the images of the might of Egypt and her king return to the Nile, having triumphed over the forces of the Red Land.

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111. Compare Hornemann 1966, no. 1313; note also the remarks of Merkelbach 1992, p. 192.

112. The fish are all different, apparently purposefully so. The upper fish is perhaps a *mormyrus* or *oxyrhynchus* fish based on its long, pointed snout and thin, tapering body (a possible parallel for the appearance of this fish is a potmark in Williams 1986, pl. 79, fig. o); below is probably a *Lates niloticus* or Nile perch, a very popular fish in depictions and considered a

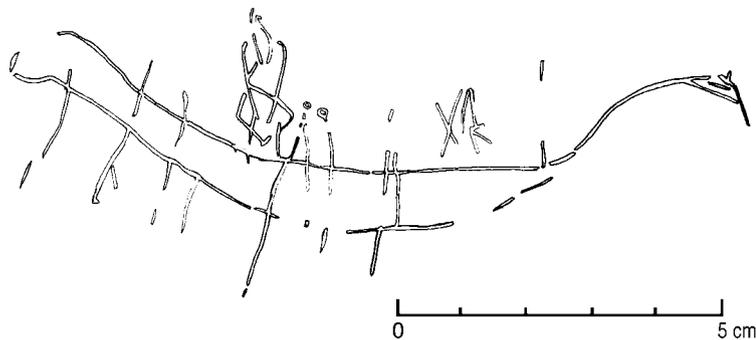
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gastronomic delicacy. The fish within the body of the crocodile is very schematic but could be a *Barbus bynni*, the fish used as a determinative for the word *bw.t* “abomination” (alternatively it could be a mullet, another fish highly regarded for its taste). All three of the fish are among the most common and most distinctive of the selective number of fish that the ancient Egyptians depicted; see Brewer and Friedman 1989, pp. 51–52, 59, 74–75.

## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTION 3

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Depiction of boat with bird-shaped prow	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 7a, 16a, c
<i>Date:</i>	Naqada II–III	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 11.5 × 4.5 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Section 17 of Gebel Tjauti inscription shelf		
<i>Note:</i>	Palimpsest carved beneath Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 16; Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 45 is directly below this palimpsest		

## INSCRIPTION



## COMMENTARY

Palimpsest with the Thirteenth Dynasty signature of the overseer of metalworkers Renseneb (Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 16) is the depiction of a boat (oars visible in the stern to left), with a bird's head on the prow. Within the vessel there is a standing figure on the left, wearing what appears to be a tall crown and holding a scepter over each shoulder, hands at the hips. The boat resembles one carrying the ruler on the Gebelein shroud,<sup>113</sup> particularly in the prominence of the steering oars, although other details (crown and prow decoration) seem later. These observations suggest a date on the cusp between Naqada II and III, roughly coeval with the Scorpion tableau. Below the boat are remnants of a pharaonic inscription: a seated man determinative to the left, with a sign resembling *sš* or *pr* to the right.

The curving element at the prow of the boat at first suggests one of the protrusions common to animal-headed prows in predynastic Egyptian art,<sup>114</sup> but a closer inspection shows that a bird's head was actually represented. Bird-prow vessels are known from Egypt, even from other rock inscriptions (Resch 1967, pl. 21a). In the scenes of the Opet procession in the colonnade of Luxor temple (*RILT* 1, pls. 76, 78, 80), in the temple of Ramesses III in the first court of the temple of Amun at Karnak (*RIK* 2, pls. 84–90, 93B), and in the first court of the temple of Khonsu at Karnak (*Khonsu* 1, pls. 19, 21), the barge of Amun is accompanied by a duck- or goose-shaped boat. The vessel, most likely much larger in reality than its lilliputian proportions on the walls suggest (cf. Wolf 1931, p. 31), is heaped with various offerings. Although the vessel bears no label in any of the surviving versions of the Opet procession, it is possible to suggest an identification. On a painting fragment from a New Kingdom Theban tomb, now in the Louvre, is a representation of rather large cargo vessels with figures of geese atop their steering oars; these vessels are labeled *wsh.w(t) nyw ḥtp-ntr* “cargo ships of the divine offerings.”<sup>115</sup> The ornithoform boat of the Opet procession scenes is most likely a more elaborate “parade” version of these goose-bearing cargo vessels loaded with the divine offerings.

The boat as waterfowl is appropriate for the barge of Amun, representing the great cackler setting out upon the waters of the Nile, just as Amun set out upon the chaotic waters at the beginning of creation.<sup>116</sup> The Opet procession, a riverine celebration in which booths are set up on the riverbank and in which drinking plays a part, is akin to the

113. Compare the photograph in Curto 1984, plate opposite p. 44.

114. On which, see M. Berger 1992, pp. 107–20.

115. Vandier 1969, pl. 46, fig. 362. These are probably the vessels depicted in Strudwick and Strudwick 1996, pl. 16 (Atenists have vandalized the geese as symbols of Amun).

116. Note the odd shout of the priest, “How weary is the cackling goose!” as the barges set sail from Luxor temple on their return journey to Karnak; see *RILT* 1, p. 26. The bird-prow vessels associated with the divine offerings are purely Egyptian in origin and significance; the remarks by Wachsmann 1998, p. 183, concerning possible Sea Peoples' influence are mistaken.

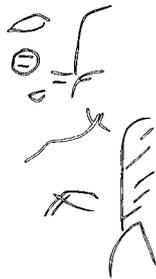
ancient Egyptian's new year's festival and is associated with the concept of the *hieros gamos*.<sup>117</sup> The goddess Hathor figures prominently in a "drinking song" sung during the Opet procession (*RILT* 1, pp. 12–14, pls. 26, 97), and the ornithoform vessels appear also to share in this association with Hathor. Thus be-garlanded ladies paddle "duck skiffs" on votive beds from Medinet Habu.<sup>118</sup>

## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTION 4

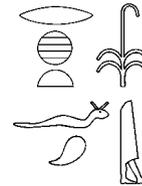
<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing name and title of official	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 6c, 17a–b
<i>Date:</i>	Early dynastic	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 14.0 × 8.5 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Section 15 of Gebel Tjauti inscription shelf		
<i>Note:</i>	Located to the left of Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 28		

This early dynastic inscription is located on the left end of the bottom of the rock overhang beneath the Scorpion tableau, to the left of the apparent signature of the early King Elephant (see Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 1, above). The author of this inscription stood facing northwest, his head bent back and his back arched in order to write on the bottom of the narrow overhang of rock. Considering the awkwardness of his position, the author produced a nicely written inscription.

### INSCRIPTION



### TRANSCRIPTION



### TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

*iry-ih.t<sup>a</sup> nsw.t<sup>b</sup> 'Ii=f<sup>c</sup>*

The royal acquaintance, Iif

### NOTES

<sup>a</sup> The *h*-placenta has two internal horizontal lines, suggestive of a later rather than earlier date within the Archaic period/early Old Kingdom; see Lacau and Lauer 1965, p. 6, n. 2.

<sup>b</sup> This is the oldest orthography of the title, for both men and women; see Fischer 1954, p. 27, n. 16; Lopez 1966, pp. 25–26; Brunner 1974, p. 58, n. 13; Fischer 1959, p. 237, n. 12; idem 1976c, p. 8, n. 15; Baud 1999/1, pp. 109–12. Palaeographically the *sw*-plant closely resembles a number of Archaic period examples; compare in particular Lacau and Lauer 1959, p. 57; idem 1965, p. 63, fig. 103, where one frond also forms the tip, the other three fronds not quite touching the main stem.

117. See *RILT* 1, pp. 12–14; Darnell 1995b, p. 59.

118. Hölscher 1954, pp. 11 f., pl. 6G; see also the discussions of Hermann 1932, pp. 103–04; Derchain 1975, pp. 62–63. A possible late survivor of the association of the duck boat with a riverine procession appears on the silver dish Berlin 14117;

see Möller, Schäfer, and Schubart 1910, p. 65, no. 97, pl. 15, suggesting a Twenty-sixth Dynasty date, cited by Hermann 1932, p. 104, n. 1; Markoe 1985, pp. 31–32, follows Möller, Schäfer, and Schubart in assigning the bowl to Egyptian manufacture; see also Matthäus 1985, pp. 169–78, pl. 46, no. 443.

<sup>c</sup> Scratches resembling legs beneath the horned viper and the double slanting lines of the handle of the *k*-basket at first invite a reading *s3b (r)-Nhn* (for an orthography of the title *s3b-r3-nhn* without the *r*, see stela Khartoum 366: H. Smith 1976, pl. 70, fig. 3 [title written over the offering table]; for the order *rh-nsw.t s3b r3-nhn*, see the documents of Samonthu, dossier no. 526, [a]–[e] in Franke 1984a, p. 319), but close examination shows *f* to be the proper reading of the sign to the left of the walking reed leaf. The name is probably to be read <sup>3</sup>*Ii=fi*; see Kaplony 1963, p. 401. Based on the patina and depth of cut, the scratches below the *f* are part of the name and represent the flesh sign, derived from the homophonic *iwf*. Alternatively, the name could be read as *iwf*, attested as probably a shortened form of some name such as *iwf-n-mw.t=fi* (see Junker 1950, p. 68). For the *f*-viper, with relatively high head and pronounced horns, see Lacau and Lauer 1965, p. 64, fig. 106; for the appearance of the walking reed leaf, with the rear leg curving convexly to the left, see *ibid.*, pl. 2 (figs. 2–5), pl. 3 (figs. 3, 5), pl. 5 (figs. 3, 5), pl. 7 (figs. 1–4), pl. 8 (figs. 1–5), and pl. 25 (fig. 11); W. M. F. Petrie 1900, pl. 15, fig. 18 (note, however, that such a representation, as though the reed leaf were stuck atop a separate walking legs sign, can appear later; cf. Roccati 1970, pp. 44, 50, recto 25 example; Anthes 1928, no. 25, line 18). The meat-sign is essentially the same as in Lacau and Lauer 1965, pl. 13, figs. 4–5.

#### COMMENTARY

This inscription is located just below the protodynastic tableau (Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 1), next to an early representation of an elephant. This position, relatively high in comparison with the other inscriptions at Gebel Tjauti, along with the palaeography of the inscription, suggests an early date for Iif. On the same surface is the stick-figure image of a man named Antef, apparently from the Middle Kingdom, who brandishes a stick in the direction of a scorpion (Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 28, pl. 15a, c).

Unless his title relates Iif directly to the royal residence, his appearance at Gebel Tjauti suggests a date prior to the Sixth Dynasty; compare the remarks of Fischer 1968, pp. 69–74. Unfortunately no nome designation follows the title, and thus we do not know from which district Iif began the journey that took him through the Gebel Tjauti pass.

Thus far no “expedition-leader” titles (e.g., *s3b r3-nhn*,<sup>119</sup> *wr mdw Šm'w*<sup>120</sup>) have appeared on the ‘Alamat Tal Road. During the Middle Kingdom, however, the *iry-ih.t nsw.t* was apparently of the same rank as the *s3b r3-nhn*, who functioned as a liaison between the palace and the officials charged directly with provincial governance and the leading of expeditions. The *iry-ih.t nsw.t* who left this early inscription may thus be an early expedition leader.

119. Franke 1984b, pp. 215–17. *S3b r3-nhn*, after a brief hiatus during the mid-Middle Kingdom, re-appears with judiciary import during the late Middle Kingdom (Vernus 1974, pp. 109–10, n. [f]). The titles *wr mdw Šm'w*, *s3b r3-nhn*, and *hry-tm* appear to indicate judiciary functions and are particularly associated during the late Middle Kingdom (*ibid.*, pp. 112–14). The title *wr mdw-Šm'w* is a “generalized ‘commissioner’ title” (Quirke 1990, pp. 79–81), and a *s3b r3-nhn* could perhaps be made a *wr mdw-Šm'w* for some specific purpose (Franke 1984b, p. 217, n. 35).

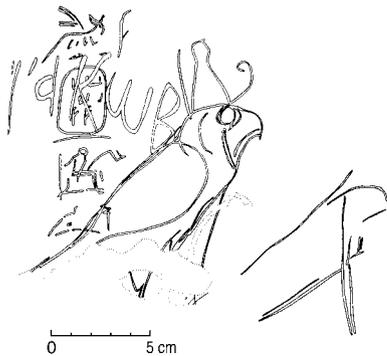
120. According to Quirke 1990, pp. 80, 96–97, “the title *wr mdw Šm'w* is not attested on Middle Kingdom sources within the Nile Valley before the reign of Sesostriis III. Its use on a wide scale belongs to the late Middle Kingdom form of the administration”; some of the holders of this title appear to have been associated with the commissariat, whereas others were festival participants and expedition members (Vernus 1974, pp. 107–09, n. [b]).

## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTION 5

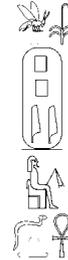
<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing cartouche of Pepy (I) and depiction of crowned falcon	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 5d, 18
<i>Date:</i>	Old Kingdom (Sixth Dynasty)	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 19.25 × 17.00 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Section 12 of Gebel Tjauti inscription shelf		

This inscription, thus far the only certain vestige of the high Old Kingdom at Gebel Tjauti, is located relatively high on the rock face, at the left (southeast) end of the main, central concentration of inscriptions at Gebel Tjauti.

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

*nsw.t-b'ity*<sup>a</sup> [Ppy]<sup>b</sup> 'nh *d.t*

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Pepy, may he live forever

## NOTES

<sup>a</sup> For the hooked, beak-like appearance of the head of the bee, see similar examples in Edel 1980, pls. 41–42.

<sup>b</sup> This inscription could conceivably refer to either Pepy I or II, although the arrangement of the signs within the vertically oriented cartouche suggests Pepy I; see Fischer 1989, p. 215, n. 4. For the orthography of Pepy I's vertical nomen with one *p* over the other, see Couyat and Montet 1912, pl. 16, no. 62; elsewhere the same name, also vertically oriented, appears with the two *ps* side by side (*ibid.*, pl. 25, no. 103). The determinative shows a man seated on a throne, holding a flail; contrary to what one would expect there is no indication of a crown; for parallels to the elaborate determinative, see the Abusir papyri (Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival 1968, *pal.* pl. i, no. A44). The simply inscribed head of the seated king is perhaps a syncopation (resulting no doubt from the nature of the surface) of the seated king wearing the *nemes*-headdress and uraeus, appearing as the determinative to the name of the Sixth Dynasty ruler Neferkare; see Königliche Museen zu Berlin 1911, pl. 5 (Str. Fd); note also p. X, example from Berlin (D) 104.

## COMMENTARY

The well-made and imperious falcon overlaps the concluding 'nh *d.t* of the Pepy inscription or is itself overlapped by that text — the lack of appreciable difference in the depths of the cuts makes it difficult to say which takes precedence. The depth of cut, carving, and patina of the falcon are identical to those of the Pepy inscription, suggesting that they were inscribed at the same time.

The presence of the Pepy inscription at Gebel Tjauti attests to at least sporadic use of the 'Alamat Tal Road at the end of the Old Kingdom, before the improvements of the nomarch Tjauti (see Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 6, below). A track connecting Gebel Tjauti and the 'Alamat Tal Road with the Farshût Road shows evidence of late Old Kingdom use as well (see the Theban Desert Road Survey's forthcoming publication of the site Dominion Behind Thebes and associated inscriptions). The roads connect with the Gebel Qarn el-Gir caravan stop, and the tracks

heading from there link up with those leading off towards the oases and routes to the far south. The Sixth Dynasty stela of the man *Ḳwt* from Naqada (CGC 1638; Fischer 1964, pp. 27–30, pl. 10) refers to the stela owner as the “overseer of the interpreters of Yam,” suggesting use of the ‘Alamat Tal Road and perhaps other roads that led out of the vicinity of Naqada and ultimately into Nubia.<sup>121</sup> The ‘Alamat Tal Road could have led from Qamûla ultimately to Nubia via the Gebel Qarn el-Gir caravansary and Kharga Oasis and was in use at least as early as the Sixth Dynasty. A title in a rock inscription from Kumma may in fact refer to routes connecting Thebes and Nubia, if the title is indeed to be read *r-p‘.t ḥꜣty-‘ rꜣ-ꜣ Šm‘w Wꜣs.t Tꜣ-Sty* “prince and count of the (narrow) door (of the desert) of Upper Egypt, of Thebes and Nubia.”<sup>122</sup>

These observations in turn have some bearing on the itinerary of Harkhuf, who most likely began his third journey to the land of Yam by leaving the Nile Valley to strike out upon the road of the *whꜣ.t* from the nome of Hou (Seventh Nome), traveling along the Girga Road to Kharga.<sup>123</sup> The presence of “interpreters of Yam” at Naqada suggests that men involved with the inhabitants of Yam made use of routes cutting across the Qena Bend for journeys to the far south. The interpreters could have traveled the ‘Alamat Tal Road, making use of connections with the Girga Road at Qarn el-Gir and finally leaving Kharga on the Darb el-Arbaîn. During the late Old Kingdom Dakhla Oasis was firmly established as the center of Egyptian control in the southern Western Desert. Kharga, on the other hand, appears to have remained open, a passageway and series of watering points for those going to and from Dakhla and the Nile and those traveling between the area of the Qena Bend and the lands of Nubia and the far southern regions.<sup>124</sup>

Three-dimensional representations in desert sites of the king as falcon are found at the Chephren diorite quarries at Toshka (see Engelbach 1933, pl. 3, figs. 1–2) and the temple of Serabit el-Khadim (Valbelle and Bonnet 1996, p. 121, fig. 144). The Horus falcon is appropriate for the king’s representation in the deserts far from the Nile, ever closer to the cusps of the horizons. The falcon wears the double crown. Although the forward rim of the cap of the red crown is absent, its curl joins the front of the white crown at the juncture of that crown and the top of the falcon’s head, and the back of the red crown is also present. Iconographically, the relatively large eye of the falcon most strongly suggests the proportions of the famous gold falcon head from Hierakonpolis.<sup>125</sup>

121. Note, however, that — contra Faulkner 1953, p. 34 — travel into the deserts and to Nubia during the Sixth Dynasty was not overseen exclusively by *imy-r i‘ꜣw.w*-officials; see the remarks of Edel 1971, pp. 57–58.

122. Reisner, Dunham, and Janssen 1960, p. 156, pl. 100G; Ward 1982, p. 101, no. 844a. Thebes appears to have overseen Nubian affairs during the late Middle Kingdom, as the pres-

ence of Semna Dispatches at Thebes indicates; see Leprohon 1980, p. 208.

123. For a summary of the discussions relating to Harkhuf’s use of the oasis route during his third journey to the land of Yam, see Giddy 1987, pp. 51–52.

124. Compare the remarks of Fischer 1957, pp. 227–28.

125. Aldred 1965, p. 121, fig. 122, to cite one of the many reproductions of this famous piece.

## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTION 6

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Stela of Tjauti containing name of writer and historical text	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 7c, 19–25
<i>Date:</i>	First Intermediate Period (early Eleventh Dynasty)	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 57.25 × 21.00 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Section 20 of Gebel Tjauti inscription shelf		
<i>Note:</i>	Written by John C. Darnell and Deborah Darnell		

Gebel Tjauti has preserved several inscriptions from the late First Intermediate Period/early Middle Kingdom that rival its contributions to our understanding of the formative period of pharaonic civilization. Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 6, a formal stela from the time of the early Eleventh Dynasty, provides a brief but significant account of the early stages of the northward expansion of the pugnacious Eleventh Dynasty of Thebes and allows for a greater understanding of previously known documents from that time. The inscription is rather low relative to the level of the shelf floor, although this may result from the accumulation of fallen and waterborne debris subsequent to the carving of the stela. The other texts are at, or slightly above, the present eye level of the present writers (and thus probably very near that of the ancient Egyptians).<sup>126</sup>

This is the most important pharaonic inscription from Gebel Tjauti, and one of the most significant rock inscriptions in the Theban Western Desert. The sunk relief text appears at present to be the only surviving, identified pharaonic road construction inscription; a medieval Coptic inscription on the gebel between Kom Ombo and Aswan appears to be the next such record of roadwork from Egypt.<sup>127</sup> Of all the inscriptions the Theban Desert Road Survey has thus far discovered, only the gebel stela of Tjauti tells so clearly who was there, when, and for what purpose. This is the sort of inscription of which one dreams.

The stela of Tjauti is cut in relatively deep sunk relief into the rock to the right of the main concentration of inscriptions at Gebel Tjauti. Although the limestone into which Tjauti's sculptor carved his stela is of a far poorer quality than that but a meter or so to the left, Tjauti chose for his stela the point where the lower path of the 'Alamat Tal Road reaches the graffiti ledge. Even the most hurried traveler with no time to rest on the ledge would see the Tjauti inscription; had his sculptors cut it into better stone to the left, it may have escaped the notice of those climbing and descending the path without stopping. The few surviving portions of original surface show the stone to have been carefully smoothed, and the stone in these areas is still particularly light in comparison with the chocolate patina of the surrounding gebel. The original shape of the stela can no longer be discerned, nor can one state with certainty how many lines have disappeared. Judging by the height of the stela above the ledge, it seems unlikely that more than two lines have disappeared from the bottom of the monument. No trace of a regnal year date survives, and the curvature of the stone face suggests that the text began with the epithets of Tjauti in the present first line. The facsimile drawing gives no indication of damage. Since the surviving signs and portions of signs float in a sea of eroded stone, fragmentary hieroglyphs would be obscured.<sup>128</sup> The accompanying photographs should serve to show the extent of the damage and the nature of the stone.

The damage appears for the most part to be the result of natural erosion. The areas of surviving surface show several thin lines apparently scratched over the inscription. These lines are relatively widely spaced and are nowhere of sufficient depth to obscure the lines of any signs they cross. Rather than representing an intentional desecration of the Tjauti stela, the lightly etched lines are likely the remnants of some later, now indiscernible graffiti scratched over the inscription. The Thebans who later captured Tjauti's newly improved road do not appear to have damaged his road construction inscription, suggesting that the vengeance the Thebans meted out to the necropolis of Heracleopolis resulted from more than military fervor and was perhaps in response to a specific outrage for which they held the Heracleopolitans directly responsible (Vernus 1991, p. 339; Darnell 1997b, pp. 101–08).

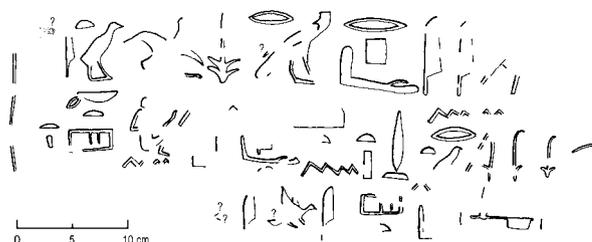
126. In order to make significant new material available to scholars as quickly as possible, preliminary treatments of the Tjauti inscription and the graffiti of the shock troops of Antef (Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 6–7) have been published in Darnell and Darnell 1997, pp. 241–58. The following discussion of these texts incorporates that article, altered in places and substantially augmented throughout.

127. Bouriant 1893, pp. 176–77 (§17. Inscription historique bilingue, copte et arabe); De Morgan et al. 1894, p. 206; Kosack 1974, p. 398; Mallon 1912, pp. 121 f.

128. The copy has been revised many times, and several collators have examined the rock during the course of a number of visits to Gebel Tjauti during spring and fall 1995 and winter 1996. The accompanying drawing was made by John Darnell, after collations by John and Deborah Darnell.

This inscription suggests that the fully developed, pharaonic form of the ‘Alamat Tal Road dates to the time of Tjauti, nomarch of the Coptite (Fifth) nome. The fact that Tjauti was responsible for this inscription also supports assigning Qamûla to the Coptite nome and implies that the northern arm of the western Theban cliffs (the prong often misnamed “Thoth Mountain” in Egyptological literature) might in fact have been the boundary between the Theban (Fourth) and Coptite nomes. The rock inscriptions of Gebel Tjauti shed much new and welcome light on the early expansion of the Eleventh Dynasty. Perhaps even more startlingly, one may proceed from what they and other texts tell us of Theban military strategy and arrive at a possible answer as to why Thebes became so important politically during the First Intermediate Period.

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

<sup>1</sup>[*it-ntr*] *mry*-[*ntr*]<sup>a</sup> *r-p*<sup>c</sup>.*t*<sup>b</sup> *imy-r*<sup>c</sup> *Šm*<sup>c</sup>*w T*<sup>3</sup>*wti* [*dd*(?)]<sup>d</sup>  
<sup>2</sup>*i*[*r*].[*n*](=i)<sup>e</sup> *nn*<sup>f</sup> *n-mrw.t*<sup>g</sup> *d*<sup>3</sup>.*t*<sup>h</sup> *h*<sup>3</sup>[*s.t*] *tn*<sup>i</sup> *htm.t.n*<sup>j</sup> *hk*<sup>3</sup>.*k* *n*(*y*) *k.t sp*<sup>3</sup>.*t*<sup>l</sup>  
<sup>3</sup>[*iw*?] *h*<sup>3</sup>*m*[*n*](=i) *hn*<sup>c</sup>*n* *sp*<sup>3</sup>.*t*[=f]<sup>o</sup> *ip*<sup>3</sup>*y*(?) [...]<sup>p</sup>

<sup>1</sup>[The god’s father], beloved of [the god], hereditary prince, overseer of Upper Egypt, Tjauti, [says(?)]:

<sup>2</sup>“(I) [have] made this for crossing this gebel, which the ruler of another nome had closed,

<sup>3</sup>(I) fought with [his] nome. I flew(?) [...]”

## NOTES

<sup>a</sup> Although *mry-ntr* may occur alone (cf. Brovarski 1989, pp. 663–64; on the title adjunct, see Helck 1954, pp. 94–95), the lengths of lines 2 and 3 require a restoration of *it-ntr* to fill the space at the beginning of line 1. Tjauti’s predecessor User was a “god’s father” and “king’s eldest bodily son” (*s*<sup>3</sup> *nsw.t smsw n h.t* =f; see Fischer 1964, pp. 43–47; Kanawati 1980, p. 115). The title *it-ntr* (on which see, inter alia, Habachi 1958, pp. 167–68; Brunner 1961, pp. 90–100; Kees 1961, pp. 115–17; Blumenthal 1987, pp. 15–16; Baud 1999/1, pp. 148–50) apparently indicates that Tjauti was a member of the Heracleopolitan royal family.

<sup>b</sup> For a detail of the title *r-p*<sup>c</sup>.*t*, see pl. 20b. Compare the downward slant of the arm in this title of Tjauti on the fragmentary false door (CGC 57201) from Khozam (Fischer 1964, pl. 14, second line of text in the central vignette). For the somewhat exaggeratedly high shoulder of the arm signs in this inscription, see the arm hieroglyphs in Fischer 1964, pl. 20 (beginning of the fourth cornice segment from the top); Vandier 1964, pl. 1 (the arm substituting for the arm-holding-the-*di*-loaf in *rdi* = *s* in line 7); Szafranski 1994, pl. 4, lines 3, 5 (the title *r-p*<sup>c</sup>.*t*). These inscriptions appear to date to the Heracleopolitan period/early Eleventh Dynasty, as does the Gebel Tjauti inscription.

<sup>c</sup> The legs of the *m*-owl may not have joined on one ground line, but rather the right foot might have been separate and located higher than the other (see pl. 21a); compare the *m* in line 2 of the stela in Ockinga 1988, p. 81.

<sup>d</sup> Considering the inconsistent scale and distribution of signs in this inscription, one narrow quadrant of text may have followed the reed leaf at the end of the name (see the detail, pl. 21b), although no traces survive. If the vertical bits of line to the left of the inscription are indeed portions of a border, and this is by no means certain, the hieroglyphs in this area would have been somewhat small and cramped. One might restore *dd* at the end of line 1, introducing the statement of Tjauti (cf. Schenkel 1962, pp. 76–77; Fischer 1972, p. 66, n. 1), and in fact possible remnants of the head and neck of a *d*-serpent appear in the top right of the quadrant, shown by means of a damage-

to-shape convention in the drawing. Below this are possible traces of the thumb and the top of the palm of a small *d*-hand,<sup>129</sup> but as these traces are at the edge of a flake of stone, one cannot rule out a fortuitous break. The restoration of *m*ꜥ-*hrw* (Erichsen 1928, pp. 270–78; Schenkel 1962, p. 76) may be rejected as the content of the inscription makes it unlikely that Tjauti was dead when the inscription was carved.

<sup>e</sup> Because of the nature of the stone, *ir.n(=i)* is placed somewhat lower than one might expect, and *nn* is smaller than the following signs. The canthus of the eye was copied as questionable in Darnell and Darnell 1997, p. 244, fig. 3; we now prefer to omit this feature, as the level of the badly decayed stone in this area makes the identification of this feature even more doubtful.

<sup>f</sup> Doubled fronds in *nn* are a feature characteristic of First Intermediate Period inscriptions from the areas of Dendera, Naqada, and Thebes; see Fischer 1961a, p. 57; Brovarski 1989, pp. 880–81, n. 198. The absence of doubled fronds in *nn* on Tjauti's gebel stela (see detail, pl. 22a) supports a relatively late date for this First Intermediate Period text; doubled fronds are rare after the reign of Wahankh Antef at Thebes; see Fischer 1981, p. 242, n. 6.

<sup>g</sup> Compare the fragmentary text in *Urk.* 1.21, line 2; Clère and Vandier 1948, p. 45 (no. 31), line 22. The *n*-water sign of *n-mrw.t*, when whole, consists of six crests. The *n*-water sign of *tn* in *h*ꜥ*s.t tn* later in this line has but four crests, and the *n*-water sign of *h*ꜥ*ꜥ n k.t sp*ꜥ*.t* apparently once had four or five crests. For a mixture of four-, five-, and six-crested *n*-water signs in a roughly contemporary inscription, see Vandier 1964, pl. 1.

<sup>h</sup> The use of *n-mrwt* separates this statement from such phrases as *ir.n(=i) nn n W*ꜥ*s.t* on the stela of Antef son of Ka (BM 99 [1203]; see Clère and Vandier 1948, p. 19, lines 12–13 of the stela). The infinitive of *d*ꜥ follows *n-mrwt* (Edel 1955, p. 361 [§719]). For the increasingly common use of the diacritic stroke in the early Middle Kingdom, see Schenkel 1962, pp. 32–34; note also the remarks of Brovarski 1989, pp. 740–41. Although the shoulders of the arm signs in this text are rounded rather than squared, the diacritic stroke of *d*ꜥ*.t* is nicely squared; see the details, pls. 22b, 24b (top); for the usually square-cornered stroke with rounded top in an inscription of the later First Intermediate Period, see Fischer 1968, p. 145. For the appearance of the *d*ꜥ-sign, see Sainte Fare Garnot in Bruyère et al. 1937, pl. 14, fig. 2, line 5; Fischer 1981b, pp. 64–65, figs. 5, 6, line 3.

<sup>i</sup> For the exact orthography and arrangement of signs (*h*ꜥ*s.t*-sign over *t* over *n*), see Wadi Hammamat inscription no. 19, line 1; Couyat and Montet 1912, pp. 91–92, pl. 35; see detail, pl. 23a.

<sup>j</sup> The words of the middle portion of the second line appear to end slightly higher than the *n* of *h*ꜥ*s.t tn* and the *n* of *n k.t sp*ꜥ*.t*, in order to avoid a depression in the stone. All but the tip of the final, truncated reed leaf in *hni* of line 3 also avoid this depression. The seal of the *h*ꜥ*tm*-sign is somewhat too close to the shoulder of the arm determinative, a position forced upon the sign by the presence of the *h*ꜥ*s.t*-sign extending over the palm of the hand determining *h*ꜥ*tm*. The surviving left end of the *n* of *h*ꜥ*tm.t.n* is somewhat long, as is the case with the *n* of *h*ꜥ*s.t tn* earlier in this line.

<sup>k</sup> The fragments of a *h*ꜥ*ꜥ*-scepter with an incompletely curled hook follow *h*ꜥ*tm.t.n*. For this suppression of the backwards curve of the top of the *h*ꜥ*ꜥ*-scepter during the First Intermediate Period, see Clère 1950, pl. 3, beginning of line 4 (and p. 28, fig. 4 j); Fischer 1964, p. 113, pl. 37, line x+9 (similar examples appear already during the Sixth Dynasty; cf. Kanawati et al. 1993, pls. 31c, 37). An example of the elimination of the backwards curve of the *h*ꜥ*ꜥ*-scepter during the First Intermediate Period/early Middle Kingdom appears in Munro 1960, p. 60 (no. 33).

The seated man determinative of *h*ꜥ*ꜥ*, his arms in the “expected” pose but with the “rear” foot omitted and both legs drawn up in front, is consistent with a late First Intermediate Period/Eleventh Dynasty date; see Fischer 1968, pp. 79–82, 169; idem 1964, pp. 109 (n. [h]), 115 (n. [i]); compare also the comments of Schenkel 1962, pp. 112–13. The omission of the rear leg with tucked under foot can result in such signs as the determinative of *m*ꜥꜥ in Sainte Fare Garnot in Bruyère et al. 1937, pl. 14, fig. 2, line 6 (vertical), in which the soldier appears to sit upon a nonexistent chair.

129. Note the comparable sizes of the thumbs in the hands for the signs ꜥ and *d* on the stela of Antef II (MMA 13.182.3); see Jaroš-Deckert 1984, p. 110, fig. 31; for a somewhat similar

small *d*-hand, see Budge 1914a, pl. 7, horizontal line 2, and the column of text behind the thigh of Antef.

<sup>l</sup> For *k.t sp̄.t*, see *k.t sp̄.wt* in Davies, Crum, and Boulenger 1902, pls. 24–25, line 1; see detail, pl. 23b. The use of *ḥk̄ n k.t sp̄.t* is perhaps a veiled reference to the Theban nomarch. For *ḥk̄* as a reference to a nomarch, see *Wb.* 3.171:20; Vandier 1950, p. 207, n. a to inscription no. 8; Martin-Pardey 1976, pp. 215–16; Fischer 1978, p. 23; idem 1996b, p. 86, n. f. Tjauti perhaps intentionally avoided employing the more official title *ḥry-tp̄* <sup>3</sup> for his rival; see Fischer 1968, pp. 9–12, for the earlier title *ḥk̄ sp̄.t*. For a plurality of *ḥk̄*-rulers, apparently referring to a group of First Intermediate Period nomarchs, see line 3 of the lintel of Antef II from the Šaff el-Qiṣāšīya (Schenkel 1976, pp. 50–51, pls. 42a–b, 52, who [p. 51, n. k] also suggests for the suffix *s* “nach dem Genus des Suffixes etwa eines Gaues”; considering the plurality of *ḥk̄*-rulers, the *s* could refer to Upper Egypt, or some specific division thereof, with the *ḥk̄.w* being the nomarchs of the nomes within that greater division). Palaeographically the *sp̄.t*-sign shows the use of the *š*-sign with vertical strokes derived from the internal ripples of the *mr*-sign; compare Fischer 1968, p. 90, n. 410; Goedicke 1988a, pp. 26a–b. For confusion of the *š*, *mr*, and *sp̄.t* signs, see Darnell 1994, pp. 38–39, n. 19, and the references cited there; the occurrence of this confusion in the Gebel Tjauti inscription supports a date for Tjauti relatively late in the First Intermediate Period; see Fischer 1991a, p. 132.

<sup>m</sup> The *ḥ*-sign shows the leftmost arm holding the handle of a weapon, which at first glance appears to be a rectangular-bladed ax (see the detail, pl. 24a). Although axes can have approximately this appearance (see Jéquier 1921, p. 208, fig. 554; Wolf 1926, p. 34, fig. 16), one does not expect a rectangular-shaped ax blade from the First Intermediate Period; see the remarks of W. Davies 1987, p. 23. The position of the shoulder of the leftmost arm shows that the upper arms of the sign were fairly vertical, with a horizontal line connecting them (cf. Di. Arnold 1976, pl. 42a, line 3), as opposed to the more angled upper arms of the later forms of the sign. This observation supports the conclusion that the apparent blade of the ax is actually the bottom of the shield, and in fact the handle of the ax does overlap the shield, although it is now impossible to make out the blade of the ax, if it was ever in fact carved.

<sup>n</sup> The position of *ḥ* appears to require the presence of a horizontal sign, such as *n*, beneath it, so a form such as *r ḥ ḥn̄* — compare *šm.n=i r ḥ* in the stela of Kay (Anthes 1928) — is unlikely; for *r ḥ ḥn̄*, see Fischer 1964, pp. 70–71; see also the references in Spalinger 1982, p. 86. A reasonable restoration is to read *n* below *ḥ* as part of the *sdm.n=f* form *ḥ.n(=i)*. The third and possibly final line of the stela may have begun with another statement of Tjauti, parallel to the *ir.n(=i)* at the beginning of line 2.

<sup>o</sup> Although it is difficult to say as the signs are not entirely regular or even and there is a very slight rise in the bottom of the third line towards the right, the fact that the *t* of *sp̄.t* is perceptibly higher than the elbow of *ḥ* in *ḥn̄* and considerably higher than the damaged bottom of the initial reed of *ip̄y* favors a restoration of the *f*-viper beneath *sp̄.t*.

<sup>p</sup> This third and possibly final line of the inscription appears to have begun with another statement of Tjauti, parallel to the *ir.n(=i)* at the beginning of line 2. Tjauti either went to fight against Thebes, [*iw?*] *ḥ[n](=i) ḥn̄ sp̄.t[=f]*, or he fought with (alongside) his own nome, [*iw?*] *ḥ[n](=i) ḥn̄ sp̄.t(=i)*; see Fischer 1964, p. 70, n. 2. The reed leaf following *sp̄.t[=f]* (here without the stroke present in that word in line 2; see the detail, pl. 24b) may represent the first person singular pronominal suffix, although this does not appear to have been written in *ir.n=i* at the beginning of the second line of the stela. The remaining signs suggest a logographic writing of the verb *ḥni* “to alight” (the preserved surface in this area precludes a reading , with a following reed leaf perhaps representing the first person singular pronominal suffix; see detail, pl. 25.<sup>130</sup> A lack of parallels for such an orthography speaks against this understanding of the surviving signs. A reading of *ip̄i ... (?)* as a noun, “the nome of Ipay ... (?)” is equally unattested, although the signs following *sp̄.t* could conceivably be a personal name; compare the *p̄y* of Ranke, *PN* 1, p. 129, no. 4. The most satisfying of the possibilities is to take *ip̄* as an *i*-augmented form of the verb *p̄*,<sup>131</sup> perhaps the prospective nominal form of the verb (cf. PT §366a; J. Allen 1984, §262), although the emphasized object has vanished (syntactic distance speaks against *ip̄* being a prefixed old perfective [Edel 1955, §579] referring to the “ruler of another nome,” with *i* for the third person masculine singular stative ending; see J. Allen 1984, p. 385 [§564]). Reading *ip̄y* also accounts for the reed leaf following sign G41 () as the weak consonantal ending of *p̄* and the first person singular pronominal suffix, that pronoun going unwritten — as one would expect (see Edel 1955, §160) — after the strong consonantal endings of *ir.n* (line 2) and *sp̄.t* (line 3). For the use of the

130. For the reed leaf representing the first person singular pronominal suffix after *sp̄.t* and a possible doubled reed leaf after *ḥni*, see Schenkel 1962, pp. 43–44.

131. *Wb.* 1.494:8–10; see also Edel 1955, §§454, 491, 495, 527; Mathieu 1996, p. 316.

verb *pꜣ* to refer to swift travel, albeit from a later period, see Darnell 1991, p. 92 (in a military context in a passage from the second stela of Kamose).

#### COMMENTARY

Titles similar to those on the ‘Alamat Tal Road Tjauti stela are attested for the Sixth Dynasty nomarch of the Seventh Upper Egyptian Nome named Tjauti,<sup>132</sup> the Eighth Dynasty Tjauti-iqer, known from inscriptions in Wadi Hammamat,<sup>133</sup> and the Coptite nomarch Tjauti, successor of User during the troubled Ninth Dynasty.<sup>134</sup> The findspot, palaeography, and titles of the Gebel Tjauti stela together suggest that the Tjauti who left the inscription on the ‘Alamat Tal Road is the same Tjauti who was the last pro-Heracleopolitan nomarch of the Coptite nome, ruling from Khozam at the time of the early Eleventh Dynasty at Thebes (Kanawati 1980, pp. 115, 118–19, 120–21). The references in the inscription to conflict, probable allusions to the aggressive northern expansion of Thebes, argue forcibly for this identification. The Khozam Tjauti does not have the title “god’s father” on any other monument thus far recognized.<sup>135</sup> His predecessor User was a god’s father, however, and it would not be surprising to find User’s successor holding the same title. Kanawati notes that the fragmentary false door from Khozam does not preserve the full complement of Tjauti’s titles (Kanawati 1980, p. 115). Although the suggested identification of the Khozam Tjauti with Tjauti-iqer is untenable,<sup>136</sup> there is evidence that Tjauti of Khozam did hold the title “god’s father”; Kanawati’s (1980, pp. 117–18) suggestion that Tjauti was directly related to the Heracleopolitan royal house (a suggestion based, however, on the equation of Tjauti of Khozam and Tjauti-iqer) thus remains an attractive possibility.

The northern boundary of the Theban (Fourth) nome appears to have been to the south of Khozam on the east bank of the Nile and just south of Qamûla on the west bank.<sup>137</sup> Otto, followed by Helck, suggests that the northern boundary on the west bank was just to the north of Qurna.<sup>138</sup> The high and middle deserts approach the Nile at the northern end of the Theban escarpment, and the deposits of Wadi er-Rimaylah and the northern edge of this protrusion of the desert seem at one time to have reached the banks of the river.<sup>139</sup> This narrow strip of infertile soil, between the Nile and the closest part of the western gebel before it recedes dramatically towards the northwest presents a natural boundary between the Theban and Coptite nomes. The presence of Tjauti’s inscription on the ‘Alamat Tal Road demonstrates that the northern boundary of the Theban nome proper was just north of el-Tarif during the time of the early Eleventh Dynasty.

132. This Tjauti is best known for his tomb at el-Qasr wa es-Saiyad, begun during the first half of the reign of Pepy II; see Montet 1936, pp. 84–109; *Urk.* 1, pp. 257–58; Säve-Söderbergh 1994, pp. 36–56; see also Kanawati 1980, pp. 47–48, passim; idem 1977, p. 60; Fischer 1968, pp. 64 (n. 252), 74–75 (n. 307), 87 (n. 391), 97 (n. 440), 115 (n. 501).

133. *Urk.* 1, pp. 258–59; see also Martin-Pardey 1976, pp. 227–28.

134. Fischer 1964, pp. 47–49; Spänel 1984a, p. 88.

135. Blumenthal (1987, pp. 15–16) discusses User and Tjauti-iqer as “god’s fathers” of the First Intermediate Period; Tjauti of Khozam does not appear on her list (understandably, as the Gebel Tjauti inscription is the first indication that he bore the title “god’s father”).

136. Kees (1932, p. 110), Kanawati (1980, pp. 117–18 [and the references on p. 159]; 1992, pp. 167–69 [particularly n. 1030; identification presented as “likely”], 286–87 [identification said to be “uncertain”]), Mostafa (1987, pp. 169–84), and Brovarski (1989, pp. 35–36, 987) suggest that the Tjauti-iqer of the Wadi Hammamat inscriptions is identical to the Tjauti of the Ninth Dynasty, but this identification appears to be erroneous; compare Fischer 1994, p. 188, n. 27.

137. Gomaà 1980, pp. 36–37, 46; Helck 1974, pp. 83, 85; Fischer 1957, p. 228, n. 27; idem 1964, p. 5. This boundary need not have been an artificially straight line; compare the serpentine boundary discussed in Gomaà et al. 1991, pp. 124–29.

138. Otto 1952, p. 54; Helck 1974, pp. 83, 85.

139. See the remarks of Jollois and Devilliers 1821, p. 2.

On the false door of the Khozam Tjauti (CGC 57201), the nomarch is called *mḥ-ib n nsw.t m r3-ꜥ3 ḥ3s.t Šmꜥ* “confidant (literally “one who fills the heart”) of the king<sup>140</sup> in the door<sup>141</sup> of the desert of Upper Egypt.”<sup>142</sup> This title indicates authority over desert routes and passes. Fischer suggests that the title “overseer of the narrow door of the desert of Upper Egypt” of the Sixth Dynasty nomarch Tjauti might be related to use of the el-Qara/Farshût to Kharga Road,<sup>143</sup> and he goes on to note the mention of travels to Kharga departing from Thinis, Qamûla, and Thebes. Due to the makeup of the gebel filling the Qena Bend of the Nile, however, all of these routes link up with the Farshût-Kharga route. The road from the vicinity of southern Qamûla did in fact join the ‘Alamat Tal/Gebel Tjauti Road, passing by Gebel Tjauti; the road from Thebes would have been either the ‘Alamat Tal or Farshût Road. Both of these tracks come together at the great caravan stop of Gebel Qarn el-Gir, from which tracks lead to Abydos, Thinis, and Kharga. The stela of an *imy-r Šmꜥw* Tjauti in the pass on the Theban side of the ‘Alamat Tal Road suggests that this place could have come under his jurisdiction as part of the “narrow door of the desert of Upper Egypt,” as a branch of the network of roads linking up with Kharga and the roads to the far south. The Coptite nomarchs could in fact have controlled — at least nominally — the desert routes and desert policemen of the entire southern portion of Upper Egypt.<sup>144</sup>

The relative *ḥtm.t.n* in line 2 of Tjauti’s road inscription refers to closing off the gebel, “shutting” the mountain to travel by controlling the “narrow doors of the desert of Upper Egypt”;<sup>145</sup> Tjauti’s use of *ḥtm* here may even indicate the annexation of the mountain by the Theban ruler.<sup>146</sup> As a result of the unnamed ruler’s “sealing” of the gebel, Tjauti of Khozam was in charge of what remained to the Heracleopolitans of the Upper Egyptian desert. In terms of the history of the Heracleopolitan period, Tjauti’s reference to the “ruler of another nome” having closed off the gebel and apparently fighting with the Coptite forces implies that the Heracleopolitans lost control of Upper Egypt during the late Ninth Dynasty at the latest.<sup>147</sup> Fischer notes the similarity between Tjauti’s desert administration title and that of the Theban nomarch Antef, who on stela CGC 20009 proclaims himself *mḥ-ib n nsw.t m r3-ꜥ3 g3w ḥ3s.t rsy* “confidant of the king in the narrow door of the desert of the south.”<sup>148</sup> On that stela Antef refers to himself as beloved of a king, apparently the Heracleopolitan ruler.<sup>149</sup> Antef appears to have been a contemporary of the Coptite nomarch User (Fischer 1968, p. 201; 1964, pp. 39–47), who himself was most likely the immediate predecessor of Tjauti. User, on his false door from Khozam (CGC 1442; Fischer 1964, pl. 13), bears the title *imy-r ḥ3s.wt i3bt.t imnt.t* “overseer of the Eastern and Western Deserts.” As Fischer (1964, p. 47) observes, the title is that of an expedition leader and alludes to User’s authority to dispatch caravans along Wadi Hammamat and “perhaps along a route to the oases that had its beginning at Qamûla, opposite Khozam.” The possibly conflicting titles of

140. For the confidential nature of duty at the narrow door of the desert, see Edel 1971, pp. 56–59.

141. On the term *r3-ꜥ3* “doorway,” see Frandsen 1992, pp. 49–51; Carter and Gardiner 1917, p. 137, n. 4; Fecht 1960, p. 97, n. 293. On the military associations of *r3-ꜥ3*, see Fischer 1960, pp. 261–62; J. Wells 1994, p. 344.

142. Fischer 1964, pl. 14; although the *ḥ3s.t*-sign is perhaps a determinative (Kees 1934, pp. 83–86), orthographies of the title such as that in *Urk.* 1, pp. 253–54, show that the (narrow) door is a desert door. According to Kees 1934, p. 84, *r3-ꜥ3 rsy* is most likely an abbreviated form of the full *r3-ꜥ3 g3w Šmꜥw*. This title does not refer simply to Aswan (so el-Dissouky 1969, pp. 50–59; Barta 1981, p. 27), but to any desert pass of the Upper Egyptian desert (Fischer 1968, p. 130, n. 575, points out that a title mentioning the narrow door “does not necessarily refer to Aswan”), perhaps more specifically the Western Desert. See also the comments of Edel 1962, p. 107; to the el-Qasr wa es-Saiyad tomb examples (in *Urk.* 1), add Säve-Söderbergh 1994, pp. 41–42, 45, 47, 53, 55, pls. 14, 19, 23, 28, 31, 35–36, 38–40. A late survivor of the title was borne by the mayor of Thebes Monthuemhat (Leclant 1961, pp. 73–74, 153; see also Clédat 1923a, p. 186). Curiously, Brovarski (1989, p. 54, n. 3) relates the title to control of the Nile. “Door” as “fortress” is perhaps behind the ancient names of ‘Ezbet Rushdi, incorporating *r3-w3.ty* (see Adam 1959, pp. 216, 223; Kees 1962, p. 3; Bietak 1996, pp. 7, 9–10, 19), although Kuhlmann (1991, p. 226) has explained *r3-w3.ty* as a reference to a “neighboring” sanctuary.

143. Fischer 1968, p. 12, n. 56 (el-Qara is the first stop out from “Oasis Junction” on the small-gauge railroad from Farshût to Kharga; see Beadnell 1909, p. 38). For other Old Kingdom titles related to roads (*ḥry-w3.wt* and *šḥd ḥry.w-w3.wt*), see Fischer 1991, pp. 59–64.

144. Compare the remarks of Helck 1939, pp. 23–24.

145. Compare Hatshepsut’s reference to *mḥn.w wn.w šri* “roads which were blocked” in line 14 of the great Speos Artemidos inscription; see Gardiner 1946, pl. 6. For *ḥtm* meaning “to close off,” see Fischer 1962c, p. 334.

146. For such a use of *ḥtm*, see Fischer 1961a, pp. 49–50, n. f; idem 1964, p. 115, n. f; Schenkel 1965, p. 30, n. c; *Wb.* 3.352:1; Caminos 1974, p. 51, n. 3.

147. The Gebel Tjauti inscription suggests that the view of the Ninth Dynasty kings as having controlled all of Egypt (cf. Spänel 1984a, p. 87) is incorrect; see the mention of the problem, with a few references, in Quack 1992, p. 107.

148. Clère and Vandier 1948, p. 8 (no. 13); Fischer 1968, p. 200, fig. 39; idem 1964, pp. 42–43.

149. Antef’s professed loyalty to the Heracleopolitans should not necessarily imply that he did not already plan the expansion of Theban control (so Barta 1981, p. 27, and Brovarski 1976, p. 36, accept Antef’s professed loyalty to the Heracleopolitans, without noting that the Heracleopolitan overlords may not have welcomed Antef’s interest in their desert passes).

User (*imy-r ḥꜣs.wt iꜣbt.t imnt.t* “overseer of the Eastern and Western Deserts”) and Antef (*mḥ-ib n nsw.t m rꜣ-ꜣ gꜣw ḥꜣs.t rsy* “confidant of the king in the narrow door of the desert of the south”) and the almost identical titles of Antef and Tjauti (*mḥ-ib n nsw.t m rꜣ-ꜣ (gꜣw) ḥꜣs.t Šmꜣ/rsy* “confidant of the king in the (narrow) door of the desert of Upper Egypt/the south”),<sup>150</sup> all concerned with desert routes and passes, suggest a certain rivalry over desert routes between the Thebans and the Coptites just before the Thebans openly began their final push towards the domination of all Egypt. The similarity between the titles of Tjauti and the Theban nomarch Antef is especially interesting in light of the Gebel Tjauti stela; its reference to the ruler of another nome sealing off the gebel suggests that the Theban ruler’s adoption of the title “overseer of the narrow door of the desert of Upper Egypt” represented the beginning of an ambitious Theban policy of desert expansion and a true rivalry between Thebes and Coptos over control of the desert tracks.<sup>151</sup> User’s successor Tjauti also made use of the title “overseer of the narrow door,” and from the Gebel Tjauti inscription it is known that he did — albeit briefly — re-assert Coptite authority in the Western Desert after a setback. The Gebel Tjauti inscription supports Fischer’s understanding of the late First Intermediate Period and the early Eleventh Dynasty and shows that the apparently conflicting “narrow door” titles of User, Tjauti, and Antef reflect the political reality remarkably well.

The burden of Tjauti’s inscription is not an account of Theban aggression in the Western Desert, however, but rather an announcement that Tjauti has acted to aid desert travel. As the Thebans appear to have controlled the Farshût Road and the tracks to the south during the administration of Tjauti, the hard-pressed Coptite allies of the Heracleopolitans were forced to make a new desert shortcut across the Qena Bend, located, like their capital at Khozam, dangerously close to the area of Theban control. If the Thebans had complete control of the desert routes to the west, they could outflank and isolate the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Upper Egyptian Nomes.<sup>152</sup> The *nm* in line 2 of Tjauti’s desert road inscription — what Tjauti made — should refer to something useful in crossing the gebel and in close proximity to the inscription itself. This immediately suggests the road, and while the predynastic and Old Kingdom depictions and inscriptions at Gebel Tjauti do testify to the earlier existence of a track corresponding to the ‘Alamat Tal Road, Tjauti could well be saying that he improved the road and made it more passable. Such a statement at first seems more appropriate to a stela at the Nile Valley terminus of the road; however, just to the right of the stela, the road ascends through a steep waterfall and much of the ancient surface appears to be washed away; there is a similar scramble about two-thirds of the way up the hill.<sup>153</sup> There is in fact another path for ascending Gebel Tjauti, apparently no older than the Second Intermediate Period based on the pottery, that seeks to avoid the steep incline. If the road in its natural state were always so treacherous, only a few determined travelers could have used it and the track would have been impassable to pack animals. The caravan tracks themselves, the amount of pottery, the large size of some of the vessels, and an inscription<sup>154</sup> suggest, however, that animals did use this road. Tjauti may have built artificial ramps in the washed-out areas in order to make the road viable for large groups and

150. The term “confidant of the king” appears again, in a title concerning activities at the edges of Egypt, in the title *mḥ-ib n nsw.t m wp.t-Tꜣ.wy*, borne by the herald Ameny, apparently in connection with his activities in the Wadi Hammamat (Gasse 1988, p. 94, pl. 6, line 6); Gasse’s (ibid., p. 85, n. f) suggestion that the term *wp.t-Tꜣ.wy* here refers to “une zone chamière entre Haute et Basse Égypte” does not suit the use of *wp.t-Tꜣ* as a “hochgelegener Punkt o.ä. eines Landes” (*Wb.* 1.298:2) or as a designation of the far south (*Wb.* 1.298:3).

151. For Antef I as the first Theban ruler north and south of the Fourth Upper Egyptian Nome, see Gomàa 1980, pp. 143, 146, nn. 8–9. Except for scanty predynastic ceramic remains, the earliest pottery on the Theban end of the Farshût Road is of Eleventh Dynasty date, in clear contrast to the ‘Alamat Tal Road and the Southern Qamûla route, which saw considerable use in earlier periods. The enormous quantities of Eleventh Dynasty pottery point to the sudden appearance of a significant Theban presence on the Farshût Road at the dawn of the Middle Kingdom.

152. The stela of Djemi from Gebelein (T. Allen 1921, pp. 55–62; Säve-Söderbergh 1941, p. 45; Goedicke 1960, pp. 288–91;

Fischer 1961a, pp. 45, 53, 79–80; idem 1968, p. 201, n. 799) suggests that such desert flanking maneuvers might have been ongoing during the time of Ankhtify, involving goods brought from Thinis and some sort of a foray through or into potentially hostile territory when delivering someone to his home in Abydos. On the Stela of the Hounds of Antef II (Cairo 20512), the Theban ruler refers to setting his northern border at the Tenth Upper Egyptian Nome and then mopping up resistance in the Eighth Upper Egyptian Nome; see the comments of Quack 1992, pp. 100–01, and the literature cited there.

153. The location of the Gebel Tjauti rock inscriptions and rock art is thus similar to that of the inscriptions and depictions on the Rod el-‘Air in Sinai; see the descriptions in Gardiner, Peet, and Černý 1952b, p. 13; Giveon 1978, p. 98; Chartier-Raymond et al. 1994, pp. 47–49, 61–64.

154. Several meters to the left of Tjauti’s inscription is the signature of the *mnw ꜣ.w intf* “herdsman of donkeys, Antef” (Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 10).

animals.<sup>155</sup> The main Luxor-Farshût Road has stairs cut into the rock on the ascents/descents of the high desert at Gebel Antef and Wadi el-Hôl, and similar stairways are known from elsewhere.<sup>156</sup> Based on the pottery and inscriptions, the ‘Alamat Tal Road saw some early use; it was heavily used from the time of Tjauti and the Eleventh Dynasty through the New Kingdom and then appears to have been all but abandoned. Tjauti’s improvements may have fallen into disrepair at the end of the New Kingdom, and when Menkheperre recaptured the oases and re-opened the Farshût Road,<sup>157</sup> he saw no reason to re-open the old Qamûla track. Considering the often lawless state of the oases in times of turmoil,<sup>158</sup> Menkheperre may in fact have limited access to the road.<sup>159</sup> The improved ‘Alamat Tal Road owed its existence to the need to circumvent Theban control of the Western Desert during a time of internal conflict; the road fell out of use — or was in fact closed — when such circumvention was again a real possibility during a later period of recovery from strife and governmental weakness.

The content of Tjauti’s stela suggests that an initial Theban occupation of the gebel to the west of the Coptite nome had been overcome by Heracleopolitan forces, possibly — as Fischer suggests — after Theban retrenchment following Ankhtify’s successful resistance to the Theban-Coptite coalition and his subsequent counterattacks.<sup>160</sup> Tjauti’s success in re-opening the gebel to the Coptites was most likely short-lived, and the road might have been captured by Antef I. This is more than a guess because Antef I is probably the “son of Re Antef” in the inscription of the Theban assault troops at Gebel Tjauti, a few yards away from Tjauti’s stela (Wahankh Antef II’s omnipresent epithet 𓂏 does not appear in that cartouche), perhaps a memorial of the very men who captured Tjauti’s new road for the Thebans.

155. Although it is possible that loads could have been taken off donkeys at the shelf and carried up to another group of animals waiting above (cf. the use of donkeys to climb a difficult pass and the loading of camels waiting at the top in Daressy 1899, p. 285), the logistical problems in arranging the proper meeting of the two groups suggest that the repair of the washed-out area at Gebel Tjauti would have been the easier solution.

156. Compare Carter 1917, p. 108, pl. 19 (nos. 4, 107 from p. 113); Černý et al. 1969/70, pl. 65b; Černý et al. 1971, pl. 157; Fraser 1895, p. 57.

157. A stela found in the vicinity of the Wadi el-Hôl in the 1930s and parallel stelae discovered in 1992 (Darnell and Darnell 1994a, pp. 40–41) and in 2000 attest to an official interest in the Farshût Road under Menkheperre; the opening of the road is perhaps related to the assertion of Theban control over the oases and their resident outlaws; see von Beckerath 1969, pp. 7–36. On Menkheperre’s construction of fortresses at the Nile Valley termini of a number of important desert routes, see Kitchen 1986, pp. 249 (map 1), 269–70; Lacovara (Lacovara, Quirke, and Podzorski 1989, p. 62) suggests that the fortresses of Menkheperre were constructed to control the river and act as part of a communication network.

158. Stela of *Dd-ikw*: Schäfer 1905, pp. 124–28; Lichtheim 1988, pp. 93–94; Giddy 1987, p. 56, nn. 136–42 (pp. 108–09). Stela of *Kꜣy*: Anthes 1930, pp. 108–14. See also Fischer 1968, pp. 12 (n. 56), 47. During the Middle Ages, the desert routes of Upper Egypt, particularly those of the Western Desert, were used by the vanquished in revolts against the government seated in Cairo (Garcin 1976, pp. 60–61), and as late as the eighteenth century, the bedouin rivalries around the Qena Bend were complicated and incessant (ibid., pp. 500–01, 522 ff.).

159. The sparse ceramic evidence of the Twenty-first Dynasty is concentrated in a limited area of re-used huts, perhaps indicative of an isolated policing or reconnoitering venture.

160. Compare the implications of the Elkab stela of Hetepi (G. Gabra 1976, pp. 45–56). In support of a Heracleopolitan date for Ankhtify, see also the remarks of Strudwick 1985, p. 30. A later Theban expansion and temporary contraction appears to have occurred in the north, late in the reign of Antef II, or during the reign of Antef III; see the remarks of Lichtheim 1988, pp. 45–46. For a recent overview of the political situation beginning with the reign of Antef II, see Quack 1992, pp. 98–113.

## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTION 7

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing name of military unit	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 5b, 26
<i>Date:</i>	First Intermediate Period (Eleventh Dynasty)	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 12.5 × 15.5 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Section 9 of Gebel Tjauti inscription shelf		
<i>Note:</i>	Written by John C. Darnell and Deborah Darnell		

This inscription is located just above eye level, on a facet of stone on the north wall of a natural recess in the gebel. The carver of this inscription faced north, looking along the road as it passed by the inscription shelf. The inscription roughly faces Thebes, although the city proper is hidden by the intervening mass of the gebel.

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

<sup>1</sup>*mš<sup>c</sup> hwi<sup>b</sup>*

<sup>2</sup>(*s*-*R*<sup>c</sup> *Intf*<sup>c</sup>)

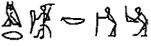
<sup>1</sup>The assault troops of

<sup>2</sup>the son of Re, Antef

## NOTES

<sup>a</sup> The first completed sign of the inscription is the hieroglyph of a seated man, augmented by a following vertical stroke and angled top stroke. The group is reminiscent of the *mš<sup>c</sup>*-sign in James 1962, pl. 16, line 1 (and palaeography, p. 1), although the legs are drawn in a more traditional fashion in the Gebel Tjauti inscription. For the arm holding a throw stick — the object does not extend below the hand — see the writing of the *mš<sup>c</sup>*-sign on stela OIM 16957, line 3; see Dunham 1937, pl. 33, fig. 1. The long vertical stroke hanging from the head area of the sign reflects a style of head fillet with long pendant streamer in fashion in the Thebaïd during the First Intermediate Period; compare Fischer 1961, pl. 15b; idem 1964, pls. 16 (no. 16), 24 (no. 27), 33 (no. 39), 34 (no. 40); compare also idem 1962a, p. 52, fig. 3 i; see also Valloggia 1985, pp. 265–66.

<sup>b</sup> The final sign of line 1 is a man striking with a small stick in one hand, the other arm hanging down behind him; see the references in Fischer 1968, p. 238 (under A24). The vertical stroke in front of the striking man represents the twisted *h*-hieroglyph, the man striking the *h*-sign being an attested First Intermediate Period orthography of *hwi* “to strike”; compare Edel 1984, pp. 123 (n. 97), 126; the man striking the *h*-twist appears already during the Old Kingdom; for which, see Fischer 1966, pp. 68–69; idem 1977a, p. 9; Osing 1976a, p. 184; compare Lacau and Lauer 1965, p. 58, fig. 86; Kahl 1994, p. 432; on the abbreviated form with the man suppressed, see Lacau 1913, pp. 11–12. For a contemporary hieroglyphic inscription with a visual pun involving this orthography of *hwi*, see *hwi.n=i mni.t* in line 3 of the vertical text on the main fragment of the Hound Stela of Antef II (Di. Arnold 1976, pl. 53a), where the beaten *h* has turned into the determinative of *mni.t*. For a similar pun of a later date, see Grdseloff 1942, p. 13. The striking man resembles contemporary hieratic forms, although the shortened stick is more in keeping with the usual hieroglyphic form of the sign; on the hieratic, see also Gardiner 1907, pp. 126–29; Schäfer 1914, pp. 98–100; Möller 1920, p. 39; Lopez 1972, pp. 111–15. Reading the first line of the Gebel Tjauti text as *mš<sup>c</sup> hwi*, a roughly contempo-

rary parallel is in the group  on the stela of *Hwwi* from Edfu.<sup>161</sup> Garnot suggests reading the title as “le directeur de toutes les troupes d’assaut,” and “the assault troops” is the best rendering of the first line of the Gebel Tjauti inscription.<sup>162</sup> Although Fischer (1977b, p. 145) would read *mšꜥ ḥꜣ* on the stela of *Hwwi*, a reading *mšꜥ ḥwi* for the present lapidary hieratic inscription appears incontrovertible.

<sup>c</sup> The closing vertical line of the cartouche has been omitted, although this is not an altogether necessary element; compare the alternation of cartouches and ovals without closures on the stamped bricks from the mortuary temple of Thutmose III.<sup>163</sup> The form of the *sꜣ*-sign is somewhat archaic, and this, coupled with the inclusion of the epithet *sꜣ-Rꜥ* within the cartouche, suggests the identification of this ruler with an Antef of the Eleventh Dynasty. The absence of *ꜣ* following the name does not necessarily exclude Antef II, and the Gebel Tjauti inscription could presumably refer to Antef I, II, or III; compare the identical cartouches of these rulers, differentiated only by their Horus names, in Bisson de la Roque 1937, pp. 75 (fig. 27), 77 (fig. 30).

#### COMMENTARY

According to Winlock (1943, p. 253) concerning Antef I Sehertawy, “we know of no event which took place during his lifetime in the war which convulsed Egypt for the next eighty years or so.” If Antef I was Tjauti’s adversary, perhaps “the ruler of another nome” who annexed the gebel, and if he was the king whose name figures in the title “assault troops of the son of Re Antef,” then Antef I Sehertawy is now somewhat better known.

Tjauti’s act of opening up the *ꜥ*Alamat Tal Road was bold,<sup>164</sup> but if anything it may simply have hastened the Theban attack. Just as the Heracleopolitan ruler at Khozam could not allow the Fifth (Coptite) Nome and the Sixth Nome to be outflanked through the Western Desert and could not allow a direct Theban attack on Abydos and Thinis through the desert passes, so Thebes could not allow a Heracleopolitan ally to challenge her in the desert, where her Nubian scouts ranged at will. Nor could Thebes allow the existence of an enemy-controlled desert route just to the north of the main Farshût Road. On such a route the Heracleopolitan allied forces could operate on interior lines<sup>165</sup> and cost the Thebans many of the advantages of surprise and economy of force that were until then the appealing characteristics of her desert warfare.<sup>166</sup> Unfortunately the third line of the Gebel Tjauti stela is badly damaged, but it appears to relate some expedition, apparently led by Tjauti himself, descending from atop the gebel at an unknown point. Whether this was a strike against the Thebans, a surprise attack on one of their desert patrols, or simply a show of force, it could have awakened the Thebans to the danger that Tjauti’s new road posed. Not only did the new route maintain a link between the Heracleopolitan supporters on the southern border of the Coptite nome and the southern nomes of Middle Egypt, it also potentially allowed Tjauti to threaten Thebes herself. If the Thebans did not exploit their advantage in the high desert, Tjauti’s new road could have led to a more active Coptite/Heracleopolitan presence in the high desert. Considering the proximity of the high desert to the main population centers of western Thebes, a Theban reversal on the plateau could have had immediate and grievous results in western Thebes.<sup>167</sup>

161. Garnot 1937, pp. 116–24; see also Bruyère et al. 1937, pp. 39–40, pl. 15, fig. 2.

162. Garnot 1937, pp. 117, 120–21; Bruyère et al. 1937, p. 40; see also Fischer 1968, p. 145, n. 638.

163. Ricke 1939, pp. 34–35; note also Kaplony 1980, col. 612, regarding the use of the oval back of a scarab as a representation of a cartouche.

164. The road was also perhaps a part of a grand Heracleopolitan plan for strengthening the borders of their realm. Compare the Teachings for King Merikare §12: *srwꜥ tꜣš.w=k pḥry.w=k* “strengthen your borders and your border patrols” (Helck 1977b, p. 21); §23: *mk ḥr tꜣš=k tꜣš mnw.w=k* “protect your border and secure your fortifications” (ibid., p. 37).

165. As did Publius Scipio in battle against Hasdrubal in Spain (the landing of the Roman armies and the capture of New Carthage in 545 B.C.), although on a somewhat smaller scale than the Qena Bend.

166. Compare the remarks of MacMunn and Falls 1928, p. 101, concerning the potentially great part a small force can play in a desert campaign; on pp. 136–37 of the same work, they describe how a relatively small but highly mobile Senussi force in the Egyptian Western Desert was able to tie down and worry a larger and more technologically sophisticated army based in the Nile Valley.

167. Compare the remarks in ibid., p. 130, regarding the British plans to seize Median Pass in an effort to counter the Senussi control of the gebel overlooking Sollum.

The Thebans may have moved to seize Tjauti's new road as soon as they became aware of it. When Antef I did attack the Coptite nome, the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Nomes fell like dominos because with the new 'Alamat Tal Road in Antef's hands the Theban army had once and for all opened the narrow doors of the desert. By the early years of the reign of Antef II, the northern border of the Theban realm lay somewhere between Abydos and Thinis, in the Eighth Upper Egyptian Nome.<sup>168</sup> Theban assertions of power in the Western Desert appear to have led Tjauti to open the 'Alamat Tal Road, and this in turn could have hastened the end of the Heracleopolitan control of the Coptite nome. Since Tjauti was a contemporary of the early Eleventh Dynasty, the inscription of the "assault troops of the son of Re Antef" suggests that Tjauti's new road fell into Theban hands within a short time. The assault troops who left behind this inscription might have been the very men who wrested control of the 'Alamat Tal Road from the Coptites.

The Theban Desert Road Survey has discovered and mapped a route connecting the main Farshût Road with the 'Alamat Tal Road, joining the latter road near Gebel Tjauti. In addition to studying the ceramic remains associated with this connecting road, the Survey has made two major discoveries of rock inscriptions and rock art along the route (a manuscript thereon is nearing completion). The larger of the sites, discovered in December 1997, stretches for almost a kilometer across the face of the gebel, near the Farshût Road terminus of this connecting road. Along with the predynastic and protodynastic depictions and tableaux that predominate at the site are a number of inscriptions of Eleventh Dynasty date. One of these depicts a feather-wearing Nubian soldier, attired in the uniform of a First Intermediate Period Nubian auxiliary (cf. Fischer 1961a), holding his bow and arrows and leading his snarling dog. Another depicts a soldier and an accompanying and extremely difficult hieratic inscription — palaeographically of early Middle Kingdom date — that labels him as an *imy-r i3'w.w* "overseer of Nubian mercenaries" (see Ward 1982, p. 13, nos. 59, 59a; Bell 1976; Chevereau 1987, pp. 23–33; idem 1991, pp. 57–58; idem 1994, p. 228, no. 34; E. Eichler 1993, pp. 161–62, 192–97, 206–07; see also Posener 1981, p. 139). Two deeply cut inscriptions at the site, also of apparent early Middle Kingdom date, provide the name of the site: *W3s-h3-W3s.t* "Dominion Behind Thebes." Apparently from such a strong point, probably from Dominion Behind Thebes itself, Antef's shock troops launched their assault on Tjauti's newly improved road.

The route through Dominion Behind Thebes, connecting the 'Alamat Tal and Farshût Roads, was clearly in use before the Theban outpost was established there, apparently during the Eleventh Dynasty. This connecting track is the means by which the Coptite nomarchs before Tjauti could control the desert behind Thebes; because of this track User could truly claim to be the overseer of the Eastern and Western Deserts without qualification. Theban interest in garrisoning the desert behind it may well have resulted initially from the foray Ankhtify of the Third Upper Egyptian Nome made against the formerly allied Theban and Coptite nomes. Ankhtify relates how he was able to roam the west of Thebes, apparently at will.<sup>169</sup> This should have taught the Thebans a lesson, and the existence of *W3s-h3-W3s.t* suggests that it did. Ankhtify's inscriptions themselves tell us that during its period of alliance with Coptos against Ankhtify, Thebes appears to have contributed to the garrison at a desert outpost behind Armant. Apparently even before its alliance with Coptos collapsed, Thebes had already taken steps towards establishing its own police and military presence in its desert hinterland, thereby beginning to infringe upon what appears formerly to have been in the jurisdiction of the Coptite nomarch.

The Thebans might soon have made use of Tjauti's new military road. The stela of Hetepi from Elkab<sup>170</sup> and the Cairo stela of the overseer of scouts Djari (JdE 41437)<sup>171</sup> both refer to fighting between the Heracleopolitans and the Thebans. The stela of Hetepi refers to a campaign (*mš'*) traveling *m hm.w* "in dust," an excellent description of an assault through the desert in the Qena Bend of the Nile.<sup>172</sup> The Djari stela refers to fighting "in the west of

168. Compare, inter alia, Quack 1992, pp. 99–100.

169. Ankhtifi (Vandier 1950, pp. 202–03, inscription no. 7, §§II, η, 1–2) describes how his troops sought but could not find battle *ht imnt.t ny.t W3s.t*, "throughout the west of Thebes." Vandier (1950, p. 203) reads "dans la région située à l'Ouest du nome thébain," noting (ibid., p. 204, n. c) that Thebes here is the nome. Rather than simply roaming the riparian land on the west bank of the city, they seem to be in the western hinterland of the entire nome, thus most likely in the desert. Goedicke's (1998, pp. 29, 33) attempt at seeing a canal or western Nile channel involved and his simplistic dismissal of

the possibility of extended travel by land are wrongheaded and unnecessary.

170. G. Gabra 1976, pp. 45–56, specifically the reference to an expedition to Thinis in line 5.

171. See W. M. F. Petrie 1909, pls. 2–3 (bottom; photograph and line drawing); Lichtheim 1988, pp. 40–41, and the references cited there; a novel partial translation appears in Galán 1995, p. 27.

172. Most of the high-desert gebel within the Qena Bend is in the southeastern half of the area, the rest of the desert being a broad and sandy plain.

Thinis,” perhaps a reference to a Theban army coming out of the desert off the Thinite branch of the Farshût Road. The Eleventh Dynasty royal stela from Deir el-Ballas, apparently a *Königsnovelle* text of Nebhepetre Monthuhotep, although fragmentary, appears to be most concerned with the annexation to Upper Egypt of Wawat and the Kharga and Dakhla Oases and with the expulsion of criminal elements from those areas.<sup>173</sup> The early Middle Kingdom stela of the policeman Kay from Qamûla,<sup>174</sup> with its account of a journey to the oases of the Western Desert, is most likely a document attesting to the use of the ‘Alamat Tal Road itself.<sup>175</sup> On the stela from his Theban tomb (BM 614), Tjetji, treasurer of Antef II and III, already refers to “that which is brought to the majesty of (my) lord by the hand of the rulers upon the Red Land.”<sup>176</sup> The location of the Monthuhotep stela at Deir el-Ballas and the stela of Kay suggest that during the latter part of the Eleventh Dynasty the primary route(s) linking the Thebaïd with the Western Desert ran out from the Coptite nome. The ‘Alamat Tal Road has the shortest high-desert stretch of all the roads leading west from the Thebaïd (about three miles across) and is also the most easily navigated, with many natural beacons supplemented by man-made markers (including an enormous cairn forty feet in diameter, visible for over two miles on the high-desert portion of the road).<sup>177</sup> The measures taken by Tjauti to secure one good road in the face of the Theban expansion may have resulted in the creation of the best military road of the Thebaïd, the ‘Alamat Tal Road.

The formal text of Tjauti would appear to postdate the completion of the Coptite work on the ‘Alamat Tal Road. The Thebans may have allowed Tjauti to finish the road, confident that it would be they who in the end would use it; or a code of military conduct that precluded preventive strikes might have been in effect.<sup>178</sup>

The construction of the ‘Alamat Tal Road and its subsequent capture by the Thebans tell us much about their military strategy. The stela of the overseer of scouts Djari (JdE 41437) records a message from Antef II to Khety, the ruler of Heracleopolis.<sup>179</sup> Antef refers to Khety having raised a storm over the Thinite nome and concludes by claiming to have set his border at Wadi Hesy. Antef’s reference to the storm over Thinis may allude to the Heracleopolitan desecration of the cemeteries of Thinis.<sup>180</sup> Writing of this event in the Instruction for Merikare, the teacher Khety claims *it.n=i s(y) mi gp n mw* “like a storm flood did I seize it” (Helck 1977b, p. 37). If the Instruction for Merikare reflects the basic historical events of the late Heracleopolitan period (see Franke 1987, p. 52), it is possible — on the basis of Antef’s message as recorded on the stela of Djari — that Khety attacked the Thinite nome and his troops desecrated the Thinite necropolis during the reign of Wahankh Antef II at Thebes. The Thinite attack followed a Theban advance on the Thinite nome early in the reign of Antef II.<sup>181</sup> On the Hound Stela Antef II relates how he fixed his border at Wadi Hesy in the Tenth Upper Egyptian Nome before returning to take final and complete control of the Eighth Upper Egyptian Nome.<sup>182</sup> The sources suggest a partially successful Theban attack on the Thinite nome early in the reign of Antef II, a violent Heracleopolitan response at Thinis later in Antef’s reign (see Vernus 1991, p. 339), and a Theban flanking maneuver later in the reign of Antef II. With the occupation of Wadi Hesy in the Tenth Upper Egyptian Nome, Antef could complete the reduction of pro-Heracleopolitan resistance in the Eighth Upper Egyptian Nome.<sup>183</sup>

Antef II appears to have recognized that the Thinite nome would be difficult to capture and decided to outflank the stubborn fighters of that nome. He therefore set a border much farther to the north, thereby cutting the Thinites off from direct Heracleopolitan assistance. This event demonstrates that the Thebans understood the “indirect ap-

173. Fischer 1964, pp. 112–18 (no. 45), pl. 37. See also the comments of Giddy 1987, p. 107, n. 120; note also the review of Fischer 1964 in J. Wilson 1967, p. 349.

174. Anthes 1930, pp. 108–14.

175. Fischer (1968, p. 12, n. 56) already suspected that Kay’s road existed somewhere in the vicinity of Qamûla.

176. Blackman 1931, pl. 8, line 6 (opposite p. 56).

177. The Darb Naqadiyeh, on which the Theban Desert Road Survey has thus far discovered surprisingly little evidence of pharaonic activity, goes through what is almost a gap in the gebel filling the Qena Bend; this road has, however, the strategic disadvantage of being overlooked by heights to each side. An enemy force crowning those heights could rain destruction down upon opponents traveling the Darb Naqadiyeh.

178. Compare Ober 1991, pp. 174–79, 188–92. see Grimal 1981, pp. 24–33 (§6, the admonition of Piye to his army); Gardiner 1935b, pp. 119–223) suggests that he followed a code similar

to the hoplite *agon*, but the emphasis on this admonition and the specific religious motive given for it suggest that Egyptian armies of the time were not necessarily wont to seek victory solely on the “field of honor.”

179. See the references in footnote 171, above; see also Darnell 1997b, pp. 101–08.

180. For flooding as an image of chaos and political decay during the First Intermediate Period, see Vandier 1950, pp. 220–25 (§IV, 8–10), and Montet 1930–1935, p. 101, lines 1–3 (= Brunner 1937, p. 53).

181. Recorded on the stela of Hetepi from Elkab; see G. Gabra 1976, p. 48, pl. 14, line 5; Quack 1992, pp. 99–100.

182. Di. Arnold 1976, pp. 52–56, pls. 43f, 53a, line 3 of the vertical text.

183. Although the rebellion in the Thinite nome during the fourteenth regnal year of Nebhepetre Monthuhotep (recorded in line 16 of the stela of Antef, son of Ka, BM 99 [1203] = Clère and Vandier 1948, p. 19 [no. 23]) suggests that pro-

proach” (Liddell Hart 1954), a military strategy characterized by maneuver and a refusal to meet the main enemy force in a frontal assault. If the Thebans used this strategy under Antef II to bypass Thinis, Antef I and the Thebans could have already employed the indirect approach when the northern border of the Theban realm was the northern border of Thebes itself. In fact, the inscriptions at Gebel Tjauti support such a theory. On his gebel stela Tjauti refers to having “made” the ‘Alamat Tal Road as a response to the Theban closure or annexation of the gebel, and by the beginning of the reign of Antef II, the Theban border appears to have been north of Abydos. The assault troops, apparently those of Antef I, could have executed a flanking maneuver, capturing the newly improved Coptite desert road, marching on Abydos, and surrounding the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Upper Egyptian Nomes. The initial Theban closing of the gebel to the Coptites may itself have signaled the beginning of the Theban strategy of desert flanking maneuvers, although securing the heights to the west would also have been necessary to protect the flank of a Theban force advancing down the Nile.<sup>184</sup>

The numerous inscriptions of policemen and the martial nature of other inscriptions at Gebel Tjauti also indicate a recognition of the importance of controlling the most difficult portion of a mountain ascent.<sup>185</sup> A military or paramilitary presence would be important at a location such as Gebel Tjauti in order to protect groups during the vulnerable times of ascending and descending the plateau. In the low desert or atop the plateau, visibility is good and there is usually abundant room to maneuver. Atop the desert, the caravan could mass itself together and present a formidable square, if attacked; on a narrow road, ascending or descending, a few determined bandits could carve up the long, thin line of travelers at will. A small body of men attacking from above could do great mischief on such a narrow road because the defending caravan could bring no more than two or three of its armed men into battle on such a narrow path.<sup>186</sup>

The Thebans made use of subterfuge later during the wars with the Hyksos. While withdrawing after successfully harrowing the hinterland of Avaris, Kamose suddenly halted and sent a flying column to capture Bahariya Oasis, and then withdrew following his capture of the oasis.<sup>187</sup> Further evidence for the sophistication of Kamose’s military undertakings appears in his description of the use of the naval *diekplous* during his advance on Avaris.<sup>188</sup> At the Wadi el-Ḥôl, in the middle of the main thoroughfare leading west out of Thebes proper, there is inscriptional evidence for a considerable Theban presence during the late Middle Kingdom.<sup>189</sup> The literary inscription at the Wadi el-Ḥôl, apparently a composition of the Second Intermediate Period describing the martial joys of the embattled Theban ruler, is a further strong indication that the Thebans remembered the importance of the roads into the Western Desert when they were again at war with the north (Darnell 1997c, 85–100). The importance of Theban desert policy during the Hyksos wars is perhaps reflected in an episode recorded in the text on the naos of Saft el-Henna, found at el-Arish (Museum of Ismailia JdE 2248), in which Shu stations the gods on every hill (*ḥr i:̄.t nb.t*)

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Heracleopolitan — or at least separatist — sentiments survived somewhat longer.

184. Compare the remarks of Callwell 1990, pp. 292–304, on the importance of “crowning the heights” in mountain and hill warfare (and note *ibid.*, p. 335, on the importance of controlling the junctures of ravines with a larger valley); see also Patton 1947, pp. 344–45.
185. Compare the remarks of the anonymous Byzantine author of *περὶ παραδρομῆς*; see Dennis 1985, pp. 238–39 (§25).
186. Compare Callwell 1990, pp. 286–347 (chapter 19, “Hill Warfare”), in which he discusses “picquets covering each other’s retirements” (pp. 330–32). An example of a regular force crowning the heights in battle against “hillmen” and an apparent example of archers on “parallel spurs” are both to be found in accounts of Antiochus III crossing the Elburz Range; see the discussion in Bar-Kochva 1976, pp. 142–45. Arrian advises that the wings of infantry should crown the heights in hilly areas (DeVoto 1993, pp. 108–09, §12, the expedition against the Alans). For the ancient Egyptians’ recognition of the dangers of a narrow pass (*g:w.t*), see Fischer-Elfert 1986, pp. 201–07 (specifically p. 203, n. a). John of Nikiou speaks of an Akhmimic brigand Azarias, who held out for a time

against imperial troops by fleeing with his followers to the top of a high gebel (Zotenberg 1935, pp. 412–13).

187. Habachi 1972, p. 41; Helck 1983, p. 95. Bahariya would have been particularly important to Kamose in attempting to disrupt communication between the Hyksos and the Kermans. Because of the Sabbakha to the west of el-Moghara and the nature of the land south of the small oasis of Bahrein (southeast of Siwa), patrols from Bahariya, controlling the small oases from el-Qarah in the north to Bahrein in the south, could control desert access to and from the western Delta; compare the remarks of von Dumreicher 1931, pp. 161–62. In connection with the Hyksos’s attempts to carry out combined operations with the Kerman rulers against the Thebans, one should note the Turkish plans to launch a Senussi attack on the Nile Valley through the oases of the Western Desert, timed to coincide with an attack on Nubia from Darfur; see MacMunn and Falls 1928, p. 135. This in turn corresponds to the Libyan movements culminating in the Libyan wars of Merneptah and Ramesses III (see Manassa, *in press*).
188. See the remarks of Darnell 1991, pp. 91–93.
189. See Wadi el-Ḥôl Rock Inscriptions 4–8, 10–11, 16–19, 21, 23–30, 42–43, 45, below.

in the area of Yatnebes in order to repel the attacks of the children of Apep, who are coming *m ḏw.w iḥb.tyw ḥr mṯn nb n iḥ.t-nbs* “from the eastern hills upon every path of Yatnebes.”<sup>190</sup>

The shortest route from the Nile to the oases of the Western Desert leaves the Nile Valley at Girga,<sup>191</sup> and the shortest route from the Thebaïd leads north via the Farshût Road connecting to the Girga Road.<sup>192</sup> Ceramic and textual evidence shows that the tracks leading from Thebes towards the regions of Hou and Abydos also led ultimately to the oases of the Western Desert,<sup>193</sup> and through Kharga Oasis gave access to the Darb el-Arbaïn, Darfûr, and sub-Saharan Africa. This may at first seem illogical, and in fact the routes from Armant into the Western Desert that appear to head more directly towards Kharga have been considered to be the shortest routes between the Thebaïd and the oases.<sup>194</sup> Although vaguely suggested by some indistinct maps of the Thebaïd,<sup>195</sup> no track can head due west from Thebes proper for more than a short distance. The reason for this is the physical makeup of the desert filling the Qena Bend. The gebel filling the southeastern half of the bend is broken in several places by wadis running to the northwest on the Hou side and to the southeast on the Luxor side.<sup>196</sup> The high-walled Khor Battaghah/Wadi Abu Madawi, beginning behind Rizeiqat and ending behind Farshût, almost separates the gebel filling the Qena Bend from the rest of the Western Desert.<sup>197</sup> The head of the wadi is separated from the escarpment behind Rizeiqat by only about two kilometers of plateau.

190. Goyon 1936, p. 11. Along with the obvious pun on Yatnebes and *iḥ.t nb.t*, this may in fact reflect a recollection of strategy against the Hyksos; for the *msw-ḥpp* as the Hyksos, see *ibid.*, p. 27, n. 2. Kamose himself turns the dwelling places of Hyksos collaborators into desert mounds, perhaps a reference to the mound-like slaughtering places in the netherworld reserved for Apep and his gang, the foes of the sun; see Blok 1929, pp. 97–113, for the *nm.t*- and *hb.t*-slaughtering places and mounds of sand; on the enigmatic wall in the tomb of Ramesses IX, the Neha-her serpents are slaughtered at a *nm.t nyt š* “slaughtering place of sand” (Guilmant 1907, pl. 20); for the sandbank of Neha-her, see el-Sayed 1981, pp. 122–23. The importance of Theban desert policy during the Hyksos domination could partially explain the designation of the Western Hills of Thebes as the *ḏw.w nyw ḥḥ.t Tḥ.wy* “the mountains of the combat of the Two Lands”; see Otto 1952, p. 47. The hills are the home of the children of Apep because they are also the “mounds of Seth”; see Haikal 1972, p. 58, text n. 7.

191. For which, see Brugsch 1878, pp. 4–10, pl. 1; Moritz 1900, p. 430; Paoletti 1900, pp. 476–78. Compare the remarks of Wiener 1932, pp. 449–50, 453, and Jomard in Caillaud 1822, p. 1.

192. For a journey from northern Kharga Oasis to Farshût, and continuing to Esna via the Rizeiqat area, see Edmonstone 1822, pp. 142–44.

193. For Hou and the oases, see Gardiner 1933, p. 24. For oasis wares on the desert roads of the Qena Bend, see Darnell and Darnell 1994b, pp. 48–49; *idem* 1996b, pp. 37–38, 41.

194. Compare the remarks of Fakhry 1942, p. 20, who assumed that travelers from Kharga to Thebes would take the ‘Aqabet er-Rizeiqat (cf. also Giddy 1987, p. 56, nn. 136–42 [pp. 108–09]), although earlier Fakhry (1939, p. 634) assumed that the policeman Kay did travel from Thebes presumably along some more direct route to the oases. Osing (1986, p. 79) also suggests that a direct route from Thebes to Kharga would most likely leave the valley at Armant or Rizeiqat. An early description of a trip along the road from Armant to the oases is in Hoskins 1837, pp. 48 ff. (a graffito of Hoskins, from the time of his trip, is in the southern addition to the peripteros of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple at Medinet Habu).

195. Lyons (1895, pp. 240–65) shows a route from approximately Dendera to Kharga, but as drawn the track is an impossibility, although it may be a visually garbled interpretation of a trip from Dendera via the Gebel Qarn el-Gir caravan stop; the ac-

companying text does not clarify the matter. The map in Aufrère, Golvin, and Goyon 1994, p. 40, showing a route from Thebes to southern Kharga Oasis, appears to interpret Thebes as the ultimate goal of the Armant/Rizeiqat route. The map in Kitchen 1977, p. 219, curiously showing a track from Thebes to the northern wells of Kharga Oasis, appears to represent the Rizeiqat Road as leaving Thebes and has that road enter Kharga at the Refuf or Abu Sighawal Pass, rather than at the Bulaq Pass to which the Rizeiqat track most directly leads; compare the map in Beadnell 1909, opposite p. 26.

196. The medieval toponym *πρωγορει / πρωγων* (Amélineau 1893, p. 103; Timm 1985, pp. 987–90) should extend to Naqada, and the toponym Benhadab from Tukh north, corresponding to the “gap” in the gebel of the Qena Bend, through which passes the Darb Naqadiya; see Doresse 1989, pp. 153–63, correcting his understanding of the toponyms. Although no one appears to have discovered a pharaonic antecedent to the Coptic toponym, a Demotic contract from the reign of Harmachis may provide a clue to the origin of the term. In line 2 of the recto of P. Cairo (= P. Carnarvon 1; Carnarvon and Carter et al. 1912, pl. 36; Spiegelberg 1913, pp. 153–54, 160), a property is said to lie within the *ḥtp-nṯr* of Amun, west of the district of Coptos, in the area/way(?) for the term *mtn(.t)*, frequent in Theban toponyms, see Devauchelle 1979, p. 35, n. k, with references) of the Persea (*tḥ mtn pḥ šwb*) in *P-ih-p-mhn* (Πῶις, a location known from other documents; see Gauthier 1925, p. 100; Calderini 1983, p. 221 with references). The area of the Persea is in Pois, otherwise said to be in the Libyan mountains of Coptos (*ibid.*, p. 81), and might have been in a border region between the Theban and Coptite nomes. Note that P. BM 10392 (Andrews 1990, pp. 70–72 [no. 28]), a sale of land in the *ḥtp-nṯr* of Amun, again in the west of the district of Coptos (in the field of Pabu), was written by a scribe in Pois (the seller is a Nubian — perhaps a reflection of the Nubian activity in the area of the ‘Alamat Tal Road and a foreshadowing of the modern Ezbet Ababda). If the area of the Persea was a wooded area at the mouth of the Wadi Omran, it would be in this border region and could very well have given its name to the gebel out of which the Wadi Omran emerges, the Gebel Bishawaw. Note the possible modern survival of the toponym in the name of the nearby village Naga‘ Bishlaw.

197. For a description of the wadi, see Schweinfurth 1901, pp. 3–4. A number of early maps show the wadi as though it indeed cuts entirely through the gebel filling the Qena Bend; compare Ehrenberg 1828, map at the end of the book. The Theban Desert Road Survey has recorded substantial evidence of the

As a result of the wadi system in the Qena Bend gebel, and primarily because of the Khor Battaghah, the roads from the Nile Valley to Kharga fall into two groups — those leading to Kharga wells in the northern portion of the oasis depression, and those leading to Baris and Dush in the south. The main routes from Armant and farther south head towards the southern end of the oasis.<sup>198</sup> A man departing Thebes for southern Kharga or points beyond might indeed begin his journey from Armant. But a man going to Kharga proper, or passing through those wells on his way to Dakhla Oasis,<sup>199</sup> would be well advised to travel by the Girga Road. According to Winlock,<sup>200</sup> a party on the more northerly route to Kharga, departing from Hou, has to travel only about 140 km from the Nile Valley before reaching the “northern wells of el Khārgēh.” A trip from Thebes to northern Kharga is shorter than a trip from Rizeiqat/Armant to Baris, stays close to the Nile as it crosses the Qena Bend, and has a much shorter portion of its length atop the high, exposed, featureless desert between the Nile Valley and Kharga.

There is evidence for the pharaonic use of the Girga Road and its several branches, including the fact that Kharga was administered from Thinis during the Eighteenth Dynasty and even considered part of the cultivable land of Diospolis Parva.<sup>201</sup> There is also the Twelfth Dynasty (reign of Sesostri I) stela of the policeman Beb from Abydos, a patrolman who “policed for the king on all the high deserts.” He operated as far away as the unknown land *Nḥw*, after which he returned to Upper Egypt.<sup>202</sup> The Steward *Dd-ikw* states on his stela that he set out from Thebes (*ii.n[=i] m W3s.t*) to secure the land of the Oasians; on his return from the oasis mission, presumably on his way back to Thebes, he passed through Abydos and set up his stela.<sup>203</sup> A route from Thebes to the oases passing near Abydos strongly suggests the use of the Farshût Road. According to Legrain, the itinerary which bedouins gave him for a journey from western Thebes to the oases was “Biban-el-Moulouk, Hoou, Farchout, d’ou part une route vers l’aqabah d’Abou Seroual, et Abydos, si je voulais reprendre la route antique.”<sup>204</sup> Nubian travel north along the Darb el-Arbaîn to Kharga<sup>205</sup> and then over to the Nile in the area of Girga/Abydos is perhaps reflected in an inscrip-

use of this wadi as a corridor by the travelers of the pre-dynastic/protodynastic, Middle Kingdom, and Roman periods.

198. Although a traveler from Armant to the northern part of Kharga might choose a road in use from early dynastic times through the Coptic period, the Darb Rayayna, in order to cross the Qena Bend and then head west from Hou and Farshût. See Darnell and Darnell 1995, pp. 51–52, and note the Persian period Demotic inscriptions apparently left by travelers from Kharga, published by Di Cerbo and Jasnow 1996. The site of the Demotic inscriptions, a concentration of texts and depictions currently being recorded and studied by the Theban Desert Road Survey, is Winkler’s site 34; see Winkler 1938/39, p. 9.
199. For routes between the Nile and Kharga, and the Darb el-Ghubari between Kharga and Dakhla, see Beadnell 1909, pp. 25–44; Giddy 1987, pp. 6–11; Maury 1979, pp. 365–75; Winlock 1936, pp. 7–15. The interconnections of routes are discussed more fully in forthcoming publications of material recovered by the Theban Desert Road Survey. The Darb Tawil, although used to some extent in pharaonic antiquity (see Minault-Gout 1985, pp. 267–72; Giddy 1987, pp. 12–13), does not appear to have enjoyed a great flow of traffic until relatively late (pharaonic sherds thus far appear to be rather infrequent, especially in comparison with roads showing heavy pharaonic activity [Lisa Giddy, pers. comm.]); for a probable Graeco-Roman station on this track, at Bu Gerara, see King 1925, pp. 203–06, 211–12, 214.
200. Winlock 1940, p. 160, n. 92.
201. For the administration of Kharga, see, inter alia, Kees 1937, pp. 1681–82; for the ancient use of the Girga to Kharga route, see the remarks of Brovarski 1989, p. 64, n. 32, citing Černý 1955, pp. 27–31. In connection with Černý’s discussion of the archaic enclosures, note also the remarks of Daressy 1899, p. 287. For the connections between Thinis and Kharga, see Valloggia 1981, pp. 185–90. For remarks on the pharaonic and later routes between the Nile Valley and Kharga, see Osing 1986, pp. 79–81; Valloggia 1989b, pp. 165–71.

202. Lines 7–8 of the stela Leiden V 88: *iw ir.n(=i) šn’w n nsw.t m ḥ3s.wt mi qd=sn* (Boeser 1909, p. 5, pl. 10; cited and discussed in Andreu 1987, pp. 19–20). According to Andreu, Beb was probably operating in the north because there were problems with bedouin there, and he could in any event not have returned to Upper Egypt from the south. This ignores the fact that Nubia and other southern foreign lands were not part of Upper Egypt, and one could be said to return to Egypt even from a hike in the cliffs of the desert escarpment bordering the valley (from the town Pamilis, the “mountain of Pamile” in the Coptite nome, a man descending to the valley could be said to go *ε2H[Γ Ε] ΚΗΜΕ* “north to Egypt” [Crum 1902, p. 67, no. 385]; in the dispatch of Diocletian in the *Acta martyrum* [C 43, 90, and AM 263 B; see Balestri and Hyvernart 1907, p. 90, lines 7–9], *ΧΗΜΙ* does not appear to include *ΦΜΑΡΗΣ ΠΙΝΙΩΤ* *ΙΣΧΕΝ ΤΛΥΒΗ ΨΑ ΕΒΟΥΝ ΕΝΙΕΘΑΥΩ* “the great southern district, from Libya to the Ethiopians,” perhaps including the Thebaïd, the Great Oasis, and Elephantine and Nubia [cf. Darnell 1990, pp. 76–81]). For a rather recent description of a caravan entering the Nile Valley at Abydos, bringing products from the oases and the Sudan (indicative of travel along the Darb el-Arbaîn), see Ebers 1882, pp. 216–17.
203. Schäfer 1905, pp. 124–28. For Abydos and oasis traffic, see the hieratic docket from Abydos published in Simpson 1995, p. 26, fig. 36, apparently listing wine(?) from the oases in the reign of Sety I.
204. Legrain 1897, p. 211. J. Wilkinson (1835, p. 362) apparently refers to the same route when he says “Several roads lead from the great Oasis to the Nile; some from the southern part going to Esneh and Rezeqât, and others from the northern extremity, to E’Sioot, Abydus, Farshoot, and Thebes.”
205. One ancient connection between Farshût and Nubia would have been via the route to Kharga, where the Darb el-Arbaîn would be joined; for the Darb el-Arbaîn in the Middle Ages, note the remarks in Garcin 1976, pp. 431–32. A route nearer the Nile via Esna might also have been used; see *ibid.*, pp. 527–28, n. 4 (p. 527). The Theban Desert Road Survey/Yale

tion of the Thinite nomarch Tjemrery (late Eighth Dynasty), who did something "... in driving back the troops who descended from the southern foreign lands."<sup>206</sup> Two short, probably Middle Kingdom graffiti,<sup>207</sup> taken together, suggest the use of a route through north Kharga (probably accessed by the Girga Road), passing by Gebel Teir, and continuing along the Darb el-Ghubari to Dakhla. The troops from Dendera stationed in Kharga Oasis during the Roman period<sup>208</sup> probably traveled the Girga Road.<sup>209</sup>

The exact pharaonic routes remain obscure. The location of the Qarn el-Gir caravansary and the amount of oasis pottery there and farther along the Farshût Road together suggest a route from the area of Qarn el-Gir/Hou as an extension of the Farshût/el-Qara route to Kharga. Other tracks from Abydos and Thinis are suggested by texts. Two tracks in this area appear on modern maps, leading from Beit Khallaf in the north and Farshût in the south, the northern and southern edges of the area in question. These tracks meet just east of the midpoint between the Nile Valley and Kharga. At that exact midpoint is an ancient watering post and military outpost.<sup>210</sup> Ceramic and epigraphic material indicate that the outpost was supplied from both the oasis region and the Nile Valley.<sup>211</sup> The possible passes into Kharga are numerous, the most likely being Refuf and Abu Sighawal.<sup>212</sup>

Thebes is ideally placed to control access to Nubia from the north,<sup>213</sup> and the physical makeup of the Qena Bend gebel makes Thebes the ideal southern end of shortcut routes across the desert filling that bend. Geographically, Thebes is located at a strategic point with regard to desert tracks into the west, corresponding to the strategic placement of Coptos for control in the east.<sup>214</sup> Thebes also has a track giving access to Laqeita,<sup>215</sup> allowing a certain amount of control over the routes through the Eastern Desert. By controlling Wadi Sydon from Thebes,<sup>216</sup> one may also keep the northern and southern sectors of the Eastern Desert apart. The wadi systems cutting across the gebel filling the Qena Bend are oriented from northwest to southeast, and desert tracks heading west or northwest must take these into consideration — any track not originating near the southeastern corner of the bend runs the risk of climbing up and down a second spur of gebel, and this risk increases the farther north the track leaves the Nile Valley. In fact, Gebel Qarn el-Gir and Gebel Sinn el-Gir — two long prongs of the escarpment extending northwards in the middle of the Qena Bend — virtually ensure that the only viable shortcuts must pass between them and originate in the area of Thebes. Thebes is at the southeastern point of the bend and benefits most from use of the desert shortcuts. On the basis of our ongoing surveys of the Theban Western Desert, the majority of the ancient routes across the Qena Bend appear to begin between Rizeiqat/Armant in the south and Naqada in the north, with the most heavily used post-Old Kingdom pharaonic tracks between the area of Malqatta in the south and the north part of Thebes approaching Qamûla. During the First Intermediate Period, when war was internal, Thebes had the benefit of being able to outflank the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Nomes of Upper Egypt, operating on lines interior to any northern

Toshka Desert Survey has examined portions of this route, the Darb el-Bitan/Darb Gallaba, and is investigating its links with Kurkur Oasis and Lower Nubia. For the Darb el-Arbaïn and the Darb el-Bitan/Darb Gallaba, see also Thiry 1995, pp. 402–04.

206. Fischer 1968, p. 141; Peck 1958, pp. 84–86 (note there is no p. 85).

207. Osing 1986, pp. 81–82; note, however, that the graffito in question from Winkler's site 68 (the name of the man *nḥꜥf-nꜥi*) is indeed published, in Winkler 1938/39, p. 12, pl. 8, 1; Winkler correctly identifies the inscription as hieratic.

208. See Wagner 1987, pp. 378–79; Cuvigny and Wagner 1992, p. 43.

209. See the discussion on p. 43, above.

210. At present (2001), the Theban Desert Road Survey is in its third season of work at the site. We know it to have been in use for some time, with a floruit as a Theban outpost during the Second Intermediate Period.

211. The textually attested Second Intermediate Period garrison at Abydos (see footnote 237, below) probably supported and functioned in coordination with this site (publication by the Theban Desert Road Survey forthcoming), contra Polz 1998, who suggests that a military presence at Abydos at that time was merely concerned with guarding the sacred sites there.

212. On these two passes, see Caton-Thompson 1952, pp. 91–112; on Abu Sighawal and the Roman fortress of ed-Deir, see de Bock 1901, pp. 1–6.

213. See the comments of Posener 1952, pp. 163–66.

214. The suggestion by Polz 1998, pp. 226 and 229, that Coptos and Deir el-Ballas formed a "double city" controlling access to both the Eastern and Western deserts is in need of correction. Whereas Coptos does indeed represent a gateway to the east, the same cannot be said for Deir el-Ballas. The location of Deir el-Ballas is in fact most significant for the fact that no access to or egress from the high desert plateau is possible in the immediate area. This topographical fact provided a certain amount of security for the settlement, as hostile approaches could only come by way of the Nile Valley. Thus a military presence at the site of Deir el-Ballas guarded the northern, valley approach to Thebes, just as the policing of the desert routes controlled the desert approach to Thebes, from the west and east. Compare also the probable strategic importance of Heracleopolis with regard to the Western Desert; see the remarks of Mokhtar 1983, pp. 18–26. "The great road of the gebel" at Deir el-Ballas mentioned in P. MFA 38.2063b A 14 (*tꜥ my.t ꜥꜥ.t n pꜥ tw*), B II 17 (*pꜥ my.t ꜥꜥ n pꜥ tw*), and B II 22 (*pꜥ my.t n pꜥ tw*) — see Parker 1964, pls. 22 (A), 21 (B), pp. 99–100 — is from the context of the property concerned, not a road on or into the high desert plateau. The "great road of the gebel" appears rather to have been a road along the base of the escarpment, paralleling the course of the Nile.

215. See the map in Cora 1891, facing p. 538.

216. Compare the remarks of Floyer 1891, pp. 637–38.

army that might attempt to move against her along the longer routes through the Eastern Desert. The fact that the late pro-Heracleopolitan nomarchs of the Coptite nome were buried at Khozam and apparently resided there on their far southern border, rather than at Coptos, shows that they must have understood the strategic location of Thebes. The road construction inscription of Tjauti shows that the rulers of the Coptite nome fully appreciated the military importance of the roads across the Qena Bend. Nubian allies and the drainage system of the gebel of the Qena Bend may in fact have conspired, along with the sagacity of her rulers and the prowess of her armies during the First Intermediate Period, to help make Thebes the great power she became.

## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTION 8

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing name and title of military official	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 6d, 27a–b
<i>Date:</i>	First Intermediate Period (Eleventh Dynasty[?])	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 6.25 × 10.00 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Section 16 of Gebel Tjauti inscription shelf		

This inscription is on the rock above Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 17. The inscription to the right of the general's name (Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 9) is also a vertical column of signs. The signs in that column are, however, somewhat smaller and rather less certainly made; the column to the right also begins lower than the inscription of the general (see pl. 23). These features suggest that the two columns of inscription are separate and do not belong together, and for these reasons we seem unfortunately not to have the names of the general's father, as one might hope.

### INSCRIPTION



### TRANSCRIPTION



### TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

*imy-r mš<sup>c</sup> a 'In<tf><sup>b</sup>*

General An<tef>

### NOTES

<sup>a</sup> For this orthography of *mš<sup>c</sup>*, with the soldier depicted with his thorax elongated, causing him to look as though he were standing, see Anthes 1928, pl. 24, graffito no. 24, line 6; Žába 1974, pl. 224, fig. 408; Gardiner, Peet, and Černý 1952a, pl. 34, north edge, lines 20–29; Martin 1971, pl. 17, no. 18; Marciniak 1974, pl. 55A (*sic* for 54A), line 4. For the weapon in the man's rightmost hand, shorter than those in the two examples just cited, see the *mš<sup>c</sup>*-sign in Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 7. Although one would expect it to be to the left of the arm, the stroke representing the arrows in the man's leftmost hand appears to the right of the arm. This latter peculiarity may, however, be the result of the carving tool of one unpracticed in lapidary work slipping on the rough surface of the rock.

<sup>b</sup> For the abbreviation of the name *'Intf* as *'In*, see Ranke, *PN* 1, p. 33, no. 19; Žába 1974, p. 149 (no. 128); Hintze et al. 1989, pp. 24 (no. 7), 83 (no. 331); and the inscription of Tjenu's son An<tef> at the Wadi el-Ḥôl (Wadi el-Ḥôl Rock Inscription 19, below). Although no stone appears to have flaked away at the bottom of this inscription, it is conceivable that the remainder of the full writing of the name Antef continued below the edge of the stone as it now exists, with the final signs eroded away.

## COMMENTARY

Since this inscription is in the vicinity of another military inscription (Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 7, “the assault troops of the son of Re, Antef,” perhaps a military unit of Antef I) and not far removed from the road construction inscription of the pro-Heracleopolitan nomarch Tjauti (Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 6), it is possible that the General An<tef> of Gebel Tjauti is none other than the General Antef known from stela Strasbourg 345 + Florence 7595.<sup>217</sup> The Theban ruler Antef with whom he traveled north and south (lines 2–3 of the Strasbourg stela) is probably Antef II (*intf* ʿ3).

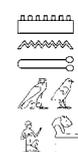
## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTION 9

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing name	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 6d, 27a, c
<i>Date:</i>	Middle Kingdom	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 6.75 × 9.50 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Section 16 of inscription shelf		

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

*Mntw<sup>a</sup>-m-ḥ3.t(?)<sup>b</sup>*

Monthuemhat(?)

## NOTES

<sup>a</sup> The first two signs of this text, most probably a name, appear to be the *mn*-board over *n*. Following *n* is a difficult agglomeration of scratches and lines. The *t* of *Mntw* could appear as two unconnected, roughly horizontal strokes (cf. Verner 1992, pl. 69, no. V13, nos. 1, 10), so the two horizontals beneath the possible *mn* may be *t*, with the slanting line to the left an attempt at representing the curving left side of the hobble-*t*. The lines to the right beneath the *t*-hobble are a quail chick, ligatured to the right lower end of the *t*-hobble (cf. the ligatured *t* in Edel 1980, pl. 118, M.XLIV, no. 162 [244]). To the left of the quail chick is another bird, apparently best interpreted as an *m*-owl missing the “horn.” For the shape of the quail chick, see Edel 1980, pl. 35, no. 330 (445).

<sup>b</sup> The final marks may be read — with some difficulty — in several ways. The final sign may be a somewhat disjointed version of the *šps*-figure, resembling those in the Reisner papyri; compare Simpson 1963, p. 95; idem 1965, p. 49. In that case we would have the name of a man Monthu, determined by the *šps*-figure, but this would leave the apparent *m* unexplained. An alternative would be to read the close, double lines, together with the short bit of line to the upper left of them (below the possible quail chick), as the *ḥtp*-sign. The *t* to the lower right is acceptable, although the slanting line below it is apparently superfluous. The lines below the left portion of the *ḥtp*-sign would then be fragments of a large *p*, or the remnants of a *p* and a following seated-man determinative. The readings *Mntw*

217. Spiegelberg and Pörtner 1902, pl. 11, no. 18; Clère and Vandier 1948, p. 7, no. 11; Bosticco 1959, p. 31; Fischer

1996a, pp. 83–90; see also Schenkel 1976, p. 50; Chevereau 1987, p. 21, no. 67.

+ *šps*-sign determinative and *Mntw-ḥtp* are both unlikely. The most reasonable interpretation is to read the group as *ḥʒ.t* (cf. H. Smith 1972, fig. 12, sign F4, first example [*ḥʒ.t* over *t* + stroke]). Taking the name to be *Mntw-m-ḥʒ.t* allows one to make sense of all the signs.<sup>218</sup>

## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTION 10

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing name and title	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 7b, 28
<i>Date:</i>	Middle Kingdom	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 9.0 × 12.5 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Section 18 of inscription shelf		

This inscription is at the left edge of the south (left) side of the niche occupied by Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 2 (cf. pl. 6d). The short vertical text is located at the tip of the tail of the crocodile in the left portion of that extended, Archaic period tableau. The tip of the crocodile's tail appears to have been carved over an unfinished falcon, over which in turn the herdsman carved his inscription.

### INSCRIPTION



### TRANSCRIPTION



### TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

*mniw*<sup>a</sup> ʒ(.w)<sup>b</sup> ʾIntf

Herdsman of donkeys, Antef

### NOTES

<sup>a</sup> Compare the partially damaged version of the *sʒw*-sign in graffito no. 96, line 1 of Marciniak 1974, p. 178 (palaeography), pls. 70 (fig. 1), 70A (fig. 1).

<sup>b</sup> The final sign of the title is somewhat more elaborate than the signs of the name, as is the case with the signatures of the police officer ʿAam (Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 14 and 15, pls. 32–33). The question arises as to the identity of this animal. The sign does not resemble a dog, as the protrusions atop the head are considerably too long to be a dog's ears, and one may with some confidence exclude a reading *mniw tsm.w* "master of hounds." On the basis of the general appearance of the animal, the title should read *mniw ʿw.(w)t* "overseer of small quadruped(s)"<sup>219</sup> or *mniw ʒ(.w)* "overseer of donkey(s)." <sup>220</sup> The interpretation presented here, *mniw ʒ.w* "overseer of donkeys," interprets the sign as that of the donkey, for which the hieratic version is generally more "naturalistic" than that of the goat.

### COMMENTARY

The herdsman Antef might have been traveling along the ʿAlamat Tal Road in the company of a donkey train. Early rock drawings at the top of Apa Tyrannos, near the *aqabah* of the Darb Rayayna behind Armant, show

218. For the appearance of the seated man, essentially a vestigial vertical for the body and a curve for the left arm, see H. Smith 1972, fig. 12, A1 ex. no. 8 (GT 18).

219. For *mniw ʿw.t*, see Ward 1982, pp. 13 (nos. 60–61), 95 (no. 794).

220. For *mniw ʒ.w*, see *ibid.*, p. 95 (no. 793).

herdsmen with cattle, dogs, and loaded donkeys, apparently all travelers on the Darb Rayayna.<sup>221</sup> It is difficult to say whether he would have been employed for military or trade purposes.

Depictions of donkeys carrying provisions and other loads are not uncommon.<sup>222</sup> They were the standard pack animals for the crossing between Thebes and Hou<sup>223</sup> and also provisioned desert patrols on the plateau.<sup>224</sup> The harnesses used in the ancient world made carts an inefficient means of transporting a heavy load with either horses or donkeys,<sup>225</sup> although oxen would have served.<sup>226</sup> Whereas camels would certainly not have enjoyed the main ascent/descent past the inscription shelf at Gebel Tjauti,<sup>227</sup> donkeys and people would have had little trouble.<sup>228</sup>

## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTION 11

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing astronomic observation	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 4b, 29–30
<i>Date:</i>	Second Intermediate Period (Seventeenth Dynasty)	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 26.75 × 6.50 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Section 5 of Gebel Tjauti inscription shelf		
<i>Note:</i>	Written by John C. Darnell with Deborah Darnell		

This inscription, an observation of the heliacal rising of Sothis during the Seventeenth Dynasty, was scratched into the sloping upper right portion of a natural niche in the inscription shelf at Gebel Tjauti. The writer's carving implement must have been very sharp and pointed, as the resulting lines are extremely narrow.

### INSCRIPTION



### TRANSCRIPTION



### TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

*ḥsb.t 11 ʒbd 2 šmw<sup>a</sup> sw 20 m<sup>ʒ</sup><sup>b</sup> pr.t<sup>c</sup> Spd.t<sup>d</sup>*

Regnal year 11, second month of the Shemu season, day 20: Observing the (heliacal) rising of Sothis

### NOTES

<sup>a</sup> The *š* of *šmw* is similar in appearance to the land sign; for an abbreviated *š*, see writings in P. Boulaq 18 (Möller 1927/1, p. 32, no. 355); compare also the *pr*-sign in *pr.t*. There appear to be four *n*-water signs.

<sup>b</sup> The *m<sup>ʒ</sup>*-sickle is incompletely curved towards the bottom; compare Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival 1968, pal. pl. xii (ex. 11, 1); Goedicke 1988a, p. 38b, Qubbet el-Hawa ex. I, 146; note also the quasi-hieroglyphic, First Intermediate Period examples in Fischer 1964, p. 55. A number of the awkwardly drawn signs owe their unpleasant appear-

221. Partially published in Winkler 1938/39, pl. 16, fig. 1; for the full publication, see a forthcoming publication by Darnell and Darnell.

222. For examples, see C. Wilkinson 1979, p. 44, fig. 48; Archäologisches Institut der Universität Zürich 1974, p. 9, pl. 5 (no. 20); Peck 1958, p. 112, n. 4.

223. Clay models of pack donkeys from Thebes and Hou may depict some of the actual beasts that traveled the Farshût Road; see Carnarvon et al. 1912, pl. 33, 1; Hayes 1959, p. 26.

224. Note the donkeys helping bring provisions to the Medjoy outpost in Norman Davies 1906, pl. 24 (tomb of Mahu).

225. Engels 1978, pp. 16 (n. 26), 128; Hyland 1990, pp. 216, 232, 256; Singh 1989, p. 28.

226. Note the carts of the Sea Peoples; *MH* 1, pls. 32, 34.

227. According to Klunzinger 1877, pp. 224–25, the camel prefers level ground, is only there “at home,” and finds ascending a slope easier than descending one; see also *ibid.*, pp. 201–10, on camels. Desert patrols using camels would likewise have preferred more gentle ascents; for camels as part of a military expedition, see P. Krall 14, 10 (Bresciani 1964, pl. 6), a text perhaps composed or at least edited during the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (*ibid.*, pp. 9–15); for the late Roman attitude towards military use of camels, see Vegetius Renatus 1885, III.23; Milner 1993, p. 104.

228. For the use of donkeys on steep paths, “which could not be used for wheeled traffic, or would be uncomfortable and dangerous for camels,” see Dorsey 1991, pp. 13–15. On the “Karawanenesel,” see Klunzinger 1877, pp. 210–11.

ance to the position of this inscription, high within a sunken window of stone. The writer had to stretch forward and upwards, and our difficulties in copying this text suggest the difficulties the author faced when carving it. Ignoring the slanting stroke after the first inverted “V,” one could transcribe  $m^3$  (for the appearance of the inverted “V” of what would be the first *aleph*-vulture, see the *tyw*-vulture in F. Arnold 1990, p. 86, no. W53), although an orthography of  $m^3$  as sickle + *aleph*-vultures, without the eye, would be unexpected. The slanting stroke after the inverted “V” does in fact possess the characteristics of the other signs of this inscription, and there are no other extraneous scratches in the area. This supports the inclusion of the stroke as part of the second sign of the word, a slightly incomplete but nonetheless recognizable eye. The scribe appears to have conceived and executed the sign D4 as lines similar to the walking legs (the canthus and pupil-and-iris [*dfd*]), with the outer corner added to the left; for such a treatment of the eye D4, see Anthes 1928, pls. 20 (Gr. 21, line 3), 29 (Gr. 32, horizontal lines 2, 4); Roccati 1970, p. 47 (particularly the example from recto 23). The *aleph*-vulture following the eye D4 has the horizontal stroke for the head characteristic of that sign, although the more elaborate treatment of the feet is more expected for the quail chick; but compare Simpson 1981, p. 178 (fig. 8, examples of G1, particularly no. 6). For  $m^3$  instead of  $m^3$ , as here, see Gardiner 1957a, p. 224 (§299); Edel 1955, pp. 345–46 (§685).

<sup>c</sup> The *pr*-sign is the abbreviated form one might expect for a late Middle Kingdom hand, as in P. Boulaq 18; compare also the *š* of *šmw*. This inscription mixes rather full writings of signs (the *aleph* of  $m^3$ ) with highly abbreviated signs (the *š* of *šmw*, the *pr*-sign of *pr.t*, the *d*-hand, and serpent determinative of *Spd.t*), as is the case in the Thirteenth Dynasty P. Boulaq 18; compare the comments of Spalinger 1985, p. 194, n. 16. The long, slightly curving “V” above the walking legs determinative appears to represent the *r* of *pr.t* (cf. the similarly made variant of the *s*-egg in H. Smith 1972, p. 71, fig. 6, no. 6 [GT 9]), with the *t*-ending of the infinitive written to the left, above the dropped *s* of *Spd.t*. The orthography would then be a slightly skewed rendering of the arrangement of *pr.t-Spd.t* in Garstang 1907, pl. 9 (facing p. 192), line 9, with the *r*-mouth over the walking legs, with a *t* offset to the left of the peak of the walking legs.

<sup>d</sup> The *s* slants up to the right, probably a result of the awkward position in which the writer’s arm was held. The short end of the *s*-cloth has been brought over to meet the long side, a form attested in Middle Kingdom hieratic (cf. P. Boulaq 18 [col. 26, line 16]; Žába 1974, no. 28j [pl. 33, fig. 59, right]) and not unexpected in hastily jotted inscription; compare Verner 1992, pl. 67, S29, nos. 78, 281. The horizontal stroke above the *p* is perhaps the abortive beginning to a *p* recognized early as placed somewhat too high relative to the signs of *pr.t* and the dropped *s* (a *p* with a top horizontal is also just possible; cf. *ibid.*, pl. 39, graffito no. 283). The form of the *d*-hand is abbreviated, as in P. Boulaq 18. The *t* is ligatured to the star sign, and the serpent determinative appears as a vertical stroke, most likely intended to be the slanting stroke substituting for a difficult determinative, as in the writings of *Spd.t* in the Kahun papyri; see Luft 1992b, p. 156. For the origins of this abbreviation, see Goedicke 1988a, p. xiii, n. 43. On *prt Spdt*, see, *inter alia*, Luft 1992b, pp. 156–57. An alternative reading is possible, but the anachronisms and palaeographic difficulties make it unlikely. The sign following the day date 20 could be taken as the date form of the numeral 4, but the double curve of the sign, though subtle, nevertheless is marked in this otherwise angular inscription and does not suit the numeral 4. Should one persist in this interpretation, however, the following three signs could then represent the orthography  of *iw*, again requiring one to ignore the slanting stroke that forms the left portion of the middle sign. Such a writing of *iw* is unexpected before the later Eighteenth Dynasty, however (the orthography was not pervasive at Amarna; see Behnk 1924, p. 41; the example in *RILT* 1, pl. 59, line 20, occurs in a portion of the Opet register scenes carved by Sety I and may reflect Nineteenth Dynasty orthography, unless it indeed follows closely an Eighteenth Dynasty cartoon already laid out during the late Eighteenth Dynasty), and the orthography is common only in Late Egyptian; see Sethe 1899, p. 286 (§469). The following signs might then give some title beginning with *inw* “porter.” The signs following the possible *in*-sign are, however, somewhat of a barrier to this reading. There is the ghost title *\*inw-inr* “stone carrier” (Arkell 1950, p. 26, no. 4; listed in Ward 1982, p. 56, no. 448), based on a misreading of the name *in* in the signature of a man listing the names of his father and grandfather (suggested by H. Smith 1972, p. 53, n. 2, and confirmed by Hintze et al. 1989, p. 24, no. 7, pl. 10). Leaving aside the problem of reading the apparent title, the following personal name would have to be read as Sopduhotep, with *d* or *w* omitted; the sign following *sp* could hardly be a ligature of the two; the final sign of the inscription would have to be the reed leaf as determinative of the name. There is, however, no quarrying of any sort in evidence for the ‘Alamat Tal Road or Gebel Tjauti (although conceivably a stonemason could pass by Gebel Tjauti on his way to a distant quarry). A reading of Sopdu as part of a personal name at the end of the inscription leaves the final “simplifying” stroke unexplained, and there would also be no determinative of a seated man. The combined weight of the problems with this

alternative speak strongly against it; the most troubling of these are the necessity to ignore a portion of the third sign following the numeral 20 in the date and the definite determinatives of *Spd.t*.

#### COMMENTARY

The inscription does not record the day of the celebration of the heliacal rising of Sothis but rather purports to record the actual sighting (*mꜣꜣ*) itself. Taken at face value, the text suggests an observation at Gebel Tjauti, probably from the top of the plateau a few minutes climb up, considering the somewhat limited view of the horizon from the level of the inscription shelf. The observation would appear to have been made from a spot just to the south of the point where the ‘Alamat Tal Road reaches the top of the high desert, an area in which there are a number of huts and many small cairns, all surrounded by considerable amounts of Middle Kingdom, Second Intermediate Period, and early Eighteenth Dynasty pottery. This is the only observation of the heliacal rising of Sothis/Sirius from ancient Egypt for which one may say that the location of the point of observation, at least down to the minutes, and the elevation, approximately 450 meters above sea level, are known.

Unfortunately this inscription does not give the name of the king in whose eleventh regnal year it was written, and it thereby loses much in terms of unequivocal chronological value. The inscription nevertheless retains a certain interest, being the record of an astronomical observation on a high desert portion of a road in the Western Desert of the Thebaid. The inscription can be used to support Hornung’s (1964, pp. 60–61) suggestion that Thebes was the observation point for Eighteenth Dynasty Sothic dates and fits well with what is known of the observation of Sothis in Upper Egyptian temples.<sup>229</sup> The Gebel Tjauti Sothic date may also support a Theban observation for the Ebers Papyrus observation during the ninth regnal year of Amenhotep I (von Beckerath 1994, p. 113).

The initial results one may obtain in trying to fit this text into Egyptian chronology — and a particularly murky corner of the chronology at that — fit well with Luft’s treatment of the Sesostri III Sothic date. The observation of the *pr.t Spd.t* was predicted for IV *pr.t* 17 during the seventh regnal year of Sesostri III, a date apparently corresponding to 17 July 1866 B.C. according to the Julian calendar.<sup>230</sup> The Gebel Tjauti inscription, as it records an observation late in the second month of *Šmw*, must come somewhat after, or considerably before, the predicted observation during the seventh regnal year of Sesostri III. Considering the palaeography, the Gebel Tjauti observation should be later than Sesostri III. Taking into account that for each additional degree of latitude southward the heliacal rising of Sothis occurs one day earlier,<sup>231</sup> the II *Šmw* 20 heliacal rising of Sothis recorded at Gebel Tjauti would appear to have occurred during the first decade of the sixteenth century B.C. Preliminary calculations using P. V. Neugebauer’s tables and assuming an *arcus visionis* of 8.4 suggest that the Gebel Tjauti observation occurred on the morning of 11 July during one of the years from 1593 to 1590 B.C.<sup>232</sup>

According to the reckonings of Franke (1988, pp. 265–70, 273; 1994, pp. xi–xiv) and von Beckerath (1964, p. 222), the first decade of the sixteenth century B.C. would fall during the reigns of the first kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty. Sobekemsaf I, Neberaw I, and Seweserenre have reigns of sufficient length. Sobekemsaf I appears to be-

229. See von Beckerath 1984, pp. 13–15; R. Wells 1985, pp. 255–302; see also the remarks of Cauville 1992, pp. 41–43.

230. See Luft 1992, pp. 224–29; for the significance of this date for the absolute chronology of the Twelfth Dynasty and its bearing on the length of the Thirteenth Dynasty, see von Beckerath 1995, pp. 445–49.

231. See Parker 1950, p. 7. With the Heliopolitan latitude as 30 degrees, 1 minute (so Edgerton 1936/37, p. 193) and the rock inscription site on the ‘Alamat Tal Road as 25 degrees, 52 minutes, this gives a difference of approximately 4 days.

232. Dates during the first decade of the sixteenth century B.C. for the Gebel Tjauti observation are consistent with the results one may obtain from Neugebauer 1929, p. 161, pls. E58–E62. The exact value of the *arcus visionis* remains somewhat uncertain, however. According to Borhardt and Neugebauer (1926, pp. 309–15), the *arcus visionis* of a heliacal rising of Sirius near Cairo was 9.4 degrees (Sirius at an elevation of 1.3 degrees and the sun at -8.1 degrees depression below the

horizon). They suggest that a lower value might be possible and entertain the possibility of a value for the *arcus visionis* as low as 8.4.

Because of the height of the presumed observation point atop Gebel Tjauti, one may assume that the observer would look over any turbidity in the Nile Valley — on the basis of personal observation, the Theban Desert Road Survey can attest to the fact that on days when haze and dark smoke fill the valley, the hills of the Eastern Desert are visible above the smog within the valley. As R. Wells has observed (pers. comm., citing Ingham 1969, pp. 36–40), one must also pay close attention to the position of the earth’s axis relative to the sun. The Theban Desert Road Survey hopes in the near future — with the assistance of several astronomical and calendrical collaborators — to present a more detailed consideration of these problems. For advice on our very preliminary astronomical calculations the Survey wishes to thank Jürgen von Beckerath, Luc Gabolde, N. Swerdlow, and Ronald Wells.

long to the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty and in any event comes too early.<sup>233</sup> According to von Beckerath's recent reconstruction of the Seventeenth Dynasty, the eleventh regnal year of Seweserenre would fall exactly within this range of dates. The Gebel Tjauti observation may thus be seen to support von Beckerath's new chronology for the Second Intermediate Period; this in turn provides further support for 1550 B.C. as the beginning of the reign of Ahmose and 1525 B.C. as the start of the reign of Amenhotep I; see von Beckerath 1994, p. 124.

This is the only inscription on Gebel Tjauti to be dated with certainty to the Seventeenth Dynasty, despite the Seventeenth Dynasty military road and twin fortress towers near the Theban terminus of the road, and the abundance of Seventeenth/early Eighteenth Dynasty pottery on the road. At first glance the lack of an abundance of certain Seventeenth Dynasty inscriptions at Gebel Tjauti is somewhat surprising, yet this is also the situation at the Wadi el-Ḥôl. Although the Antef V temple sits at the Theban terminus of that road and a superabundance of Seventeenth Dynasty pottery literally paves it, the Theban Desert Road Survey has thus far recorded no certain Seventeenth Dynasty inscriptions at Wadi el-Ḥôl.

It is interesting to speculate on who recorded the observation of the heliacal rising of Sothis/Sirius at Gebel Tjauti and why that person was observing Sothis on the 'Alamat Tal Road. We do not know the astronomical understanding of the average Upper Egyptian of the Seventeenth Dynasty, but they all must have understood the importance of the astronomical observations upon which important calendrical and festival events depended. An interested "layman" — traveler, merchant, pilgrim, or soldier — may have made the observation, or perhaps a traveling priest. Alternatively, it is possible that the author of the Gebel Tjauti Sothic observation text went out upon the gebel in order to make the observation. The Kahun letter informs one that the Egyptian astronomers could predict heliacal risings of Sothis with some certainty.<sup>234</sup> However, visibility and horizon remain somewhat inscrutable factors in the observation of the heliacal rising of Sothis. If an observation were expected and if the "official" observation point were the roof of a temple in the Nile Valley, the exact day of the observation at the temple could be anticipated by seeking out the rising one day earlier from a high desert vantage point.

Desert observations of Sothis are perhaps behind the inscriptions of stars attested at Gebel Tjauti, Wadi el-Ḥôl, and *Inselberg* Hk64, a low rock outcropping behind Hierakonpolis (Friedman et al. 1999; Darnell and Darnell 1996c). The observation of Sothis, the herald of the inundation,<sup>235</sup> is perhaps also associated with the worship of the goddess of the eye of the sun at these remote desert sites, as evidenced in the present publication by Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 23, 31, and 32, below.

233. See the remarks of Vandersleyen 1993, pp. 189–91. On the basis of one of the doorjamb fragments from the temple of Antef on Gebel Antef, Sobekemsaf I was the father of Antef V; see Darnell and Darnell 1993, p. 50 (*pace* our inclination expressed therein not to read *ir.n* as indicating filiation); idem 1994a, p. 40; see our forthcoming full publication of the doorjamb fragment, along with other remains of the temple of Antef and associated votive objects from Gebel Antef, the Theban terminus of the main Luxor-Farshût Road. In his re-

construction of the Seventeenth Dynasty, von Beckerath (1994, p. 124) — on the basis of the doorjamb from Gebel Antef — accepts Sobekemsaf I as the father of Antef V.

234. See also the comments of R. Wells 1993, pp. 307–10.

235. For the religious significance of Sirius for the ancient Egyptians, see Desroches-Noblecourt 1980, pp. 15–24; Beaux 1994, pp. 61–72.

## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTION 12

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text recording royal visit to Thebes	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 4d, 31
<i>Date:</i>	Middle Kingdom	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 22.0 × 3.0 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Section 7 of Gebel Tjauti inscription shelf		
<i>Note:</i>	Red ink inscription; see also Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 13		

Two red ink inscriptions at Gebel Tjauti presented herein, Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 12 and 13, presumably result from the presence of scribes traveling with their scribal palettes along the ‘Alamat Tal Road. There is no evidence of any inscription in black ink at Gebel Tjauti. The reason for the persistent use of red in the ink inscriptions at Gebel Tjauti is obscure, although simple emphasis<sup>236</sup> and a desire to stand out from the incised inscriptions are likely. Although the Survey team has collected suitable red ochre near the Kharga terminus of a Theban road, there is no outcropping of red ochre on or near the ‘Alamat Tal Road proper or Gebel Tjauti that could have provided the raw materials for an otherwise unprepared scribe. These ink notations might have been written at the same time, but their fragmentary preservation makes it impossible to say. The differences in writing styles suggest that they were not made by a single scribe, either at one time or over the course of several visits to the site.

This red ink inscription is written in a small, neat, somewhat cramped Middle Kingdom “bureaucratic” hand and records a royal visit to Thebes. The forms of many of the individual signs have not survived intact, and much is unclear. Nevertheless, owing to the fact that the ink text is written on the south face of a natural niche, on a facet of stone perpendicular to the ledge and slanting in towards the top, it has survived in a far more legible and complete state than most of the other red ink inscriptions of Gebel Tjauti. The copy presented here aims to show only the certain surviving portions of the red ink signs.

## INSCRIPTION AND TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

*ḥsb.t 11 3bd 3 Šmw sw 15(?)<sup>a</sup> m-ḥt<sup>b</sup> iw<sup>c</sup> ḥm<sup>ld</sup> =fr niw.t rsy<sup>e</sup>.t r šḥpr<sup>f</sup> ...[šzy]...<sup>g</sup>*

Regnal year 11, third month of the Shemu season, day 15(?), when his [majesty] came to the Southern City in order to bring about [many] ...

## NOTES

<sup>a</sup> Reading the initial sign as ten, the following two bits of red ink should together be some number below ten. Assuming the loss of a tick to the left middle of the first of these areas of ink, a distinct possibility given the weathering of the pigment of this inscription, one may read 15.

<sup>b</sup> After the date we have bare initial *m-ḥt* introducing the record of the royal progress; compare Gardiner 1957a, p. 133, examples in n. 27; Westendorf 1962, p. 247, n. 2 (these examples are from the Ebers Papyrus, relatively close in time to the Gebel Tjauti inscription); Caminos 1974, p. 27, pl. 30, line 5. Bare initial *m-ḥt* following the date indicates that this Gebel Tjauti red ink inscription is an early example of the daybook style (on which see Spalinger 1982, pp. 120–92), perhaps the record of a military scribe of the late Middle Kingdom or Second Intermediate Period. For *m-ḥt* in a daybook account of a military campaign of the late Middle Kingdom, see Scharff 1922, p. 62, pl. 15\*\* (XXX 2, lines 13–20); see also Spalinger 1982, pp. 122–23, 124 (n. 19), for other daybook-style notations, including graffiti on the Pyramid of Khendjer at South Saqqara. The use of bare *m-ḥt* to introduce this record of a royal journey along the ‘Alamat Tal Road recalls the use of *ḥr m-ḥt* to introduce a section in the autobiography of Ahmose son of Ibana; see Spalinger 1982, pp. 129–30 (and n. 32 on p. 130); Hintze 1952, pp. 8–9.

236. On rubrication in non-religious texts, see Posener 1951, pp. 75–80.

<sup>c</sup> Following *m-ht* is an abbreviated orthography of the circumstantial *iw*; compare von Deines and Westendorf 1961, p. 29, citing Bln 163h (P. Berlin 3038); Wreszinski 1909, col. 16, line 3, end (= p. 35, line 10); for circumstantial *sdm=f* following *m-ht*, see Doret 1986, p. 64, n. 672; compare also Caminos 1974, p. 27, n. 4, pl. 30, line 5. Alternatively one could read the walking legs as the determinative of *m-ht*, with *iw(t)* then omitted.

<sup>d</sup> The vertical bit of ink to the left of the walking legs shows a slant up to the right on the right side of the upper preserved area of ink. This suggests a form of the *hm*-sign.

<sup>e</sup> The sign after *n'w.t* is better interpreted as a *rsy*-sign than as a *w's*-sign; for *n'w.t* followed by *w's*, see Jacquet-Gordon 1981, p. 238 (no. 23, line 1); Žába 1974, p. 161, no. 150. Although *Wb.* 2.211:7–8 lists *n'w.t* and *n'w.t rsy.t* for Thebes as “seit N.R.,” two of the *Wb. Belegstellen*'s examples are themselves of Middle Kingdom date, and a stela of Sesostri I from the Wadi el-Hudi provides an early Middle Kingdom example (Sadek 1980, p. 16, line 9). The stela of Sobekhotep IV from Karnak provides an excellent parallel from about the same time as this inscription; see Helck 1969, p. 199, line 4; idem 1983, p. 31, no. 37, line 15 (= line 5 of the stela); see also Sethe 1929, pp. 7 (n. 2), 8 (§3); Gomaà 1986, pp. 99–101.

<sup>f</sup> For the failure to combine the upper right and lower left legs of the scarab in a single curving line and for the combining of the upper and lower right legs in a single double-curved line, see the “Math” examples in Möller 1927/1, p. 24, no. 258 (with n. 2).

<sup>g</sup> There are considerable remnants of ink to the left of *shpr*, but the actual edges of the signs are badly eroded, and their interpretation unfortunately remains unclear. The traces to the left of the three vertical bits of ink to the left of *shpr* suggest a writing of *šy*, but this is by no means certain.

#### COMMENTARY

The cramped hieratic of this inscription suggests a Middle Kingdom bureaucratic hand, and the apparent royal residence at some point north of Thebes initially suggests a date before the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty. A nearby scratched inscription, dated to a regnal year 11, second month of Shemu, contains a record of an observation of the heliacal rising of Sothis and appears to date to the Seventeenth Dynasty (Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 11). It is tempting to associate the two inscriptions, although the dates could be but coincidentally similar and actually belong to two different rulers. If the two year 11 inscriptions are related, then the ruler is a Seventeenth Dynasty king. Rather than coming south from the residence at Memphis, lost to the Hyksos at the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty, the ruler might then be returning from spending time with the army in the garrison at Abydos.<sup>237</sup> Further what he may have come to bring about (*shpr*) are *d'm.w*-recruits (*Wb.* 4.241:25).<sup>238</sup>

The content of this red ink inscription recalls the stela of Sobekhotep IV from Karnak (Cairo Museum E51911; Helck 1969, pp. 194–200; idem 1983, pp. 31–34). In that document the ruler states that it has been many years since he returned to the Southern City, the place of his birth. Sobekhotep then praises Amun and describes his works for the god at Karnak. This Gebel Tjauti red ink text appears palaeographically to date to the Middle Kingdom, and the possible residence of the ruler in the north could support a date before the beginning of the Seventeenth Dynasty. If, however, one associates this inscription with the regnal year of the Sothic observation (Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 11), this ink inscription would be another document of the Seventeenth Dynasty, and the ruler would then be said to be returning to Thebes from a foray out of Thebes, either north on a visit to the Abydos garrison or the outpost at Gebel Qarn el-Gir, or south to Aswan, avoiding the Nile Valley. The ruler might even have been returning from a campaign. A careful search has revealed no possible royal name in the immediate vicinity, the closest being those of the earlier rulers Pepy (Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 5) and Antef (Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 7).

237. For a discussion of the probable Theban military garrison at Abydos during the Second Intermediate Period, see Snape 1994, pp. 311–13 (and note that the text of the Kendal statue of Sobekhotep suggests the man was a Medjoy — he is born of *Nhsy*, and his sister, who dedicated the statue, was named *Km.t*). Or perhaps the ruler was returning to Thebes from a visit to some desert base like that at the Wadi el-Ḥôl; see

Wadi el-Ḥôl Rock Inscriptions 1–45, below, and Darnell 1997c.

238. At the Wadi el-Ḥôl there is an annotated depiction of a First Intermediate Period “chief of the house of recruits” (*imy-r pr-d'm.w*), so there is evidence for the presence of such groups on the main Farshût Road; see Wadi el-Ḥôl Rock Inscription 13, below.

## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTION 13

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text recording visit	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 7d, 32a–b
<i>Date:</i>	Middle Kingdom(?)	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 7.50 × 2.25 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Section 21 of Gebel Tjauti inscription shelf		
<i>Note:</i>	Red ink inscription; see also Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 12		

This very fragmentary red ink notation is low on the rock face, apparently made by a scribe seated near the right end of the inscription shelf. It is the second of two red ink inscriptions presented herein; the other is Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 12.

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

*iw pw ir.n s[hʒ]* ...

A coming which the scr[ibe] ... made ...

## COMMENTARY

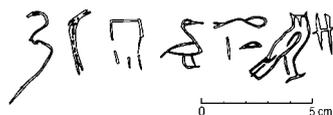
Unfortunately this thickly drawn ink inscription breaks off before giving the name of the writer and the reason for the journey that brought him to Gebel Tjauti. Inscriptions beginning *iw(t) pw* not infrequently have religious overtones, however (see Quirke 1986, p. 88), and it is possible that the now anonymous author of this inscription was at Gebel Tjauti in order to worship the goddess Hathor (see Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 23, 31, and 32, below).

## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTION 14

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing name and title of police official	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 7b, 32c–d
<i>Date:</i>	Middle Kingdom (Thirteenth Dynasty)	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 16.75 × 4.75 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Section 18 of Gebel Tjauti inscription shelf		
<i>Note:</i>	See also Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 15–17		

Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 14–17 are located near each other and appear to belong to ‘Aam, ‘Aam’s son Renseneb, and Amun-Aa. Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 14 and 15, both of police official ‘Aam, are located near the Archaic period tableau (Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 2; pl. 12). Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 16, of ‘Aam’s son Renseneb, overseer of metalworkers, is just to the right of these. The style of these inscriptions is similar, suggesting that they could have originated with the same person. Along with the mixing of two forms of *m* in the first text (Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 14), the names suggest the Thirteenth Dynasty or late Middle Kingdom. Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 17, of Amun-Aa, an officer of the royal bodyguard, is just below and slightly to the left of Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 14.

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

*imy-ht s3(.w)<sup>a</sup>-pr.w 3m<sup>b</sup>*

The police official, ‘Aam

## NOTES

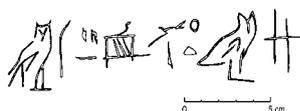
<sup>a</sup> The *s3*-duck has the flattened shape and more horizontal body occurring so often during the late Middle Kingdom/Second Intermediate Period; compare Delange 1987, p. 103; Engelbach 1935, pp. 203–05. The presence of the title *imy-ht s3(.w)-pr.w* indicates a date prior to the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty; see Yoyotte 1952a, p. 149.

<sup>b</sup> The *m* of the name 3m appears in a hieratic form in the first inscription. The *m* of *imy-ht* in that inscription is, however, very much like the two *m*-hieroglyphs in the second inscription. The mixing of several forms of a sign in the same text is a common feature of Second Intermediate Period texts. For the typical Second Intermediate Period feature of the *n*-sign appearing in two or more different forms in the same text, see Szafranski 1983, pp. 56, 60; Delange 1987, pp. 126–27 (three different shapes for the *n*-sign on a statue of the Seventeenth Dynasty). Compare the late Middle Kingdom (Twelfth/Thirteenth Dynasty) stelae in Hein and Satzinger 1989, ÄS 140 = Wien 4, 58; ÄS 163 = Wien 4, 94; ÄS 196 = Wien 4, 150; ÄS 204 = Wien 4, 164; the stela published in Aufrère 1985, pp. 36, n. (m), 37, nn. (q)–(r). For a Middle Kingdom example, see Vernus 1976, p. 136, n. z.

## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTION 15

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing name, filiation, and title of police official	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 7b, 33
<i>Date:</i>	Middle Kingdom (Thirteenth Dynasty)	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 16.75 × 4.75 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Section 18 of Gebel Tjauti inscription shelf		
<i>Note:</i>	See also Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 14 and 16–17		

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

*imy-ht Nhy<sup>a</sup> sʒ<sup>b</sup> ʿam*

The police official, Nhy's son, ʿAam

## NOTES

<sup>a</sup> The sign resembling a bird in a box with two following strokes represents the personal name Nhy; for the tail of the *nh*-bird treated as a continuation of the breast tuft, see Osing 1976a, p. 174; Posener 1987, pl. 5, line 12; Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival 1968, pal. pl. iv, no. G21, ex. 11.1. Alternatively we may have here a combination of the *sʒ*- and *pr*-signs in a monogrammatic orthography of a sort occasionally invented on random Egyptian monuments; compare Fischer 1977a, pp. 5–19; Tresson 1931, p. 133. A transverse hieroglyphic composite would support a Middle Kingdom date for the inscription; see Fischer 1977a, pp. 11–14. A combination of *sʒ* and *pr* might have been suggested by a desire that the inscription, once begun, not extend so far to the left as to encounter the small crocodile in the upper left of the left portion of Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 2. ʿAam may have sought to avoid the small but deeply incised crocodile out of a sense of piety or simply so that his own name would not be obscured in a resulting tangle of lines, or perhaps in order that the by then already ancient crocodile might not magically threaten his name. A reading *Nhy* is, however, somewhat more likely than an unattested monogrammatic writing of *sʒ-pr.w*. The strokes following the bird in question also appear to number two rather than three (although the carving of the initial strokes is somewhat ragged and might be read as two closely written strokes).

<sup>b</sup> For the abbreviated writing of *sʒ* as a horizontal line, see below, note a to Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 27.

## COMMENTARY

An *imy-ht sʒ.w-pr.w* Nhy's son ʿAam appears in P. Boulaq 18 xxxix, line 8, as one of the officials invited to dine in the *wʒhy*-hall during the festival of Monthu.<sup>239</sup> Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 14 and 15 are perhaps the elaborate, partially hieroglyphic signatures of this man. Interestingly, although he gives his titles in a reasonable facsimile of monumental signs, he writes his actual name ʿam in a purely hieratic form, although fleshing out the throwstick somewhat in Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 14, while in Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 15 his name is semi-hieroglyphic. Only in the third inscription, authored apparently by his son Renseneb, does ʿAam's name appear in hieroglyphic form.

The name ʿAam does not necessarily imply Asiatic ethnicity,<sup>240</sup> although it could make reference to some perceived physical characteristic of the person in question. An ethnic term used to refer to the appearance of someone outside of that ethnic group is perhaps the reason why an Egyptian wrestler in a scene below the window of appearances at Medinet Habu refers to his Libyan opponent as *Hʒrw*.<sup>241</sup>

239. Mariette 1872, col. 39, line 8; Scharff 1922, p. 19\*\*, §60. An *imy-ht sʒ.w-pr.w* Nhy appears elsewhere in that papyrus (Mariette 1872, pl. 45, col. 2, line 4, pl. 46, line 2; Scharff 1922, pp. 22\*–23\*, §74 [two occurrences]).

240. See Vernus 1986, p. 126, n. 162. Note, however, Mlinar 1994a, p. 164, an example of an official named ʿAam who does indeed appear to have been of Asiatic ethnicity.

241. *MH* 2, pl. 111, line 27, pl. 112; see also Darnell 1995b, p. 68, n. 114, on the possible reason for this apparent misapplication of an ethnonym.

## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTION 16

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing name, filiation, and title of police official	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 7a, 16a–b
<i>Date:</i>	Middle Kingdom (Thirteenth Dynasty)	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 25.50 × 4.75 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Section 17 of Gebel Tjauti inscription shelf		
<i>Note:</i>	See also Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 14–15, and 17		

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

*imy-ht ʿm sʿ imy-r ḥmty.w<sup>a</sup> Rn-snb*

The (police) official, ‘Aam’s son, the overseer of metalworkers, Renseneb

## NOTE

<sup>a</sup> A pre-New Kingdom date for the inscription of ‘Aam’s son Renseneb is supported by the absence of the title *imy-r ḥmty.w* during the New Kingdom; compare the discussion in Valbelle 1985, pp. 128–29; note that Steinmann (1980, p. 147, §2.1.1.1.3) cites only a Middle Kingdom example for the title.

## COMMENTARY

When he wrote his name at Gebel Tjauti, the overseer of metalworkers Renseneb might have been traveling to the area of Hou or some point farther to the north or he might even have been on his way to work in the oases.<sup>242</sup> Mining in the area is out of the question,<sup>243</sup> and the overseer of metalworkers Renseneb might have been at Gebel Tjauti to help maintain the weapons of an armed detachment. At the large caravansary on the high desert plateau atop Gebel Roma<sup>ʿ</sup>, overlooking the Wadi el-Ḥôl, we have physical evidence of the metal weapons of these desert patrols in the shape of an arrowhead of apparent Seventeenth/Eighteenth Dynasty date.<sup>244</sup> On stela CG 20513, the official Ded says “I fought for my lord with a staff of copper,”<sup>245</sup> apparently referring to a *mdw*-shaped stick with a metal sheath or large metal studs on the larger end, a feature archaeologically attested for ancient Egypt<sup>246</sup> and seen even today on a number of modern *shumas*.

242. Compare the observation of Giddy 1987, p. 211, concerning the presence of “crucibles and copper residue amongst debris on the site” of ‘Ayn Aşîl.

243. See Stos-Gale, Gale, and Houghton 1995, p. 127.

244. The date is based on a preliminary investigation of the stratigraphy of the stratified pottery and organic debris deposit in which the arrowhead was discovered. For close parallels to

the arrowhead, see Emery, Smith, and Millard 1979, pl. 59, object no. 1658; Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991, pp. 172–73, 232, pl. 43 (2, 3).

245. See Fischer 1997b, pp. 144, 145–46, nn. (g)–(h). For the *mdw*-staff as an instrument of chastisement, see Gardiner 1956, p. 13.

246. Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991, p. 177, pl. 44, figs. 1–3.

## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTION 17

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing name, filiation, and title of policeman	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 6d, 34
<i>Date:</i>	Middle Kingdom (Thirteenth Dynasty)	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 3.75 × 14.75 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Section 16 of Gebel Tjauti inscription shelf		
<i>Note:</i>	See also Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 14–16		

This inscription is peculiar in that it begins with fine, neat hieroglyphs, drifts into hieratic, and then returns to a slightly more hieroglyphic style.

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

*šhm-<sup>c</sup> Hr-m-ḥꜣ.t sꜣ ꜣtw n(y) t.t-ḥkꜣ<sup>b</sup> ꜣImn-<sup>c</sup>*

The strong-arm Horemhat's son, the officer of the royal bodyguard, Amun-Aa

## NOTES

<sup>a</sup> The *šhm-<sup>c</sup>* was a low level policeman, essentially a “cop,” perhaps one of the men under the *imy-ḥt sꜣ-pr.w<sup>c</sup>* Aam; see the comments of Quirke 1990, pp. 79, 82; Franke (1994, pp. 76, 96) translates *šhm-<sup>c</sup>* as “Soldat” and interprets the title as “‘Mächtiger’ (ein militärischer Rang).” The title may imply a weapons-carrying policeman; compare the remarks of Goedicke 1992, p. 144, concerning *nḥt-<sup>c</sup>*, although this remains speculative. The title *šhm-<sup>c</sup>* represents a Thirteenth Dynasty position (Quirke 1990, p. 6, n. 6).

<sup>b</sup> The curl of the *ḥkꜣ*-crook is incompletely curved, a peculiarity not without parallel; compare the examples under “Sinuhe” in Möller 1927/1, p. 42. The only reasonable alternative to the reading proposed here is to assume the loss of a slanting stroke from the first sign following *ꜣtw n(y)*, in which case one would have an unparalleled title *ꜣtw n šms.w-pr.*<sup>247</sup> The title read here is very common, however, and also suits the location of this inscription and the profession of the father. On the meaning of the title, see Spalinger 1980, pp. 103–08 (citing Berlev’s works); Quirke 1990, p. 85, n. 2; Luft 1988, p. 150, nn. dd–ee; Snape 1994, p. 312.

<sup>c</sup> For the good and common Middle Kingdom name *ꜣImn-<sup>c</sup>*, see Ranke, *PN* 1, p. 26, no. 26. The name Amun-Aa appears, horizontally, in another inscription at Gebel Tjauti.

247. One could, however, compare the *ꜣtw n(y) pr-šmsw / šmsw-pr* in Ward 1982, p. 7, no. 10. See also Berlev 1971, p. 36. Coming as it does from a seal, Ward 1982, p. 7, no. 11, is perhaps better read as *ꜣtw n(y) šmsw* than his suggested “*ꜣtw n kmꜣw*, Attendant of a winner.” The lack of a clear parallel to the title *ꜣtw n(y) šms.w-pr* should perhaps not be so disturbing be-

cause a number of the known *ꜣtw* titles are attested only once, and the Thirteenth Dynasty and Second Intermediate Period may be expected to deliver up further peculiar titles; compare the otherwise unattested *ꜣtw ny ḥꜣwty.w* discussed in Franke 1994, pp. 84–85.

## COMMENTARY

These inscriptions are powerful testimony for a police presence on the ‘Alamat Tal Road.<sup>248</sup> An elaborate inscription from the time of Seankhkare Monthuhotep (Eleventh Dynasty) in Wadi Hammamat describes their duties on this road:<sup>249</sup>

*s3.w-pr.w hr dsr w3.wt hr h3.t(=i) hr shr.t sbi hr nsw.t*

The *s3-pr*-policemen clearing the road before (me), and overthrowing the rebel for the king

The late Middle Kingdom policemen perhaps continued patrols already begun in remote antiquity, and the *sin.w*-messengers<sup>250</sup> may have once raced across the gebel along the ‘Alamat Tal Road.<sup>251</sup>

The duties of these policemen might not have been limited to seeking out and arresting criminals and combating brigands. Yoyotte discusses the economic functions of the *s3.w-pr.w* and their officers, and the later Medjoy at Deir el-Medina were involved in economic matters.<sup>252</sup> This involvement of Medjoy in the economic affairs of the town was perhaps not only because of the special nature of Deir el-Medina, but also possibly an extension of earlier police activity in protecting and to some extent controlling trade. A chief of the Medjoy could also be an overseer of works, although it is unclear if there was any association between the two offices; see Nims 1956, p. 149. It has been stated that official expeditions to mines and quarries were not accompanied by “any special force of soldiers” (Gardiner, Peet, and Černý 1952b, p. 16). The members of many expeditions were certainly at least paramilitary (Fischer 1959, pp. 268–69). It is unclear if a similar situation obtained for a route such as the ‘Alamat Tal Road. During the Second Intermediate Period, armed patrols may have accompanied trading expeditions.<sup>253</sup> For the Thirteenth Dynasty, the inscriptions at Wadi el-Hôl suggest a concerted effort to maintain a highly visible military presence in the Western Desert. Old Kingdom military presence in the Western Desert is attested,<sup>254</sup> yet one must note that Harkhuf accomplished much of his paramilitary activity by manipulating the local forces of the area. Like the *iry-3* of Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 24, the *s3-pr*-policemen could also be involved in the apprehension and interrogation of tax evaders.<sup>255</sup> The *s3-pr*-policemen may also be functioning here as representatives of the great prison of Thebes, apprehending fugitives and representing legal officials.<sup>256</sup>

The nomarch Tefib, in his tomb at Siut, states *ii wh sdr-hr-mtn hr di.t n(=i) i3(w) wnn= f mi s m pr= f snd mš(=i) m mk.t= f* “when night falls the one who slept on the road praised me; like a man in his house is he, my army being his protection” (Siut III, 10 = Brunner 1937, pp. 43–44). If Brunner’s interpretation of the line immediately following this is correct,<sup>257</sup> there is a reference to animals accompanying the traveler and spending the night at rest, presumably on the road as well.<sup>258</sup> The middle desert below the inscription shelf at Gebel Tjauti, within the two arms of the high desert surrounding the head of the wadi, would be an ideal camping place for travelers, and the inscription shelf would be an excellent observation point for policemen protecting those travelers.<sup>259</sup> For the appearance of some of the men who may have patrolled the ‘Alamat Tal Road system, see the scene of soldiers<sup>260</sup> from

248. On the *s3-pr* and related titles, see Yoyotte 1952a, pp. 139–51; Andreu 1980, pp. 3–7. Graffiti left by *imy-ht s3.w-pr.w*-officers at Abydos appear in Simpson 1995, pp. 5–7.

249. Couyat and Montet 1912, p. 83, pl. 31 = inscription no. 114, lines 11–12.

250. On the *sin.w*, see Posener 1987, pp. 41–42. On his stela from Naqada, the messenger Fegu (*Fgw*) states *ink qn mm qn.w sin mm sin(.w)* “I was the bravest of the brave, the swiftest of the swift” (Spiegelberg and Pörtner 1902, no. 14); he may have used the Darb Arqub el-Baghla branch of the ‘Alamat Tal Road.

251. The Theban Desert Road Survey has discovered and recorded several inscriptions of *sin.w*-couriers in the Wadi el-Hôl on the main Luxor-Farshût Road.

252. Yoyotte 1952a, pp. 139–51; see also McDowell 1990, p. 52; Manning, Greig, and Uchida 1989, pp. 117–24.

253. For desert guides, see Fischer 1959, pp. 262–63.

254. Fischer 1959, p. 265: (*sš mš(=i) m h3.s.wt imnt.t i3.b.t* “(scribe of the army) in the western and eastern hill lands.”

255. Compare Gardiner 1937, p. 64, lines 16 ff., wherein door-keepers with staves and Nubians with their characteristic palm staves beat tax evaders.

256. For a *sš n(y) knb.ty n(y) w* “scribe of the district assembly” associated with a *s3-pr*, see Spiegelberg 1930, p. 49, pl. 2 (this example of the title *s3-pr* does not appear in Yoyotte’s article).

257. Brunner 1937, pp. 17, 21, n. 23; see also Schenkel 1965, pp. 77–78.

258. For evidence of animals on the roads of the Theban Western Desert, from the many bits of evidence, see Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 10 (herdsman of donkeys) and Winkler 1938/39, pl. 16, fig. 1.

259. For a possible reference to a rock inscription on a road policed by Middle Kingdom patrolmen, see the Semna Dispatch in Wente 1990, p. 71 (no. 80): a Medjoy patrol brings back people found “on the south of the desert margin beneath the inscription of the summer season.”

260. See the slightly blurred photograph in Wegner 1933, pl. 12a.

the otherwise unpublished tomb of the “overseer of the deserts on the west of the city” and “chief of the Medjoy” Dedi (Sethe 1906–09, p. 995, lines 10, 15). In Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 35 we appear to have an actual representation of a Nubian patrolman.<sup>261</sup>

The officer of the royal bodyguard might have been at the Gebel Tjauti site at the time of a royal visit, perhaps even that recorded in the longest surviving of the red ink inscriptions (Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 12). Graffiti of Seventeenth Dynasty holders of this title occur on *Inselberg* Hk64, a low rock outcropping in the desert beyond Hierakonpolis.<sup>262</sup> Along with the Gebel Tjauti inscription, the inscriptions of the officers of the royal bodyguard at *Inselberg* Hk64 show the presence of these officers at desert posts.

For the earlier depiction of a boat, over which Renseneb (Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 16) carved his name, see the discussion of Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 3 (pl. 16), above, apparently a protodynastic inscription. For the Graeco-Coptic names beneath Renseneb’s signature, see Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 45, below.

## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTION 18

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing name and title of police official and incomplete depiction of human figure	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 4c, 35
<i>Date:</i>	Late Middle Kingdom	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 8.50 × 12.25 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Section 6 of Gebel Tjauti inscription shelf		
<i>Note:</i>	For note and commentary, see Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 21; see also Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 19–22, and 32		

To the left of the opening signs is what appears to be an aborted attempt to carve a human figure (back of head, neck, and part of upper line of an arm extended to the right).

### INSCRIPTION



### TRANSCRIPTION



### TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

*imy-r šn(t)<sup>a</sup> Mrr*

Sheriff Merer

261. The Theban Desert Road Survey has also discovered rock depictions of Nubian soldiers at Dominion Behind Thebes (see p. 40, above) and at a site south of the ‘Alamat Tal Road (probably mounted Medjoy; publication forthcoming).

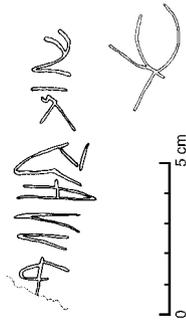
262. See the treatment of the pharaonic texts from that site in Dr. Renée Friedman’s forthcoming publication of *Inselberg* Hk64; provisionally note Darnell and Darnell 1996c, pp. 6–7; Darnell 1999a, pp. 24–29.

## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTION 19

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing name and title of police official and <i>ankh</i> -sign	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 5b, 36
<i>Date:</i>	Late Middle Kingdom	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 5.5 × 9.5 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Section 9 of Gebel Tjauti inscription shelf		
<i>Note:</i>	For note and commentary, see Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 21; see also Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 18, 20–22, and 32		

To the right of this inscription is a somewhat incomplete and unbalanced *nh*-sign.

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

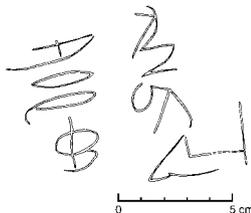
*imy-r šn(t)<sup>a</sup> Mrr*

Sheriff Merer

## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTION 20

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing name and title of police official	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 6d, 37
<i>Date:</i>	Late Middle Kingdom	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 10.50 × 7.75 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Section 16 of Gebel Tjauti inscription shelf		
<i>Note:</i>	For note and commentary, see Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 21; see also Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 18–19, 21–22, and 32		

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

*imy-r šn(t)<sup>a</sup> Mrr*

Sheriff Merer

## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTION 21

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing name and title of police official	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 6a, 38
<i>Date:</i>	Late Middle Kingdom	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 6.75 × 6.00 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Section 13 of Gebel Tjauti inscription shelf		
<i>Note:</i>	See also Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 18–20, 22, and 32		

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

*imy-r šn(t)<sup>a</sup> Mrr*

Sheriff Merer

## NOTE

<sup>a</sup> For the title *imy-r šnt*, see Spiegelberg 1898, p. 138; Simpson 1965, p. 41; Andreu 1991, pp. 17–23, and the literature cited there. See also Ward 1986, pp. 116–17; idem 1982, p. 50, no. 390; Fischer 1985, pp. 9 (no. 389a), 54 (no. \*384); idem 1961b, p. 423.<sup>263</sup> In the first example the title appears as the loop of rope with attached, though somewhat vestigial, *n*, followed by the striking man. In the other examples of the title, the complementary *n* is missing. None of the writings show the final *t*, perhaps an indication that the weakened final dental of this title, the Coptic ΛΑΩΔΑΝΕ (Vycichl 1983, pp. 100–01), had already fallen away. The *šn*-sign here is somewhat tilted back, but it is not difficult to see it as a development from forms such as those in Simpson 1965, p. 51 (example of V10 from B10) and Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival 1968, pal. pl. xii, sign no. V7. Although the sign could be formed by drawing a loop ending in the right tail and then adding the left tail, Merer made his version of the sign in the opposite way. Sign V7 formed as Merer preferred, first the loop and left leg, then the right leg added, appears under “Illahun” and “Sinuhe” in Möller 1927/1, p. 49. The same form appears in the execration texts; see Sethe 1926, pl. 9; Osing 1976a, p. 181 (RB; under A, a number of the loops are also discontinuous). Close parallels for the form of the sign at Gebel Tjauti and for the tilting back of the upper “hook” appear in Megally 1971b, pl. 17, V7 + N35, second row. Compare also the appearance of the second writing of the sign in the Ramesseum Onomasticon, line 203 (the toponym *iw-šnšn*; see Gardiner 1947, pl. 2, bottom). The orthography here appears to be somewhat of a hybrid of the full writing with the sign V7 and the common abbreviation with the sign V1; compare Griffith 1898, p. 26, citing Newberry 1893a, pl. 30; idem, 1894, pl. 27; for an early example of *mr šnt* written in an abbreviated form with the sign V1, see Chevereau, 1987, p. 47, no. 247, citing Garstang 1903, pls. 8, 10, 19, 26. For several examples of hieratic-influenced *šn*-signs in First Intermediate Period inscriptions, see Brovanski 1989, p. 617.

Alternatively one could read the upper left hook and rightmost slanting line as the sign V1, with the “leg” slanting down to the left as the *t* in ligature. This is, however, extremely unlikely. Although Möller (1927/1, p. 49, no. 518) shows the standard form of the sign V1 as having a hook at the top opening down, forms opening up are attested; compare Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival 1968, pal. pl. xii, sign no. V1, and the writings of *s* collected in Marciniak 1974, p. 227, with most upper “hooks” opening left, but some opening to the right. The striking man frequently follows abbreviated writings of the title from the late Middle Kingdom; compare Smither 1945, pl. 3, line 7; Simpson 1965, p. 41.

263. Zibelius-Chen 1988, p. 60, also discusses the title, albeit with limited references and inaccurate conclusions. The title is

probably not related to the apparently Nubian *imy-r šn.w(t)* discussed in E. Eichler 1993, pp. 217–18.

Scharff (1922, pp. 4\*\* [§16, line 13], 22\*\*\* [§74, line 10]), Ward (1982, p. 50, no. 396), and Fischer (1985, p. 54), inter alia, read the title of the man Siamun in P. Boulaq 18 (Mariette 1872, pl. 16, line 13, pl. 45, col. 1, line 10) as *mr-qn*, an otherwise unattested title. The P. Boulaq occurrences (broken in *ibid.*, pl. 37, line 16) are, with Quirke 1990, p. 73, properly to be seen as writings of *mr-šnt*, similar to those in Griffith 1898, pl. 30, no. XV.1, recto lines 11–12. Such a compact abbreviation corresponds to that used by Merer at Gebel Tjauti, with the exception that Merer employed sign V7 rather than sign V1.

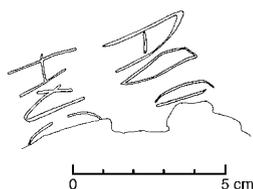
## COMMENTARY

This would appear to be the same *Mrr* who left his name, though without title, in several other places across the inscription shelf. The exact meaning of *imy-r šnt* and the duties of such an official remain but poorly understood. Lichtheim (1973, p. 177) translates *imy-r šnt* as “sheriff,” and Franke (1994, p. 59, n. 185) suggests that the duties of the *imy-r šnt* corresponded to that of the American “sheriff.” This is an attractive suggestion, and it receives some support from the use of the term in the Tale of the Eloquent Peasant, in which the official is likened to an *imy-r šnt*, a *ḥkꜣ ḥw.t*, and an *imy-r w* (Vogelsang and Gardiner 1908, pl. 12, lines 192–93, p. 31, lines 12–13.). The latter two officials had jurisdiction over cities and rural (“unincorporated”) areas, respectively. The *imy-r šnt* apparently functioned somewhat like a mayor or a district chief but was unattached to a particular *nṯw.t* or *w*. The *imy-r šnt* might then have been a circuit-riding law enforcement official. This interpretation of the title would also explain Merer’s presence on the ‘Alamat Tal Road.<sup>264</sup> For an *imy-r šnt* involved in border matters, note the police official Antef who was sent to strengthen the borders (*srwḏ tꜣš.w*) through the delivery of bricks (stela MFA 13.3967/20.1222; Leprohon 1982, pp. 75–76). Helck’s (1958, p. 75) translation of *imy-r šnt* “Wüstenpolizeileiter” in the Semna Dispatches, while it fits the context of those documents, should not be taken to suggest such a desert specific meaning for the title.

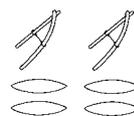
## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTION 22

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing name written twice	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 5d, 39
<i>Date:</i>	Late Middle Kingdom	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 6.75 × 4.25 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Section 12 of Gebel Tjauti inscription shelf		
<i>Note:</i>	See also Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 18–21, and 32		

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

*Mrr Mrr*

Merer, Merer

## COMMENTARY

These two side-by-side writings of Merer are not far to the right of the elaborate falcon with cartouche of a King Pepy. Just to the left of the two signatures of Merer is an aborted inscription of a falcon, apparently an attempt at copying the Sixth Dynasty falcon and perhaps Merer’s own doodle.

264. Note also that the *r-pꜣ.t ḥꜣ.ty-ꜣ rꜣ ꜣꜣ Šmꜣ Wꜣs.t Tꜣ-sty* named Senwosretsonob (Hintze et al. 1989, p. 126, no. 451, pl. 172), a man who from his titles was apparently involved in the ad-

ministration of the Nubian routes to and from Upper Egypt, was also an *imy-r šnt*. For another *imy-r šnt* with probable desert duties, see Brovarski 1989, pp. 402–04.

The name Merer appears twice in close proximity and in isolated instances scattered across the area of stone suitable for inscriptions (as over the Ipet goddess, Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 32). This repetition of a name is found with the name *shꜣꜣ Pꜣ-hw* at the Wadi el-Ḥôl (Wadi el-Ḥôl Rock Inscription 32) and is also known from elsewhere.<sup>265</sup> The name might not have been written multiple times on the same occasion but may rather indicate that Merer traveled this road on several trips, patrolling his desert jurisdiction, and that he wrote his name on at least two of those visits.<sup>266</sup> If the number of times his name appears at Gebel Tjauti is any indication of the frequency of his visits, Merer certainly earned his pay.

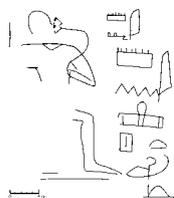
## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTION 23

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Shrine containing text with name and filiation and depiction of seated man	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 5a, 40–41
<i>Date:</i>	Middle Kingdom (Thirteenth Dynasty)	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 31.00 × 33.75 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Section 8 of Gebel Tjauti inscription shelf		

A natural recess in the face of the stone has been turned into a small shrine. On the bottom of the overhanging stone forming the roof of the shrine is a crescent-shaped arrangement of seven stars (see pl. 41), as though it were the ceiling of a tomb or chapel. The seven stars may represent the seven stars in the Duat preparing to rise in the east (see P. Carlsberg I E III 16–17 = Neugebauer and Parker 1960–69, pp. 58–59). The sun of the seventh hour of the day takes the form of the similar archer image of the arrow shooting the left eye of sun (see Brunner-Traut 1956, pp. 20–28; Myśliwiec 1978, pp. 81–91). The number seven is itself redolent of magical protection (see Kees 1956, p. 158; Dawson 1927, pp. 97–107).

Though badly damaged by the efflorescence of salts, the seated figure of a man can be seen facing right. His left arm is bent, hand held near the chest. In this hand he holds the stem of a lotus that curls out to the right before him and bends back towards his nose, ending in the blossom, of which fortunately a number of the internal details survive. Far to the left is what appears to be a low table with an undifferentiated heap of something atop it.<sup>267</sup> The man might have been accompanied by his wife, but sadly no trace of her survives.

### INSCRIPTION



### TRANSCRIPTION



### TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

*Dd(w)<sup>a</sup>-ꜣmn sꜣ<sup>b</sup> ꜣmn-ḥtp*

Deduamun's son, Amenhotep

### NOTES

<sup>a</sup> The *Dd(w)* portion of the father's name is written as a single, long arm with a double shoulder. The arm holds nothing here. For *dd* written as an arm with doubled shoulder, see the examples cited in Franke 1994, p. 112 (Thirteenth Dynasty).

<sup>b</sup> The name of Amenhotep's father is written much smaller than the name of the "shrine" owner, and the cramped placement of the *sꜣ*-bird suggests that the filiation might have been added as an afterthought.

265. Compare Green 1909, pl. 53 (following p. 320), no. 30.

266. Compare the comments of Winlock 1941, p. 156.

267. Such low tables are probably an archaizing feature; compare the remarks of Fischer 1986, pp. 181–82; note also the comments of Peck 1958, p. 70, n. 4.

## COMMENTARY

The motif of the seated man smelling a lotus appears already during the Sixth Dynasty and continues through the Thirteenth Dynasty.<sup>268</sup> The orthography of the first element of the father's name supports a date late within this range of time. Flowers are a common symbol of festivity in ancient Egypt, symbolizing life and the presence of divinity through the *odor suavitatis*.<sup>269</sup> The man's pose, smelling the lotus blossom, recalls a passage from the inscription of Sobekemhat at Hatnub (Hatnub Graffito 22, lines 4–5; Anthes 1928, pl. 22). The official states that from a child he was like a *str*-plant full of (*mḥ m*) *ꜣmt*-flowers:

*pꜣ ddw r fnd hrw n tkꜣw m-ꜣ rmt(.t) nb.t*

The one put to the nose on the day of lighting torches by the hand of everyone

As Anthes notes,<sup>270</sup> this is not a particular festival; “the day of lighting torches” indicates preparation for a nocturnal revel, and such a celebration is typically Hathoric. The Hatnub passage in turn suggests an explanation for the otherwise obscure Twelfth Dynasty stela of Sehetepibre and Satkhnun, set up by Ankhu. In a short text at the top of the stela Ankhu says he was:<sup>271</sup>

*šd tꜣw pt ḥtp*

*ḥms ꜣ m-ḥnt n pr ꜣi*

*tp n(y) idḥw m ḏr(.t ꜣi)*

One who catches the wind of the sky at rest,

I sitting before my house,

the top of a papyrus in my hand

The text appears to describe a festal seating of the sort that may have taken place at Abydos, and Ankhu indeed appears seated in the second register of the stela he set up for his parents at Abydos.<sup>272</sup> The reference to his holding the top of a papyrus in his hands is almost certainly an allusion to the goddess Hathor.<sup>273</sup>

The small shrine of Amenhotep at Gebel Tjauti, taking advantage of the natural niche in the rock, is perhaps the small equivalent of the Gebel Silsilah shrines. Booths are important for riverine and lacustral celebrations; compare Darnell 1991, pp. 76–80; *RILT* 1, p. 14. Excepting funereal observances, the most important of these celebrations are those of the New Year, the time of inundation, inebriation, and the return of the wandering goddess; see Kessler 1988, pp. 171–96; Darnell 1995b, pp. 47–94. Hathor was probably worshipped here at Gebel Tjauti (see Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 31–32) and at the Wadi el-Ḥôl,<sup>274</sup> a comparable stopping point and graffiti site on the main Luxor-Farshût Road. One of the festivals celebrating the return of the far-wandering goddess of the eye of the sun was termed a “going out upon the desert” (P. Leiden T32 col. 3, line 15).<sup>275</sup> The presence of a faience cup and other

268. See Fischer 1957, p. 224, n. 6; idem 1996d, p. 31, n. 41, Dittmar 1986, p. 133, n. 35. For the appearance of the lotus, held at the base of the stem and curling around to open towards the nose of the person holding the flower, note Schäfer 1931, pp. 8–11 (this is his fig. 1d form, which he says comes into fashion during the Eighteenth Dynasty; several early Eighteenth Dynasty examples appear in Cherpion 1999, pls. 6A, 8–11, 12A, 20–21, 38).

269. See Schott 1952, pp. 812(48)–27(63); Dittmar 1986, pp. 132–33; Cherpion 1999, p. 94. On incense, the olfactory aspects of epiphany, and the *odor suavitatis*, see Brashear and Bülow 1991, pp. 53–54.

270. Anthes 1928, p. 50, note to line 4 of the inscriptions in Tomb 1 at Siut; on the passage from Hatnub, see also Brovanski 1981, p. 20, n. ggg.

271. Van de Walle 1935, plate opposite p. 566; Lichtheim (1988, pp. 103–04) suggests that the passage says that Ankhu “was a

very capable person who came out on top in every situation”; the fact that the text is short and pithy suggests that a meaning more in line with the location and purpose of the stela is more likely.

272. The depiction of beer brewing in the bottom register of the stela is also appropriate to festival revels.

273. See Dittmar 1986, pp. 133–43, 151–57; Munro 1993, pp. 95–118.

274. See Darnell and Darnell 1994a, pp. 44–45; idem 1996a, pp. 64–65; and discussion of the “spending the day on holiday” inscriptions — and related texts and depictions — at the Wadi el-Ḥôl (Wadi el-Ḥôl Rock Inscriptions 17–19 and 20[?], below).

275. The papyrus (see Stricker 1953, p. 19, lines 5–6) refers to people going *ḥr ḥꜣs.t ḥnꜣ ḥm(.t) ꜣs r Wꜣs.t ḥd-tꜣ n(y) ḥb Mn-bi.t* “upon the gebel with her majesty to Thebes on the morning of the Menbit festival,” and going about the area of Asheru *iꜣ Mw.t ḥtp.wt* “when Mut is satisfied . . .”

faience fragments near the ‘Alamat Tal Road tracks, at about the middle point of the low desert behind Qamûla, recalls a passage of text on the Ptolemaic gate into the enclosure of the Mut temple at Karnak:<sup>276</sup>

*stî = tw n = s thn hr w3.t / mî.t [= s] tpy tr n(y) pr = s m pr-nsr*

Faience is poured out for her upon [her] path at the commencement of the time of her departure from the Per-Neser

At the Wadi el-Ḥôl a number of inscriptions of late Middle Kingdom date refer to a celebration described as *wrš hr ḏw pn hr hrw nfr* “spending the day beneath this mountain on holiday” (Wadi el-Ḥôl Rock Inscriptions 17–19, and 20[?]); one scribe states that he was doing this “together with the people who are with him” (Wadi el-Ḥôl Rock Inscription 17). From the choice of vocabulary and other inscriptions and depictions at the Wadi el-Ḥôl, it can be stated with some confidence that the celebrations were in honor of Hathor and were underway around the time of the heliacal rising of Sothis and the return of the inundation. It is not unreasonable to suggest that at least during the late Middle Kingdom celebrants could have visited Gebel Tjauti, like the Wadi el-Ḥôl, in order to celebrate the return of Hathor from the southern deserts, going out to greet the goddess on one of the roads along which she and her entourage might well return to Egypt. Observances of the return of Hathor from her desert wanderings could have occurred at Gebel Tjauti, and Amenhotep’s niche-shrine would be an appropriate stone rendition of a temporary booth set up for such an occasion.

The desert location of this shrine and the Hathoric associations of Gebel Tjauti and similar sites suggest the possibility of the worship of Osiris as well. Osiris is associated with the festivals of Hathor, particularly the Valley Festival focused on Deir el-Bahri; see Gutbub 1961, p. 46. The Seventeenth Dynasty temple discovered by the Theban Desert Road Survey on the main Luxor-Farshût Road atop Gebel Antef appears (on the basis of the fragmentary epithet *hnty-imnty.w* on a portion of a sandstone doorjamb) to have been a shrine of the Abydene Osiris. The small Gebel Antef temple could thus have functioned as an extension of the chapels and Eleventh Dynasty temple at Deir el-Bahri, and it may have played a part in rituals extending from the Beautiful Festival of the Valley. Likewise the small niche-shrine of Amenhotep at Gebel Tjauti could have been an extension of the Abydene shrines because the ‘Alamat Tal Road joins the Farshût Road at Gebel Qarn el-Gir from which point the desert route continues to Abydos.

A stela of Ptolemy III Euergetes I from Hou appears to mention a sacred procession of the bat emblem along a desert road, which the king encountered, perhaps as he journeyed on an oasis road.<sup>277</sup> The occasion of the procession was the Hathoric/Osirian night of appeasing the goddesses Isis and Nephthys, and one could well see in the stela of Ptolemy III from Hou the reflection of the celebrations at the Hou terminus of the road, corresponding to those that may once have illumined the night on Gebel Antef.

Just as the Silsila shrines ensured that their owners would always be present and feasting during the Nile festivals, so the small Tjauti shrine might have been intended to ensure the presence of Amenhotep, the son of Deduamun, at all of the desert celebrations attending the return of the wandering goddess and the Hathoric escort of Osiris.

276. Sauneron et al. 1983, pl. 9, line 41; see also Spalinger 1993, p. 179. The festival of pouring out faience for the goddess would parallel the ritual of scattering powdered gold before the goddess (cf. a scene in the Nectanebid mamissi at Dendera; Daumas 1959, pl. 32A); gold is the color of the goddess herself as “the gold,” the face of the sun, and faience is the color of turquoise, another symbol of the east and the land of the rising sun; compare Assmann 1969, p. 127; for the two turquoise sycamore trees at the eastern horizon, see Sethe

1910, §§916b, 1485a–b; Book of the Dead, chapter 109; S. Gabra 1944, pp. 173–79; Keel 1977, pp. 297–303; Gamer-Wallert 1975, cols. 655–60; Buhl 1947, pp. 80–97; Hermsen 1981, pp. 88–95.

277. Collombert 1995, pp. 63–70; see also the commentaries on the “spending-the-day” inscriptions below (Wadi el-Ḥôl Rock Inscriptions 17–19 and 20[?]).

## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTION 24

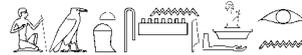
<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing name and title of temple employee	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 6a, 42
<i>Date:</i>	Second Intermediate Period/early New Kingdom	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 29.50 × 8.25 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Section 13 of Gebel Tjauti inscription shelf		

This inscription, written in a lapidary hieratic heavily influenced by hieroglyphic forms, is located low on the rock face. The author has drawn a rough oval around his inscription, perhaps intending it to be a cartouche.

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

*ir.n iry<sup>a</sup>-<sup>c</sup><sup>b</sup> n(y) 'Imn<sup>c</sup> St<sup>d</sup>*

Made by the doorkeeper of Amun, Seta(u)

## NOTES

<sup>a</sup> The sign is a slightly slanted version of Möller 1927/1, no. 48. The author of the inscription appears to have attempted to rectify the somewhat unexpected slant of the sign, but the stone allowed for little in the way of correction. The attempted correction did, however, result in the doubled line of the upper portion of *iry*.

<sup>b</sup> The apparent <sup>c</sup>-arm is most likely the result of an imperfect attempt at transforming the hieratic strong-arm sign into a hieroglyphic form. The form of the title here is parallel to that in Budge 1913, pl. 45 (= BM 332 [246]).

<sup>c</sup> For the “doorkeeper of Amun,” see Davies and Macadam 1957, nos. 273, 565. The length of the vertical end to the right side of the *n* makes a reading of that sign as an ill-formed *pr* a possibility, but the resulting absence of an *n*-complement to the *mn*-sign of Amun makes this unlikely.

<sup>d</sup> The name Seta is perhaps a writing of *St<sup>d</sup>w* (Ranke, *PN* 1, p. 321, no. 16). The seated man determinative is, however, shown as holding a stick. While this may be an allusion to the staff of the traveler, it also recalls the word *st<sup>d</sup>* in the Wisdom of Amenemope 22, 3. That term is a hapax, and readings such as “protector,” “savior,” and “energetic one” have been proposed; see the references and comments in Grumach 1972, p. 141; Meeks 1994, p. 205, n. 75; *st<sup>d</sup>* = *σωτε*, Crum 1939, p. 362a. If the sign is a form of the standing man with a stick as the determinative of a masculine personal name, it may be the attested “seated” form (Žába 1974, p. 80 [note to line 5 of inscription no. 56]; compare also Fischer 1968, pp. 124–25 [determinative of *st<sup>d</sup>*]). The rounded head of the *aleph* and the lack of feet to the left of the legs may at first suggest a First Intermediate Period date (see Peck 1958, pp. 25–26), although such features in a quasi-hieratic inscription such as this are niceties in which little trust should be placed.

## COMMENTARY

Whether one relates it to the attested Setau or to the hapax *st<sup>d</sup>* in the Wisdom of Amenemope, the personal name Seta at first suggests a New Kingdom date for this inscription. The appearance of the determinative and certain features of the *aleph*-vulture might, however, suggest an earlier date. The *iry*-<sup>c</sup> in the Middle Kingdom appears in general to have functioned as a doorkeeper; by the New Kingdom, however, the *iry*-<sup>c</sup> fulfilled a number of services that would have led Seta to travel this road. Seta carried out certain police functions earlier in the hands of the *s<sup>d</sup>.w-pr.w* and could also act as a bailiff, courier, and letter carrier.<sup>278</sup> Considering this, the inscription perhaps dates

278. Yoyotte 1952a, p. 149; Jelínková-Reymond 1953, pp. 39–59; McDowell 1990, pp. 41–46; Jasnow 1994, p. 107, n. W. Another doorkeeper on a mission(?) is the “doorkeeper of

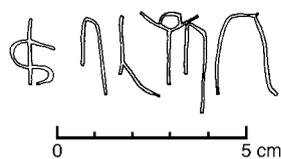
Khnum” named Hapu attested in a graffito near Gerf Hussein (Jacquet-Gordon 1981, pp. 233–34).

after the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty and the disappearance of the title *s3-pr*; see Yoyotte 1952a, p. 149. The location of the doorkeeper's inscription, relatively low on the rock face and much less visible than those of ʿAam and Renseneb, also supports a Second Intermediate Period/early New Kingdom date; Seta used one of the best pristine surfaces remaining after the heavy predynastic, First Intermediate Period, and Middle Kingdom use of the site.

## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTION 25

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing name and title	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 5b, 43
<i>Date:</i>	First Intermediate Period (Eleventh Dynasty[?])	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 7.25 × 2.75 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Section 9 of Gebel Tjauti inscription shelf		

### INSCRIPTION



### TRANSCRIPTION



### TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

*sh3 S3bs*

The scribe, Sabes

### COMMENTARY

The name Sabes is uncommon, but it does appear in a few instances,<sup>279</sup> including a stela of the early Eleventh Dynasty (Florence 6374) from Naqada.<sup>280</sup> A Sabes appears on that stela as the man dedicating the monument for his brother, who most likely lived during the wars of re-unification when the Thebans took final control of the Coptite nome.<sup>281</sup> Interestingly, Sabes's brother was an "overseer of ... of the West," and this leads one to wonder if we perhaps have the signature of this very Sabes, who may have accompanied his brother once on his rounds in the Western Desert.

279. See the references in Fischer 1964, p. 86; on the name, see also idem 1962c, p. 333.

280. Bosticco 1959, p. 23 (no. 16), pl. 16; Fischer 1964, pp. 84–86 (no. 30), pl. 27. Ranke, *PN* 1, p. 98, no. 12, lists the name as *bs* based on the reading "Semer Bes" by Schiaparelli 1887, p. 481.

281. See the remarks of Vandier 1943, pp. 21–29; although originally made for a soldier, the stela was either altered by the

"demobilized" owner in peacetime, or was used by someone other than the man for whom it was intended; compare the remarks of Fischer 1964, pp. 58–59. On the possible significance of the abundance of Coptite stelae dedicated by relatives other than children of the deceased, see the remarks of Kanawati 1986, p. 49, and the references on p. 51, n. 25.

## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTION 26

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing name	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 4a, 44
<i>Date:</i>	Middle Kingdom(?)	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 14.00 × 8.25 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Section 4 of Gebel Tjauti inscription shelf		
<i>Note:</i>	See Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 27		

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

*Mntw<sup>a</sup>-w<sup>b</sup>sr*

Monthu-User

## NOTES

<sup>a</sup> For the *mn*-sign here, see James 1962, pl. 20, verso, line 2 (not entirely clear in the photograph; see also the palaeography, p. 12 Y5).

<sup>b</sup> The *w<sup>b</sup>sr*-sign is similar to that in Žába 1974, no. 61B, fig. 122 (pl. 69), first column of the leftmost text; for the at best vestigial snout, see also James 1962, pl. 11, line 43. Compare the appearance of the *w<sup>b</sup>sr*-sign with H. Smith 1972, fig. 12 (GT 27 for sign F12). An alternative reading would take the tick for the snout of the *w<sup>b</sup>sr*-sign as a vestigial *s*-filiation, reading “Monthu’s son ... .” The second name could then be simple *Wsr*, unless the following horizontals are taken to be , in which case the inscription could be read *Mntw s* *S-n-Wsr(.t)* “Monthu’s son Sesostris.”

## COMMENTARY

At several sites in Nubia, groupings of the names of apparently unrelated Middle Kingdom men at elevated sites appear to attest to the vigilance of desert policemen or soldiers on sentry duty.<sup>282</sup> Considering the other policemen present at Gebel Tjauti and the bellicose nature of other scenes and inscriptions, Monthu-User and Bebi’s son Antef (Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 27) could have been keeping watch at Gebel Tjauti. Their names occur near the left (southeast) end of the main face of the inscription shelf, from where they would have had the best possible view of the road as it passes through the defile beyond Wadi Omran; they would also have had a view of the subsidiary western ascent and thus have been able to keep an eye on anyone attempting to travel the high portion of the ‘Alamat Tal Road without passing by the inscription shelf.

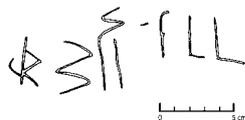
282. See H. Smith 1966, pp. 330–34; idem 1972, pp. 55–58. See also the remarks of Obsomer 1995, pp. 284–86, regarding Middle Kingdom inscriptions at el-Girgawi.

## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTION 27

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing name and filiation	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 4a, 44a, c
<i>Date:</i>	Middle Kingdom(?)	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 16.0 × 5.50 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Section 4 of Gebel Tjauti inscription shelf		
<i>Note:</i>	See Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 26		

## INSCRIPTION

## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

*Bbī sʹ<sup>a</sup> ʹIntf*

Bebi's son, Antef

## NOTE

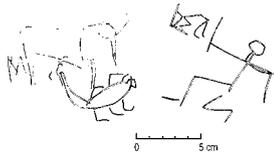
<sup>a</sup> *Sʹ* appears here as a short horizontal line, apparently a further abbreviated version of the abbreviated orthography of *sʹ* discussed in Simpson 1969, pp. 12–13. The abbreviation Simpson describes for P. Reisner I section C is most likely the origin of the upside-down “T” version described by Žába 1974. Note that this orthography of *sʹ* appears twice in the horizontal band of semi-cursive hieroglyphs in Hellström, Langballe, and Myers 1970, corpus Y, no. 139:1, pl. 150, fig. 6 (not a writing of the names of three unrelated men on patrol together [as interpreted Hellström 1970, pp. 234–35], but a name giving the names of the father and grandfather). The filiation *sʹ* as a short *n*-like horizontal line, as here, appears in Griffith 1898, pl. 30, VI.4, 16; a short abbreviated *sʹ* is perhaps behind the apparent \*A *n* B filiation in I. Edwards 1965, p. 22, pl. 10, no. 2, vertical column on right.

## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTION 28

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Depiction of kneeling man brandishing stick at scorpion and text containing name of man	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 6c, 17a, c
<i>Date:</i>	Middle Kingdom(?)	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 20.75 × 9.25 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Section 15 of Gebel Tjauti inscription shelf		
<i>Note:</i>	Located to the right of Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 4		

This name and depiction of a kneeling man with stick and a scorpion are carved at the bottom right end of the stone overhang beneath the great protodynastic tableau (Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 1).

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

ʾIntf

Antef

## COMMENTARY

The name appears as the label for the figure of a man, shown kneeling and brandishing a short stick. In front of Antef is a prehistoric inscription of an elephant<sup>283</sup> and, beneath the elephant, a scorpion. On the basis of patina and the appearance and depth of the cuts, the scorpion and Antef were executed at the same time and together form a scene. Antef might have been a scorpion-doctor, of the sort so frequently attested as members of expeditions in the Sinai,<sup>284</sup> perhaps traveling the ‘Alamat Tal Road as the surgeon of some expedition.

283. The image of the elephant is not numbered here, as it will be treated in full, in conjunction with other prehistoric animal depictions, in the forthcoming second volume of inscriptions from Gebel Tjauti. The “M”-shaped object just behind the elephant, apparently attached to it, is just perhaps a representation of a tethering stone, here apparently used in hunting; compare the overview in Pachur 1991, pp. 13–32. More likely

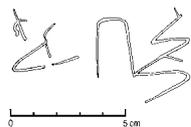
this is a writing of an early royal name “Elephant Trampling the Mountains” (see Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 1 and 2, above).

284. Gardiner, Peet, and Černý 1952b, pp. 18, 67; see also von Känel 1984, pp. 163–231, 284–305; Sauneron 1989, pp. 198–201; Ritner 1993, p. 53.

## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTION 29

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing name and title	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 6b, 45
<i>Date:</i>	Middle Kingdom	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 7.75 × 4.25 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Section 14 of Gebel Tjauti inscription shelf		

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

*imy-r pr Sbk*

The steward, Sobek

## COMMENTARY

The duties of an *imy-r pr* in the Western Desert may not seem obvious, but there is definite evidence of stewards carrying out far-ranging missions west of the Nile. The steward Dedikou (Schäfer 1905, pp. 124–28) went out from Thebes to secure (*rwd*) the land of the Oasians. This suggests the probability of an at least partially military character to Dedikou’s mission. A recently much published inscription from the desert south of Dakhla records another steward’s journeys (Burkard 1997, pp. 152–53; Baud, Colin, and Tallet 1999, p. 7). The inscription has been misinterpreted as suggesting a mission to meet some group of oasis dwellers, but the steward — Mery by name — actually says that he went to search for some group of oasis dwellers: *rnp.t 23, pr.t*<sup>285</sup> *imy-r pr Mri r d' wh3.tyw*.<sup>286</sup> The second sign after the preposition *r*, which Burkard read as the *d*-hand, is in fact — due to the length of the horizontal line and the short and almost vertical stance of the left portion of the sign — a more reasonable *‘*-arm than a *d*-hand. Rather than being the verb *nwd* in a somewhat unexpected meaning<sup>287</sup> and an impossible hieratic orthography, this is the hieratically well-written and attested variant *d'* for the verb *d'(r)* “to search for.” In fact the verb *d'(r)* appears elsewhere in a desert context in Wadi Hammamat inscription 199, line 7, cited by *Wb.* 5.539:14: “Regnal year 23, going forth of the steward Meri in order to search out the oasis dwellers.” Raids into Dakhla, apparently from the southwest, are well attested in modern times.<sup>288</sup> One may suggest that Mery was in fact seeking out some such group of marauding oasis dwellers. If that were the case, both Mery’s expedition and that of Dedikou would probably have been of a military or para-military nature.

285. The hieratic clearly shows *pr.t*, not *pr* as the previous commentators have read.

286. The sign beneath the preposition *r* is a well made *d* (cf. the second Illahun example of the sign in Möller 1927/1, p. 24; Simpson 1963b, p. 98, ex. D31) not the *nw*-sign Burkard suggested, to which the sign in the “south Dakhla” inscription bears no good resemblance.

287. On the verb *nwd*, see *Wb.* 2.225:2–6; Zandee 1960, p. 255; Westendorf 1981, pp. 28–32; Hornung 1980, p. 130 n. 2; Goedicke 1975, p. 178; Lichtheim 1980, p. 86, n. 8; Edel 1981, pp. 68–69; see also Darnell 1995a, chapter 4. The verb *nwd* appears primarily to describe a slinking and slithering movement and can describe the crooked appearance of a rope; see Gardiner 1946, p. 51 n. *k*.

288. See, inter alia, Bagnold 1935, pp. 270, 275–76, 280.

## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTION 30

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Depiction of man standing and text containing name and title of man	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 6d, 46
<i>Date:</i>	First Intermediate Period	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 17.75 × 29.50 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Section 16 of Gebel Tjauti inscription shelf		

The faint lines of this inscription are at the left edge of a concentration of Coptic inscriptions (Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 36–37, 39–42; see pl. 56). The  $\Delta$ NOK, below the shield, is shown for location and is part of Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 39.

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

$\text{ḥ}^{\text{z}}\text{wty}^{\text{a}} \text{Wnhw}^{\text{b}}$

The warrior, Wenkhu

## NOTES

<sup>a</sup> The first sign of the inscription is partially obscured by the *k* at the beginning of the second line of Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 36. The form of the sign of the arms bearing weapons is somewhat more abbreviated than one might expect from a hieratic inscription (cf. Möller 1927/1, p. 10, no. 113), but it does resemble certain abbreviated forms of the sign; see Fischer 1964, p. 72. On the term, see Simpson 1959, p. 31 (note that Hintze et al. 1989, p. 143 [no. 493], curiously follow Goyon and translate  $\text{ḥ}^{\text{z}}\text{wty}$  as “Waffenschmied”); Sadek 1980–85, p. 18, n. 67.

<sup>b</sup> For this name, see Ranke, *PN* 1, p. 80, no. 2.

## COMMENTARY

The soldier Wenkhu holds a shield before himself, his right arm down by his side, possibly holding a now missing weapon, precisely the pose of the arms in the hieroglyph with which he wrote his title  $\text{ḥ}^{\text{z}}\text{wty}$  “warrior.”<sup>289</sup> This title, followed by the name Wenkhu, is written within the soldier’s tall, rectangular shield.<sup>290</sup> Tall, full coverage shields are known from the Middle Kingdom, but one would expect the top to be rounded or pointed.<sup>291</sup> The surface on which Wenkhu placed his inscription is not entirely easy to reach, however, and the precise appearance of the top

289. At first glance the image resembles the two signs in Möller 1927/1, p. 5, no. 57. However, the Prisse 12, 3, example is a writing of  $\text{ḥwi}$  (see Žába 1956, p. 151, § 379); in Hatnub graf-fito 3, line 3 (Anthes 1928, pl. 3), the sign determines the verb  $\text{wh}^{\text{z}}$  and appears to show a man actually plucking out a stone (perhaps also a visual pun on  $\text{wh}^{\text{z}}$  used to refer to plucking fruits; cf. Moussa and Altenmüller 1977, pl. 38 [just above the top of the doorway]).

290. For the soldier’s name written in a rectangular shield held in his right hand, see the Pan Grave painted ox skull in the British Museum (Brunton 1937, pls. 74 bottom [no. 7], 76 [no. 66 = 3252]; Meurer 1996, p. 84, n. 2).

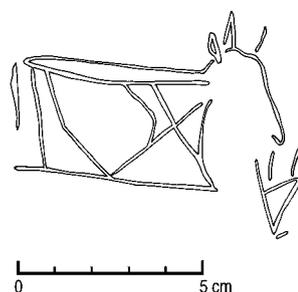
291. See Wolf 1926, pp. 24, 58; Bonnet 1926, pp. 182–90. Compare the shield carried by the soldier at the prow of the vessel in the middle register in Jaroš-Deckert 1984, pl. 14 (and folding pl. 2).

of his shield should perhaps not trouble us overmuch.<sup>292</sup> He wears a long kilt and has no helmet or cloth covering his close-cropped hair; this feature suggests a date before the Second Intermediate Period.<sup>293</sup> The short hair seems to exclude a Nubian auxiliary, and the lack of beard speaks against a Libyan or Asiatic. Wenkhu was perhaps a native Coptite soldier from about the First Intermediate Period.

## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTION 31

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Depiction of goddess Hathor in bovine form	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 5a, 47
<i>Date:</i>	New Kingdom or earlier	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 8.25 × 6.25 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Section 8 of Gebel Tjauti inscription shelf		
<i>Note:</i>	Figural inscription; written by John C. Darnell and Deborah Darnell (see <i>RILT</i> 1, pp. 3–4)		

### INSCRIPTION



### COMMENTARY

The cow of the goddess stands with a footed bowl of plants before her.<sup>294</sup> Due to the schematic nature of the representation, it is not clear whether the rim of the bowl was scalloped or straight. Footed bowls, and particularly those with scalloped rims in early periods, are associated with the goddess Hathor, and the plants that emerge from them represent the marshes with which the goddess is associated. According to Schott, scallop-rimmed vessels in general have Hathoric associations.<sup>295</sup> In the Opet scenes of the colonnade hall of Luxor temple these “Hathoric” vases appear in the presence of the bark of the goddess Mut in the sections decorated by Tutankhamun, but not in those decorated by Sety.<sup>296</sup> The scallop-rimmed bowl, with or without an attached foot, is a stylized floral form that seems to have been derived from the footed bowl, a predynastic shape with which it continued to be connected.<sup>297</sup> Both actual vessels and representations of this type are common in the Old Kingdom<sup>298</sup> and during the Middle King-

292. In an admittedly imperfect copy of the epithet *ikm tꜥ pn* “shield of this land” from the northern portion of the entrance to Siut tomb IV, the *Description de l’Égypte* shows the sign of the shield as large (filling a quadrant) and slightly rounded at the upper corners; Edel 1984, pp. 78–79 (figs. 11, 12, lines 54–55), 84–85 (on p. 85, regarding the sign of the shield, he suggests “sicherlich lief es im Original oben spitzrund zu”). The shield in a writing of *mšꜥ* on a seal in Martin 1971, pl. 17, no. 18, appears to be essentially tall and rectangular in shape. A man in the late Sixth Dynasty tomb at Hierakonpolis also appears to carry a tall, rectangular shield; see Kees 1921, pl. 2, lower left. Note also the sign of the armed Asiatic in Valbelle and Bonnet 1996, p. 147, fig. 171 (from obelisk 163, BM [693] = Gardiner, Peet, and Černý 1952a, pl. 51). A rectangular shield appears in Dunbar 1941, pl. 19, fig. 93; compare also Otto and Buschendorf-Otto 1993, p. 152, pl. 188, fig. 307, although the date of the carving is uncertain.

293. Compare the scenes in Wreszinski 1938, pls. 9–10, 15.

294. For another graffito of the cow goddess, with a similarly made bowl in front of her, see Couyat and Montet 1912, pl. 17 (although the image, in the far upper left corner of the photo-

graph, is but partially published, the bowl is entirely missing in the photograph; the portion of stone on which the cow and bowl are carved has now been detached).

295. Schott 1952, p. 790 (26), fig. 9 on p. 791 (27).

296. See Wreszinski 1938, pl. 190; Wolf 1931, p. 43, n. 5, citing Wrede 1906, pp. 71–72. But note that the latter is a vessel with in-turned flanges.

297. Compare Bourriau 1981, p. 48, no. 74 (with references); Hope 1985, p. 4 (commenting on the interior decoration). Hope notes that the lotus design “emphasise(s) the actual shape of the bowl, harmonising with it perfectly, the two joining to simulate the flower itself.” Adding a scalloped rim would be a further suggestion of the blossom shape.

298. Actual vessels: Reisner 1931, p. 219, fig. 70, no. 1, type XXI “tall slender bowl-stand” (a scallop-rimmed bowl on a slender foot); compare also Reisner and Smith 1955, fig. 76, 6, for examples with plain, not scalloped, rims; also, conveniently, Kelley 1976, pls. 26.1 (7Q, 8Z), 30.3 (38a, b, h, m), 31.1 (8). Representations: Jéquier 1935, pp. 217–25 (depictions of stone bowls, with and without scalloped rims, with no attached foot, but often set upon separate stands of varying

dom to Second Intermediate Period.<sup>299</sup> Few surviving ceramic vessels from the New Kingdom have a scalloped rim,<sup>300</sup> but the scallop-rimmed bowl, sometimes with a foot, does appear in temple scenes of the early Eighteenth Dynasty, often in association with bowls of the related *Prunkgefäss*-shape.<sup>301</sup> The scalloped rim may have had a particular association with alcoholic beverages.<sup>302</sup>

The scalloped rim seldom appears after the Eighteenth Dynasty,<sup>303</sup> the *Prunkgefäss* taking over as the standard Hathoric vessel in representations from the Ramesside period.<sup>304</sup> In the bark shrine of Ramesses II in his court at Luxor temple, among the offerings to the bark of Mut is a *Prunkgefäss* of Hathor Quadrifrons that occupies the place of the scalloped vessels in the Opet scenes.<sup>305</sup> Representations of the barks of the gods in the Abydene temple of Sety I depict the *Prunkgefässe* only in association with the bark of a goddess.<sup>306</sup> Although the vessel type does occasionally occur in unexpected scenes,<sup>307</sup> it primarily appears in association with the goddess Hathor and with those aspects of festival celebration most linked to her such as music and drinking.<sup>308</sup>

On the barge of Anukis depicted on a shrine in Turin,<sup>309</sup> in the place occupied by the crenellated bowl on the bark of Mut in the Opet scenes, is a bowl on a stand. This bowl holds the bundle of plants held by the earlier crenellated vessels associated with Hathor.

Based on this it is reasonably clear that the cow with footed bowl before her at Gebel Tjauti is intended to be a representation of the goddess Hathor. The plain rim of the bowl might suggest a New Kingdom date for the Gebel Tjauti inscription, but considering the relatively rude carving of the whole, the nicety of a crenellated rim could easily have been overlooked. Occurring as it does at a desert site, the depiction of the goddess with the footed bowl of plants — the cow and marsh motif — is effectively combined with the cow and mountain motif, a combination elsewhere made explicit by a depiction of the Western Desert behind the goddess, before whom stands a footed bowl of plants<sup>310</sup> — a combination of images expressing the liminal nature of the goddess and her function as intermediary between life and death, the living and the dead.<sup>311</sup> At Gebel Tjauti no representation of the western gebel appears behind the goddess because she and her bowl of plants are carved on the surface of that very gebel.

height); Balcz 1932, p. 112, fig. f, h. The latter of these two examples also appears in Schäfer 1903, p. 10, fig. 14, while the former may be seen in context, depicted in a register just over the heads of three kneeling female singers, in Junker 1951, pp. 130–31, figs. 44–46 (note also the same type of bowl in the left hand of a maidservant to the left of the singers).

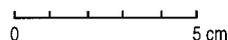
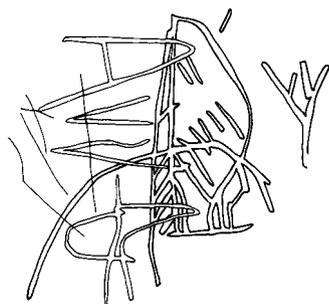
299. Kelley 1976, pls. 37.5 (161, 163, 164), 43.1 (“Group 7600”), 44.2 (9d, 9m, 9p), 53.1 (39); Schäfer 1903, pp. 11–12, fig. 20, 21, 24; for fig. 21, see Lange and Schäfer 1902b, p. 28, pl. 106 (#786 from stela 20561, pl. 45, of the *imy-r pr intf*), noting the depiction of upper and lower rims denoting a separate stand beneath the vessel.
300. The “hemispherical bowl on high trumpet foot” found at Amarna (Peet and Woolley 1923, pl. 54, type 79/239) may be an exception.
301. Naville et al. 1901, pls. 104–05 (before Hathor cow; from Shrine of Hathor), 108–09, 112; Wreszinski 1938, pl. 33a, b: #36 (= Schäfer 1903, p. 41, fig. 112) — two *Prunkgefässe*, probably of gold, with scallop decoration below the rim; #75 — two slightly deeper *Prunkgefässe* with scalloping, one with ornate handles; #96 — a silver scallop-rimmed bowl; #109 — another scallop-rimmed bowl (possibly silver), above #110, the standard *Prunkgefäss*-shaped bowl; compare #195 — a slender-footed *Prunkgefäss* of turquoise.
302. Compare the scalloped-rim bowl in Hayes 1953b, p. 152, fig. 90; the contents thereof are labeled as <h(n)>k.t “beer.” A probable actual example of such a bowl appears in Pyke 2000.
303. For a late exception, see Schäfer 1903, p. 11, fig. 22, from an archaizing scene in the Twenty-fifth/Twenty-sixth Dynasty Theban tomb of Montuemhat. Dittmar (1986, p. 78) also discusses depictions of footed bowls containing papyrus offerings before Hathor, two of which have scalloped rims and which
- closely resemble the vessel before the bark of Mut in the Opet scene. Each of these slender-footed vessels is from a Twenty-first Dynasty sarcophagus from the Deir el-Bahri cache: Schlögl 1978, no. 271c (and pp. 78–79); Chassinat 1909, p. 21, fig. 23. Compare also Nina Davies 1944, p. 64, pl. 7.
304. On the relationship of the scallop-rimmed vessels to the *Prunkgefässe*, see scene 4.3, text 11, in Brack and Brack 1980, pp. 29–30, pls. 3, 4c, 32a, 36a, 37a. In the song of the female musicians, the term (possibly *swr*) denoting both the gold vessel of pl. 37a and the lapis one of pl. 4c, neither of which have scalloped rims, is written with an ideogram identical in form to the scallop-rimmed vessel of the Opet scene. For another mention of this example and a discussion of terms for footed bowls, see Du Mesnil du Buisson 1935, pp. 53–55.
305. See Derchain 1972, p. 13, pl. 3b (= Schott 1952, p. 27, fig. 8).
306. Provided for Isis, not for Osiris or Horus: W. M. F. Petrie 1902, pls. 19, 22 (note the painted floral decoration); provided for Mut, not for Re-Horakhti, Ptah, or the king, with Hathor head, cats, and lotuses depicted above: idem 1903, pls. 10–11.
307. For example, a red, slender-footed bowl (no scalloped rim) on the ground between a barber and his customer in the tomb of Userhat: Beinlich-Seeber and Shedid 1987, pl. 29. This example is also mentioned by Holthoer 1977, p. 106, as a parallel to his “tall-footed burners” (pl. 23).
308. Schott 1952, pp. 840–42 (76–78); Fox (1985, pp. 12–13 [P. Harris 500]) translates “The river — it is wine, its reeds are Ptah, the leaves of its lotus-buds are Sekhmet ... Memphis is a jar of mandragoras set before the Gracious One,” but does not comment on the likelihood that the comparison of the city to a vessel is playing on the association of the goddess with a drinking bowl, the floral *Prunkgefäss* offered to Ptah.
309. See Valbelle 1972, fig. 4 (opp. p. 188), pl. 46.
310. Compare Naville, Hall, and Currelly 1913, pl. 30, fig. 1.
311. See Pinch 1993, pp. 175–82.

## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTION 32

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Palimpsest containing depiction of goddess Ipet (under text containing name)	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 5a, 48
<i>Date:</i>	Late First Intermediate Period/ early Middle Kingdom	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 8.75 × 8.00 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Section 8 of Gebel Tjauti inscription shelf		
<i>Note:</i>	Figural inscription and text; see also Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 18–22		

This hippopotamus goddess, with crocodile-like back, holds a lotus scepter.<sup>312</sup> Most of her head has not survived, although the slanting stroke above her breast is most likely the front of her snout. The parallel, slanting lines filling the body of the goddess appear in other representations of hippopotamus goddesses.<sup>313</sup> The dorsal appendage, the tail of a crocodile, begins roughly at the neck, shows no peak in the area of the shoulder, and has discontinuous oblique strokes as interior detailing; these features suggest a late First Intermediate Period/early Middle Kingdom date.<sup>314</sup>

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

*Mrr*

Merer

## TRANSCRIPTION



## COMMENTARY

Standing hippopotamus goddesses become prominent during the late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period.<sup>315</sup> For the sketchy treatment of the goddess' body and the emphasis on the crocodilian back, see the image on a small kohl pot from Gurob (UC 7889).<sup>316</sup> The depiction of the Ipet goddess at Gebel Tjauti is not far from the image of the cow of Hathor in front of a footed bowl (Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 31), and the two goddesses are in fact closely linked. In the vignette to chapter 186 of the Book of the Dead, the hippopotamus goddess Mehetweret stands before the cow of Hathor, emerging from the western gebel into a reedy marsh.<sup>317</sup> As a representative

312. No arm actually appears; compare Säve-Söderbergh 1989, p. 97, fig. 33, plaquette no. 179/15:2 (the probable plant is interpreted in *ibid.*, p. 98, as “a beneficial sign ... probably a *nfr*-sign [reversed] or an ‘*nh*-sign”). The goddess might not in fact have been depicted as actually holding the plant.

313. Compare Altenmüller 1986, p. 11, fig. 3.

314. For the application of Altenmüller's magical-knife iconographic dating criteria to other depictions, see Weingarten 1991, pp. 5, 18–20.

315. Compare the side of the throne of the British Museum statue of Sobekemsaf I; see W. Davies 1981, pp. 3–4, pls. 4B, 6;

Cottevaille-Giraudet 1931, pls. 5 (fig. 32), 21 (fig. 121). On the goddess Ipet in Middle Kingdom onomastics, see Sethe 1926, p. 65. For the Middle Kingdom as the “Höhepunkt der Nilpferddarstellungen,” see Hornung and Staehelin 1976, p. 129. For the goddess of magical knives, see Altenmüller 1986, pp. 11–13.

316. Thomas 1981, p. 62, pl. 50 (no. 428).

317. Naville 1886, pl. 212; Saleh 1984, p. 89; for general remarks on the associations of hippopotamus goddesses with Hathor and the Book of the Dead chapter 186 vignette, see Pinch 1993, pp. 292–95.

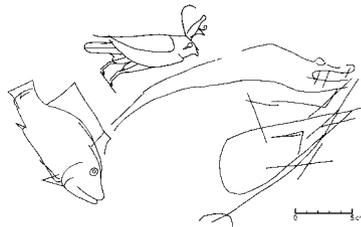
of the eye of the sun the goddess can — like Sekhmet — have militaristic associations.<sup>318</sup> The goddess Ipet or Rerit also can be depicted as one who lights the desert path for Osiris and so would be appropriate to this track which connects with Abydos. The hippopotamus goddess, who has astronomical associations,<sup>319</sup> also represents the wandering goddess of the eye of the sun returning to Egypt,<sup>320</sup> again appropriate to a desert road.<sup>321</sup> A statuette of Thoueris in the Anthropological Museum of the University of Aberdeen (no. 1422) refers to the hippopotamus goddess in terms appropriate to the returning distant goddess of the eye of the sun at the time of the new year: *ii.n=t m W3s.t hr t3w n(y) ʿnh ... ʿnh mw.w m hfʿ=t* “bearing the breath of life have you come into Thebes ... life and death are in your grasp” (De Wit 1976, pp. 205–07).

The name *Mrr*, perhaps another example of the name of the Sheriff Merer, who left so many memorials amongst the inscriptions at Gebel Tjauti (Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 18–22), is carved over the depiction of the goddess.

## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTION 33

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Depiction of falcon, tilapia, and crocodile	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 4a, 49–51
<i>Date:</i>	Middle Kingdom	<i>Size:</i>	31.00 × 19.75 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Section 4 of Gebel Tjauti inscription shelf		
<i>Note:</i>	Figural inscription		

### INSCRIPTION



### COMMENTARY

The well-made representation of a falcon is carved in a niche low to the ground, at the far left end of the main inscribed area; the position of the falcon very close to the projecting right side of the niche suggests that a left-handed artist carved this image. An area of salt efflorescence on red-tinged limestone perhaps suggested the shape of a falcon, and the artist used this natural white area as the body. The shapes of the falcon and the double crown are closely paralleled by a falcon on the stela of Djari<sup>322</sup> and another determining the divine name Monthu in the top horizontal line of text on the stela of *Tbw* (Cairo C20005).

Close to the falcon are the representations of a crocodile and a fish. These creatures could certainly be no more than evocations of the watery world of the Nile, possibly present here as an ironic touch on a road in the Darb el-Arbaîn Desert. There is, however, an alternative explanation for the crocodile and the fish, one which connects them symbolically with several other images and inscriptions at Gebel Tjauti. The fish is a tilapia, well attested as a symbol of rebirth in ancient Egypt and represented in several places at Gebel Tjauti (others to be published in forthcoming graffiti editions); the tilapia is also particularly associated with the goddess Hathor, appropriate for this

318. For a militaristic association of the goddess, see the two facing figures on the head of a ceremonial(?) ax in the British Museum; W. Davies 1987, p. 34; pl. 7 (no. 49); Bourriau 1988, p. 163.

319. See Verner 1969, pp. 52–59.

320. Compare George 1977, pp. 38–44; Nagy 1992, pp. 449–56; Darnell 1995b, pp. 89–91.

321. See Darnell 1995b, pp. 89–91; idem 1997a.

322. W. M. F. Petrie 1909, pls. 2–3 (bottom), line 2.

desert site.<sup>323</sup> Fish are also common representations of the inundation,<sup>324</sup> so there is perhaps also a connection between the representations of tilapia at Gebel Tjauti and the inscription recording the observation of the pre-heliacal rising of Sothis, the herald of the inundation.

The crocodile is perhaps to be associated with the tilapia fish, and there is in fact an inscription, apparently of late Middle Kingdom date, at Wadi el-Ḥôl showing a crocodile in the act of biting a tilapia. In general the crocodile is associated with the floodwater of the Nile<sup>325</sup> and by extension with the provisions brought by the inundation.<sup>326</sup> The crocodile, in close proximity to a number of tilapia fish, could be a representation of Sobek as “lord of fish.”<sup>327</sup> Since the crocodile could be said to predict the flood and to become docile for about a week at the beginning of the inundation, the crocodile, like the tilapia, could be associated with the time of year when the Sothic observation was recorded.<sup>328</sup>

The association of the crocodile and the fish could also — through the use of daily Nilotic imagery — represent the crocodile *Wenty* about to gobble up the tilapia fish of the sun (Gamer-Wallert 1970, pp. 112–13). According to a portion of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk (Piankoff 1953, p. 68):

*Wnty bš=f ʿꜥ=f ʿꜥ=f ʿꜥ=f ʿꜥ=f ʿꜥ=f ʿꜥ=f ʿꜥ=f ʿꜥ=f ʿꜥ=f ʿꜥ=f*

*Wenty spits out and ejaculates<sup>329</sup> the eye of Re which is in his body*

The placement of the crocodile and tilapia near the crown-wearing falcon at Gebel Tjauti may be the outcome of the popularity of Fayumic deities during the Middle Kingdom.<sup>330</sup>

323. Dambach and Wallert 1966, pp. 273–94; Gamer-Wallert 1970, pp. 109–13; Valloggia 1989a, p. 138, n. c; Brewer and Friedman 1989, pp. 15–19 (and pp. 77–79 on the fish in general). For another example of the tilapia as an image of regeneration associated with desert imagery, see Mlinar 1994b, pp. 101–02; the tilapia also appears with a hunted desert animal on a predynastic sherd from Hierakonpolis; see Brewer and Friedman 1989, p. 8, fig. 1.2. See also Desroches-Noblecourt 1997, pp. 180–83.

324. Gamer-Wallert 1970, pp. 101–03, 111; Bonneau 1964, pp. 294–97; Edel 1976, pp. 35–43.

325. Compare Bonneau 1964, pp. 299–303; Merkelbach 1992, pp. 116–17, 208.

326. See Kuentz 1929b, pp. 162–69.

327. See Gamer-Wallert 1970, pp. 104–05.

328. For further discussion of the evidence for the association of Hathor, Sothis, and the inundation, and their popular worship on the desert roads of the Darb el-Arbaïn Desert, drawing heavily on figural and inscriptional evidence from the Wadi el-Ḥôl, the Darb Rayayna, the Arqûb el-Baghla, and Gebel

Tjauti, see Darnell 1997a and Wadi el-Ḥôl Rock Inscriptions 3, 10, 15, 17, 19, and 25, below.

329. On ʿꜥ, see Westendorf 1970, pp. 146–47; Borghouts 1971, pp. 99–100, n. 174; van de Walle 1972, pp. 74–75; Hornung 1990, p. 67, n. 43; idem 1975/76, p. 109, n. 96; Parker, Leclant, and Goyon 1979, p. 71, n. 23; Ritner 1990, p. 33, n. 28; Guilhou 1995, pp. 54–56. For the close association of ʿꜥ and spittle, see Faulkner 1933, p. 71, column 28, line 27–column 29, line 1. For references to “creation by spittle,” see Ritner 1993, pp. 75–78. For the crocodile and sexual fecundity, see Kákosy 1965, pp. 116–20; Wente 1969, p. 88, n. 39; Doetsch-Amberger 1987, p. 61, item no. 130/130a. The crocodile writes ʿꜥ in Daressy 1893, p. 157, n. 1. For a more recent association of the crocodile penis with fertility, see Lucas 1911, p. 152, n. 1.

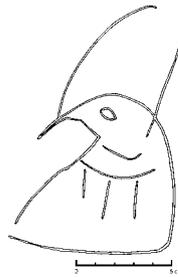
330. For this, see the strange crocodilopolitan object published by Habachi 1955, pp. 106–11; for the association of the crocodile and the baboon attested there, see also Couyat and Montet 1912, pl. 11.

## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTION 34

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Depiction of falcon wearing white crown	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 7b, 52–53
<i>Date:</i>	Middle Kingdom(?)	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 9.0 × 13.0 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Section 18 of Gebel Tjauti inscription shelf		
<i>Note:</i>	Figural inscription		

This sketchy depiction, located low on the back wall of the niche dominated by the main portion of Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 2, appears to represent the head and upper body of a falcon wearing a crown, perhaps the white crown, suggesting that we may have here a representation of Horus of Nekhen (Hierakonpolis). Beneath the head proper is a curved internal line, below which three vertical lines descend, apparently representing a collar worn around the neck of the falcon.

## INSCRIPTION



## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTION 35

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Depiction of striding Nubian ranger	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 6b, 54–55
<i>Date:</i>	Middle Kingdom(?)	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 9.75 × 11.00 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Section 14 of Gebel Tjauti inscription shelf		
<i>Note:</i>	Figural inscription; written by John C. Darnell with Deborah Darnell		

## INSCRIPTION



## COMMENTARY

The figure, shown in the midst of a purposeful stride, wears an arm band around the upper portion of his right arm, a feature suggestive of the arm band characteristic of Nubians in Egyptian representations.<sup>331</sup> The crossed

331. Fischer 1963, pp. 34–39; Staehelin 1966, p. 218; Leclant 1980, p. 50, n. 6. Compare also the figures in graffiti from Mahattah, opposite the island of Sehel, published in De Morgan et al. 1894, p. 36, nos. 119, 125, 126, 131 (and note *ibid.*, p. 36, no.

132, from the cloak most likely a Libo-Nubian, perhaps one of the *Mntyw* Libyans said to live in Nubia to the west of the Nile; see Darnell 1995b, pp. 68–69.

bands recall the straps often worn by soldiers and Libo-Nubians.<sup>332</sup> The striding man in the Gebel Tjauti depiction carries a *wꜥs*-like staff with a forked bottom, appropriate desert gear for controlling serpents<sup>333</sup> and attested even recently as a Nubian baton.<sup>334</sup> These features suggest that the man depicted at Gebel Tjauti was a Nubian, possibly a policeman, a desert ranger, and perhaps an associate of Merer, ‘Aam, or Horemhat (see Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 14–22).<sup>335</sup>

There are few indications of the diverse gear that desert patrols may have required, and pharaonic desert attire is poorly known. Replacement sandals are attested for a Wadi Hammamat expedition,<sup>336</sup> and one might expect them to have been worn in the far less hospitable Western Desert. Messengers may have worn gaiters<sup>337</sup> or greaves,<sup>338</sup> although neither appears in the Gebel Tjauti depiction. Water and food would have been necessities, but no sack of food or skin of water,<sup>339</sup> or water pot or metal canteen, is evident.<sup>340</sup> The Gebel Tjauti ranger does carry a staff, however, and the ancient Egyptians may have considered such a stick to be the true *sine qua non* of desert travel. So P. Boulaq VI 5, 6, describing the plight of Horus in the desert, says “... there was no messenger sent out to seek him, so that (Horus) could send him for his mother Isis. There was no staff (*mdw*) in his hand, so that he could lean himself on it...”.<sup>341</sup> The Instructions of ‘Onchsheshonqy 17, 14, admonish the traveler: “don’t go on a road without a stick (*šbt/ϣḅwt*).”<sup>342</sup> The *shuma/shuba* or its equivalent was essential in the desert.

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332. For Nubian inscriptions of Nubian soldiers wearing such straps, see Hellström, Langballe, and Myers 1970, corpus A221, A237 (single strap only), A361. See also Darnell 1995b, pp. 70–73, and the references cited there.
333. See Cherf 1982, pp. 86–97 (although his interpretation of much of the evidence from religious texts is in need of revision); for the *wꜥs*-scepter used by swineherds in an Eleventh Dynasty example and goatherds in a Nineteenth Dynasty example, see Fischer 1978, pp. 21–23, and the references cited there. Compare also Dunbar 1941, pl. 16, fig. 76 (the man wears a long sporrán, consistent with the garb of a Nubian soldier); Fakhry 1952, pp. 72 (fig. 83, no. 103), 73 (fig. 88, no. 108); Hellström, Langballe, and Myers 1970, corpus A268–69. In Váhala and Červíček 1999, p. 41, pl. 53, no. 208, there is a feather-wearing figure who appears to hold a bow to the left and a *wꜥs*-scepter to the right; the figure also wears crossed bands, with some form of leather wrap about the waist.
334. See Keimer 1954, pp. 475–82, 519–20. See also the brief note by Seligman 1916, p. 127; Bates 1918, pp. 320–24; Newberry 1949, pp. 269–72. For an apparent ancient attestation of the *wꜥs*-like staff as a cattle herding rod in Nubia, see Dunbar 1941, pl. 16, fig. 76.
335. It is most likely, given the location of the depiction, that the man was in Egyptian employ. For Nubian incursions into this area during the First Intermediate Period, however, see Peck 1958, pp. 84–86 (note there is no p. 85).
336. The early Middle Kingdom inscription describing an expedition through the Wadi Hammamat to the Red Sea and Punt under Seankhkare Monthuhotep III refers to donkeys carrying spare sandals for the expedition members; see Couyat and Montet 1912, p. 83, line 6 (no. 114, line 13). Weni states that under his command no member of a military force seized the sandals of a traveler (*Urk.* 1.102, lines 13–14).
337. Compare the puttee-like wrapping that an official attending the royal family wears in Norman Davies 1905, pl. 10 (on p. 8, n. 1, Davies cannot parallel this feature and is inclined to see it as foreign apparel); a similar, puttee-wrapped leg appears on ostrakon 2458 in Vandier d’Abbadie 1937/1–2, pl. 64; idem 1937/3, p. 94; Keftiuans often appear to have worn gaiters (so termed by W. Smith 1981, p. 245); see Vercouter 1956, pp. 289–95, 302–03, pls. 30–34. For puttee wrappings, one may also compare their use in depictions of the good shepherd on Roman sarcophagi; see Gerke 1940, pls. 18, 20 (fig. 3); Grabar 1966, pp. 125 (fig. 124), 126 (fig. 126), 127 (fig. 127), 258 (fig. 286), 270 (fig. 301); Baratte and Metzger 1985, pp. 223–24 (no. 132, Ma2982). On the sarcophagus in G. Koch 1993, pl. 74 (figs. 1–2), hunters wear them; see Junkelmann 1990, p. 158 (on *tibialia* and *fasciae crurales*), figs. 153, 162–65, 171–72.
338. Shown in scenes of field measuring; compare the tomb of Khaemhet (MMA photograph T831) and the tomb of Djoserkaresonb (Wreszinski 1923, pl. 11; see also S. Berger 1934, pp. 54–56, pl. 10); greaves termed ‘*wy-šlg* are mentioned in the Demotic story the Struggle for the Armor of Inaros (P. Krall 13, 4; Bresciani 1964, p. 120, pl. 6), but this refers to the panoply of a Hellenistic hero; compare the Egyptian views of Hellenistic military footwear in Bresciani 1979, pl. 40; limestone relief CCG 52809 (Graeco-Roman, from Luxor), with no connection to the earlier leg protectors.
339. Note the good Middle Kingdom depiction of a waterskin carried by a hunter in Blackman 1914, pl. 7. See also Wainwright 1939, pp. 130–31, and references cited therein; Helck 1986b; Traunecker 1992, p. 81, n. 349 and references cited therein; for later waterskins, see Winterbottom 1990, pp. 80–81, fig. 7.7–10.
340. Texts C and D of Helck 1967, pp. 140–44, refer to an expedition to Akujata, and text E contains a list of materials that the king sent to the Nubian escort, including twenty-five *šm*‘-cloths, twenty-five *dšiw*-garments (perhaps shirts or loin-cloths; Jac J. Janssen 1975, pp. 265–71), twenty-five *ms*-garments (perhaps *galabiyehs*; *ibid.*, pp. 259–64), twenty-five knives, foodstuffs, etc. — the requirements for a twenty-five man expedition. The *kt*-vessels mentioned in the supplies are perhaps canteens, an identification strengthened by the fact that they are among the plunder that Merneptah captured from the camp of the Libyans as recorded in his Karnak Libyan War inscription (Kitchen 1982c, p. 9, line 9) and that Ramesses III took from the camp of the Meshwesh in his year 11 (*MH* 2, pl. 75, line 27; Edgerton and Wilson 1936, p. 66, n. 27b). Note the tin pilgrim flask with hinged lid from the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb G.70 at Abydos; see Ayrton et al. 1904, pl. 17, fig. 20 (see also p. 50b). For an Egyptian text describing the provisioning of a march into Syro-Palestine, see Fischer-Elfert 1986, pp. 148–57. Along with water, salt would also have been a requirement on desert marches; compare the remarks of Dixon and Southern 1992, p. 92.
341. See Borghouts 1971, p. 155, n. 374.
342. Compare the remarks of Cannuyer 1984, pp. 13–22.

## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTION 36

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Cryptographic text containing name	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 6d, 56a–b
<i>Date:</i>	Coptic period	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 7.25 × 6.75 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Section 16 of Gebel Tjauti inscription shelf		
<i>Note:</i>	Cryptographic text; compare Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 37–39		

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

<i>Cryptography:</i>	<i>Normalschrift:</i>
ΘΙΙΙΑΠ	ΔΝΟΚ
ΚΘΞϠΙΙΙ	ΠΔΜΙΝ
I, Pamin <sup>a</sup>	

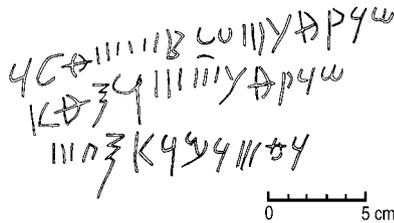
## NOTE

<sup>a</sup> The name Pamin is rare at Thebes; see Crum 1926, p. 272, n. 1; Till 1962, p. 153. Considering the ancient Egyptian origin of the name, its occurrence in the Coptite nome is more expected.

## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTION 37

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Cryptographic text containing two names and filiations	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 6d, 56a, c
<i>Date:</i>	Coptic period	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 20.25 × 8.50 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Section 16 of Gebel Tjauti inscription shelf		
<i>Note:</i>	Cryptographic text; compare Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 36 and 38–39		

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

<i>Cryptography:</i>	<i>Normalschrift:</i>
ϠΘΙΙΙΙΙΒΩ ΙΙΙΥΘΡϠΩ	ΙΩΔΑΝΝΗC ΝΧΔΡΙC
ΚΘΞϠΙΙΙ ΙΙΙΥΘΡϠΩ	ΠΔΜΙΝ ΝΧΔΡΙC
ΙΙΙΡΞΚϠΩϠΙΙΙΘϠ	ΝΡΜΠΙΩΙΝΔΙ
John, son of Charis.	
Pamin, son of Charis.	
The men of Pishinai <sup>a</sup>	

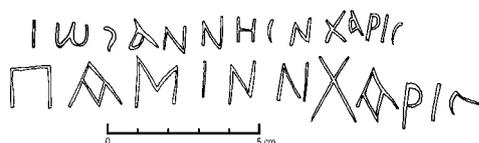
## NOTE

<sup>a</sup> The toponym from which John and Pamin hail is ΠΙΩΙΝΔΙ, a place fairly well attested in documents from Thebes, but thus far unlocated (Timm 1984, pp. 410–13). According to Timm, ΠΙΩΙΝΔΙ is apparently somewhere in the region of Qena. The location of these inscriptions suggests that the authors might have been traveling the ‘Alamat Tal Road, so perhaps Pishinai is to be sought somewhere near the main Roman period terminus of the road in the vicinity of Qamûla.

## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTION 38

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing two names and filiations	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 7b, 57a–b
<i>Date:</i>	Coptic period	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 15.75 × 3.75 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Section 18 of Gebel Tjauti inscription shelf		
<i>Note:</i>	Normalschrift text; compare Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 36–37 and 39		

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

ΙΩΔΑΝΝΗC ΝΧΑΡΙC

ΠΑΜΙΝ ΝΧΑΡΙC<sup>a</sup>

John, son of Charis;

Pamin, son of Charis

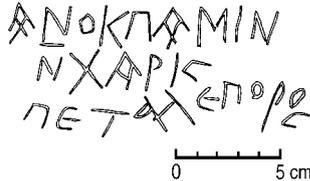
## NOTE

<sup>a</sup> Each man appears to have written his own name because each man's text employs a different form of the *alpha*. One should note the difference in patination between the left and right portions of this inscription, apparently the result of the lines being written over a relatively slight change in angle between two planes of the gebel face. This shows frighteningly well the dangers of dating or associating various texts and depictions on the basis of patination; compare the remarks of Haeny 1991, pp. 153–54.

## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTION 39

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing name, filiation, and epithet	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 6d, 56a, d
<i>Date:</i>	Coptic period	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 14.25 × 6.50 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Section 16 of Gebel Tjauti inscription shelf		
<i>Note:</i>	Normalschrift text; compare Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 36–38		

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

ΑΝΟΚ ΠΑΜΙΝ  
 ΝΧΑΡΙΣ  
 ΠΕΤΑΛΕΠΟΡΟΣ

I, Pamin,  
 son of Charis,  
 the wretch

## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTION 40

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Cryptographic text containing name	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 6d, 57c–d
<i>Date:</i>	Coptic period	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 6.75 × 0.75 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Section 16 of Gebel Tjauti inscription shelf		
<i>Note:</i>	Cryptographic text		

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

*Cryptography:* †ΘΙΙΙΛΠΚΘΞ

*Normalschrift:* ΑΝΟΚ ΠΑΛΕ

I, Pale

## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTION 41

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Aborted cryptographic text	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 6d, 56a, e
<i>Date:</i>	Coptic period	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 8.0 × 3.5 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Section 16 of Gebel Tjauti inscription shelf		
<i>Note:</i>	Incomplete and faulty(?) cryptographic text		

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION

†Ϡⲓⲓⲓⲟ

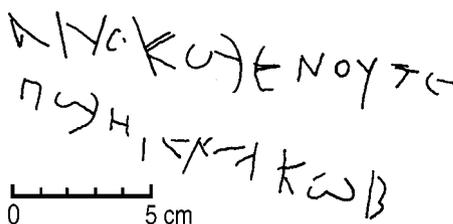
## COMMENTARY

The presence of ⲓⲓⲓ shows this to be a cryptographic text. The transcription of this inscription would be ΔΝΛ, which appears to be a meaningless combination of letters. The text is perhaps incomplete, and it appears that †Ϡⲓⲓⲓⲁⲓ for †ΔΝΟΚ was intended, but the text was abandoned when the *omicron*, rather than appearing as Λ, was written in *Normalschrift* by mistake. The author might then have resumed his cryptographic exercise, which he perhaps completed successfully as Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 40.

## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTION 42

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing name and filiation	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 6d, 56a, f
<i>Date:</i>	Coptic period	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 17.0 × 6.0 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Section 16 of Gebel Tjauti inscription shelf		
<i>Note:</i>	<i>Normalschrift</i> text		

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

ΔΝΟΚ ΨΕΝΟΥΤΕ  
ΠΨΗΡΕ ΝΙΑΚΩΒ

I, Shenoute,  
the son of <sup>a</sup> Jacob <sup>b</sup>

## NOTES

<sup>a</sup> The *nu* has been poorly written with the final (rightmost) vertical at an angle almost touching the first (leftmost) vertical.

<sup>b</sup> The *iota* of the father's name is at a pronounced slant, appearing almost horizontal.

## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTION 43

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing name, filiation, and request for prayer	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 6c, 58
<i>Date:</i>	Coptic period	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 47.75 × 6.25 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Section 15 of Gebel Tjauti inscription shelf		
<i>Note:</i>	<i>Normalschrift</i> text		

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

ΔΑΝΙΗΛ ΝΑΦΟΨΥΠΤΩΝΟΧΟΣ ΜΠΤΤΟΥ ΜΠΑ-  
ΨΜΕ ΨΛΗΛ ΕΞΩΙ

Daniel, son of Afʿoʿlui,<sup>a</sup> the monk of the mountain/monastery<sup>b</sup>  
of Pashme<sup>c</sup> — pray for me!

## Notes

<sup>a</sup> The name appears to be a form of the plural of **αϥ** “flesh,” a Coptic version of the earlier Egyptian *ʾwf / ify* (Ranke, *PN* 1, p. 17, no. 3). A close parallel is the name **αϥΟΥ** in Crum 1939b, no. 48, line 7.

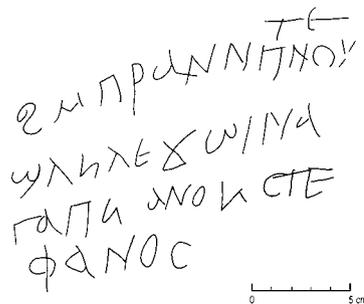
<sup>b</sup> For **ΤΟΥ** as a term for monastery, see Kahle 1954, pp. 27–28. The name of Daniel’s monastery does not appear in his inscription, but the **ΤΟΠΟΣ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ ΝΑΠΑ ΨΕΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΤΟΥ ΜΠΑΨΜΕ** is attested elsewhere (see the following note).

<sup>c</sup> Other occurrences indicate that the toponym **ΠΑΨΜΕ** belongs to the Coptite nome, perhaps somewhere near el-Bahri Qamûla (Timm 1988, pp. 1849–52). The location of this inscription on a road leading roughly northwest out of the vicinity of Qamûla makes this general location a virtual certainty.

## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTION 44

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing request for prayer and name	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 5c, 59
<i>Date:</i>	Coptic period	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 17.75 × 11.25 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Section 10 of Gebel Tjauti inscription shelf		
<i>Note:</i>	<i>Normalschrift</i> text		

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

ΤΕ  
 ΖΜΠΡΑΝ ΝΠΝΟΥ  
 ΨΛΗΛ ΕΧΩΙ ΝΑ-  
 ΓΑΠΗ ΔΝΟΚ ΣΤΕ-  
 ΦΑΝΟΣ

In the name of God,  
 pray for me out of  
 love<sup>a</sup> — I am Stephan

## NOTE

<sup>a</sup> One might read ΔΓΑΠΑ here for the expected ΔΓΑΠΗ; for the shift of η > α in ΔΓΑΠΑ (for Greek ἀγάπη), see Worrell 1934, p. 113 (citing ΔΝΑΚΑ for ἀνάγκη). However, the two quickly written *alphas* in this inscription (α of ΡΑΝ in line 1, and the α of ΔΝΟΚ in line 3) do not fully develop the upper part of the forward angle, but show fully the final limb slanting from upper left to lower right. It is thus unlikely that the fourth letter of line 3 is an *alpha* reduced to an acute angle with a stump(?) of the final limb to the lower right. Though slightly more angular than in ΨΛΗΛ in line 2, this is better read as an angular cursive *eta*.

## GEBEL TJAUTI ROCK INSCRIPTION 45

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing two names and filiations	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 7a, 16a–b
<i>Date:</i>	Coptic period	<i>Size:</i>	25 × 14 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Section 17 of Gebel Tjauti inscription shelf		
<i>Note:</i>	Graeco-Coptic inscription		

These two names with patronymics are written below the inscription of ‘Aam’s son Renseneb (see Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 16). Although the general appearance of the palaeography of the following names is Coptic, the grammar is Greek.

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

ΣΑΜΟΥΗΛ ΒΕΡΒΑΡΟΥ  
ΠΑΝΗΣΕ ΠΑΦΩΡΕ

Samuel,<sup>a</sup> son of Berbaros.<sup>b</sup>  
Panēse,<sup>c</sup> son of Paphore<sup>d</sup>

## NOTES

<sup>a</sup> For the *eta* the author of this inscription employed the minuscule.

<sup>b</sup> For  $\alpha > \epsilon$ , especially before a liquid as here, see Gignac 1976, p. 285; see also Worrell 1934, pp. 101–02, 104–05; Heuser 1929, p. 87. This name appears to be βάρβαρος written as the genitive βάρβαρου, apparently here functioning as the Greek genitive of relationship (like the Σίμων Ἰωνᾶ of John 21:15–17; cf. Robertson 1915, pp. 501–02). A clipped -ου for -ος is unlikely (unattested in Heuser 1929, pp. 90–91).

<sup>c</sup> ΠΑΝΗΣΕ is a form of the attested Πανησις (Preisigke 1922, col. 269) and Demotic *Pa(-n)-is.t* (Lüddeckens 1985b, p. 354). On the form ΗΣΕ, see Gignac 1976, p. 242, n. 2; Osing 1974, p. 104.

<sup>d</sup> Compare Preisigke 1922, col. 294 (Παφόρε, Παφόρο), col. 469 (Φῶρ), apparently related to the earlier *Pa-Hr* (Lüddeckens 1986, pp. 400–01; for the interchange of o and ω, see Gignac 1976, pp. 275–77; note that Heuser [1929, p. 125] treats the name ΠΑΦΩΡΑ as ΠΑ + Arabic *Far‘a*). By analogy with the name “Samuel, son of Barbaros,” above, the name Paphore may here provide the filiation of Panēse. As an Egyptian name, Paphore could easily be treated as indeclinable, as is the case here; see Gignac 1981, p. 103.

## COMMENTARY

These names were presumably carved at the same time. Interestingly, the first man has a biblically inspired name, his father a Hellenistic name; Samuel is probably a Christian. The second man and his father both have names surviving from the old Egyptian religion; Panēse is probably an associate of Samuel and most likely a fellow Christian. For the possible motives of tradition and nationalism aiding the not infrequent survival of ancient names amongst Coptic Christians, see Lüddeckens 1985a, pp. 105–13.

# ROCK INSCRIPTIONS AT THE WADI EL-ḤÔL

## INTRODUCTION

Nobody can estimate the number of inscriptions that have been lost because there was no one to find them in time (Žába 1974, p. 242).

The ‘Alamat Tal Road, leading to the Gebel Qarn el-Gir caravansary, may be seen as the right (northern) branch of an inverted “Y” of ancient routes leading in and out of the Thebaïd. The left branch of this road system is a route connecting the Gebel Qarn el-Gir post with the escarpment behind Western Thebes. At the Theban terminus of the route is another stopping point, embellished during the early Seventeenth Dynasty by the construction of a small chapel, constructed at least in part of sandstone (see Darnell and Darnell, forthcoming b, for the road and the Theban terminus). The greatest concentration of ancient material on the Farshût Road, and one of the most extensive ancient sites in the Western Desert, is at the Wadi el-Ḥôl, where the road ascends and descends the high plateau near the middle of the Qena Bend of the Nile.

Wadi el-Ḥôl was roughly the midway point of the distance to be covered by travelers cutting across the Qena Bend along the Luxor-Farshût desert road and is likely to have been the normal halting point for travelers not continuing directly between points near Thebes and Hou. The Wadi el-Ḥôl is also somewhat of a crossroads, and as such could also be expected to have some sort of shrine or memorial.<sup>1</sup> The official nature of the most formal of the monuments that had survived until recently at the site, a large rock-cut stela of Sobekhotep III, suggests that the stela is located here as a statement of official control at a point crossed by several desert tracks.<sup>2</sup>

In the 1930s, Terence Gray and Hans Winkler discovered a group of inscriptions and rock art in the gebel far behind Hou. Winkler designated the site by the name of a nearby wadi, the Wadi el-Ḥôl. The site is not actually part of that wadi, however, and considering the horrors of the modern vandalism within the actual wadi of ancient activity, we have retained the name the Wadi el-Ḥôl for the unnamed wadi. Two photographs appeared in Hans Winkler’s *Rock-Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt*, the publication of his work for the Sir Robert Mond Desert Expedition of the Egypt Exploration Society (pls. IX, 2, and X, 1). The numerous hieroglyphic and hieratic inscriptions at the Wadi el-Ḥôl received simply a tantalizing reference: “rarely has such a mass of hieroglyphic (*sic*) inscriptions been found at one site.”<sup>3</sup> In 1951 Macadam — based on a photograph and notes by Newberry — published the most “monumental” of the inscriptions at the Wadi el-Ḥôl, the stela of Sobekhotep III.<sup>4</sup> In 1994 the Theban Desert Road Survey began to work at the site, and we now know that the Wadi el-Ḥôl was not a remote and isolated location during the height of pharaonic antiquity. Our discoveries of a sandstone chapel of Antef V and the statue of a general of the Second Intermediate Period at the Theban terminus of the Farshût Road demonstrate that the Wadi el-Ḥôl was once the bustling center of a great highway. This desert route connected Thebes with Hou and Abydos in the north, and — via the Gebel Qarn el-Gir caravansary — with the oases of Kharga and Dakhla in the Western Desert.

Several hundred inscriptions and depictions, in four major concentrations (Areas A–D; see pls. 60–70), cover the limestone cliffs of the Wadi el-Ḥôl site. Sometime after Gray and Winkler completed their cursory ex-

1. The temple at ‘Ezbet Rushdi, *Rꜥ-Wꜥ.ty*, is perhaps a temple at a crossroads (so Adam 1959, pp. 216, 223; Kees 1962, p. 3; Bietak 1996, pp. 7, 9–10, 19), although Kuhlmann (1991, p. 226) has explained *Rꜥ-Wꜥ.ty* as referring to a “neighboring” sanctuary. The temple of Sety I at el-Kanais is located at a point where the road into the Eastern Desert out of Edfu branches, one path leading to the Barramiya mines, another leading southeast to the coast of the Red Sea (Bagnall 1976, p. 39); a temple of Tutankhamun might also have been located along this road, if this is the true import

of a block of that ruler in Roman Station 1; see Porter, Moss, and Burney 1951, p. 321.

2. For the location of official inscriptions on desert roads, see the remarks of Habachi 1967, p. 60.

3. Winkler 1938, p. 8 (and see p. vii); the Wadi el-Ḥôl is Winkler’s site 30.

4. Macadam 1951, pp. 23–27, pl. 6. Sadly, this monument has been destroyed by thieves, although a few fragments have been retrieved by the Qena inspectorate of the Supreme

amination of the site, certain inhabitants of Halfaya Bahri became aware of the existence of ancient remains at the Wadi el-Hôl. When we first relocated the site, we found evidence of vandalism, and several times since then we have physically chased thieves away from the site. Local legends of gold in the mountains of the vicinity perhaps may have contributed to the vandalism.<sup>5</sup> Alas, despite several arrests, intentional and often wanton destruction continues at the Wadi el-Hôl. With the support of the Antiquities officials, however, we have now photographically documented all of the depictions and inscriptions at the Wadi el-Hôl. Of these we have thus far made facsimile copies for over 250, and we shall continue until nothing is left to copy.<sup>6</sup> Forty-five of the rock inscriptions and rock art at the Wadi el-Hôl are published herein.

Although there are both earlier and later inscriptions, the bulk of the texts, and certainly the more elaborate of these, date from the late Middle Kingdom and the early Second Intermediate Period. The distribution of inscribed material is similar to that at Wadi Shatt er-Rigāl, which contains some earlier and later inscriptions, but the majority date from the early Middle Kingdom, trailing off during the later Middle Kingdom and the Thirteenth Dynasty, with fewer yet from the New Kingdom.<sup>7</sup>

The references to priests in several of the inscriptions at the Wadi el-Hôl appear to show that many of the official travelers through the Wadi el-Hol were attached to temples. These men may have belonged to that class of official who administered desert routes and passes for temple domains (Koenig 1979, p. 200; Edel 1983, pp. 170–71), overseeing passage and perhaps collecting imposts. There are a few inscriptions in a natural shelf toward the top of Gebel Qarn el-Gir, but only a few may show the names of visitors we also know from the Wadi el-Hôl. Thus far we have not yet located another inscription station along the main track where one may hope to find the names of the same people and chart their progress, as one may follow the scribe Nebnetjeru, son of Hori, as he makes his way along Wadi el-Allaqi.<sup>8</sup>

When we have published them all, these inscriptions may help us understand something of the importance of *Hwt-Sḥm*/Diospolis parva between the end of the predynastic and the beginning of the Late Period.<sup>9</sup> In fact, those published here attest several scribes of Hou, refer to the house of life at Hou, and demonstrate in fact how Hou came to be called Diospolis parva. The names of the stablemaster and the grain accounting scribe, along with the signature of Roma<sup>c</sup> at the high desert station, reveal close epistolographic and economic connections between Thebes and Hou during the New Kingdom.

We have not yet identified an ancient name for this site in any of the inscriptions at the Wadi el-Hôl. One notes with interest, however, the names *Tmbw* and *ḥ-bꜣw* belonging to Medjoy outposts, mentioned in the royal letter in the tomb of Nebamun (TT 90).<sup>10</sup> The second of these names, *ḥ-bꜣw*, could well derive from the Horus name of Amenemhat III. If so, that toponym may well refer to a late Middle Kingdom outpost in the desert west of Thebes,<sup>11</sup> and the Wadi el-Hôl would certainly be an excellent candidate for identification with that outpost, considering the number of inscriptions at the Wadi el-Hôl that specifically write the Horus name of Amenemhat III.<sup>12</sup>

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Council for Antiquities. The Theban Desert Road Survey has photographed and studied these pieces.

5. Note the legend recorded in Senn 1969, p. 230.
6. For preliminary accounts of our work at the Wadi el-Hôl, see Darnell and Darnell 1994a; idem 1995; idem 1996a; idem 1996b, pp. 40–41.
7. See the comments of Winlock 1940, pp. 137–61.
8. See Černý 1947, pp. 54 (§C no. 11 and §D no. 20), 55 (§F no. 28), and remarks at the end of p. 57.
9. See W. M. F. Petrie 1901 and Sowada 1996, pp. 89–96, with references to more recent work focused almost exclu-

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sively on predynastic remains along the margin of the cultivation.

10. Norman Davies 1923, pl. 26, lines 11–12, of the royal order.
11. Compare the use of the epithet *ḥꜣ-ḥw* of Ramesses III as the name of Medinet Habu in the Graeco-Roman period; see Thissen 1989, p. 144.
12. The name *Tmbw* could be Libyan or Nubian; compare a word for “fly” (Orel and Stolbova 1995, p. 551, no. 2652); “side” (Armbruster 1965, p. 84c, 4th word); “two” (Böhm 1988, p. 57, §31).

## STATION ON THE PLATEAU ABOVE THE WADI EL-ḤÔL

The extraordinary importance of the complex of sites in and around the Wadi el-Ḥôl became ever clearer when the Theban Desert Road Survey examined the continuation of the Luxor-Farshût Road from the area of the rock inscriptions onto the high desert. Where the tracks reach the plateau, the Survey discovered an extensive stratified deposit consisting of an enormous amount of pottery in a matrix of animal dung and other organic material. Two similar deposits occur at Gebel Qarn el-Gir and near area A of the Wadi el-Ḥôl, but the high plateau mound of debris is by far the most extensive, covering an area of more than 3,000 m<sup>2</sup>. Because of the unexpected presence of the inscription of a well-known personage of the Ramesside period on a boulder at the site (Wadi el-Ḥôl Rock Inscription 44), we named the prong of the high plateau on which this caravansary is situated Gebel Româ.

Widely-scattered predynastic pot drops attest to early activity atop the plateau, probably by transient groups en route to and from the habitation areas in the surrounding wadis. Concentrated occupation of Gebel Româ began in the Middle Kingdom, as evidenced by pottery of that date on the gebel surface, underlying the accumulation of organic debris in the central area. Activity at the site intensified during the late Middle Kingdom, when the royal messengers and “express couriers” attested in inscriptions at the Wadi el-Ḥôl were regularly travelling the Farshût Road on foot. The nature of deposition changed and the quantity of ceramic material left behind increased exponentially beginning in the Seventeenth to early Eighteenth Dynasties, as the “pony express” postal system of mounted letter carriers came into being. The temporary stabling of horses, fresh mounts to be used along various legs of the “Road of Horses,” as this route was called, appears to account for a great deal of the organic refuse atop Gebel Româ, as well as in the Wadi el-Ḥôl deposit and at Gebel Qarn el-Gir, through the late Ramesside period and the Twenty-First Dynasty.

The superabundance of animal droppings at the site posed a sanitation problem but was also a resource: the dung might have been periodically collected and formed into patties for use as fuel (Janssen 1975, pp. 450–51; see also Yeivin 1934, p. 120, fig. 6). The stratified deposit at Gebel Româ consists of organic matter and potsherds, in mixed layers differentiated by rain and sand lenses, with occasional strata of finely crushed and densely packed sherds. Several distinct layers composed of varying amounts of plaster, with small stones and pieces of ground pottery forming a sort of *opus mixtum*, occur in the New Kingdom levels. Apparently not in association with any structure, these “floors” served to seal off the refuse levels below. The most substantial plaster layer gradually disappears to the north without any trace of a wall; neither are any indications of a temporary structure, such as post-holes, present. This white plaster layer varies greatly in thickness and is not a continuous, packed surface; it appears to have been formed by the pouring of liquid plaster over animal bedding. Beneath the plaster in certain spots is pure straw — either loose where only a dusting of white plaster is present, or matted where there had been a greater amount of plaster poured. Potsherds imbedded in this plaster/straw matrix are Thutmoside in date. This use of plaster to seal garbage beneath is a reasonable concern in such a windswept environment and is in keeping with what we know of royal concerns for public health during the early Eighteenth Dynasty (cf. the public health decree of Thutmose III, known from a Twenty-second Dynasty copy; see Vernus 1979, pp. 176–84).

As the floor itself, and not an associated structure, appears to have been the goal of the construction, the gypsum layers may be seen to complement other strata. Several other layers, though they include no plaster, are composed almost wholly of finely ground and densely packed sherds, apparently another method of creating essentially sealed floor levels (probably pounded down over the debris — note the Egyptian verb *ḳwsi* [Wb. 3.248:4–249:5], a term for pounding and constructing in various ways, apparently originating in a term for *terre pisé* construction). The gypsum layers and dense sherd strata are perhaps two different means of attaining the same goal — a hard and relatively dry floor.

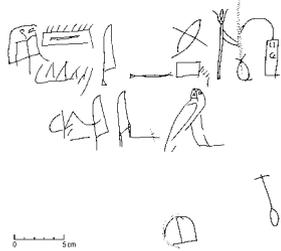
The Gebel Româ corpus of pottery is of great significance for ceramic studies. The continuous and vigorous activity at the site during the Second Intermediate Period through New Kingdom has left a valuable stratigraphic record allowing the detection of subtle differences in the development of ceramic types. The ceramic repertoire found throughout Egypt in the New Kingdom was derived largely from elements that, during the Second Intermediate Period, appeared exclusively in Upper Egypt, and more specifically, in the Theban area. Considered alongside the material from the Wadi el-Ḥôl and Qarn el-Gir deposits, the Gebel Româ corpus will facilitate a refinement of the Theban pottery sequence from the Second Intermediate Period through the early Eighteenth Dynasty (D. Darnell, in preparation). For more on these mounds of caravansary debris, see Darnell and Darnell, forthcoming a.

# WADI EL-ḤÔL ROCK INSCRIPTIONS 1–45

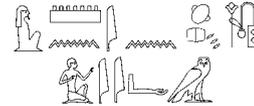
## WADI EL-ḤÔL ROCK INSCRIPTION 1

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing name and title	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 63, 71
<i>Date of Inscription:</i>	New Kingdom (perhaps Eighteenth Dynasty)	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 27 × 14 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Area A		

### INSCRIPTION



### TRANSCRIPTION



### TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

*šḥḥ ḥsb it n(y) 'Imn M'cy*

The grain-accounting scribe of Amun, May

### COMMENTARY

This is perhaps the scribe May of P. Cairo 3226, from the reign of Thutmose III.<sup>13</sup> This scribe may be involved with income, perhaps grain, flowing into Karnak from domains of Amun-Re in the nome of Hou.<sup>14</sup> The letter of Sennefer to a farmer at Hou also suggests a connection between the Theban Amun-Re and estates near Hou during the reign of Amenhotep III;<sup>15</sup> earlier Senenmut had dedicated three aruras of land in *Ḥw.t-šm* to the cult of Amun.<sup>16</sup> These references are discussed in greater detail below, in conjunction with the evidence for the use of the main Farshût Road as a pharaonic pony express route. Just as the grain accounting scribes of Amun appear to have direct contact with vessels transporting the *ḥtp-ntr* of Amun on the Nile River,<sup>17</sup> so the grain-accounting scribe of Amun-Re, May, appears at the Wadi el-Ḥôl to have concerned himself with donkey caravans transporting the same cargo by land.

Below May's inscription are two signs. To the right is a clear *nfr*-sign, to the left is a sign of indeterminate value, perhaps a variant of Gardiner signs O45 and O46.

13. See Megally 1971b, A verso VII, 1; A verso IX, 2; A verso XIII, 2; B verso IV, 1 and 8; B verso VII, 1; B verso VIII, 2; B verso IX, 2; B verso X, 2; B verso XI, 6B verso XVI, 5; S. Eichler 2000, p. 79, n. 354.

14. Compare the endowments of Osorkon recorded in his chronicle on the Bubastite gate at Karnak temple; see Caminos 1958, pp. 126–27, 132–33. Note also the evidence of Vleeming 1991, pp. 8, 21 (n. cc), 37.

15. Caminos 1963, pp. 29–37 (particularly pp. 35–36).

16. See Helck 1960, p. 32. For other examples, and a probable further reference in the Chronicle of Osorkon, see Sauneron 1983a, pp. 29–31.

17. A scene in the tomb of Khnummose (TT 253) probably associates grain-accounting scribes of Amun with the vessels transporting the grain of the *ḥtp-ntr* of Amun; see Strudwick and Strudwick 1996, pp. 23–24. Khnummose himself bore the title *šḥ ḥsb it šm'w T3-mḥw n šnw.t ḥtp.w-ntr* [*'Imn*] “Upper and Lower Egyptian grain-accounting scribe of the granary of the divine offerings [of Amun]” (ibid., pls. 202–01). For more on the vessels and this association, see Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 3, above; J. C. Darnell 1999b. For the title *šḥ ḥsb it n imn*, see S. Eichler 2000, pp. 38–41.

## WADI EL-HÔL ROCK INSCRIPTION 2

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing name and filiation	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 63, 72
<i>Date of Inscription:</i>	Coptic period	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 14.5 × 14.8 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Area A		

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ<sup>a</sup>

ΙΣΑΚ

Basileus' son, Isaak

## NOTE

<sup>a</sup>The name Basileus is reasonably well attested from the Thebaïd; compare Edgerton 1937, pl. 15, no. 357; Baillet 1926, p. 508 (no. 1963).

## WADI EL-HÔL ROCK INSCRIPTION 3

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Depiction of lyre player	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 65a, 73
<i>Date of Inscription:</i>	Late Middle Kingdom(?)	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 7 × 16 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Area B		

This is the depiction of a musician playing the asymmetrical lyre, his head thrown back with mouth open as though in song. The figure is male and appears to represent an Egyptian wearing a full kilt. The earliest evidence of the asymmetrical lyre in Egypt is the man in Abi-sharru's band of Eastern Desert-dwelling miners carrying such a lyre in the famous scene in the tomb of Khnumhotep at Beni Hasan (from the reign of Amenemhat II; Newberry 1893b, pl. 31). The lyre first appears with Egyptians in the Eighteenth Dynasty; see Manniche 1975, pp. 81–86. The lyre player depicted at the Wadi el-Hôl probably dates to the time of the late Middle Kingdom/Second Intermediate Period, as do the “spending-the-day” inscriptions (see Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscriptions 17–19 and 20(?), below). If this dating is correct, we may have here the earliest known evidence for the Egyptian use of the asymmetrical lyre.

## INSCRIPTION



## COMMENTARY

As in Wadi el-Ḥôl Rock Inscription 15, this man has his head tilted back as if in song. In this depiction of a musician playing the asymmetrical lyre, the mouth is clearly open. Although in Wadi el-Ḥôl Rock Inscription 15 the mouth is not so clearly open, contextually the head tilted back is also an indication of singing (cf. scene in tomb of Djoserkaresoneb; see Decker and Herb 1994/1, pp. 818–19; idem 1994/2, pl. 181; see also Caminos 1963b, pl. 23, fig. 2 middle, middle fig. of upper sub-register of lower register).

Two inscriptions from Wadi Hammamat attest to the presence of singers in the Eastern Desert. Goyon suggests that the singers whose names appear in these inscriptions might have been engaged in setting the rhythm for quarry work and stone hauling,<sup>18</sup> and the texts of songs chanted or sung by military participants in New Kingdom Theban processions<sup>19</sup> imply the existence of such military singers. It is from such a group of military singers that those attested in desert inscriptions may come (note also Spalinger 1982, pp. 93–94). Singers appearing in Žába 1974, pp. 136–38 (nos. 101, 104), were apparently in the company of a wailing woman (*wšb.t*; ibid., p. 137, no. 102), a fact that suggests a funereal context. Žába (1974, p. 31, no. 4, line 4) records a title that appears to read *šm'w*. Žába suggests reading the *šm'*-sign there as *nsw.t* (the *nsw.t* of the following *nsw.t-bity* in line 5 is indeed written with the *šm'*-sign) and understanding the quail chick sign as *sʒ*, reading the title *sʒ-nsw.t* (ibid., p. 33). This is not supported by any other attestation of a king's son *Nḥti* for the period in question. De Meulenaere (1983, col. 370), followed by Obsomer (1995, pp. 243–44), suggests reading *šmsw*; Goedicke (1983, p. 321) curiously suggests reading the title *šm'w* as *sšmw*. Delia (1993, pp. 89–90, fig. 20) reads a similarly written title as *sw* or *šmsw*. The sign in question does not, however, look like *šms*;<sup>20</sup> the title in the Aswan graffito is perhaps also to be read as *šm'w* “singer.”

This depiction suggests that the singing and even dancing with which we associate Egyptian temple rituals may also have occurred in a desert context. A Ramesside text refers to a man who “spends the day dancing in the desert” (*pʒ nty wrš=f hr ibʒ hr hʒs.t*), perhaps as part of a Hathoric celebration.<sup>21</sup> Wadi el-Ḥôl presents considerable evidence for the worship of the goddess Hathor, probably as part of great celebrations for the return of the wandering goddess of the eye of the sun (see the discussion of the spending-the-day inscriptions, Wadi el-Ḥôl Rock Inscriptions 17–19 and 20[?], below). One may thus with some reason suggest that it is a song of Hathor that the Wadi el-Ḥôl lyre player has been silently singing for the last three and a half millennia.<sup>22</sup>

18. Goyon 1957, pp. 130–31, nos. 126–27 (the titles are *šm' n is.t* and simple *šm'w*). Possible soldierly *šm'w* singers are attested from the Middle Kingdom (Berlev 1971, pp. 29–30).

19. Compare Naville 1904/05, pl. 125; *RILT* 1, pls. 18, 20 (a man whose celebratory and military prominence suggest that he is none other than General Horemheb), 28, 90–91.

20. See the forms of *šm'* and *šms* in Möller 1927/1, pp. 28 (no. 291), 42 (no. 443).

21. Burkard 1996, p. 27; contra the conclusion of ibid., p. 29, n. 14, that the behavior so described would be “völlig sinnlos.” See Shimy 1977, pl. 296, no. 3871, for possible

dancing figures that appear in the gebel immediately west of ancient Thebes.

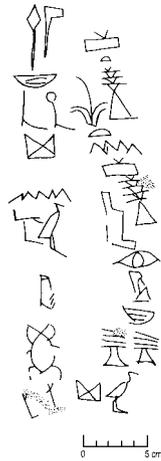
22. Confronted by such a poignant indication of how much we have lost by not having the music of ancient Egypt, one cannot resist reference to a passage in A. Edwards 1888, p. 132, referring to the images of celebrants ascending the staircase leading up to the roof in the temple of Dendera: “Surely there must be some one weird night of the year when they step out from their places, and take up the next verse of their chanted hymn, and, to the sound of instruments long mute and songs long silent, pace the moonlit roof in ghostly order!”

## WADI EL-HÔL ROCK INSCRIPTION 4

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing an offering formula for <i>w'ḥ</i> -priest	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 65, 74–79
<i>Date of Inscription:</i>	Middle Kingdom (late Twelfth Dynasty)	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 11.75 × 32.00 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Area B		
<i>Note:</i>	See also Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscriptions 5 and 6; see figure 2, page 96, below		

## INSCRIPTION

## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

<sup>1</sup>*ḥtp-di-nsw.t ḥtp-di-Wsîr nb Ddw <sup>2</sup>ntr ʿ3 nb 3bdw n w'ḥ Ḥpr-kʿ*

<sup>1</sup>An offering-which-the-king-gives, namely the offering-which-is-given-to-Osiris, lord of Busiris, <sup>2</sup>great god, lord of Abydos, for the *w'ḥ*-priest Kheperka

## COMMENTARY

Note the odd, *ḏd*-pillar-like appearance of the two *di*-signs. The actual *ḏd*-pillars in the writing of the toponym Djedu are, however, drawn differently, in a more abbreviated manner. Kheperka is perhaps alluding to Busiris through the use of the *ḏd*-like *di*-signs. This Kheperka appears to be the *w'ḥ pn* “this *w'ḥ*-priest” to whom Dedusobek’s lapidary letter in Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 5 is addressed.

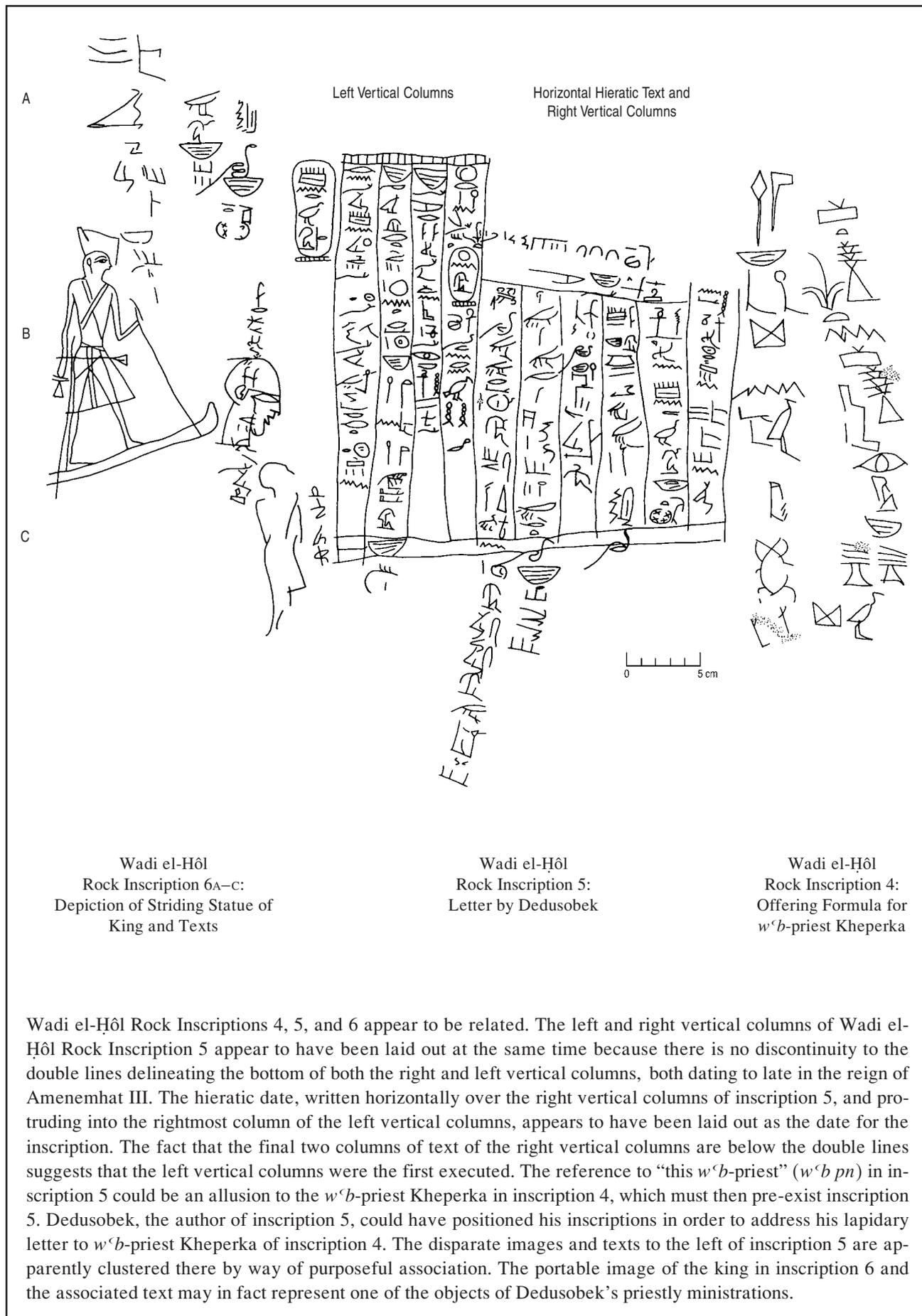


Figure 2. Three Related Inscriptions: Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscriptions 4, 5, and 6

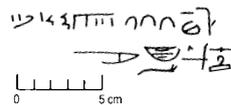
## WADI EL-HÔL ROCK INSCRIPTION 5

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing a letter by Dedusobek	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 65, 74–82
<i>Date of Inscription:</i>	Regnal year 30 of Amenemhat III, Middle Kingdom (Twelfth Dynasty)	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 24.8 × 29.6 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Area B		
<i>Note:</i>	See also Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscriptions 4 and 6; see figure 2, page 96, above		

Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 5, a large and elaborate inscription, appears to be the work of the man Dedusobek, mentioned in line 5 of the left-hand set of vertical lines. The inscription opens with the horizontal line of hieratic apparently also serving to date the letter to the right. For the doubled horizontal line at the bottom of the inscription, see Aufrère 1985, p. 40.

## INSCRIPTION OF HORIZONTAL HIERATIC TEXT

## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION OF HORIZONTAL HIERATIC TEXT

<sup>1</sup>*hsb.t 30 3bd 3 Prt sw 28* <sup>2</sup>*štpt nsw.t mr(y) nb=f*<sup>a</sup>

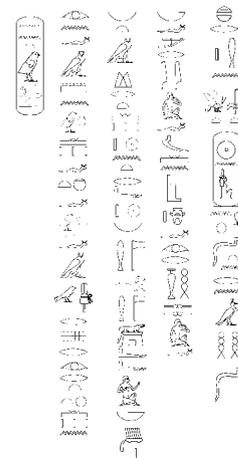
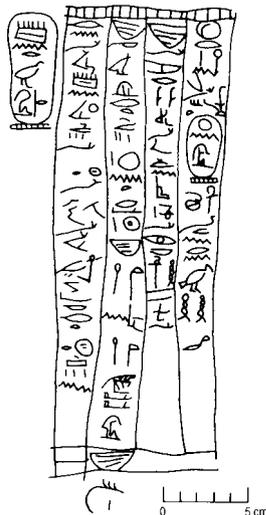
<sup>1</sup>Regnal year 30, third month of the *Peret*-season, day 28: <sup>2</sup>The one who appeases the king, beloved of his lord

## NOTE

<sup>a</sup> The second of these two lines seems somewhat out of place. The first line, with its date, may well lead directly into both the left-hand and the right-hand sections of vertical lines of text.

## INSCRIPTION OF LEFT VERTICAL LINES

## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION OF LEFT VERTICAL LINES

<sup>3</sup>*hr hm n(y) nsw.t-bity* [Ny-m<sup>3</sup>.t-R<sup>c</sup>]<sup>a</sup> <sup>c</sup>*nh d.t<sup>b</sup> r nhh d* (sic)<sup>c</sup> <sup>4</sup>*mry{=f} nb=f m<sup>3</sup> n(y) s.t-ib=f irr*  
*hss(.t)=f* <sup>5</sup>*nb.t m hr.t-hrw ny.t r<sup>c</sup> nb hm-ntr n(y) hm-ntr* (sic)<sup>d</sup> *Ddw-Sbk*<sup>e</sup> *nb im<sup>3</sup>h* <sup>6</sup>*ir.n=f m mnw=f*<sup>f</sup> *hft*<sup>g</sup>  
*iw.t=f m T<sup>3</sup>-wr*<sup>h</sup> *r ir.t ih.t n* <sup>7</sup>[Mntw-htp]<sup>i</sup>

<sup>3</sup> ... under the person of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nymaatre<sup>c</sup>, may he live forever, <sup>4</sup>the truly beloved confidant of his lord, who always does all that he praises <sup>5</sup>in the course of every day, the priest of priest(s), Dedusobek, possessor of veneration. <sup>6</sup>Of his monuments he made (one) at the time of his coming from the Thinite nome in order to perform rituals for <sup>7</sup>Monthuhotep

## NOTES

<sup>a</sup> The name of Nymaatre<sup>c</sup> is spelled with the figure of the goddess. As Dedusobek drew the semi-cursive sign, it is similar in appearance to the seated-divine determinative. He also uses a similar sign as the determinative of his name (see text note *e*, below). This orthography, though most frequent during the first fifteen years of the reign of Amenemhat III, also occurs later in that reign.<sup>23</sup> This line must be read immediately after line 1.

<sup>b</sup> For the *n*-water sign substituting for the determinative of *d.t* in *d.t r nhh*, see Sadek 1980, p. 8 (line 1) and 10 (line 2). On the absence of the sun disk determinative of *nhh*, see *ibid.*, p. 17 (note to no. 6, line 3).

<sup>c</sup> The author of the inscription appears accidentally to have begun writing the *d* of *d.t* again.

<sup>d</sup> The author may have intended to write *hm-ntr n* + divine name, in the end mistakenly repeating *hm-ntr*.

<sup>e</sup> Although transcribed here as the normal seated-man sign, Dedusobek employed a semi-cursive sign that is very similar to the seated-divine determinative.

<sup>f</sup> On the use of the *ir.n=f m mnw=f* formula on private monuments, see Franke 1994, p. 86, n. 284. For *ir.n=f m mnw=f* of a private person, see Budge 1912a, pl. 7, no. 253 [363]; Tawfik 1971, pp. 227–34; Vittmann 1977, pp. 23–32; Meltzer 1994, pp. 95–98. The translation offered here follows the suggestion in Depuydt 2001, pp. 83–122. The initial *ir.n=f* emphasizes the phrase beginning with *hft*, although the resulting English translation would be somewhat convoluted (“It was at the time of his coming ... that he made (one) of his monuments”). For this understanding of the sentence, see BM 575, 5 (Polotsky 1965, p. 18 §39; Depuydt 2001, p. 110), which is another monument completion inscription with initial *ir.n=f*, there emphasizing a phrase beginning with *n-mrwt*.

<sup>g</sup> The preposition *hft* may indicate “at the time of” or “after”; see Perdu 1978, pp. 101–14.

<sup>h</sup> For the orthography of the nome sign, see Helck 1974, p. 90; Gomaà 1986, pp. 179–83; the determinative is identical to that of *im.t* in line 4 of the middle text in Dedusobek’s inscription.

<sup>i</sup> For the orthography of the *t* in the name, see the *r*-like *t* for *t* in the name *Mntw-ꜣ* in Hölbl 1985, pl. 4 (Stela Naples 1018). The placement of the *htp*-sign on end arises from a concern for filling quadrants of the inscription as fully as possible. Such a concern is evident in other Middle Kingdom inscriptions, with a number of examples of normally horizontal signs set on end, against the nature of the object depicted in the sign, in order to fill a quadrant following a vertical sign.<sup>24</sup> For the grammar of this formula, see Loprieno 1995, p. 198.

## COMMENTARY

The date suggests that the scribe was not on his way to Thebes for the Valley Festival in the second month of Shemu,<sup>25</sup> unless he was planning a long stay in the city. He might indeed, however, have been going to Thebes for the Feast of the Beginning of Shemu; see the spending-the-day inscriptions [Wadi el-Ḥōl Rock Inscriptions 17–19 and 20(?)], below). The inscription shows a mixture of hieratic and semi-hieroglyphic forms, and some forms that are themselves hybrids (e.g., the *m* near the top of line 3). The scribe’s desire to venture into hieroglyphic forms shows a higher level of education and a recognition that hieroglyphic forms are more appropriate to stone. Certain of these adaptations led to the creation of lapidary hieratic, others result from misunderstandings.<sup>26</sup>

23. Years 27, 30, and 33; see Matzker 1986, pp. 16–17, 21–22.

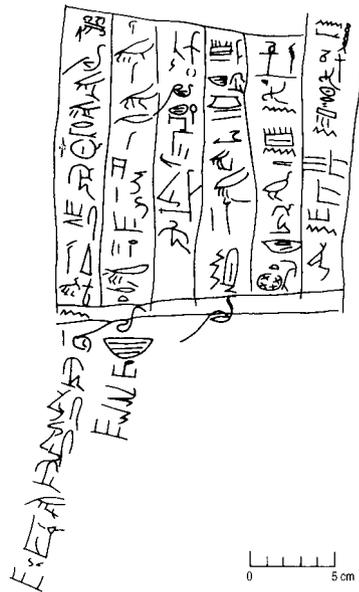
24. Compare Budge 1912b, pl. 39, no. 226 [362], line 8 (*t* in *Mntw* on end); compare also the stela of Nesumonthu (Obsomer 1993, pp. 104 and 122). Compare the Twelfth Dynasty stela BM E567 (Simpson 1974, pl. 22, no. 13. 2, the third vertical line of text in front of the figure of the man, an *n*-water sign is placed on end immediately after a reed leaf sign, in order to fill a block of space with the reed leaf). Note also Boeser 1909, pl. 3, *in* with vertical *n*-water sign in the vertical bands of text at each side of the stela. On this “Zeichendrehung,” see Schenkel 1962, pp. 29–31; Brovarski 1989, pp. 900–01, n. 276.

25. Winlock understood one Theban graffito to refer to the Valley Festival as occurring in the first month of Shemu, but this is to be corrected; see Vernus 1987, p. 165, n. (g).

26. For the imperfect understanding of hieroglyphic forms, see the apparently inadvertent substitution of the *f*-viper sign for the serpent goddess sign in the name *Sꜣ-Rnnwt* in graffito 1 from Gebel Tuob, near Buhen. See H. Smith 1972, p. 69, fig. 5, no. 1; on p. 47 Smith incorrectly interprets the name as “a botched version of one of the formulae *ir.n n.f sꜣf, ir.n n.f sꜣ n sꜣf* ...”

## INSCRIPTION OF RIGHT VERTICAL LINES

## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION OF RIGHT VERTICAL LINES

<sup>8</sup>*hn<sup>c</sup> nd-hr.t<sup>a</sup> n w<sup>c</sup>b pn<sup>b</sup> m<sup>9</sup>hs.t n(y.t) Mntw nb W3s.t<sup>10</sup>Imn nb ns.t T3.wy<sup>c</sup> Sbk Hr Hw.t-Hr<sup>11</sup>Nhb.t<sup>d</sup> hd.t Nhn ntr.w nb(.w)<sup>e</sup> im(.tt)<sup>f</sup> <sup>12</sup>Hr-wr<sup>8</sup> hry-tp h3s.wt<sup>h</sup> Wr.t nb.t Pwn.t<sup>i</sup> <sup>13</sup>Nw.t Hr-wr-R<sup>c</sup> Spd-Nfr-b3w-n-R<sup>c</sup>-Smsrw<sup>j</sup> Hr-i3b.ty*

<sup>8</sup>And greetings to this *w<sup>c</sup>b*-priest; in <sup>9</sup>the praise of Monthu lord of Thebes, <sup>10</sup>Amun lord of the throne of the Two Lands, Sobek, Horus, Hathor, <sup>11</sup>Nekhbet the white goddess of Nekhen, and all the gods; she of Imet, <sup>12</sup>Harokeris who is over the foreign lands, Weret, mistress of Punt, <sup>13</sup>Nut, Harokeris-Re, Sopdu-Neferbauena-Semseru, and Horus the easterner

## NOTES

<sup>a</sup> The *hn<sup>c</sup> nd-hr.t* with which this lapidary letter begins is the formula of an additional salutation (James 1962, p. 127). For an initial *hn<sup>c</sup>*, see the opening to the text on the reverse of the stela published in Simpson 1958, pp. 296–309. Note, however, that the initial *hn<sup>c</sup>* there is the opening of the reverse of the stela and is thus perhaps to be understood as a continuative form. There are some New Kingdom parallels involving *hn<sup>c</sup> dd* (Bakir 1970, p. 83). A careful examination of the surface of the rock in this area suggests strongly that more of the letter has not eroded away, and there is no good evidence for any other elements of the letter having been carved over.

<sup>b</sup> The pronoun *pn* should refer to something in proximity. There is in fact a *htp-di-nsw.t* formula mentioning the *w<sup>c</sup>b*-priest *Hpr-k3* just to the right of this inscription. One may suggest that Kheperka wrote his inscription first, and Dedusobek then added his, referring in it to Kheperka as *w<sup>c</sup>b pn*.

<sup>c</sup> We have Amun *nb ns.t t3.wy* “lord of the throne of the Two Lands,” perhaps another “Sinuhe-ism”; compare B 207 = R. Koch 1990, p. 64; this version of the epithet with *ns.t* in the singular also appears in James 1962, XX B 5; see also *ibid.*, pp. 100, 131. This supports not emending the text of Sinuhe, as do others; compare Wentz 1990, p. 23.

<sup>d</sup> For the deities listed here, in this order, with the exception of Nekhbet at the end, see the model letter in text B on the writing board MMA 28.9.4 (James 1962, pl. 30, text B, lines 3–6). Compare also the opening of Sinuhe’s letter to Sesostris I (R. Koch 1990, p. 64).

<sup>e</sup> Given the obvious parallels with Sinuhe’s letter, the reference here to *ntr.w nb.w* “all the gods” supports the reading of “all the gods of Egypt and the isles of the sea” (so Lichtheim 1973, p. 230), rather than “the gods who are the lords of the beloved land and the islands of the sea” (so Simpson 1973, p. 69). One should also note that O. Ashmoleon adds *ntr.w nb.w t3-mri* between Hathor and Atum in the first half of Sinuhe’s salutation (Barns 1952, verso line 23, and p. 22). The Wadi el-Hôl inscription suggests an allusion to a version of Sinuhe’s letter

parallel to that on O. Ashmoleon. Alternatively, the sign following *ntr.w* in line 4 could be genitival *n*, although the lower addition to the left speaks against this and for a reading *nb(w)*.

<sup>f</sup> Understanding here an orthography of the toponym *im.t*, Tel el-Nebesheh. This toponym appears in Sinuhe's letter in *nb.t im.t* "lady of Imet," a reference to the goddess Wadjet; see Gardiner 1916b, p. 80; Vikentiev 1956, p. 274, n. 1. In Dedusobek's inscription we appear not to have *nb.t* (unless the *nb* of *ntr.w nb(.w)* is to be understood haplographically). Imet is associated with both land and maritime commerce with Phoenicia; see Sethe 1917, p. 321; idem 1928, p. 17, n. 70e; Gutbub 1962, p. 71, n. 4. The presence of the goddess of Imet is thus appropriate for the Story of Sinuhe itself, but not entirely suited to Dedusobek's letter at the Wadi el-Ḥôl, a fact further suggesting that we have here a conscious allusion to Sinuhe's letter, even if many of the deities mentioned are appropriate to the Western Desert. <sup>g</sup>*Im(.tt)* is determined by the seated child, here in the form with both arms depending to the sides; this is followed by the *sp̄.t*-sign, written as in the toponym *T̄-wr* in line 6 of the left vertical lines of Dedusobek's complicated inscription. Alternatively, though less likely, one may suggest reading "all the gods of Imet." The sign at the top of line 12 immediately following *im(.tt)* appears to be a slightly incomplete seated woman/goddess sign. Alternatively, we might have here an orthography  for *Ny-nsu.t* "Heracleopolis" (for the toponym with quail chick sign, see *CT* 2: 88a/h, 89c; *CT* 4: 319a, 328m [references courtesy James P. Allen]).

<sup>g</sup> Beginning with Horus, the divine names listed here are parallel to deities mentioned in Sinuhe's letter to Sesostri I, although in a slightly different order (R. Koch 1990, pp. 64–65). On these deities, see Yoyotte 1962, pp. 69–73. For Horus over the foreign lands in this desert site, see the presence of *Hr-nb-h̄s(.w)t* "Horus lord of the desert(s)/foreign land(s)" on a Seventeenth Dynasty stela from Gebel Zeit (Castel and Soukiasian 1985, p. 291 and pl. 64; for *Hr nb h̄s.wt*, see also Aufrère 1991, p. 41, n. 77).

<sup>h</sup> In the parallel to this divine name and epithet in Sinuhe's letter to Sesostri I, O. Ashmoleon has *hry-tp h̄s.wt* (for Horus *hry-tp-h̄s.wt*, see Jacquet-Gordon 1972, pp. 88–89; see also the personal name in Engelbach 1922, p. 117), parallel to the Wadi el-Ḥôl inscription, whereas the Berlin version has *hry-ib h̄s.wt* (R. Koch 1990, p. 65). Goedicke (1965, p. 33) prefers *hry-tp* to *hry-ib*, though he does not attempt to back up this apparently subjective preference, as Barns (1967, p. 8) observes, apparently in disagreement with Goedicke. The present Wadi el-Ḥôl inscription, dating to the late Twelfth Dynasty, supports a preference for *hry-tp*.

<sup>i</sup> For the power of the goddess Weret exercised over the desert lands and their denizens, see Sinuhe B 63–64, wherein Sinuhe — praising Sesostri I — says that the *pd.tyw*-bowmen retreat before the king as before the power of Weret. The reference to the goddess Weret, mistress of Punt, and the nearby mention of Hathor, mistress of Punt, need not imply any direct connection between the Wadi el-Ḥôl and Punt; Hathor of Punt as an exotic goddess of far away lands would be appropriate to any far desert site like the Wadi el-Ḥôl (for Hathor and the oases of the Western Desert, see Jacquet-Gordon 1991, p. 174, n. 4). However, one should note that by way of the Gebel Qarn el-Gir caravan stop, the Wadi el-Ḥôl is on a route connecting Thebes with Kharga Oasis, the Darb el-Arbaîn, and ultimately Darfûr and the lands beyond. Although Punt almost certainly lay to the east of the Nile (Herzog 1968; Kitchen 1971, pp. 184–207; idem 1982b, cols. 1198–201; Bradbury 1988, pp. 127–56), perhaps centered on the area of Kassala (see Darnell, forthcoming a), products from Punt may at least occasionally have reached Egypt by way of routes through the Western Desert. At Gebel Tingâr on the west bank at Aswan, slightly south of Qubbet el-Hawa, there was set up a stela referring to products of Punt (de Morgan et al. 1894, p. 126), presumably moving along the desert roads and arriving on the west side of Aswan.

<sup>j</sup> The divine names and epithets Sopdu-Neferbauenra-Semseru and Horus the easterner occur in Sinuhe's letter to Sesostri I. Sopdu is in fact called *nfr b̄w* in only one other text, namely Sinuhe's letter to Sesostri I. The epithet as it appears at the Wadi el-Ḥôl is in a fuller form, *nfr-b̄w-n-R̄*. During the Middle Kingdom the epithet *Smsrw* appears only in Sinuhe's letter, although there are a few later attestations (see Gardiner 1916b, pp. 79–80, 161; idem 1943, pp. 75–76; Schumacher 1988, pp. 75–79). The epithet of Sopdu *Nfr-b̄w-n-R̄* occurring in this inscription is most closely paralleled by the O. Ashmoleon version of Sinuhe, with its *Nfr-b̄w-R̄* (Barns 1952, p. 22 [nr. 24]). This inscription shows that the Re of the O. Ashmoleon version indeed belongs with Neferbau, not with the following Semsem (note the hesitancy in Barns 1967, p. 7). One may note that in the Late Period there is a class of magical texts known as *b̄w-R̄*, which express the cosmic power of the sun (Assmann 1969, pp. 222–23 [especially n. 171]: according to Assmann, "es ist die kosmische, belebend-vernichtende Macht des Sonnengottes selbst, die sich in der 'Aufführung' dieser Texte realisiert" [ibid., p.

222]). The epithet *nfr-bꜣw-n-Rꜥ* may thus qualify the desert deity Sopdu as a manifestation of the power of the sun, somewhat on the order of a male counterpart to the goddess Sekhmet. For the association of Sopdu with Horus the easterner, see Yoyotte 1989, pp. 40–41.

#### COMMENTARY

This Wadi el-Ḥôl inscription is almost certainly based on Sinuhe's letter to Sesostri I in the Story of Sinuhe or at least on a common prototype. Dedusobek's Wadi el-Ḥôl composition in fact supports a number of the readings of the O. Ashmoleon version of the Story of Sinuhe. This in turn gives weight to the conclusion that the O. Ashmoleon and other Ramesside versions of the Story of Sinuhe are based on older variant texts. There is no reason to see in the version of the Story of Sinuhe in O. Ashmoleon any sort of necessarily Ramesside recension.<sup>27</sup>

Although Dedusobek's inscription at the Wadi el-Ḥôl will certainly not end speculation regarding the literary import of the deities whom Sinuhe addresses in his letter to Sesostri I, it does show that they were all gods to whom an Egyptian traveling outside of the Nile Valley proper may address his or her prayers. Even if Dedusobek was quoting from a literary work, the deities he lists were apparently appropriate to his journey and his stay — however brief — at the Wadi el-Ḥôl. This rock inscription may contain purposeful allusions to the Story of Sinuhe, but at least one may suggest that Dedusobek believed the deities whom he chose to list in the lapidary letter at the Wadi el-Ḥôl were appropriate protectors of a traveler in the Western Desert.

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27. As van de Walle (1953, p. 304) suggests.

## WADI EL-HÔL ROCK INSCRIPTION 6

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	A. Text of a priest	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 65, 74, 79, 82–83
	B. Depiction of a striding statue of king and text containing a blessing formula and surcharged depiction of human head	<i>Size:</i>	A. ca. 11.75 × 18.50 cm B. ca. 16.00 × 18.80 cm C. ca. 5.00 × 11.75 cm
	C. Depiction of standing man and text containing name		
<i>Date of Inscription:</i>	Middle Kingdom (late Twelfth Dynasty[?])		
<i>Provenance:</i>	Area B		
<i>Note:</i>	See also Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscriptions 4 and 5; see figure 2, page 96, above		

The central depiction (6B; see fig. 2) represents a striding statue of a king on a sledge, wearing the double crown, carrying a *wꜣs*-scepter in one hand, and holding an *ꜥnh* and a *hꜣrp*-scepter in the other.<sup>28</sup> In front of the image is a single column of text. The central portion of the text has been damaged by the later depiction of a human head. Above the statue is the text (6A) of a priest Sobekhotep. To the lower right (6C) is the partially carved image of a man named Ankhu.

## INSCRIPTION 6A

## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION OF 6A

<sup>1</sup>*Hw.t-Hr nb(.t)* <sup>2</sup>*Iwn.t-Hr nb hꜣs.wt* <sup>3</sup>*wꜥb Sbk-ḥtpw nb imꜣh*

<sup>1</sup>Hathor, mistress of Dendera; <sup>2</sup>Horus, lord of the foreign lands; <sup>3</sup>the *wꜥb*-priest Sobekhotep, possessor of veneration

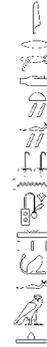
## COMMENTARY ON 6A

These three lines, carved above the image of the statue of the king in inscription 6B, may be the work of the *wꜥb*-priest Sobekhotep. However, the scale and spacing of the signs in lines 1–2 are smaller and tighter in general than line 3. This, and palaeographic similarities, suggest the possibility that lines 1–2 of inscription 6A actually belong to the left end of Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 5, possibly following line 7 of Dedusobek's letter (see fig. 2). Although there is no trace of *mry*, one might suggest that Dedusobek may have intended to close his letter with "... Monthuhotep, (beloved) of Hathor, mistress of Dendera, and Horus, lord of the foreign lands." In this case, line 3 would be the separate, one-line inscription of a passing scribe.

28. Compare the inscription in de Morgan et al. 1894, p. 31, no. 17.

## INSCRIPTION 6B

## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION OF 6B

*ir šd<sup>a</sup>.ty=fy nn<sup>b</sup> [n(y)] sh<sup>3</sup>.w ph<sup>3</sup>=f m htp<sup>c</sup>*

As for him who will read these writings/images, he will reach (home) in peace

## NOTES FOR 6B

<sup>a</sup> For the appearance of the *šd*-sign, see the first example in Erman 1911, p. 4.

<sup>b</sup> The traces within the head suggest the *sš*-sign over a book roll sign over plural strokes. On such formulae in general, see Simpson 1958, pp. 302–03. Compare Posener 1968b, pl. 9, lines 6–7: *ir gr.t s nb ... šd.t(y)=f(y) wđ [pn]*; Sadek 1980, pp. 28–29: *ir gr.t šd.(y)=f(y) sw* [referring to *wđ pn*] *h<sup>3</sup>=f m htp*.

<sup>c</sup> For *ph* used intransitively, with the meaning to reach one’s home, in the phrase *iw=f r ph m htp* “he shall reach (home) in peace,” see Gardiner and Peet 1955, p. 69, n. h; Simpson 1961, p. 28; Posener 1968b, pp. 69–70 (nn. n and p). This formula appears to be peculiar to the Middle Kingdom; compare the remarks of E. Eichler 1994, p. 75. Another inscription blessing the reader with a safe journey, and apparently dating to the reign of Amenemhat I, appears a short distance to the left of this one. To arrive “in peace” also means “successfully”; see Fischer 1996a, p. 83, n. g.

## COMMENTARY ON 6B

During his visit to the site in the 1930s, Hans Winkler photographed the surviving base and feet of what appears to have been a large Osiride statue. The negative does not appear ever to have been printed (the negative is now in the office of the Egypt Exploration Society), and Winkler’s notes are not sufficiently detailed for one to say exactly where the piece was originally located. One may suggest that the statue represented the king in Osiride pose.<sup>29</sup> The former presence of a statue of the king at the Wadi el-Ḥôl, at least as an inscription and possibly in the round as well, provides a concrete illustration of the statement on the late Middle Kingdom stela of Ibia from Abydos, Cairo 20086, wherein the stela owner says he is one “who followed the monuments of the sovereign into [remote] foreign lands/far desert lands ... .”<sup>30</sup> One may also compare the Instruction for Merikare E 67: *sbi twt.w=k r h<sup>3</sup>s.t w<sup>3</sup>y.t* “send your statues into the far desert/foreign land.” This could refer to

29. For the image of the statue of the king, see Eaton-Krauss 1984a, p. 194, a Middle Kingdom example of a statue with a “walking staff in the far hand and a scepter in the near hand”; p. 203, only one royal example is preserved from a royal monument (“a statuette depicted in the reliefs of the so-called Labyrinth of Hawara”); p. 206, representations

from inscriptions, citing (n. 1016) only the statue of Amenhotep III in the graffito of Men at Aswan. According to Eaton-Krauss 1984b, cols. 1263–65, there are two examples from the Middle Kingdom.

30. Lange and Schäfer 1902a, pp. 101–03; Lichtheim 1988, pp. 127–28.

the export of images as a demonstration of royal power,<sup>31</sup> or even to the dispatching of apotropaic images into foreign lands.<sup>32</sup> By analogy with the designation *sšm-ḥw* for the image of the king in the royal bark during the New Kingdom, one may suggest that the *ḥw bꜣq* appearing in a Second Intermediate Period stela regarding a trip from Thebes to Abydos<sup>33</sup> may in fact be an early version of such an image.<sup>34</sup>

Stylistically the head carved over the text is similar to other heads in Area C, near the spending-the-day inscriptions (Wadi el-Ḥôl Rock Inscriptions 17–19 and 20[?]). This suggests that the head was carved over the annotation to the image of the statue of the king not long after that image itself was executed. There are similar graffiti-heads, with exaggerated chins and sharply rendered lips, apparently dating from the time of the construction of the pyramid of Sesostri III (see de Morgan 1903, pp. 93–96, figs. 137–40).

## INSCRIPTION 6C

## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION OF 6C

ḥnw

Ankhu

## COMMENTARY ON 6C

The figure appears unfinished, with head, slightly tilted back, facing right. The left arm is bent, the partially carved left hand apparently slightly cupped before the mouth, suggesting a pose of speech. The literary text nearby is apparently the work of a scribe Ankh(u) — perhaps the same man. Compare the poses of the heads in Wadi el-Ḥôl Rock Inscriptions 3 and 15.

31. So Quack 1992, p. 41, n. d.

32. See Haigh 1874, pp. 67–69; Morschauser 1988, p. 204, n. 11; Darnell 1990, p. 74, n. 21.

33. Helck 1983, pp. 8–9; compare also the *ḥw m ḥqʿ* in Fischer 1985, p. 11.

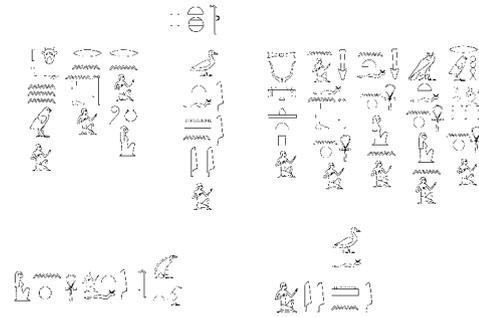
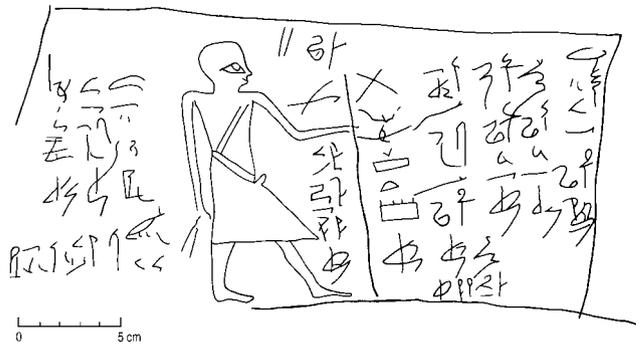
34. For the significance of the cultic image of the ruler, see Nelson 1942, pp. 127–55; Ockinga 1984; Pamminger 1993, pp. 85–92, particularly p. 85, n. 16; Darnell 1994, pp. 43–46, 52.

## WADI EL-HÔL ROCK INSCRIPTION 7

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Depiction of striding man with large eye and text containing names and filiations	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 65, 84
<i>Date of Inscription:</i>	Late Middle Kingdom	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 29.7 × 15.3 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Area B		
<i>Note:</i>	Inscription in the vicinity of regnal year 31 inscriptions		

## INSCRIPTION

## TRANSCRIPTION



## TEXT OVER LEFT SHOULDER OF MAN

## TRANSLITERATION

<sup>1</sup>*hsb.t 2*

## TRANSLATION

<sup>1</sup>Regnal year 2:

## VERTICAL COLUMNS IN FRONT OF MAN, RIGHT TO LEFT

## TRANSLITERATION

<sup>2</sup>*Rḥw-ḥnh*<sup>3</sup>*mw.t=f ḥnh-n=i<sup>a</sup>*<sup>4</sup>*sn.t=f ḥnh-n=i<sup>a</sup>*<sup>5</sup>*sn=f Snb-ḥnh*<sup>6</sup>*s3=f imny*

## TRANSLATION

<sup>2</sup>Rehuanh,<sup>3</sup>his mother Ankheni,<sup>4</sup>his sister Ankheni,<sup>5</sup>his brother Senebankh,<sup>6</sup>his son Ameny

## NAME OF "STELA" OWNER

## TRANSLITERATION

<sup>7</sup>*t3sw Wp-W3(.wt)-ḥtp<sup>b</sup> s3 ʾIt(=i)-imny*

## TRANSLATION

<sup>7</sup>Commander Wepwawethotep's son, It(i)ameny

## VERTICAL COLUMNS BEHIND MAN

## TRANSLITERATION

<sup>8</sup>*Rn=i-nw*<sup>9</sup>*Rn-snb*<sup>10</sup>*Ib-i'w*

## TRANSLATION

<sup>8</sup>Reninu,<sup>9</sup>Renseneb,<sup>10</sup>Ibiaw

## HORIZONTAL LINE BELOW THESE COLUMNS

## TRANSLITERATION

<sup>11</sup>*mw.t=s ʾIt=i-ḥnh*

## TRANSLATION

<sup>11</sup>Her mother, It(i)ankh

## NOTES

<sup>a</sup> The names of both the mother and sister of Rehuankh appear to be  $\text{'nh-n=i}$ , the sign of the seated woman following  $\text{'nh}$  in each writing of the name. Alternatively, albeit less likely, one might take this sign as the second person singular feminine suffix pronoun, the names then being  $\text{'nh=t-n=i}$ . For the seated woman sign as  $\text{=t}$ , see Clère 1968, p. 140.

<sup>b</sup> The confusion of the  $p$  complement of  $\text{h}tp$  in the name Wepwawethotep with the  $mn$ -board sign derives from two different orthographies: (1) Orthographies of  $p$  as a rectangular box with three vertical lines protruding above; compare the writing of  $p$  in  $\text{h}tp$  in Hintze and Reineke 1989, no. 195 (p. 61, pl. 63). This would be a lapidary interpretation of the hieratic, perhaps influenced by orthographies attempting to show internal details of the matting, for which, see Fischer 1976a, pp. 109–14. (2) Orthographies of  $p$  in which the essential hieratic form has more than the usual three verticals; compare Gardiner and Peet 1952, pl. 34 N. Edge, line 29 (the  $p$  of  $\text{h}tp$  in the name Monthuhotep).

## COMMENTARY

The names suggest a late Middle Kingdom date. It is tempting to connect these people with the family of the official Rehuankh, married to Ankhesehi (see Franke 1984a, p. 249, dossier no. 388).

## WADI EL-HÔL ROCK INSCRIPTION 8

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text of Middle Egyptian literary composition	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 65, 85–88
<i>Date of Inscription:</i>	Terminal Middle Kingdom/Second Intermediate Period	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 47.0 × 7.5 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Area B		

Certain of the pharaonic inscriptions at the site provide evidence of a military presence at the Wadi el-Hôl. Other inscriptions allude to religious celebrations in honor of the far-wandering goddess Hathor. One inscription is in the form of a letter and contains quotations from Sinuhe's letter to Sesostris I. But among these and other interesting and important inscriptions is one that stands out from the others by virtue of its length, the beauty of its lapidary hieratic, and the extreme interest of its content. The initial version of the accompanying facsimile drawing was made in March 1995; the text was collated in December 1995 and again in March 1996.<sup>35</sup> Due to the extent of the damage suffered by the inscription, weathering or scratching is only sparsely indicated on the drawing; when included, the damage greatly obscures the surviving words and fragments of signs. The accompanying photographs should serve to show the extent of damage and the nature of the stone.<sup>36</sup>

The text consists of four-and-one-half lines of hieratic. The hand is fairly neat, given the nature of the surface into which it was cut; considering the rough and undulating surface, the signs retain the appearance of their ink prototypes to a remarkable degree. Although there is in general an avoidance of ligatures involving the *f*-serpent sign (but cf. *r mrr = f* at the end of line 2), and *dr + r* appears in a ligatured (in *drdr*, line 2) and non-ligatured (in *<s>dr = f* in line 4) form, many well-executed ligatures do appear; compare *kd* in line 1; the seated woman sign and plural strokes of *rm̄t* in lines 1 and 3; *hr*-sign of *sh̄t[ = f]* in line 3; the fragmentary and possible reading of *Sty.w* in line 3 (see text note *r*, below); *ty* of *h̄fty* in line 3; *h̄pr + r* of *h̄pr.t* in line 4; and *kr* of *h̄kr* in line 4. A number of more hieroglyphic forms appear occasionally (*r* of *rm̄t* in line 1; *t* of *h̄d.t* in line 4), however, and the round signs (*n̄iw.t* in line 1; *h̄* of *h̄fty* in line 2; the sun disk determinative of *h̄d.t* in line 4) are exceptionally well made. Both ligatured and non-ligatured plural indicators appear. The overall impression is one of hieratic with occasional, hieroglyphicizing modifications. The presence of a number of well-executed ligatures suggests that the departures from hieratic are not a response to the difficulties of writing hieratic on stone; the scribe has clearly done a fine job in maintaining finely shaped signs and straight lines on a rough and convex surface. The intrusions of hieroglyphic forms result more likely from a recognition that those more elaborate signs are more appropriate to the medium of stone.

The inscription has been scratched over, apparently with a view to obliterating the text. The scratches are widely scattered over the inscription, and a major concentration forms an "X" centered on the second line about three inches from the right. Since the patina of the scratches is identical to that of the signs themselves, one may suggest that this scratching is the result of ancient vandalism and not of modern attacks on the site.<sup>37</sup> The second and third lines of the inscription have suffered the most from this attempted erasure. A similar "X"-shaped erasure appears nearby, obscuring the figure of a man accompanying an inscription dated late in the reign of Amenemhat III. This provides an admittedly circumstantial *terminus post quem* for the attempted erasure of the literary inscription. The abbreviated name of Hou in line 1 (see text note *b*, below) also supports the late Middle Kingdom as the *terminus post quem*.

Palaeographically this text appears to date to a period when late Middle Kingdom sign forms (see text notes *c* and *f*, below) were mingling with those more common to the Second Intermediate Period and early New Kingdom (see text notes *e*, *j*, *l*, *m*, *r*, *y*, *dd*, and *ee*, below). A similar combination of sign forms appears in the Sothic observation inscription at Gebel Tjauti in the Theban Western Desert, which dates on the basis of astronomical data to the Seventeenth Dynasty (see Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 11, above).

35. The accompanying photographs were taken by Deborah Darnell; the drawings are by John Darnell, after collations by John Darnell and Deborah Darnell.

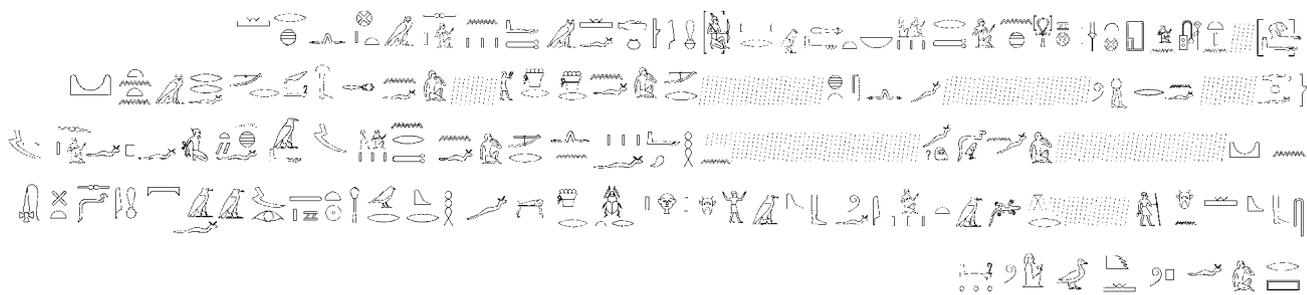
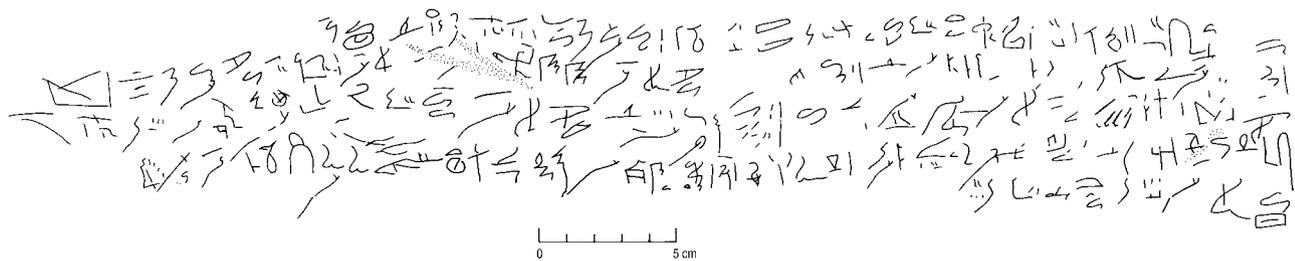
36. The Theban Desert Road Survey would like to thank Vivian Davies, H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, R. Parkinson, S. Quirke, and E. F. Wente for discussions of portions of early drafts of a preliminary publication of this text and for offering a number of helpful suggestions.

37. This inscription, a text addressed to travelers located a short distance to the left, and the nearby image of a man accompanying a text dated to the reign of Amenemhat III all anciently erased, are all apparent testimony to the ancient fear that one's inscription would be erased; compare Morschauer 1991, pp. 38–47.

The inscription is located rather low in Area B, consistent with a later date for the inscription. The level of the wadi bed of the Wadi el-Hôl has dropped through the ages, and most of the prehistoric inscriptions are now high up, and New Kingdom inscriptions in Area C are all fairly low. There are no clearly New Kingdom inscriptions in Area B, suggesting that by the end of the Second Intermediate Period, the wadi bottom in the area had begun to approach the present level, well below easy accessibility to good stone.

Although several features of the text may be taken to suggest that the scribe was copying from a papyrus original,<sup>38</sup> no fragment of this composition appears to have survived in any other form, from any period.<sup>39</sup> This strongly suggests that the literary inscription is the spontaneous composition of a scribe, seized with a literary impulse deep in the Western Desert, drawing upon his knowledge of the contemporary political situation, seen through the lens of the Middle Egyptian literature with which he was familiar.<sup>40</sup>

INSCRIPTION AND TRANSCRIPTION



TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

<sup>1</sup>*h̄z.t-<sup>c</sup>[...]t<sup>a</sup> n(y) sh̄z n(y) Hw.t-Shm<sup>b</sup> n̄h rmt nb.t<sup>c</sup> š.w šr(i.w)<sup>d</sup> m[š<sup>c</sup>] m̄i-kd=f m=tn s m Niw.t<sup>e</sup> n rh<sup>f</sup>*  
<sup>2</sup>*k̄d(?)<sup>g</sup> [=f(?) ii(?)].n=f r inw[ ... sbz(.t?)y]<sup>h</sup>=f n sht[=f]<sup>i</sup> [...] mr.n=f<sup>j</sup> drdr<sup>k</sup> [...].n=f<sup>l</sup> h̄tb<sup>m</sup> r mrr=f<sup>n</sup> m tntn<sup>o</sup> ḏw*  
<sup>3</sup>*n(?) ḏw [...]p fndw=f(?)<sup>q</sup> [...]r n-h<sup>c</sup>.w=f<sup>s</sup> nn<sup>t</sup> mr.n=f n(?)<sup>u</sup> rmt m<sup>z</sup><sup>c</sup> n<sup>v</sup> h̄fty=f pf<sup>w</sup> s m<sup>z</sup><sup>c</sup>(?)<sup>x</sup>*  
<sup>4</sup>*sbk-ib n sr(.w)(?)<sup>y</sup> [...]i]b(?) hr šz.t<sup>z</sup> iw=f bkz(?)<sup>-ib</sup><sup>aa</sup> hr hpr.t<sup>bb</sup> <s>ḏr=f hkr<sup>cc</sup> r ḥd.t<sup>dd</sup> t<sup>z</sup> m<sup>zz</sup><sup>ee</sup>=f p.t<sup>ff</sup> m̄i sḏ.t<sup>gg</sup>*  
<sup>5</sup>*rš=f pw<sup>hh</sup> km<sup>ii</sup> s̄w.(t)<sup>jj</sup>*

<sup>1</sup>The be[ginning ...] of the scribe of Hou, Ankh: “(Oh) all people great and small, and all the ar[my], behold — a man is in the City, [whose ki]nd(?) is unknown

38. As suggested in the preliminary publication of this text in Darnell 1997c, pp. 86–88.  
 39. The Theban Desert Road Survey thanks H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, R. Parkinson, and S. Quirke for helping confirm the apparent lack of other versions of the composition.  
 40. According to Fischer-Elfert, “As far as I can see, this text is unique, and I am quite confident that it was never transposed to the surface of a papyrus or whatever. It seems to me that it was composed by its author on the very spot

where you found it” (letter dated September 19, 1996). The text appears to show, as do many others, the fallacy of Gardiner’s rather pompous statement regarding the inscriptions of the ancient Egyptians, that the “Egyptian could not give written expression even to his aesthetic emotions without a complete surrender to the conventional phraseology ... . Hence there is but little information beyond a few proper names to be gleaned from these fortuitous scribblings”; see Norman Davies 1920, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup>[...] He has [come(?)] against the one who carries away(?) [...] his [pupil(?)] without [his] being ensnared ... [as] he desired. It is(?) the foreigner whom he has [...], one who slays as he desires while traversing [from] mountain

<sup>3</sup>to(?) mountain [...] his nostrils(?) [...] by himself. He cannot love the people who are loyal to that of his enemy. A true(?) *s*-man (is he)

<sup>4</sup>one intelligent for the officials(?) ... among the multitude (of enemies), he being haughty because of what has happened, he spending the night hungry until day breaks, and he sees the sky like a flame.

<sup>5</sup>His joy is the successful completion of the watch”

## NOTES

<sup>a</sup> The surviving signs are the rightmost portions of  $h^3.t$  over an  $^c$ -arm, followed by a lacuna, with an apparent  $t$  over stroke at the end of the lacuna. A rather large inscription consisting solely of the title  $h^3.t.^c m sb^3y.t$  appears on the other side of the bow of rock on which this long hieratic inscription is carved, and it is tempting to relate that short “title” inscription to this longer text. The lacuna does not appear to be large enough, however, to allow a reading  $m sb^3y.t$ . A restoration  $h^3.t.^c m nht$  is also a beguiling possibility, given the martial nature of the following poetic text, but as the following genitive should describe the author of the  $nht$ -deeds, and not the author of the composition, the reference to the scribe of Hou would be unexpected, and apparently inappropriate. Perhaps more probable is a restoration  $h^3.t.^c m hs.t$ , a suitable title for the following poetical description. Also possible is  $h^3.t.^c m md^3.t$  (cf. the orthography in Simpson 1965, pl. 18, §L 35), or  $h^3.t.^c m md.t$  (for the  $md.t$ -genre, see Posener 1951b, pp. 46–47; Spalinger 1982, p. 222, n. 1; Schott 1990, pp. 294–95, nos. 1359–66). The genitive following the title appears to introduce the author, so one wants something on the order of  $h^3.t.^c m md.t \dot{d}d.t n + PN$  (see Schott 1990, 91–92, nos. 159–61), but there is hardly room for all of that. On  $h^3.t.^c$ , see Goedicke 1961, pp. 147–49, and the references in Spalinger 1982, p. 224, n. 3. For a catalog of the known Middle Kingdom teachings and discourses, see Parkinson 1991b, pp. 105–13, 120–22.

<sup>b</sup> The title appears to be otherwise unknown outside of the Wadi el-Ḥôl. In another area of inscriptions at the Wadi el-Ḥôl, a man named Antef bears the title  $s^3 n [p]r-[^c]nh <n> Hw.t-shm$  “scribe of the house of life of Hou.” This literary inscription executed by a scribe of Hou and the presence at the Wadi el-Ḥôl of a scribe of the house of life of Hou are together strong evidence for the existence of a school at Hou; compare Simpson 1995, p. 13; Nordh 1996 does not cite any documentation for a  $pr.^c nh$  at Hou, and the Wadi el-Ḥôl inscriptions appear to provide the first evidence for this institution at Hou. For the loyalist texts in Middle Kingdom schooling, see Posener 1956; Kitchen 1996, p. 61. The shortened form of the name of Hou ( $hw.t-shm$  without the name of Sesostri I) suggests a late Middle Kingdom date for these inscriptions; see Fischer 1962b, p. 15, n. 61; Simpson 1965, p. 45. On the name of Hou, see also Sauneron 1983, p. 148, nn. 2–3, p. 193; on the local pronunciation of the modern toponym, see Honigsberg 1969, p. 19.

<sup>c</sup> The word  $rm^c$  has a late Middle Kingdom appearance, rather than the compacted and curvaceous form peculiar to the Hyksos period (Möller 1927, p. 17). For the appearance of  $nb.t$ , see Marciniak 1974, pl. 33A, line 1; compare also Erman 1911, p. 5.

<sup>d</sup> For the “great and small” people, see the references in *Wb.* 4.526:3, and particularly the Middle Kingdom example on a Louvre stela published in Moss 1932, pl. 47 (opposite p. 310). For a reference to the great and the small following — as in apposition to — a mention of “everyone,” see  $wr.w \dot{s}ri.w$  following  $t^3-r-dr^c=f$  in van der Plas 1986, §III, 1–2. For  $rm^c$   $^c$ , see Meeks 1980, p. 216, no. 77.2380. As well as referring to all echelons of society, the author could also be addressing himself to the higher and lower level officials; compare the stela of Iti from Gebelein (Cairo CGC 20001, line 8; Lange and Schäfer 1902a, p. 2) with its reference to  $nb$   $^c$  and  $nb nds$  “a great lord” and “a small lord.” As high officials are not otherwise mentioned here before the address to the military, the former interpretation is more likely; compare Spalinger 1986, p. 159, nn. (a)–(b).

<sup>e</sup> The  $niw.t$  sign is very well rounded, for which feature, see Second Intermediate Period hieratic examples in Erman 1911, p. 4.

<sup>f</sup> The negative-arms-*n* has more a Middle Kingdom than a New Kingdom shape, with the looped upper portion rather than a dot or single short stroke. The negative-arms-*n* occurs once each in lines 1, 2, and 3. Following *rh* one may read the book roll determinative. The sign is tall and narrow, the downward stroke (originally representing the right side of the roll) could indeed be stretched downwards, features consistent with a late Middle Kingdom date for this inscription. The leftmost tie of the book roll is roughly horizontal, as it is in the determinative to *km.t* in line 5.

<sup>g</sup> This looks to be a writing of *qd* “appearance” (cf. Grimal 1986, p. 426, n. 1460), although the orthography, damaged as it is, differs somewhat from that in the preceding line. One might suggest reading *im* here, although the owl-*m* would be somewhat short; such a reading would require understanding something on the order of *\*m-tn s m niw.t nj rh<εf> im* “Behold, an *s*-man in/from a town in which <he> is not known.” This would be odd in the present context, requiring the omission of a suffix pronoun after *rh* and ignoring the use of *s* in a number of texts as a reference to the Middle Kingdom ruler (see commentary and footnotes 44–45, below). *Qd* is attested as “one of (someone’s) kind/ilk” (cf. *mi qd=kn nb* “just like every other of your sort” [Darnell and Jasnow 1993, pp. 272–73, line 7]), and perhaps this fits better the context of the Wadi el-Hôl inscription. For the unequaled nature of the king, especially the warrior king, see Sinuhe B 52: *pr-ε nn twt nεf* “a hero without his like.”

<sup>h</sup> For the walking *nw*-pot + *w*-coil (a less likely transcription is as *sdm*-ear + *m*) as “the one who carries away, carries off,” see Caminos 1968, p. 86. Following the possible *inw* is an area of heavy damage, a result of the attempted erasure of the inscription in antiquity. The remnants of signs just before *n sht* could write *sb>[.t?]yεf* (the surviving fragments could belong to *s* + *b* + star followed by the double reeds [+ possible loaf-*t*] + man-with-hand-to-mouth and *f*-viper), perhaps a reference to a pupil of the man in the City (royal residence). This possible reference to the ruler’s instruction, or a pupil whom the ruler has instructed (cf. Blumenthal 1970, pp. 288–89; Grimal 1986, p. 251, n. 785), followed by more warlike activities, is summarized in line 4 of the inscription, in *sbk-ib n sr(.w)(?) [...i]b(?) hr εst* “one intelligent for the officials(?) ... amongst the multitude (of enemies).” The king may dictate his instructions, or write them himself (te Velde 1986, pp. 261–62). On *sb>*-instruction, see also Habachi 1972, p. 44. A reference to the king as *mnh sb>y.t* followed by descriptions of the powers of the ruler over foreigners appears on a stave from the tomb of Tutankhamun (Beinlich and Saleh 1989, p. 66, no. 227b).

<sup>i</sup> The transcription chosen here is *sht*; although *srt* could also be possible, its sense is more difficult to discern. Less likely would be a reading *shr*, although *shr* is a common term in Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom texts referring to military defeat; see Spalinger 1982, pp. 83–85. The author would probably not state that the Theban ruler was unable to perform either *sht* or *shr*, and for this reason *n sht[εf]/shr[εf]* is interpreted as incorporating the infinitive of *sht* or *shr* with passive voice; for which, see Gunn 1924, pp. 65–68 “without his being overthrown.” The traces following the possible *sht* are difficult to interpret, although they would fit the falling man of the less likely *shr*. The adjunct *n sht[εf]* is probably to be understood as the emphasized adverbial adjunct of the emphatic [*ii*].*nεf*, if such is indeed the correct reading.

<sup>j</sup> The author of this inscription has avoided any ligature involving *f*, with the exception of *mrrεf* near the end of line 2. This avoidance of ligatured *f* is not uncommon in texts from the Second Intermediate Period; along with the more clearly Middle Kingdom and late Middle Kingdom features, this could support a date near the cusp of the Thirteenth and Seventeenth Dynasties. One may suggest the restoration of *mi* or *r* before *mr.nεf* (cf. the *r mrεf* near the end of this line); alternatively *mr.nεf* could also be a relative form. The king’s desire appears twice in line 2 and once in line 3; compare Sinuhe’s letter to Sesostri I, in which he details all the things that occur according to the desire (*mrw.t*) of the ruler (O. Ashmoleon, verso 35). As this follows a reference to the ruler not becoming ensnared(?), the text may in some way have referred to the ruler moving “[as] he desired.”

<sup>k</sup> The term *drdr* is determined by the sign of the man with raised arms, attested from a number of orthographies (cf. *Wb.* 5.604). The sign of the armless, magically impotent foreigner (cf. the magical spell in P. BM 10688 [= P. Chester Beatty VIII] verso 7, lines 5–8; see Gardiner 1935a, pls. 46–47, referring to the enemy as having no arms) is omitted. Following the determinative of *drdr* is what might be the upper portion of the sign of the falling man (the rounded head on the top of the back, with the uppermost of the two arms), perhaps part of an abbreviated writing of *hr* “to fall,” attested in hieroglyphic texts; compare *Urk.* 4.773, line 10. This feature, along with the often well-separated signs, would imply that the author was acquainted with monumental texts. The bit

of vertical line following this is difficult to interpret. Due to a flaw in the stone at this point, the signs immediately following are tipped up to the left.

<sup>l</sup> The flaw in the stone following *ḏrḏr* presumably contains traces of a verb determined by the man-with-hand-to-mouth sign. As *ḏrḏr* following *mr.n=f* appears to begin a new thought, we may have here the remnants of a relative form.

<sup>m</sup> The *ḥ* of *ḥtb* appears to have been formed in the same fashion as in Papyrus Westcar: a vertical stroke for the right tip, a semicircle for the area of the teats, and a horizontal line to the left. The elements are somewhat out of proportion here, a result of the roughness and unevenness of the surface into which the inscription is cut. The rare intransitive use of the verb *ḥdb* occurs in Middle Kingdom texts only in Sinuhe's encomium on Sesostri I (*Wb.* 3.403:3 = Sinuhe 3). The signs following the *tb*-ligature appear to be a knife over an abbreviated and somewhat disjointed strong-arm sign. Quite abbreviated versions of the strong-arm are known (cf. Erman 1901b, p. 6; Megally 1971a, pls. 70 [B recto III.1] and 74 [B verso I.1]), and the strong-arm has much the same shape under discussion in Marciniak 1974, pl. 2A, line 8 (in *wsr*). For a similar appearance to the <sup>c</sup>-arm, see *ibid.*, pl. 3A, line 6 (in <sup>c</sup>*ḥ*); compare also the *di*-arm, *ibid.*, pl. 3A, lines 6 (in *dy.t*) and 8 (in *dy.t*). The strong-arm has this appearance again in the determinative to *sḏw(.t)* "watch" at the end of line 5.

<sup>n</sup> The first *r* after the *mr*-hoe is ligatured to the pronominal suffix *f* by an uncommonly long and shaky line. On closer examination the undulations of the ligature line appear to contain the *t* of *mrrt*, the execution of which the stone surface thwarted and the scribe left uncorrected. For the bellicose associations of the king acting "according as he desires," see Desroches-Noblecourt and Kuentz 1968/1, pp. 170–72, n. 197 (note that a reading *mr.t=f* is also possible [*ibid.*, p. 172, n. 5]).

<sup>o</sup> Reading *m dndn ḏw* as *m* + infinitive *tntn* (cf. <sup>c</sup>*k=f im m dndn m ḥtp m pr Wsir* in de Buck 1951, p. 96e), a writing of *dndn* "to travel a place" (*Wb.* 5.470:12–13; Faulkner 1962, p. 314; Edel 1955, pp. 188, 190, §§428aa and 429; Meeks 1981, p. 433, no. 78.4817; *idem* 1982, p. 339, no. 79.3575), which also appears as *tntn* (*Wb.* 5.385:10), both apparently forms of *titi* (*Wb.* 5.357:7–9; Faulkner 1962, p. 304; see Fischer-Elfert 1986, p. 206) / *titi* (*Wb.* 5.244:1–7; Faulkner 1962, p. 294) derived from *ti* "to pound (with a pestle)" (*Wb.* 5.237:10–11; see J. Allen 1984, p. 548, §729). The absence of a walking-legs determinative is slightly disturbing but does parallel the absence of this determinative of *dndn* in the Pyramid Texts. The verb *titi*, though used intransitively, appears in Sinuhe's encomium on Sesostri I (R. Koch 1990, p. 3). Compare also the reference to Amun's anger in Zandee 1947/48, pp. 95–96: *ḏw.w ḥr mnmn ḥr=f r tr nšn=f* "the mountains quake beneath him at the time of his raging." For the significance of *ḏw* "mountain, desert," here perhaps a reference to the escarpment filling the Qena Bend, see Aufrère 1991, pp. 18–24. This is probably the significance of the apparent protodynastic royal name "Elephant on the Mountain" (Dreyer 1957, p. 56). The king may be said to traverse the mountain, or even to attack it (note *titi* + object meaning "to attack"); compare the use of *nḥnh* in *MH* 1, pl. 27, line 32 (the great inscription of Year 5):

*grg sw mi kḥ kn gḥb.wy dm ḥn.ty r nḥnh ḏw.w m-sḥ tkk s(w)*

He was ready like a bull, mighty of arms and sharp of horns, to attack the (very) mountains in pursuit of him who assailed him

For *dndn*, see also Barta 1968, p. 296.

<sup>p</sup> The many fragmentary signs in this section of the inscription are difficult to explain. There is perhaps an *imi*-sign, and one may read *imi.ty*, perhaps representing the *imytw* in Gardiner 1957a, p. 131, §177.

<sup>q</sup> The broken passage mentioning the nostrils of the "man in the City" may have referred to some effect of the ruler's breath. One may suggest some vanquishing of enemies by breath expelled from the ruler's nostrils, although such blasting breath usually issues from his mouth (cf. Kitchen 1982c, p. 37, lines 1–5: *in.n s.t Bḥ-n-R<sup>c</sup> mry-imn m pḥ tḥw n rḥ=f iḥ=f* [note correction] *sw m sp w<sup>c</sup>* "With the breath of his mouth, drawing it at once, did Baenre-Meryamun vanquish them"). Beneath *=f* may be an odd form of sign D19.

<sup>r</sup> The surviving portions of signs are very fragmentary but do allow for speculation. The traces immediately to the right of *n-ḥ<sup>c</sup>.w=f* appear to be those of *s* (clear) followed by two short slanting strokes, presumably for *y*; these signs are followed by traces that suggest the arrow-pierced skin (partially preserved). The short horizontal

trace to the left of the leftmost stroke of *y* suits a form of the skin and arrow sign similar to those in Papyrus Ebers (Möller 1927, p. 15). As an interpretation of the signs immediately to the right of *n-h<sup>c</sup>.w=f* one may tentatively suggest a writing of *S[t]y.w* “Asiatics,” although the space for determinatives (now lost) is somewhat cramped. The position of the *n* of *n-h<sup>c</sup>.w=f* — low and touching the bottom of the *h*-sign — is, however, also suggestive of a crowding of signs in this area. If this reading is accepted, then one may speculate further that the apparently double-curved sign to the right of the possible *S[t]y.w* could belong to the determinative of *rth*, a reading that would suit the traces yet farther to the right, the whole reading *r[th] S[t]y.w(?)* “who c[urbs] the As[iat]ics(?)” For such a statement, see the first of the Kahun hymns to Sesostri III (Griffith 1898, pl. 1, line 8; see also Blumenthal 1970, p. 191, E 3.10).

<sup>s</sup> This appears to be *n-h<sup>c</sup>.w=f* for “by himself” (*Wb.* 3.38:20–21: *m-h<sup>c</sup>.w=f* and *r-h<sup>c</sup>.w=f*; Gardiner 1957a, p. 40, §36.3: *m-h<sup>c</sup>.w*, *r-h<sup>c</sup>.w*, and *n-h<sup>c</sup>.w*); see also Meeks 1980, p. 239, no. 77.2607.

<sup>t</sup> Although the short horizontal line below the negative-arms may belong to the palimpsest more in evidence to the right in this line, we appear to have here *nn + sdm.n=f* without following adverbial predicate, an attested construction expressing “eine völlige Undenkbarkeit und Abwegigkeit” (Moers 1993, pp. 51–55 [quotation from p. 54]). The *nn sdm.n=f* here expresses the ruler’s inability (as would have been the case with *n sdm.n=f*; see Doret 1986, pp. 84–85, and the references in n. 989) to have sympathy for those who ally themselves with his enemy. Inability is also expressed in *nn dr.n=f* in P. Berlin P 10447a, verso A, line 1 (Luft 1992a, final plate, and p. 2, n. 1 to recto, to be revised in the light of the above references).

<sup>u</sup> The stroke above the *r* of *rm<sub>t</sub>* could simply be a slip of the writing instrument across the rough surface of the stone. If not, one may suggest that we have here an instance of *n < m* (cf. Edel 1955, pp. 54–55, §123) introducing the direct object (Spiegelberg 1904, pp. 34–35; Černý 1976, p. 102; Silverman 1980, pp. 199–203; Loprieno 1995, pp. 198–99). See also the comments by Depuydt (2001, pp. 92–96).

<sup>v</sup> For the strangely disjointed appearance of the *aleph*-vulture, see James 1962, pl. 11, 1. For *m<sup>3</sup>< n* meaning “to be loyal to (a ruler),” see *Wb.* 2.14:3; Faulkner 1962, p. 101.

<sup>w</sup> The *n* above *hfty* is not ligatured to the *h*-placenta (*n* does not appear ligatured to a lower sign in this text), although the placenta itself is drawn just under and abutting the *n*. The left end of the *t* in the *t*-*y* ligature slants noticeably down to the left, for which, see the appearance of this ligature in P. Ebers 89, 11 (Möller 1927, p. 72; see also Breasted 1930, p. 27). The determinative of the bound enemy, indicative of a pre-New Kingdom date for the inscription, is somewhat disjointed in appearance due to damage across the middle of the central vertical element of the sign. What one is tempted to read as *pf* looks somewhat more like *pw*. Perhaps we have *pw* here for *pn*; compare the remarks of Westendorf 1962, p. 76, §114. This passage expresses the opposite sentiment of that in Sinuhe’s paean to Sesostri I, delivered to his Asiatic host Amunenshi: *nn tm=f ir bw-nfr n h<sup>3</sup>s.t wnn.ty=sy hr mw=f* “he will not fail to do good to a land that will be loyal to him” (the rendering of Lichtheim 1973, p. 226). The true ruler of Egypt must love *maat* and hate *isf.t*-chaos (see Grimal 1986, pp. 307–08), and politically “love” may signify “recognition” (ibid., p. 617).

<sup>x</sup> The second horizontal sign following *s* was made as a diagonal slanting down to the right in order to avoid a protruding knob of stone. This resembles *m<sup>3</sup><*, with the hook for the *m<sup>3</sup>*-sickle handle missing. This is perhaps similar to the *s n(y) m<sup>3</sup><.t* and *s n(y) m<sup>3</sup><-hrw* of Assmann 1979, p. 66, n. (d) (= Meeks 1982, p. 234, no. 79.2369). The *s m<sup>3</sup><* is probably more than an “actual” or “real” *s*-man; it is rather a reference to a socially proper individual, a “reputable *s*-man”; on *s m<sup>3</sup><* in this context, see Anthes 1954, pp. 21–51; Callender 2000, pp. 371–73. If one chose to ignore the *n* before *hfty* and the strokes following *s*-man — two unwise choices — one might suggest a reading *hfty=f pw s sbk-ib* “the wise man is his enemy.” The parallels in the following note (y) concerning discernment and intelligence vis-à-vis officials, and the concept of the ruler as beneficial to his entourage and the scourge of his enemies (see text note z, below), all show that *sbk-ib* belongs not to this line, but to the line at the beginning of which it is indeed written.

<sup>y</sup> For this phrase, see J. Janssen 1946, p. 32, citing Louvre C 167, 11: *si<sup>3</sup> sbk m hry-ib wr.w* “discerning, intelligent in the midst of the great ones.” Between the *b* and *k* of *sbk* is what appears to be the man-with-hand-to-mouth sign; although this could be a fragment of a palimpsest, it appears to belong to the literary inscription, possibly as an additional determinative added to *sbk*. For *sbk-h<sup>3</sup>.ty*, see Piankoff 1930, p. 119. For the wise ruler



*r ḥd.t tʃ*, see Gilula 1976, p. 77, n. 21, citing de Buck 1935, p. 250b). The *r* has a somewhat flat shape; for this, see Megally 1971a, pl. 3, form from B recto 14, 7. For the thought, see Grimal 1986, p. 524 (n. 383), 525, n. 387. An architrave inscription of Sety I from the colonnade hall of Luxor temple (east face of the west architrave; see *RILT* 2, pl. 197A, line 2) connects the watchfulness of the king and the *ḥd-tʃ*. On the Luxor temple colonnade hall architrave Sety I is one *sdr rs hr ḥhy ʒh ḥd-tʃ gm=f nfr* “who passes the night wakeful seeking what is effective so that as day breaks he finds what is good”; see also Rondot 1997, p. 16, n. c. Compare also the conclusion to a passage on the stela of Beisan concerning the military prowess of Ramesses II: *ḥd-tʃ šʒ.n=f ḥpr* “at dawn what he planned has come about” (Černý 1958, pp. 79 [line 8], 80 [n. j]).

<sup>ee</sup> The canthus of the *iri*-eye is much elongated, similar to the form of the sign in P. Westcar 5, 7, although such a shape is not diagnostic (cf. Eyre 1979, p. 87, fig. 11). The lower curve of the eye appears as two separated lines, that to the right of the pupil slanting unexpectedly up to the left. This peculiarity almost certainly results from the point of the engraving tool skipping quickly over the rough surface of the rock.

<sup>ff</sup> For *mʒʒ p.t*, see the Shipwrecked Sailor (Blackman 1932, pp. 42 [line 9], 44 [line 5]).

<sup>gg</sup> For the sky as fire, see the *p.t tʃ.ti* “burning sky” of the summer in the Dispute of a Man with His Ba, lines 88 and 90; compare also the Book of the Heavenly Cow (Hornung 1982, p. 30), “that is how flame originated in the sky.” This desirable view of the morning sky as a flame in the Wadi el-Ḥôl literary inscription evokes the religious concept of the newborn sun as the flaming emissary of the giant deity of the eastern horizon (see Darnell 1995a, pp. 475–78, passim). For the flaming sky, see also Helck 1983, p. 5 = Louvre C10, Sobekhotep I stela from Abydos — p. 5 line 10 = lines 5–6 of the stela: *šsp n=k ir.t=k wdʒ.ti tkʒ n tʃ p.t*.

<sup>hh</sup> For *rš=f pw* + infinitive with the meaning “er hat seine Freude daran; zu tun,” see *Wb.* 2.454:13 (“Lit. M.R.”). The passage beginning with *rš=f pw* closes this literary quotation, as it closes the similar first portion of Sinuhe’s praise of Sesostris I, B 60–61. The Wadi el-Ḥôl inscription with its concluding *rš=f pw* supports the Sinuhe *rš=f pw* as the conclusion to the foregoing portion of Sinuhe’s paeon (contra Goedicke 1985, pp. 16–18).

<sup>ii</sup> For *km* in the sense of “to complete successfully,” see the substantive *km.t* “completion” in the sense of “happy/successful outcome,” in Simpson 1958, p. 306, n. (j); Posener 1968b, p. 70, n. q. See also Simpson 1965, pp. 28, 35; idem 1963b, p. 83; Luft 1992a, P 10023A, p. 1, n. 3.

<sup>jj</sup> The sign in front of the *sʒw*-watchman is apparently a somewhat flattened *sʒ*-bird, rather than a door bolt-*s* (which would give an orthography more appropriate for Old Egyptian; cf. *Wb.* 3.416; Roccati 1968, p. 19, n. aa). The signs following the seated watchman appear to be a coil-*w* followed by the strong-arm over plural strokes. The plural strokes have more the appearance of three pellets (cf. the form in Megally 1971b, A verso XIII.6 [palaeography pl. 20]). Although the word appears to be the plural “watchmen,” the sense of the passage suggests reading here a *nomen actionis*, *sʒw(.t)* “watch,” the final *t* omitted giving *km sʒw(.t)* “his joy is the completion of the watch” (as in the preliminary publication of this text [Darnell 1997c]). The term *sʒw.t* “watch” is more commonly attested in religious texts (cf. Hornung 1976, p. 109, n. 92), but the term does appear in the Instruction for Merikare §64 (Meeks 1980, p. 301, no. 77.3320), in a passage urging vigilance on the frontiers. Since it follows references to destroying foreigners and to dislike of rebellious Egyptians, one may suggest that the term *sʒw.t* in the Wadi el-Ḥôl inscription was intended to summon forth the image of the *sʒw.t*-watch over the rebellious foes of the supreme cosmic deity (cf. Grapow 1915–17, p. 51, lines 1–2 [§22 of Book of the Dead chapter 17]). For a paeon to someone unequaled (*nn pʒ qd*) and a reference to spending the night (*sdr*), followed near the end by a mention of watchmen (*sʒw.ty*), perhaps in a military context considering the findspot, see the graffito in the el-Ahaiyawa fortress, a hymn, or even a paeon of praise to the ruler (Quirke 1989, pp. 62–63): line 3 = *nn pʒ qd* ... and *sdrw* at end; line 6 = *nn wn sʒwty* ...

The connection between waking to see the sky like a flame and the presence of a watch is strengthened by recalling the image of the army of the ruler going before him like a blasting flame; compare lines 10–11 of the Carnarvon Tablet (= first stela of Kamose, Helck 1983, p. 88, line 5): *mšʿ=i kn r-ḥʒ.t=i mi ḥhy n sd.t* “my valiant army before me like the blasting heat of a flame.” The watch here mentioned might have been made up of some of the *nh-n(y)-niw.t*-soldiers and *sʒw*-watchmen whose inscriptions survive at the Wadi el-Ḥôl, at least some of them men apparently stationed at the Wadi el-Ḥôl. A number of inscriptions suggesting a military presence are to be found at the Wadi el-Ḥôl: A large *mšʿ*-sign near an equally large *hrw-nfr* group; scribes of Hou;

numerous inscriptions of *ḥn-n(y)-nṯw.t* soldiers; and in Area C there are in fact two inscriptions of the *sṯw*-watchman Bebi. Does the author actually mean the end of the waiting? Compare Gardiner 1957b, pp. 112–13.

## COMMENTARY

The fragmentary opening of the inscription appears once to have been the label of a literary text. The following statements concerning the prowess and diligence of the man in Thebes are not headed by a date, a feature further suggesting that the text is literary and atemporal (see Spalinger 1982, pp. 37–38). The repetition of *mr* is also consistent with a literary text,<sup>41</sup> as are certain words that appear in the inscription (see text notes *m*, *o*, *q*, and *r*, above). The concluding *rš=fpw* statement most probably derives from Middle Kingdom literature and in fact suggests that the scribe of Hou may have patterned the Wadi el-Ḥôl literary inscription loosely on the opening of Sinuhe's encomium to Sesostris I (see text note *hh*, above).<sup>42</sup> Other allusions to earlier literary works suggest that the scribe of Hou who composed the Wadi el-Ḥôl literary inscription was well read and also provide more certain information regarding the date of the inscription.

In line 1 the address to the people and army is followed by a statement that a *s*-man is in the City — Thebes.<sup>43</sup> The *s*-man is presumably the ruler in Thebes.<sup>44</sup> This recalls the conclusion of the Prophecy of Neferti, in which a king from the south is prophesied, called the “son of man” (*sṯ n(y) s*).<sup>45</sup> This may imply that the man in Thebes is founding a new dynasty that will destroy the invaders. As in Neferti, the *s*-man from the south is a savior. An insistence on the Theban residence of the ruler would be consistent with a Second Intermediate Period date (late Thirteenth through Seventeenth Dynasties).<sup>46</sup> The text appears to refer to a time when Memphis and the north are lost, the ruler is based in Thebes, and the Wadi el-Ḥôl, the desert “back door” of Thebes, little more than twelve miles to the northwest of the City, is the final barrier against the Hyksos tide rolling over Egypt. The text under consideration deals with an embattled Theban ruler involved in military activities in the gebel. The entire text shows a number of affinities to the first portion of Sinuhe's paeon to Sesostris I. Such literary references are in keeping with Second Intermediate Period and early Eighteenth Dynasty allusions to the literature of the Middle Kingdom.<sup>47</sup> The palaeography and the proximity to a large number of late Middle Kingdom and Thirteenth Dynasty inscriptions together suggest a date around the time of the Hyksos invasion. The image of the hateful foreigners also supports a Theban origin for the text.<sup>48</sup> The presence of a temple of Antef V, son of Sobekemsaf I, atop Gebel Antef at the Theban terminus of the Farshût Road supports such a dating.

The *rmṯ*-people whom the man in Thebes does not love in line 3 are apparently Egyptians, and one may interpret this passage as describing the displeasure of the Theban ruler with those Egyptians who have allied themselves with his enemy, perhaps a foreigner.<sup>49</sup> The Wadi el-Ḥôl literary inscription apparently refers to the man in the City dealing in some way with a foreigner (*drdr*) and then expressing his hatred for traitors — essentially the order of mention of the foes to be defeated by the order-restoring ruler in the Prophecy of Neferti.

41. On repetition, see Parkinson 1992, pp. 170–71.

42. The apparent transitive use of *hdb* in line 2 could also derive from the Story of Sinuhe; see text note *m*, above.

43. From among the numerous references possible, see Gauthier 1926, p. 75.

44. For *s* as a reference to the ruler, see the inscription in Gasse 1988, p. 94, pl. 6, line 11 (and see *ibid.*, p. 86, n. 1), and *s* 2 as a reference to Amenemhat I and Sesostris I.

45. Helck 1992, p. 54. Is the statement that the father of the ruler Ameny is a “son of a man” a reference to an otherwise titleless “townsman” (see Quirke 1991, pp. 141–49), a freeman unsullied by association with the decadent and ineffectual bureaucracy he is destined to replace? For the *s*-man and the son of the *s*-man, Fischer-Elfert (pers. comm.) notes that *sṯ n(y) s* may be compared with a passage in an unpublished portion of the Instruction of a Man for his Son, his §16.1: *m-wp.w z wsr r=k* “don't judge a man more powerful than you”; although this is outside of the loyalist section at the beginning of the instruction, Fischer-Elfert suggests “this may be an allusion to *Z' n-wsr.t* — Sesostris.” He also notes that the title of the work, *ḥṯ.t-ḥ m sbṯy.t jr.t.n-*

*z' n-zṯ=f*, shows that the work is addressed to the *sṯ-s* of Egypt.

46. On the Theban residence, see Hayes 1953a, pp. 31–39. Note that Kamose, on the first of his two stelae, is called *nsw.t nḥt m-ḥnw Wṯs.t* “victorious ruler in Thebes” (Lacau 1939, pp. 250–51, pl. 37 [line 2]). On the Second Intermediate Period Theban rulers as lords of *ḥn-Wṯs.t*, see Vernus 1989, p. 149, n. j.

47. See Redford 1967, pp. 78–80; Spalinger 1982, pp. 39, 44–45; for an allusion to Sinuhe in another text extolling the military virtues of an embattled Theban ruler of the Second Intermediate Period, see Vernus 1989, p. 150, n. k (and pp. 150–51, n. u).

48. For attitudes of the Egyptians towards Asiatics during the early Second Intermediate Period, see the remarks of Posener 1957, pp. 161–63.

49. For the bad *rmṯ*, see the Thirteenth Dynasty epithet of Iymeru as *mḥ-ib n Mṯ.ṯ m rḥ p.ṯ m sidt ib.w nyw skr.w nb.w* “confidant of Maat in curbing the *p.ṯ* and weakening the hearts of all rebels”; see Doxey 1998, pp. 195–96; Habachi 1981, pp. 38–39 (he suggests that the term there refers to “a

According to line 4, the ruler is “one intelligent for the officials(?)” The pairing of intelligence and physical bravery suggests an allusion to the major weapons at the king’s disposal for combating the enemies of Egypt and order: magical practices and military power. The first of the Kahun hymns to Sesostris I describes how the tongue of the ruler restrains Nubia.<sup>50</sup> One may compare also the Instruction for Merikare (Helck 1977c, p. 17, §9): “the strength of the king is the tongue” — *kn md.t r ḥ nb* “pronouncement is stronger than any weapon.”<sup>51</sup> According to Derchain (1987, pp. 26–28), the pronouncements of the king refer to “des formules magiques, seules douées d’une puissance que les victimes ne voient pas.”<sup>52</sup> One may also compare the concept of the ruler’s “reputation”<sup>53</sup> subduing his enemies; compare a passage at the end of the northernmost of the rhetorical stelae of Ramesses II on the terrace of the great temple of Abu Simbel (Kitchen 1979, p. 321, line 3): *rn = i sd.n = f s.t mi nb Nwb.t* “my reputation has broken them like (that of) the lord of Ombos.” In general, the tongue of a ruler keeps all in check and maintains equilibrium; so in the Tale of the Eloquent Peasant, the tongue is likened to a balance (B2, 92 = Parkinson 1991, p. 46. lines 3–4).

The tone of the text seems essentially laudatory, although several aspects of lines 4 and 5 may also allow for a somewhat more sarcastic interpretation. Whether one adopts the reading *bḳꜣ-ib* in line 4, or ignores the initial stroke and reads *ḳꜣ-ib*, the compound apparently has an unflattering meaning. If such a meaning were intended, then the inscription would seem to have a sarcastic edge. However, one must also keep in mind the possibility that the term has another, “honorable” meaning. Compare the use of *ꜣ-ib* “arrogant” with the meaning “great-hearted” or similar.<sup>54</sup> Perhaps *bḳꜣ-ib* is here employed as a synonym of *ḥꜣ-ib*, a quality Sinuhe ascribes to Sesostris I. One should also note that pride in the ruler’s military achievements, and boasting of them, is highly desirable, so perhaps the ruler himself may be excused for partaking in this pride.

The pride of the ruler in the combative situation and the following reference to his seeing the morning sky like a flame suggest the opposite reaction to that of the one dismayed by events in the Complaint of Khakheperresoneb: “as dawn comes every day, the face recoils from events.”<sup>55</sup> The king faces the situation, whatever it may be, as full of strife as it is. This could explain the use of *bḳꜣ-ib* — the ruler is actually puffed up with pride over the situation in which he finds himself, the opposite of a ruler dismayed with the events in which he is embroiled.

The image of the watchful (cf. Posener 1976, pp. 24–25, §4) and sleepless ruler recalls a passage in line 5 (below the lines in the lunette) of the Semna stela of Sesostris III: the ruler is one *tm sdr md.t m ib = f* “who does not sleep when there is a matter on his mind.”<sup>56</sup> The ruler who suffers somewhat as he fulfills his duty is a part of the topos of the ruler as the good shepherd.<sup>57</sup> This passage in the Wadi el-Ḥôl literary inscription is in fact the first clear expression of the resurgence of the image of the ruler as the good shepherd following somewhat of a hiatus during the Middle Kingdom. As J. Wilson (1951, p. 144) puts it: “Pharaoh no longer needed to be sleepless and hungry in the herding of his flocks” during the high Middle Kingdom. Line 4 of the Wadi el-Ḥôl literary inscription perhaps contains a play on the combination of thoughts expressed in the first of the Kahun hymns to

certain class of Egyptians who revolted against the king”). The Instruction for Merikare admonishes the good ruler to destroy the traitor; see Helck 1977b, pp. 28 §xvii, 87 §xlvi.

50. Hymn I, lines 7–8 = Griffith 1898, pl. 1: *ns n ḥm = f rth Hnt ts.w = f sbhꜣ Sty.w* “his majesty’s tongue curbs Nubia, and his pronouncements drive back the Asiatics.”

51. For the *ts*-pronouncement as a means of waging war, see Shupak 1993, pp. 313–14 (and p. 327 for *iqr ns*). For a New Kingdom example of the association of royal pronouncements and the felling of foes, see *Kheruef*, pl. 21, line 7 (and pp. 39–40).

52. For this, see the Instruction for Merikare (Helck 1977b, p. 86 §xlvi): *ir.n = f n = sn ḥkꜣw r ḥꜣ r ḥsf ꜣ n ḥpny.t rsw ḥr = s grḥ mi hrw/mi hrw mi grḥ* “He has made for them magic as a weapon in order to ward off the influence of events, guarding them night and day/day and night.”

53. His *rn*; see the references in Schade-Busch 1992, pp. 341–42.

54. See Edel 1984, pp. 83–84; note also the use of *ꜣ-ib* in line 4 of a stela of Sobekhotep IV from Wadi el-Hudi (Sadek 1985, pp. 6–7).

55. Gardiner 1909, p. 102, recto 12 (translation of Lichtheim 1973, p. 147).

56. Budge 1907, p. 545; Sethe 1924, pp. 83–85; see also Blumenthal 1970, p. 324, §G 4.40, and pp. 348–49, §E G 6.12.

57. On which, see D. Müller 1961, pp. 126–44 (on wakefulness, see specifically pp. 130 and 136–37, and the references cited there). The ruler goes hungry through the night that his people must not do the same; compare Sethe 1924, p. 79, lines 15–16: *n sdr s ḥkrw r dmi = i*. A portion of the historical inscription of Merneptah at Karnak refers to the ruler allowing the people to sleep (line 5); see Schulman 1987, p. 24, line 5 (note that the suggestion of Schulman, *ibid.*, pp. 29–30, n. 47, that Kitchen’s copy of the determinative of *sdr* is incorrect, is itself in error — the bird on the bier is a perfectly acceptable determinative and is in fact visible at the wall, as the Theban Desert Road Survey has verified; as always, copies made from photographs, especially to “correct” a copy based on in situ observation, are most undesirable). Note also P. Turin 1882 recto 2, 6 (Gardiner 1955, pl. 8): *bn n = i ꜣꜣ n hrw bw.t (= i) ḳd n grḥ*

Sesostris III, line 10: the efficacy of the official's heart and the resulting peaceful slumber of his people.<sup>58</sup> In the Wadi el-Hôl inscription, however, the efficacy of the ruler's heart leads to the sleeplessness of the efficacious one.

In a military context, the general who spends the night at war rather than asleep finds quick victory on the morrow. One may compare a passage from the Middle Kingdom stela of the general Nesumonthu; the general describes a flanking maneuver executed around an enemy town, with the result that:

*ḥḏ t3*  
*ḥtp n(=i) dmi*

As soon as dawn would come,  
the harbor would surrender<sup>59</sup> to (me)

*Ḥtp n(=i) dmi* is a *sdm=f* form following an emphatic *sdm=f* (*ḥḏ t3*) with no adjunct; it follows that *ḥtp* here is either another emphatic *sdm=f* (forming a *Wechselsatz*) or an emphasized circumstantial *sdm=f*.<sup>60</sup> Reading the verbs *ḥḏ* and *ḥtp* as forming a *Wechselsatz*, the gnomic quality of the group stresses the success with which Nesumonthu led the troops. The passage appears to inform us that by means of his nocturnal movements Nesumonthu achieved his goal without bloodshed. For the importance of preparation for battle during the night before conflict one may compare lines 13–14 of the Carnarvon Tablet (Helck 1983, p. 90, lines 1, 3): *sh3.n=i m wi3=i ib=i nfr ḥḏ.n t3 iw=i hr=f mi wn bik* “With my heart in good order did I spend the night in my ship. When dawn came, I was upon it like a falcon . . . .”<sup>61</sup>

The reference in line 4 of the Wadi el-Hôl inscription to the hunger the ruler endures during the night sets the Wadi el-Hôl inscription apart from other loyalist expressions of the ruler's diligence. One may consider that *k3-ib* does indeed mean “haughty,” and that there is some connection between this and the hungry night of the man in the City, for which one would see Admonitions 7, 10–11 (Gardiner 1909, p. 58: *m=tn nb-ih.t sdr ib* . . .). The king brings the protection that allows his people to eat and drink their fill in security. The reference to the sleepless and hungry ruler may, however, be something more than the topos of the good shepherd because the man of Thebes described in the Wadi el-Hôl inscription may in fact have suffered the trials of a desert military watch.

The reference in the concluding line (5) to a watch suggests the presence of “watchmen” (*s3w.w*) at the Wadi el-Hôl, and the fact that the author of this text is a scribe of the fortress town of Hou,<sup>62</sup> all suggest that the efficacious one who spends the night hungry and awakens to a flaming sky is some watchman himself, posted in the desert perhaps, even at the Wadi el-Hôl itself. The hungry night, normally deplored for one's dependents, or relegated to the fate of an evil man, is here apparently the lot of the man with whom the inscription is concerned — it is unpleasant, but not apparently the result of wickedness. This suggests a passage in P. Lansing, in which the fate of the soldier is deplored (P. Lansing 9, 7–8): *iw=f hr b3k.w r ḥtp p3 itn hry t3y=f wh3wy n(y) grḥ iw=f ḥkrw iw ḥ.t=f ispw sw mt.tw iw=f nh* “he works until the sun disk sets under his gloom of night, he being hungry and his belly aching — he is dead while alive.”

The flame which the ruler beholds may refer to the strife gripping the land; compare the “fires of warfare” (*nsr.w hrwy*) engulfing Egypt in P. Pushkin 127, col. 2, line 11 (Caminos 1977, pl. 6, line 11); compare also the images of destruction by fire in the description of civil war in the inscription of Sesostris I in the temple of Tôd.<sup>63</sup> The ruler sees the sky like a flame, an evocative image of the fiery desert landscape.<sup>64</sup> The flaming sky of the

“There is no napping by day for me, and (my) abomination is sleeping by night.”

58. On which, see Derchain 1987, pp. 28–29.

59. This is *Wb.* 3.190:1: “sich jemandem (*n*) ergeben (von einer belagerten Stadt u.ä.)”; see Sethe 1927, p. 131. The Nesumonthu passage does not appear in the proper *Wb. Belegstellen* volume, however, and Lorton (1974, pp. 76–77, 119) — in discussing the *Urk.* 4.704, lines 2–3, occurrence, the only citation provided by the *Wb. Belegstellen* — calls *ḥtp n* there “unique.” As Sethe recognized, the idiom is thus far first attested on the stela of Nesumonthu.

60. Gilula (1976, pp. 80–81, n. 33) calls the passage from the stela of Nesumonthu “a difficult place.”

61. Similar expressions associating the sleepless ruler and the protection of Egypt occur on a number of objects from the tomb of Tutankhamun (Beinlich and Saleh 1989, p. 48, no. 121 [chariot], and p. 168 A and C [bow case]), and the obscure §VIIg-i of the Prophecy of Neferti (Helck 1992, pp. 30–31; Quack 1993, pp. 77–78) may also relate to the image of the watchful, sleepless soldier.

62. For Hou as initially a fortress, see Lacau and Chevrier 1956, p. 209 (§584); Gardiner 1947, pl. IIIa, no. 209.

63. See Barbotin and Clère 1991, pp. 1–33 (particularly from column 30 and notes on pp. 22–23).

64. The burning desert landscape is described in the stela of Herwerre at Sinai; see Gardiner and Peet 1952, pl. 25a, no.

desert further recalls the image of the king as the representative of the vengeful sun of the east, trampling the foes of Egypt on the desert. As expressed in Pyramid Text utterance 261 (PT §§ 324 a–c; see J. Allen 1984, p. 487, §695, p. 537, n. 438):

*sꜣ ib šw ꜣwy ꜣw.t ꜣsb iꜣhw*

*RN pi nsr m tp tꜣw r dr p.t r dr tꜣ*

A son of the heart of Shu, extensively extended, fierce of brilliance,  
this RN is a flame at the head of the wind, from the limit of heaven to the limit of earth

The cosmic flame<sup>65</sup> is here a manifestation of the military powers of the king,<sup>66</sup> and fire as part of the “Amtscharisma” of the ruler (Blumenthal 1982, p. 26). This image of the solar ruler and the flame accompanying his appearance is the true significance of the stellar wonder of the Thutmose III Gebel Barkal stela (*Urk.* 4.1238, line 4–1239, line 11) and is behind the statements of Amun that he will cause the enemies of Egypt to perceive the power of the pharaoh as a shooting star, casting out flame (*RIK* 4, pl. 15C, line 24; *RILT* 1, pl. 4, line 15). This imagery is also the source for the description of Sety I as “a blasting flame, trampling the mountains” on his Amarah West and Sai stelae (Kitchen 1975, p. 103, line 10) — at the edge of the world the pharaoh manifests himself as the blasting cosmic flame, on the piedmont of the horizon. A further example of the warring pharaoh as the omnipresent giant deity of the eastern horizon (Darnell 1995a, chapter 6) is in a description of Thutmose III from Buhen temple:<sup>67</sup>

*šn.n ꜣf s.t m-ḥnw ꜣ.wy ꜣf (y) ꜣhꜣ ḥm ꜣf ḥr wp.t-tꜣ r šhr.t Mntw-Styw*

He enclosed them [the entire cosmos] within his arms, his majesty standing at the edge of the world<sup>68</sup> in order to overthrow the Asiatic barbarians

The solar imagery of the enclosing arms<sup>69</sup> is perhaps picked up by *wp.t*, which can refer to the horns of the heavenly cow, upon which the young sun perches.<sup>70</sup> The power of the king can be manifest as a flame,<sup>71</sup> and a fire may be said to attack the enemies of Egypt.<sup>72</sup> The flaming sky of the Wadi el-Ḥôl literary inscription also recalls imagery of the goddess Sakhmet, the embodiment of the blasting heat of the sun.<sup>73</sup> In Siut tomb IV, the land is said to be burned by the flame of Heracleopolis (Brunner 1937, p. 53, line 14), so there is perhaps here also the image of victorious Thebes consuming the foreign enemies of Egypt. In P. Leiden I 350, in a passage concerning Thebes as powerful and victorious over foes, the text states: “his(?) enemy has fallen to the flame, made into ashes ... .”<sup>74</sup> The Theban army itself could appear to the Theban ruler of the Second Intermediate Period as going forth like a flame.<sup>75</sup> The forces of the proper ruler may in fact be “solarized,” and his naval forces may in fact be likened to the solar bark itself,<sup>76</sup> their power then becoming the blasting heat of the sun. In the Prophecy of Neferti, the sun is said not to shine as brilliantly as was its earlier wont (Helck 1992, pp. 44–46), so perhaps here we have an image of the blazing sky at the end of a period of lawlessness, murky because of the removal of Re from men. Again we may have an allusion to the Prophecy of Neferti. This text from the

90; Iversen 1984, pp. 507–19; Seyfried 1981, p. 227 (§VII, ex. I 90); Aufrère 1991, pp. 492–93; Pantalacci 1996, pp. 87–91.

65. On which, see Borghouts 1971, p. 184, n. 455, and the references cited there.

66. Compare Posener 1976, pp. 21–23, 68–69 (§3); *RIK* 4, pl. 32, lines 27 ff.; Helck 1983, p. 11; Kitchen 1979, p. 319, lines 9–14; *MH* 1, pl. 27, line 33.

67. West face of pillar 16; see Caminos 1974/1, p. 51, pls. 60, 62.

68. For *wp.t tꜣ* as the extreme north, as here, see Meeks 1981, p. 92, no. 78.0936.

69. For *šni m-ḥnw ꜣ.wy*, see Assmann 1969, p. 302, n. 8.

70. Meeks 1982, p. 66, no. 79.0646; compare also the image in Feucht 1984, p. 412, n. 44; and the text passage in Assmann 1983, p. 37, no. 28b, lines 12–15.

71. Compare §3 of Posener 1976, pp. 21–23. In Neferti §14, lines 63–64, the Libyans are said to “fall to his (the king’s)

flame”; see the references cited in Goedicke 1977, p. 135, n. bj.

72. See the Admonitions of Ipuwer 7, 1 (Gardiner 1909, p. 52): *m ꜣtn is ḥt wꜣ.ti r ꜣꜣ pr bd.t ꜣs r ḥf.tyw tꜣ* “Behold, with the result that its flame goes forth against the enemies of the land has the flame stretched upwards.”

73. From roughly the period of the Wadi el-Ḥôl rock inscription, see the Abydos stela of Sobekhotep I (Louvre C 10, lines 5–6; Helck 1983, p. 5, line 10): *šsp n ꜣk ir.t ꜣk wdꜣ.ti tkꜣ n(y) tꜣ p.t* “receive to yourself your eye, it being hale, torch of earth and heaven.”

74. Gardiner 1905, pp. 17–18. See also Vernus 1989, p. 147, lines 8, 10, and p. 151, n. y, and the literature cited there.

75. Vernus 1989, p. 147, line 10; see also text note *gg*, above.

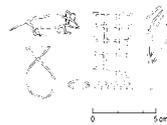
76. In the tomb of Khety II, Siut tomb IV, line 10, is a text describing the sky as cleared for the riverine progress of the king’s vassal, as the storm clouds of the horizon are driven

Wadi el-Ḥôl appears to be a hymn praising the Theban ruler, and his actions against foreigners, most likely the Hyksos and/or their Kerman allies, in the Western Desert of the Thebaïd. One may not be wrong then in suggesting that the ruler to whom this inscription refers is Antef V, the son of Sobekemsaf I, and founder of the Seventeenth Dynasty, the very King Antef who constructed a chapel at the Theban terminus of this desert road.

## WADI EL-ḤÔL ROCK INSCRIPTION 9

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing name	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 65, 89
<i>Date of Inscription:</i>	Late Old Kingdom(?)	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 12.5 × 7.2 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Area B		

### INSCRIPTION



### TRANSCRIPTION



### TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

<sup>3</sup>*Ipnw.t*

Ipenut

### COMMENTARY

The signs are somewhat out of order, with the determinative of a mouse atop the reversed *t* and *nw*-pot. The elaborately crisscrossed *p* suggests an early date for this inscription.<sup>77</sup>

The name does appear to be feminine. As there is no other name nearby comparable in terms of size and palaeography, one may suggest that Ipenut was probably here, and that she perhaps wrote her own name, or at least had it prominently written for herself. Although we know little about the actual duties of some female title holders, a passage from the close of the abridged version of the First Hittite Marriage of Ramesses II provides tantalizing evidence for long-distance missions headed by women:<sup>78</sup>

*wn hr ir wd? ḥꜣwty šm.t rꜣ-pw m wp.wzsn r Dꜣh(y) pḥzsn r tꜣ n(y) Ḥtꜣ nn snd ḥꜣ ibzsn n ꜣꜣw nḥt.w ḥmz f*

Now whenever a man or woman would travel to Djahy on their missions, because of the greatness of the victories of his majesty they could reach the land of Hatti without fear in their hearts

away for the bark of Re (Montet 1930–35, p. 101 [lines 1–3]; Brunner 1937, p. 27 [translation], pp. 30–31 [nn. 8–9] and p. 53 [text]; Schenkel 1965, pp. 86–87; Edel 1984, pp. 183–87):

*rdi.nzk ḥntyzf kfw nzf p.t tꜣ r-dꜣzf ḥnꜣzf*

With the sky having been cleared for him, and the entire land being with him, did you cause that he sail southwards.

77. Compare Kaplony 1963, pl. 88 no. 333 and pl. 109 no. 567. If Ipenut were indeed at the Wadi el-Ḥôl in person, perhaps on a mission, this would fit well with the apparently higher administrative profile of women in the Old Kingdom, when

compared with their attestations in titles during the Middle Kingdom; see the remarks of Fischer 1976a, p. 79.

78. Kitchen 1979, p. 257, lines 15–16. Sinai inscription no. 120 may refer to a woman as forming part of one of the expeditions (Gardiner and Peet 1952, pl. 43 North Edge, Lower). Fischer (1976a, p. 79, n. 69) doubts the occurrence and believes a masculine name followed by *ir.n* is missing; the reference in Gardiner and Peet 1955, p. 123, to the collation of the copy suggests that the occurrence should not be dismissed without another check of the stela. This possible example of a woman participating in one of the Serabit expeditions does not figure in the discussion in the section “Les femmes,” in Valbelle and Bonnet 1996, pp. 138–39,

## WADI EL-ĤÔL ROCK INSCRIPTION 10

*Rock Inscription:* Text containing title  
*Date of Inscription:* Middle Kingdom(?)  
*Provenance:* Area B

*Illustration:* Pls. 65, 90  
*Size:* ca. 9.4 × 5.5 cm

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

*ḥm-nṯr Ḥw.t-Ḥr*

*ḥm-nṯr*-priest of Hathor

## COMMENTARY

The form of the Hathor sign, with the internal square above the back of the falcon, suggests that this inscription is no earlier than the late Old Kingdom.<sup>79</sup> The author of the inscription made the *ḥw.t*-sign somewhat small, after apparently abandoning an earlier attempt at a larger sign that would have been more on the scale of the preceding *ḥm-nṯr*. The falcon is obviously made to the scale of the final, smaller *ḥw.t*-sign. The final determinative is somewhat unexpected, being apparently the standard seated-man sign augmented with the addition of a uraeus on his brow (we may have here a nomarchic priest of the First Intermediate Period or Middle Kingdom, adopting a version of the royal uraeus; cf. Baud, Colin, and Tallet 1999, pp. 11–12).

Priests are attested on expeditions from the Old Kingdom. According to E. Eichler (1993, pp. 255–58), although they may have exercised some priestly functions, they are primarily “eine Titelgruppe und keine eigene Berufsgruppe.” The title of a priest of Hathor is of particular significance at the Wadi el-Ĥôl. The *wrš*-holidays celebrated there (see Wadi el-Ĥôl Rock Inscriptions 15, 17–20), apparently Hathoric observations, suggest the presence of priests.

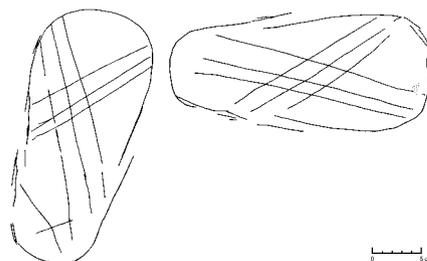
and it is not clear if this omission is the result of a re-examination of the stela.

79. Fischer 1968, pp. 84 (16), 86; Galvin 1981, pp. 129–69; Brovarski 1989, pp. 214–15.

## WADI EL-HÔL ROCK INSCRIPTION 11

<i>Inscription:</i>	Depiction of sandals	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 65, 91
<i>Date of Inscription:</i>	Middle Kingdom(?)	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 42.30 × 25.75 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Area B		

## INSCRIPTION



## COMMENTARY

Sandals are not rare in the rock art of Egypt and Nubia.<sup>80</sup> Sandal and feet carvings occur in several temple contexts and are particularly abundant on the roof of Khonsu temple at Karnak.<sup>81</sup> In the cults of Isis and Serapis, votive feet figured prominently, emphasizing “dass der Gläubige entsprechend seinem Gelübde eine Pilgerfahrt in das Heiligtum gemacht hat.”<sup>82</sup> The Egyptian custom of carving votive feet<sup>83</sup> was transported to Greece through the Isis cult (Dunand 1973, pl. 17, 1, 2) and survived to a certain extent into the Coptic period (Wietheger 1992, pp. 163–67). According to Vidman (1981, p. 140), the feet carved on and around Egyptian temples have nothing to do with healing, but they are rather *ex votos*, and “sie sollen entweder die Pilgerfahrt des Gläubigen in den Tempel versinnbildlichen oder bedeuten die mysterische Anwesenheit des Gottes, der im Stein seine Spuren hinterlassen hat.”<sup>84</sup> As Schäfer (1963, p. 135) notes, these are apparently not to be interpreted as the soles of the feet but rather seem to depict what one sees when looking down at the feet.

The presence of carved feet at Area B in the Wadi el-Hôl supports the view that feet inscriptions in Egypt represent a desire by the carver that he or she might remain in the presence of a deity. The depictions of foot and sandal soles in rock inscriptions and temple “graffiti” in Egypt are the pictorial representation of epithets such as *mn-tbty* “enduring of soles” (*Wb.* 2.62:12, 5.362:2; Janssen 1946/1, pp. 19–20; idem 1946/2, pp. 34–35; Doxey 1998, pp. 64, 67–68). At the Wadi el-Hôl this deity was probably the goddess Hathor, to whom so many of the inscriptions and depictions in the Wadi el-Hôl refer, both directly and indirectly.

80. Compare Keating 1962, fig. 71, opposite p. 92; Hellström, Langballe, and Myers 1970, corpus Aa 17–33; Basch and Gorbea 1968, p. 62 (fig. 21), p. 66 (fig. 26), p. 78 (fig. 41), p. 92 (fig. 61), p. 95 (fig. 67), p. 100 (fig. 74), p. 101 (fig. 75), p. 134 (fig. 120), p. 172 (fig. 164); Redford and Redford 1989, p. 25, figs. 36–37 (and p. 23); P. Wilson 1996, pp. 102–10, 112–14, figs. 3.2–7, 3.13–34, 3.36–43, 5.2; B. Adams 2000, pp. 20, 241, pl. 3. Feet also appear in foot libation basins during the early Old Kingdom; compare Bonnet 1928, pp. 51–52, pl. 35, 3. See the lengthy discussion in Verner 1973, pp. 15–53.

81. Compare Thissen 1989, pp. 87–88; Schwaller de Lubicz 1999, pl. 270.

82. Vidman 1970, pp. 121 (references in n. 75), 145–46.

83. See the remarks of Guglielmi 1991b, p. 118 (but note that the use of feet/sandals in rock inscriptions and depictions in Egypt definitely predates the Graeco-Roman period); note also the publications of Castiglione 1966, pp. 41–49; idem 1967, pp. 239–52; idem 1971, pp. 30–43.

84. According to Plumley (1971, p. 24), Meroitic votive carvings of feet at the Qasr Ibrim temple are evidence of that temple being a place of pilgrimage.

## WADI EL-HÔL ROCK INSCRIPTION 12

<i>Inscription:</i>	Depiction of ithyphallic deity	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 65, 92
<i>Date of Inscription:</i>	Early Dynastic(?)	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 10.3 × 10.0 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Area B		

The deity faces to the right with one arm (incompletely carved) raised behind him holding a flail. The deity's other arm is shown before him, grasping his erect phallus. Though rarely depicted in two dimensions, the phallus-grasping, masturbating hand of the ithyphallic deity does occasionally appear.<sup>85</sup> The deity wears no crown or feathers and in fact is apparently shaven of head. The crossed bands commonly worn across the deity's chest are not in evidence, but there are crossed lines near the figure's waist suggesting some sort of belt or cummerbund, a feature not present in the standard, pharaonic iconography of ithyphallic deities. The legs of the deity are apparently shown as straight but differentiated; the ithyphallic deity is not "mummiform." These features, particularly the shaven, unadorned head and the odd cummerbund, recall the iconography of the Coptos colossi and are not present in the iconography of ithyphallic deities known since the Second Dynasty.<sup>86</sup> The Wadi el-Hôl depiction of the ithyphallic deity may belong to the protodynastic or early dynastic period.

## INSCRIPTION



## COMMENTARY

The connection of Min with the Eastern Desert, and with the Wadi Hammamat in particular, is well attested throughout pharaonic history, but his presence in the Western Desert is less common. Amun-Min is the protecting deity of desert roads and those who travel them.<sup>87</sup> He brings back the eye of the sun from the far southeast (Gauthier 1931, pp. 183–84), as did Onuris, another patron of desert roads (Valloggia 1989b, pp. 167–68). Although Min is most commonly attested in connection with roads and expeditions through the Eastern Desert (Gundlach 1980, pp. 107–12), this is probably a result of the greater material thus far discovered and examined in that area. Min is connected with Kharga Oasis (Wagner 1987, p. 145), and a possible association with Perseus may suggest the Western Desert as an area of the god's activity.<sup>88</sup> As the Farshût and Darb Rayayna Roads lead ultimately to Kharga, a form of Amun is expected,<sup>89</sup> and a form associated with desert travel is most appropriate. At Gebel et-Teir, where a route connecting the Thebaïd to Kharga enters the oasis, there is a depiction of the ithyphallic Amun-Min.<sup>90</sup> The goddess of the eye of the sun whom Min fetches back from the south is associated with the southwest as well as with the southeast and may be accompanied by the denizens of both

85. For examples of two-dimensional depictions of ithyphallic deities with masturbating arm visible, see Lepsius, 1849–59/3, pl. 275a (Wadi Hammamat, Twenty-sixth Dynasty), pl. 189h (Abu Simbel, great temple, sanctuary, back of left wall [PM 7 110 (113)]); numerous examples in Norman Davies 1953, pl. 2, passim; Theban graffiti in Sadek et al. 1972, pl. 205, no. 3137; Sadek and M. Shimy 1973, pl. 242, no. 3463b. See also Darnell 1995a, chapter 5.

86. Compare the reconstruction of the appearance of one of the colossi in Kemp 1991, p. 81: fig. 28, p. 86: fig. 29.1.

87. Bernand 1977, passim; idem 1978, pp. 161–64; Yoyotte 1952b, pp. 125–37; Aufrière 1998, pp. 12–14. The deity Min as a personal helper is attested in the epithet *ḏr* of the god Min in Zauzich 1985, p. 121.

88. For Min and Perseus, see Sauneron 1962, pp. 53–57; Morenz 1963, pp. 125–27; Bernand 1977, pp. 240–41 (and

the literature cited there). The Gorgon whom Perseus killed could be said to have lived in the far west; see Catterall 1937, col. 984. The association of Min with Pan as a god of the desert (for Min-Pan in Nubia, see the two stelae of MIN PANOS found north of the Wadi Allaqi in Monneret de Villard 1933, pp. 42–44) may explain the mention of "Pan who hears" (Πάνι ἐπηκόω) at the small temple of Medinet Habu (Edgerton 1937, no. 404; see also Thissen 1984, p. 55), perhaps a reference to a deity of the desert roads leading out of western Thebes.

89. On the prominence of Amun and the Theban triad at Kharga, the oasis of the Thebaïd, see Wagner 1987, pp. 329–35.

90. See Devauchelle and Wagner 1984, pl. 26 II 11 (zone 2, Greek graffiti 10–11; the figure is misidentified as Osiris [ibid., p. 33]).

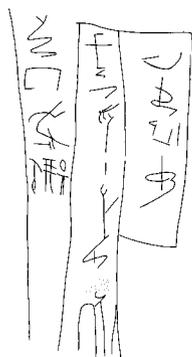
the Eastern and Western Deserts.<sup>91</sup> Min would also be appropriate in expressing a potentially pugnacious Theban control of the desert roads.<sup>92</sup> The double-barbed, double-headed symbols of Min appear in the tableau Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 2.

## WADI EL-ḤÔL ROCK INSCRIPTION 13

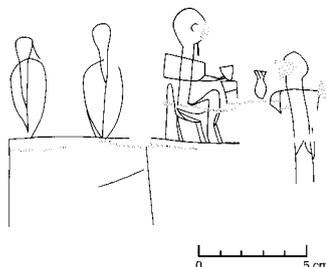
<i>Inscription:</i>	Depiction of seated man and server and text containing name and title	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 65a, 93
<i>Date of Inscription:</i>	First Intermediate Period	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 23.8 × 16.1 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Area B		

The owner of this small scene and inscription is seated in a chair, holding a bowl or cup, most likely a First Intermediate Period or Middle Kingdom hemispherical cup, a pottery form common on the ‘Alamat Tal Road and the Farshût Road (see Arnold and Arnold 1979, pp. 35–38; Do. Arnold 1988, pp. 140–41; for the desert roads, see Darnell and Darnell 1996b, p. 44). Immediately below the cup in the man’s hand is what may represent either a small stand or a vestigial table. A small attendant figure hovers before the seated man (cf. First Intermediate Period examples of butlers in similar poses in Clère 1950, pp. 23–26), apparently about to pour from a small, bag-shaped jar. The slanting strokes along the everted rim of the vessel in the server’s hand succinctly represent the rippled rim of a First Intermediate Period vessel (cf. Darnell and Darnell 1996b, pp. 43, 49, fig. 3). Behind the man are what appear to be two tall jars, still plugged with their seals (for the appearance of the vessels behind the seated man, also supporting a First Intermediate Period date, see Ziegler 1990, pp. 28, 76–77). To the left of the scene, behind the table supporting the two vessels, are three retrograde columns of text.

### INSCRIPTION



### TRANSCRIPTION



### TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

<sup>1</sup>*imy-r pr-d̄m.w*<sup>a</sup> *ḥnh dd w̄s*<sup>s</sup> <sup>2</sup>*ḥnh m ḥs(w) nsw.t*<sup>b</sup> <sup>3</sup>*nb*<sup>c</sup> *Tm*<sup>d</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The chief of the house of recruits, life, stability, and dominion; <sup>2</sup>who lives in the praise of the king, <sup>3</sup>the lord, Tem

91. The southern *Mntyw*-Libyans, who live in an area west of the Upper Nile, dance for the returning goddess (see Darnell 1995b, pp. 66–70). Western roads as well as eastern roads are appropriate for the goddess’ return; compare the graffito from Hagar el-Gharb (ibid., p. 90) wherein the goddess Taweret, called the “eye of Re” (*ir.t R̄*) is carved on a rock at the mouth of a wadi through which the goddess

is envisaged as returning to the Nile via a road leading west to Kurkur Oasis and farther south into Nubia; see also Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 23 and 32, above, and Wadi el-Ḥôl Rock Inscription 15, below.

92. Compare *MH* 4, pl. 203, line 32: *ink Min ḥḥ ḥr ḥ̄s.wt it.n̄zft̄.w nb.w* “I am Min, standing upon the mountains, having seized all the flat lands.”

## NOTES

<sup>a</sup> The sign of the child over plural strokes could have a number of readings. Considering the location of this inscription, one may suggest that Tem and his “children” were active on desert roads. This strongly suggests a military or para-military context, and in turn one most likely has to choose between *ḏꜣm.w* and *nfr.w* as a reading for the signs in question. As the term *ḏꜣm.w/nfr.w* is followed by the honorific *‘nh ḏḏ wꜣs*, we might at first assume that these are royal children (one might also suggest that *‘nh ḏḏ wꜣs* are attached genitively to the preceding, the “house of recruits of life, stability, and dominion” then referring to some royal *pr-ḏꜣmw*; compare the *hnw ny ‘nh wḏꜣ snb* on the stela Khusobek, Manchester Museum 3306, line C2 = Sethe 1924, p. 83, lines 9–10; Baines 1987, p. 47, p. 51, n. d, pl. 1). One might then suggest that the *imy-r pr* of the royal *ḏꜣm.w*-children was the steward in charge of the “physical plant” of the corridors in which the *sbꜣw n(y) msw.w-nsw.t* taught (see Griffith and Newberry 1895, pl. 21, inscription on left hand wall, lines 8–9). More likely, however, these *ḏꜣm.w/nfr.w* were young soldiers, of the sort who went with Dediku on his expedition to the oases under Sesostri I (see Schäfer 1905, pp. 124–28, lines 5–6). One should also note that Dediku, whom the *ḏꜣm.w* of the *nfr.w*-cadets followed (on *nfr* “cadet,” see Fischer 1959, pp. 258–59; Goyon 1957, lines 16–17 of no. 59; Simpson 1959, p. 32), also bore the title *imy-r pr* (cf. *ibid.*, p. 127). An *imy-r ḏꜣm.w* is attested on a stela of Amenemhat II from the Chephren diorite quarries beyond Toshka (see Engelbach 1933, p. 71, fig. 2, line 5; Ward 1982, p. 53, no. 422). The *nfr.w* are also attested at the Wadi Gawasis port (Sayed 1977, p. 162, line 1) and in the Wadi el-Hudi (Sadek 1980, p. 16 [no. 6], lines 7–9: *ḏꜣm.w nḥt n(y.w) nfr.w*). The Wadi el-Hôl title may be a version of the title *imy-r pr nfr(.w)*, for which, see Martin 1971, p. 92, no. 1182, pl. 29, fig. 36. For early titles involving the *nfr(.w)*, see Kaplony 1984, pp. 523–33. For a possible connection between an *imy-r pr* and a military title, see Franke 1994, pp. 62–63. An early attestation of the *pr-ḏꜣmw* may appear in Lacau and Lauer 1965, p. 81, no. 220 — as also Kaplony 1984, p. 525, n. 23. The Wadi el-Hôl title is perhaps to be seen as an early Middle Kingdom title of an overseer of the predecessor to the domain of the *hrd.w n kꜣp*, for which, see Helck 1958, pp. 252–54; Zivie 1979b, pp. 140–41, 144–51.

<sup>b</sup> For living in the praise of the king, see *Wb.* 3.157:10. Considering the *spatium* at the end of line 1, one could suggest reading the initial *nsw.t* of line 2 as an improperly separated portion of a title *imy-r pr-ḏꜣmw nsw.t* “overseer of the royal domain of recruits.” Such a reading, though it would nicely account for the *‘nh ḏḏ wꜣs* at the end of line 1, would require the following epithet to read *‘nh m ḥs(w) nb* “who lives in the praise of the lord.” Being in the praise of one’s lord is well attested (cf. J. Janssen 1946, pp. 86–88; Doxey 1998, pp. 350–51), the lord here presumably being the king.

<sup>c</sup> For the owner of an inscription possibly referring to himself as “the lord,” see the possible occurrence in the final inscription of the Nubian soldier Tjehemau at Abisko; for the text see G. Roeder, 1911, pls. 106–08; Brovarski and Murnane 1969, pp. 11–33; and Darnell, forthcoming a.

<sup>d</sup> In adding the seated-man determinative to his name at the end of line 3, Tem appears to have taken advantage of the available space to add a long, calligraphic flourish to the sign, in contrast to the more horizontal ending of the same sign following *nb* just above.

## COMMENTARY

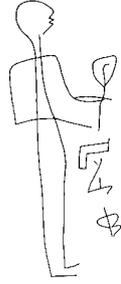
A standing figure labeled *Tm* occurs a short distance away from this inscription and may well be a representation of the same man; see Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 14. In both depictions, the man *Tm* is depicted with an oddly square upper body, another indication that the same hand may have carved both depictions. This inscription may well date to roughly the time of *Kꜣy* of Qamûla, and Tem himself may have lead his *ḏꜣm.w/nfr.w*-recruits through the Wadi el-Hôl on a mission to assert the maturing early Middle Kingdom pharaonic authority in the oases of the Western Desert.

## WADI EL-HÔL ROCK INSCRIPTION 14

<i>Inscription:</i>	Depiction of standing figure and text containing name	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 65a, 94
<i>Date of Inscription:</i>	First Intermediate Period	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 5.5 × 14.5 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Area B		

## INSCRIPTION

## TRANSCRIPTION



0 5 cm



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

*Tm*

Tem

## COMMENTARY

As noted above, the name Tem is the same as that of the seated official in Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 13. Also as noted above, the odd, square representation of the upper bodies of both these figures may indicate that the same hand carved both depictions. The *tm*-sign here appears in hieroglyphic fashion, in contrast to the hieratic version of the sign in Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 13. Like Seankh in Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 19, Tem holds a flower, most likely a lotus.

## WADI EL-HÔL ROCK INSCRIPTION 15

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Depiction of two figures and cow	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 65, 95
<i>Date of Inscription:</i>	Middle Kingdom(?)	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 11 × 35 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Area B		

## INSCRIPTION



## COMMENTARY

This depiction is a group of three images. The two men at the top, wearing feathers, apparently represent two celebrants honoring Hathor. The small cow with large eye at the bottom of the scene probably depicts the goddess Hathor herself. The lower man, in elaborate costume with no wig and close-cropped hair, or no hair at all, may be an Egyptian. The upper man with his beard and bobbed hair, suggests a Libyan (see, among others, Ruprechtsberger 1997, pp. 66–69).

The worship at this and other desert sites does not appear to have involved only Egyptians. There is in fact considerable evidence, both textual and archaeological, for a significant Libo-Nubian involvement in the worship of the far-wandering goddess of the eye of the sun. One group of Libo-Nubians appears in Egyptian texts as the Mentyew, a group living west of the Nile in Nubia. They interacted with the Egyptians during the late Middle Kingdom at Hierakonpolis, at *Inselberg* Hk64 hill visited by a number of Egyptian officers of the late Middle Kingdom/Second Intermediate Period (including one officer of the royal bodyguard Renseneb, buried across the river at Elkab). There were Nubian visitors to *Inselberg* Hk64 as well, who camped at the site and left much pottery and a number of hearths. They also appear to be responsible for a votive offering of ostrich feathers, consisting of a pit filled with two layers of feathers arranged in radiating patterns. In the middle of the feathers was a small sandstone ostrakon with the semi-hieroglyphic inscription *Nbw h' = s* “the gold appears in glory.”<sup>93</sup> The statement indicates an offering to Hathor as a solar goddess.<sup>94</sup> The ostrich is a well-attested solar symbol in Egypt, and ostrich feathers — hunted by Libyans and worn by dancers — are important in the cults of

93. For the *Inselberg* Hk64 site, the inscriptions, and the ostrich feather deposit and ostrakon, see the preliminary publication by Friedman et al. 1999.

94. For solar Hathor, see Kees 1956, pp. 241–46; Darnell 1995b, pp. 47–94; idem 1995a, pp. 189, 316–19; idem in *RILT* 1, p.

31 of the translation and commentary (n. f to pl. 83); Feucht 1984, p. 412, n. 44. On goddesses and the “»Augen-Schlangen-Kronen« Metaphorik,” see Guglielmi 1991a, pp. 16–18, 171–72, 204; Erman 1911, pp. 11–15; H. Roeder 1996, pp. 307–15; see also Darnell 1997a, pp. 35–48.

goddesses.<sup>95</sup> A description of the dancing Libyans appears in the Mut ritual (P. Berlin 3014 +3053 XVI 6–XVII 1):<sup>96</sup>

*tʒ = n n = s mhy.w nt psd n(y) ʒms.w*  
*shy n = t Tmhy.w m qʒmm.w = sn*  
*isy (Wb. 1.129:4) = sn iry m hn.wt*  
*iry = n n = t pʒ ihʒy*  
*ibʒ n = t Tmhy.w*  
*hb = n*  
*nhm = n n hnw.t = n ...*

Let us take for her feathers of the back(s) of ostriches  
 which the *Tmhy.w*-Libyans slay for you with their throw sticks,  
 their straps being of leather;  
 and let us make acclamation to you,  
 and let the Libyans dance for you,  
 let us dance  
 and let us cry out for our mistress ...

The Mut ritual associates the Libyans with ostrich feathers, worn by the Libyan and Libyanizing dancers.<sup>97</sup>

The offering of ostrich feathers at *Inselberg* Hk64 suggests the presence of Libyans, and the pottery associated with the deposit and the site in general demonstrates a Nubian presence. This seemingly contradictory information actually allows us to identify the desert-dwelling visitors to *Inselberg* Hk64 and the probable agents of the ostrich feather offering as the Mentyew. A hymn to Hathor at Medamûd describes the people and animals of the south who return with the far-wandering goddess of the eye of the sun to Egypt. Among the people (Darnell 1995b, pp. 64–74):

*gsgs n = t Mnty.w m štʒ.w = sn*  
*Sty.w m mdw.w = sn*

There dance ecstatically (*gsgs*) for you the Mentyew-Libyans in crossed bands,  
 and the Nubians with their maces

The Mentyew are, according to the story of the Libyan goddess, objects of the divine female wrath in the southwest; a text from Edfu temple places this west of the Upper Nile (Darnell 1995b, p. 68, nn. 112–13).

The physical remains of Hathoric worship at *Inselberg* Hk64, involving both Egyptians and Libo-Nubians, allow further interpretation of a number of representations at the Wadi el-Ḥôl. Several depictions of people at the Wadi el-Ḥôl show men with large ostrich feathers in their hair. Most of these men are not attired as soldiers but rather wear “civilian” finery. The spending-the-day inscriptions at the Wadi el-Ḥôl, and the information on desert celebrations for Hathor from *Inselberg* Hk64, strongly suggest that the feather-wearing men at the Wadi el-Ḥôl are the celebrants “spending the day” in honor of the goddess Hathor.

95. On the ostrich and its significance in Egypt, see Behrens 1986, cols. 72–82; Dautheville 1922, pp. 225–29; Kuentz 1924, pp. 85–88; Goyon 1957, pp. 162–63; Michailides 1969, pp. 15–17.

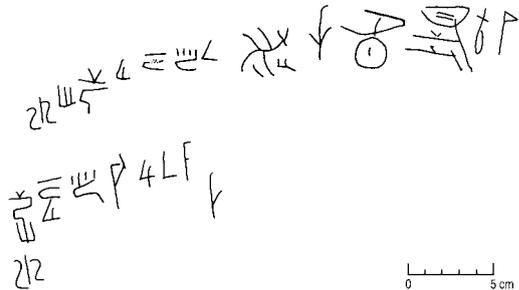
96. Erman 1901a, pp. 49–50; Verhoeven and Derchain 1985, pp. 22–23, §§ L3–M2, with nn. *bs*, *bt*, and *bu*, pp. 46–47.

97. The feather “in general is ‘African’ and ‘western’ in a wider sense” (Fairman 1945, p. 87). In Quaegebeur and Rammant-Peeters 1982, pp. 191–93, n. d, a *hry tnf* dancer for the goddess Bastet wears an ostrich feather in his hair. This Libyanizing touch recalls the feather-wearing dancers with their Libyan-procured ostrich feathers in the Mut ritual.

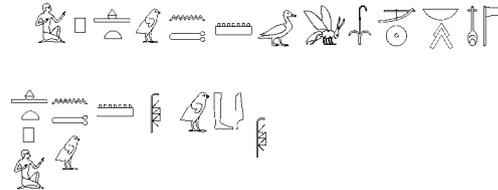
## WADI EL-HÔL ROCK INSCRIPTION 16

<i>Inscription:</i>	Text containing name and title	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 67, 68a, 96–97
<i>Date of Inscription:</i>	Reign of Nebhepetre <sup>c</sup> Monthuhotep II, First Intermediate Period (Eleventh Dynasty)	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 29.6 × 16.8 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Area C, Section 1		

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

<sup>1</sup>*mry nṯr-nfr Nb-ḥp.t<sup>a</sup>-R<sup>c</sup> sꜣ nsw.t-bity Mntw-ḥtp<sup>b</sup>*

<sup>2</sup>*šmsw ꜣIbw šmsw Mntw-ḥtp<sup>c</sup>*

<sup>1</sup>Beloved of the good god, Nebhepetre<sup>c</sup>: the son of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Monthuhotep;

<sup>2</sup>the retainer Ibu's son the retainer Monthuhotep

## NOTES

<sup>a</sup> The orthography of *ḥp.t* shows that this inscription was executed before or around the time of the final unification of Egypt. The hieratic of the *ḥp.t*-sign has been augmented with two slanting strokes to the right, apparently in an attempt to create a more hieroglyphic form. Note also the single tick added to the top of the lower horizontal, unlike the two to the upper horizontal (in this connection note that a reading of an attested  as an example of an abbreviated form *Hḥp.t-R<sup>c</sup>* of the name *Nb-ḥp.t-R<sup>c</sup>* is probably a correct interpretation of the signs [*pace* Fischer 1964, p. 105, n. 1]); note also Willems 1996, p. 223, n. 1195.

<sup>b</sup> The title *sꜣ-nsw.t-bity* for the expected *sꜣ-nsw.t* is unusual (for the religious context of attestations of *sꜣ nsw.t-bity*, see *Wb.* 2.331:6), although *sꜣ.t nsw.t-bity* is well attested (see Callender 1991, p. 109); in his depiction from the mortuary temple of his father at Deir el-Bahri, only the *sꜣ* of prince Monthuhotep's title survives (Naville, Hall, and Ayrton 1907, pl. 12 B; Schmitz 1976, p. 180, omits this reference and states that "Prinzen offenbar keine Rolle mehr spielen"). The prince may here be insisting on his father's claim to rule over the entire land. Support for this suggestion is forthcoming from the similar *mw.t nsw.t-bity*, a title employed for the purpose of "reinforcing the status of the queen mother by conferring upon the new king the impression of unity within the land" (Callender 1991, pp. 96–100 [quotation p. 98]). Just as the title *mw.t nsw.t-bity* refers to kings who ascended the throne after a period of disruption (*ibid.*, p. 96), so the prince Monthuhotep elevates his own position and reinforces his status by emphasizing his father's perhaps somewhat abnormally acquired but nevertheless firm rule over the Two Lands.

<sup>c</sup> The title *šmsw* at the beginning of the second line of text is somewhat incomplete. The quail chick sign in the father's name was formed by drawing the line for the back and feet of the bird, then adding the line of the lower breast (cf. James 1962, pal. 5, no. 43 [= XX, 6.7]), that line being carried down somewhat too far and crossing below the line of the feet. The second *šmsw*-sign is more fully formed (cf. Möller 1927/1, no. 443 [the top is similar to the Hatnub example, the rest of the sign more like the Prisse example]). The retainer Monthuhotep is perhaps to be identified with one or more of the attestations in Franke 1984a, p. 188, dossier no. 269. The similarities in style and carving suggest that a single author carved both names in Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 16;

this supports the understanding that the opening *mry ntr-nfr Nb-ḥp.t-R<sup>c</sup>* is intended to serve as an introduction to both names.

## COMMENTARY

Following the eruption of pro-Heracleopolitan, separatist, or anti-Theban sentiments in the Thinite nome during the 14th regnal year of Nebhepetre (then Seankhibtawy) Monthuhotep (Clère and Vandier 1948, p. 19, no. 23), the Thebans may have taken a special interest in the roads across the Qena Bend. This interest may help to explain the presence of the future Monthuhotep III at the Wadi el-Ḥôl, or the prince may have traveled the road sometime during the later wars of unification; we do not know Monthuhotep III's age at accession (cf. Ward 1986, pp. 105–06).

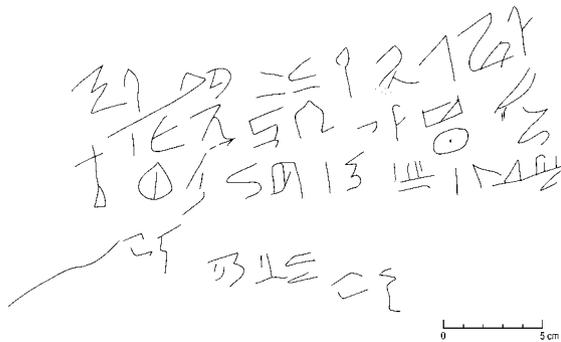
Monthuhotep III may have taken a particular interest in the desert. In Wadi Shatt er-Rigāl is a representation of Seankhkare in his jubilee robe (W. M. F. Petrie 1888, pl. 14, no. 359). Interestingly, however, a basenji sits next to his throne, and two retainers appear to bring desert game before him as offerings, features suggesting an actual desert presence. One of these men is named Monthuhotep; his title, though difficult to read as copied, may be *šmsw*. If he is the same as our retainer Monthuhotep, his association with Seankhkare was a fairly long one.

## WADI EL-ḤÔL ROCK INSCRIPTION 17

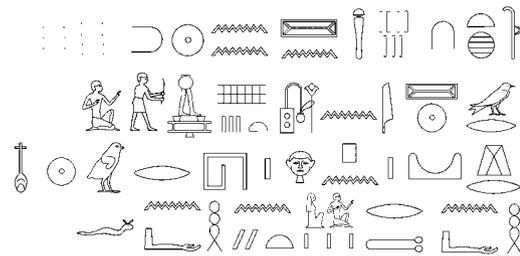
<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Spending-the-day text	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 67, 68b–c, 98
<i>Date of Inscription:</i>	Regnal year 17 of an unnamed ruler, Middle Kingdom	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 24.3 × 14.75 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Area C, Section 3		
<i>Note:</i>	See also Wadi el-Ḥôl Rock Inscriptions 18–20		

Several inscriptions (17–20) at the Wadi el-Ḥôl refer to “spending the day on holiday” (*wrš ḥr ḥrw nfr*). These inscriptions appear to refer to celebrations in honor of the goddess Hathor, apparently held at the Wadi el-Ḥôl.

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

<sup>1</sup>*ḥsb.t 17 tpy šmw sw 17* <sup>2</sup>*wrš<sup>a</sup> in sh<sup>3</sup> sp<sup>3</sup>.wt* <sup>3</sup>*In-ḥr.t-nḥt<sup>b</sup>* <sup>3</sup>*ḥr ḏw pn<sup>c</sup> ḥr ḥrw nfr* <sup>4</sup>*ḥn<sup>c</sup> rmt<sup>c</sup> nty(.w) ḥn<sup>c</sup> =f<sup>d</sup>*

<sup>1</sup>Regnal year 17, first month of Shemu, day 17: <sup>2</sup>Spending the day by the scribe of the districts Onurisnakht <sup>3</sup>beneath this mountain on holiday <sup>4</sup>together with the people who are with him

## NOTES

<sup>a</sup> Mixtures of semi-hieratic and fully hieratic signs are not uncommon in rock inscriptions and may even appear in “monumental” contexts where one expects hieroglyphs; compare the Second Intermediate Period stelae in Budge 1912a, pls. 1 no. 228 (230), 2 no. 230 (219), 3 no. 303 (226).

<sup>b</sup> For the name of Onuris as sign W25 directly over sign N31, see the same name as sign W25 directly over sign N1 appearing in the late Twelfth Dynasty (Auffrère 1985, pp. 35–36, no. [h]). Compare the identical orthography of the name Onurinakht in Hayes (1955, recto I, 1.8b (partially restored). The orthography of the theophoric element of the name — Onuris — is identical to that in the personal name Onurishotep (ibid., recto I, 1.10a). For Onurinakht's title, see Ward 1982, p. 164, no. 1425; note also Obsomer 1995, pp. 278–83.

<sup>c</sup> For *dw pn* in an inscription, referring to the gebel into which the inscription is cut, see Edel 1995, pp. 130–31 (figs. 2–3), pl. 1, line 4.

<sup>d</sup> The people here may be workers, if *rmṯ* appears here as an administrative term. Quirke (1990, p. 113) would understand “‘people’ in the context of late Middle Kingdom administration as those who were fulfilling obligatory but temporary state work.” For the apparently redundant *nty.(w) hn' zf*, see *Wb.* 3.110:20–111:1, which perhaps indicates that the people are co-workers of the scribe Onurinakht (cf. *Wb.* 3.111:1). For *nty hn' (zi)* “comrade” as an address to even the asses with whom one works, see Altenmüller 1994, pp. 18, 20 (n. 17), 23. The sign after the *t* of *nty.(w)* could be two strokes, the *w* having disappeared if ever written (cf. the orthography of *nty* in Marciniak 1974, pl. 10A, line 7 [end]); the sign could also be a very hastily written quail chick (cf. the form for F13 in Simpson 1986, p. 21).

#### COMMENTARY

The verb *wrš*, meaning “to spend the whole working time, to do something all day,”<sup>98</sup> had a particular association with the time of the workday during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties.<sup>99</sup> The author of this text in the Wadi el-Ḥôl may thus stress that he spent the whole of normal work time on holiday.<sup>100</sup> Such an interpretation is supported by the author's added indication that he was spending the day with his co-workers. In P. Berlin 10410 b recto I, lines 1 and 5, *wrš* appears in association with the residence of an official at Kôm Illahun (Luft 1992b, pp. 128–29 [citing Vittmann 1984, pp. 957 f.]), apparently as a reference to a day of work.

*Hrw nfr* originally meant “mourner's banquet” and came later to mean “holiday.”<sup>101</sup> The term *hrw nfr* also has Hathoric overtones, in relation to the goddess Hathor as *nb.t-th* “lady of inebriation.”<sup>102</sup> This range of meaning is not surprising because a Hathoric drinking song alluding to the *hieros gamos* during a New Kingdom festival first appears as a short excerpt accompanying the funeral procession as depicted in a Sixth Dynasty mastaba (Sakkarah Expedition 1938, pl. 141). The Mereruka example, a Hathoric song in connection with funereal nautical display, finds a parallel in P. Westcar 6, 13: *wrš.n ḥm zf ḥr hrw nfr* “his majesty spent the day on holiday,”<sup>103</sup> the king consorting with Hathorically endowed ladies. Apparently drink alone would be enough to make one ready for the true *hrw nfr*.<sup>104</sup>

An informative illustration of the Hathoric *hrw nfr* occurs in the early Twelfth Dynasty tomb of Ukhhotep's son Senebi at Meir (Blackman 1914, pls. 2–3; Parkinson 1991c, pp. 78–79). The scenes depict a celebration with strong Hathoric overtones, including a harpist, sistra, menats, castanets, singing, and wrestling. The accompanying texts repeatedly mention the goddess Hathor, and songs written over the two men playing castanets address Hathor as “the Gold.” One of the clapping men (to the right) sings *nh z k n zi mk hrw nfr n nb (zi) mry (zi)*

98. See Gunn 1921, pp. 108–09. In names of divine beings, *wrš* appears with the meanings “to be on watch” (the *wrš.w* discussed by Quaegebeur 1974, pp. 24–25, particularly n. 27) and “to awaken” (Hornung 1976, p. 119, n. 184).

99. Wild 1971, pp. 121–25. *Wrš*, in the form *wš*, describes the daily work service required of a set of ushabtis viewed as slaves of the owner in P. BM 10800, line 8; see I. Edwards 1971, p. 124, n. s.

100. In the tomb of Senebi son of Ukhhotep at Meir, the term *wšr*, used to denote absence from work, appears to be used as a term for a Hathoric holiday; see Blackman 1914, pl. 2, text over the harper in the middle register, line 2, and the commentary p. 23, n. 6.

101. See te Velde 1971; Lorton 1975, pp. 23–31; Donahue 1978, p. 147, n. 7 (Donahue suggests a reading “recreation” in some instances).

102. See Husson 1977, p. 222, n. 14; Kessler 1988, pp. 171–96. For *hrw nfr*, see also Guglielmi 1973, p. 238, and the references cited there.

103. Compare also P. Lythgoe recto lines 6–7: *wrš.n z sn s z f ḥr [ir.t h]rw nfr* “They spent the day, his son [making holiday]” (Simpson 1960, pp. 65–70).

104. Compare scenes where a banquet guest is offered drink and exhorted to “make holiday,” as in Beinlich-Seeber and Shedid 1987, p. 57, fig. 20; Brack and Brack 1980, pp. 33–34, and the references in n. 159; Davies and Gardiner 1915, pl. 16, upper left. In the Demotic story of Inaros, the thirteen *z m.w*-Asiatics who capture the riverine barge of Amun are said to prepare for a meal and bring aboard bread, meat, and wine; the text then continues: *swr z w ir z w hrw nfr* ... “They drank and they made holiday ...” (Spiegelberg 1910, pl. 5 = P. Spiegelberg 5, line 14).

$w\dot{z}h=k$  “As you live for me, see, a holiday for (my) lord — I wish that you may endure!” In the upper register, a man carrying a staff and walking behind gift bringers appears to call out to Hathor (who has just been mentioned by the man in front of him) —  $nmi\dot{z}t\ nfr\ hrw\ m\dot{z}n\dot{z}f\ bw\ nfr$  “May you come by, that there be holiday, that it may see happiness!” In his song, the harpist twice refers to the festival as the  $w\dot{s}r$  “empty day,” the day without work, one on which one may “spend the day on holiday.” The verb  $w\dot{s}$  “to spend the day” also appears specifically in connection with a Hathoric festival.<sup>105</sup> On the Dakhla stela  $w\dot{s}w$  appears as a term specifically written as “(festival) day” (see Mathieu 1996b, p. 51, n. 138).

In a song for which the beginning appears twice in New Kingdom Theban tombs, the temple of Karnak is referred to as  $t\dot{z}\ w\dot{s}.t\ m\ \dot{h}b$  “she who spends the day in festival” (Davies and Gardiner 1915, pl. 15, middle register; Shorter 1930, pl. 16). In the longer version of this song in the tomb of Amenemhat, the temple of Karnak is specifically personified as a woman in the Hathoric ideal, seated in religious drunkenness before the dwelling (of Amun?).<sup>106</sup> This again provides an association of  $w\dot{s}$  with a Hathoric revel. In a New Kingdom love poem, a woman finds her beloved, who has built a festival altar for spending the day ( $w\dot{s}$ ), and for choice(?) beer (P. Chester Beatty I 17, 4–17, 6; Fox 1985, p. 402, lines 9–10, note c on p. 74). Not only can  $w\dot{s}$  have a specific Hathoric connotation, but it might also have been necessary to specify through  $w\dot{s}$  that the festival was diurnal because  $hrw\ nfr$  can be celebrated at night as well.<sup>107</sup>

The spending-the-day-on-holiday texts at the Wadi el-Ḥôl have somewhat of a parallel at the Nubian rock-shelter shrine of Gebel Agg, where an elaborate inscription of the late Eighteenth Dynasty(?) depicts five worshippers before figures of Horus lord of Miam, the deified Sesostris III, and Reshep.<sup>108</sup> A horizontal text beneath the main scene is a  $h\dot{t}p\text{-}d\dot{i}\text{-}nsw.t$  formula for:

$s\ n(y)\ \dot{h}b(.t)\ mry\ \dot{c}ntyw\ sm\dot{z}y\ hrw\ nfr$

The man of the festival, beloved of myrrh, companion of the holiday<sup>109</sup>

A version of this formula appears on an Eleventh Dynasty stela from Coptos,<sup>110</sup> on Middle Kingdom stelae from Buhen<sup>111</sup> and Zagreb,<sup>112</sup> on the Middle Kingdom statue of the brewer Renefseneb,<sup>113</sup> and in a tomb of the Middle Kingdom at Bersheh.<sup>114</sup> A shortened form  $mry\ \dot{c}ntyw\ sm\dot{z}y\ n(y)\ hrw\ nfr$  “beloved of myrrh, companion of the holiday” also appears in several of the Hatnub graffiti,<sup>115</sup> and alone during the First Intermediate Period (Polotsky 1929, pp. 23–24, §44c); the group appears in the Middle Kingdom<sup>116</sup> and New Kingdom as well.<sup>117</sup> A

105. Compare the passage in Satzinger 1985, p. 251, lines 5–6:  $w\dot{s}\ \dot{i}b\dot{z}i\ m\ \dot{h}b\ \dot{i}ry$  “as my heart spent the day in the festival thereof,” referring to Hathor.

106. Davies and Gardiner 1915, pl. 15. This is an elaborate description of the temple as the goddess consort of the deity, an allusion to the  $\dot{h}\dot{c}y\ m\ \dot{z}h.t$  of the solar deity; see Assmann 1969, pp. 325–26; for the songs, see also the comments of Darnell 1995b, pp. 47–94.

107. So in a text in the tomb of Dedi (TT 200); the text is unpublished and not visible in the MMA photographs; one may cite only Schott 1953, p. 896 (132), no. 143; idem 1950, p. 130, no. 92. Perhaps also in the Old Kingdom example in Altenmüller 1987, p. 24 (Altenmüller prefers the understanding “‘ein glücklicher Tag ist für uns gemacht’ [d.h. ist zu Ende gegangen]”). Curiously Reymond (1974, p. 195) renders  $n\dot{z}\ w\dot{s}.w$  as “the night-vigils,” citing among other references *Wb.* 1.356, for which the page reference is clearly in error, probably a misprint for 336. However, nowhere does the *Wörterbuch* recognize a nocturnal application of the term, which would be an antonymous application of the root.

108. Simpson 1963a, pp. 36–44; Plumley 1979, p. 127, also dates the Reshep graffiti to the New Kingdom.

109. In the Gebel Agg inscription one may read the horizontal sign above the  $\dot{c}$  of  $\dot{c}ntyw$ , slightly convex at the bottom, as  $nb$ , with the final  $t$  omitted, as in  $\dot{h}b(.t)$  here — “beloved of the lady of myrrh.”

110. UC 14322–3, fragmentary (Stewart 1979, p. 21, pl. 19).

111. H. Smith 1976, p. 15, pls. 5, 2 (the epithet is  $s\ n\ \dot{h}b\ mry\ \dot{c}ntyw\ sm\dot{z}y\ n\ hrw\ nfr$  “man of the festival, beloved of myrrh, devoted to the holiday”).

112. Monnet Saleh 1970, pp. 22–23, no. 8, lines 9–10.

113. Berlin 10115; Königliche Museen zu Berlin 1899, pp. 82–84; Schäfer et al. 1913, p. 148, right side lines 1–2; the epithets in question are visible in the photograph in Priese 1991, p. 62.

114. Griffith and Newberry 1895, pl. 26, line 3.

115. See Anthes 1928, p. 47 (n. to graffito 20, line 20) and the references cited there. Some, but not all, of these Middle Kingdom references appear in Dockey 1998, pp. 107, 305, 361, and 371.

116. For “companion of the holiday,” see Fischer 1981b, pp. 64–65, figs. 5–6, line 4, and p. 66, n. (C), citing Polotsky 1929, p. 146.

117. Compare Schiaparelli 1927, p. 176, fig. 160; the statue of Nebanensu and his mother Amoneminet, Berlin 10338 (Königliche Museen zu Berlin 1899, p. 136; G. Roeder 1924, p. 43 D, line 6); the *senet*-board of Sennefer, Berlin 10756 (Königliche Museen zu Berlin 1899, p. 220; Pusch 1979, pp. 261–64; Piccione 1990, pp. 406–07). See also Jansen-Winkel 1985, p. 69, n. 7.  $Sm\dot{z}y\ hrw\ nfr$  can also appear alone; compare Nina Davies 1963, pl. 5, horizontal line.

further variant, “man of the festival, companion of the holiday,” appears in a Sinai inscription from the reign of Amenemhat IV (Gardiner and Peet 1952, pl. 11, no. 35). Apparently one could celebrate *hrw nfr* at Gebel Agg.

Myrrh and holiday are associated in the text above Amenhotep II seated on the lap of his nurse in the tomb of Qenamun:<sup>118</sup>

*wrḥ ʿntyw ms m bꜣqw irꜣtw hrw nfr*

Lay on myrrh, rub on oil, let one celebrate a holiday!

Myrrh and a state of apparently religious inebriation are associated in a text on the statue of a priest of Amun from Karnak temple:<sup>119</sup>

*nwḥ.k(w) m irp nbty wrḥ r[mn](ꜣi) m ʿntyw*

I being drunk on wine and *nbty*-beer, my shoulder having been rubbed with myrrh

Without attempting an exhaustive search, one can say that drunkenness, the *hrw nfr* holiday, and myrrh are all linked in the pronouncements of a lady in the tomb of User (TT 21; Norman Davies 1913, pls. 25–26), in an address to the tomb owner and his mother in the tomb of Ipuki and Nebamun (Norman Davies 1925, pl. 5, upper right), in the tomb of Amenemhat (TT 53; Metropolitan Museum of Art photograph T 3221), in the harper’s songs in the tomb of Neferhotep (TT 50; see Lichtheim 1945, pl. 7), in the tomb of Inherkhau (Deir el-Medina 359; Bruyère 1933, pls. 22, 3, 23), and in the tomb of Paser (TT 106).<sup>120</sup>

*Hrw nfr* may refer to a sensual communion with Hathor. This communion between Hathor and the king results in the statement in one of the songs of the drinking place in the Opet scenes in Luxor temple (*RILT* 1, pls. 26, 97, lines 10–11): “Hathor has done the most perfect of perfect things,” an allusion to the *hieros gamos* (see Barta 1975, p. 112; idem 1983, p. 103). One should also compare, in a love song, *pꜣ nfr hpr* “the perfect thing has happened,” followed by a description of the girl’s close relationship with her lover, who is described as her ʿꜣ “great one,” who is health and life, in other words he has the aspect of divinity for her (P. Harris 500 Group B, no. 13; Fox 1985, p. 376, line 11–p. 377, line 5). This all suggests a use of *nfr* in terms of a sensual communion between a deity and a human, a meaning that apparently also applies to *hrw nfr*.

Certain religious celebrations from the Nile Valley may at times have visited desert holy places.<sup>121</sup> The inscription of Dedusobek relates that at least one priest stopped at the Wadi el-Ḥôl, apparently on his way to celebrate religious rituals at the temple of Monthuhotep at Deir el-Bahri. Osiris is associated with the festivals of Hathor, particularly during the Valley Festival at Thebes centered at Deir el-Bahri; according to Gutbub (1961, p. 46): “l’endroit où se fait la veillée d’Osiris est précisément le pied de la falaise occidentale, dans un endroit consacré à Hathor.” There was a temple dedicated to the Abydene Osiris atop Gebel Antef, at the Theban high plateau terminus of the Farshût Road, and the Egyptians appear to have considered that end of the road to be an extension of the Abydene holy land. The Wadi el-Ḥôl might similarly have been considered an extension of the chapels and temple of Deir el-Bahri, and it may have played a part in rituals extended northwest towards Abydos from the Beautiful Festival of the Valley. The Abydene Osiris at Thebes would have been considered

118. Norman Davies 1930, pl. 9, lines 6–8, above the ladies to the left of the pavilion; compare also the similar speech of the daughters of Rekhmire, carrying Hathoric objects (Norman Davies 1943, pl. 63).

119. Legrain 1914, p. 76, lines 13–14; Jansen-Winkel 1985/1, pp. 196, 202, nn. 26–27; idem 1985/2, p. 545, line 11.

120. Lichtheim 1945, pls. 3, 5. For the wearing of myrrh and oils during a Hathoric festival, see Schott 1953, pp. 838 (74)–840 (76).

121. P. Leiden T32 col. 3, line 15, mentions celebrants going *hr hꜣs.t ḥnꜣ ḥm(.t)ꜣs r Wꜣs.t ḥꜣ-tꜣ n ḥb Mn-bi.t* “upon the gebel with her majesty to Thebes on the morning of the Menbit festival” and going about the area of Asheru *iw Mw.t ḥtp.t* “when Mut is satisfied ...” (Stricker 1953, p. 19, lines 5–6). This description of a festival honoring the returning goddess of the solar eye suggests that desert temples, especially high desert shrines such as those on desert roads, might periodically have been incorporated into a large celebration centered at Nile Valley temples.

under the protection of Hathor, especially on the desert road leading to his Abydene sanctuary. A text (Zivie 1979a, pl. 18) in the Deir el-Medina tomb of Pashed (TT 3) refers to the:

*rꜣ n(y) st-tkꜣ n Wsir ḥnty m ḥr.t-ntr wn.ti / tw n=k wꜣ.t m kkwy m s.t imy d.t*

Pronouncement for lighting the torch for Osiris foremost in the necropolis, that there be opened for you the path in the darkness in the place of eternity

The lighting of the torch is, as Gutbub has shown, associated with the Asbet-goddesses and their associated feminine deities and an important aspect of drunken, nocturnal revels for Hathor, such as the Valley Festival of Deir el-Bahri (see Gutbub 1961, pp. 31–72, particularly pp. 46–50 for the Valley Festival during the New Kingdom). The torch and the drinking vessel of Hathor are also associated with Osiris and the journey to Abydos (Zivie 1979a, p. 47). Hathor as the eye of the sun is a representation of the fiery power of the solar deity, an unquenchable flame to destroy the souls of the damned<sup>122</sup> and a brilliant torch to illumine the paths of the blessed dead in the necropolis.<sup>123</sup> Wadi el-Hôl is thus ideally located to be integral in processions related to the journey to Abydos, the nocturnal vigil for Osiris, and the welcoming of the returning goddess of the wandering eye of the sun.

There is in fact evidence from a decree of Ptolemy III Euergetes I for a Hathoric celebration journey into the desert behind Hou (Collombert 1995, pp. 63–70). The stela refers to (line x+7): *hrw pn m tr n(y) rwhꜣ wnw.t n(y.t) šḥtp sn.ty šḥꜣ šḥm šps m pr=f n(y) nwb r šḥtp sn.ty m nšn=s n r dr ḥpd [for šḥt] m ...* “on this day, at the time of nightfall, the hour of appeasing the two sisters [Isis and Nephthys as made clear by the emblems atop the heads of the two determinatives] causing the august *sekhem*-standard to appear in glory from its house of gold, in order to appease the two sisters in their fury, in order to drive away anger from ... .” As the editor of the text notes, nighttime is the time for appeasing the goddesses;<sup>124</sup> the sacred standard is most likely the *bꜣ.t*-scepter, and the house of gold is the place of regenerative rites for Osiris. The text thus refers to some outdoor procession for appeasing the angry goddesses, most likely as representatives of the eye of the sun, associated as well with the regeneration of Osiris. These features together recall the Beautiful Festival of the Valley at Thebes, and the concept of the goddess Hathor guiding the souls of Osiris and the blessed dead back to Thebes along the routes of the desert (Gutbub 1961, p. 46, *passim*). The date of the Ptolemaic stela is not preserved, and one must wonder if it was not perhaps around the time of the Valley Festival at Thebes. The following line of the stela (x+8) refers to the king arriving *r wꜣ.t n(y.t) dꜣw šḥꜣ m-ꜣqꜣ stꜣ.t ny.t Knmm.t* “at the road of the mysterious/remote mountain, on a level with the necropolis of Kenmemet.” Before the stela breaks off, it appears that the king encounters the procession of the august standard. The procession is apparently behind Hou on the road to the oases (cf. the use of the term Kenmemet; Montet 1961, p. 97; Collombert 1995, p. 67, n. [u]), one associated with a *šḥꜣ* “far removed”<sup>125</sup> mountain. These meager topographic indications would suit the Farshût Road, and in particular the Gebel Qarn el-Gir caravan stop as the place of encountering the king. The stela suggests that Hathoric rituals associated with the desert roads of Hou persisted until the Ptolemaic period and further suggests that the procession passed by a route to the oases, perhaps as the scepter made its way to a now destroyed chapel in the Wadi el-Hôl.

122. See Griffiths 1958, pp. 182–93; Hornung 1980, p. 83, nn. 14, 16; Darnell 1998.

123. de Buck 1935, p. 250a–e; Willems 1996, p. 310, n. 1868 (Bastet as a torch); Gasse 1984, p. 216, n. 21 (the *tkꜣ*-flame and the Eye of Horus); Zivie 1979a, pl. 18 (an *udjat*-eye with arms holding a double-tapered torch in a scene accompanying the *rꜣ n(y) st tkꜣ n Wsir* “pronouncement for lighting the torch for Osiris”); see also Winlock 1943, pl. 36 (stela MMA 13.182.3, line 6). The *udjat*-eye is explicitly termed a *tkꜣ* in Helck 1983, p. 5, line 10.

124. Beyond the references in Collombert 1995, p. 66, n. 31, one should note the important and detailed explanation of the rite of *šḥtp-Šḥm.t* “pacifying Sekhmet” in Gutbub 1961, pp.

31–72 (pp. 67–69 on “le rite *ḥn* et le rite *šḥtp Šḥm.t*”). Gutbub demonstrates that this rite is associated with a nocturnal celebration in honor of Hathor, in which inebriation, the lighting of torches, music, dancing, and the *ḥn*-gesture all play their parts. See also Darnell 1995b, pp. 47–94.

125. Compare *RIK* 4, west of doorway on the north exterior wall of the hypostyle hall, bottom register, wherein the king is said to be a “lion who travels the remote tracks (*mꜣn.w šḥꜣ.w*) of every foreign land.” “Remote” is also the best rendering of *šḥꜣ.t* in the Middle Kingdom title *imy-r mšꜣ m s.t nb.t šḥꜣ.t* “general in every remote place”; see Ward 1982, p. 30 (but translating “General in Every Secret Place”), no. 213, citing Newberry 1893b, pl. 14.

The apparent Hathoric celebratory associations of the Wadi el-Ḥôl spending-the-day inscriptions, along with the abundance of inscriptions of priests in the Wadi el-Ḥôl (cf. Wadi el-Ḥôl Rock Inscriptions 4, 5, 10), strongly suggest that there might have been a shrine at this point on the Farshût Road. In fact, among the debris at the caravansary atop the high plateau over the Wadi el-Ḥôl are a number of pieces of worked sandstone and a portion of an inscribed stela. There might have been a votive area, and even a small shrine, on the plateau above and behind the Wadi el-Ḥôl inscription sites. Similarly, the Gebel Agg shrine was perhaps initially dedicated — at least in part — to the deified Sesostris III, but the references to Hathor in the texts, and a scene of the Hathor cow with accompanying text immediately to the right of the “companion of the holiday” text at Gebel Agg, suggest Hathoric associations. Shrines at the termini of roads, such as the Gebel Antef shrine, are discussed in Darnell and Darnell, forthcoming b. For chapels farther out on desert roads, see the Roman stations dedicated to Aphrodite, Apollo, and Jupiter on the Coptos to Berenike Road (Murray 1925, pp. 138–50) and the shrine at Samut (Bernand 1977). One of the Florida ostraca (Bagnall 1976, pp. 62–63, Inv. 25) mentions a watchtower at a location called Ἴσιδεῖον, a shrine of Isis.

Although none of the rock inscription sites in the Wadi el-Ḥôl is a freestanding rock, the two major concentrations (Areas B and C) are on the long sides of a remarkable wedge-like spur of rock with numerous smooth areas inviting inscription and adornment (see pls. 60–62, 64, esp. 66). There does not appear to have been any large, permanent structure in the Wadi el-Ḥôl. Although there might have been semi-permanent structures at Gebel Roma<sup>c</sup>, in the Wadi el-Ḥôl, at the inscription site, the great bow of rock might itself have been the focal feature of cult in the Wadi el-Ḥôl.<sup>126</sup>

A Demotic graffito from Gebel el-Teir in Kharga Oasis provides possible additional evidence for an official celebration at a desert site. Demotic graffito I 32, line 5 (Devauchelle and Wagner 1984, pp. 9–10) refers to *hb šll ihy* ... “fête, prière et jubilation ... (?)”<sup>127</sup> This may be joy at a safe arrival, however, or even pleasure in shade at a gebel site, more than official Hathoric jubilation. The Semna graffito no. 524 (Hintze and Reineke 1989, pp. 157–58, pl. 219, lines 16–17) apparently refers to such pleasure in geographical and geological features:

*ir gr.t inr pn Ḥtp-ib* (rectangular *inr*-determinative) *rn z f*

Now as for this rock, “Satisfaction” is its name

Hintze and Reineke (1989) note that an overhang of the rock would offer a pleasant resting place for a traveler on the path passing by the rock, leading from the gebel to the Nile: “hier konnte man zufrieden Rast halten, bevor man den letzten steilen Aufstieg zur schon nahen Festung begann.” The graffito of *sdr.t imy-r-pr Bnr-mr(w.t)* “the night-camp of the attendant Benermer(ut)” from Wadi Gadamme refers to another resting place in the desert.<sup>128</sup>

The Gebel Agg shrine may have another parallel at Gebel Tjauti on the ‘Alamat Tal Road. There, beneath a shelf of rock with inscriptions, including the image of a cow before a footed bowl (Hathor; Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 31) are the remains of a vast quantity of ceramics, including vessels with Hathor-head appliquées and *hs*-vases. At Gebel Antef also, at the Theban terminus of the Farshût Road (see fig. 1), below the Seventeenth Dynasty temple, there are masses of pottery sherds, many of them apparently belonging to beer and wine jars. These suggest desert “drinking places” for the celebration of the drunken revelry in honor of Hathor. Shrines of various sorts could have their official “drinking place” (cf. Franke 1994, pp. 155, 166 [n. 9]). There was a temple on Gebel Antef and apparently a statue with possible religious focus at the Wadi el-Ḥôl (to judge

126. For peculiar rocks attracting worshippers, see the Hathor rock at Faras in Nubia (Griffith 1921, pp. 84–89; Karkowski 1981, pp. 14–16, 67–69, 77–112, passim; Pinch 1993, pp. 28–40).

127. According to Fakhry (1951, p. 401), the inscriptions at Gebel el-Teir are located along a shortcut on the Darb el-Arbain, one which saved about two-and-one-half days of travel for men and donkeys, but not camels; compare Fakhry 1942, pp. 3–4. Devauchelle and Wagner (1984, p. 50) deny this, although without any full explanation; they say that the site is too close to Hibis and a cul-de-sac. One may note that Devauchelle and Wagner (1984, pp. 22–24, pl. 21) suggest

reading *P>-se* “Ptolemais” (p. 23) in Demotic graffito II, 6 (a), line 2: *p> hm>-s’nh n* ... (?) *se*; and Demotic graffito, II, 6 (b), line 2, records an arrival *m-s> p> šw* — this is not, however, dryness as the editors suggest (and thus a possible reference to a desert track). The editors (*ibid.*, n. to line 5) suggest “ces trois termes indiquent, peut-être, les réjouissances qui marquaient l’installation des équipes de travail.” For other interpretations of the passage, a reference to fetching a block of stone, or the remainder of something, see Hughes 1985, pp. 56–57; Jasnow 1986, p. 173.

128. Aimé-Giron 1939, p. 51, no. 1 (and see the bibliography for this inscription, *ibid.*, p. 347, n. 4).

from the portion of a statue photographed by Winkler [negative now in offices of the Egypt Exploration Society, London; to be published by the Theban Desert Road Survey]. Thus the ledge at Gebel Antef and the western face of the main graffiti rock at the Wadi el-Hôl (Area C) might have been the designated “drinking places” of those religious areas.

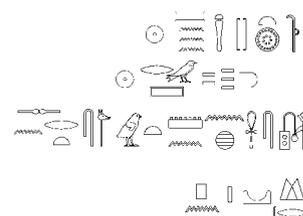
## WADI EL-HÔL ROCK INSCRIPTION 18

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Spending-the-day text and depiction of cow	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 69b–c, 99
<i>Date of Inscription:</i>	Middle Kingdom	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 40.5 × 26.1 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Area C, Section 7		
<i>Note:</i>	See also Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscriptions 17, 19–20		

### INSCRIPTION



### TRANSCRIPTION



### TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

<sup>1</sup>*h*sb.t 2 tpy Šmw sw<sup>a</sup> 215<sup>b</sup> wrš<sup>3</sup><in><sup>c</sup> shꜣ Sꜥnh Mntw S-n-Wsr.t<sup>4</sup>h[r] dw pn<sup>d</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Regnal year 2, first month of Shemu, day <sup>2</sup>15: Spending the day <sup>3</sup><by(?)> the scribe, Seankh’s son, Monthu’s son, Senwosret <sup>4</sup>beneath this mountain

### NOTES

<sup>a</sup> In the first line the signs are rather deeply and widely incised; in the second line the height of the words is somewhat shorter, and the deep incising ends with the *r* of *wrš*. In the third and fourth lines the signs are all narrowly incised, and individual signs vary markedly in height. Although Senwosret had spent the day here, he may have made his inscription at the end of his stay, and the execution of his inscription suggests haste in the face of an impending departure.

<sup>b</sup> The day date appears to have been written not as far to the right as the beginning of the second line, in order — apparently — to avoid the head of the cow depiction. The *shꜣ* of the following line is placed over the breast of the cow, however, perhaps because the scribe realized by then that he would hit rather poor surface before finishing. The end of the inscription is, in fact, partially lost to light erosion of the friable surface there.

<sup>c</sup> The expected *in* appears simply to have been omitted, perhaps because of the presence of the earlier depiction which Senwosret may have deemed suitably Hathoric.

<sup>d</sup> The *dw*-mountain here has a rather more abbreviated form than that in the longer *wrš*-text. Such abbreviated forms are, however, attested already for the Middle Kingdom; compare Möller 1927, p. 31, “Illahun”; Sethe 1926, pls. 7, 28.

### COMMENTARY

The name of the author of this inscription appears in the form *Sꜥnh Mntw S-n-Wsr.t* — grandfather’s name with no determinative, followed by father’s name with no determinative, followed by the author’s name with no

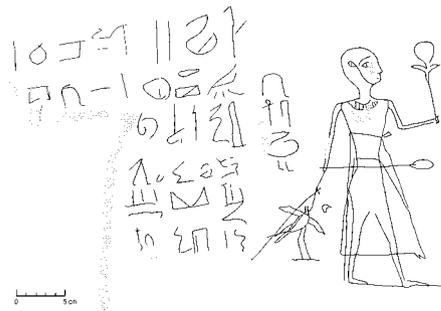
determinative.<sup>129</sup> A man Seankh, not necessarily related to this family, appears near another of the spending-the-day inscriptions. For the appearance of the cow, see the C-Group scratched design of a cow from Faras, depicted in Griffith 1921, pls. 14, 15, no. XIIa.

## WADI EL-HÔL ROCK INSCRIPTION 19

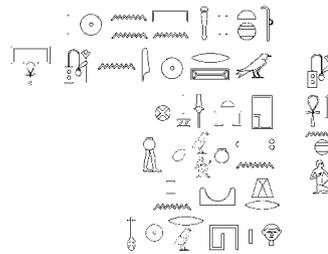
<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Spending-the-day text and name and depiction of striding man bearing offerings	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 69d, 100
<i>Date of Inscription:</i>	Middle Kingdom	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 43.75 × 28.75 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Area C, Section 8		
<i>Note:</i>	See also Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscriptions 17–18, 20		

Seankh, in his festival finery, appears to wear a short under-kilt (the line of the bottom hem is uncarved, but the fact that the inner lines of Seankh's legs end before they meet implies the presence of such a garment). Over this undergarment he wears a diaphanous kilt, tied at the waist, ending in two points at the lower right. A third, equally diaphanous garment is tied below the breast. The triple kilted garb supports a late Middle Kingdom date for this inscription (Fischer 1996a, pp. 123–24). Seankh holds a flower in one hand and a scepter in the other. Behind Seankh is a depiction of a sacrificial bird, wings outstretched, severed head placed close to the neck.<sup>130</sup> The lotus could, through the use of the sign to write *nfr* (cf. Drioton 1940, p. 344; Marciniak 1974, no. 25, pp. 83–84), allude to the celebration of a *hrw nfr*.

### INSCRIPTION



### TRANSCRIPTION



### TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

<sup>1</sup>*hsb.t* 2 *tpy šmw*<sup>a</sup> *sw* 1 <sup>2</sup>*wrš in shꜣ*ꜣ [*p*]r [<sup>3</sup>*nh*]<sup>b</sup> 3 <*n(y)*> *Hw.t-šhm.w* 4 *Tnw*<sup>c</sup> *sꜣ*ꜣ <sup>5</sup>*In*<sup>d</sup> 5 *hr dw pn* 6 *hr*  
*hrw nfr*<sup>e</sup> 7 *shꜣ*ꜣ *S'nh*

<sup>1</sup>Regnal year 2, first month of Shemu, day 1: <sup>2</sup>Spending the day by the scribe of the [ho]use of [l]ife <sup>3</sup><of> Hou, <sup>4</sup>Tjenu's son, An<tef>, <sup>5</sup>beneath this mountain <sup>6</sup>on holiday. <sup>7</sup>The scribe Seankh

### NOTES

<sup>a</sup> The ligature of the final *n*-signs of *šmw* has been made in an angular and artificial way, as though the two horizontals were cut first and then connected *post factum*.

<sup>b</sup> Although the surface of the rock has been affected by a later smoothing of the surface to the left of this text (apparently in preparation for a later “stela”), the traces of *pr nh* as drawn are certain. For the title, see also Nordh 1996, p. 208; Lacau 1970, pp. 95–96; Gunn 1917, p. 252.

129. For this order and appearance of a filiation — grandfather's name, father's name, son's name, without determinative or direct mention of filiation at any point — see Berlev 1971, p. 36, no. 68; Žába 1974, p. 166.

130. The bird with severed head appears occasionally as the determinative of *hkn.t* “offering presentation,” which it probably represents here (for the bird, see Caminos 1963, p. 69 n. 3, pl. 52).

<sup>c</sup> The disjointed appearance of the *nw*-pot is a result of the author's carving tool skipping over the surface of the rock and is not due to weathering.

<sup>d</sup> The name of the stela author was apparently Antef. Although the *tf* may perhaps be lost to the smoothing of the surface to the left of this inscription, it is also possible that only the abbreviated *in*-form of Antef (Ranke, *PN* 1, p. 33, no. 19) was written; compare Hintze and Reineke 1989, pp. 24 (no. 7), 83 (no. 331); Sadek 1980, pp. 64 (no. 52, line 2) and 66 (no. 57, line 1).

<sup>e</sup> The author has crowded together the disk determinative of *hrw* and the *nfr*-sign in order to get them into line 6 before the break in the stone at the end of line 6.

#### COMMENTARY

Were the people spending the day during the first month of Shemu in the desert for a festival only, or did they stop during trips across the desert road? Most major expeditions for which the date is known appear to have been sent out during the winter (E. Eichler 1993, pp. 152–55). Though most expeditions of the Middle Kingdom attested at Wadi Hammamat were sent during the Akhet season, at least one did travel to the wadi in the Shemu season (see Simpson 1959, p. 23). Perhaps smaller groups less encumbered with gear and equipment than a royal mining or quarrying expedition would be less subject to the seasons.

In the temple calendars of Late Period Egypt, the month of Pachons is rich in celebrations associated with the goddess Hathor. In particular, the days 15 and 17 of I *šmw* occurring in the Wadi el-Ḥôl spending-the-day inscriptions suggest the celebration of the birth of Iusaas-Hathor, Mistress of Dendera (Grimm 1994, pp. 403–06; according to the festival calendar of Dendera, this was celebrated from 11 to 21 Pachons). Day 17 also calls to mind the celebration at Dendera of the appearance of Horsomtus on the third festival day of the festival of the fifteenth day of the month (ibid., 106–07). One may also suggest that there might perhaps have been some anticipation of the following month, the time of the great Valley Festival at Thebes. The first day of the ninth month was a festival of Renenutet (Schott 1934, p. 88). In conjunction with the date of the inscription of Dedusobek (see Wadi el-Ḥôl Rock Inscription 5, above) one may suggest a connection with the Feast of the Beginning of *šmw*, a feast of Amun lasting five days according to the Medinet Habu calendar and apparently featuring a visit of Amun to Hathor at Deir el-Bahri (see Schott 1934, p. 75; Egberts 1995, pp. 406–09).

## WADI EL-ḤÔL ROCK INSCRIPTION 20

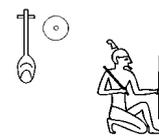
<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Textual record of military holiday(?)	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 69d, 101
<i>Date of Inscription:</i>	Middle Kingdom(?)	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 27.4 × 20.4 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Area C, Section 8		
<i>Note:</i>	Spending-the-day text(?); see also Wadi el-Ḥôl Rock Inscriptions 17–19		

This inscription appears to be a very abbreviated record of a holiday celebration like those recorded in the longer spending-the-day texts. The hieratic figure of a soldier to the lower right of *hrw nfr* is executed at the same scale and in the same manner as the *hrw nfr* hieroglyphs.

#### INSCRIPTION



#### TRANSCRIPTION



#### TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

*mš<sup>c</sup> hrw nfr*

(Military) expedition = holiday

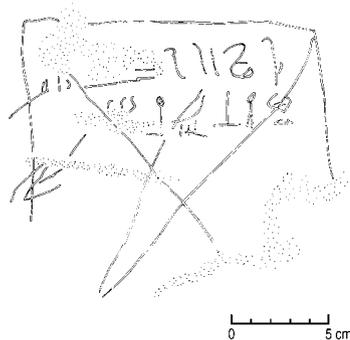
## COMMENTARY

The inscription appears to refer to military celebrants at Wadi-el-Ḥôl. If so, the soldiers could simply have been stationed at the Wadi el-Ḥôl or they might have been sent there to assist in some festival procession (cf. the commentary to Wadi el-Ḥôl Rock Inscription 17).

## WADI EL-ḤÔL ROCK INSCRIPTION 21

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Dated text containing Horus name of Amenemhat III	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 67, 68c–d, 102–03
<i>Date of Inscription:</i>	Regnal year 2 of Amenemhat III, Middle Kingdom (Twelfth Dynasty)	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 16.7 × 14.3 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Area C, Section 3		

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

<sup>1</sup>*ḥsb.t 2 tpy* Ṡmw<sup>1</sup> sw 20<sup>a</sup> <sup>2</sup>*ḥr ḥm n(y) Ḥr* ʿ3-*bʿw*<sup>b</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Regnal year 2, first month of Ṡhemu<sup>1</sup>, day 20: <sup>2</sup>Under the majesty of the Horus ʿ3-*bʿw*

## NOTES

<sup>a</sup> The first line of this small stela appears to be essentially hieratic, whereas the second line, containing the Horus name of Amenemhat III, is composed of signs in a more lapidary style (cf. the shape of *ḥm*, and the somewhat inaccurate attempt at “hieroglyphicizing” the ʿ3-text pole). For hieratic on stelae in general, see Fischer 1976b, pp. 43–44, nn. 56–59.

<sup>b</sup> For the appearance of the top of the ʿ3-sign, see Budge 1912a, pl. 1 (ʿ3 in *ntr-ʿ3*). The sign is similar to that in Fischer 1973, p. 17, fig. 1, col. 5. For the double slanting lines within the top of the ʿ3-sign in the Wadi el-Ḥôl inscription, see the double slanting lines in the same position in Fischer 1968, p. 145. For the thin, single weight vertical line, with wider top, see Fischer 1976a, p. 23, fig. 1, col. 4. Other ʿ3-signs in inscriptions with which one may make comparisons are in Fakhry 1952, pl. 13A, fig. 27, p. 34 (no. 14), line 1.10; pl. 10A, fig. 21, p. 27 (no. 8), line 7.

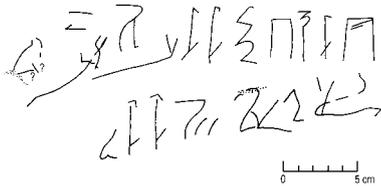
## COMMENTARY

The text of this small stela ended with the Horus name of Amenemhat III. The date in year 2, first month of Shemu, suggests that it might have been executed around the time of one or both of the similarly dated spending-the-day inscriptions (Wadi el-Ḥôl Rock Inscriptions 18 and 19).

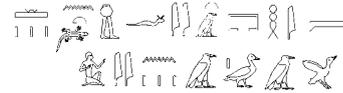
## WADI EL-HÔL ROCK INSCRIPTION 22

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing name and title	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 67a–b, 68b–c, 104
<i>Date of Inscription:</i>	Ramesside period, New Kingdom (probably late Nineteenth Dynasty)	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 25.3 × 10.6 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Area C, Section 2		

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

<sup>1</sup>*hry ih Tꜣy=f-in.t-šꜣ 2Pꜣ-sꜣ-ꜣny<sup>a</sup>*

<sup>1</sup>The chief of the horse stable,<sup>b</sup> “Its-fetchings-are-frequent,”<sup>c</sup> <sup>2</sup>Paseany

## NOTES

<sup>a</sup> The word *sꜣ* “son” is written with accompanying stroke; the *aleph*, though following close on , is not a phonetic complement of *sꜣ* but rather the first element of the name *ꜣny* (for the reading of the name I thank Colleen Manassa).

<sup>b</sup> For the title and attested holders, see Chevereau 1994, pp. 135–65. The first mentioned in Chevereau’s (ibid., p. 135, no. 18.01) list is *ꜣny*, and it is tempting to suggest that the man in the Wadi el-Hôl inscription, Paseany, “the son of the man Any,” might have been in reality the son of the attested Any.

<sup>c</sup> For the name of the stable in the title, see Žába 1974, p. 151, no. 135: *imy-r pr-ḥsb rmt wsr dꜣmw* “the overseer of the census house ‘rich in new generations.’” Following the *šꜣ*-lizard is what appears to be a ligature of the book roll with plural strokes.

## COMMENTARY

Palaeographically this inscription dates to the late Nineteenth Dynasty. For the presence of a horseman at such a remote desert site, one may cite the desert inscription of the groom Heqanakht (*mniw ssm.t Ḥqꜣ-nḥt*) from the Marsa ‘Alam to Edfu Road in Žába 1974, pp. 230–31 and fig. 394, inscription no. A13. Near the inscription of Paseany at the Wadi el-Hôl is the depiction of a horse and rider (publication forthcoming). Writing of the letter P. Berlin 10463, sent from the mayor Sennefer at Thebes to the farmer Baki at Hou, Caminos (1963b, pp. 32, 36) surmises that the letter itself had traveled originally across the Farshût Road. At the Theban terminus of this road, at the site of our discovery of the remnants of an early Seventeenth Dynasty chapel, we found the fragments of a stela of the Twenty-first Dynasty high priest/general/King Menkheperre. During the 1999/2000 season we discovered another such stela on the Farshût Road a few kilometers behind Gebel Roma<sup>c</sup>. Those fragments and photographs of a poorly preserved stela of the same ruler, brought into the Mond and Myers Armant camp in the 1930s, apparently originally from the high plateau over the Wadi el-Hôl, show the Farshût Road to have been called the *wꜣ.t-ssm.wt* “the road of horses” during the Twenty-first Dynasty. One should also remember that Diodorus Siculus, Book I, chapter 45.7, records that there were once 100 horse relay stations between Memphis and western Thebes.<sup>131</sup> Taken together these bits of information strongly support the conclusion that the main Farshût Road was, in antiquity, a major postal “pony express” route.

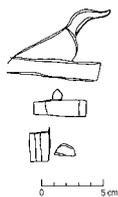
131. For more on this subject, and the publication of the actual stelae, see Darnell, forthcoming b; for the archaeological

evidence for the stabling of animals at Gebel Roma<sup>c</sup>, see the discussion on p. 91, above.

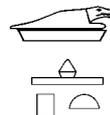
## WADI EL-HÔL ROCK INSCRIPTION 23

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing name	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 69a–b, 105
<i>Date of Inscription:</i>	Late Middle Kingdom(?)	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 8.0 × 12.5 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Area C, Section 6		

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

*Sbk-ḥtp*

Sobekhotep

## COMMENTARY

The signs are made in the incised fashion.<sup>132</sup> Although a form of the incised *p* with a single internal vertical division and further horizontal or slanting subdivisions to one side is particularly popular during the Second Intermediate Period (Fischer 1976a, p. 114), the *p* with two vertical subdivisions could also be appropriate to the late Middle Kingdom or the Second Intermediate Period.<sup>133</sup> The bird-like appearance of the crocodile's head recalls the hieratic of the third scribal hand in Erman 1911, p. 4. Neither a title nor a determinative appears ever to have been present.

132. On the use of incised signs for stelae through the Twelfth Dynasty and into the Second Intermediate Period, see Fischer 1976b, pp. 43–44.

133. Compare the form in Carnarvon 1912, pl. 49; Fischer 1976b, pp. 40–41.

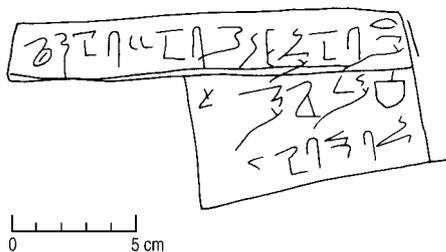


## WADI EL-HÔL ROCK INSCRIPTION 25

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing names and filiations	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 69c, 107
<i>Date of Inscription:</i>	Middle Kingdom	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 20.8 × 8.7 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Area C, Section 7		

This inscription of well-executed hieratic characters is surrounded by a border and is tucked away in a small natural recess in the stone, low on the face of the mountain, next to the descending road. Interestingly, these names would hardly have been intended as part of an easily and generally visible record of a visit, and one may in fact suggest that they were tucked away as they were in order that they not be written over, a fate which countless inscriptions at the Wadi el-Hôl appear to have suffered. Given the multitude of references to Hathoric festivals on this side of the main inscription rock, one may in fact suggest that this inscription's significance is that it maintains the names of these people in the area of annual(?) worship and celebration.

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

<sup>1</sup>Rn=f-snb sʼ=f ʼIw-n=f-snb Snb-ḥnh

<sup>2</sup>hm.t=f ʼIntf

<sup>3</sup>sʼ=s Rn-snb

<sup>1</sup>Renefseneb, his son(s?), Iwenefseneb and Senebankh,

<sup>2</sup>his wife, Intef,

<sup>3</sup>her son, Renseneb

## COMMENTARY

It is tempting to see the man Renefseneb, with his wife Intef, and her son Renseneb, belonging to the same family attested on a statue of the early Thirteenth Dynasty in the Favre collection in Switzerland (Wild 1971, pp. 114–30); the statue is that of the ʼIw-official of the day watch (*wrš*) Renseneb, son of the man Renefseneb and the woman ʼIn (this later name, though written , may serve as an orthography of the shortened *in*-form of the name ʼIntf; see Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 19, text note *d*, above).

## WADI EL-ḤÔL ROCK INSCRIPTIONS 26

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing name and title	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 67a, 69a, e, 108
<i>Date of Inscription:</i>	Middle Kingdom	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 4.4 × 16.1 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Area C, Section 5		

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

*šmsw Sꜣ-Ḥw.t-Ḥr*

The follower Sahathor

## COMMENTARY

Wadi el-Ḥôl Rock Inscriptions 26 and 27 appear to have been carved at the same time.

## WADI EL-ḤÔL ROCK INSCRIPTIONS 27

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing name and title	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 67a, 69a, e, 108
<i>Date of Inscription:</i>	Middle Kingdom	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 5.75 × 17.00 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Area C, Section 5		

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

*šmsw<sup>a</sup> ꜣIb-ꜣꜣw*

The follower Ibyaw

## NOTE

<sup>a</sup> For the horizontal line at the end of *šmsw*, see the orthography of this title in Habachi 1957, pl. 4a; de Morgan et al. 1894, p. 115, no. 3 (a somewhat imperfect copy).

## COMMENTARY

Wadi el-Ḥôl Rock Inscriptions 26 and 27 appear to have been carved at the same time.

## WADI EL-HÔL ROCK INSCRIPTION 28

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing name, title, and filiation	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 67, 68a, e, 109
<i>Date of Inscription:</i>	Late Middle Kingdom	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 10.0 × 15.2 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Area C, Section 1		
<i>Note:</i>	See Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscriptions 29–30		

This very well-executed hieratic inscription dates to the late Middle Kingdom on the basis of the forms of the *m*- and *w*-birds, with the hoe-like hooks at the ends of the feet.

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

<sup>1</sup>*ḥry-n(y)-tm*<sup>a</sup> ᵛ*Ib-i'w*<sup>2</sup>*s*ᵛ *Ddw-ᵛImn*<sup>b</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The *ḥry-n(y)-tm*, Ibyaw's <sup>2</sup>son, Deduamun

## NOTES

<sup>a</sup> For the title *ḥry-n(y)-tm*, see Vernus 1974, pp. 111–12, n. (t); Fischer 1991b, pp. 61–62, n. 6.

<sup>b</sup> The final sign could also be a partially successful version of sign A1 (.

## COMMENTARY

The names preserved in Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscriptions 28, 29, and 30 are consistent with a late Middle Kingdom/early Second Intermediate Period date. It is interesting to note that a *ḥry (ny) tm n(y) niw.t rsy.t ᵛIb-i'w sᵛ ᵛIntf* is known from a scarab seal purchased by O. Myers at Armant (Martin 1971, p. 23 [no. 236], pl. 39 [14]). Perhaps this is the same *ᵛIb-i'w* of our inscription or a member of the same family.

## WADI EL-HÔL ROCK INSCRIPTION 29

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing name, title, and filiation	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 67, 68a, e, 110
<i>Date of Inscription:</i>	Late Middle Kingdom	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 5.9 × 31.25 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Area C, Section 1		
<i>Note:</i>	See Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscriptions 28 and 30		

For the dating, note the palaeographic observations for Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 28.

## INSCRIPTION

## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

*ḥry-n(y)-tm<sup>a</sup> ʾIb-iʿw sꜣ Ddw-ʾImn*

The *ḥry-n(y)-tm*, Ibyaw's son, Deduamun

## NOTE

<sup>a</sup> For the title *ḥry-n(y)-tm*, see Vernus 1974, pp. 111–12, n. (t); Fischer 1991b, pp. 61–62, n. 6.

## COMMENTARY

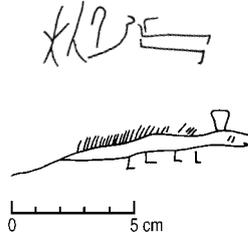
The names preserved in Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscriptions 28, 29, and 30 are consistent with a late Middle Kingdom/early Second Intermediate Period date. It is interesting to note that a *ḥry (ny) tm n(y) niw.t rsy.t ʾIb-iʿw sꜣ ʾIntf* is known from a scarab seal purchased by O. Myers at Armant (Martin 1971, p. 23 [no. 236], pl. 39 [14]). Perhaps this is the same *ʾIb-iʿw* of our inscription, or a member of the same family.



## WADI EL-ḤÔL ROCK INSCRIPTION 31

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Beginning of wisdom text and depiction of crocodile	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 69d, 112
<i>Date of Inscription:</i>	New Kingdom(?)	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 9.4 × 8.0 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Area C		

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

*ḥꜣt-ꜥ m sbꜣ[y.t ...]*

The beginning of the instruc[tion ...]

## COMMENTARY

This inscription gives the opening of a book of instruction, although without more of a quotation it is impossible to identify the specific wisdom text. This may seem a somewhat odd inscription, but there is a similar, albeit slightly longer inscription, just to the south of the east portal in the second court of the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu. That inscription, *ḥꜣt-ꜥ m sbꜣ.y.t m ꜥnh* (Edgerton 1937, pl. 10, no. 30), may give the opening of the Wisdom of Amenemope.<sup>134</sup> The signs in the Wadi el-Ḥôl inscription are crisply executed, but little may be said about the date of the inscription.

There is no clear indication that the crocodile belongs with this short inscription, but the style and depth of incision suggest that the text and image do belong together. The absence of other inscriptions in the area and the appearance of the cuts of the inscriptions suggest that the crocodile might in fact have been executed at the same time as the text immediately above. The crocodile could be an elaborate writing of the name Sobek, perhaps the name of the scribe who scratched in the hieratic.<sup>135</sup> If the text and the crocodile do indeed belong together, it is tempting to see in the animal a reference to some portion of the wisdom text mentioned in the partially preserved title above. This in turn suggests the reference to the crocodile in the Wisdom of Amenemope 22: 9–10.<sup>136</sup>

134. See Posener 1952b, p. 119; Bickel and Mathieu (1993, p. 36, n. 32) mention the Medinet Habu inscription, with a partial transcription and without reference to Posener's mention of the inscription. The suggestion that the inscription at Medinet Habu is associated with a "house of life" at Medinet Habu is interesting, but the inscription from the Wadi el-Ḥôl demonstrates that such inscriptions hint at the presence of one educated in the house of life but give no

indication of the proximity of that institution. A scribe of the house of life of Hou did visit the Wadi el-Ḥôl and executed one of the spending-the-day inscriptions (see Wadi el-Ḥôl Rock Inscription 19, above).

135. Compare the elaborate falcon with flail on a standard writing the name *Hri* (with accompanying reed leaf) in Černý 1956, pl. 3, no. 1080.

136. On which, see Posener 1968a, pp. 106–11.

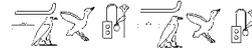
## WADI EL-HÔL ROCK INSCRIPTION 32

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing name and title; written twice	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 67a, 69a, e, 113
<i>Date of Inscription:</i>	New Kingdom	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 37.3 × 4.1 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Area C, Section 5		

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

*sh3 P3-hw sh3 P3-hw*

The scribe Pahu. The scribe Pahu

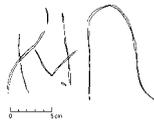
## COMMENTARY

The name is *P3-hw*, or *Ph* (Hölbl 1985, p. 21). The hieratic *p3*-bird generally shows the wings meeting and joining the middle of the back, the body being in the shape of a V on its side.<sup>137</sup> Here, however, the wings meet and join the rest of the sign at the juncture of the back with the horizontal base line, which extends to the rear beyond the juncture. For the repetition of a name in close proximity, apparently done at one time, compare the name Merer in Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 22, above.<sup>138</sup>

## WADI EL-HÔL ROCK INSCRIPTIONS 33

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing name and title	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 69b–c, 114
<i>Date of Inscription:</i>	New Kingdom(?)	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 17.7 × 11.9 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Area C, Section 6 (just above Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 34)		

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

*sh3 Hr*

The scribe Hor

## COMMENTARY

This inscription is written just above Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 34; the repetition of the title *s3* indicates that these are two separate personal names. There can be no question of a name *Hr-W3s.ty*.<sup>139</sup>

137. For a lapidary example of this, see López 1966, pl. 8, fig. 1; and similarly, Žába 1974, pl. 120, fig. 212.

138. Compare also Green 1909, pl. 53 (following p. 320), no. 30.

139. On *Hr-W3s.ty*, see Sethe 1929, p. 9; Fischer 1972, pp. 70–71, n. 4; idem 1985, p. 44, no. 20; Thissen 1985, p. 56.

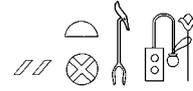
## WADI EL-ḤÔL ROCK INSCRIPTIONS 34

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing name and title	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 69b–c, 114
<i>Date of Inscription:</i>	New Kingdom(?)	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 23.0 × 18.5 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Area C, Section 6 (just below Wadi el-Ḥôl Rock Inscription 33)		

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

*sh*ʔ *W*ʔ*s.ty*

The scribe “the Theban”<sup>a</sup>

## NOTE

<sup>a</sup> The final two strokes could also represent a slightly disjointed version of the seated man sign (A1), allowing a reading  “scribe of Thebes,” perhaps a description of the man named in Wadi el-Ḥôl Rock Inscription 33.

## COMMENTARY

Ranke does not record a name *W*ʔ*s.ty*, although it seems a reasonable name. One may note, however, that a nisbe of a toponym may occasionally precede the name of a foreigner in Egyptian texts.<sup>140</sup> The Demotic equivalents of this name are *Pa* / *P*ʔ-*n*ʔ and *P*ʔ*j-nw.t*.<sup>141</sup>

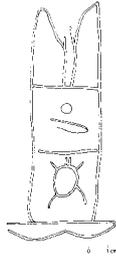
140. See Edel 1990, pp. 80–81. Note also the association of signs designating towns with the names of particular men in Simpson 1965, pp. 44–47 (*W*ʔ*s.t* = p. 45).

141. Lüddeckens 1980, pp. 376–77, 438.

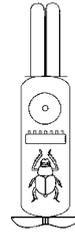
## WADI EL-HÔL ROCK INSCRIPTION 35

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing Thutmose III cartouche	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 69b–c, 115
<i>Date of Inscription:</i>	New Kingdom (Eighteenth Dynasty)	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 5.5 × 12.0 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Area C, Section 6		

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

[*Mn-hpr-R*']

Menkheperre' (prenomen of Thutmose III)

## COMMENTARY

For parallels to the cartouche atop a bow, see de Cenival 1965, pp. 15–20, particularly p. 18, n. a; de Morgan et al. 1894, pp. 91 no. 103, 95 no. 148.<sup>142</sup>

This carving of the prenomen of Thutmose III (along with a nearby, abortive attempt at the same) may be the handiwork of a desert official of the early Eighteenth Dynasty. During the reigns of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II, a man Dedi is known by — among others — the titles “Overseer of the Deserts on the West of Thebes” (*imy-r ḥꜣs.wt ḥr imnt.t niw.t*; *Urk.* 4.995, line 10), “Royal Messenger in All Foreign Lands on Account of His Deep-seated Excellence” (*wpwty-nsw.t ḥr ḥꜣs.wt nb.t n-ꜣ.t-n mnḥ=f ḥry-ib*; *Urk.* 4.995, line 13), and “Chief of the Medjoy” (*ḥry Mdꜣy.w*; *Urk.* 4.995, line 15).

The letter of Sennefer to the farmer Baki of Hou, in which Sennefer gives warning of a royal visit to Hou by river within three days, probably traveled along the Farshût Road (as Caminos [1963b, p. 36] suggests). It would thus have passed through the Wadi el-Hôl and provides, along with these cartouches, good evidence for the use of the road during the middle Eighteenth Dynasty.

142. The cartouches of Amenhotep IV and Nefertiti appear atop a bow (beneath an arm-rayed Aton disk) in a large graffito on a rock on the Hammamat Road opposite the mouth of Wadi Abu Kueh; see Redford and Redford 1989, pp. 44–46 and the references cited there (the drawing for fig. 87 has

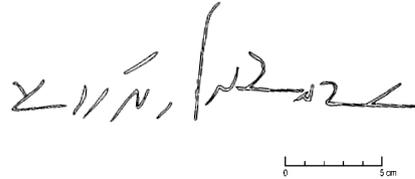
apparently been made from the photograph and does not show the traces in the effaced cartouches, visible in the photograph [fig. 88], i.e., the *n* at the bottom of the rightmost cartouche).

## WADI EL-HÔL ROCK INSCRIPTION 36

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing name and filiation	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 67, 69e, 116
<i>Date of Inscription:</i>	Ptolemaic period(?)	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 20.75 × 6.60 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Area C, Section 5		

Thus far the only Demotic rock inscription discovered at the Wadi el-Hôl and environs is this relatively large and neatly written name.

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

*Nḥt-Mnt sꜣ Hr-sꜣ-'Is.t*

Nakhtmonth, son of Horsiese

## COMMENTARY

These two names are too common to justify an attempt at identifying this man more closely, but the names may be taken as suggesting a Theban origin for the writer.<sup>143</sup>

Demotic inscriptions are rare at the major rock inscription sites on the ancient routes of the Theban Western Desert. Although some of the Demotic inscriptions of Western Thebes may relate or at least refer to long distance desert travel (two probable Demotic allusions to travel on the Farshût Road occur in Theban graffiti 3462 and 3446, both of late Ptolemaic or Roman date; see Jasnow 1984, pp. 91–97), only a few occur at more distant sites (for Demotic inscriptions associated with the Darb Rayayna route, see Di Cerbo and Jasnow 1996).

143. Compare the scribe Nakhtmonth son of Horsiese on the Roman period ostrakon from Thebes (O. Leiden 72, line 4; Nur El-Din 1974, p. 594 no. 72) and the two attestations of

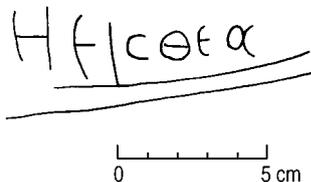
a Nakhtmonth father of Horsiese in inscriptions from Medinet Habu; see Thissen 1989, p. 244.

## WADI EL-HÔL ROCK INSCRIPTION 37

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing religious formula	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 67, 68a, e, 117
<i>Date of Inscription:</i>	Coptic period	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 10.0 × 3.6 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Area C, Section 1		

This uncial Greek inscription<sup>144</sup> is underlined twice.

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

Ἦεις Θεός

One God!

## COMMENTARY

For this exclamation, see Peterson 1926; Lloyd 1979, pp. 107–08. The Coptic equivalent is **ΟΥΑ ΠΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ**. The initial Η and the following ει are but redundant representations of the same initial value /i/; see Gignac 1976, pp. 239–42; see also Heuser 1929, p. 89; Baillet 1926, p. 593.

Compared to the number of earlier inscriptions in the Wadi el-Hôl, Coptic period inscriptions are rare. Although ceramic evidence, as well as inscriptions, indicate that both the Farshût and ‘Alamat Tal Roads continued in use through the Coptic period, most deep desert monastic sites are along the southeastern face of the tongue of high desert filling the Qena Bend. The preferred halting places, and thus, apparently, the preferred inscription sites, for travellers along these routes thus appear to be closer to Thebes.

144. On the date of the non-cursive uncial Greek texts in the Valley of the Kings, see Baillet 1926, p. xc (he suggests that in his corpus “la masse des autres graffiti en onciale

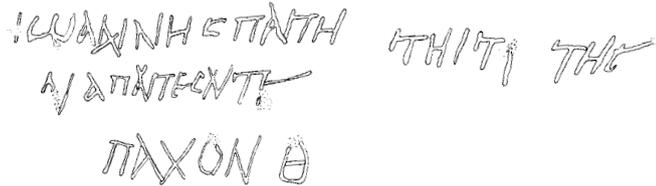
peut, à défaut d’autres indices, être bloquée du Ier au IVe siècles”).

## WADI EL-HÔL ROCK INSCRIPTION 38

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing name, title, and date	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 67, 68c–e, 118
<i>Date of Inscription:</i>	Coptic period	<i>Size:</i>	Scale not available
<i>Provenance:</i>	Area C, Section 4		
<i>Note:</i>	Drawing after Hans Winkler Negative M376. Courtesy Egypt Exporation Society, London		

This inscription has now been destroyed by vandals, and an examination of the fragments of gebel surface littering the area beneath where the inscription was once carved has failed to yield any surviving elements of this inscription.

## INSCRIPTION



Scale Not Available

## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

<sup>1</sup>ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΠΑΤΗΤΗΤΗΣ<sup>2</sup>ΑΠΑΨΕΝΤΕ<sup>3</sup>ΠΑΧΩΝ Θ<sup>1</sup>John the ἀπαιτητής<sup>a</sup><sup>2</sup>of (the monastery of) Apa Pesenthus;<sup>b</sup><sup>3</sup>Pachons 9

## NOTES

<sup>a</sup> The orthography of ἀπαιτητής is somewhat peculiar. For the interchange of αι and η, see Gignac 1976, pp. 248–49; for the erroneous addition of α, η, and υ, see *ibid.*, pp. 185–86; for the gemination of the τ, see *ibid.*, pp. 154–55, 161; Kahle 1954, p. 131. The short stroke between ττ is perhaps a diacritic stroke of the sort not infrequently found separating consonants; see Gignac 1976, pp. 162–64. For the specification of the duties of an ἀπαιτητής, see Palme 1989, pp. 129–33.

<sup>b</sup> For the monastery referred to simply by the name of its patron, see Crum and Steindorff 1912, p. 266, lines 18–19 = no. 81, lines 60–61: ΝΑΙ ΕΤΟΥΗΖ ΖΝΠΖΔΓΙΟC ΔΠΑ ΠΑΠΝΟΥΘΙΟC ΝΠΤΟΟΥ ΝΔΠΗ. The monastery of Pesenthus referred to here could be one of several establishments named after the famous bishop of Coptos; various tracks from Thebes and the areas immediately north and south converge here, so perhaps that at Djême or one in the vicinity of Armant is meant. The Roman and Byzantine tracks from the area behind Qamûla also connect with the Farshût Road through Wadi Nag el-Birka, so an earlier establishment in the area of the existing Deir Basantaus at Naqada may also be represented.<sup>145</sup> Tracks from the old Pesenthus monastery behind Qamûla do indeed join up with the Alamat Tal Road, which leads to the Gebel Qarn el-Gir caravan stop. Other Romano-Coptic tracks from the area of Qamûla cross the Alamat Tal Road and head towards the monasteries Spiegelberg discovered in and around Wadi Nag el-Birka (see Spiegelberg 1903, pp. 60–66). From the head of the wadi, tracks give access to the high desert plateau and the main Farshût Road.

145. On the monasteries named for Pesenthus, see Winlock and Crum 1926, pp. 230–31.

## COMMENTARY

The ἀπατητής is little attested in Coptic documents, yet the post may have continued into the Abbasid period. The appearance of this title in connection with a monastery suggests that this inscription formerly existing at the Wadi el-Hôl dates from between the early seventh century and the mid-eighth century A.D. (Palme 1989, pp. 107–10). The official was perhaps on his way to the *ousia* of Farshût and Hou.<sup>146</sup>

The photograph on plate 118 derives from Hans Winkler negative M376. We thank the Egypt Exploration Society in London, where the Winkler archives are housed, and Anthony Leahy for permission to use the print and Patricia Spencer for assistance in consulting the archives and for help in securing this print.

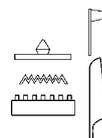
## WADI EL-HÔL ROCK INSCRIPTION 39

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing offering of Amun	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 68a, e, 119
<i>Date of Inscription:</i>	New Kingdom(?)	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 5.9 × 8.1 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Area C, Section 1		

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

*ḥtp-ntr n(y) ʿImn*

Divine offering of Amun

## COMMENTARY

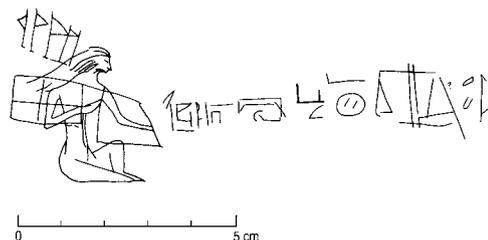
The author of this inscription attempted to employ hieroglyphic forms for the signs but was somewhat unsuccessful. Although transcribed as having the expected orientation, the sign Y5 () may in fact be inverted. The reference to the offerings of Amun is consistent with the appearance of the inscription of a grain-accounting scribe of Amun (Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 1, above), the inscription of a chief attendant of the scales of Amun (Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 40, below), and the inscription of Roma<sup>c</sup> at the station on the high plateau over the Wadi el-Hôl inscription site (Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 44, below). As appears from the botanical remains that the Theban Desert Road Survey is recovering from the debris mound at Gebel Roma<sup>c</sup>, barley and emmer, much of it probably shipped from fields near Hou, intended for the *ḥtp-ntr* “divine offering” of Amun at Karnak, traveled along the main Farshût Road.

146. On which, see Munier 1936, pp. 29–30.

## WADI EL-ḤÔL ROCK INSCRIPTION 40

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing title	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 67a, 69a, e, 120
<i>Date of Inscription:</i>	New Kingdom	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 22.0 × 10.7 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Area C, Section 5		

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

*iry mhꜣ.t ḥry n(y) pr ʾImn*

Chief attendant of the scales of the domain of Amun

## COMMENTARY

The inscription of the grain-accounting scribe May (Wadi el-Ḥôl Rock Inscription 1), the reference to the *ḥtp-nṯr* “divine offering” of Amun (Wadi el-Ḥôl Rock Inscription 39), the inscription of Roma<sup>c</sup> on the high plateau (Wadi el-Ḥôl Rock Inscription 44), and the botanical remains in the debris mound at the station on the high plateau all suggest the transport of the grain of Amun along the main Farshût Road. This inscription at the Wadi el-Ḥôl is almost certainly associated with the grain shipments along the road. For similar titles, see S. Eichler 2000, p. 138, n. 625.

The depiction of the seated person to the left of the inscription may be intended to represent the chief attendant, whose name is not given. The figure either wears long hair, or a long head cloth or scarf on the head. Some lines in the area of the torso are difficult to separate from other lines in this palimpsest area and at first suggest a representation of the chief attendant of the scales of the domain of Amun holding his portable scales.<sup>147</sup> A closer inspection of the width, depth, and patina of the lines reveals that only the seated figure itself belongs to the hieratic inscription. The figure is that of a seated female, writing. As the title is not feminine, this is unlikely to be intended as a representation of the chief attendant. A writing goddess represents *ip.t* in the thematic cryptographic titulary of Ramesses II on the west face of the east architrave in the Ramesside court of Luxor temple.<sup>148</sup> In the Ramesses II titulary the writing goddess is part of the enigmatic orthography of the name of Karnak — *ip.t-s.wt*. The lack of an explicitly written seat or throne precludes reading *ip.t-s.wt* in the Wadi el-Ḥôl inscription, but one could suggest a pun on *ip.t*, the name of Luxor temple. If that is so, then the unnamed chief attendant of the scales, though he neglected to mention his own name,<sup>149</sup> may have specified his place of work as the *pr imn-ip.t* “the domain of Amun of Luxor.”

147. Note scale and scale case in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1982, pp. 60–61.

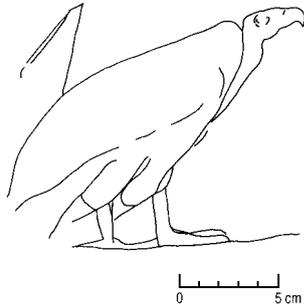
148. Drioton 1940, pp. 319–28 (corrected in Darnell 1995a, p. 28–32).

149. The names of other scale attendants are unexpectedly omitted elsewhere as well; compare Strudwick, 1996, p. 59 and n. 6.

## WADI EL-HÔL ROCK INSCRIPTION 41

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Depiction of vulture goddess	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 70, 121
<i>Date of Inscription:</i>	Second Intermediate Period(?)	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 14 × 12 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Area D		

## INSCRIPTION



## COMMENTARY

As this rock drawing is close to the depiction and name of the man Ḥepy (Wadi el-Ḥôl Rock Inscription 42, below), and there are no later pharaonic inscriptions in this area, the vulture may date from the late Middle Kingdom/early Second Intermediate Period. A vulture goddess with flail appears already during the Old Kingdom as a writing of the name of the goddess Nekhbet (see Fischer 1996a, p. 22, n. 60) and occurs on several magical knives of Middle Kingdom date (see Altenmüller 1986, pp. 9–11).

The vulture with flail in the Wadi el-Ḥôl inscription is perhaps specifically a representation of the goddess Nekhbet, or the goddess Mut. For the vulture appearance of the goddess Mut at this period, one may note the statues of the goddess from the late Middle Kingdom (see Keimer 1935, pp. 182–92). On the offering table BM 422,<sup>150</sup> Mut bears the epithet *nfr.t-ḥr m Ḥw.t-shmw* “perfect of face in Hou.”<sup>151</sup> This epithet is probably a syncretism of Mut and Hathor.<sup>152</sup> The vulture at the Wadi el-Ḥôl faces Hou, as though coming from Thebes. She is perhaps at once both the goddess Mut and the goddess Hathor. For a Second Intermediate Period depiction of specifically the Mut vulture with the flail, see the orthography of the name of the goddess in the personal name *Dd.t-Mwt* in Budge 1912a, pl. 5, no. 297 [213] (the sixth figure from the right in the topmost of the two bottom horizontal rows of figures; cf. Budge 1912a, pl. 20, no. 313 [249]).

This depiction is perhaps another example of the Second Intermediate Period foreshadowing of later, New Kingdom religion and culture (cf. Otto 1969, p. 100).

150. I. Edwards 1939, p. 55, pl. 47; on this epithet, see Gitton 1978, p. 397, n. 4.

151. For the epithet *nfr(.t)-ḥr*, see Assmann 1969, pp. 12–14; Germond 1980, pp. 39–43; Zabkar 1981, p. 145; Derchain 1991, p. 118 (suggesting that *nfr ḥr shb mndty* = καλὸς Ἀντίνοος); Labrique 1992, p. 198, n. 897; Desroches-Noblecourt and Kuentz 1968/1, p. 157 (n. 113 — on the association of *nfr-ḥr* with the wearing of high double plumes).

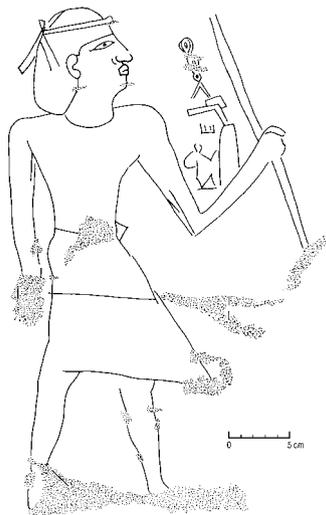
152. See the discussion in *RILT* 1, p. 31, text n. f, noting such features as the *wbn* of Mut; see also Darnell 1995a in the discussion of the term *itny.t* in the enigmatic composition on the ceiling of Corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI. On Hathor as Mut, see also Spalinger 1993, p. 165. For equations of goddesses with Hathor, and Mut also, when prominent in an area, see Gardiner 1947, p. 62\*. In a festival song in the tomb of Horemheb (TT 78), the goddess Mut is referred to as coming (as the returning solar goddess, having a *ḥr nfr* (Brack and Brack 1980, pp. 29–30, text 11c).

## WADI EL-HÔL ROCK INSCRIPTION 42

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text of name and depiction of man	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 70, 122–23
<i>Date of Inscription:</i>	Early Middle Kingdom	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 19.2 × 33.0 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Area D		

## INSCRIPTION

## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

*Hpi**Hepy*<sup>a</sup>

## NOTE

<sup>a</sup> As Vernus (1986, p. 39 no. 51) observes, “au Moyen Empire, il n’est guère pertinent de distinguer *Hpw* de *Hpy*.” Compare the writing *Hpyw*, showing the uncertain quality of the final element of the name, on the late Middle Kingdom/early Second Intermediate Period group in Gubel 1991, pp. 87, 89 (no. 79). Concerning the frequent interchange of *-y/-w/-ty* endings, see Fecht 1960, p. 94, §172. The shape of the *hp*-sign is that which is common for the Twelfth Dynasty and later; the orientation appears to be that of earlier texts but is here perhaps no more than a result of the rough surface into which the inscription was scratched. On the *hp*-sign, see Fischer 1979, p. 51. The entirely outlined “fish-lipped” appearance of the mouth may support a slightly earlier date, perhaps during the Eleventh Dynasty (see below) or early Twelfth Dynasty.

## COMMENTARY

The staff is probably the symbol of authority carried so often by men. It could, however, also be an element of the man’s actual desert travel equipment; compare ‘Onchsheshonqy 17, 14: “don’t go on a road without a stick” (cf. Cannuyer 1984, “nox in ea nocetur ...,” pp. 13–22). See also the commentary to the depiction of the Nubian ranger at Gebel Tjauti (Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 35), above. *Hepy*’s face, with the entirely outlined lips, suggests a date during the early Middle Kingdom, perhaps during the reign of Nebhepetre Monthuhotep II (Eleventh Dynasty).<sup>153</sup>

153. For the appearance of the face, see the face of Nebhepetre Monthuhotep in the great stela in the Wadi Shatt er-Rigal (Bissing 1913, pl. 2). Compare also Wildung 1984, pp. 33

(fig. 25), 37 (fig. 30), 41 (figs. 34–35), 43 (fig. 36); Aldred 1956, fig. 15; Vassilika 1995, p. 25; Norman Davies 1920, pl. 23.

## WADI EL-HÔL ROCK INSCRIPTION 43

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing foreign name(?)	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pls. 70, 124
<i>Date of Inscription:</i>	First Intermediate Period/early Middle Kingdom(?)	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 24.7 × 8.0 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Area D		

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

<i>Sshꜣytš<sup>a</sup></i>	or	<i>Sꜣ-shꜣy.t</i>
Sesakhaytesh	or	Sesakhyet (“Son of the brick pit”)

## NOTE

<sup>a</sup> The appearance of the *hꜣ*-sign in this inscription, in which the writer is attempting with reasonable success to employ hieroglyphic sign shapes, suggests a First Intermediate Period date for the inscription; see the remarks of Fischer 1964, p. 40; Brovarski 1989, pp. 744–45.

## COMMENTARY

The bird at first appears to be a *sꜣ*, although there is no name preceding the possible *sꜣ*, nor is there a clearly damaged area of the stone that may account for the loss of a name preceding *sꜣ*. At Elkab there are graffiti with *sꜣ=f* appended to the end of a personal name (see Stern 1875, p. 71). A reading *sꜣ=s* “her son” is possible but seems unlikely. Although located not far from the figure of Hēpy (Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 42, above), this inscription does not appear to belong to that inscription.

Given the location of the inscription and the uncertain appearance of the beak of the bird, suggesting perhaps an attempt at a revision, the apparent *sꜣ=s* group could also be an attempt at copying the better executed Mut vulture with flail to the right of this inscription. The following signs, begun at a somewhat higher level than the base of the possible attempt at a Mut vulture and flail, would then write a personal name. The signs employed in writing this name are clear, yet the name would appear to be a hapax. If the name is non-Egyptian, one may then compare the name of a ruler of Ashkelon attested in the late Middle Kingdom execration texts as *Hꜣykim* (Sethe 1926, p. 52, pl. 18, e23).

If one reads only what is there and takes the whole to be a personal name, as seems likely given the complete absence of any referent for the pronominal suffix in \*“her son,” we may have here the name of a Nubian traveler. Nubian names ending in *tš* are attested in execration texts (Osing 1976a, p. 169), and Nubian names beginning with a double sibilant also occur (ibid., pp. 163–64, cf. name *Sshꜣtj* [p. 164]). One should perhaps also compare the name ending in *-yth* on a stela from Buhen (H. Smith 1976, p. 53, pl. 10, no. 2, line 8). Also suggestive is the possible name *Shꜣy* from Hill A, Buhen (H. Smith 1972, p. 63, fig. 1, no. 3).

There is a *shꜣy.t* that can follow the word *sꜣ* “son” and allow one to read this as an Egyptian name, although there are problems with this. Meeks (1980, p. 339, no. 77.3787 = Andreu and Cauville 1977, p. 11) cites a term “briqueterie.” The word occurs several times in P. Reisner III (Simpson 1969, pp. 36, 41) and by the determinative appears indeed to refer to the place of brick manufacturing, the mud pit, or brickyard. If one reads the possible *š*-sign as a brick determinative, one may suggest a possible parallelism of name formation between a hypothetical *sꜣ-shꜣy.t* with the personal name *Sꜣ-mshꜣnt* “Son of the birthing-brick” (Ranke, *PN* 1, p. 282, no. 14). The term *shꜣy.t* does not refer to any single brick, however, or in fact to a group of bricks, but rather to the area of brickmaking. *Shꜣy.t* appears to be a deverbal noun derived from the verb *shꜣt*, in its meaning of “to mold

bricks” (*Wb.* 4.263:13–14); *shꜣy.t* is the “place of molding bricks” (Simpson 1963b, pp. 77–78).<sup>154</sup> One would thus not expect to find *shꜣy.t* determined solely by the sign of a single brick as would be the case in the Wadi el-Ḥôl inscription, although a name “Son of the brick pit” might be a suitable nickname for a brickmaker.

## WADI EL-ḤÔL ROCK INSCRIPTION 44

<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Text containing name and title	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pl. 125
<i>Date of Inscription:</i>	New Kingdom (Nineteenth Dynasty)	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 5.5 × 23.6 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Gebel Roma <sup>c</sup> (on freestanding boulder)		

A find both interesting and disturbing is that of the name of the second priest of Amun, Roma<sup>c</sup>, on an otherwise unworked calcite boulder, built into a line of stones forming a windbreak, in the southeast portion of the pottery carpet atop Gebel Roma<sup>c</sup>. If the text was indeed executed by the named priest and is taken at face value, then we have here a visitor’s note left by an important clergyman and administrator of the Ramesside period and direct evidence of his travels, from which a number of inferences may be made. The disturbing feature of this inscription on a freestanding boulder is that any rock surface along a desert road, especially one associated with a rest area, could bear the faint traces of some ancient traveler’s notation, presenting an investigator an almost endless task of search and recovery.

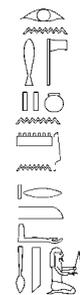
The stone is built into a dry stone windscreen. The screen had been augmented at some time during the modern era, to judge by the broken pieces of a modern *zibdiya* lying under and between two rocks near the east end of the shelter. The original shelter could, however, predate even the priest Roma<sup>c</sup> himself. The presence of the inscription on such an inhospitable surface suggests that the sandstone fragments now visible at the site were not present at the time of Roma<sup>c</sup>’s visit. Such a conclusion further supports the assumption that the sandstone pieces were associated with the northwest stela of the priest-king Menkheperre, now known to have come from the Wadi el-Ḥôl.

The title and name of Roma<sup>c</sup> are neatly cut into the extremely hard stone near the left edge of one of the wider faces of the roughly rectangular rock. The gap in the right-hand border to the right of *ir.n* is certainly the result of the carving implement skipping over an irregularity in the surface. The missing top of the leftmost stroke of *sn.nw* and missing portions of *mꜣ<sup>c</sup>-hrw* may also result from similar difficulties with the surface.

### INSCRIPTION



### TRANSCRIPTION



### TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

*ir.n ḥm-nṯr sn.nw<sup>a</sup> n(y) ʾImn Rm<sup>c</sup> b mꜣ<sup>c</sup>-hrw*

Made by the second priest of Amun, Roma<sup>c</sup>, vindicated

154. The term *shꜣy.t* is one of the *nomina loci* but is formed after Osing’s (1976b) class I.7, which is the actual formation of Osing’s IV.3 *nomina loci* (ibid., pp. 2652–67), which should

not be seen as forming a separate class (see Schenkel 1983, pp. 133–34). The feminine nouns of Osing’s class I.7 (*sudmāw.t*) explain the use of *-hꜣ-* for the middle radical.

## NOTES

<sup>a</sup> The signs of *sn.nw* are reversed, an uncommon but attested orthography of the ordinal in such priestly designations (see Fischer 1985, p. 62 no. 713; *Urk.* 4.1500, lines 6 and 18 [texts of the third prophet of Amun, Kaemheribsen]; Borchardt 1934, p. 61, line 4 of the text on the right side of a statue of the second priest of Amun, Samut), perhaps under influence of the honorific transposition of *hm-ntr*.

<sup>b</sup> The inscription could belong to the career of the well-known high priest of Amun, Roma<sup>c</sup>, also called Roy (see Lefebvre 1929a, pp. 139–53, 256–59; idem 1929b, pp. 3–46; Kees 1953, pp. 119–20; idem 1958, p. 42 [references]). Theoretically it could belong to the otherwise unknown second priest of Amun, Roma<sup>c</sup>, who is known only as the father of Bakenkhons I.<sup>155</sup> We know enough about Roma<sup>c</sup>-Roy's career to suggest that his duties as chief of the treasury and granary of Amun during his time as second priest may have taken him to Hou, and this supports an identification of the Roma<sup>c</sup> of our inscription with the great Roma<sup>c</sup>-Roy.

## COMMENTARY

The Gebel Roma<sup>c</sup> inscription supports Roma<sup>c</sup>'s autobiographical claims in at least two specifics. In carving as proficiently as he did on the unfriendly surface of the boulder, Roma<sup>c</sup> demonstrates a remarkable ability. He was in charge of the craftsmen at Karnak and in fact says that he himself issued their instructions because of his own ability (Lefebvre 1929b, p. 6, inscription Ib, lines 1–3). Roma<sup>c</sup> records that after becoming second priest of Amun, he took charge of the treasury and the granary of Amun; he further states that the pharaoh rewarded him with the high priesthood because of the prosperity of the treasury and granary (Lefebvre 1929b, p. 23, inscription III d). We know that at the time of the inscription Roma<sup>c</sup> was second priest of Amun, and at that time apparently diligently taking care of the financial affairs of the temple of Karnak. In the Wadi el-Ḥôl we have the name of a grain-accounting scribe May, apparently from the Eighteenth Dynasty (see Wadi el-Ḥôl Rock Inscription 1, above), who might have been on his way to check on the income of the estates of Amun in the area of Hou.<sup>156</sup> We know that much later the priest Nesmin was a priest of deities in Thebes and Hou.<sup>157</sup> One may reasonably suggest that Roma<sup>c</sup> was traveling the Farshût Road on his way to take care of matters in Hou, perhaps priestly, economic, or both. This personal involvement is consistent with Roma<sup>c</sup>'s stela at Gebel Silsilah, recording his supervision of work there (Favard-Meeks 1991, pp. 43–45). On the basis of the Gebel Roma<sup>c</sup> inscription, Roma<sup>c</sup>-Roy was in fact as diligent and personally involved with the affairs of Amun as he stresses in his autobiographical inscriptions.

Roma<sup>c</sup>-Roy appears to have been the third priest of Amun in Ramesses II's 46th regnal year and was appointed to the office of high priest of Amun near the very end of the reign of Ramesses II (see Helck 1963, p. 66; Bierbrier 1975, p. 4; Kitchen 1982a, pp. 172–74, 243; Murnane 1990, p. 110, n. 28). One may thus suggest that the Gebel Roma<sup>c</sup> boulder inscription dates from between the 47th regnal year of Ramesses II at the earliest and about the 66th regnal year at the latest, that is roughly between 1233 and 1213 B.C. We cannot know what prompted Roma<sup>c</sup> to write his title and name on the boulder. One may not be far from wrong, however, with the suggestion that Roma<sup>c</sup> might have been practicing the writing of a proud new title and seeing it written. In this case the date would be earlier in the possible range.

On his statue (CGC 42186) Roma<sup>c</sup> says that “he is acquainted with the lay of the Thinite nome” (*ib=f ip m ki n(y) T3-wr*; Kitchen 1982c, p. 209, line 5). Rather than referring only to the religious topography of Abydos,<sup>158</sup> Roma<sup>c</sup>'s travels might well have given him the personal acquaintance with the nome and its hinterland that Roma<sup>c</sup>'s statement implies when taken at face value.

155. Bierbrier 1975, references cited p. 159; Kitchen 1982c, p. 171.

156. According to the Chronicle of Osorkon on the Bubastite gate at Karnak, the temple of Amun-Re appears to have had domains in the nome of Hou (Caminos 1958, pp. 126–27, 132–33).

157. See Haikal 1970, pp. 13–16. The deity Neferhotep from Hou also enjoyed a cult at Thebes (see Favard-Meeks 1991, p. 373, n. 530), another indication of the sacral connections between the cities at either end of the main branch of the Luxor-Farshût Road.

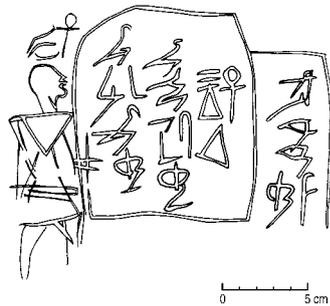
158. So understood by Kruchten 1989, p. 181.

## WADI EL-HÔL ROCK INSCRIPTION 45

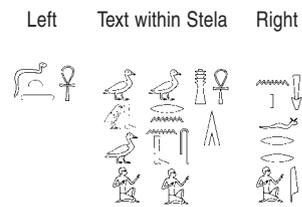
<i>Rock Inscription:</i>	Stela containing text with names, filiations, tidings, and epithets and depiction of man	<i>Illustration:</i>	Pl. 126
<i>Date of Inscription:</i>	Late Middle Kingdom(?)	<i>Size:</i>	ca. 18.6 × 15.9 cm
<i>Provenance:</i>	Area A or B (inscription destroyed)		

This inscription was one of a very few copied as a rubbing by Hans Winkler in the 1930s, apparently checked thereafter following an initial perusal by Margaret Drower. This inscription has disappeared, probably during the vandalism in Area A, or in the vicinity of the niche in Area B.

## INSCRIPTION



## TRANSCRIPTION



## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION OF TEXT WITHIN STELA

<sup>1</sup>*S*ꜣ-*Gbw*<sup>a</sup> <sup>2</sup>*s*ꜣ *Rn-snb* <sup>3</sup>*d*i 'n*h* *d*d<sup>b</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Sagebu's <sup>2</sup>son, Renseneb, <sup>3</sup>may he be given life and stability

## TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION OF TEXT TO RIGHT AND LEFT OF STELA

<sup>4</sup>*sn* = *f* *Rri*<sup>c</sup> <sup>5</sup>'n*h* *d.t*<sup>d</sup>

<sup>4</sup>His brother, Reri, <sup>5</sup>may he live forever

## NOTES

<sup>a</sup> Although the appearance of Geb in personal names was never common, and more of the known examples derive from the New Kingdom and Late Period (cf. Ranke, *PN* 1, p. 111, no. 12 [*P*ꜣ-*Gb*/*P*ꜣ-*n-Gb*]; Ranke, *PN* 2, p. 283, no. 9; Cheshire 1986, pp. 40–41), Gebu (Martin 1971, p. 131, nos. 1710, 1712, 1713, and 1714) and Sagebu are attested for the late Middle Kingdom/early Second Intermediate Period. Ranke (*PN* 1, p. 281, nos. 21–22) reads examples of *S*ꜣ-*Gbw* as *S*ꜣ-*bw-s*ꜣ; Griffith (1898, p. 81) and Vernus (1986, p. 55 no. 251) have read the name in documents from Kahun as SaGebu (the name is also discussed in Hayes 1955, p. 69 [section A, line 2 = pl. 4]). The name Sagebu also appears in P. Berlin 10112 B e recto, line 6 (misread as *rnbwtn* in Luft 1992b, pp. 95–96). The feminine *S*ꜣ-*t-Gb* also appears (Gratien 1991, p. 148); compare the queenly epithet *s*ꜣ-*t-Gb* (see Hall 1914, pl. 11; Troy 1986, p. 181 [A1/7]). The sons and daughters of Geb are Isis and Osiris, Nephthys and Seth (cf. Osiris as *s*ꜣ-*Gb* on the stela in Kitchen with Beltrão 1990, no. 5), and from this the personal names derive. The eldest son of Nut and Geb is Osiris (Sethe 1929, p. 40 [§75]), the eldest daughter Isis, and it is perhaps to these deities specifically that the personal names refer. *S*ꜣ-*Gbw* is perhaps the reading of the name \**S*ꜣ-*bw* of Martin 1971, p. 100, no. 1285 (he cites Ranke, *PN* 1, p. 281, no. 21, the references for “*s*ꜣ-*bw-s*ꜣ (?)” here read as *S*ꜣ-*Gbw*).

<sup>b</sup> The group *d*i 'n*h* should be confined to royal names (see the references in Delia 1979, p. 18, n. 11, particularly Murnane 1977, pp. 267–72). At the Rôd el-‘Aîr in Sinai there is, however, a Middle Kingdom graffito that appears to read *w*d*p*w(?) *Wsr-k*ꜣ *d*i 'n*h* *d.t* “butler(?) Userka, given life forever” (Gardiner and Peet 1952, p. 219

no. 523; idem 1955, pl. 96). The initial sign in that graffito is perhaps a deformation of the *nw*-pot for *wdpw* (for “butlers” on Sinai expeditions, see Gardiner and Peet 1952, p. 230 [s.v. *wdpw*]). The group *di* *nh* *d.t* would also appear to occur in the graffito of “confused signs” (ibid., p. 221, no. 522), also from the Rôḏ el-‘Aîr, reading the conical sign *n* in front of Sobek as *di*, the upside-down mirror as *nh* (as in no. 523), and the serpent above Sobek and the two horizontals below Sobek as *d.t*. The entire inscription, following the figure of a quadruped (dog?), may then be read as *mdh* (the ax) *Sbk-snb* (? a name attested in Ranke, *PN* 1, p. 305, no. 12, albeit somewhat later than the probable Middle Kingdom date of this inscription; alternatively one could read the *s*, *b*, and *n* as a deformation from hieratic *sbk*, giving the man’s name as simple *Sbk* [Ranke, *PN* 1, p. 303, no. 20; cf. the writings of *Sbk* as *snbk*, ibid., p. 314, nos. 19–21]) *di* *nh* *d.t*. H. Smith (1972, p. 47) suggests that a crude human figure apparently wearing an animal tail in Gebel Turob graffito no. 2 may be an example of “some aping of royalty.” This is possible, although the figure may also be intended to represent royalty.

<sup>c</sup> The name *Rri* (Ranke, *PN* 1, p. 225, no. 2) is rather long-lived; compare Černý 1932, p. 50 text n. 5.

<sup>d</sup> For *nh* *d.t* in this context, see the use of *nh* *wḏ* *snb* *d.t* *r* *nḥḥ* with private names in a Middle Kingdom graffito in Hintze and Reineke 1989, pp. 68 (no. 364a), 67 (no. 363); this is similar to the appropriation of *nh* *d.t* by the First Intermediate Period nomarchs (cf. Hatnub graffiti). In contrast, one may note the increasing royal use, from the Thirteenth Dynasty on, of *nh* *wḏ* *snb*, earlier occurring commonly after *nb* and the names of non-royal individuals (see Žába 1974, p. 4). An early use of *nh* *wḏ* *snb* after a personage of particular awe and magical potency perhaps appears in the use of *nh* *wḏ* *snb* for the dancing dwarf brought back by Harkhuf (*Urk.* 1.130, line 17; on the reputation of Nubian magic, see Koenig 1987, pp. 105–10). For the orthography of *d.t* here, see the basket-like final sign in the writing of *d.t* in Hintze and Reineke 1989, pl. 119 (no. 364a).

## GLOSSARY

In the glossary, Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription is abbreviated as GTI and Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription is abbreviated as WHI.

## EGYPTIAN (HIERATIC AND HIEROGLYPHIC)

## TITLES

<i>štw n(y) t.t-ḥkꜣ</i>	“officer of the royal bodyguard,” GTI 17
<i>imy-r pr</i>	“steward,” GTI 29
<i>imy-r pr-dꜣm.w</i>	“chief of the house of recruits,” WHI 13, line 1
<i>imy-r mšꜥ</i>	“general,” GTI 8
<i>imy-r ḥmt.y.w</i>	“overseer of metalworkers,” GTI 16
<i>imy-r šmꜥ.w</i>	“overseer of Upper Egypt,” GTI 6, line 1
<i>imy-r šn(t)</i>	“sheriff,” GTI 18; GTI 19; GTI 20; GTI 21
<i>imy-ḥt sꜣ-pr.w</i>	“police official,” GTI 14; GTI 15 (abbreviated as <i>imy-ḥt</i> ); GTI 16 (abbreviated as <i>imy-ḥt</i> )
<i>iry-ih.t nsw.t</i>	“royal acquaintance,” GTI 4
<i>iry-ꜣ n(y) ꜣImn</i>	“doorkeeper of Amun,” GTI 24
<i>iry mḥꜣ.t ḥry n(y) pr ꜣImn</i>	“chief attendant of the scales of the domain of Amun,” WHI 40
<i>it-ntr</i>	“god’s father,” GTI 6, line 1 (restored, in group <i>it-ntr mry-ntr</i> )
<i>ḥꜣwt.y</i>	“warrior,” GTI 30
<i>ḥnh-n(y)-niw.t</i>	“soldier (of the city garrison),” WHI 24, line 1
<i>wꜥb</i>	“priest,” WHI 4, line 2; WHI 5, line 8; WHI 6A, line 3; see also <i>wꜥb</i> under General
<i>mnw ꜣ(.w)</i>	“herdsman of donkeys,” GTI 10
<i>mry-ntr</i>	“beloved of the god,” GTI 6, line 1 (partially restored, in group <i>it-ntr mry-ntr</i> )
<i>nsw.t-bity</i>	noun, “king of Upper and Lower Egypt,” GTI 5; WHI 5, line 3; WHI 16, line 1
<i>r-pꜥ.t</i>	“hereditary prince,” GTI 6, line 1
<i>ḥm-ntr n(y) ḥm-ntr</i>	“priest of priest(s),” WHI 5, line 5
<i>ḥm-ntr Ḥw.t-Ḥr</i>	“priest of Hathor,” WHI 10
<i>ḥm-ntr sn.nw n(y) ꜣImn</i>	“second priest of Amun,” WHI 44
<i>Ḥr</i>	royal title, WHI 21, line 2
<i>ḥry ih</i>	“chief of the horse stable,” WHI 22
<i>ḥry-n(y)-tm</i>	(administrative title), WHI 28, line 1; WHI 29; WHI 30, line 1
<i>sꜣ-pr</i>	“policeman”; see <i>imy-ḥt sꜣ-pr.w</i> under Titles
<i>sꜣ-Rꜥ</i>	“son of Re,” GTI 7, line 2
<i>šhm-ꜥ</i>	“the strongarm (police title),” GTI 17
<i>shꜣ</i>	“scribe,” GTI 13 (partly preserved); GTI 25; WHI 17, line 2; WHI 18, line 3; WHI 19, line 7; WHI 32 (2×); WHI 33; WHI 34
<i>shꜣ n(y) Ḥw.t-Šhm</i>	“scribe of Hou,” WHI 8, line 1
<i>shꜣ pr ḥnh &lt;n(y)&gt; Ḥw.t-Šhm</i>	“scribe of the house of life of Hou,” WHI 19, lines 2–3
<i>shꜣ ḥsb it n(y) ꜣImn</i>	“grain-accounting scribe of Amun,” WHI 1
<i>shꜣ spꜣ.wt</i>	“scribe of the districts,” WHI 17, line 2
<i>šmsw</i>	“follower,” WHI 16, line 2 (2×); WHI 26; WHI 27
<i>tꜣsw</i>	“commander,” WHI 7, line 7

EGYPTIAN (HIERATIC AND HIEROGLYPHIC) (*cont.*)

## DIVINE NAMES

<i>ʾImn</i>	“Amun,” WHI 5, line 10; WHI 39 (in compound <i>ḥtp-nṯr n(y) ʾImn</i> ); WHI 40 (in compound <i>pr ʾImn</i> “Domain of Amun”); see also <i>iry-ꜥꜣ n(y) ʾImn</i> , <i>iry mḥꜣ.t ḥry n(y) pr ʾImn</i> , <i>ḥm-nṯr sn.nw n(y) ʾImn</i> , and <i>shꜣ ḥsb it n(y) ʾImn</i> under Titles
<i>Wr.t</i>	“Weret,” WHI 5, line 12
<i>Wsir</i>	“Osiris”; see <i>ḥtp-dī-Wsir</i> under General
<i>Mntw</i>	“Monthu,” WHI 5, line 9
<i>Nw.t</i>	“Nut,” WHI 5, line 13
<i>Nḥb.t</i>	“Nekhbet,” WHI 5, line 11
<i>Rꜥ</i>	“Re”; see <i>sꜣ-Rꜥ</i> under Titles and <i>Ḥr-wr-Rꜥ</i> and <i>Spd-Nfr-bꜣw-n-Rꜥ-Smsrw</i> under Divine Names
<i>Ḥw.t-Ḥr</i>	“Hathor,” WHI 5, line 10; WHI 6A, line 1; see also <i>ḥm-nṯr Ḥw.t-Ḥr</i> under Titles
<i>Ḥr</i>	“Horus,” WHI 5, line 10; WHI 6A, line 2; WHI 15, line 2 (as royal title); WHI 21, line 2 (in compound <i>Ḥr ꜥꜣ-bꜣw</i> Horus name of Amenemhat III)
<i>Ḥr-iꜣb.ty</i>	“Horus the easterner,” WHI 5, line 13
<i>Ḥr-wr</i>	“Haroeris,” WHI 5, line 12
<i>Ḥr-wr-Rꜥ</i>	“Haroeris-Re,” WHI 5, line 13
<i>Sbk</i>	“Sobek,” WHI 5, line 10
<i>Spd-Nfr-bꜣw-n-Rꜥ-Smsrw</i>	“Sopdu-Neferbauena-Semseru,” WHI 5, line 13

## PERSONAL NAMES

<i>ʾIiꜥf</i>	GTI 4
<i>ʾIw-nꜥf-snb</i>	WHI 25, line 1
<i>ʾIb-iꜥw</i>	WHI 7, line 10; WHI 27; WHI 28, line 1; WHI 29; WHI 30, line 1
<i>ʾIbw</i>	WHI 16, line 2
<i>ʾIpnw.t</i>	WHI 9
<i>ʾImny</i>	WHI 7, line 6
<i>ʾImn-ꜥꜣ</i>	GTI 17
<i>ʾImn-ḥtp</i>	GTI 23
<i>ʾIn</i> (possibly <i>ʾIn&lt;tf&gt;</i> )	WHI 19, line 4
<i>ʾIntf</i>	GTI 10; GTI 27; GTI 28; WHI 25, line 2 (as feminine name); see also <i>ʾIntf</i> under Royal Names
<i>ʾIn-ḥr.t-nḥt</i>	WHI 17, line 2
<i>ʾIn&lt;tf&gt;</i>	GTI 8
<i>ʾIt(=i)-ꜥnḥ</i>	WHI 7, line 11
<i>ʾIt(=i)-imny</i>	WHI 7, line 7
<i>ꜥm</i>	GTI 14; GTI 15; GTI 16
<i>ꜥnḥ</i>	WHI 8, line 1
<i>ꜥnḥw</i>	WHI 6C
<i>ꜥnḥ-nꜥi</i>	WHI 7, line 3; WHI 7, line 4
<i>Wꜣs.ty</i>	WHI 34
<i>Wp-Wꜣ(.wt)-ḥtp</i>	WHI 7, line 7
<i>Wnḥw</i>	GTI 30

EGYPTIAN (HIERATIC AND HIEROGLYPHIC) (*cont.*)PERSONAL NAMES (*cont.*)

<i>Bbī</i>	GTI 27; WHI 24, line 1
<i>Pꜣ-ḥw</i>	WHI 32 (2×)
<i>Pꜣ-sꜣ-ꜣny</i>	WHI 22, line 2
<i>Mꜥy</i>	WHI 1
<i>Mntw</i>	WHI 18, line 3
<i>Mntw-wsr</i>	GTI 26
<i>Mntw-ḥtp</i>	WHI 16, line 2; see also <i>Mntw-ḥtp</i> under Royal Names
<i>Mntw-m-ḥꜣ.t</i>	GTI 9 (uncertain)
<i>Mry</i>	WHI 24, line 2
<i>Mrr</i>	GTI 18; GTI 19; GTI 20; GTI 21; GTI 22 (2×); GTI 32 (in palimpsest)
<i>Nḥy</i>	GTI 15
<i>Nḥt-Mnt</i>	WHI 36 (Demotic)
<i>Rmꜥ</i>	WHI 44
<i>Rnꜣ-ī-nw</i>	WHI 7, line 8
<i>Rnꜣ-f-snb</i>	WHI 25, line 1
<i>Rn-snb</i>	GTI 16; WHI 7, line 9; WHI 25, line 3; WHI 45, line 2
<i>Rri</i>	WHI 45, line 4
<i>Rḥw-ꜥnḥ</i>	WHI 7, line 2
<i>Ḥw.t-Sḥm</i>	WHI 8, line 1; WHI 18, line 3
<i>Ḥpī</i>	WHI 42
<i>Ḥr</i>	WHI 33
<i>Ḥr-m-ḥꜣ.t</i>	GTI 17
<i>Ḥr-sꜣ-ꜣIs.t</i>	WHI 36 (Demotic)
<i>Ḥpr-kꜣ</i>	WHI 4, line 2
<i>S-n-Wsr.t</i>	WHI 18, line 3
<i>Sꜣ-Ḥw.t-Ḥr</i>	WHI 26
<i>Sꜣ-Gbw</i>	WHI 45, line 1
<i>Sꜣbs</i>	GTI 25
<i>Sshꜣytš</i> (or <i>Sꜣ-shꜣy.t</i> )	WHI 43 (uncertain)
<i>Sꜥnḥ</i>	WHI 18, line 3; WHI 19, line 7
<i>Sbk</i>	GTI 29
<i>Sbk-ḥtp</i>	WHI 6A, line 3 ( <i>Sbk-ḥtpw</i> ); WHI 23
<i>Snb-ꜥnḥ</i>	WHI 7, line 5; WHI 25, line 1
<i>Stꜣ</i>	GTI 24
<i>Tm</i>	WHI 13, line 3; WHI 14
<i>Tꜣwtī</i>	GTI 6, line 1
<i>Tnw</i>	WHI 19, line 4
<i>Dd(w)-ꜣImn</i>	GTI 23
<i>Ddw-ꜣImn</i>	WHI 28, line 2; WHI 29; WHI 30, line 2
<i>Ddw-Sbk</i>	WHI 5, line 5

EGYPTIAN (HIERATIC AND HIEROGLYPHIC) (*cont.*)

## ROYAL NAMES

<i>ʾIntf</i>	Antef (I or II), GTI 7, line 2; see also <i>ʾIntf</i> under Personal Names
<i>ʿ3-b3w</i>	prenomen of Amenemhat III, WHI 21, line 2 (in compound <i>Hr ʿ3-b3w</i> Horus name of Amenemhat III)
<i>Mn-ḥpr-R<sup>c</sup></i>	prenomen of Thutmose III, WHI 35
<i>Mntw-ḥtp</i>	Monthuhotep (II?), WHI 5, line 7; WHI 16, line 1; see also <i>Mntw-ḥtp</i> under Personal Names
<i>Ny-m3<sup>c</sup>.t-R<sup>c</sup></i>	prenomen of Amenemhat III, WHI 5, line 3
<i>Nb-ḥp.t-R<sup>c</sup></i>	prenomen of Monthuhotep II, WHI 16, line 1
<i>Ppy</i>	Pepy (I), GTI 5

## TOPONYMS

<i>3bdw</i>	“Abydos,” WHI 4, line 2
<i>ʾIwn.t</i>	“Dendera,” WHI 6A, line 1
<i>ʾIm.t</i>	“Imet,” WHI 5, line 11 (in possible epithet of Hathor <i>ʾIm(.tt)</i> “she of Imet”)
<i>W3s.t</i>	“Thebes,” WHI 5, line 9
<i>Pwn.t</i>	“Punt,” WHI 5, line 12
<i>Niw.t</i>	“City” (as name of Thebes), WHI 8, line 1
<i>Nḥn</i>	“Nekhen” (Hierakonpolis), WHI 5, line 11
<i>Hw.t-Sḥm</i>	“Hou,” WHI 8, line 1; WHI 19, line 3 (written <i>Hw.t-Sḥm.w</i> )
<i>Šm<sup>c</sup>w</i>	“Upper Egypt”; see <i>imy-r Šm<sup>c</sup>w</i> under Titles
<i>T3-wr</i>	Thinite nome, WHI 5, line 6
<i>T3.wy</i>	“Two Lands” (as designation of Egypt), WHI 5, line 10 (in epithet of Amun <i>nb ns.t T3.wy</i> )
<i>T3y=f-in.t-<sup>c</sup>š3</i>	“Its-fetchings-are-frequent” (name of horse stable), WHI 22, line 1
<i>Ddw</i>	“Busiris,” WHI 4, line 1

## GENERAL

<i>3bd</i>	noun, “month,” GTI 11; GTI 12; WHI 5, line 1
<i>3tw</i>	noun, “administrator”; see <i>3tw n(y) t.t-ḥk3</i> under Titles
<i>=i</i>	suffix pronoun first person masculine singular, GTI 6, lines 2 and 3 (both unwritten in partially restored contexts)
<i>ii</i>	verb <i>ultimaefirmae</i> , “to come,” WHI 8, line 2 (restored, uncertain)
<i>iw</i>	verb <i>ultimaefirmae</i> , “to come,” GTI 12; GTI 13; WHI 5, line 6
<i>iw</i>	particle, GTI 6, line 3 (restored); WHI 8, line 4
<i>ib</i>	noun, “heart, mind,” WHI 5, line 4 (in compound <i>s.t-ib</i> “desire”); WHI 8, line 4 (in compound <i>sbk-ib</i> “intelligent”); WHI 8, line 4 (in damaged compound [...-i]b); WHI 8, line 4 (in compound <i>bk3-ib</i> “proud, haughty”)
<i>im3ḥ</i>	noun, “veneration,” WHI 5, line 5; WHI 6A, line 3
<i>in</i>	preposition, “by,” WHI 17, line 2; WHI 18, line 2 (omitted); WHI 19, line 2
<i>ini</i>	verb <i>tertiaefirmae</i> , “to fetch, to bring,” WHI 8, line 2 (participle); see also <i>T3y=f-in.t-<sup>c</sup>š3</i> under Toponyms
<i>ir</i>	non-enclitic particle, “as for,” WHI 6B
<i>iri</i>	verb <i>tertiaefirmae</i> , “to do, make,” GTI 6, line 2 (partly restored); GTI 13; GTI 24; WHI 5, line 4; WHI 5, line 6 (2× [once in compound <i>ir.t ih.t</i> “to do things, perform ritual”]); WHI 44

EGYPTIAN (HIERATIC AND HIEROGLYPHIC) (*cont.*)GENERAL (*cont.*)

- iḥ* noun, “stable”; see *ḥry iḥ* under Titles
- iḥ.t* noun, “thing, matter,” WHI 5, line 6 (in compound *ir.t iḥ.t* “to do things, perform ritual”); see also *iry-iḥ.t nsw.t* under Titles
- it* noun, “father”; see *it-ntr* under Titles
- it* noun, “grain”; see *shꜣ ḥsb it n(y) ʿImn* under Titles
- ꜥ noun, “arm”; see *shꜣm-ꜥ* under Titles
- ꜣ adjective, “great,” WHI 2 (in compound *ntr ꜣ*); WHI 8, line 1 (plural)
- ꜣ noun, “donkey”; see *mnꜣw ꜣ(.w)* under Titles
- ꜣ noun, “door”; see *iry-ꜣ n(y) ʿImn* under Titles
- ꜥnh (1) verb, “to live” (in compound *ꜥnh ḏ.t* “may he live forever”), GTI 5; WHI 5, line 3 (in compound *ꜥnh ḏ.t* “may he live forever”); WHI 13, line 2; WHI 45, line 5; see also *ꜥnh-n(y)-niwt* under Titles; (2) noun, “life,” WHI 13, line 1; WHI 19, line 2 (partially restored, in compound [*p*]r-[ꜣ]nh); WHI 45, line 3 (in group *di ꜥnh ḏd*)
- ꜥḥꜣ verb, “to fight,” GTI 6, line 3; see also *ꜥḥꜣwty* under Titles
- ꜥšꜣ adjective, “many, frequent,” GTI 12 (uncertain); see also *Tꜣyꜣf-in.t-ꜥšꜣ* under Toponyms
- ꜥšꜣ.t noun, “multitude, horde,” WHI 8, line 4
- wꜣs* “dominion,” WHI 13, line 1 (in group *ꜥnh ḏd wꜣs*)
- wꜥb* noun, “priest,” WHI 5, line 8; see also *wꜥb* under Titles
- wrš* verb, “to spend the day,” WHI 17, line 2; WHI 18, line 2; WHI 19, line 2
- bity* noun, “king (of Lower Egypt)”; see *nsw.t-bity* under Titles
- bḳꜣ* verb, WHI 8, line 4 (in adjectival compound *bḳꜣ-ib* “proud, haughty”)
- pꜣ* verb, “to fly,” GTI 6, line 3 (uncertain)
- pꜥ.t* noun, “the *pꜥ.t*-class, the patricians”; see *r-pꜥ.t* under Titles
- p.t* noun, “sky,” WHI 8, line 4
- pw* copula, GTI 13, WHI 8, line 5
- pf* masculine singular demonstrative adjective, WHI 8, line 3 (possible)
- pn* masculine singular demonstrative adjective, WHI 5, line 8; WHI 17, line 3; WHI 18, line 4; WHI 19, line 5
- pr* noun, “house, domain,” WHI 19, line 2 (partially restored, in compound [*p*]r-[ꜥ]nh “house of life”); see also *imy-r pr*, *imy-r pr-ḏꜣm.w*, *imy-ḥt sꜣ-pr.w*, and *iry-mḥꜣ.t ḥry n(y) pr ʿImn* under Titles
- prꜣ* verb *tertiae infirmae*, “to go forth, to rise (astronomically),” GTI 11
- Pr.t* noun, “the second season, the season of Prt,” WHI 5, line 1
- ph* verb, “to reach,” WHI 6B (intransitive use)
- ꜣf suffix pronoun third person masculine singular, GTI 6, line 3 (restored); GTI 12; WHI 5, line 2; WHI 5, line 4 (4×); WHI 5, line 6 (3×); WHI 6B (2×); WHI 7, line 3; WHI 7, line 4; WHI 7, line 5; WHI 7, line 6; WHI 8, line 1; WHI 8, line 2 (7×? [2× restored and uncertain]); WHI 8, line 3 (4×? [once uncertain]); WHI 8, line 4 (3×); WHI 8, line 5; WHI 17, line 4; WHI 25, line 1; WHI 25, line 2; WHI 45, line 4; see also *Tꜣyꜣf-in.t-ꜥšꜣ* under Toponyms
- fnḏw* noun, “nostrils,” WHI 8, line 3 (uncertain)
- m* preposition, “in, on, as, from,” WHI 5, line 5; WHI 5, line 6 (2×); WHI 5, line 8; WHI 6B; WHI 8, line 1; WHI 8, line 2; WHI 8, line 3 (uncertain, as *n* introducing direct object?); WHI 13, line 2; WHI 31; see also *m-ḥt* under General and *imy-r pr*, *imy-r pr-ḏꜣm.w*, *imy-r mꜣꜥ*, *imy-r ḥmty.w*, *imy-r Šmꜥw*, *imy-r šn(t)*, and *imy-ḥt-sꜣ-pr.w* under Titles
- m* non-enclitic presentative particle, “behold,” WHI 8, line 1 (*m=tn*)
- mꜣꜣ* verb *secundae geminatae*, “to see, observe,” GTI 11 (infinitive *mꜣꜣ*); WHI 8, line 4
- mꜣꜥ* adjective verb, “true, real, proper, loyal,” WHI 8, line 3 (2× [once uncertain]), WHI 44 (in epithet *mꜣꜥ-ḥrw* “vindicated”)
- mꜣꜥ* adverb, “truly,” WHI 5, line 4
- mi* preposition, “like, as, according as,” WHI 8, line 1 (in compound *mi-ḳd*); WHI 8, line 4

EGYPTIAN (HIERATIC AND HIEROGLYPHIC) (*cont.*)GENERAL (*cont.*)

- mw.t* noun, “mother,” WHI 7, line 3; WHI 7, line 11
- mn̄iw* noun, “herdsman”; see *mn̄iw* ʕ(.w) under Titles
- mnw* noun, “monument,” WHI 5, line 6
- mri* verb *tertiaef infirmae*, “to love, prefer,” WHI 5, line 2 (in epithet *mr(y) nb=ʕf*); WHI 5, line 4; WHI 8, line 2 (2×); WHI 8, line 3; WHI 16, line 1; see also *mry-ntr* under Titles
- mrw.t* noun, “love,” GTI 6, line 2 (in compound *n-mrw.t* “for love of”)
- mḥʕ.t* noun, “scales”; see *iry mḥʕ.t ḥry n(y) pr ʕImn* under Titles
- m-ḥt* preposition, “when, after,” GTI 12
- mšʕ* noun, “troops, expedition, force,” GTI 7, line 1 (in compound *mšʕ-ḥwi* “assault troops”); WHI 8, line 1 (partially restored); WHI 20; see also *imy-r mšʕ* under Titles
- n* preposition, “to, for, through,” GTI 6, line 2 (in compound preposition *n-mrw.t*); WHI 4, line 2; WHI 5, line 6; WHI 8, line 3 (2× [once uncertain]); WHI 8, line 4
- n* negative, WHI 8, line 1; WHI 8, line 2
- n(y)* singular masculine indirect genitive particle, GTI 6, line 2; WHI 5, line 3; WHI 5, line 4; WHI 5, line 5; WHI 6B (restored); WHI 8, line 1 (2×); WHI 19, line 3 (omitted); WHI 21, line 2; WHI 39; see also *ʕtw n(y) ʕt-ḥkʕ*, *iry-ʕ n(y) ʕImn*, *iry mḥʕ.t ḥry n(y) pr ʕImn*, *ḥn-n(y)-n̄iw*, *ḥm-ntr n(y) ḥm-ntr*, *ḥm-ntr sn.nw n(y) ʕImn*, *ḥry-n(y)-tm*, and *shʕ ḥsb ʕt n(y) ʕImn-Rʕ* under Titles
- ny.t* singular feminine indirect genitive particle, WHI 5, line 5; WHI 5, line 8 (written *n*); WHI 5, line 9 (written *n*)
- n̄iw.t* noun, “city,” GTI 12 (in *n̄iw.t rsy.t* “southern city,” Thebes); WHI 8, line 1 (possibly as name of Thebes); see also *ḥn-n(y)-n̄iw* under Titles
- nb* noun, “lord, possessor,” WHI 4, line 1; WHI 4, line 2; WHI 5, line 2; WHI 5, line 4; WHI 5, line 5; WHI 5, line 9; WHI 5, line 10 (in epithet of Amun *nb ns.t Tʕ.wy*); WHI 6A, line 2; WHI 6A, line 3; WHI 13, line 2
- nb.t* noun, “lady, possessor,” WHI 5, line 12; WHI 6A, line 1
- nb* adjective, “all, every,” WHI 5, line 5 (2×); WHI 5, line 11; WHI 8, line 1
- nfr* adjective, “good, beautiful,” WHI 16, line 1 (in compound *ntr-nfr* “good god”); WHI 17, line 3 (in compound *hrw nfr* “holiday”); WHI 19, line 6 (in compound *hrw nfr* “holiday”); WHI 20 (in compound *hrw nfr* “holiday”)
- nn* plural demonstrative pronoun, “this, these,” GTI 6, line 2; WHI 6B
- nn* negative, WHI 8, line 3
- n-ḥʕ.w=* compound adverb, “personally, by oneself,” WHI 8, line 3
- nḥḥ* noun, “eternity,” WHI 5, line 3
- ns.t* noun, “throne,” WHI 5, line 10 (in epithet of Amun *nb ns.t Tʕ.wy*)
- nsw.t* noun, “king; king of Upper Egypt,” WHI 5, line 2; WHI 13, line 2; see also *ḥtp-di-nsw.t* under General and *iry-ḥt.nsw.t* and *nsw.t-bity* under Titles
- nty* relative adjective, WHI 17, line 4
- ntr* noun, “deity,” WHI 4, line 2 (in compound *ntr* ʕ); WHI 5, line 11 (plural); WHI 16, line 1 (in compound *ntr-nfr* “good god”); WHI 39 (in compound *ḥtp-ntr* “divine offering”); see also *it-ntr*, *mry-ntr*, *ḥm-ntr n(y) ḥm-ntr*, *ḥm-ntr Ḥw.t-Ḥr*, and *ḥm-ntr sn.nw n(y) ʕImn* under Titles
- nd* verb *secundae litterae*, “to ask, inquire,” WHI 5, line 8 (in compound *nd-ḥr.t* “to greet”)
- r* preposition, “to, towards, against, at, as, until,” GTI 12 (2×); WHI 5, line 3; WHI 5, line 6; WHI 8, line 2 (2×); WHI 8, line 4; see also *iry-ḥt.nsw.t*, *iry-ʕ n(y) ʕImn*, and *iry mḥʕ.t ḥry n(y) pr ʕImn* under Titles
- rʕ* noun, “mouth”; see *imy-r pr*, *imy-r pr-dʕm.w*, *imy-r mšʕ*, *imy-r ḥmty.w*, *imy-r šmʕ.w*, *imy-r šn(t)*, and *r-pʕ.t* under Titles
- rʕ* noun, “day,” WHI 5, line 5; see also *sʕ-Rʕ* under Titles
- rmḥ* noun, “people,” WHI 8, line 1; WHI 8, line 3; WHI 17, line 4
- rḥ* verb, “to learn, to know,” WHI 8, line 1

EGYPTIAN (HIERATIC AND HIEROGLYPHIC) (*cont.*)GENERAL (*cont.*)

- rsy* adjective, “southern,” GTI 12
- ršw* verb *tertiaefirmae*, “to rejoice,” WHI 8, line 5
- rdi* verb, “to give, grant, cause,” WHI 45, line 3 (in group *di* *nh̄ dd*); see also *h̄tp-di-Wsir* and *h̄tp-di-nsw.t* under General
- hrw* noun, “day,” WHI 5, line 5 (in compound *hr.t-hrw* “in the course of the day”); WHI 17, line 3 (in compound *hrw nfr* “holiday”); WHI 19, line 6 (in compound *hrw nfr* “holiday”); WHI 20 (in compound *hrw nfr* “holiday”)
- h̄z.t-<sup>c</sup>* “beginning (of a written work),” WHI 8, line 1 (partially restored); WHI 31
- h̄<sup>c</sup>.w* noun, “limbs”; see *n-h̄<sup>c</sup>.w* = (compound adv.) under General
- h̄wi* verb *tertiaefirmae*, “to strike,” GTI 7, line 1 (in compound *mš<sup>c</sup>-h̄wi*)
- hm* noun, “majesty, person, incarnation,” GTI 12 (partially restored); WHI 5, line 3; WHI 21, line 2
- hm* noun, “servant”; see *hm-ntr n hm-ntr*, *hm-ntr Hw.t-Hr*, and *hm-ntr sn.nw n(y)* *’Imn* under Titles
- hm.t* noun, “wife,” WHI 25, line 2
- h̄mty* noun, “metalworker”; see *imy-r h̄mty.w* under Titles
- hn<sup>c</sup>* preposition, “together with, and,” GTI 6, line 3; WHI 5, line 8; WHI 17, line 4 (2×)
- hr* preposition, “on, upon, because of,” WHI 8, line 4; WHI 17, line 3; WHI 19, line 6
- hry-tp* nisbe adjective, “at the head of,” WHI 5, line 12
- hry* noun, “chief”; see *iry mh̄z.t hry n(y) pr ’Imn*, *hry ih*, and *hry-n(y)-tm* under Titles
- h̄si* verb *tertiaefirmae*, “to praise,” WHI 5, line 4
- h̄s.t* noun, “praise,” WHI 5, line 9; WHI 13, line 2 (written *h̄s(.t)*)
- h̄sb* verb, “to count”; see *sh̄z h̄sb it n(y)* *’Imn* under Titles
- h̄sb.t* noun, “regnal year,” GTI 11; GTI 12; WHI 5, line 1; WHI 7, line 1; WHI 17, line 1; WHI 18, line 1; WHI 19, line 1; WHI 21, line 1
- hk̄z* noun, “ruler,” GTI 6, line 2; see also *z̄tw n(y) t.t hk̄z* under Titles
- h̄kr* verb, “to be hungry,” WHI 8, line 4
- h̄tp* noun, “peace, contentment,” WHI 6B
- h̄tp-ntr* noun, “divine offering,” WHI 39 (in compound *h̄tp-ntr n(y)* *’Imn* “divine offering of Amun”)
- h̄tp-di-Wsir* “the offering which is given to Osiris,” WHI 4, line 1
- h̄tp-di-nsw.t* “the offering which the king gives,” WHI 4, line 1
- h̄d* (1) adjective, “white,” WHI 5, line 11 (as epithet of Nekhbet *h̄d.t Nhn* “the white [goddess] of Nekhen”); (2) verb, “to be light, brighten, dawn,” WHI 8, line 4 (in compound *h̄d t̄z* “day break”)
- h̄z.s.t* noun, “gebel, desert, hill land, foreign land,” GTI 6, line 2 (partially restored); WHI 5, line 12 (plural); WHI 6A, line 2 (plural)
- h̄pr.t* noun, “situation, condition (of country),” WHI 8, line 4
- h̄ft* preposition, “before, when,” WHI 5, line 6
- h̄fty* noun, “enemy,” WHI 8, line 3
- hr.t* noun, “condition,” WHI 5, line 8 (in compound *nd-hr.t* “to greet”)
- hr* preposition, “under” (i.e., in the reign of), WHI 5, line 3; WHI 21, line 2
- hrw* noun, “voice,” WHI 44 (in epithet *m̄z<sup>c</sup>-hrw* “vindicated”)
- htm* verb, “to seal, shut, annex” GTI 6, line 2
- h̄tb (h̄db)* verb, “to slay,” WHI 8, line 2
- hr* preposition, “under,” WHI 5, line 5 (in compound *hr.t-hrw* “in the course of the day”); WHI 8, line 4; WHI 17, line 3; WHI 18, line 4 (partially restored); WHI 19, line 5
- s* noun, “man,” WHI 8, line 1; WHI 8, line 3
- =s* suffix pronoun third person feminine singular, WHI 7, line 11; WHI 25, line 3
- s.t* noun, “seat, place,” WHI 5, line 4 (in compound *s.t-ib* “desire”)

EGYPTIAN (HIERATIC AND HIEROGLYPHIC) (*cont.*)GENERAL (*cont.*)

<i>sʒ</i>	noun, “son,” GTI 15; GTI 16; GTI 17; GTI 23; GTI 27; WHI 7, line 6; WHI 7, line 7; WHI 16, line 1; WHI 19, line 4; WHI 24, line 1; WHI 25, line 1; WHI 25, line 3; WHI 28, line 2; WHI 29; WHI 30, line 1; WHI 36 (Demotic); WHI 45, line 2; see also <i>imy-ht sʒ-pr.w</i> and <i>sʒ-R<sup>c</sup></i> under Titles and <i>Sʒ-Hw.t-Hr</i> , <i>Sʒ-Gbw</i> , and <i>Sshʒytš</i> (? or <i>Sʒ-shʒy.t</i> ?) under Personal Names
<i>sʒw(.t)</i>	noun, “watch,” WHI 8, line 5
<i>sw</i>	noun, “day (in dates),” GTI 11; GTI 12; WHI 5, line 1; WHI 17, line 1; WHI 18, line 1 (haplographically written with determinative of <i>šmw</i> ); WHI 19, line 1; WHI 21, line 1
<i>sbʒy.t</i>	noun, “instruction,” WHI 31 (partially restored)
<i>sbʒ(.t)y</i>	noun, “pupil,” WHI 8, line 2 (restored, uncertain)
<i>sbk</i>	verb, WHI 8, line 4 (in adjectival compound <i>sbk-ib</i> “intelligent”)
<i>spʒ.t</i>	noun, “district, nome,” GTI 6, lines 2 and 3
<i>Spd.t</i>	noun, “(the star) Sothis,” GTI 11
<i>sn</i>	noun, “brother,” WHI 7, line 5; WHI 45, line 4
<i>sn.t</i>	noun, “sister,” WHI 7, line 4
<i>sr</i>	noun, “official,” WHI 8, line 4 (uncertain)
<i>shtp</i>	verb, “to pacify, appease,” WHI 5, line 2
<i>shpr</i>	verb, “to bring about,” GTI 12
<i>sh̄m</i>	adjective verb, “to be powerful, strong”; see <i>sh̄m-<sup>c</sup></i> under Titles
<i>sh̄t</i>	verb, “to trap, ensnare,” WHI 8, line 2 (partially restored)
<i>sd̄.t</i>	noun, “flame,” WHI 8, line 4
<i>sdr</i>	verb, “to spend the night,” WHI 8, line 4 (written < <i>s</i> > <i>dr</i> )
<i>sh̄ʒ</i>	(1) noun, “writing, image” WHI 6B; (2) noun, “scribe”; see <i>sh̄ʒ</i> , <i>sh̄ʒ n(y) Hw.t-Sh̄m</i> , <i>sh̄ʒ pr-<sup>c</sup>n̄h &lt;n(y)&gt; Hw.t-Sh̄m</i> , <i>sh̄ʒ hsb it n(y) ʾImn</i> , and <i>sh̄t spʒ.wt</i> under Titles
<i>šmw</i>	noun, “the third season, the Shemu season,” GTI 11; GTI 12; WHI 17, line 1; WHI 18, line 1; WHI 19, line 1; WHI 21, line 1 (partly restored)
<i>šmsw</i>	noun, “follower”; see <i>šmsw</i> under Titles
<i>šn̄(w)</i>	noun, “strife”; see <i>imy-r šn̄(w)</i> under Titles
<i>šri</i>	adjective, “small,” WHI 8, line 1 (plural)
<i>šd</i>	verb <i>tertiaefirmae</i> , “to read, recite,” WHI 6B
<i>kd</i>	noun, “form, kind, character,” WHI 8, line 1 (in compound <i>mi-kd</i> ); WHI 8, line 2 (uncertain)
<i>k.t</i>	noun, “other, another (fem.),” GTI 6, line 2
<i>km</i>	verb, “to complete,” WHI 8, line 5
<i>tʒ</i>	noun, “earth, land,” WHI 8, line 4 (in compound <i>hd tʒ</i> ); see also <i>Tʒ.wy</i> under Toponyms
<i>tʒy=</i>	feminine singular possessive adjective; see <i>Tʒy=f-in.t-<sup>c</sup>šʒ</i> under Toponyms
<i>tpy</i>	noun, “first month,” WHI 17, line 1; WHI 18, line 1; WHI 19, line 1; WHI 21, line 1
<i>tm</i>	(uncertain administrative title); see <i>hry-n(y)-tm</i> under Titles
<i>tn</i>	demonstrative pronoun third person feminine singular, “this,” GTI 6, line 2
<i>tntn (dndn, tntn, t̄t̄t̄)</i>	verb, “to trample,” WHI 8, line 2
<i>t̄.t</i>	noun, “staff”; see <i>ʒtw n(y) t̄.t-hkʒ</i> under Titles
<i>t̄ʒsw</i>	noun, “commander”; see <i>t̄ʒsw</i> under Titles
<i>t̄n</i>	suffix pronoun second person plural, WHI 8, line 1
<i>d̄.t</i>	adverb, “forever” (in compound <i>‘n̄h d̄.t</i> “may he live forever”), GTI 5; WHI 5, line 3; WHI 45, line 5
<i>d̄ʒi</i>	verb <i>tertiaefirmae</i> , “to cross,” GTI 6, line 2
<i>d̄ʒm.w</i>	noun, “recruits”; see <i>imy-r pr-d̄ʒm.w</i> under Titles

EGYPTIAN (HIERATIC AND HIEROGLYPHIC) (*cont.*)GENERAL (*cont.*)

<i>ḏw</i>	noun, “mountain, gebel,” WHI 8, line 2; WHI 8, line 3; WHI 17, line 3; WHI 18, line 4; WHI 19, line 5
<i>ḏrḏr</i>	noun, “foreigner,” WHI 8, line 2
<i>ḏd</i>	noun, “stability,” WHI 13, line 1 (in group <i>‘nh ḏd wʿs</i> ); WHI 45, line 3 (in group <i>dī ‘nh ḏd</i> )
<i>ḏd</i>	verb, “to say, speak,” GTI 6, line 1 (restored)

## NUMERALS

1	WHI 19, line 1
2	GTI 11; WHI 7, line 1; WHI 18, line 1; WHI 19, line 1; WHI 21, line 1
3	GTI 12; WHI 5, line 1
11	GTI 11; GTI 12
15	GTI 12 (uncertain); WHI 18, line 2
17	WHI 17, line 1 (2×)
20	GTI 11; WHI 21, line 1
28	WHI 5, line 1
30	WHI 5, line 1

## COPTIC

## PERSONAL NAMES

ΔΦΙΟΥΥΙ	GTI 43 (uncertain)
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ	WHI 2
ΒΕΡΒΑΡΟΣ	GTI 45
ΔΑΝΗΛ	GTI 43
ΙΑΚΩΒ	GTI 42
ΙΣΑΚ	WHI 2
ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ	GTI 37 (written cryptographically as ϣϥϥϥϥϥϥϥϥ); GTI 38; WHI 38, line 1
ΠΑΛΕ	GTI 40 (written cryptographically as κϥϥϥ)
ΠΑΜΙΝ	GTI 36 (written cryptographically as κϥϥϥϥ); GTI 37 (written cryptographically as κϥϥϥϥ); GTI 38; GTI 39
ΠΑΝΗΣΕ	GTI 45
ΠΑΦΩΡΕ	GTI 45
ΣΑΜΟΥΗΛ	GTI 45
ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ	GTI 44
ΧΑΡΙΣ	GTI 37 (2×, written cryptographically as ϣϥϥϥ); GTI 38 (2×); GTI 39
ΨΕΝΟΥΤΕ	GTI 42

## TOPONYMS

ΔΠΑ ΠΕΣΝΤΕ	“Ara Pesenthus” (name of monastery), WHI 38, line 2
ΠΑΨΜΕ	GTI 43
ΠΙΨΙΝΔΙ	GTI 37 (written cryptographically as κϣϣϣϣϣϣ)

COPTIC (*cont.*)

## GENERAL

ΔΓΔΠΗ	noun, “love” (Gk. ἀγάπη), GTI 44
ΔΝΟΚ	first person singular independent pronoun, GTI 36 (written cryptographically as ΘΙΙΙΛΠ); GTI 39; GTI 40 (written cryptographically as ΘΙΙΙΛΠ); GTI 42; GTI 44
ΔΠΗΤΗΤΗΤΗΘ	ἀπαιτητής official, WHI 38, line 1
ΕΔΩϜ	preposition, “on, over, on account of, for,” GTI 43; GTI 44
ϵΙ	first person singular suffix pronoun, GTI 43; GTI 44
ΜΟΝΟΧΟC	noun, “monk” (Gk. μοναχός), GTI 43
Ν-	genitive particle, GTI 37 (2×, written cryptographically, once as ΙΙΙ, once as ΙΙῙ); GTI 38 (2×); GTI 39 (written Ν̄); GTI 42; GTI 43 (3×, once written Ν̄, once written Μ); GTI 44; WHI 38, line 2
Ν-	preposition, “with, through, because of,” GTI 44
Ν-	plural definite article, GTI 37 (written cryptographically as ΙΙΙ)
ΝΟΥΤΕ	noun, “god,” GTI 44
Π(Ε)-	masculine definite article, “the,” GTI 39; GTI 42; GTI 43 (2×); GTI 44 (2×); WHI 38, line 1
ΠΑΧΩΝ	noun, “(the month of) Pachons,” WHI 38, line 3
ΡΩΜΕ	noun, “man,” as ρΜ- in ΝΡΜΠΩΙΝΔΙ, GTI 37 (written cryptographically as ΡΞ)
ΡΔΝ	noun, “name,” GTI 44
ΤΔΛΕΠΟΡΟC	noun, “wretch” (Gk. ταλαίπωρος), GTI 39
ΤΟΟΥ	noun, “mountain, monastery,” GTI 43
ΩΛΗΛ	verb, “to pray,” GTI 43; GTI 44
ΩΗΡΕ	noun, “son, child,” GTI 42
ΖΝ-	preposition, “in, at, on” (written ΖΜ-), GTI 44

## NUMERAL

Θ	9, WHI 38, line 3
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## UNCERTAIN

ΘΙΙΙΟ	abortive attempt at writing of cryptographic ΘΙΙΙΛΠ for ΔΝΟΚ(?), GTI 41
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## GREEK

## GENERAL

εἶς	“one” (written Ἔηις), WHI 37
Θεός	“God,” WHI 37

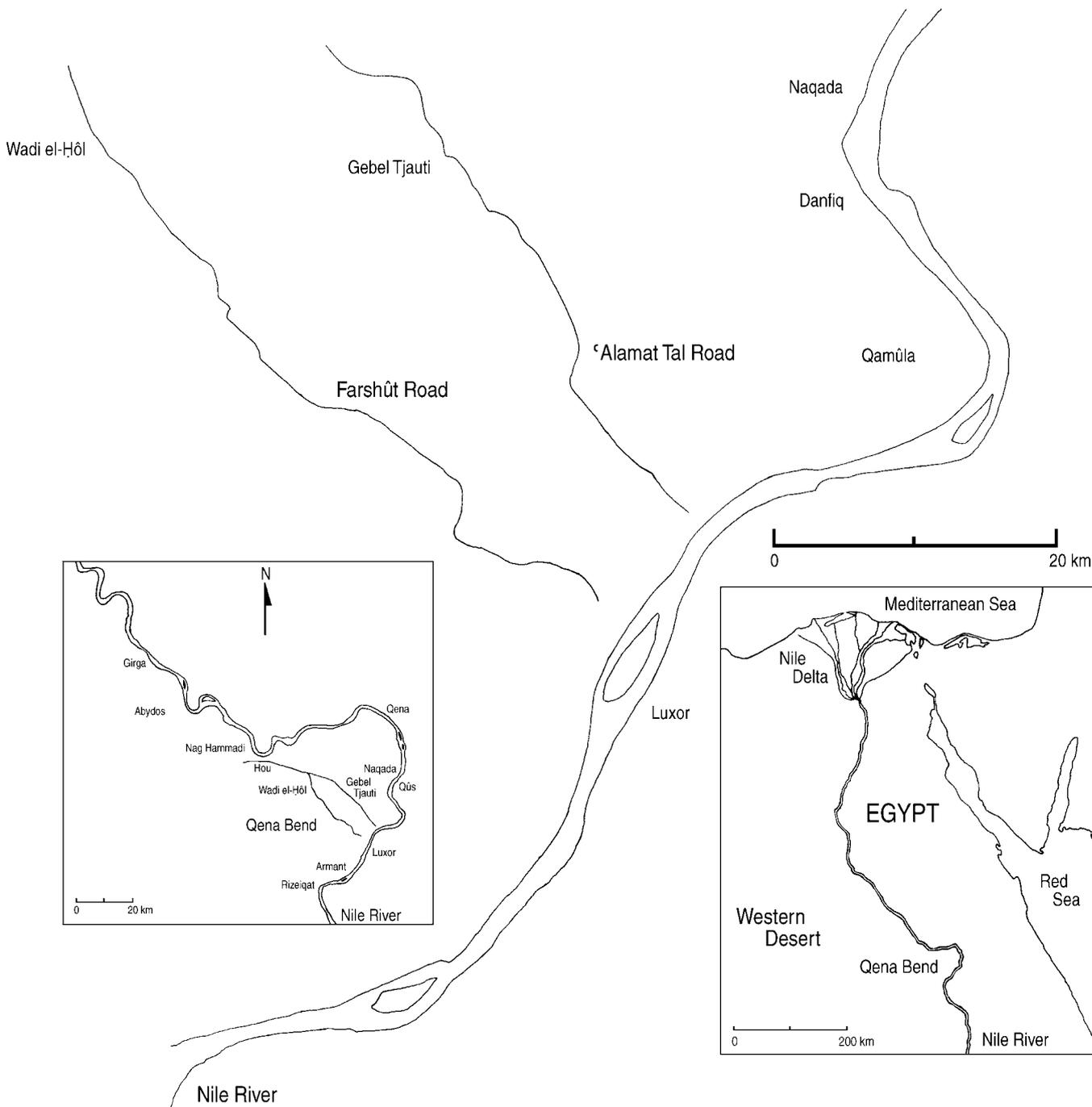
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shelter	6, 131, 159		

**PLATES**  
**GEBEL TJAUTI**



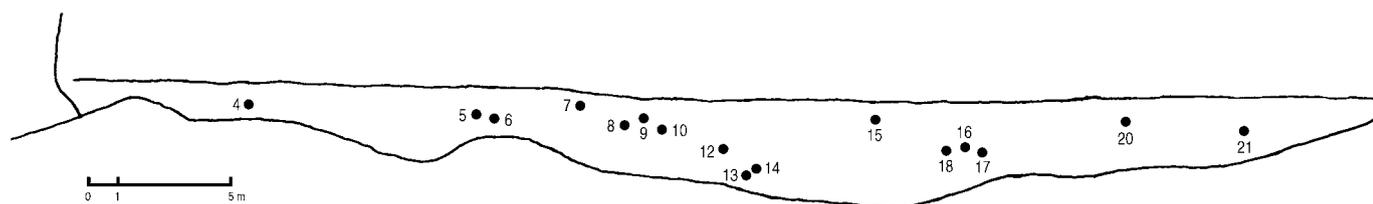


General Map of Qena Bend, Showing Approximate Locations of Places Mentioned in Text

Plate 2



a



b

(a) View of Main, Southeast Face of Inscription Shelf at Gebel Tjauti, Looking from East, and (b) Drawing of Gebel Tjauti Inscription Shelf, Showing Location of Sections 4–10, 12–18, and 20–21.

See Chart below for Inscriptions that Occur in Sections

<i>Section</i>	<i>Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription</i>	<i>Section</i>	<i>Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription</i>
1	—	12	5, 22
2	—	13	21, 24
3	—	14	29, 35
4	26, 27, 33	15	1, 4, 28, 43
5	11	16	2, 8, 9, 17, 20, 30, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42
6	18	17	3, 16, 45
7	12	18	10, 14, 15, 34, 38
8	23, 31, 32	19	—
9	7, 19, 25	20	6
10	44	21	13
11	—		



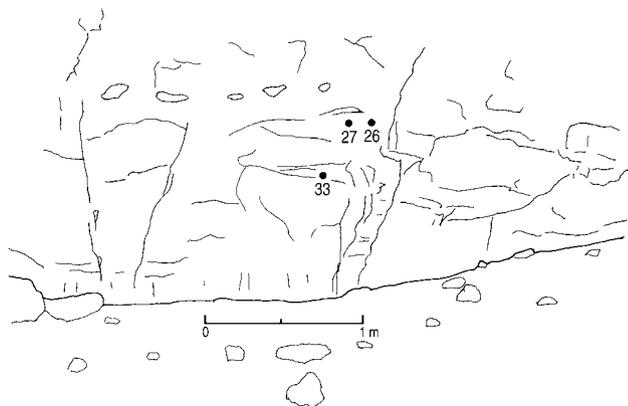
a



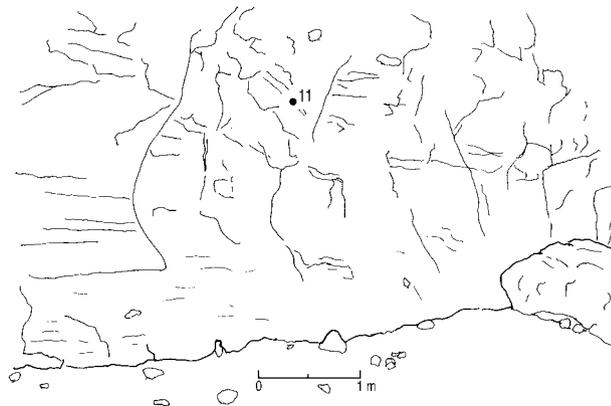
b

(a) View along Gebel Tjauti Inscription Shelf, Looking Northeast, and (b) Photograph of Inscription Shelf Surface, Including Section 15

Plate 4



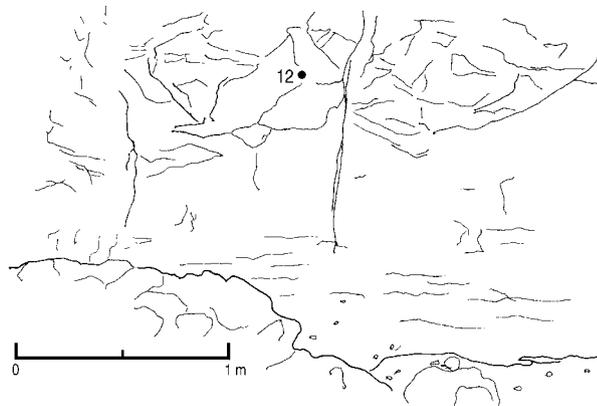
a. Gebel Tjauti Section 4



b. Gebel Tjauti Section 5



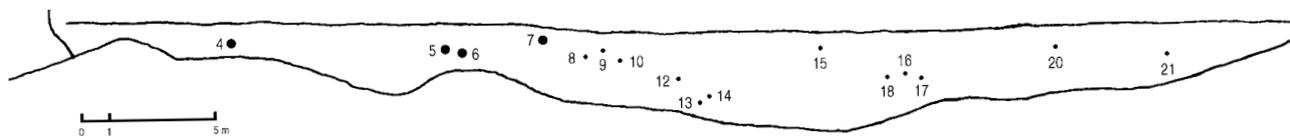
c. Gebel Tjauti Section 6

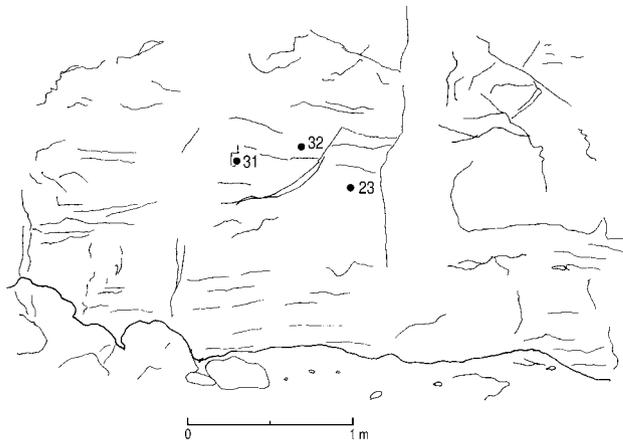


d. Gebel Tjauti Section 7

Location Drawings for Inscriptions in Sections of Gebel Tjauti Inscription Shelf: (a) Section 4 (Inscriptions 26, 27, 33), (b) Section 5 (Inscription 11), (c) Section 6 (Inscription 18), and (d) Section 7 (Inscription 12).

See Drawing below for Locations of Sections on Inscription Shelf

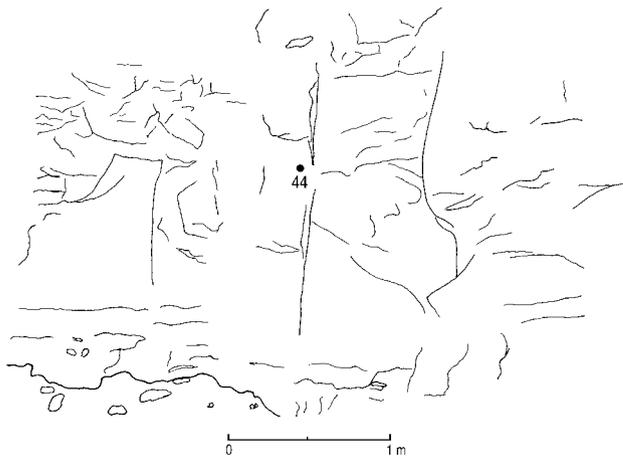




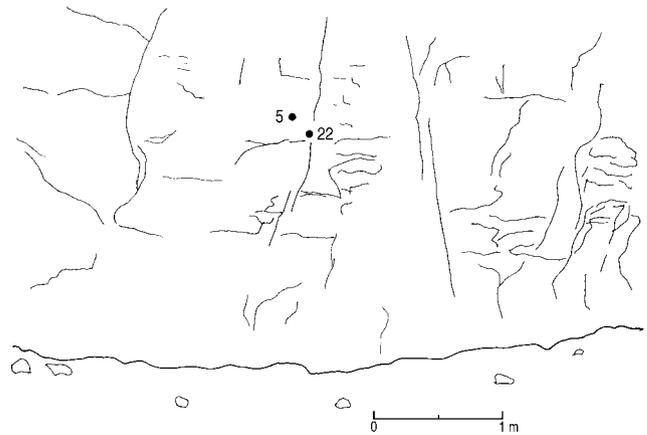
a. Gebel Tjauti Section 8



b. Gebel Tjauti Section 9



c. Gebel Tjauti Section 10



d. Gebel Tjauti Section 12

Location Drawings for Inscriptions in Sections of Gebel Tjauti Inscription Shelf: (a) Section 8 (Inscriptions 23, 31, 32), (b) Section 9 (Inscriptions 7, 19, 25), (c) Section 10 (Inscription 44), and (d) Section 12 (Inscriptions 5, 22). See Drawing below for Locations of Sections on Inscription Shelf

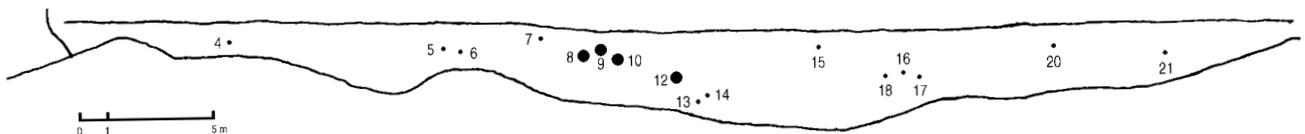
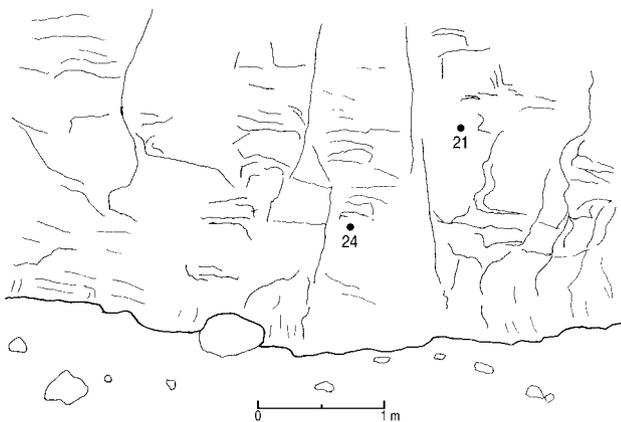
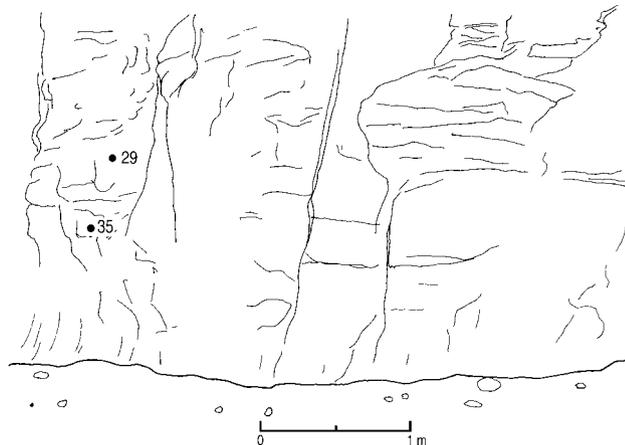


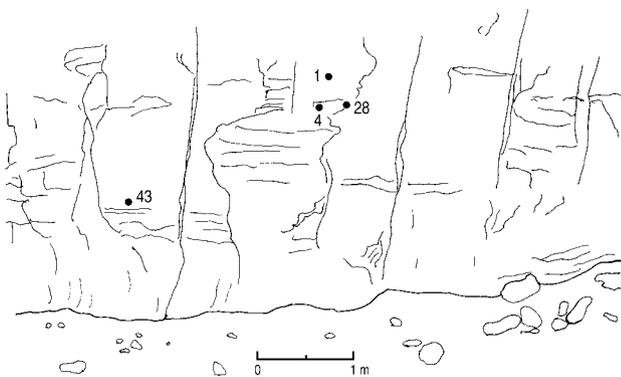
Plate 6



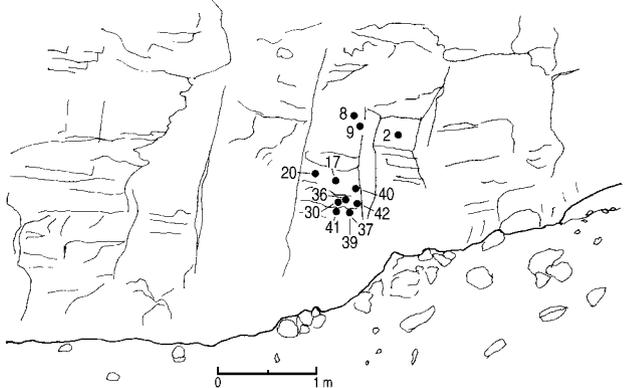
a. Gebel Tjauti Section 13



b. Gebel Tjauti Section 14

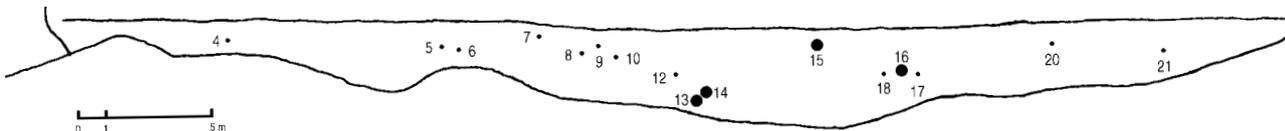


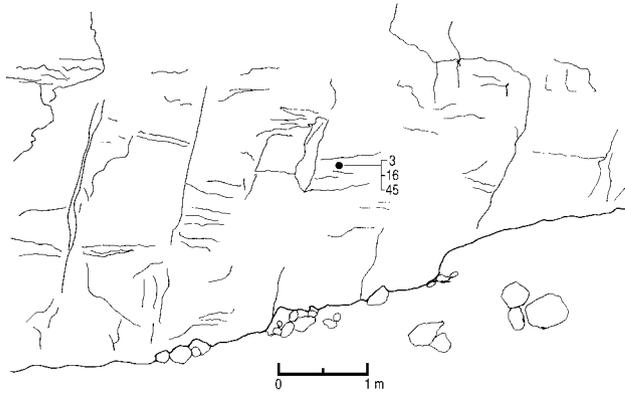
c. Gebel Tjauti Section 15



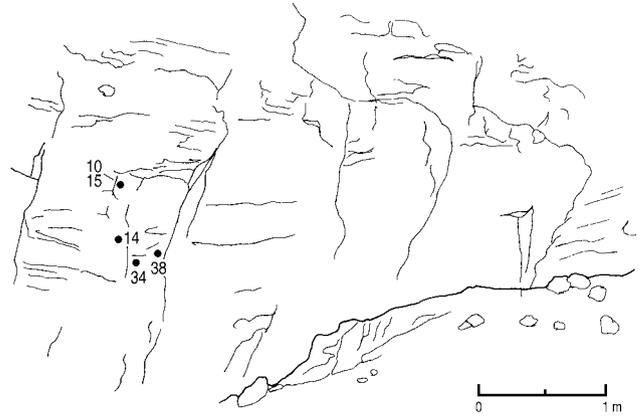
d. Gebel Tjauti Section 16

Location Drawings for Inscriptions in Sections of Gebel Tjauti Inscription Shelf: (a) Section 13 (Inscriptions 21, 24), (b) Section 14 (Inscriptions 29, 35), (c) Section 15 (Inscriptions 1, 4, 28, 43), and (d) Section 16 (Inscriptions 2, 8, 9, 17, 20, 30, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42). See Drawing below for Locations of Sections on Inscription Shelf

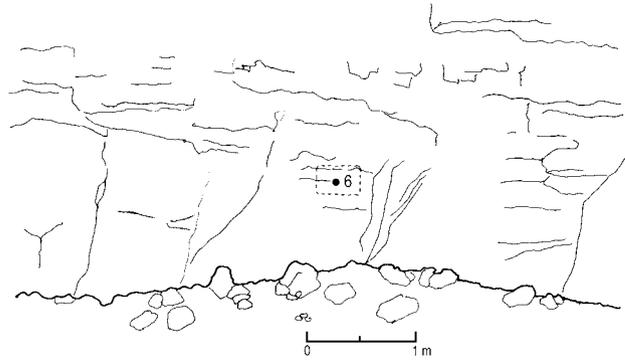




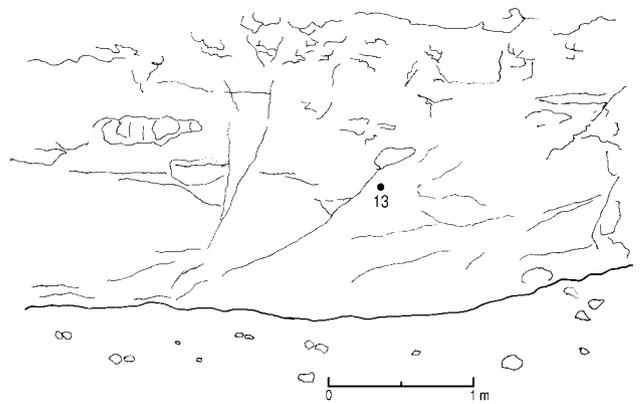
a. Gebel Tjauti Section 17



b. Gebel Tjauti Section 18



c. Gebel Tjauti Section 20



d. Gebel Tjauti Section 21

Location Drawings for Inscriptions in Sections of Gebel Tjauti Inscription Shelf: (a) Section 17 (Inscriptions 3, 16, 45), (b) Section 18 (Inscriptions 10, 14, 15, 34, 38), (c) Section 20 (Inscription 6), and (d) Section 21 (Inscription 13). See Drawing below for Locations of Sections on Inscription Shelf

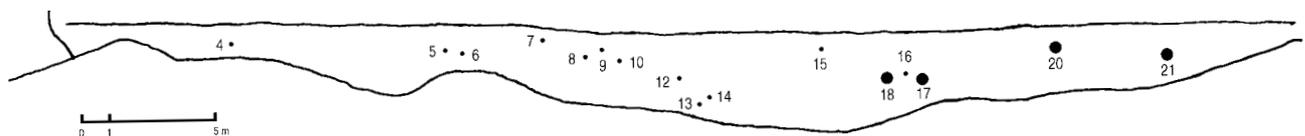


Plate 8



a

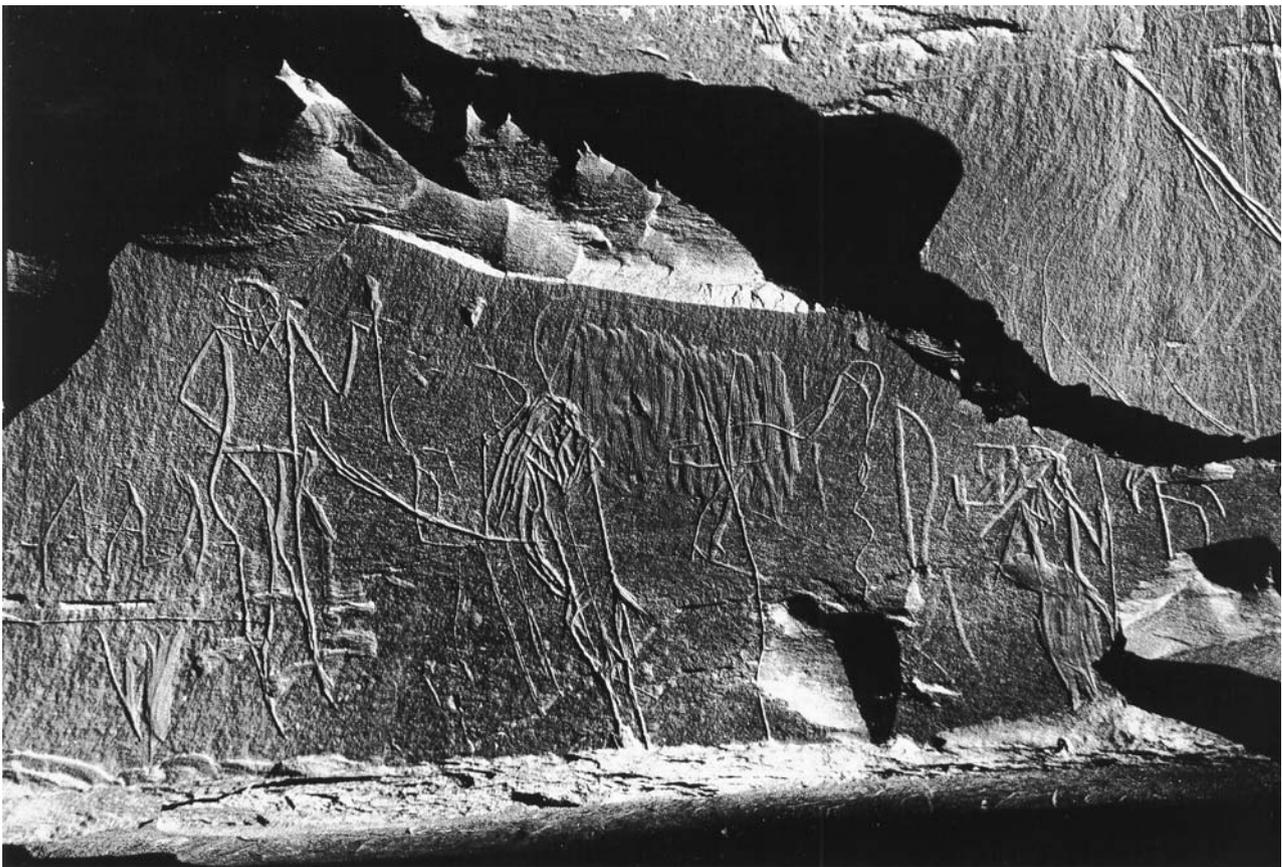


b

(a) 'Alamat Tal Road (Lower Left) as It Turns before Southeast Face of Gebel Tjauti Inscription Shelf and  
(b) View of Caravan Tracks on 'Alamat Tal Road

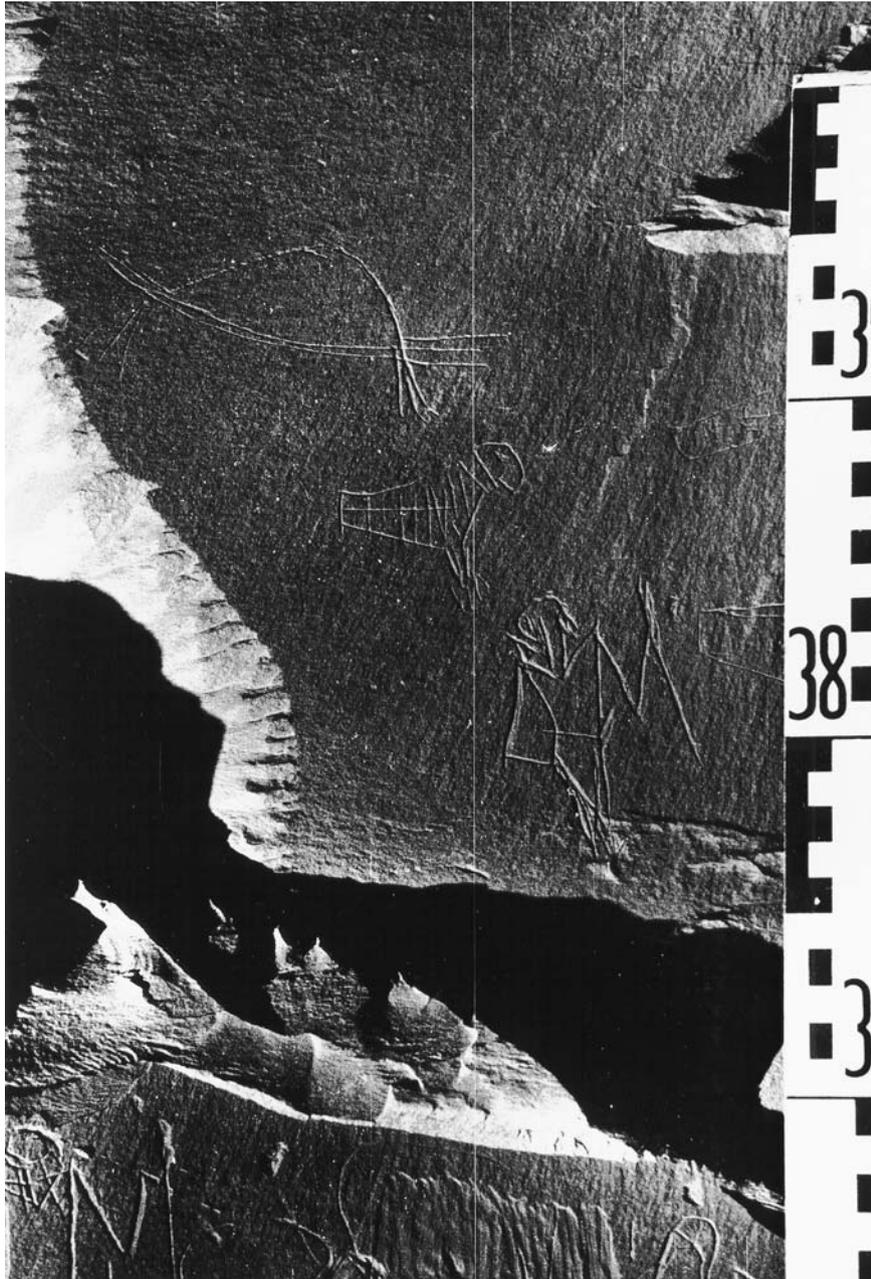


a



b

(a-b) Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 1



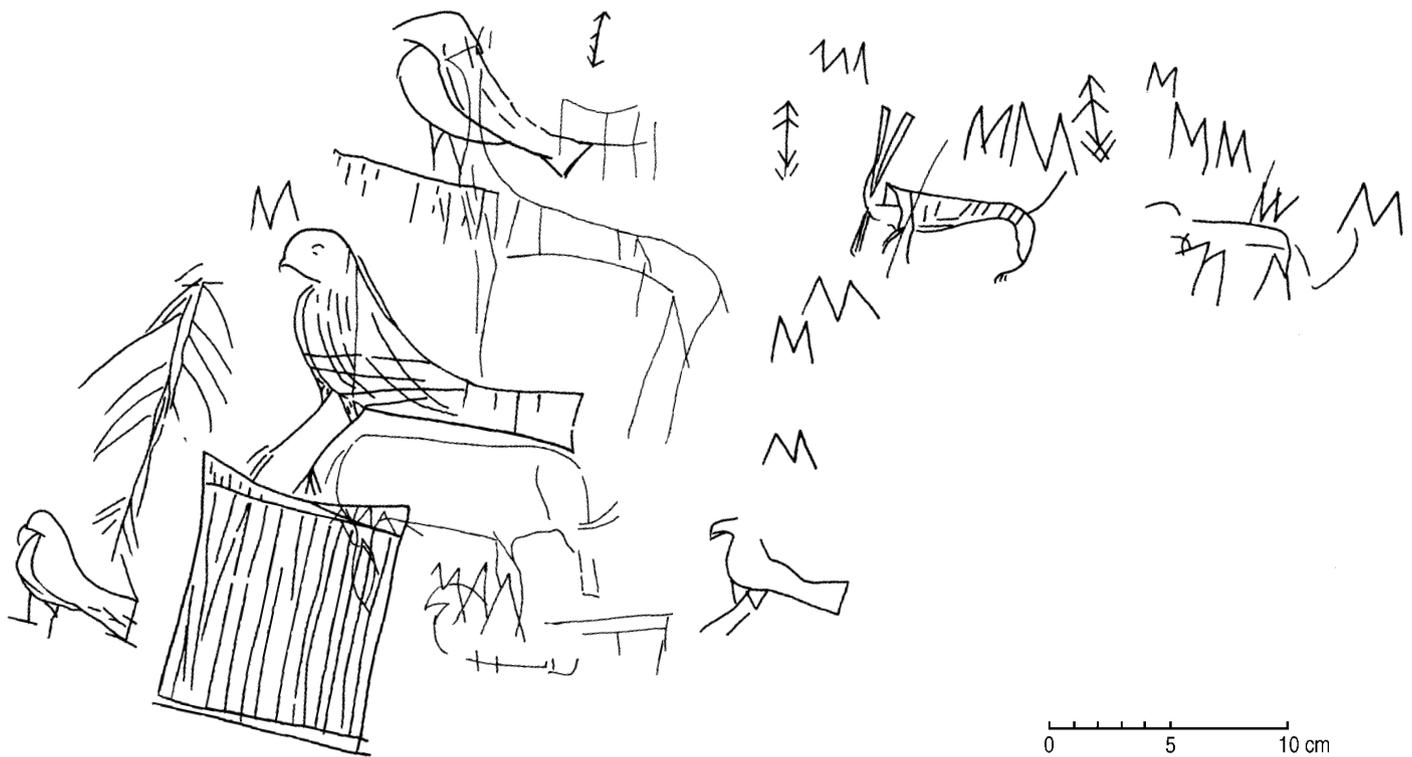
Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 1



Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 1



a

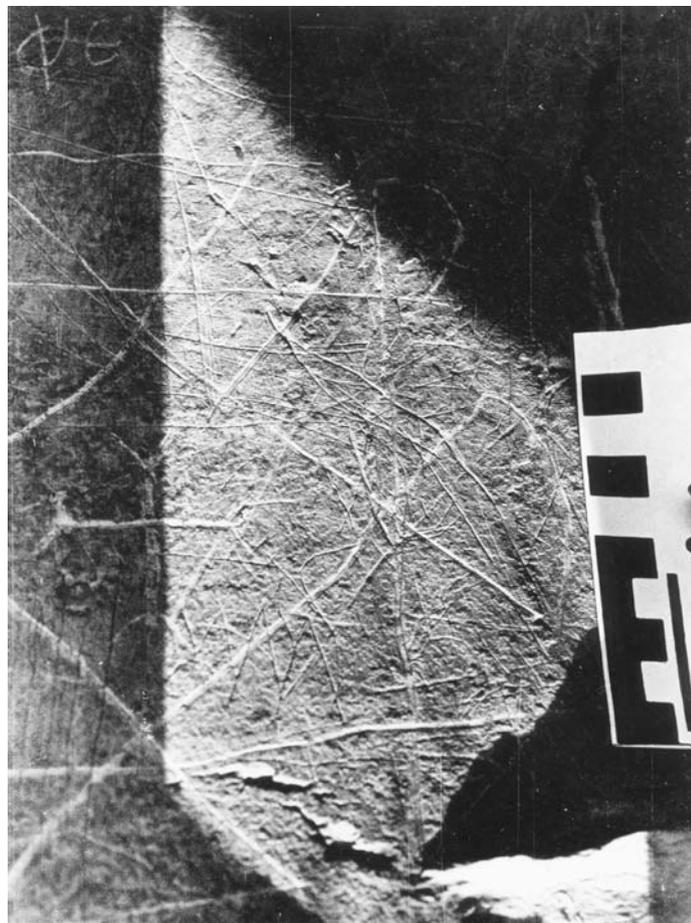


b

(a-b) Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 2 on Back of Niche



a



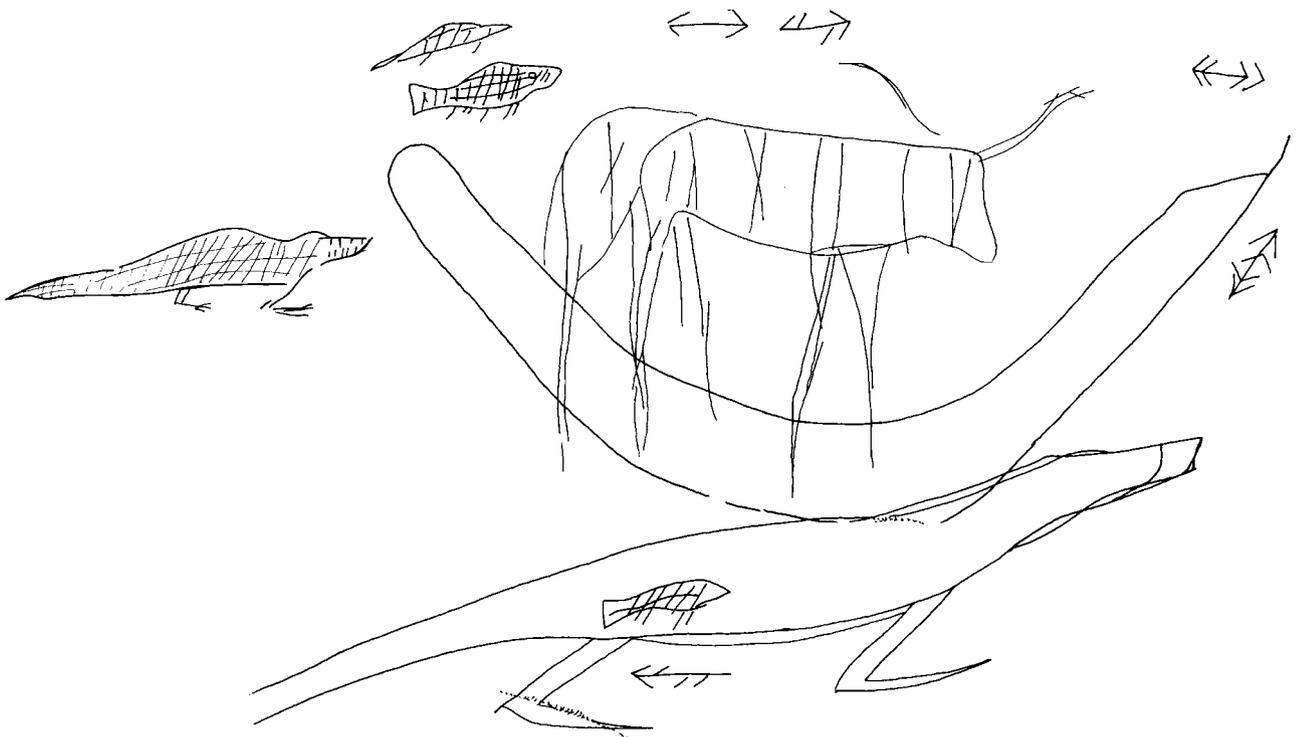
b

Detail Photographs of Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 2 on Back of Niche: (a) Highlight Centered on Forepart of Seth Animal in Upper Right and (b) Highlight Centered on Head of Elephant (with End of Tail of Falcon on Serekh Above)

Plate 14



a



b

(a-b) Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 2 on Left Side of Niche



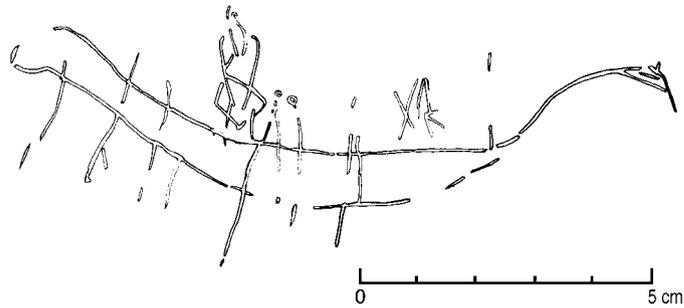
Another View of Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 2 on Left Side of Niche



a

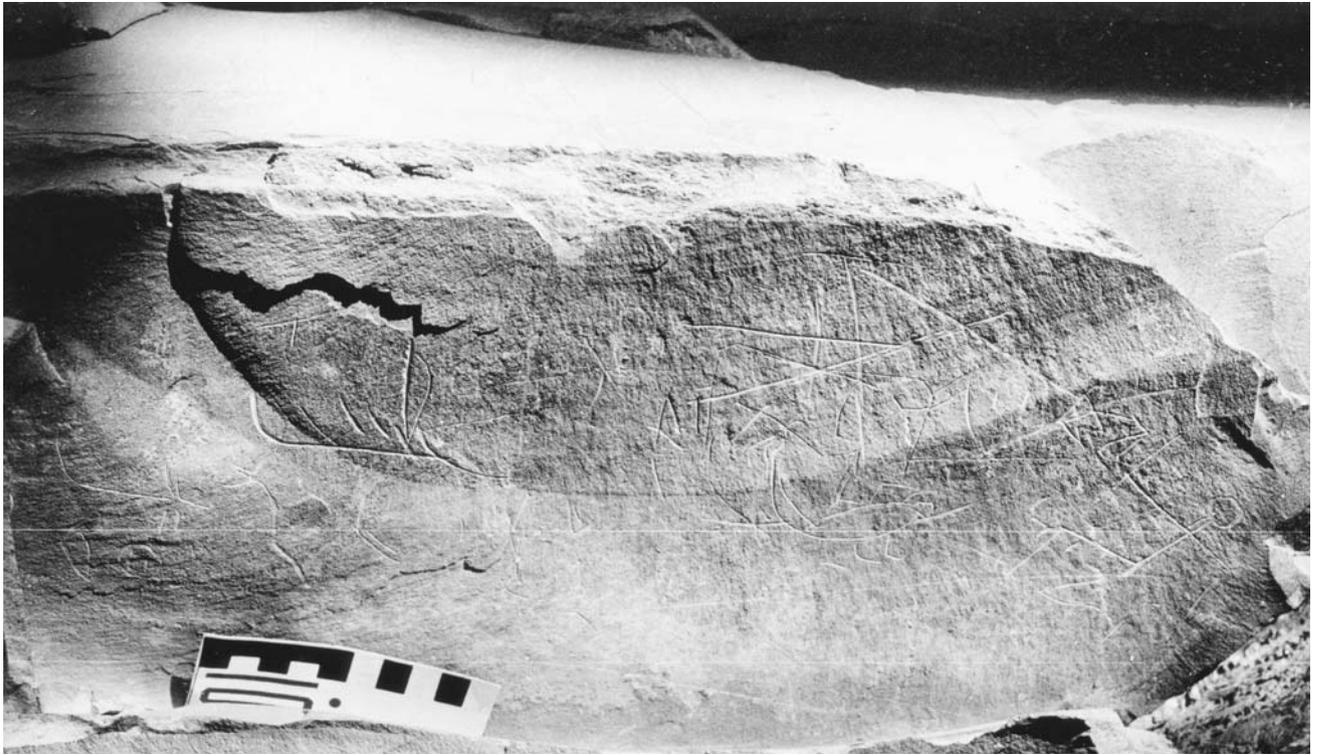


b

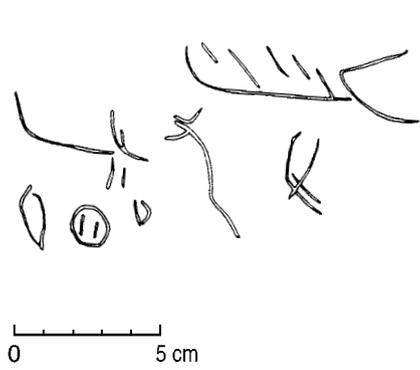


c

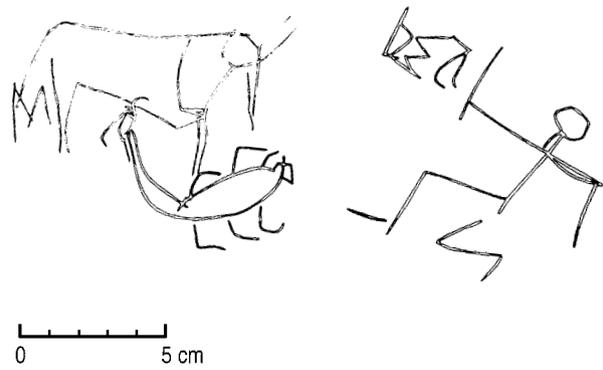
(a-b) Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 3, 16, and 45 and (c) Detail of Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 3



a



b



c



a



0 5 cm

b

(a-b) Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 5

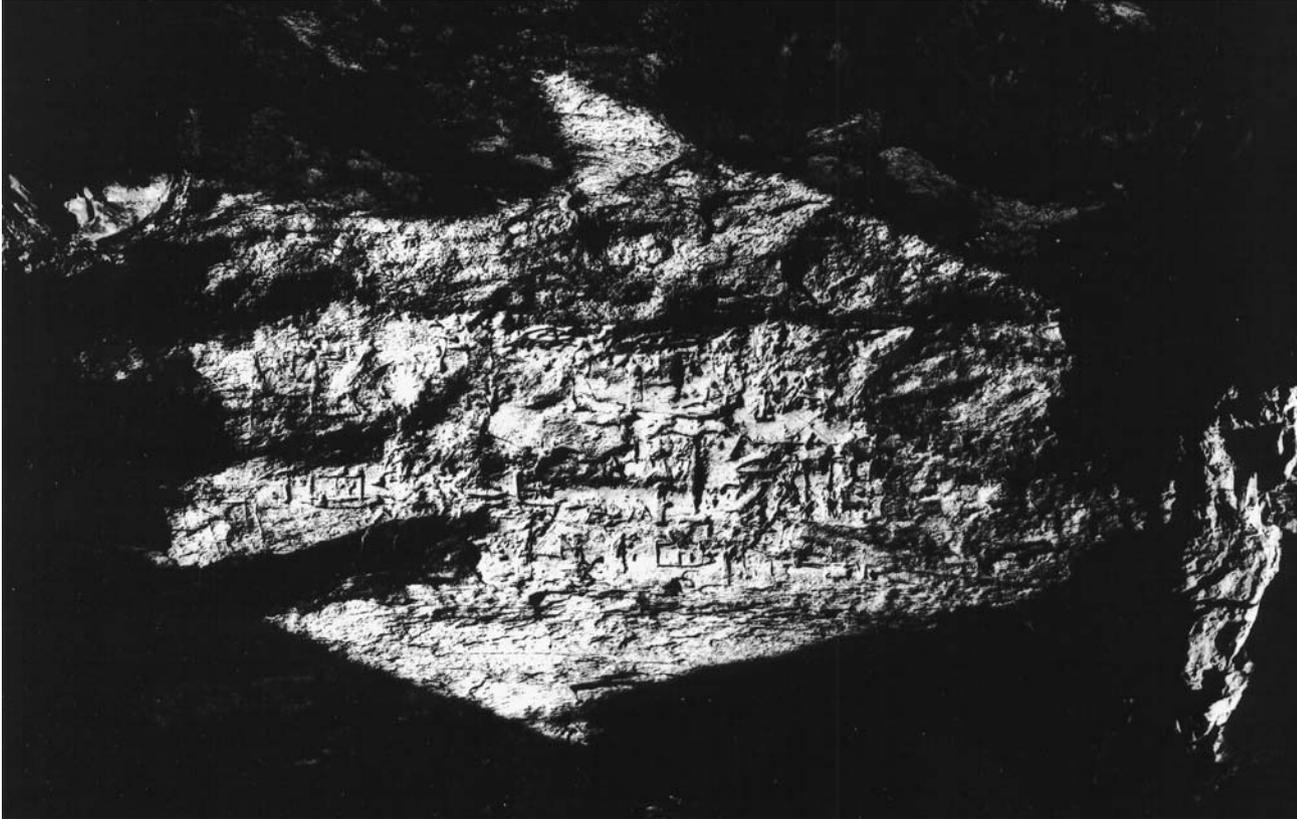


a



b

(a-b) Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 6



a



b

(a) Ortho Photograph of Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 6 and (b) Detail Photograph of Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 6, Line 1, Centered on *r-p<sup>c</sup>.t*



a

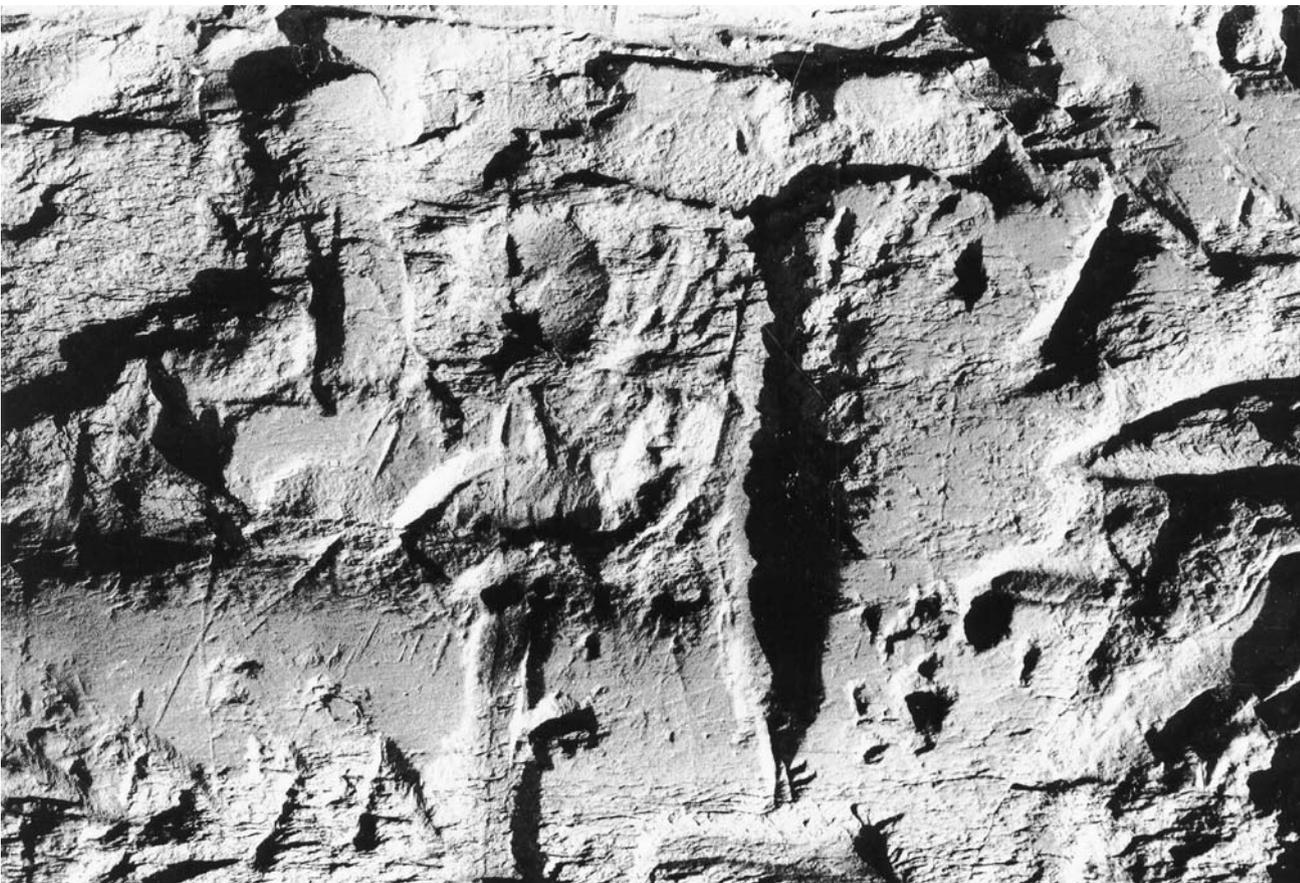


b

Detail Photographs of Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 6, Line 1, (a) Centered on Left Portion of *r-p<sup>c</sup>.t* to Right and *imy-r* to Left and (b) Centered on *T3wti*



a



b

Detail Photographs of Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 6, Line 2, (a) Centered on *nm n-mrw.t* and (b) Centered on *d3.t*



a



b

Detail Photographs of Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 6, Line 2, (a) Centered on *h[ʔs.t] tn htm.t.n* and (b) Centered on *k.t spʔ.t*



a



b

Detail Photographs of Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 6, Line 3, (a) Centered on 'h' and (b) Centered on *sp:t*



Detail Photograph of Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 6, Centered on Final Surviving Signs of Line 3



a

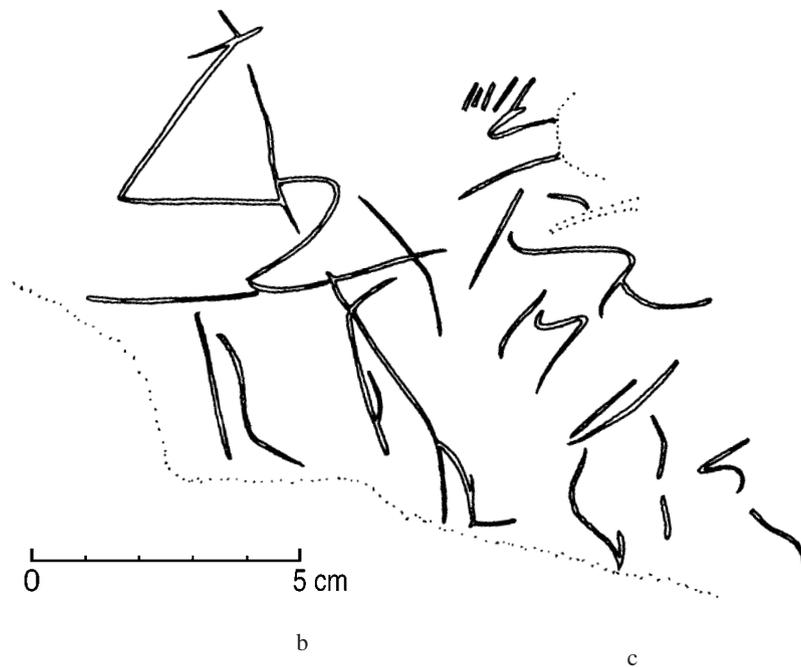


b

(a-b) Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 7



a



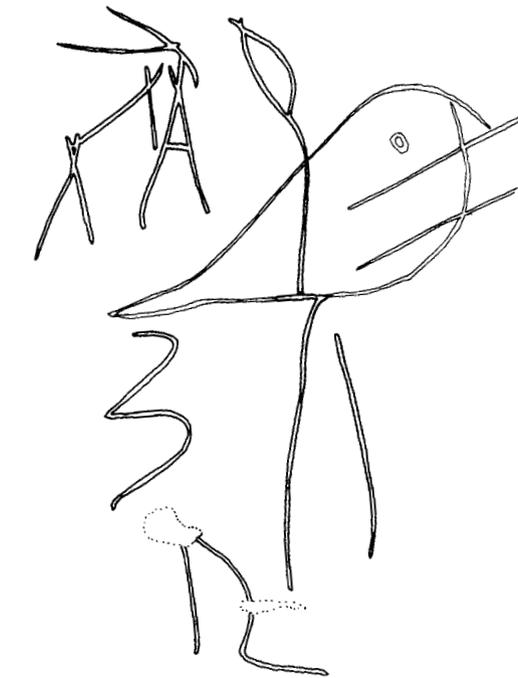
b

c

Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions (a-b) 8 and (a, c) 9



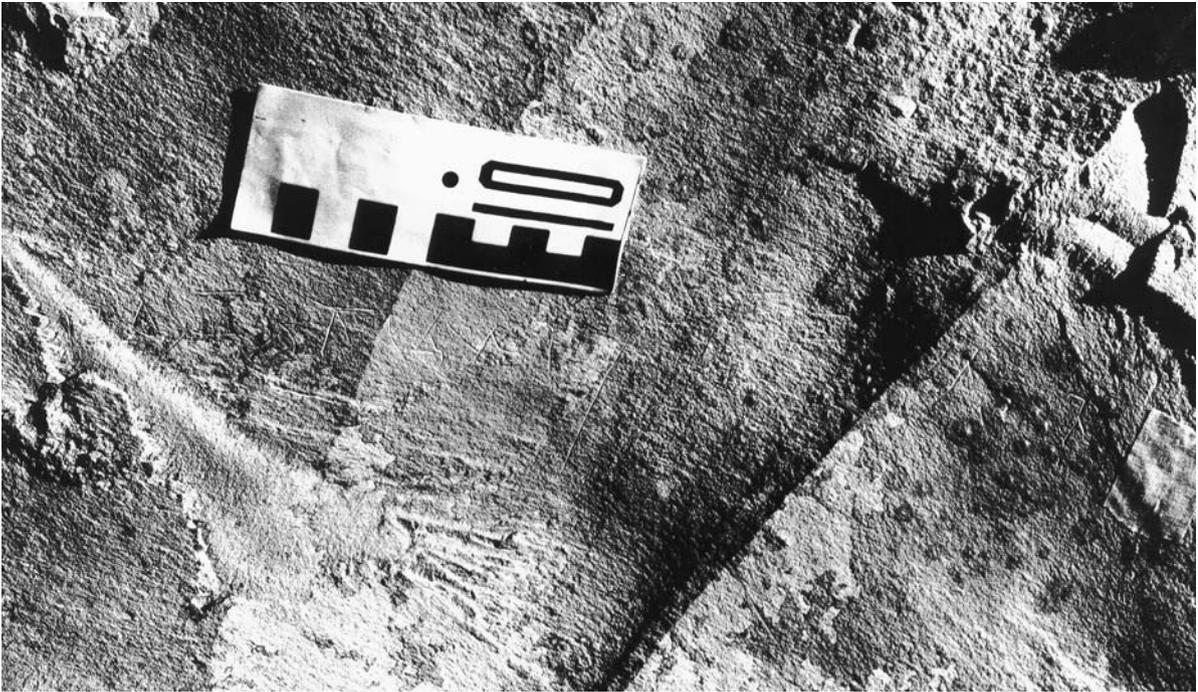
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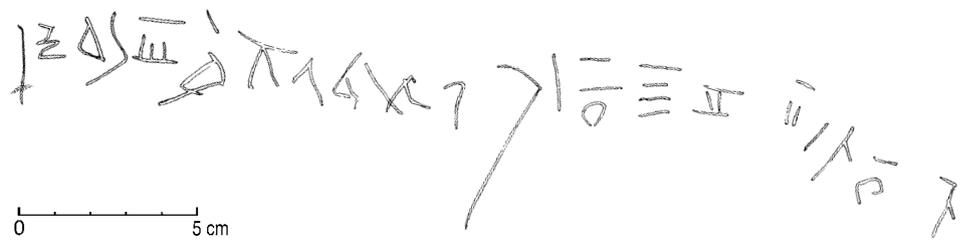
0 5 cm

b

(a-b) Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 10

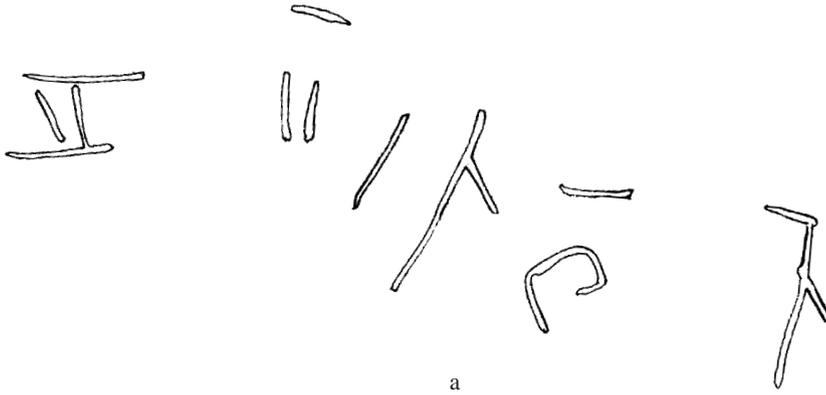
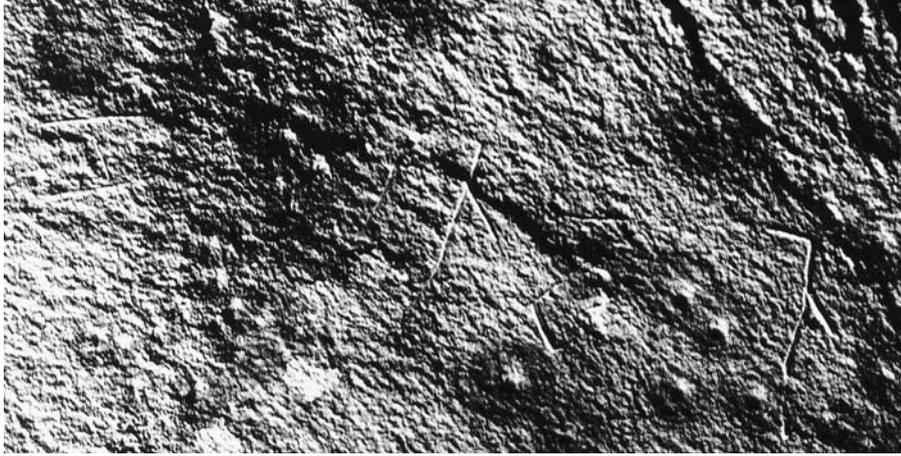


a

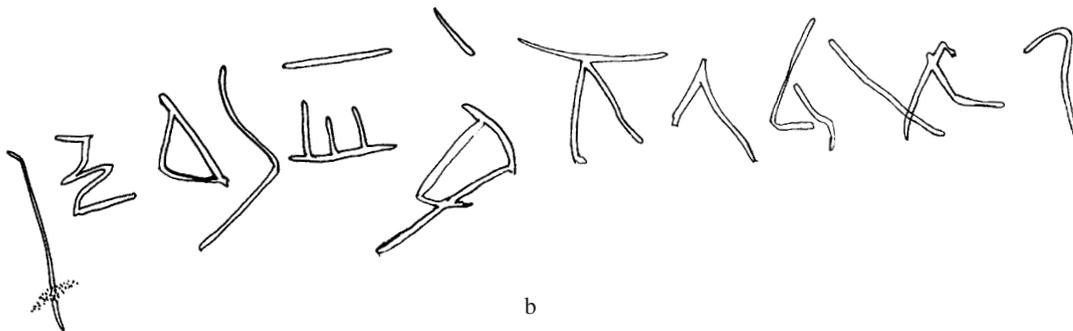


b

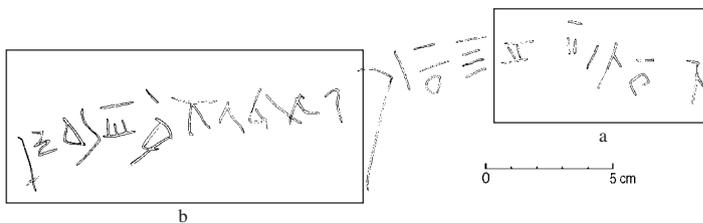
(a-b) Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 11



a

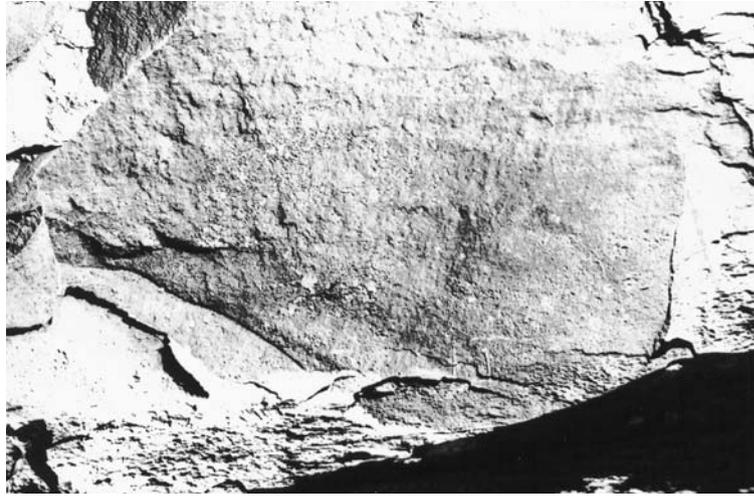


b



(a-b) Details of Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 11





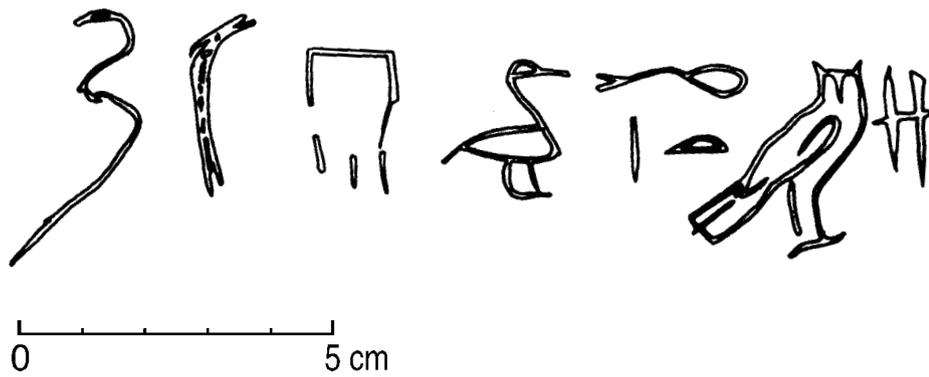
a



b



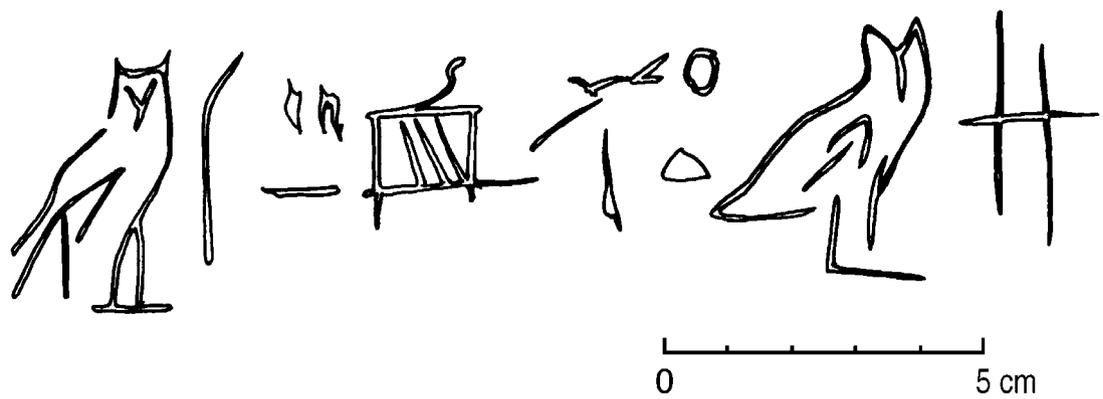
c



d



a

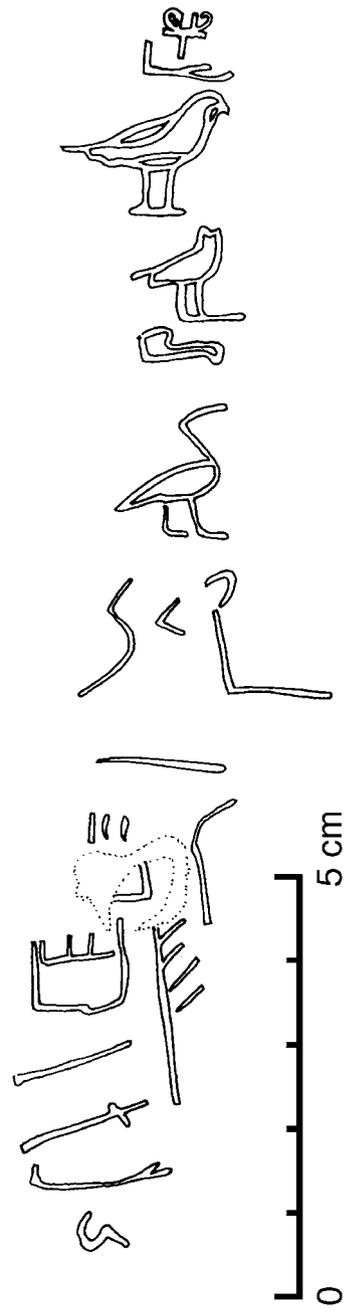


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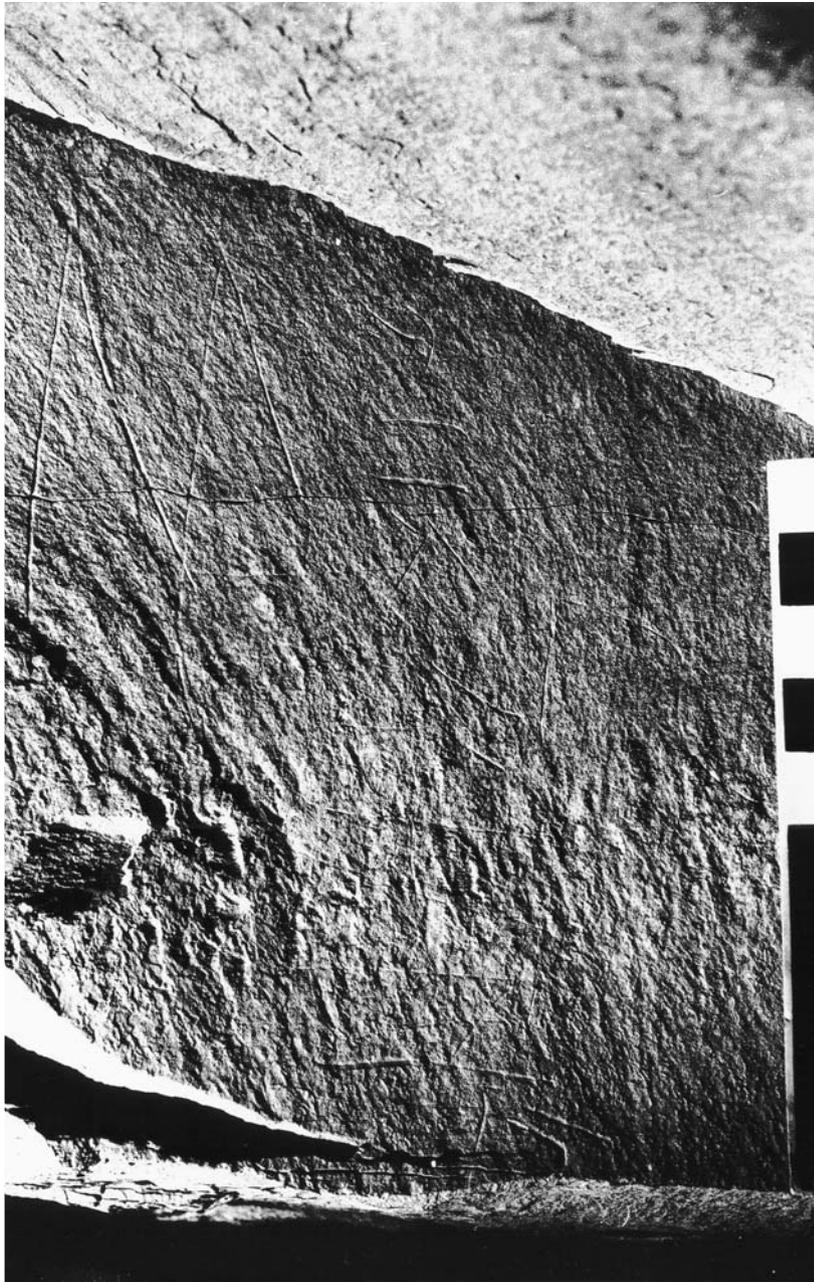
(a-b) Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 15



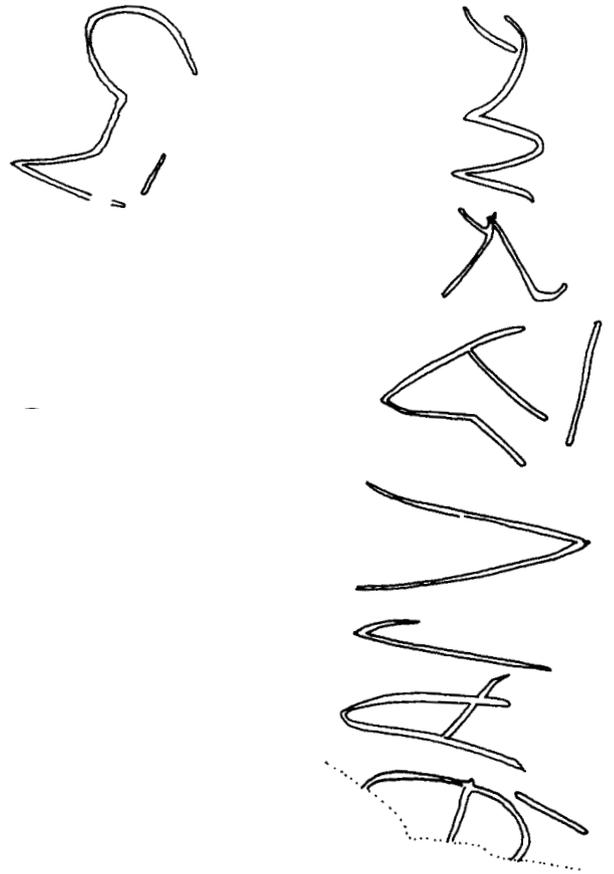
a



b



a



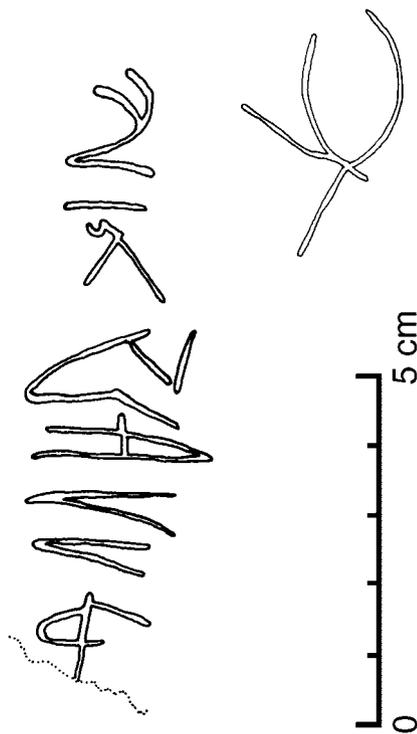
b

0 5 cm

(a-b) Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 18



a

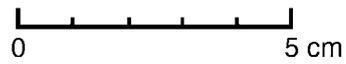
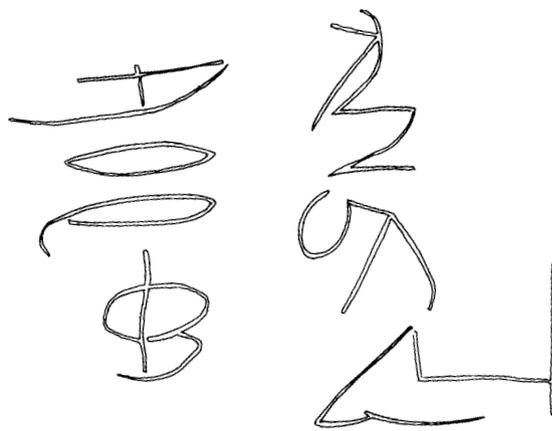


b

(a-b) Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 19



a

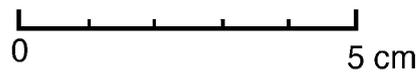
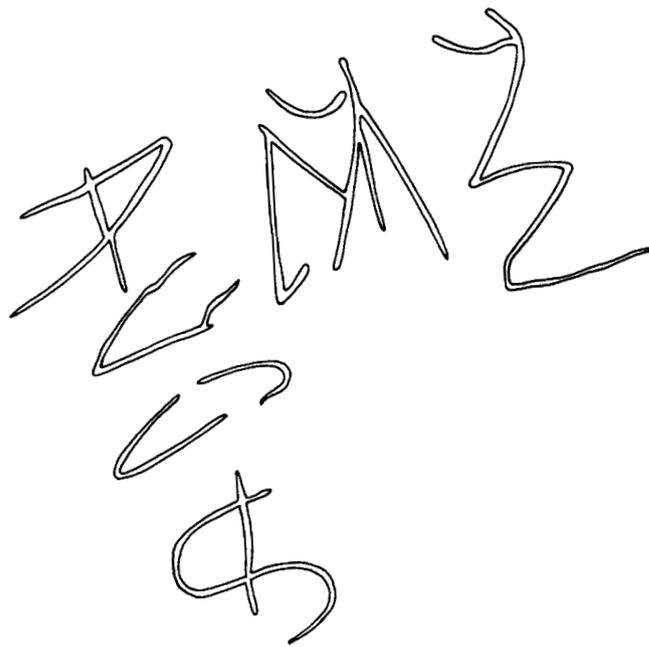


b

(a-b) Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 20

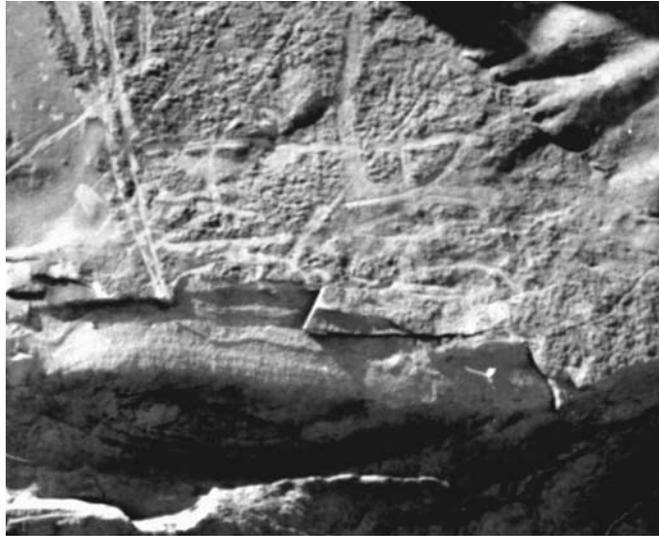


a

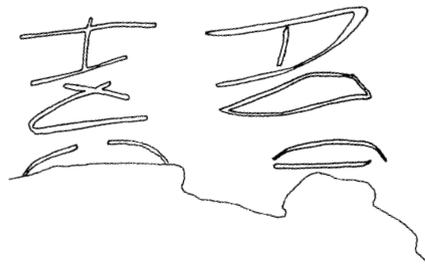


b

(a-b) Drawing of Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 21



a



b

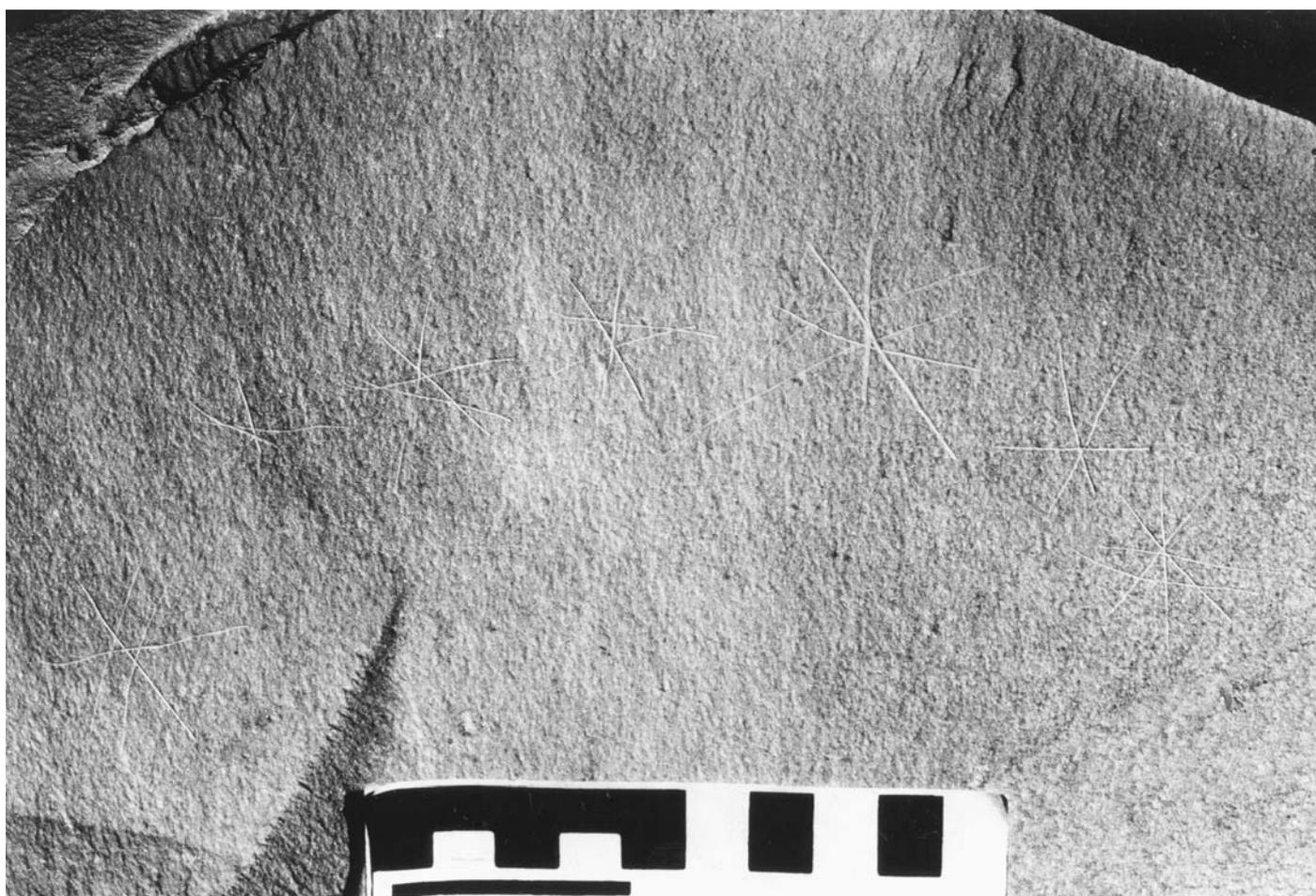


a



b

(a-b) Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 23



Stars on Bottom of Overhang over Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 23 (Ceiling of “Natural” Shrine)



a

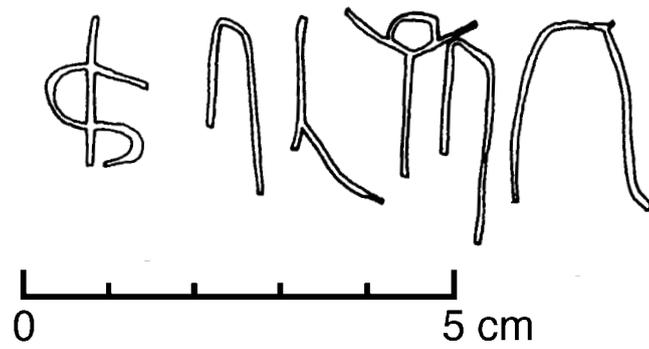


b

(a-b) Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 24

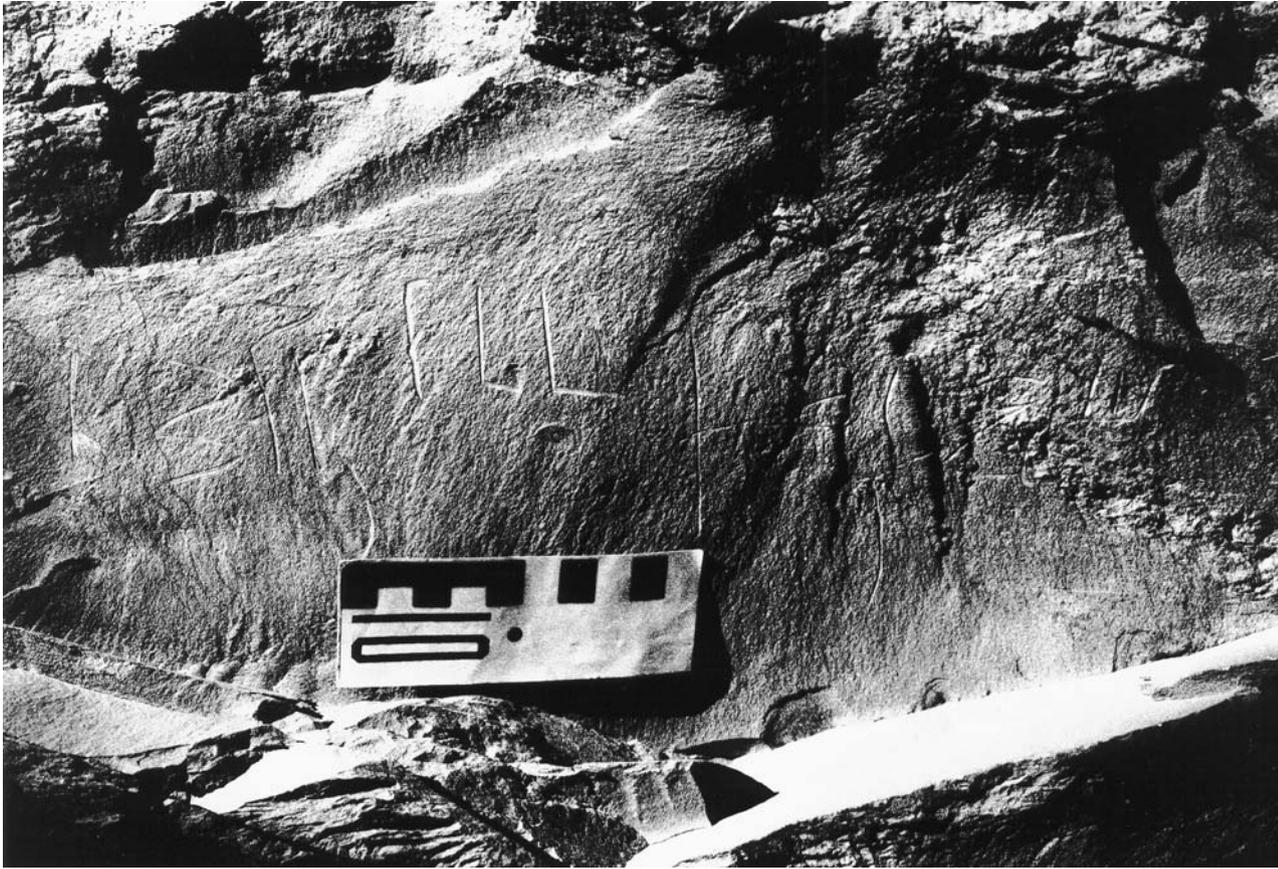


a

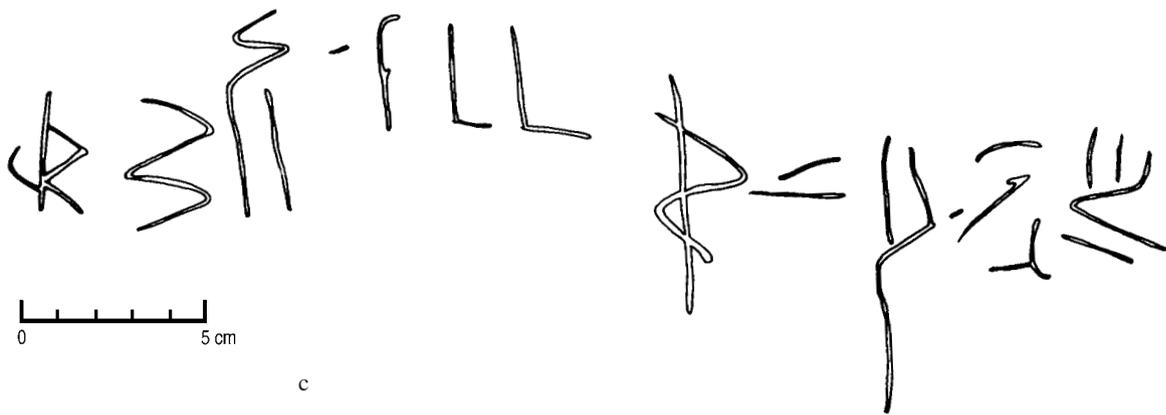


b

(a-b) Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 25



a

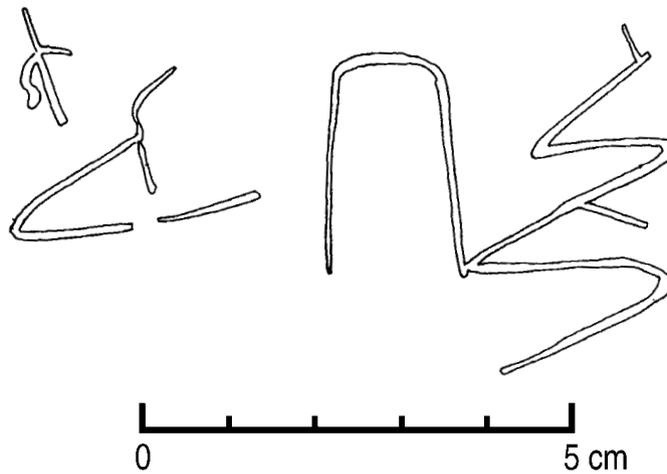


c

b



a

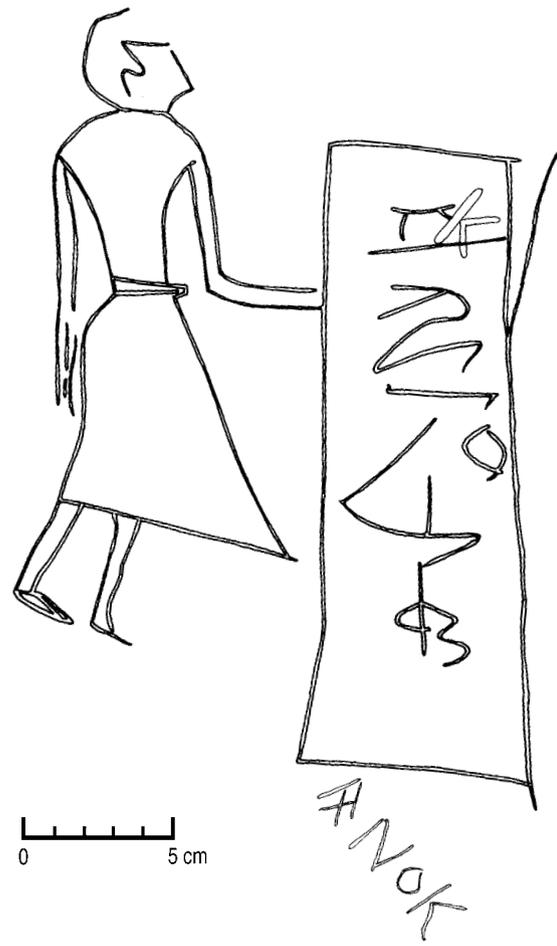


b

(a-b) Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 29

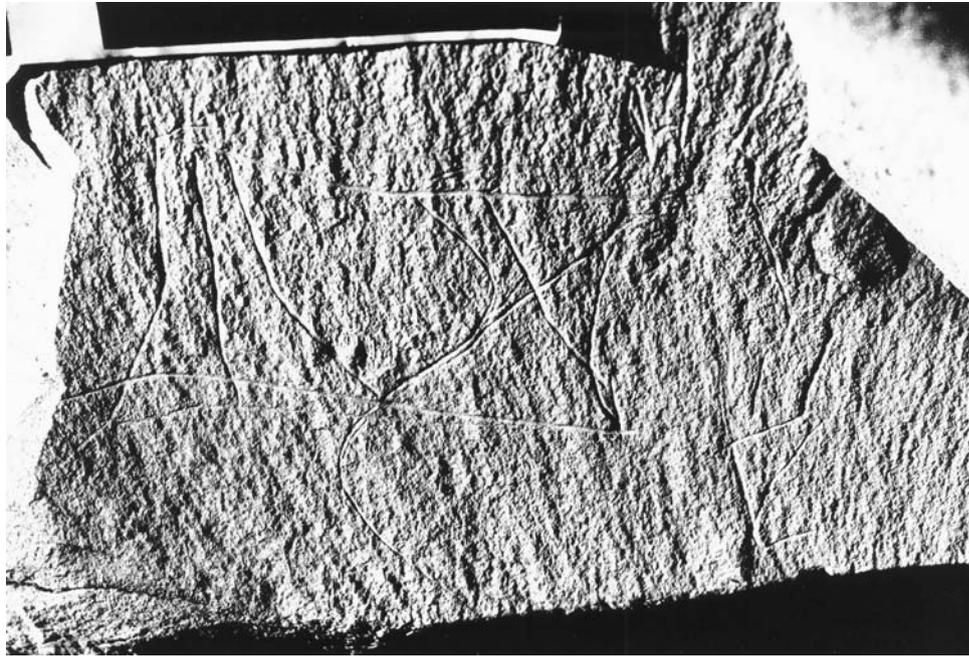


a

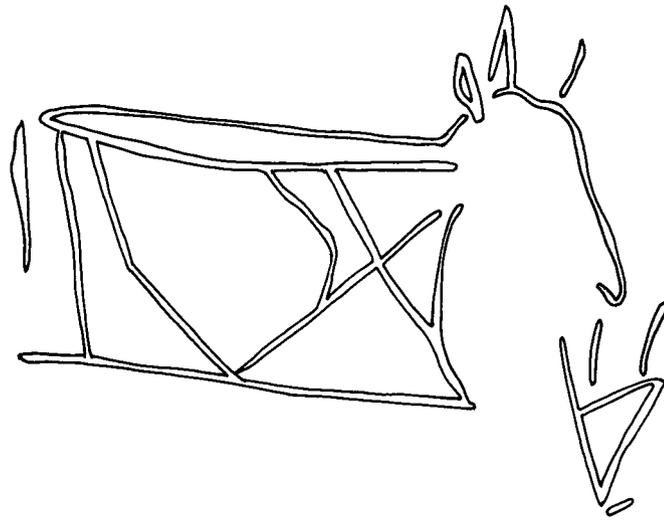


b

(a-b) Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 30

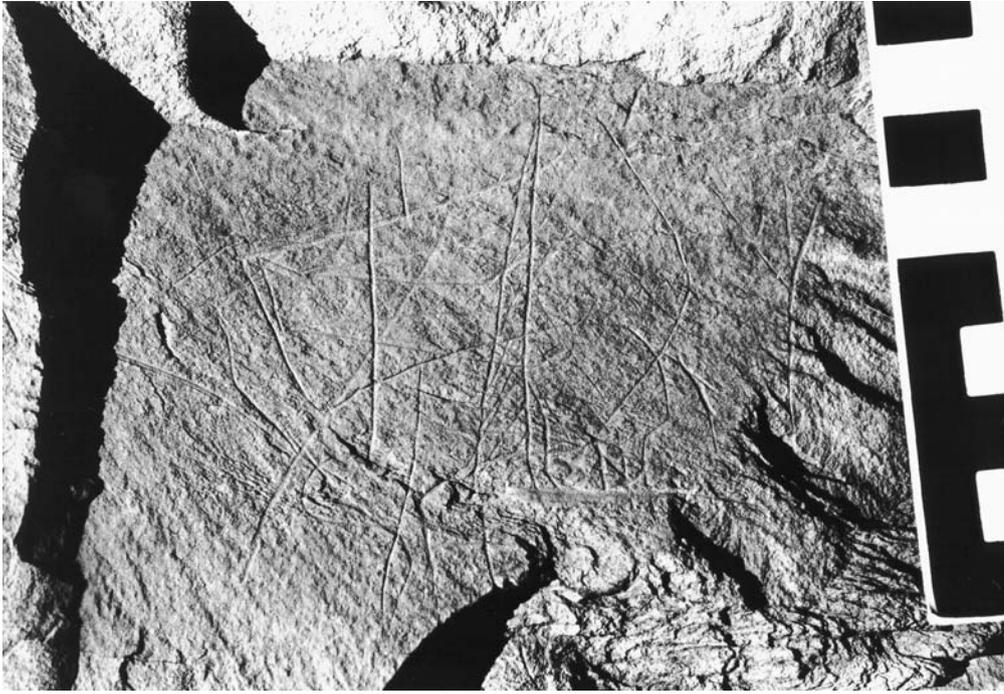


a

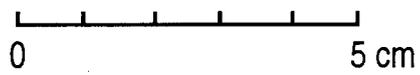
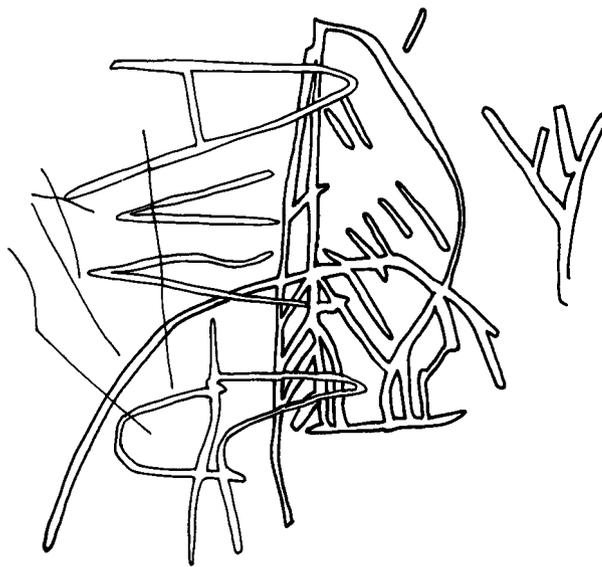


b

(a-b) Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 31

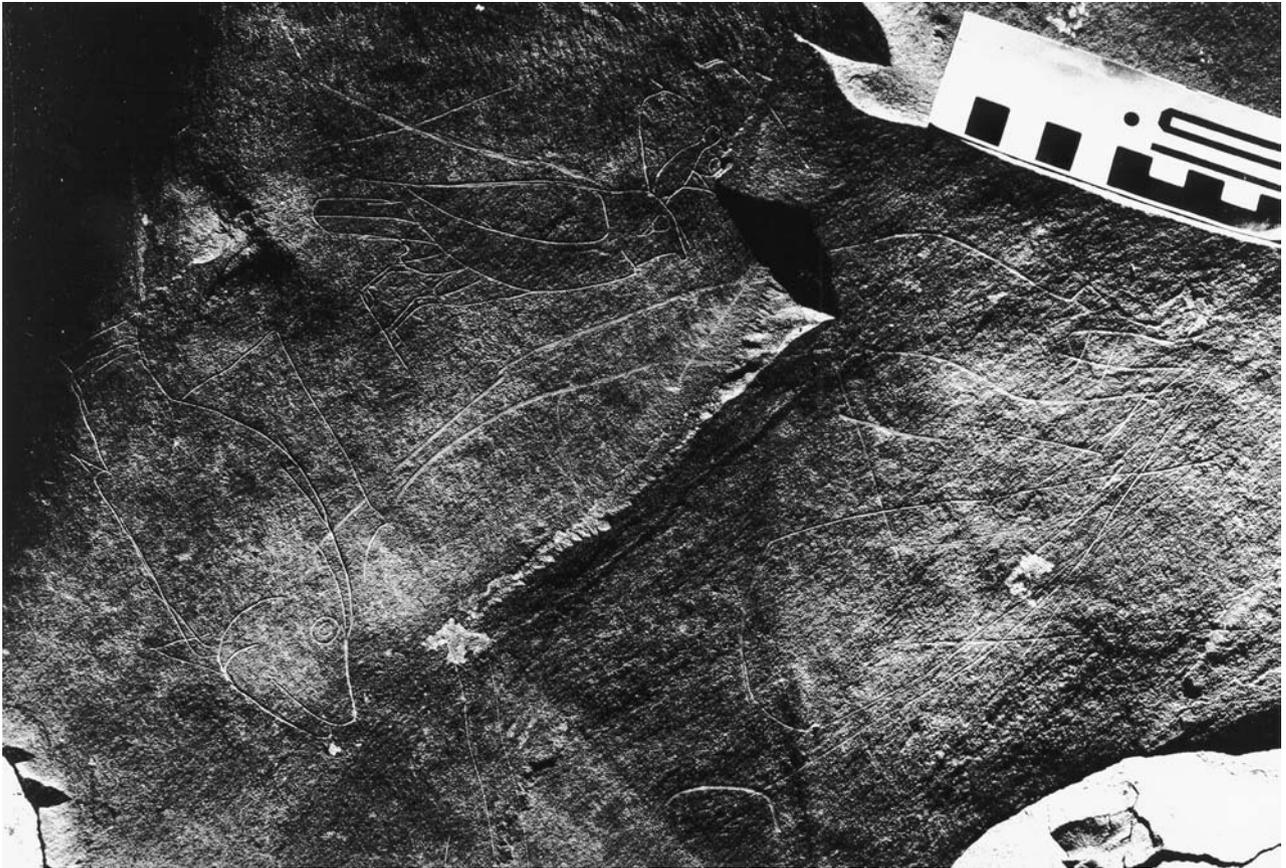


a

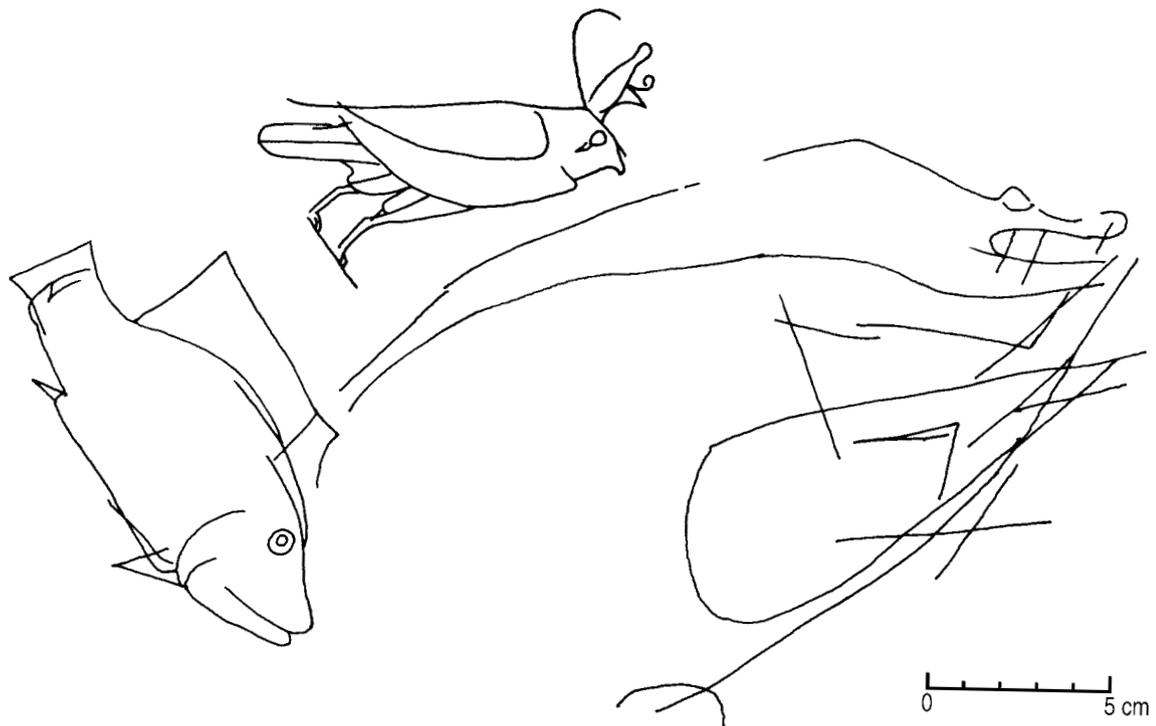


b

(a-b) Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 32

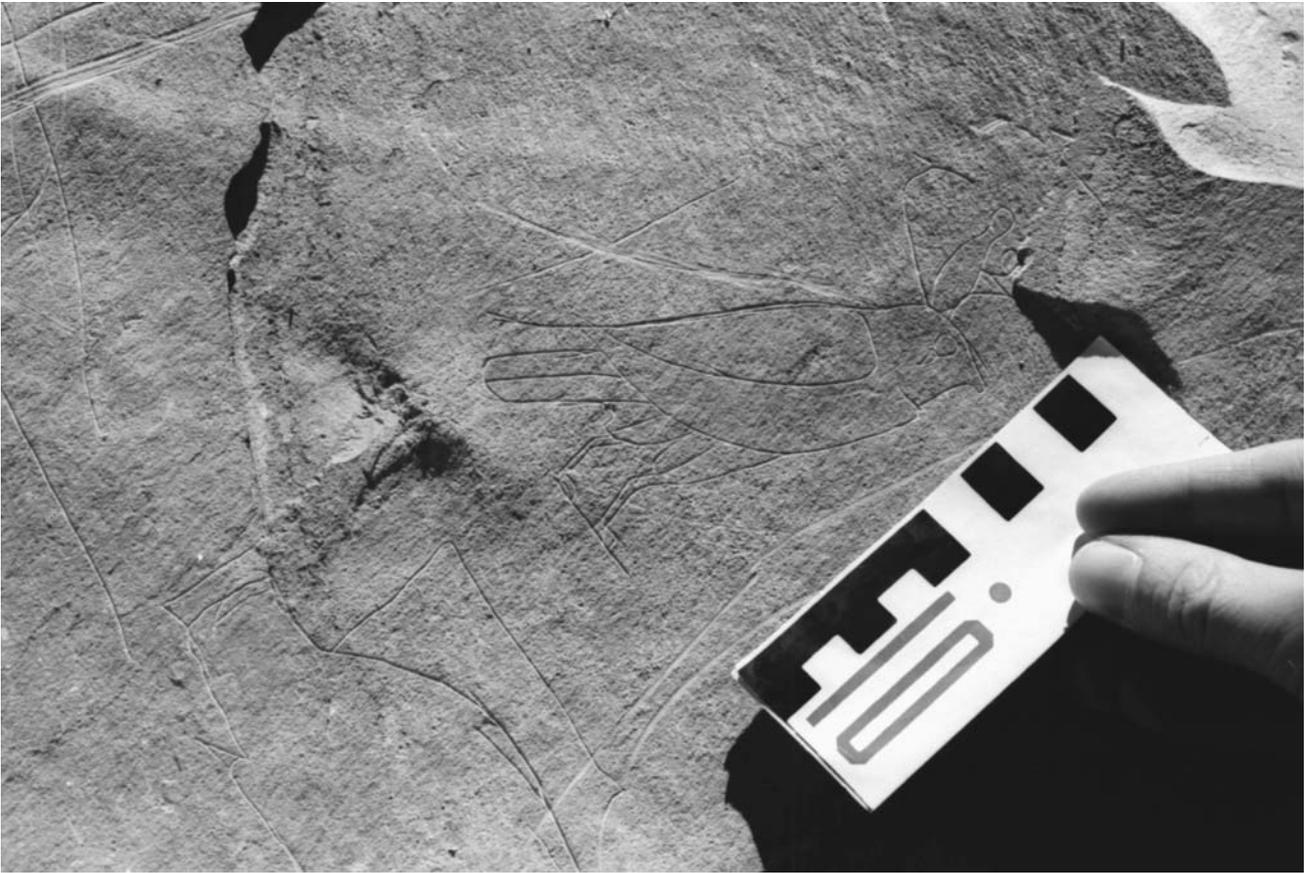


a

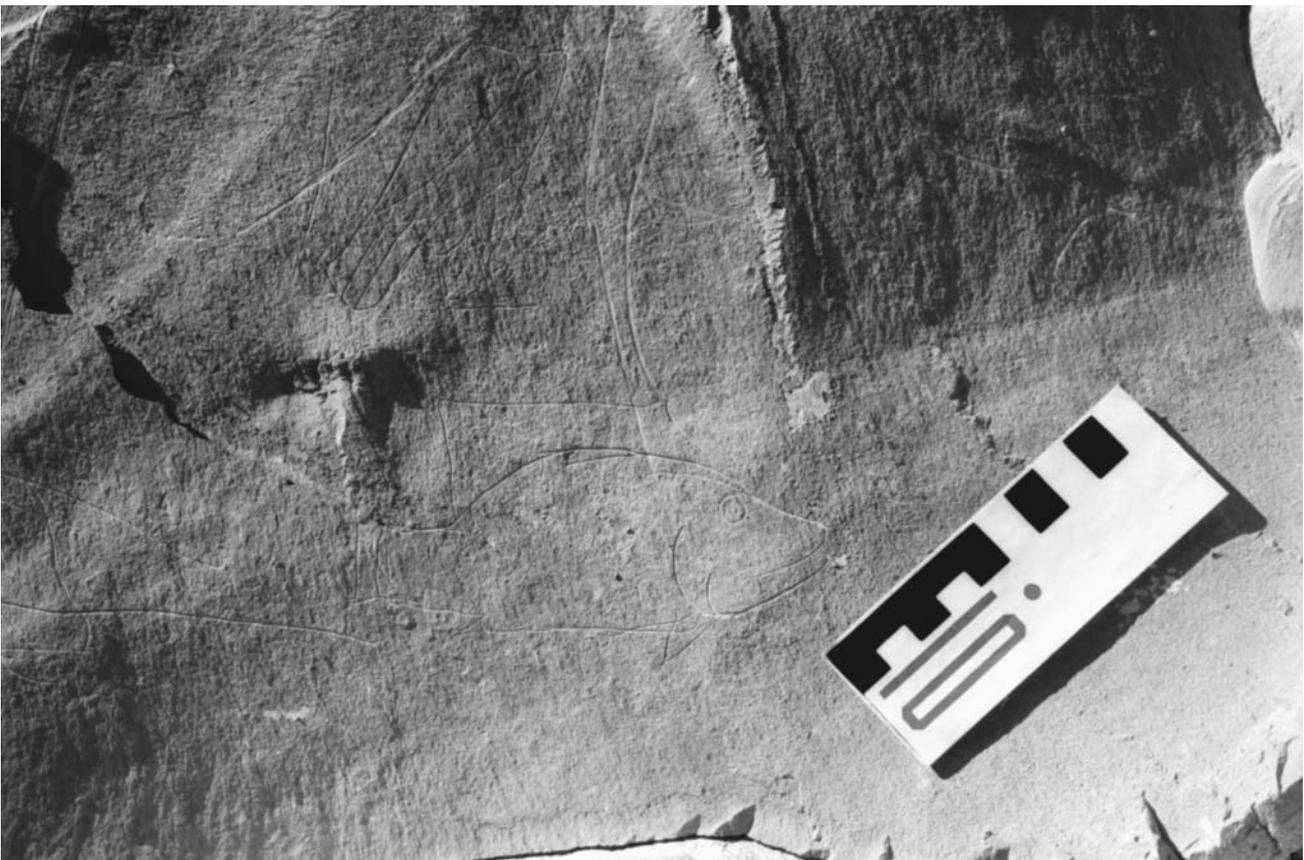


b

(a-b) Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 33

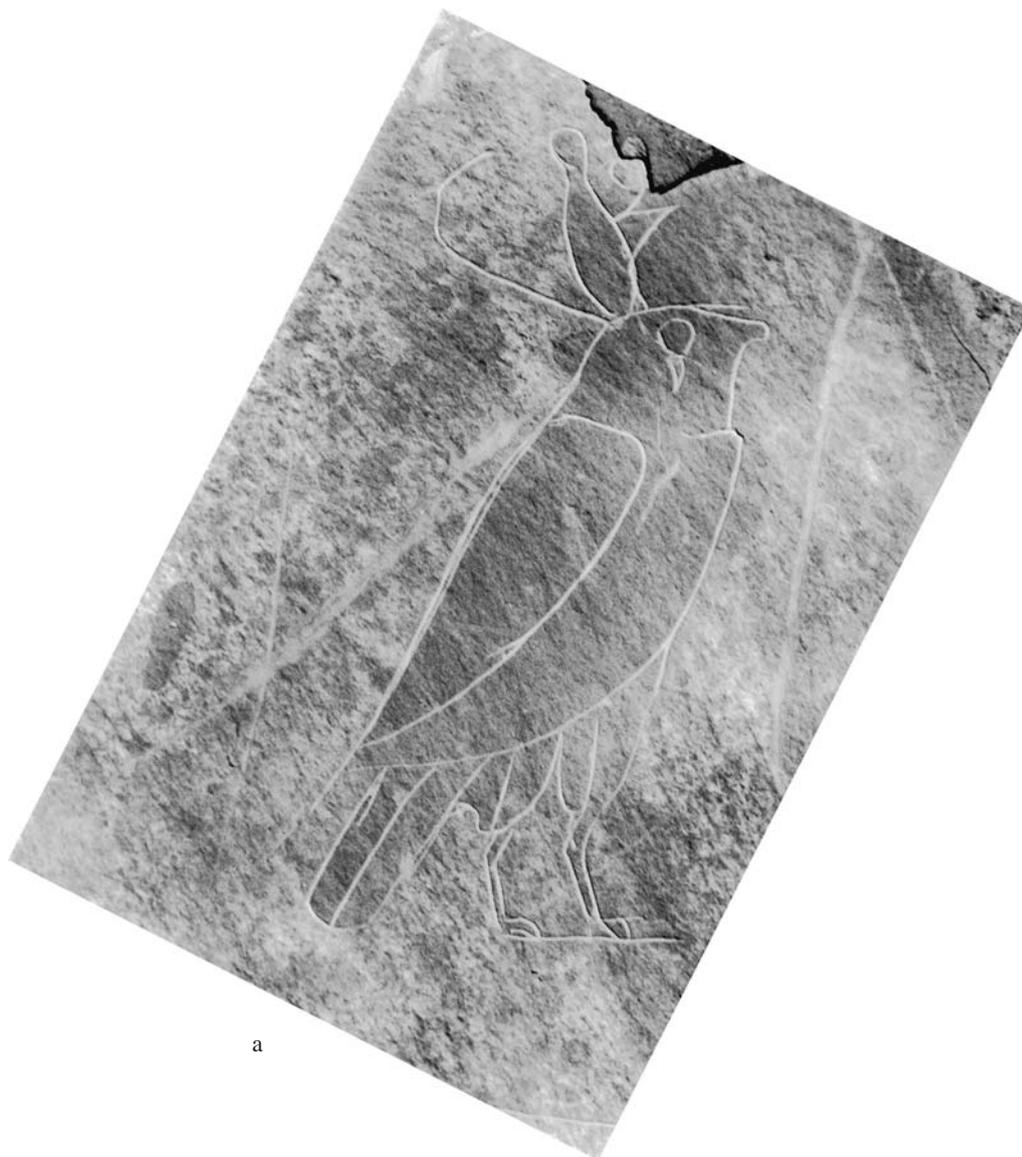


a



b

(a-b) Close Views of Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 33

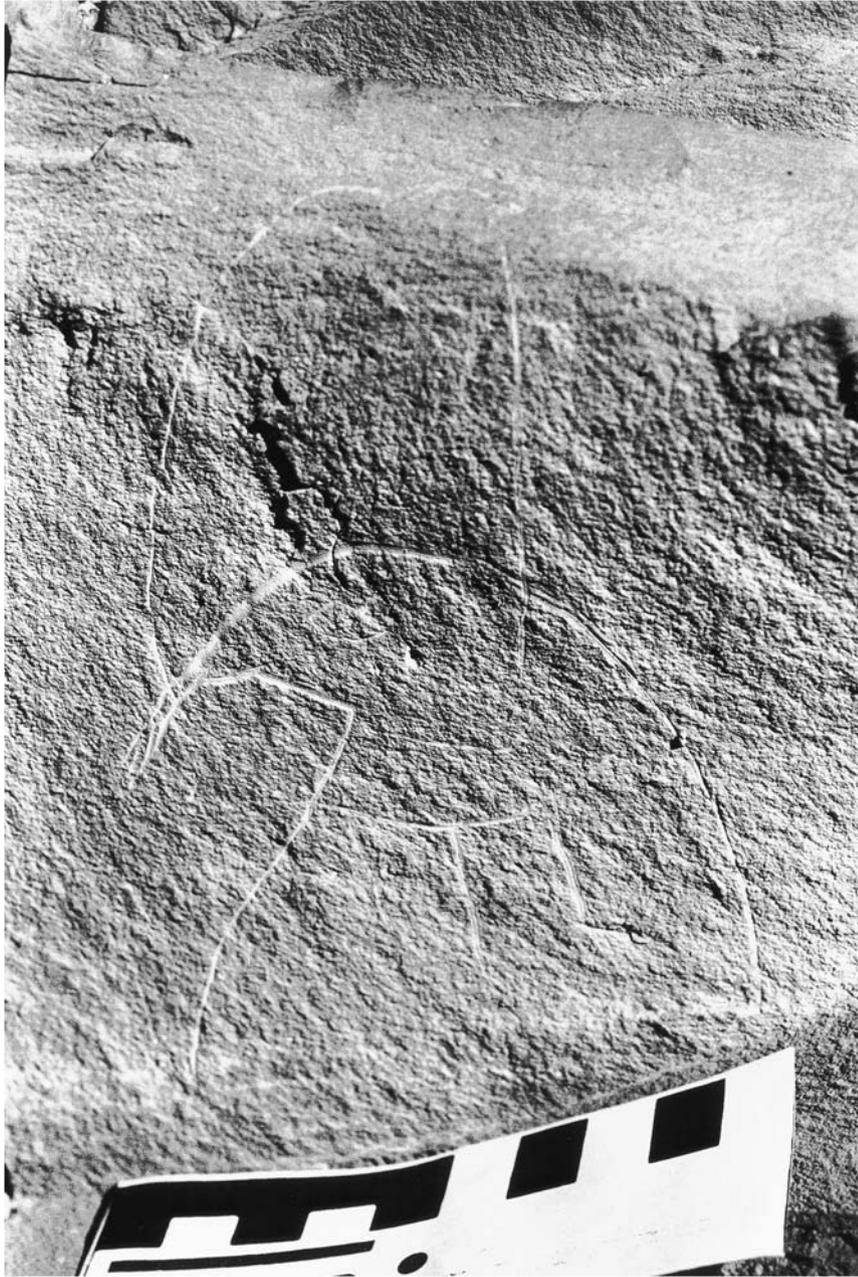


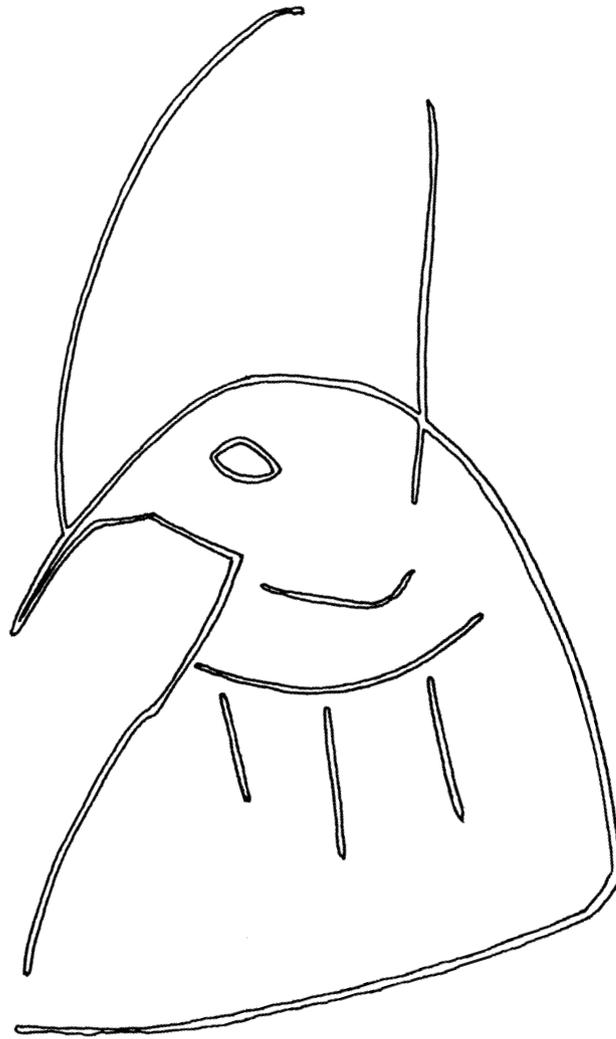
a



b

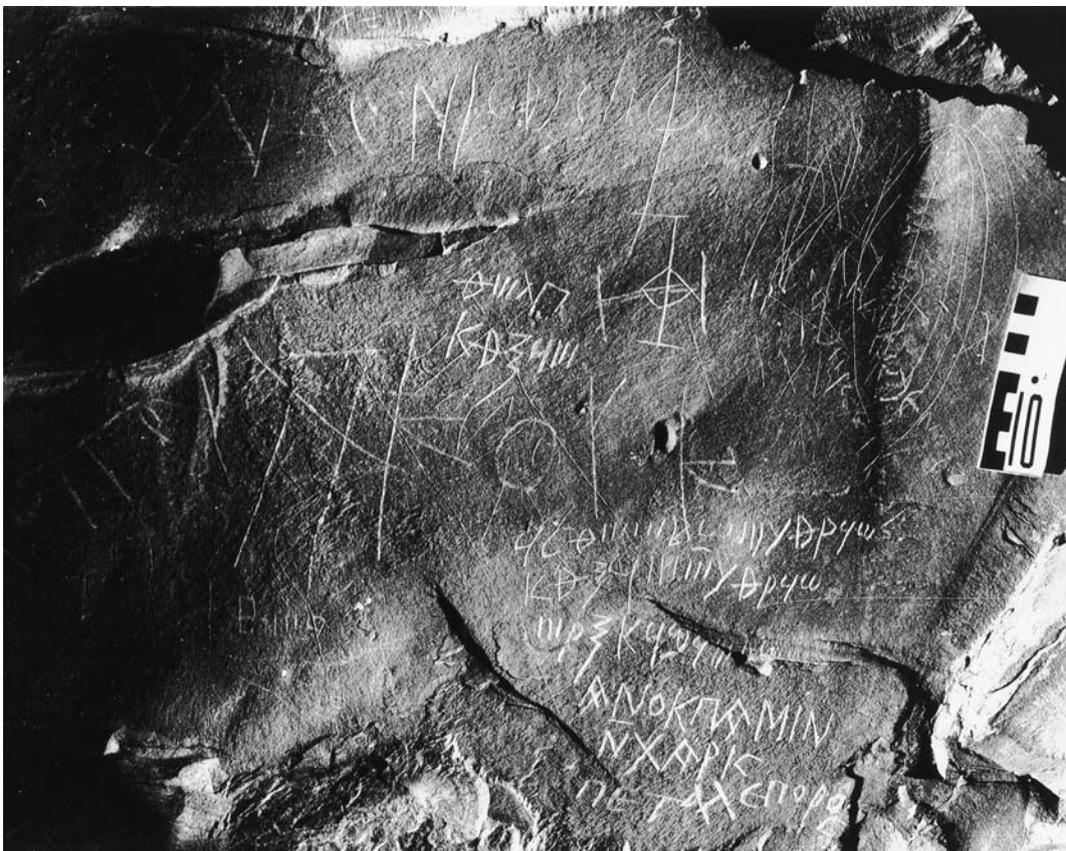
Detail Photographs of (a) Falcon and (b) Tilapia in Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscription 33











a

ΘΙΙΙΛΠ  
ΚΑΖΥΙΙ

b

ΑΝΟΚΛΑΜΙΝ  
ΝΧΑΡΙΣ  
ΠΕΤΑΛΕΠΟΡΟ

f

ΥΣΘΙΙΙΙΙΒΣΙΙΙΙΥΔΡΥΩ  
ΚΑΖΥΙΙΙΙΙΥΔΡΥΩ  
ΙΙΙΙΖΚΥΥΥΙΙΙΙ

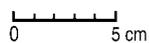
c

ΑΝΟΚΛΑΜΙΝ  
ΝΧΑΡΙΣ  
ΠΕΤΑΛΕΠΟΡΟ

d

†ΘΙΙΙΙ

e



(a) Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions (a-b) 36, (a, c) 37, (a, d) 39, (a, e) 41, and (a, f) 42



a

ΙΩ?ΑΝΝΗΙΝΧΑΡΙ  
ΠΑΜΙΝΝΧΑΡΙ

0 5 cm

b

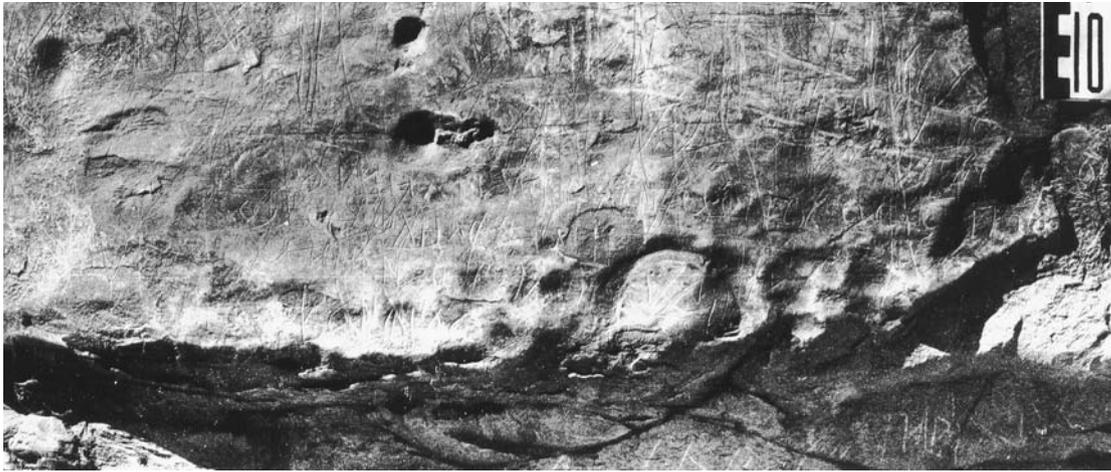


c

†ΘΙΙΙΛΠΚΑΘΞ

0 5 cm

d



a

Δ ΔΝΙΗΛΝΑΦΣΥΠΤΜΟΝΟΧΟΣ ΕΠΤΟ ΟΥΜΠΑ  
ΩΛΕΩΛΗΛΕΞΩΙ

0 5 cm

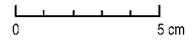
⊗

b



a

ΕΜΠΡΟΨΗΝΗΝΟΙ  
ΥΛΗΛΕΣΩΜΑ  
ΓΑΠΗ ΜΟΚΣΤΕ  
ΦΑΝΟΣ



b



# WADI EL-HÔL

Plate 60



a



b

(a) Pinnacle of Gebel Roma<sup>c</sup>, Looking Down (Northward) on Wadi el-Hôl Area C (Spur in Center) and Area A (Across from Spur), and (b) Wadi el-Hôl Area C (Spur) in Center Left and Pinnacle of Gebel Roma<sup>c</sup> in Upper Right



a



b

(a) Wadi el-Hôl Area C (Western Face of Spur) to Left, Looking Up (Southward) to Pinnacle of Gebel Roma<sup>c</sup>, and  
(b) Wadi el-Hôl Area B (Eastern Face of Spur) to Left, Looking Across (Westward) to Area A on Right



Wadi el-Hôl Area A in Distance (Area B at Left)

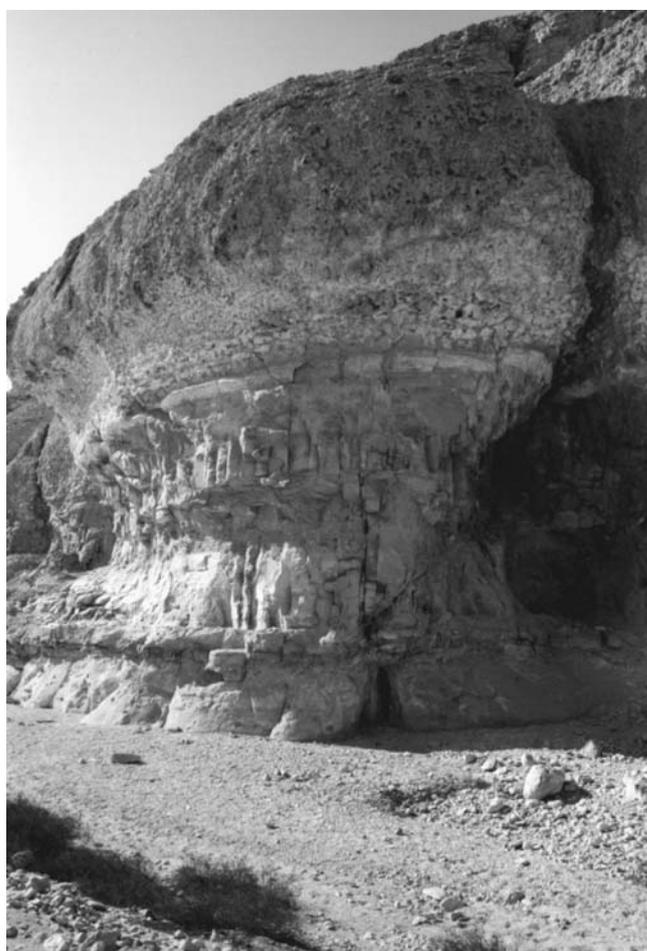


Location Drawing of Wadi el-Hôl Area A (Inscriptions 1, 2)

Plate 64

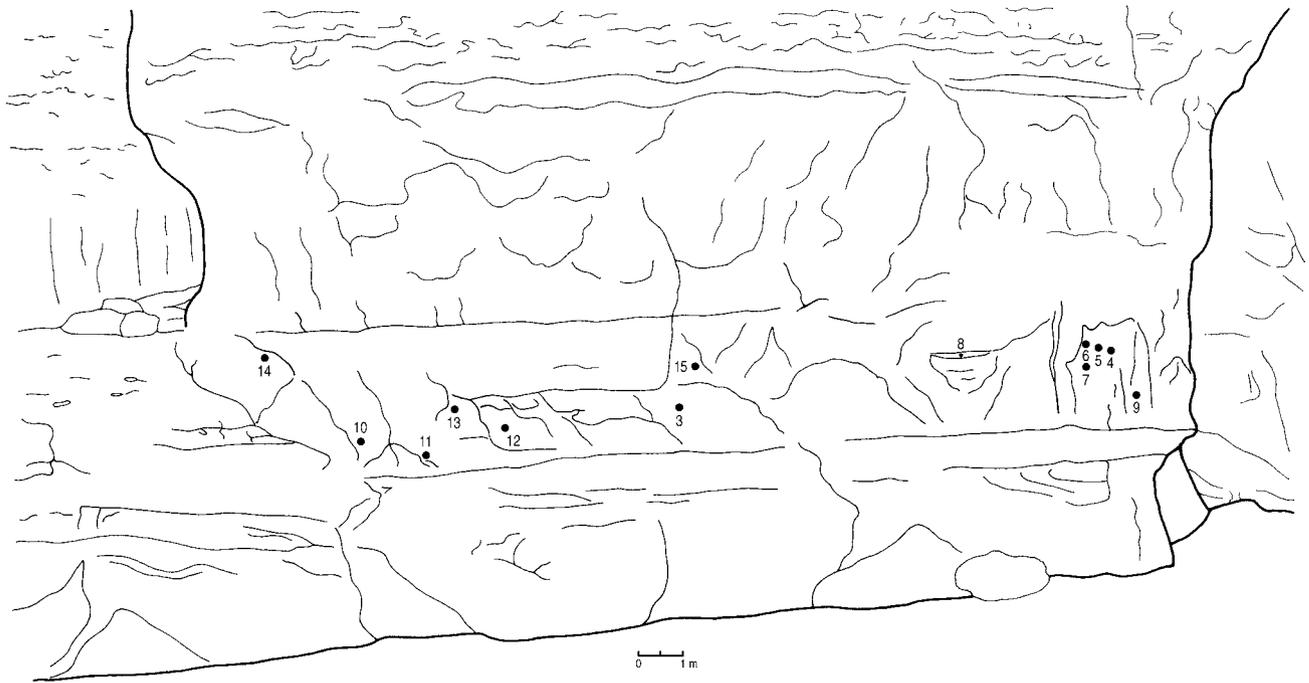


a



b

Wadi el-Hôl Area B: (a) Eastern Face of Spur and (b) Northeastern Face of Spur



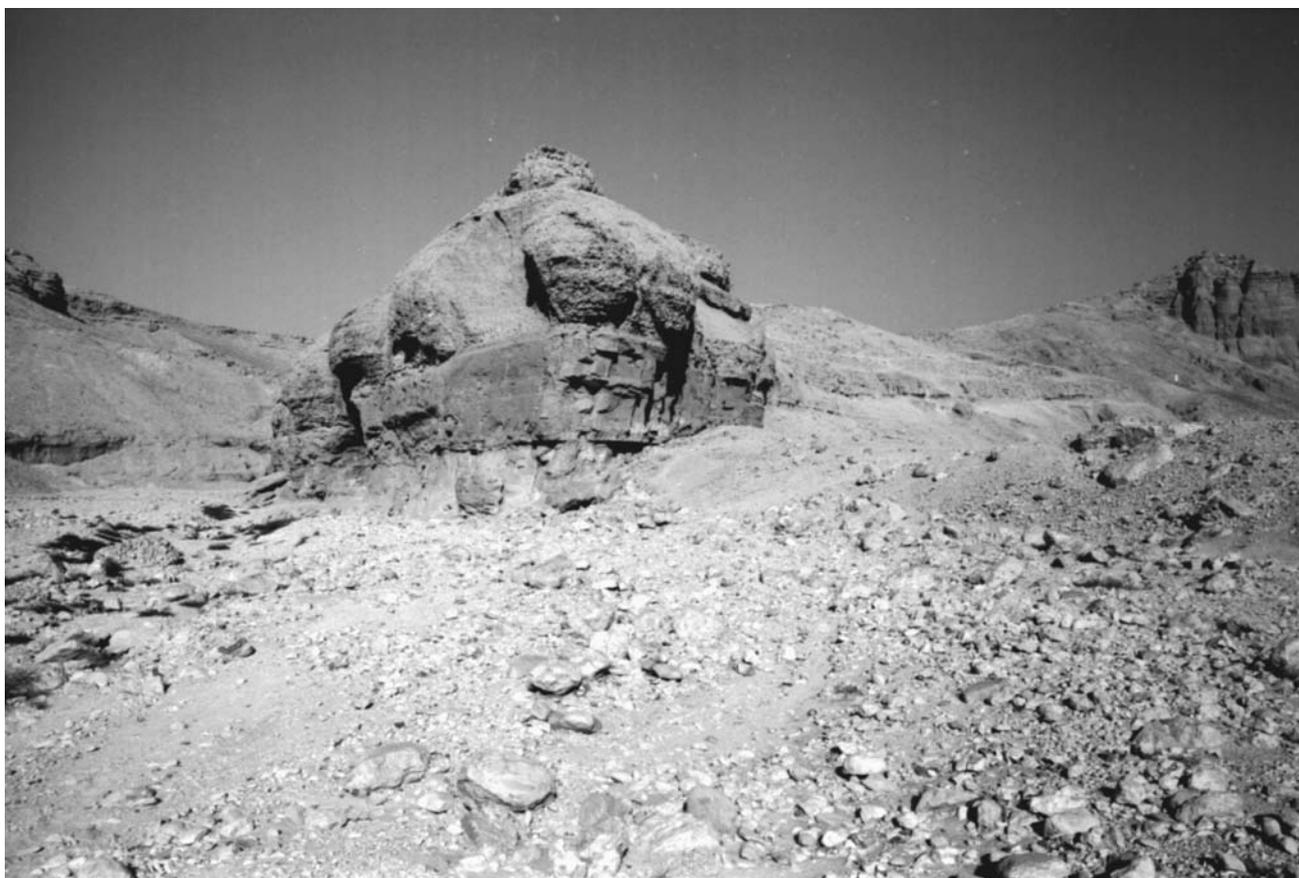
a



b

Location Drawings of Wadi el-Hôl Area B: (a) Overview (Inscriptions 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15) and (b) Detail (Inscriptions 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9)

Plate 66

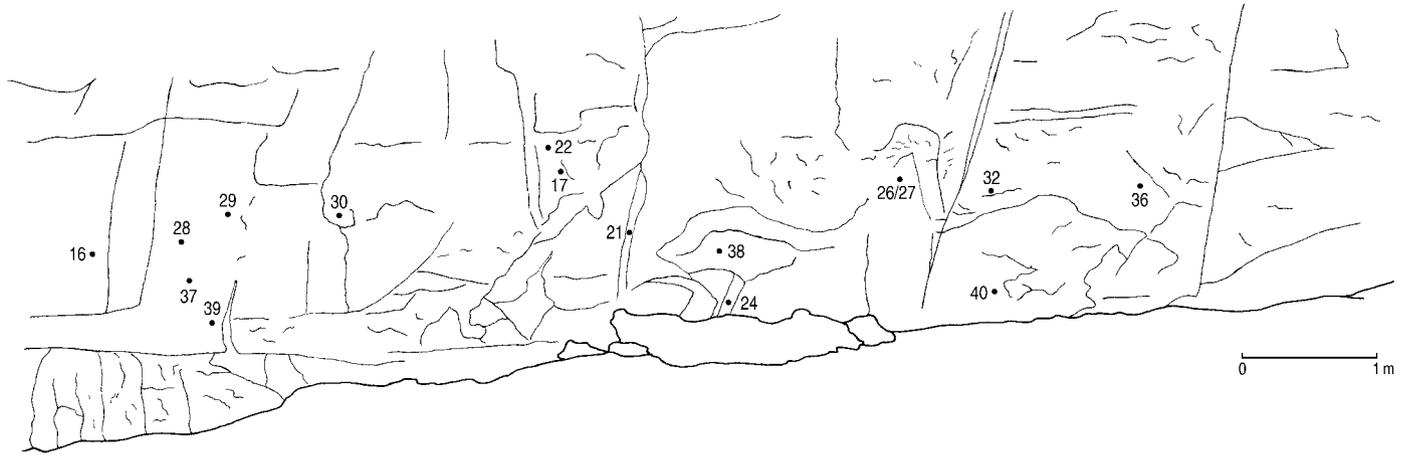


a

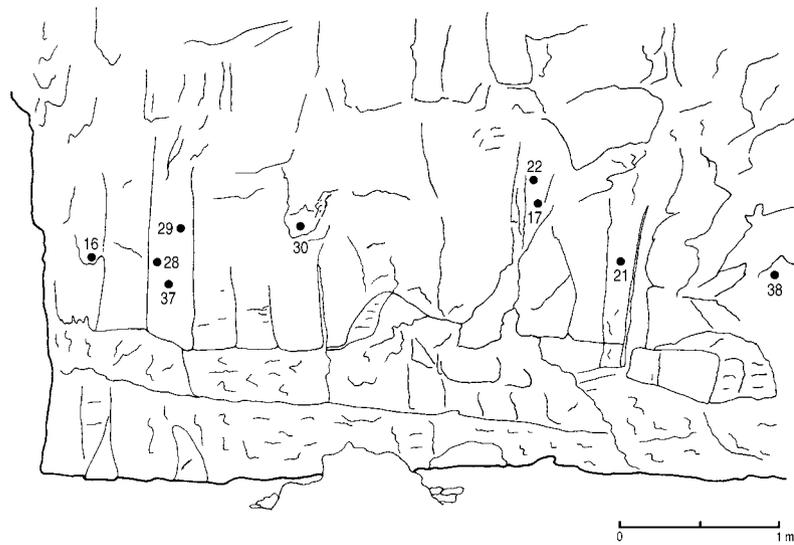


b

(a) Wadi el-Hôl Area B on Left (Eastern Face) and Area C on Right (Western Face) of Spur and  
(b) Wadi el-Hôl Area C on Western Face of Spur



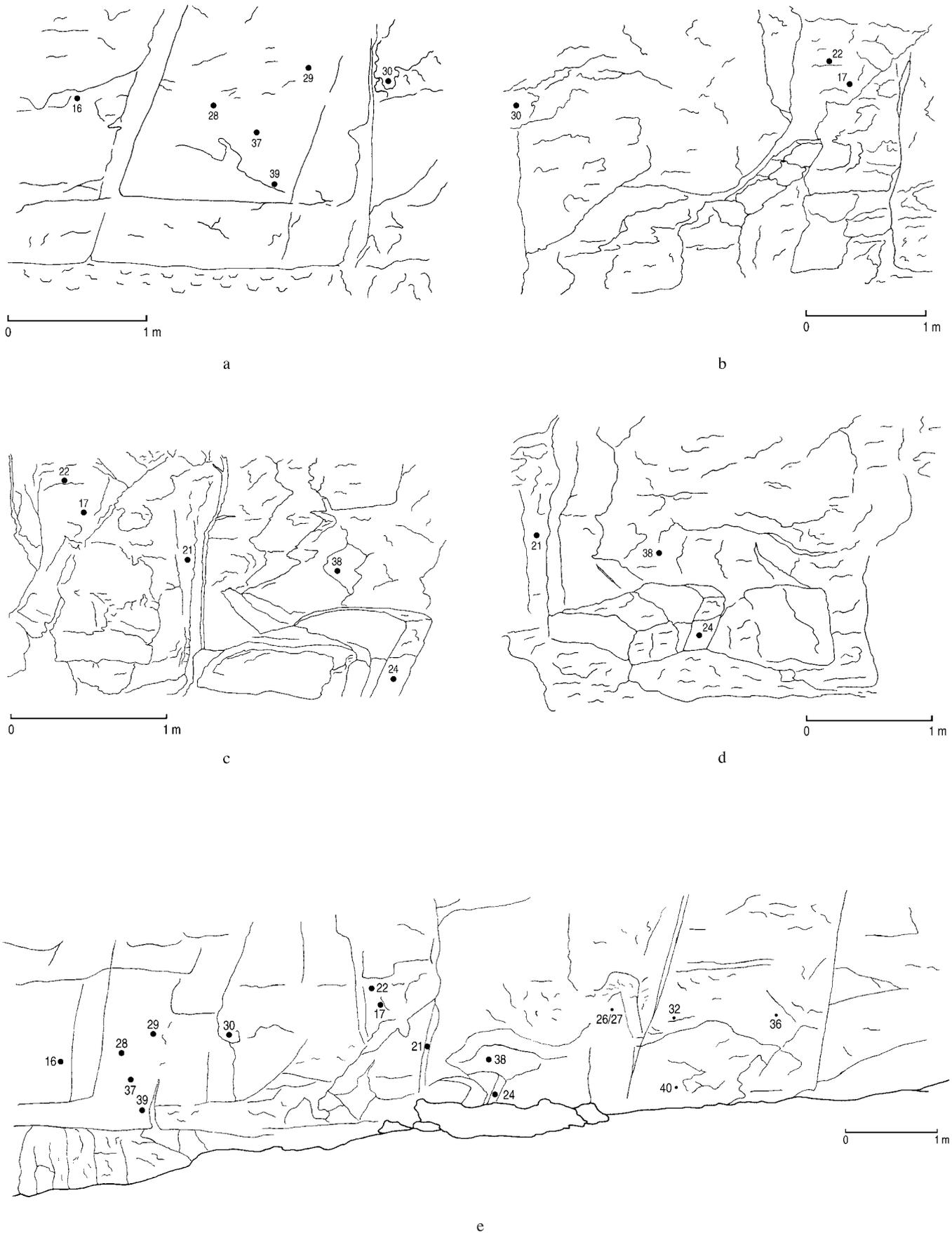
a



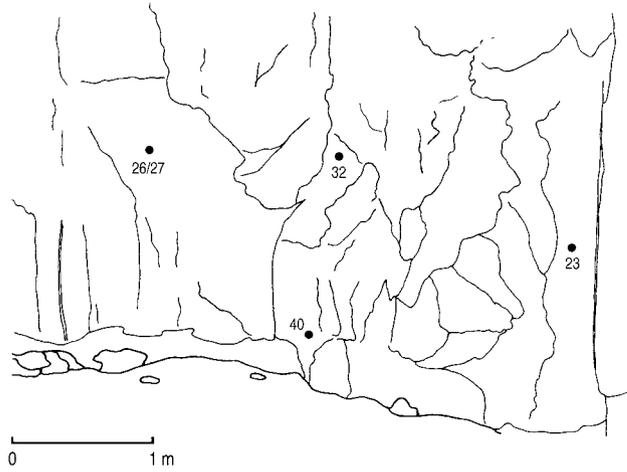
b

Location Drawings of Wadi el-Hôl Area C: (a) Overview of Left Portion (Sections 1-5) and (b) Detail

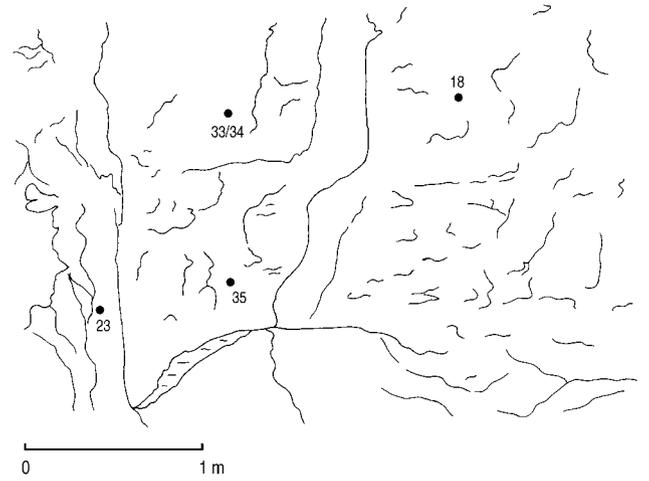
Plate 68



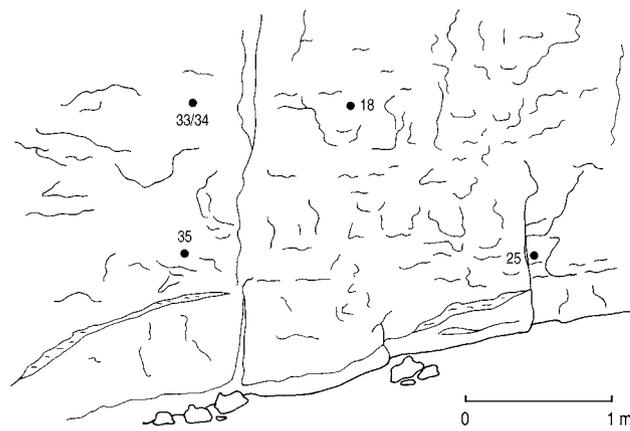
Detail Location Drawings of Wadi el-Hôl Area C: (a) Section 1 (Inscriptions 16, 28, 29, 30, 37, and 39), (b) Section 2 (Inscriptions 17 and 22), (c) Section 3 (Inscription 21), (d) Section 4 (Inscriptions 24 and 38), and (e) Overview of Left Portion (Sections 1-5) of Area C



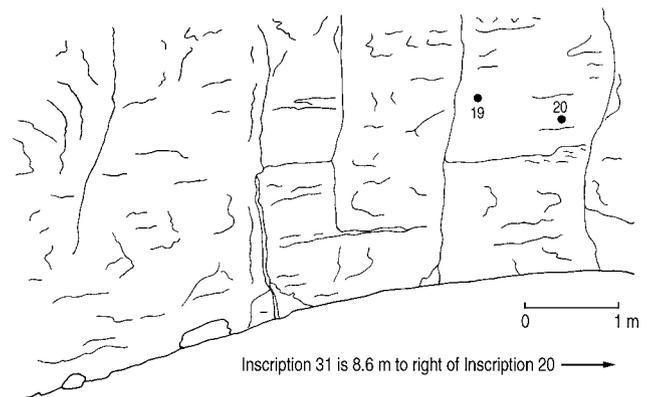
a



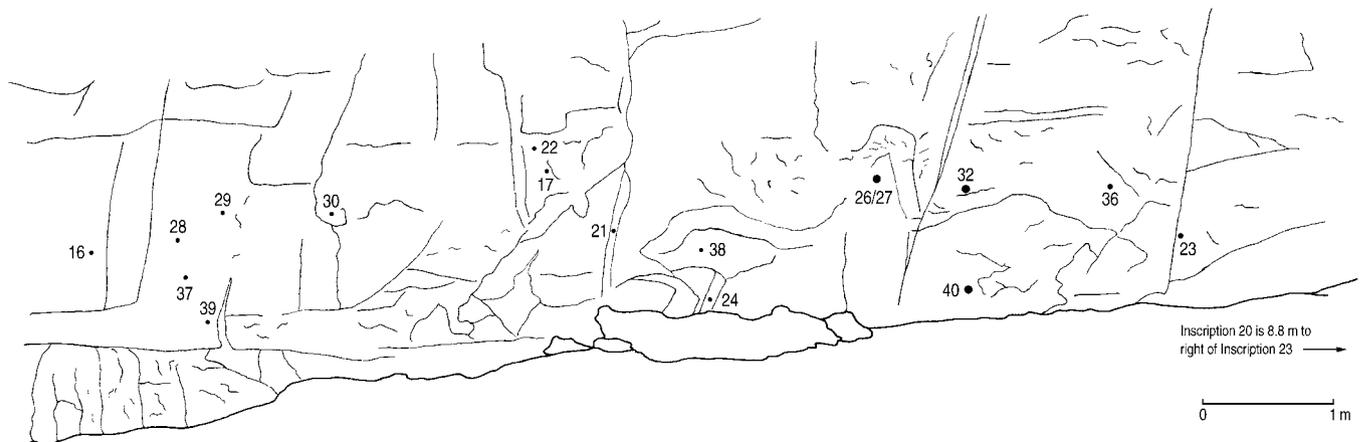
b



c



d

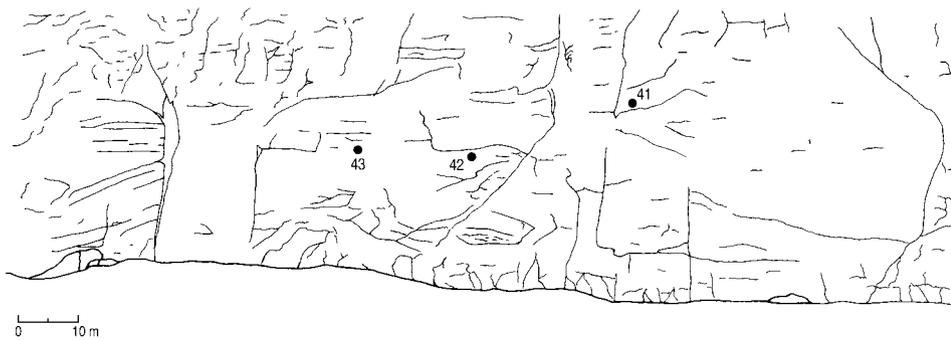


e

Detail Location Drawings of Wadi el-Hôl Area C: (a) Section 5 (Inscriptions 23, 26, 27, 32, and 40), (b) Section 6 (Inscriptions 33, 34, and 35), (c) Section 7 (Inscriptions 18 and 25), (d) Section 8 (Inscriptions 19 and 20; Note: Inscription 31 Is 8.6 m to Right of Inscription 20), and (e) Overview of Left Portion (Sections 1–5) of Section C (Sections 6–8 Not Indicated; Note: Inscription 20 Is 8.8 m to Right of Inscription 23)



a

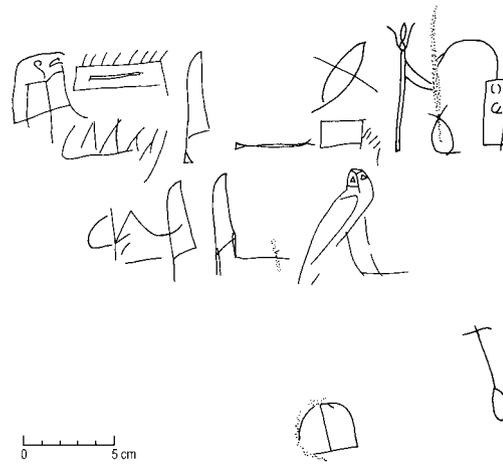


b

(a) Pinnacle of Gebel Roma<sup>c</sup> to Upper Left and Wadi el-Hôl Area D in Center and  
(b) Location Drawing of Wadi el-Hôl Area D (Inscriptions 41, 42, 43)



a

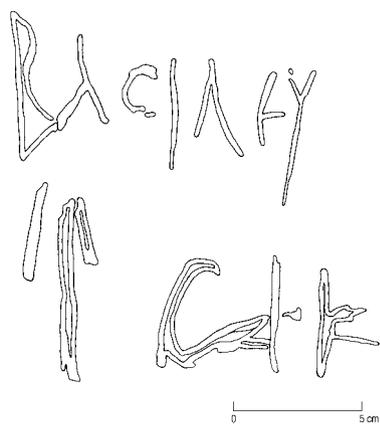


b

(a-b) Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 1

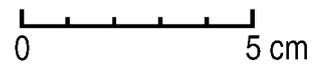


a



b

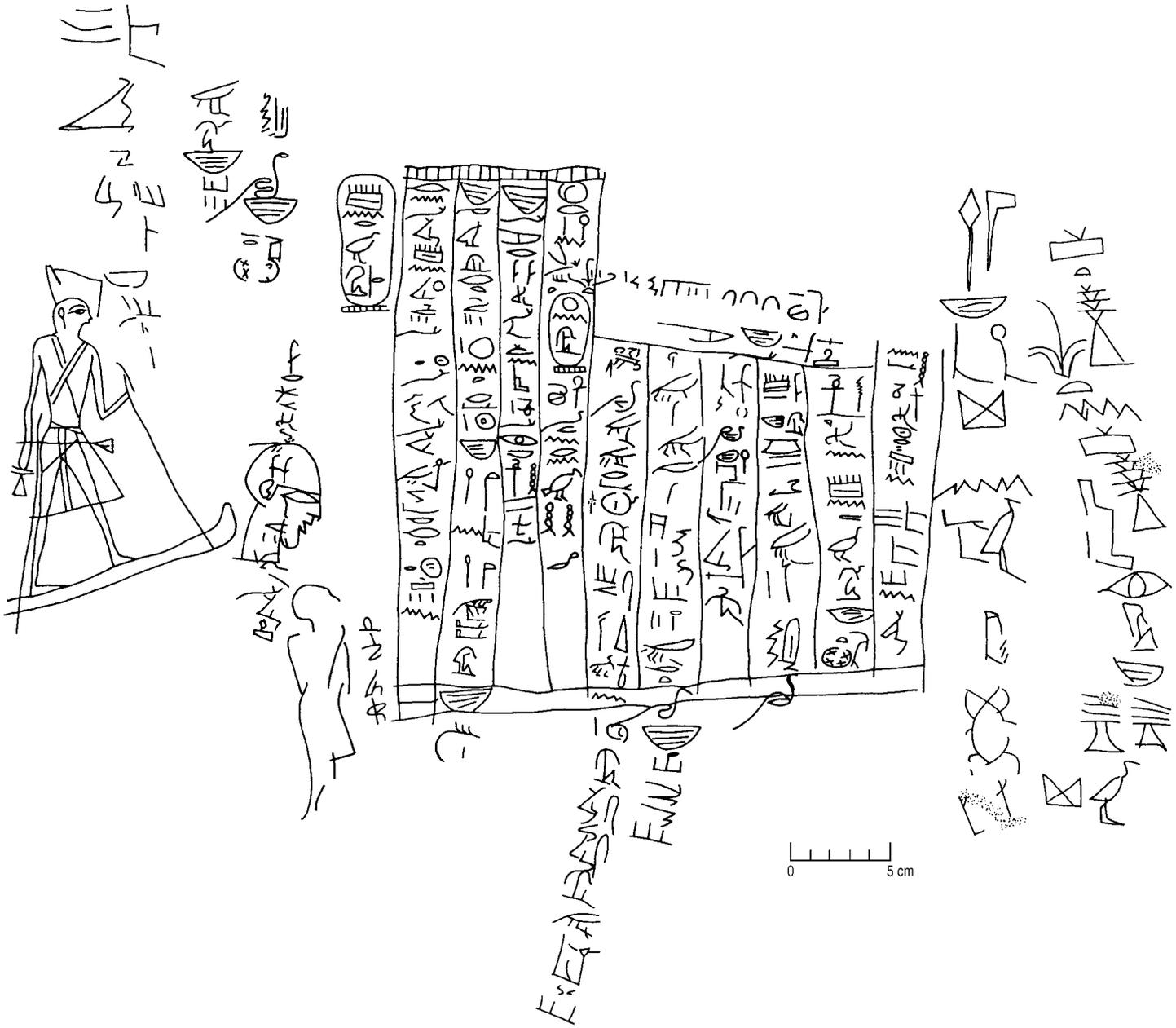
(a-b) Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 2



b

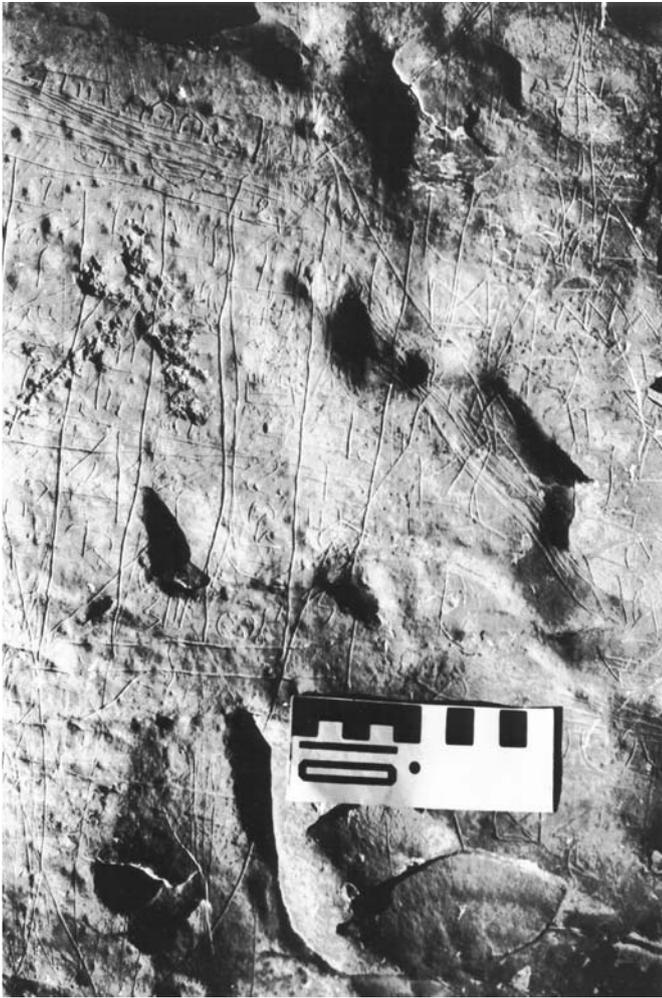
a

(a-b) Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 3

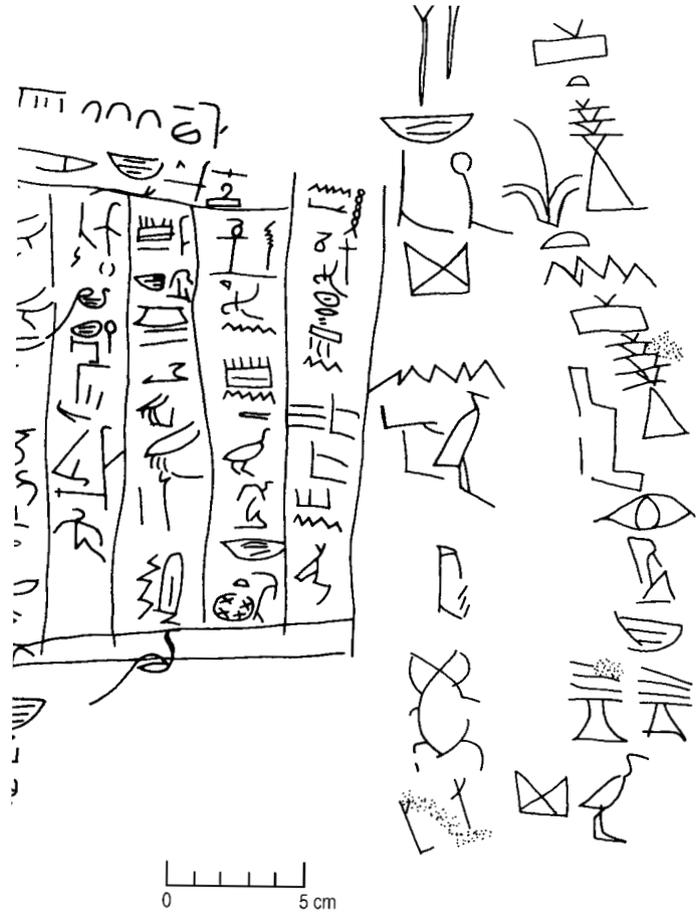


Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscriptions 4 (right), 5 (center), and 6 (left)

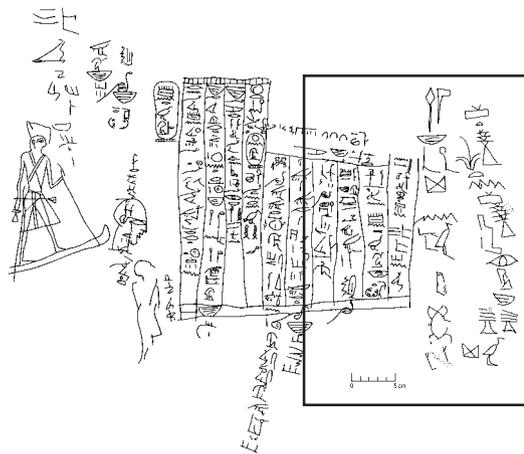




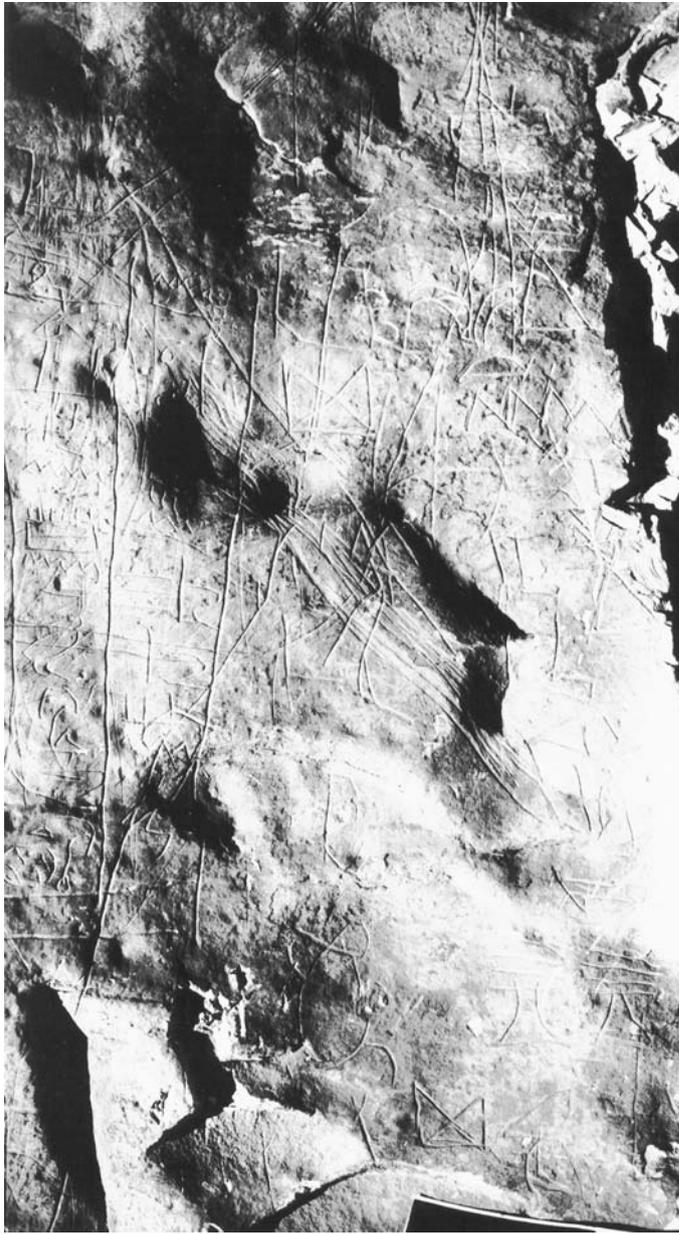
a



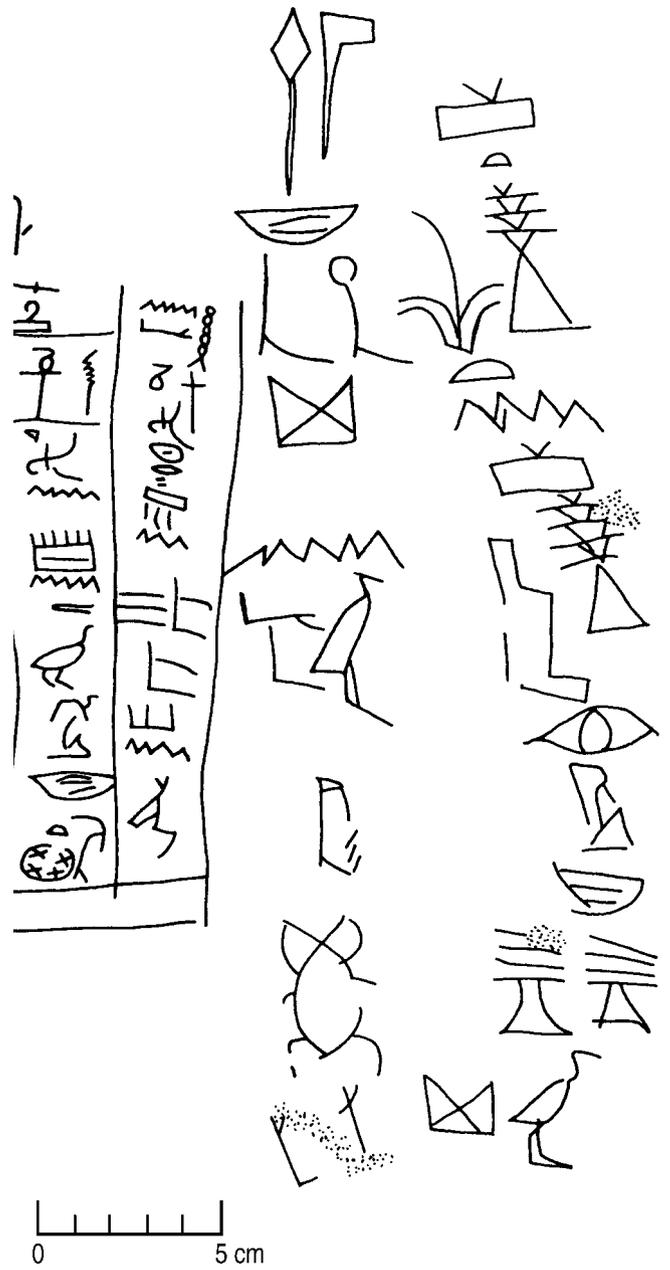
b



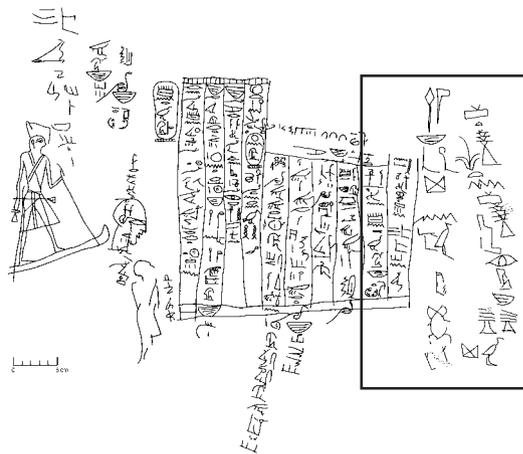
(a-b) Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscriptions 4 (All of Lines 1 and 2) and 5 (All of Lines 8-11 and Beginning of Lines 1 and 2)



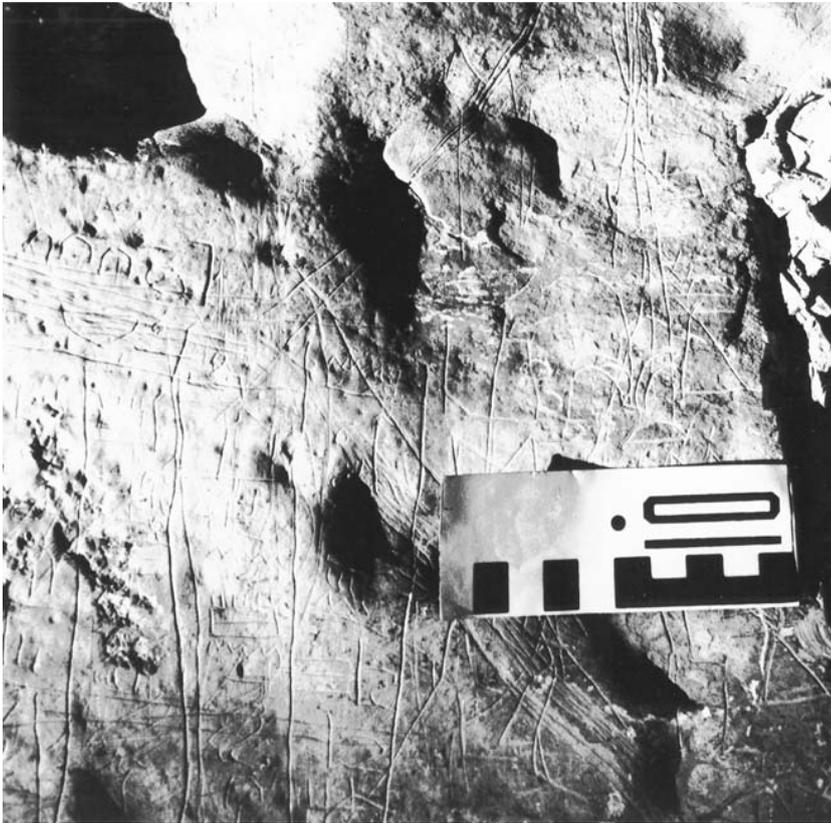
a



b



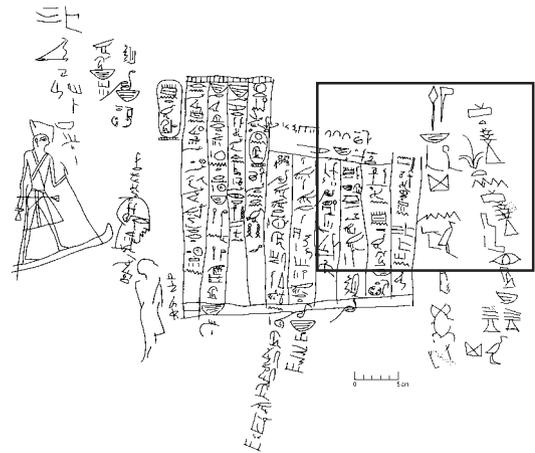
(a-b) Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscriptions 4 (All of Lines 1 and 2) and 5 (All of Lines 8 and 9)



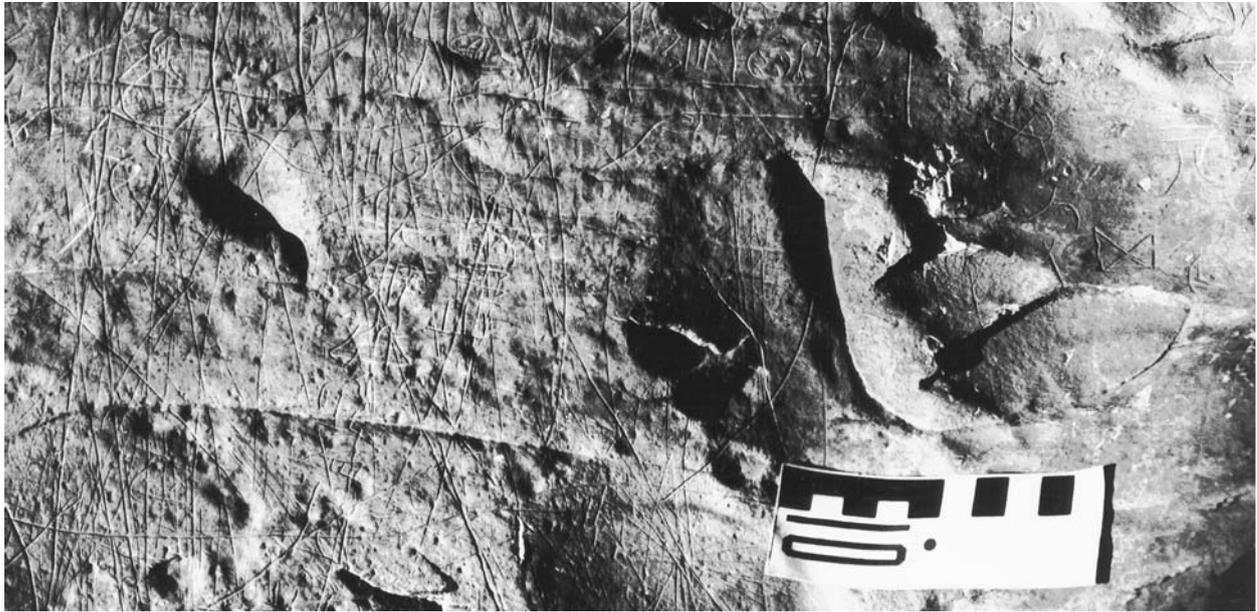
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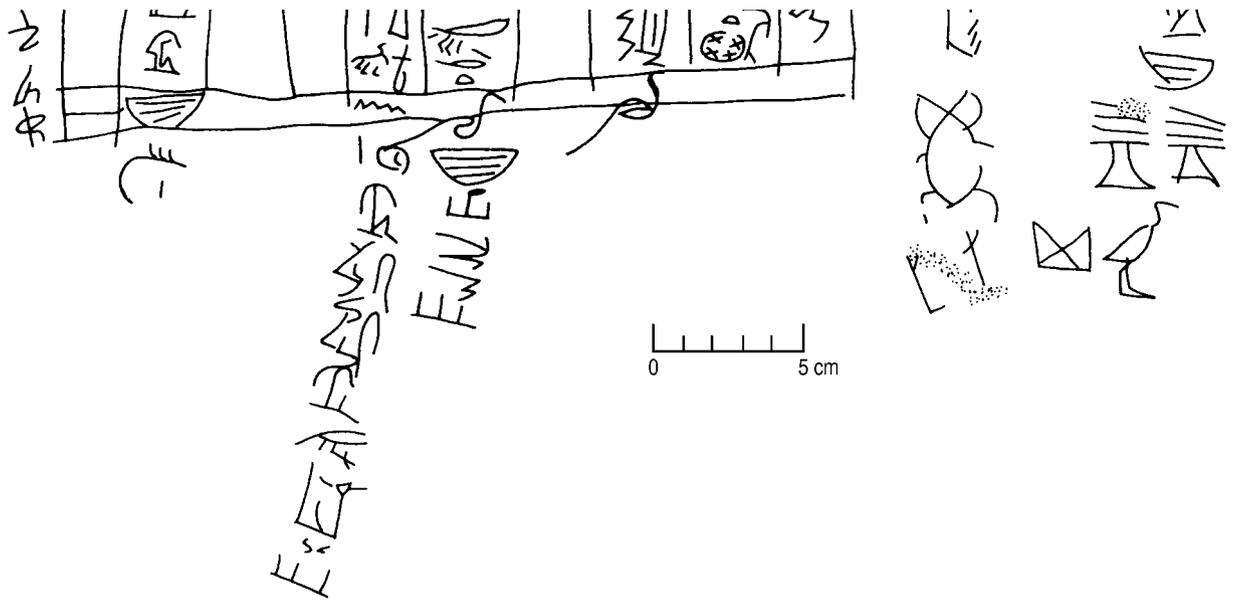
b



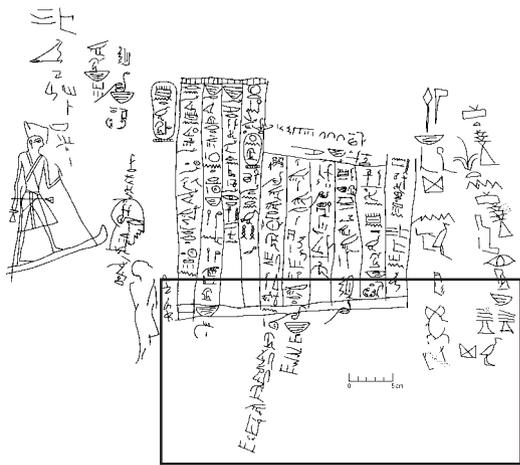
(a-b) Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscriptions 4 (Top of Lines 1 and 2) and 5 (Top of Lines 1, 2, and 8-11)



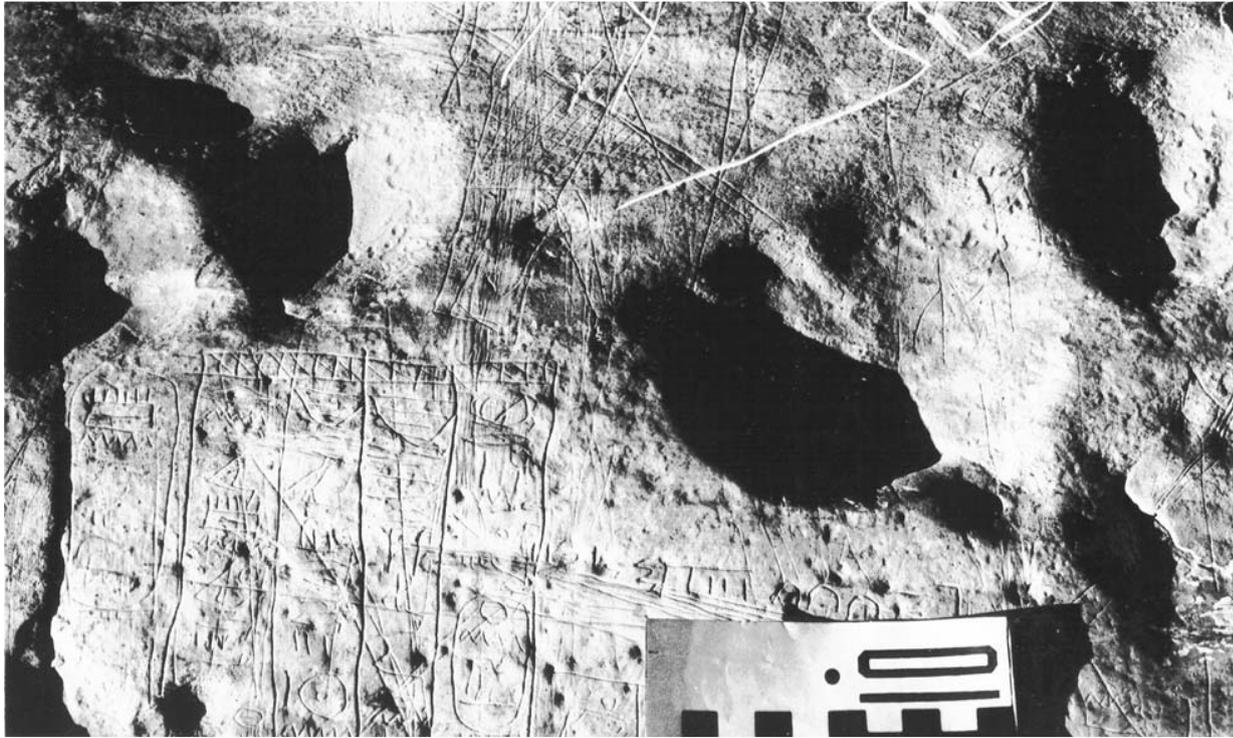
a



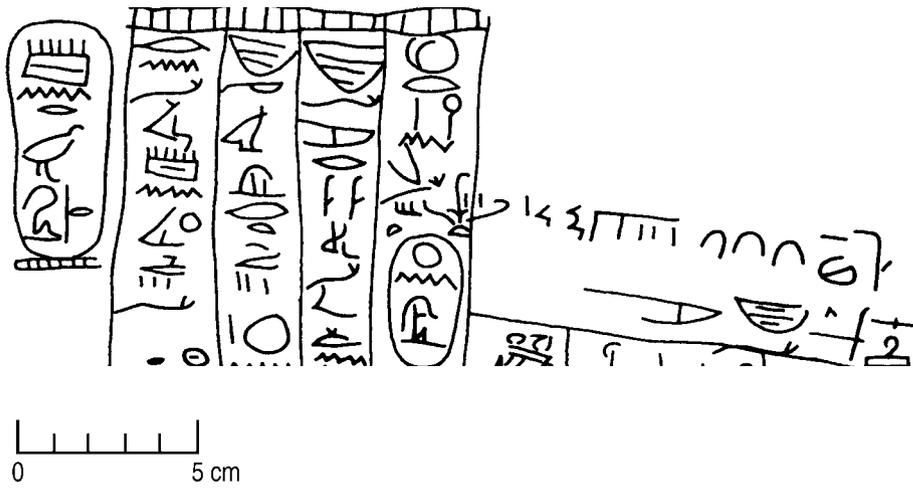
b



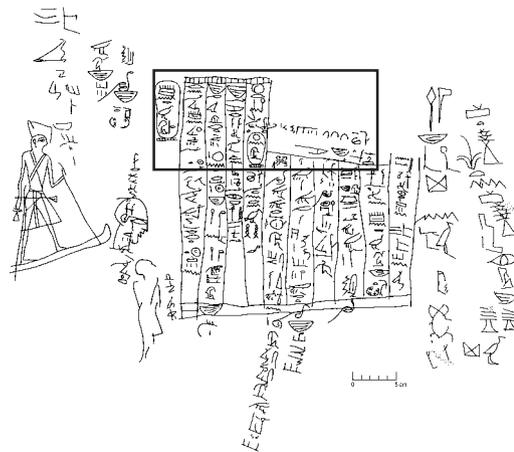
(a-b) Wadi el-Ḥôl Rock Inscriptions 4 (End of Lines 1 and 2), 5 (End of Lines 3-6 and 8-11), and 6 (Part of 6C)



a



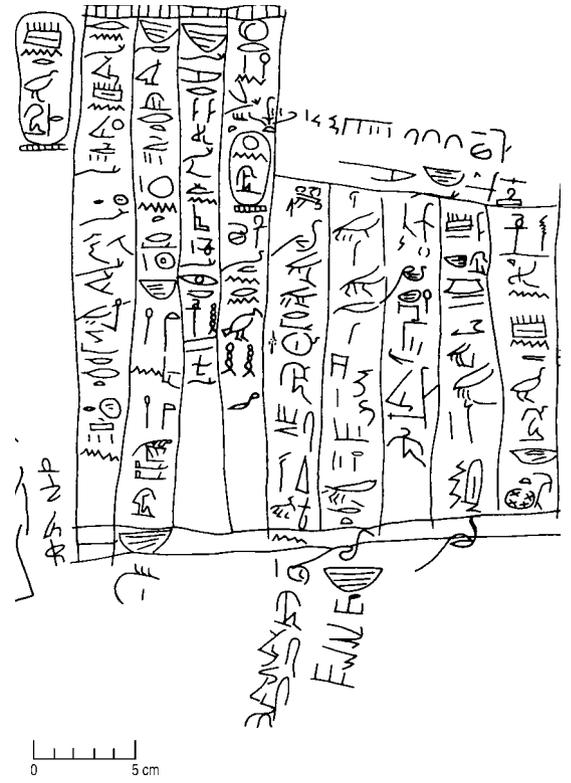
b



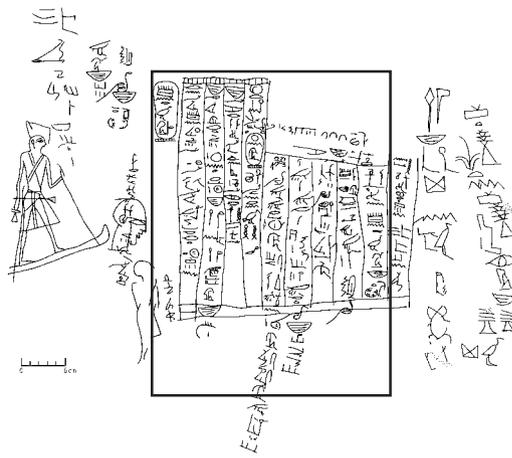
(a-b) Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 5 (All of Lines 1 and 7 and Beginning of Lines 3-6 and 13)



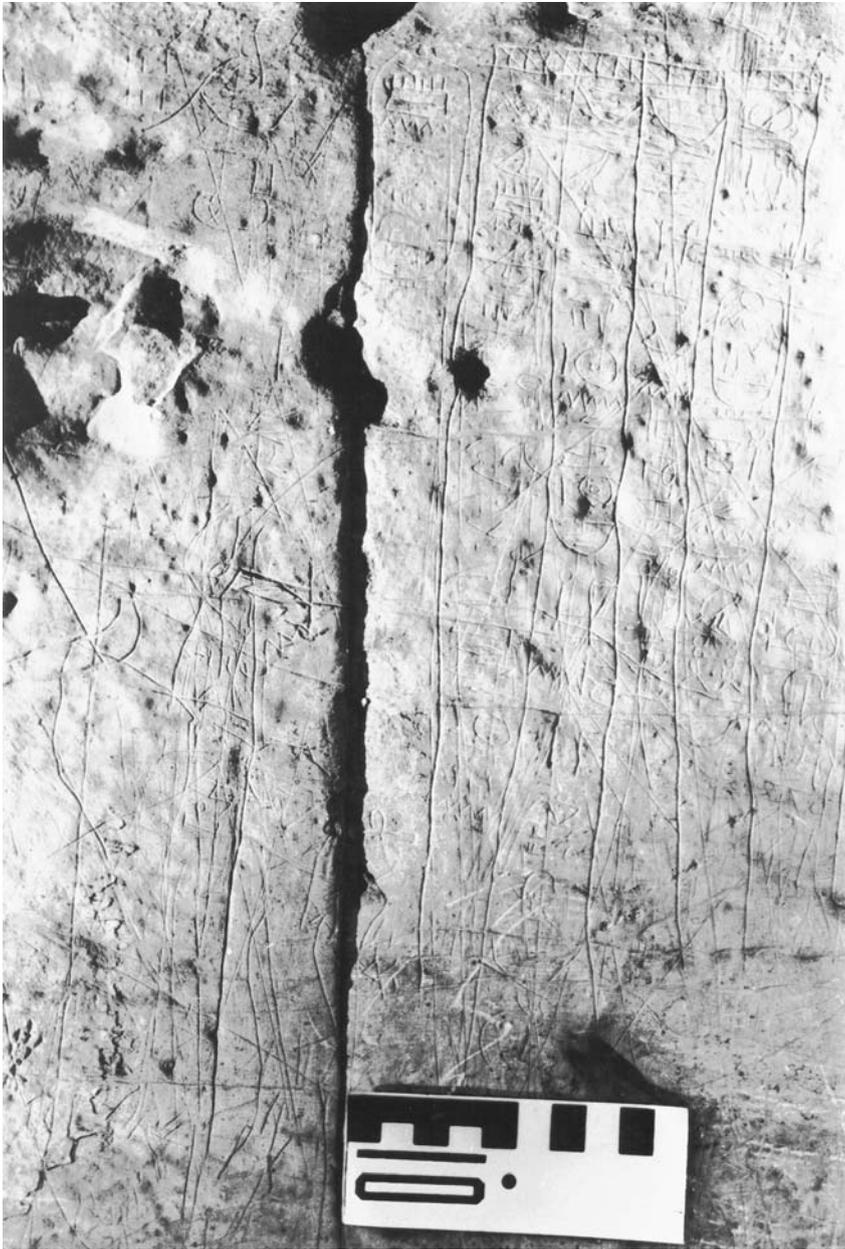
a



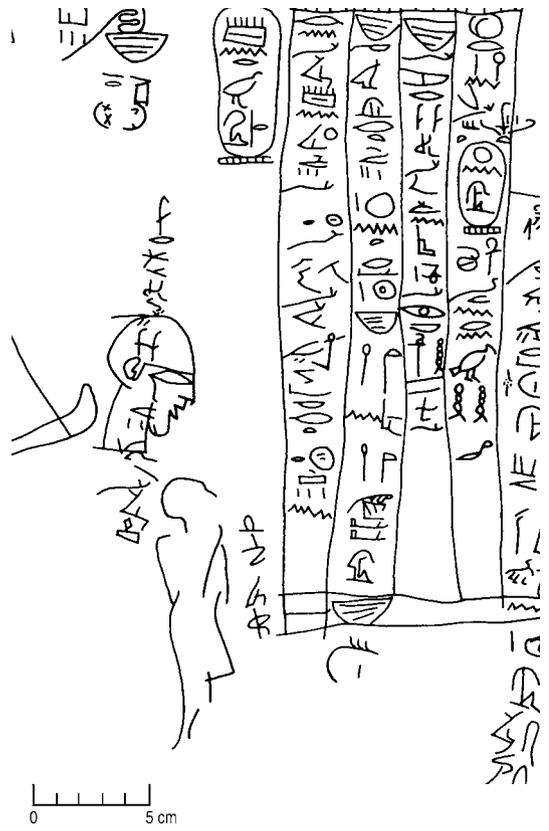
b



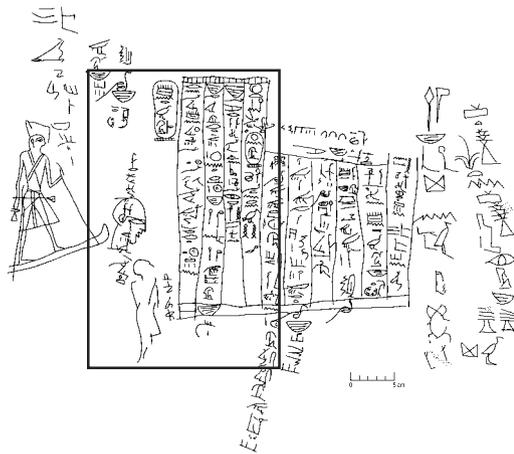
(a-b) Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 5 (All of Lines 1-7 and 9-12 and Top of Line 13)



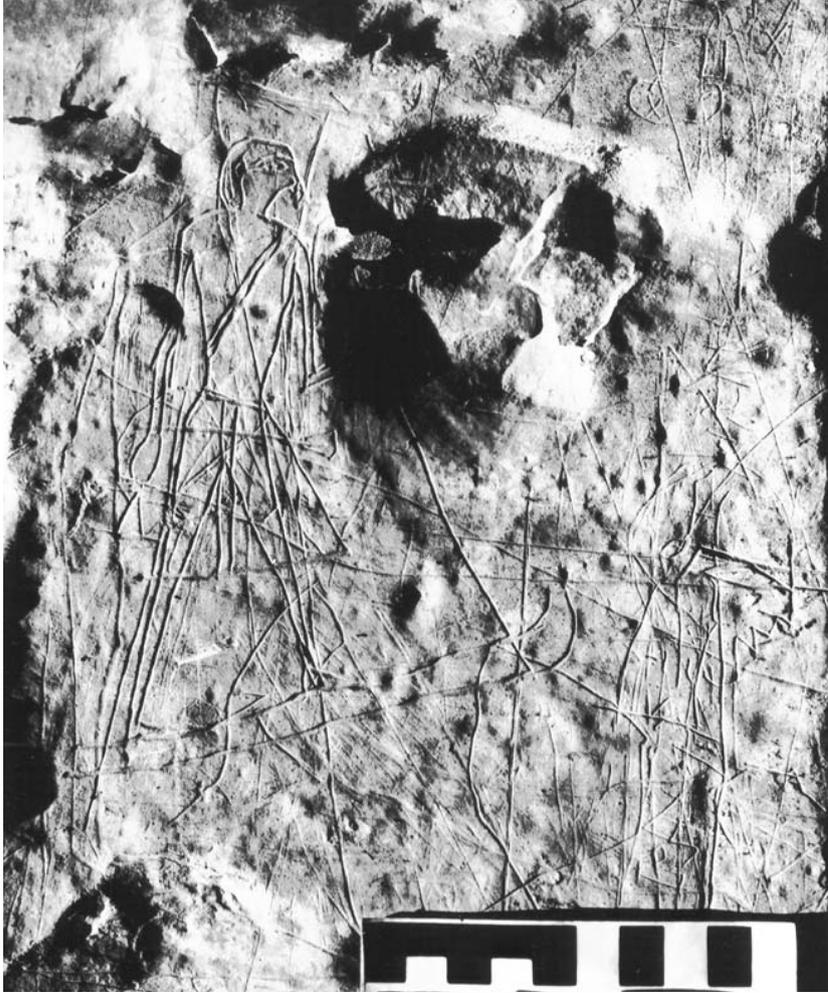
a



b



(a-b) Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscriptions 5 (All of Lines 3-7) and 6 (Part of 6A and 6B and All of 6C)

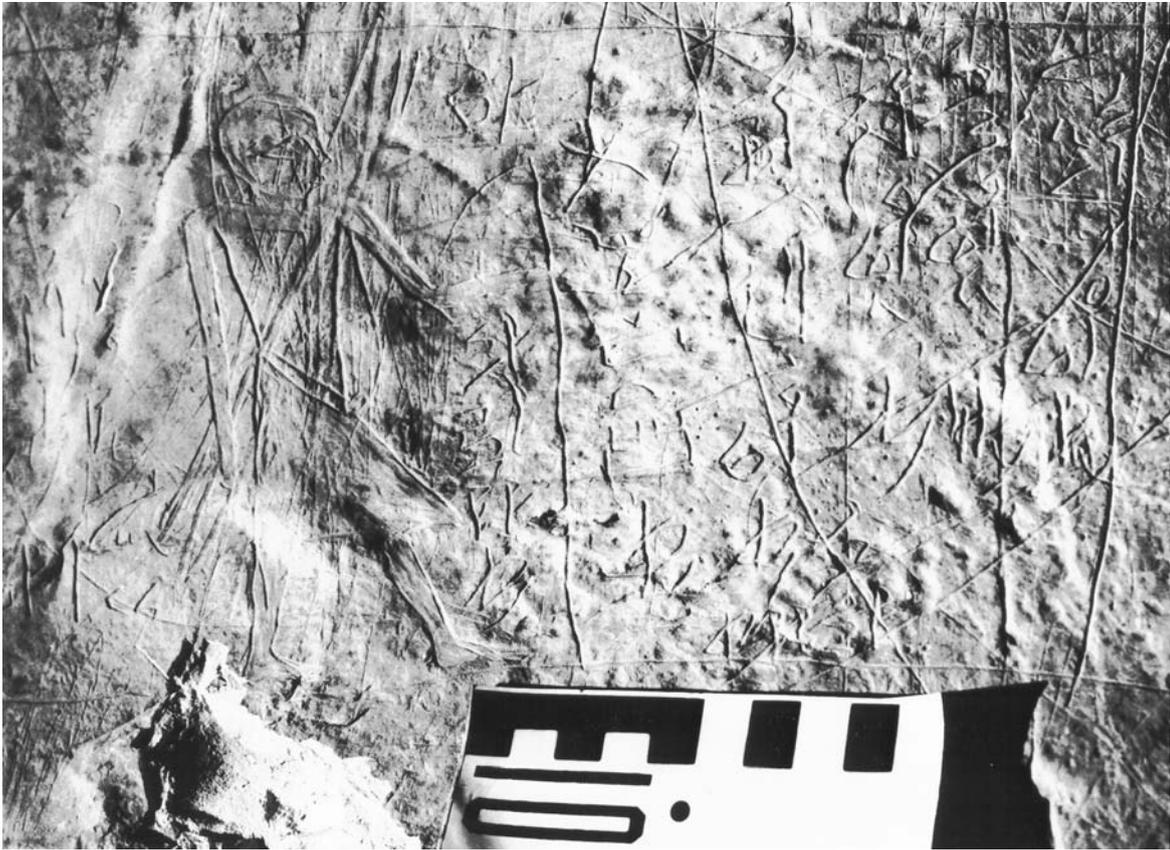


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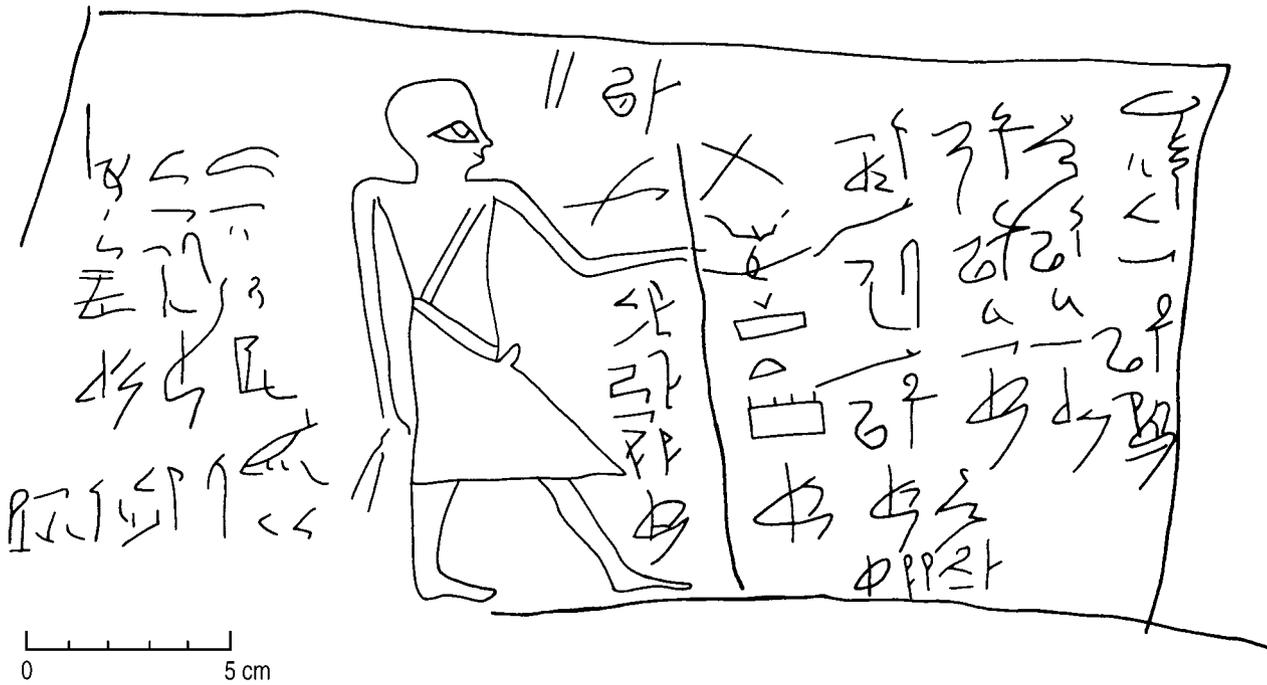


b

(a-b) Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 6B

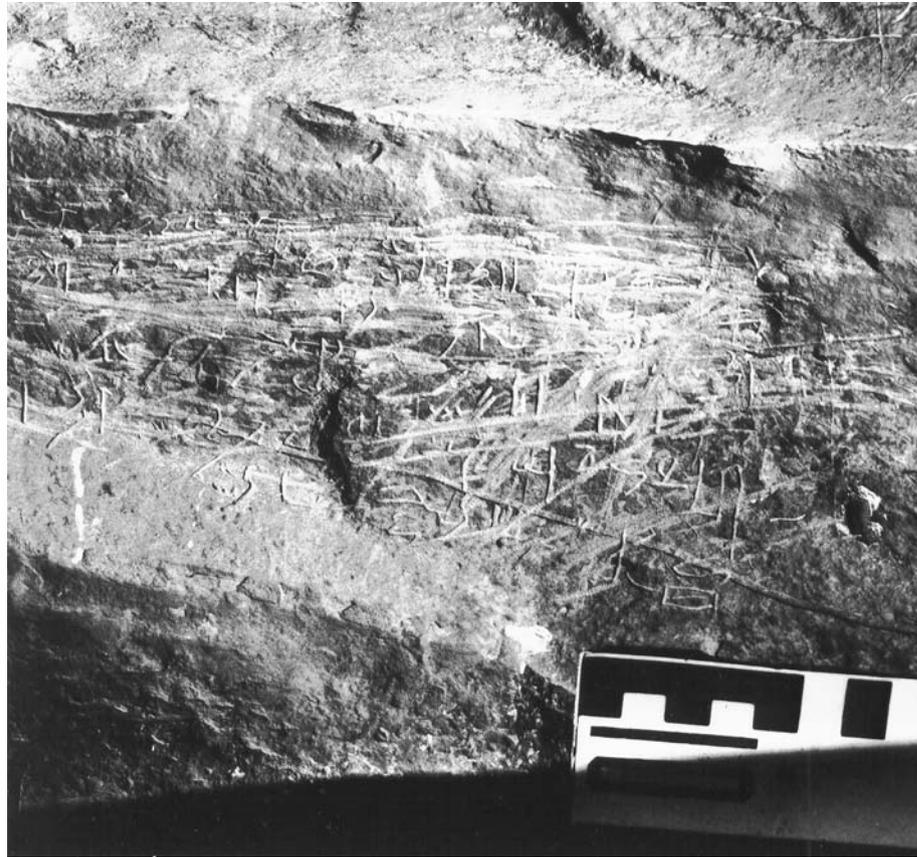


a

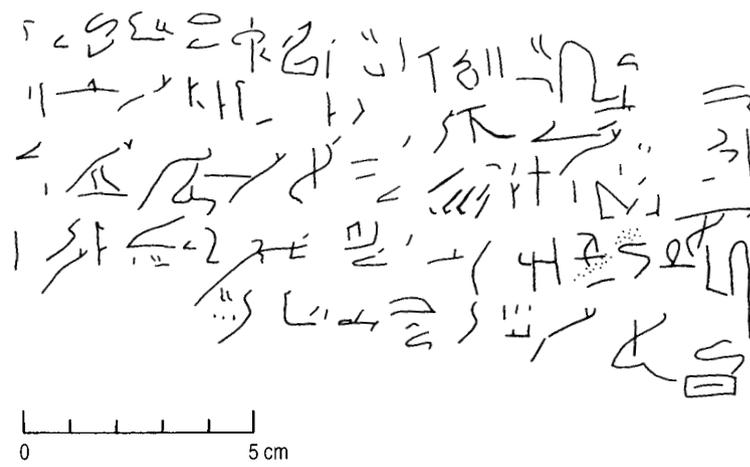


b

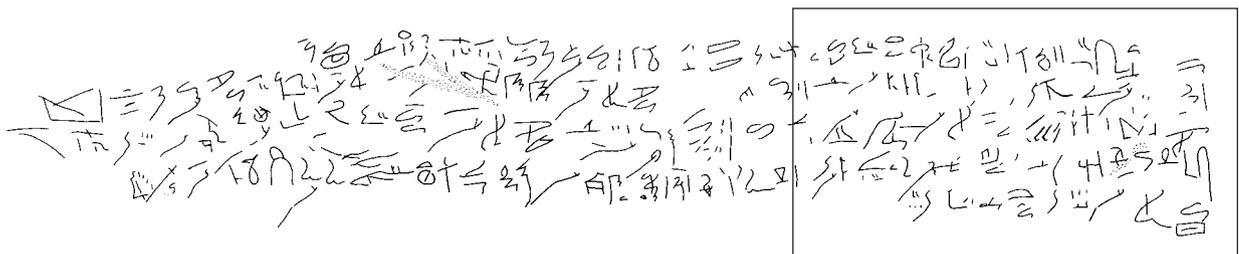
(a-b) Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 7



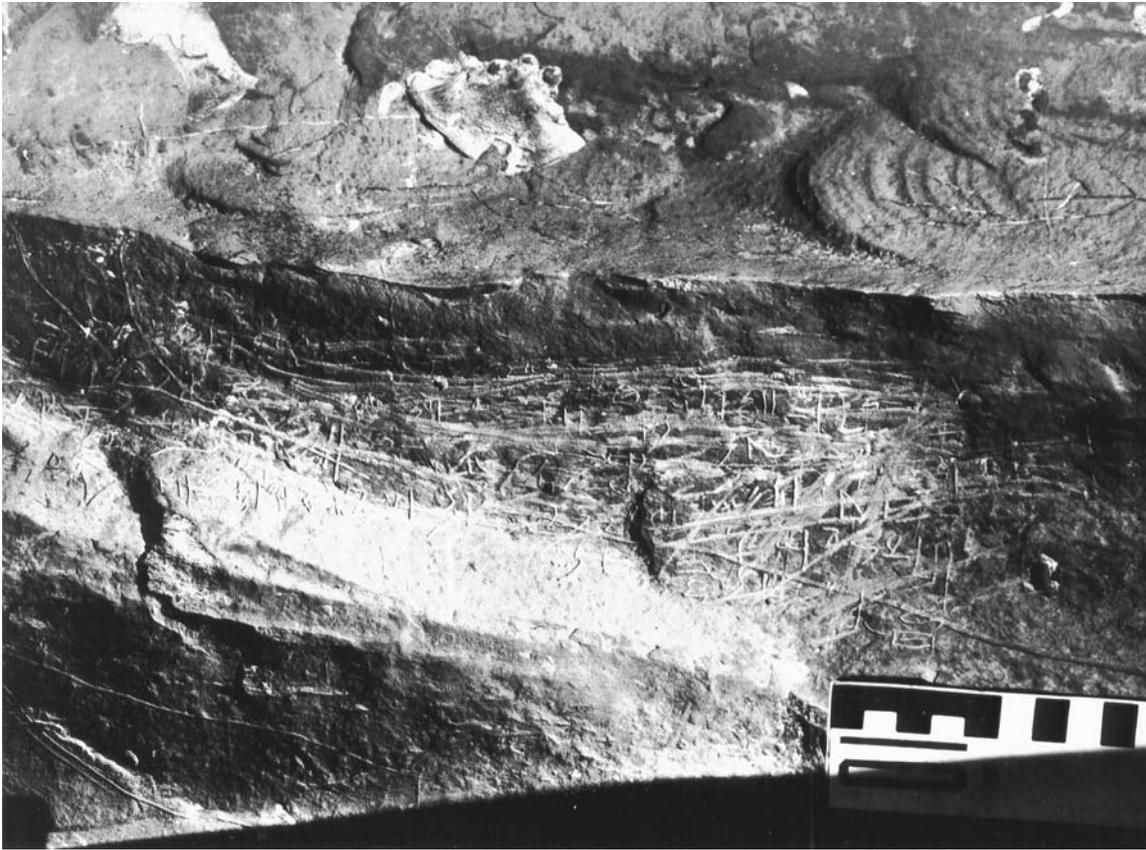
a



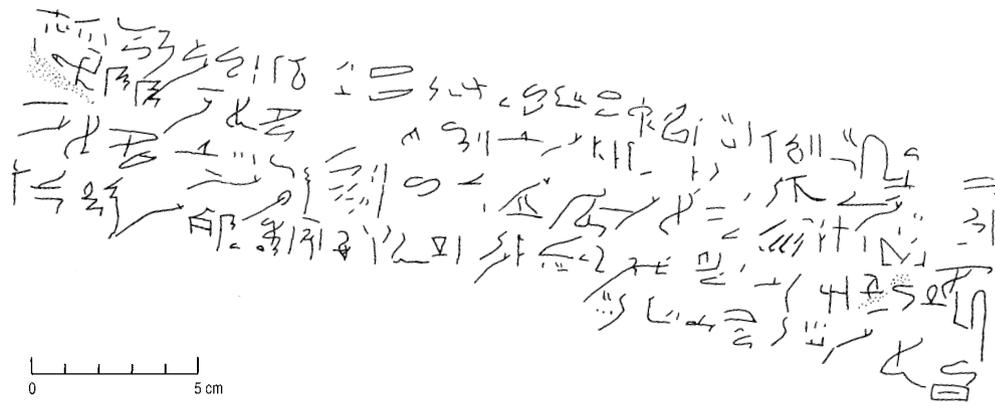
b



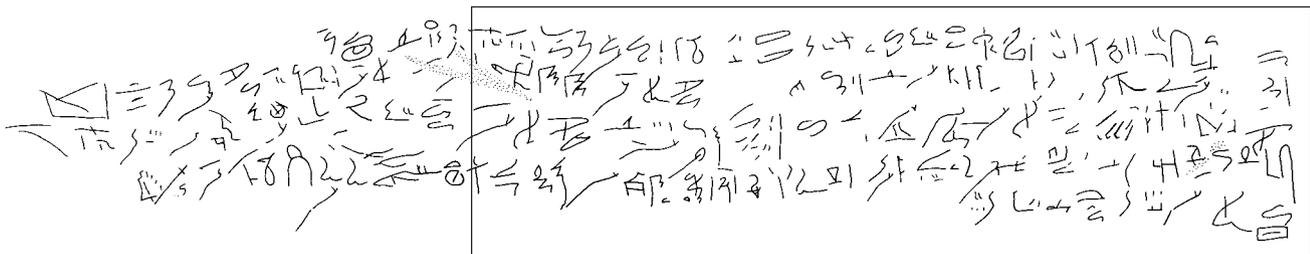
(a-b) Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 8, Detail of Beginning of Lines 1-4 and All of Line 5



a



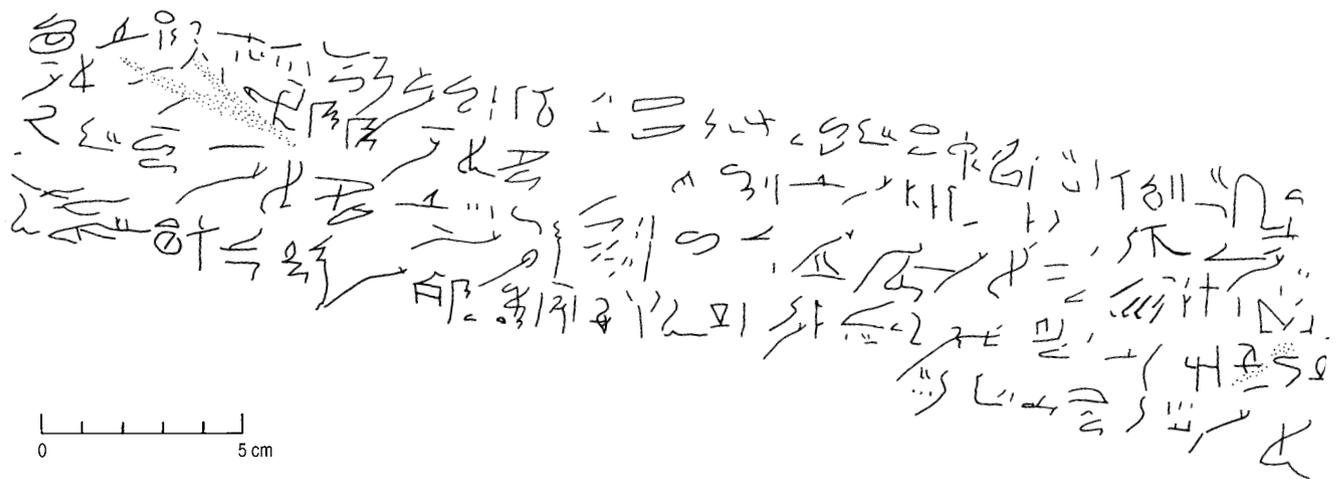
b



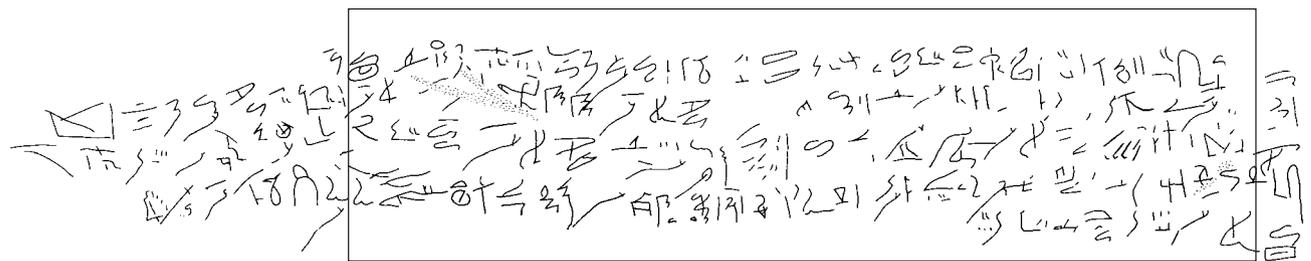
(a-b) Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 8, Beginning and Center of Lines 1-4 and All of Line 5



a



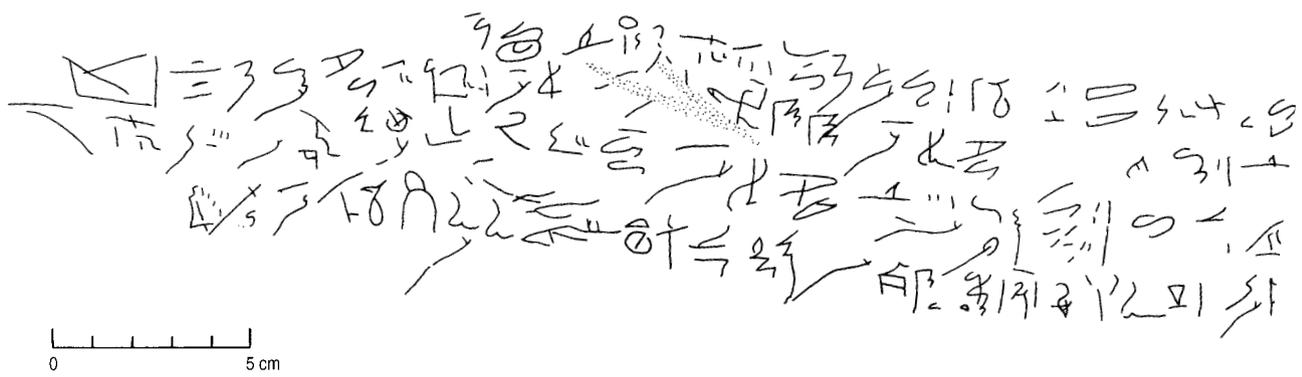
b



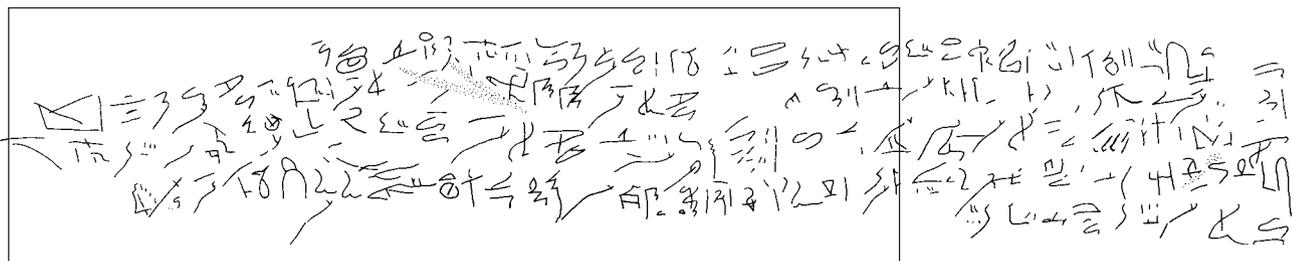
(a-b) Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 8, Center of Lines 1-4 and End of Line 5



a



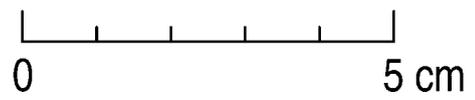
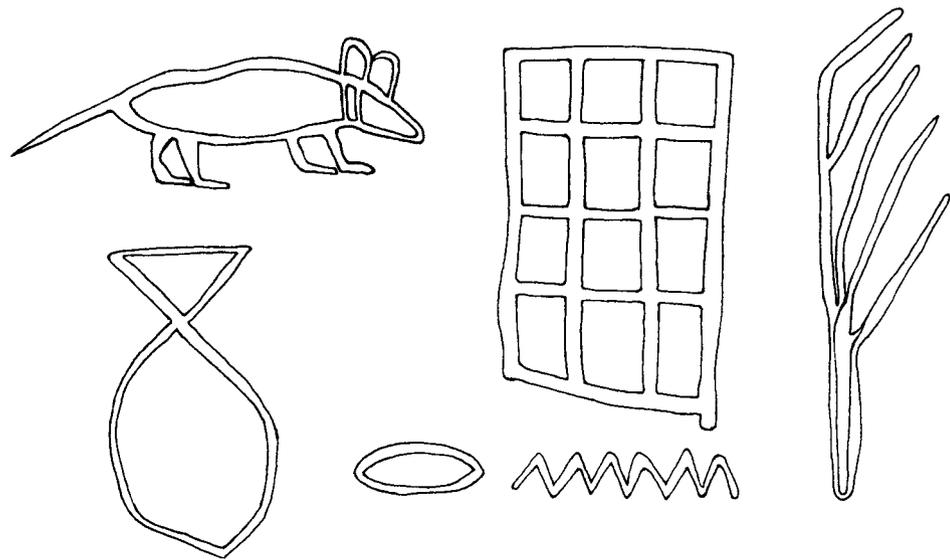
b



(a-b) Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 8, Center and End of Lines 1-4



a



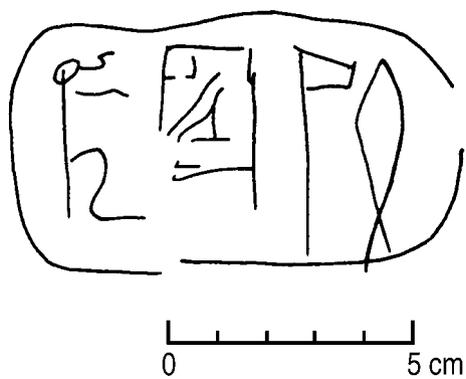
b

(a-b) Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 9

Plate 90



a

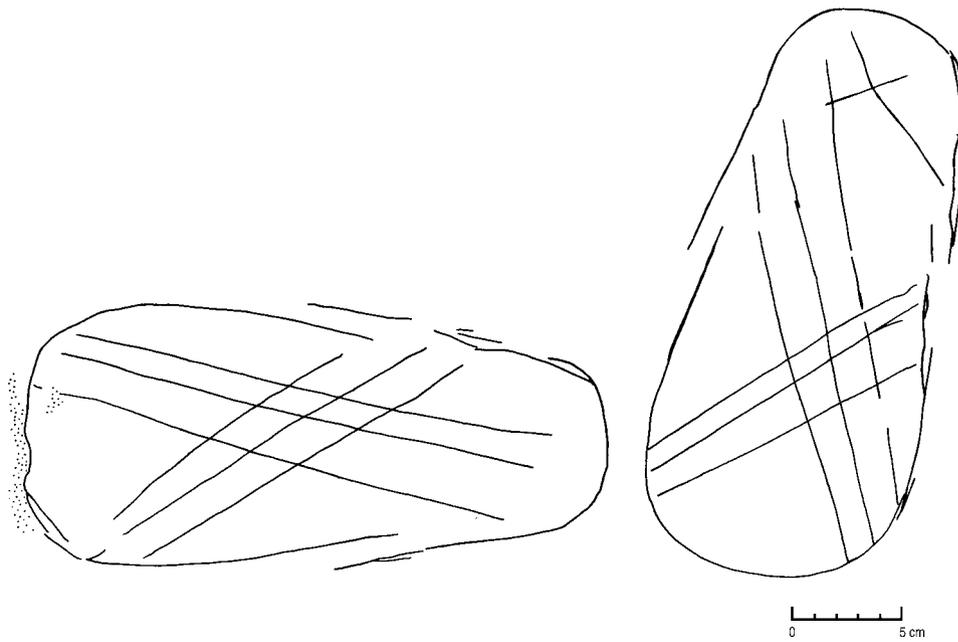


b

(a-b) Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 10



a

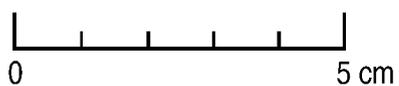
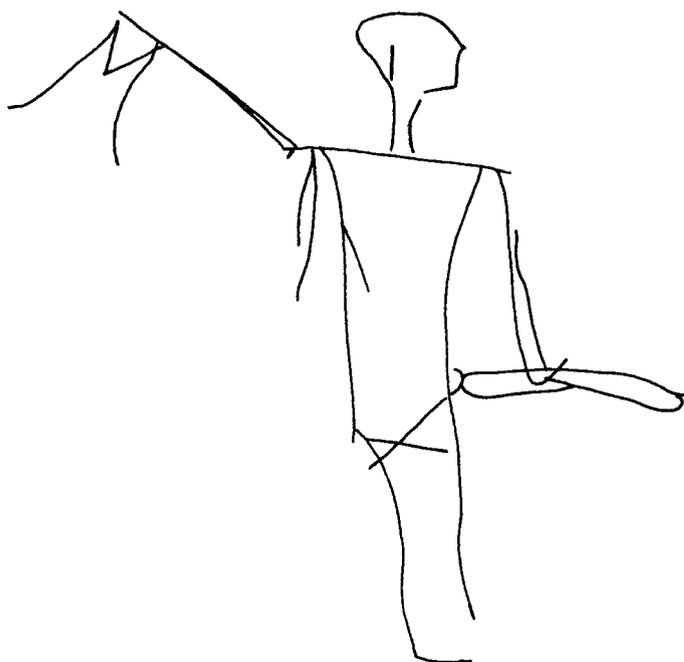


b

(a-b) Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 11



a



b

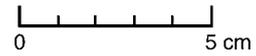
(a-b) Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 12



a

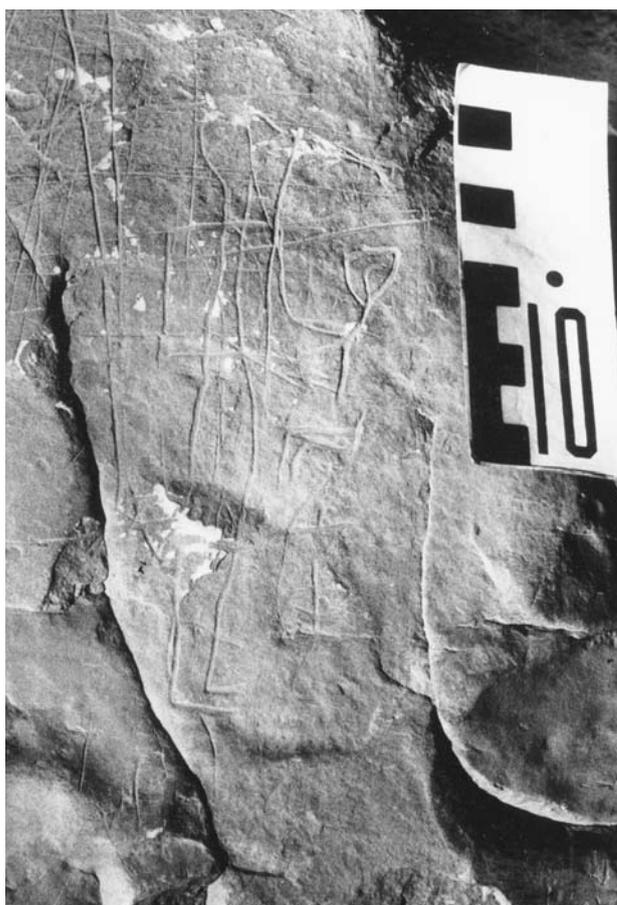


b

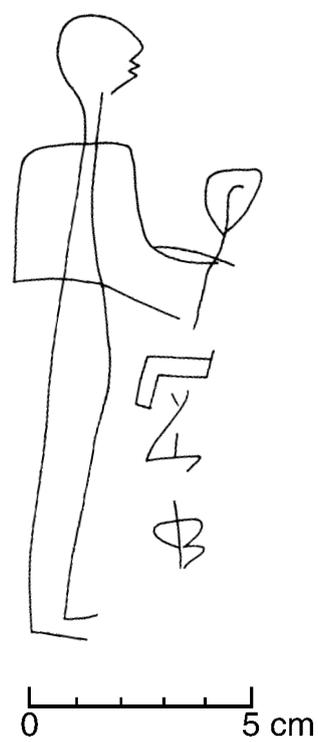


c

(a-b) Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 13 and (c) Detail of Right Portion



a

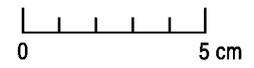


b

(a-b) Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 14



a



b

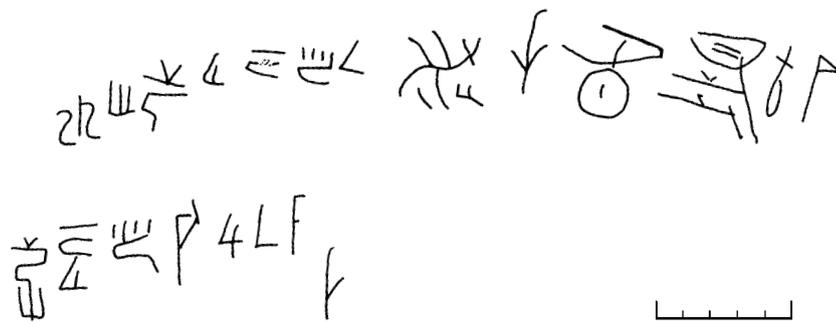


c

(a-b) Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 15 and (c) Detail of Lower Portion



a



b

(a-b) Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 16

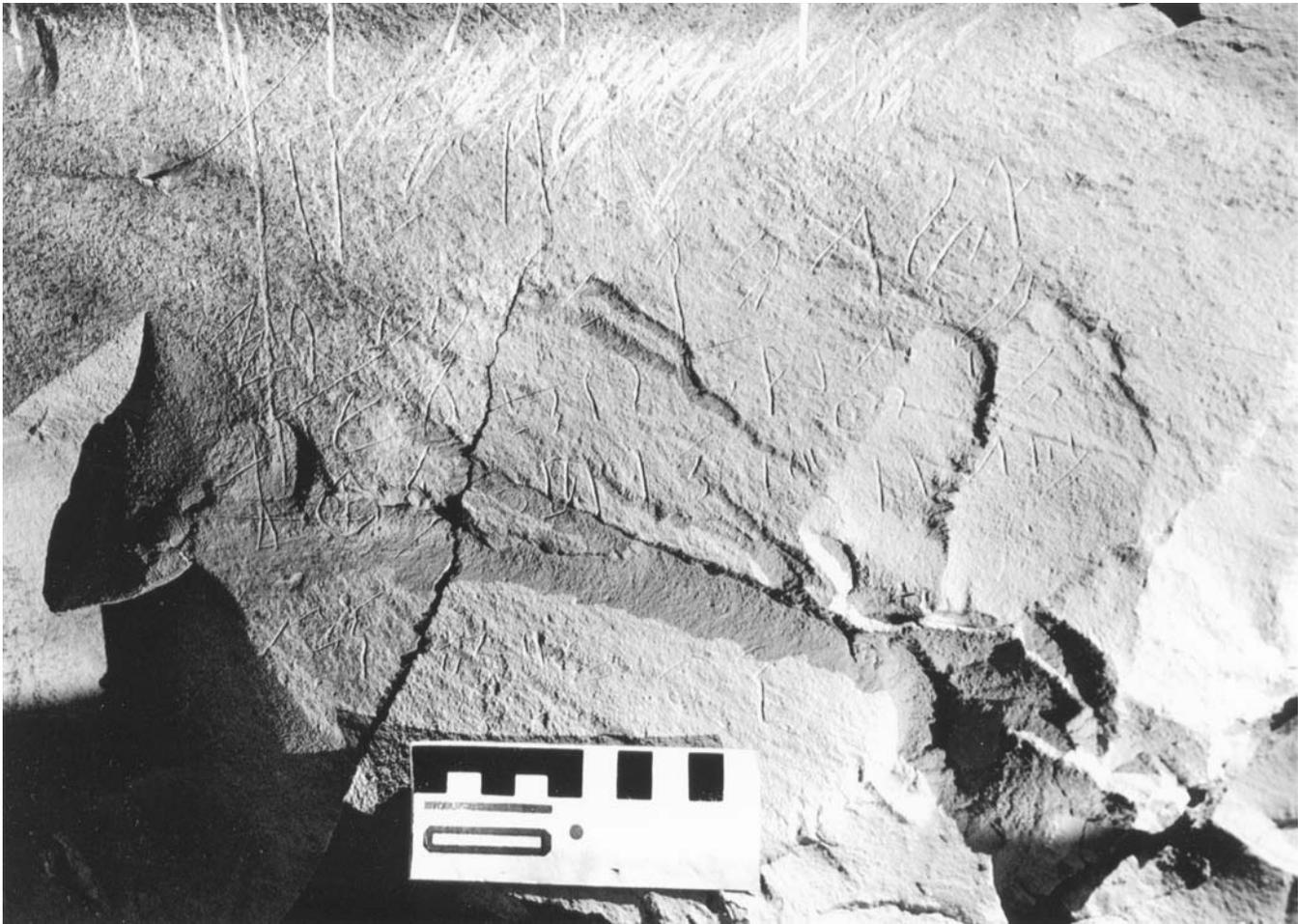


a

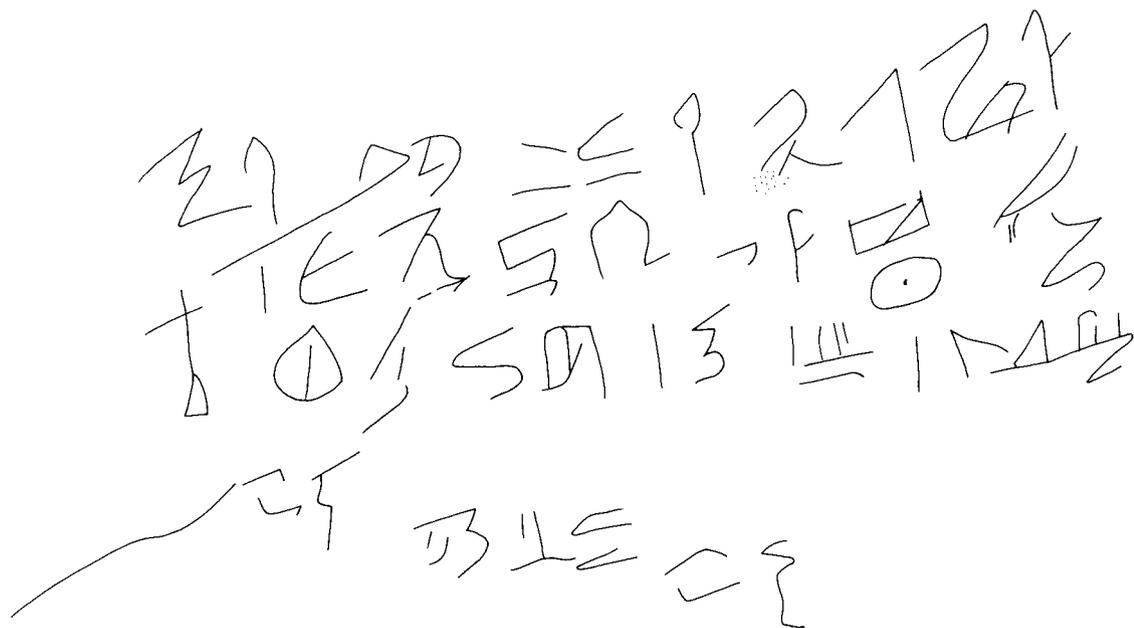


b

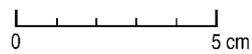
Detail Views of Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 16, (a) Line 1 and (b) Line 2

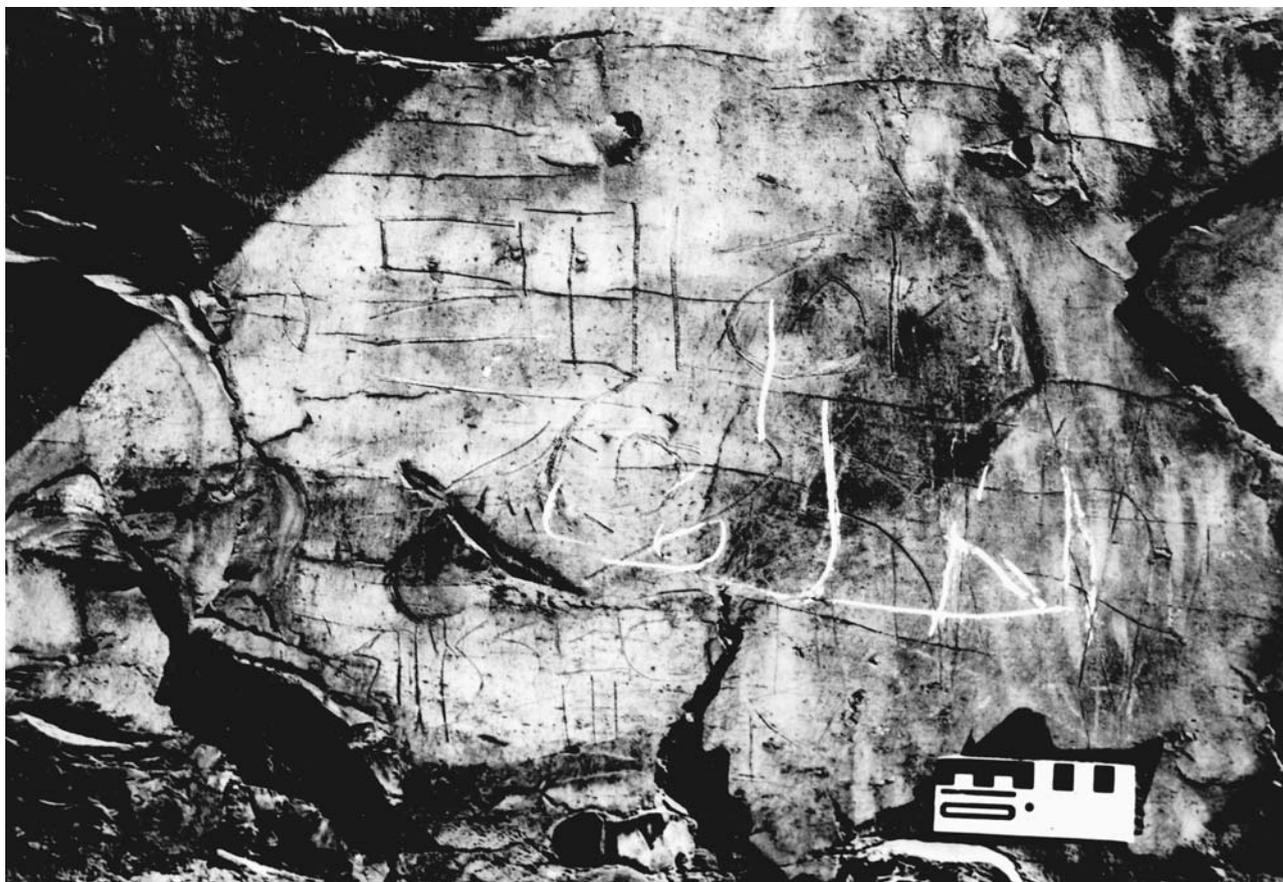


a



b



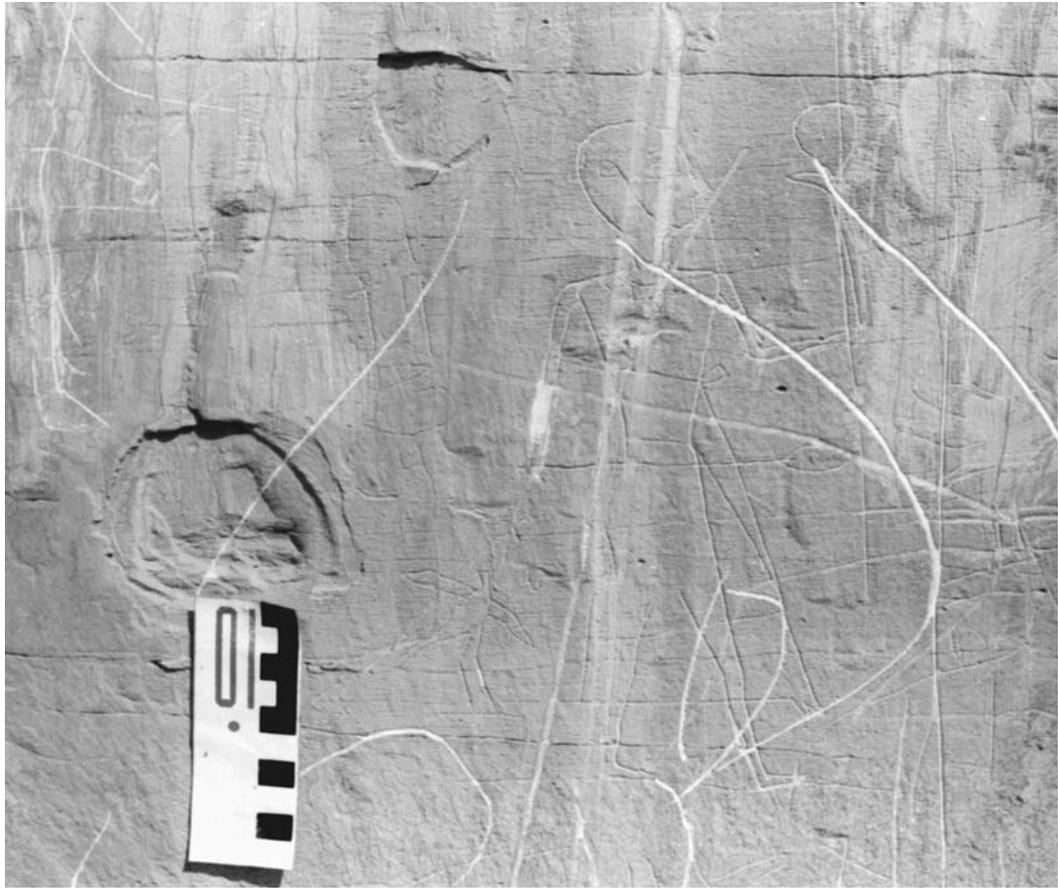


a

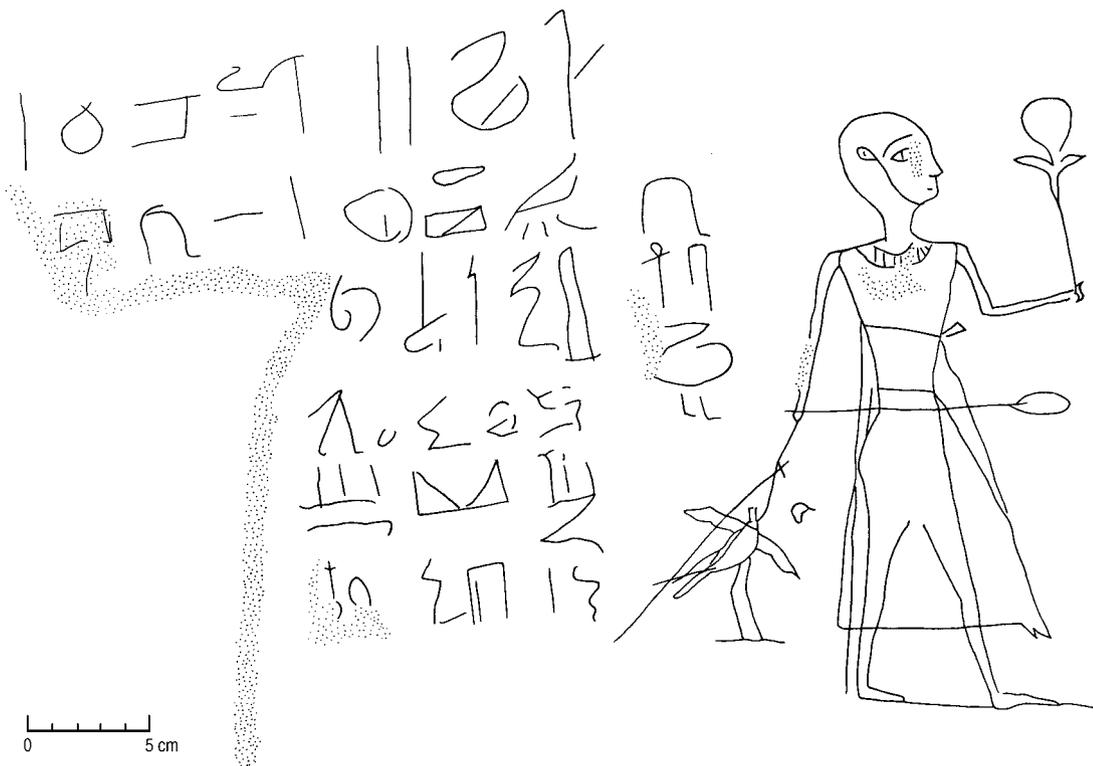


b

(a-b) Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 18

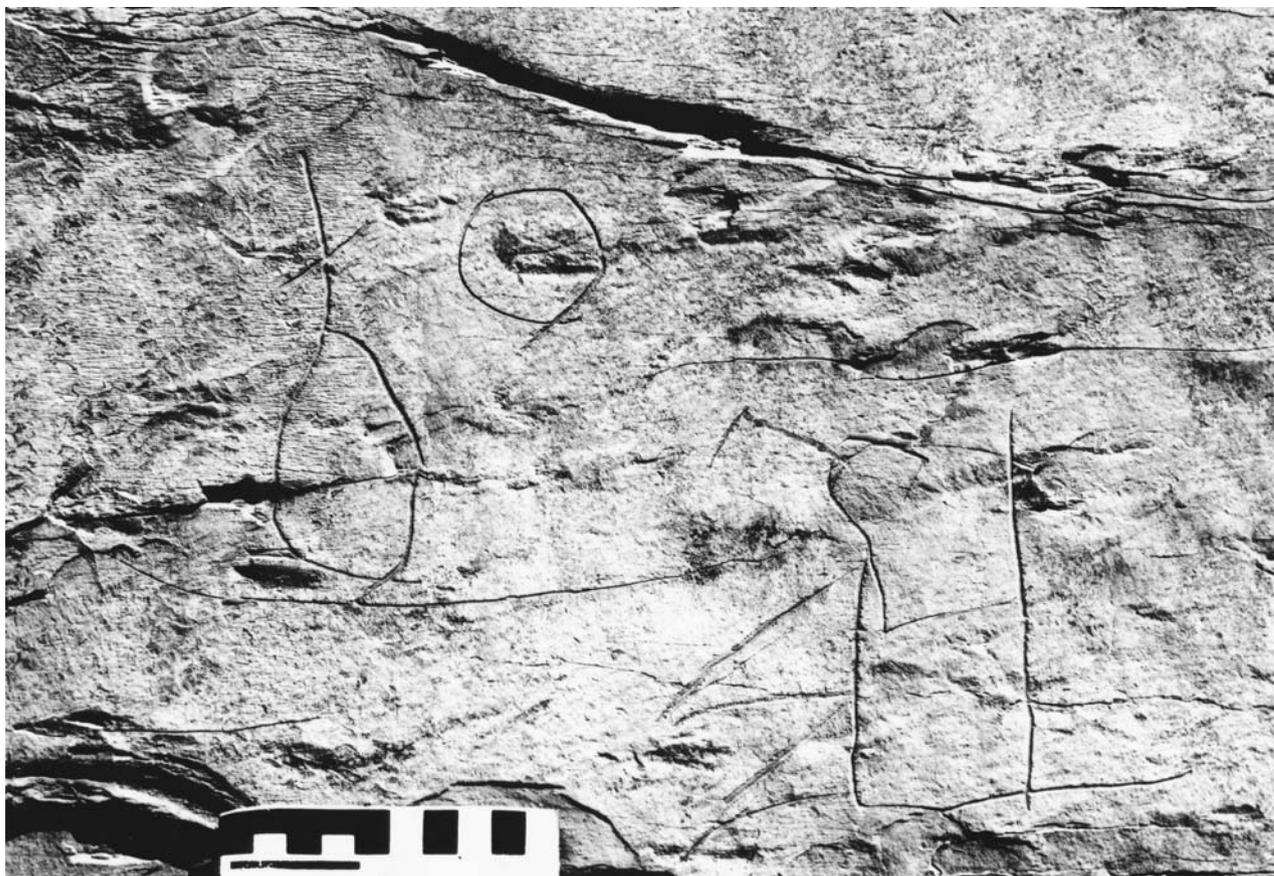


a

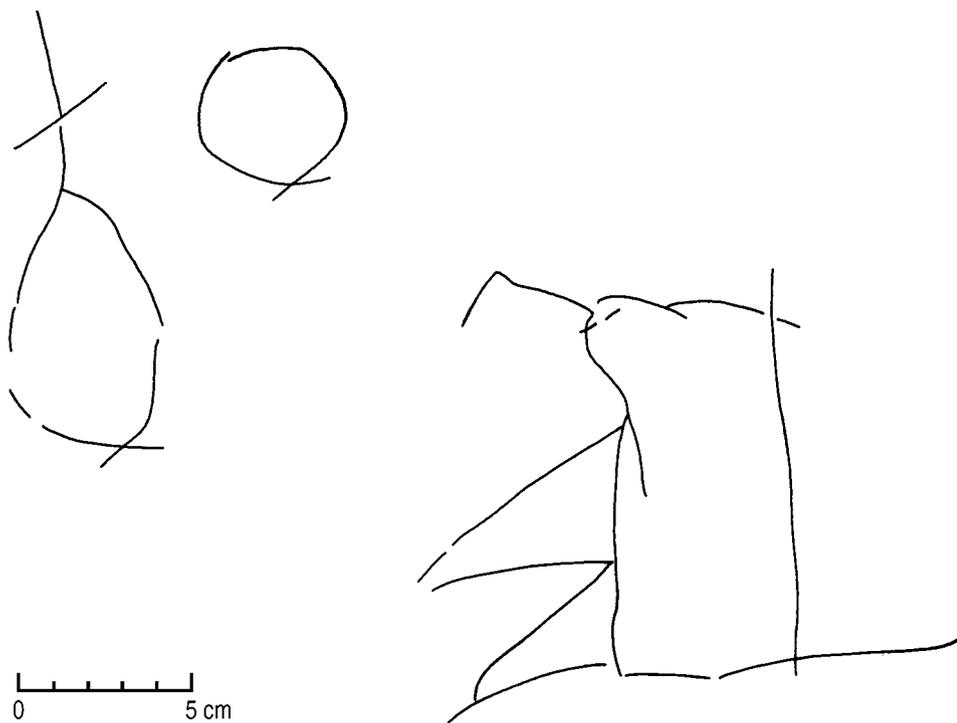


b

(a-b) Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 19

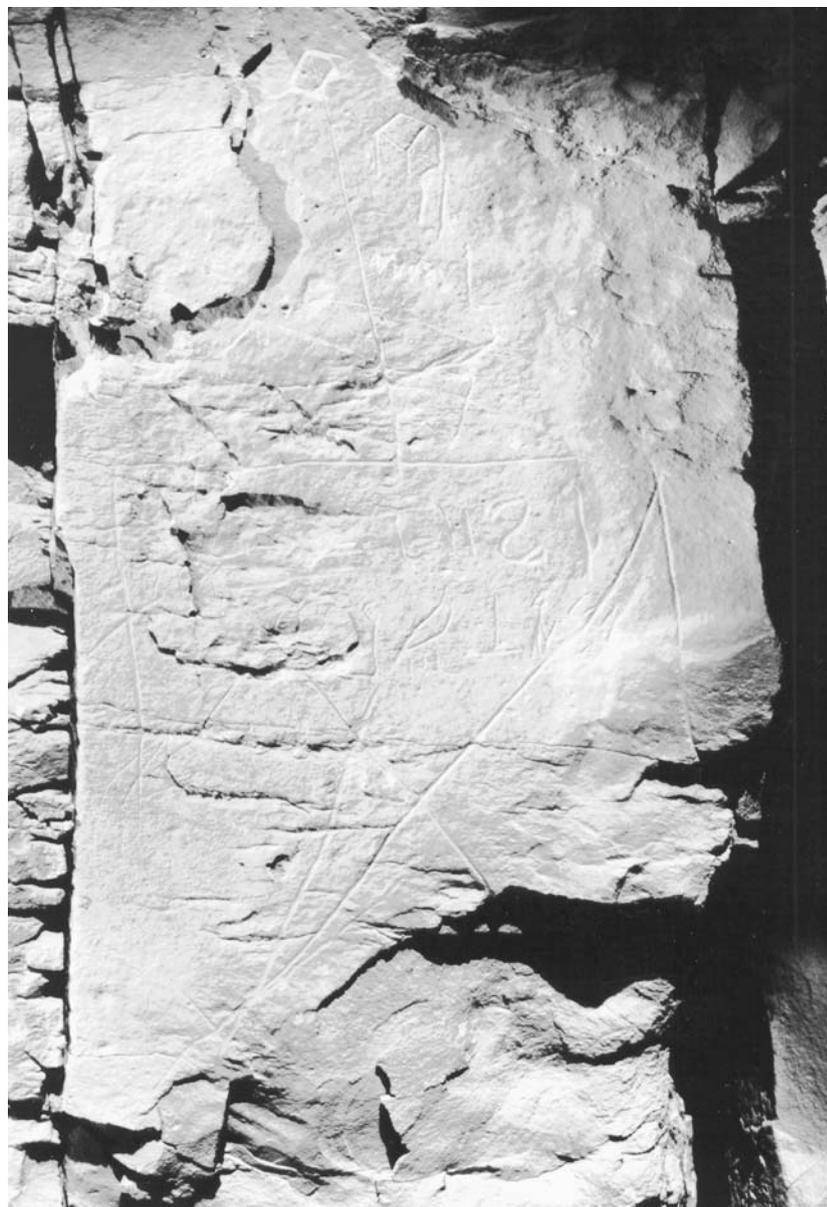


a

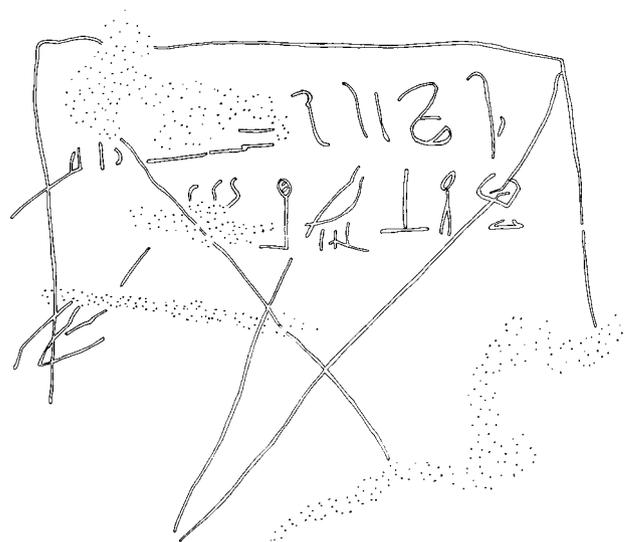


b

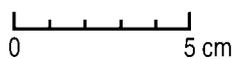
(a-b) Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 20



a



b



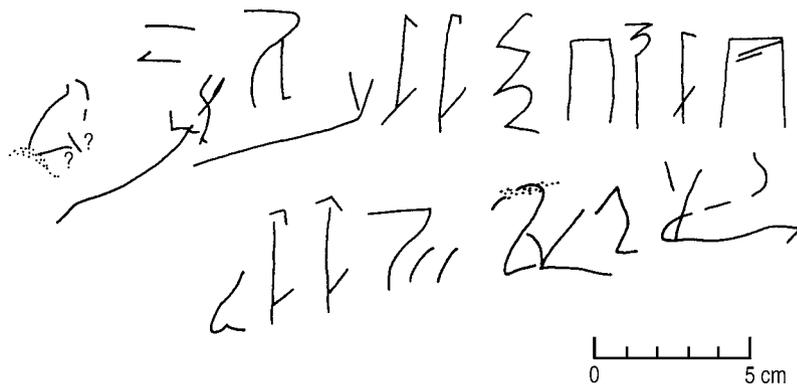
(a-b) Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 21



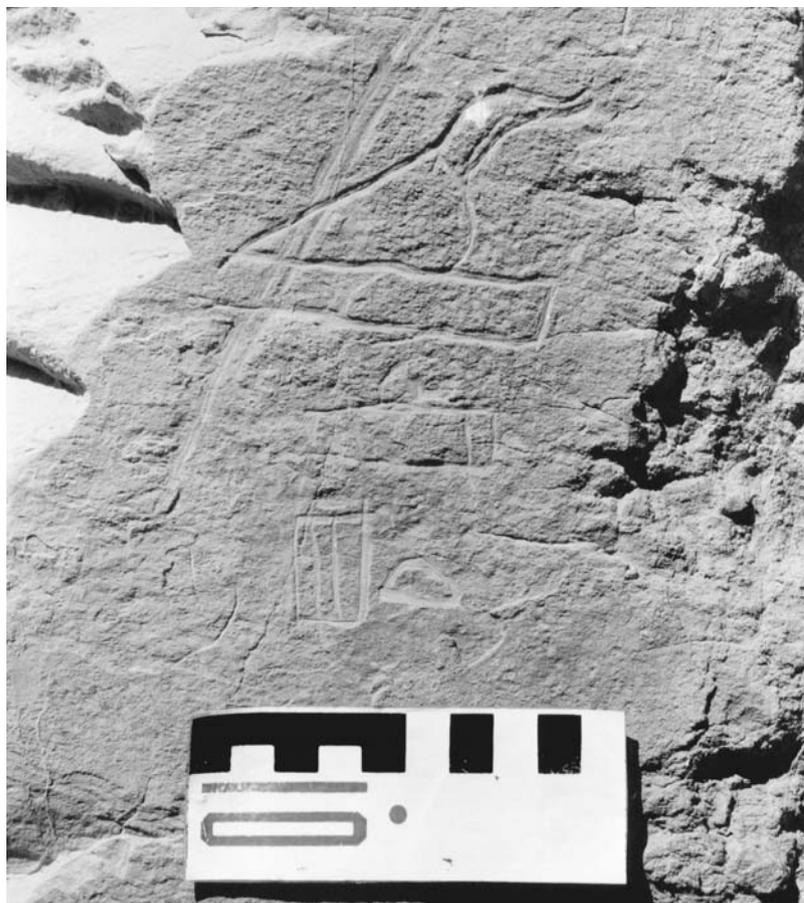
Detail View of Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 21



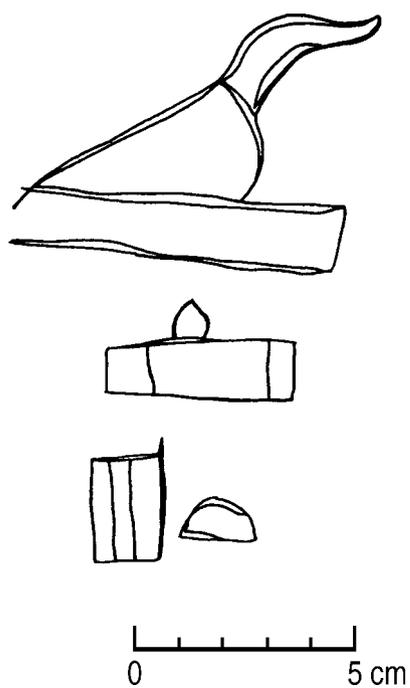
a



b



a



b

(a-b) Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 23



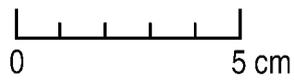
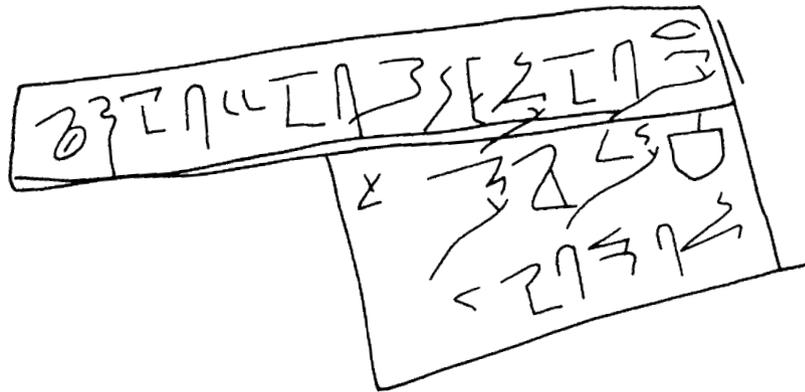
a



b



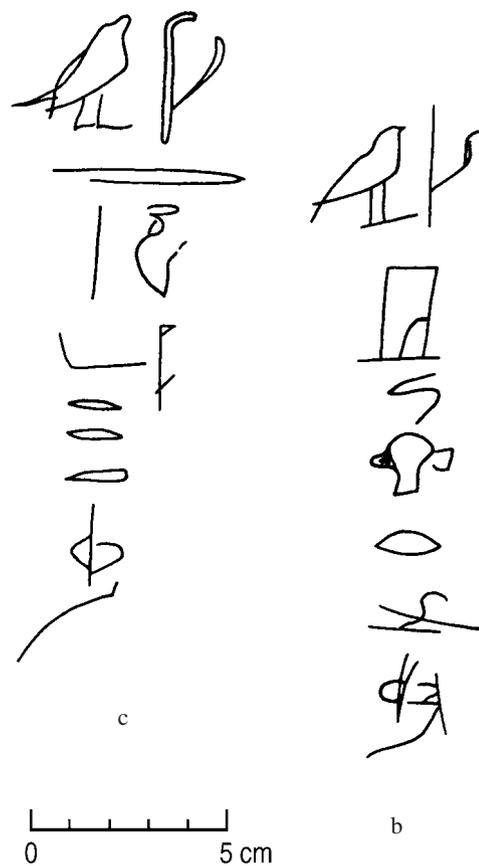
a



b



a

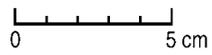


c

b



a



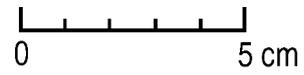
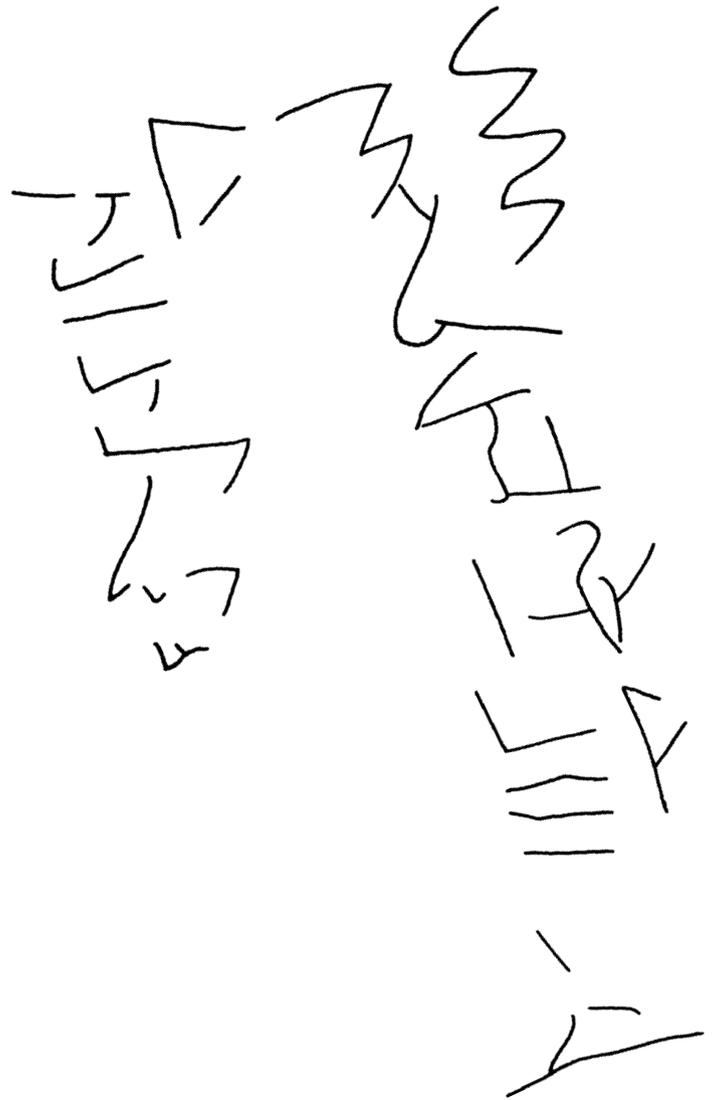
b

(a-b) Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 28





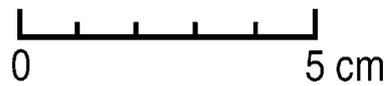
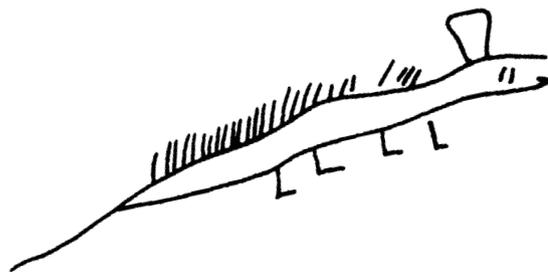
a



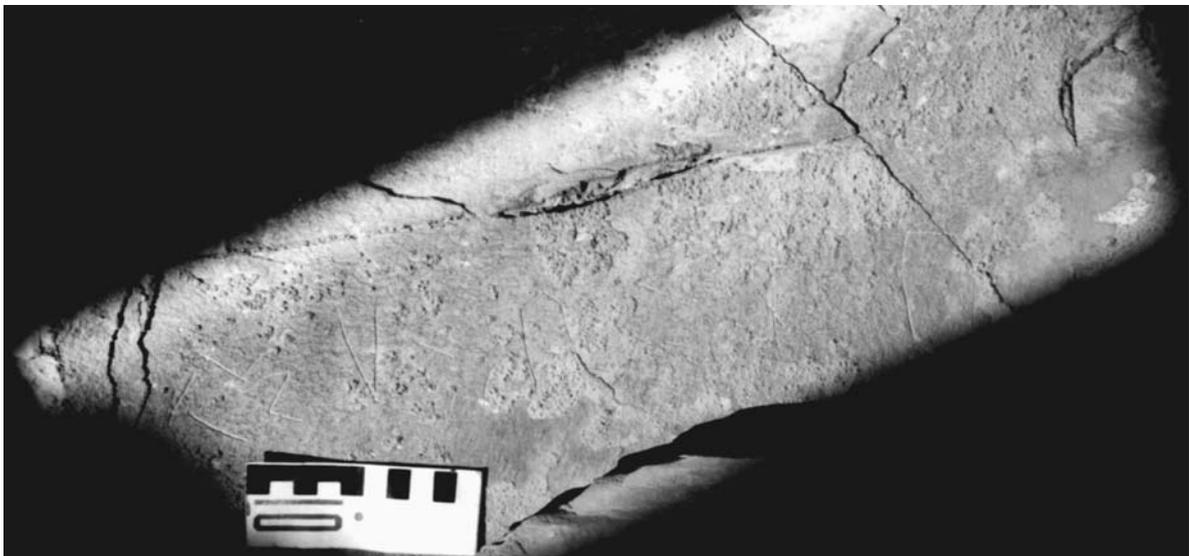
b



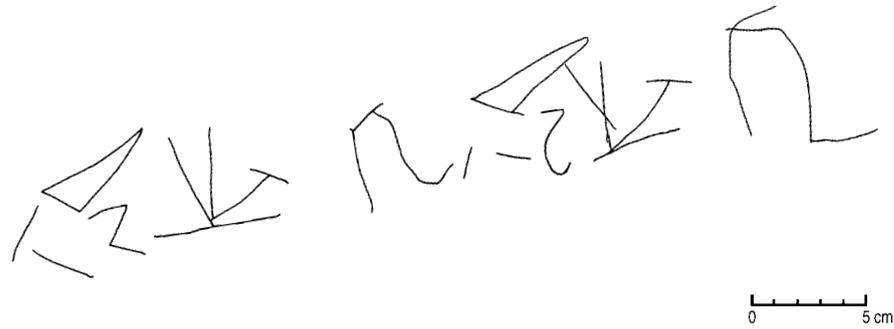
a



b



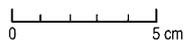
a



b



a

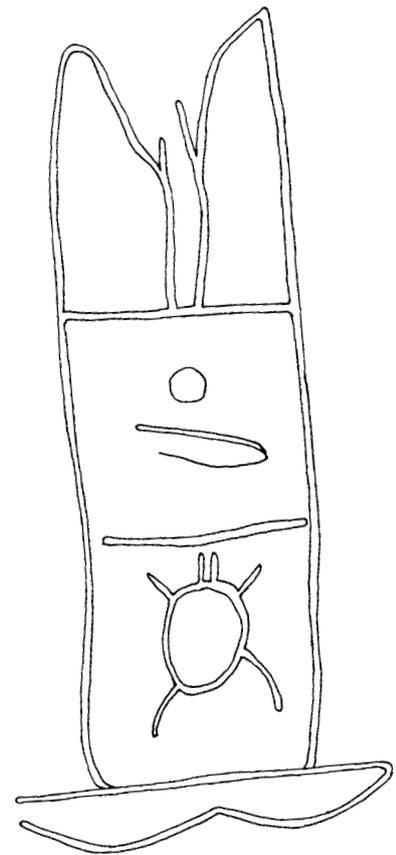


b

(a-b) Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscriptions 33 (top) and 34 (bottom)



a



b



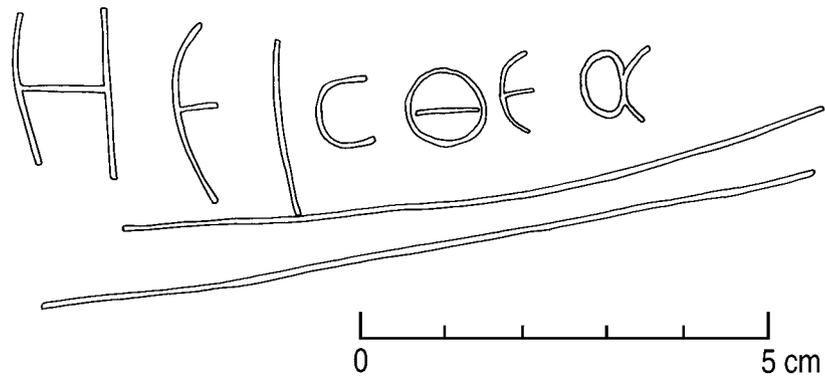
a



b



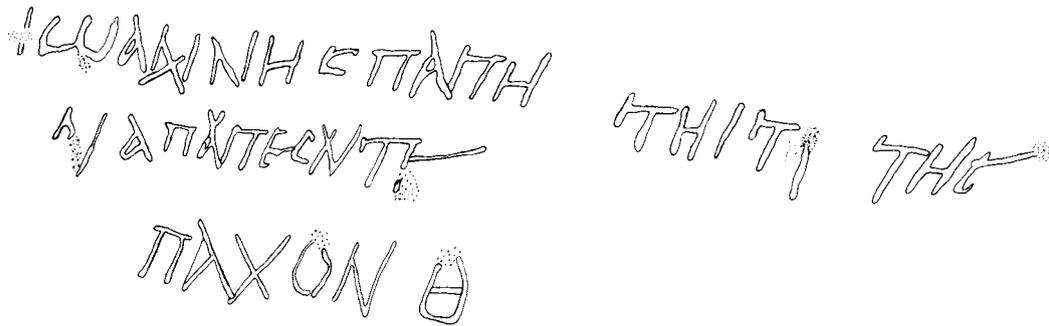
a



b



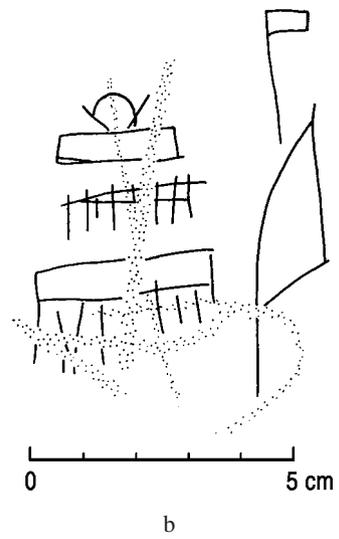
a



b

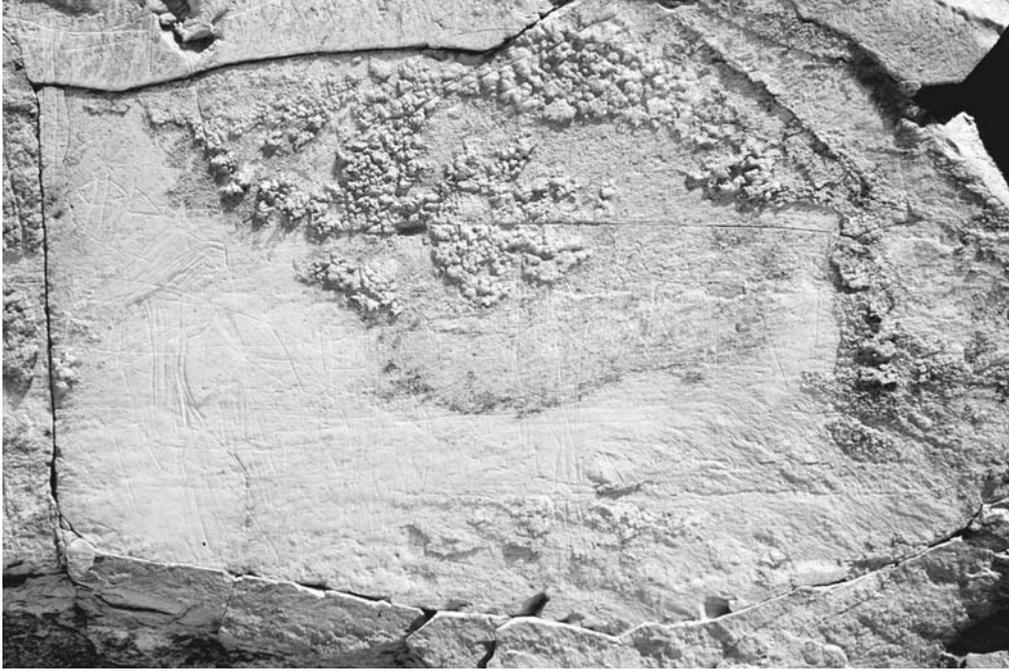


a

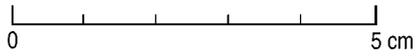
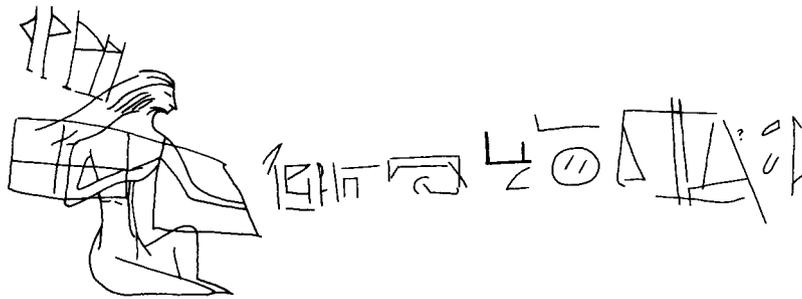


b

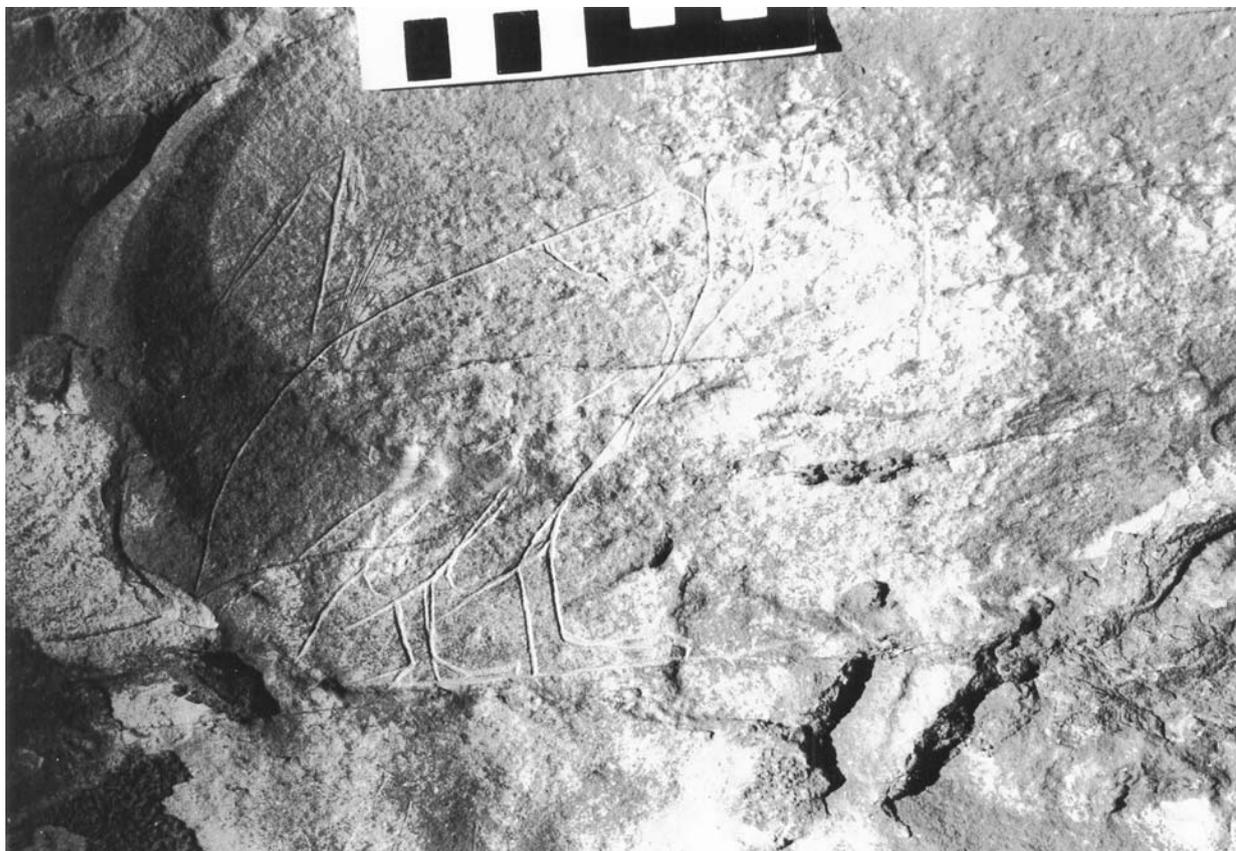
(a-b) Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 39



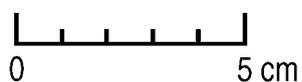
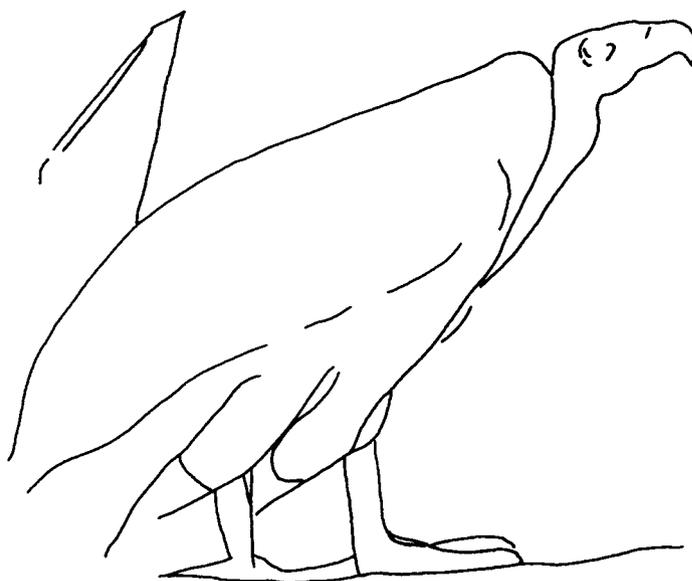
a



b

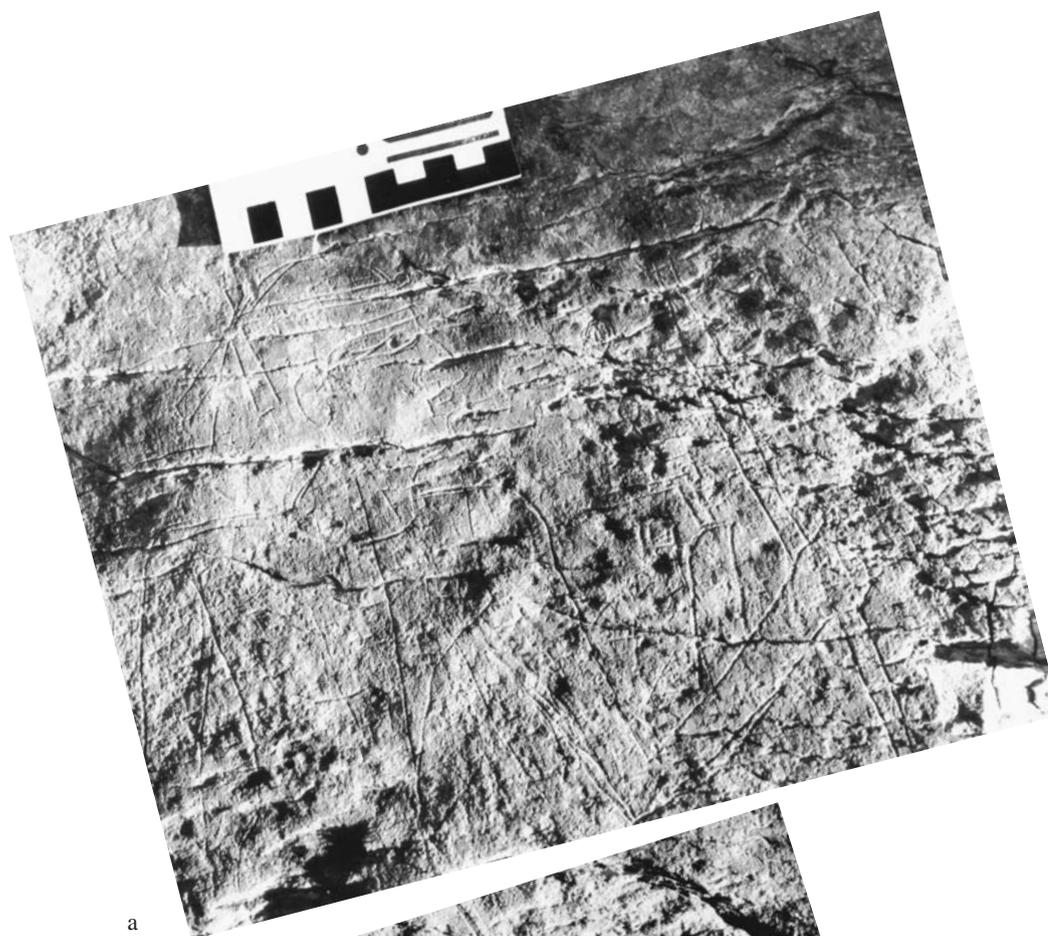


a

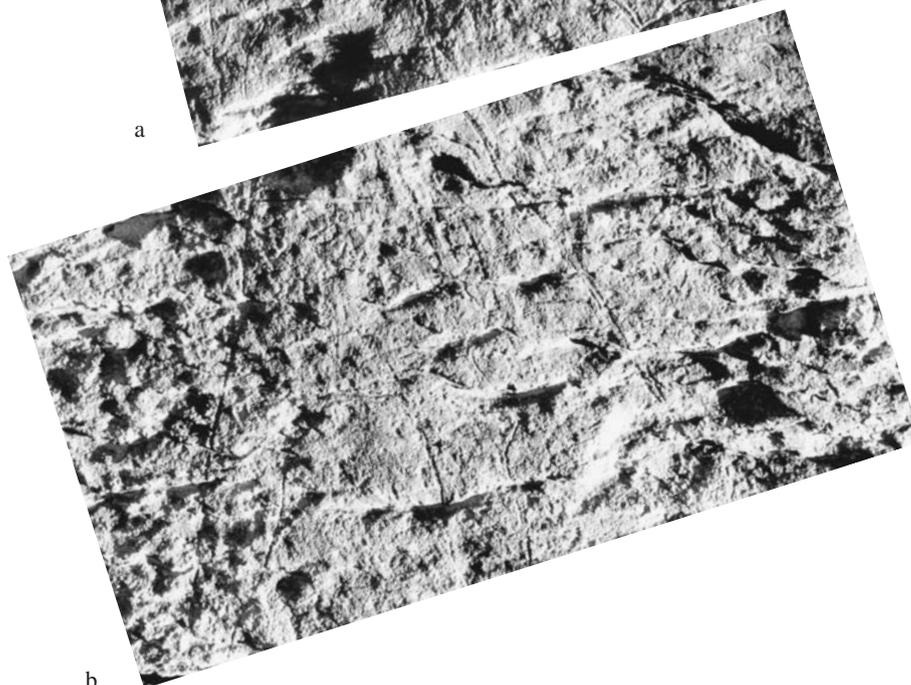


b

(a-b) Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 41

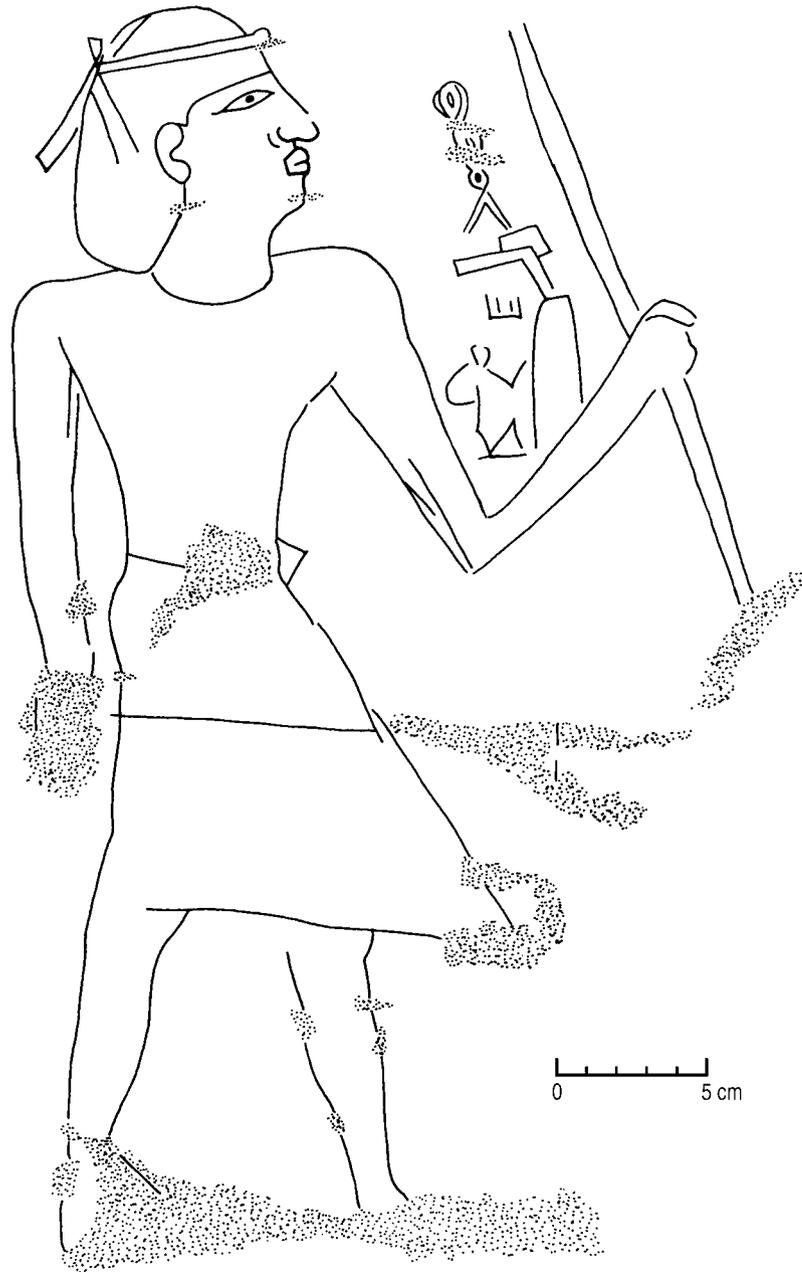


a



b

(a-b) Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 42



Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscription 42



a



b



